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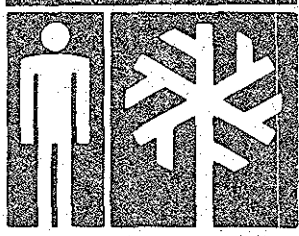

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SAN JUAN ISLAND NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK / WASHINGTON

BY ERWIN N. THOMPSON
HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AAAG, Acting Assistant Adjutant General
AAG, Assistant Adjutant General
AAQM, Acting Assistant Quartermaster
ACS, Assistant Commissary
AG, Adjutant General
BC PA, British Columbia Provincial Archives
BLM, Bureau of Land Management
CE, Corps of Engineers
CO, Commanding Officer
FO, Foreign Office (Great Britain)
GO, General Orders
HBC, Hudson's Bay Company
HMS, Her Majesty's Ship
NA, National Archives
OHS, Oregon Historical Society
OQMG, Office of the Quartermaster General
OR, Official Records (of the Civil War)
PA, Public Archives of Canada
QM, Quartermaster
RG, Record Group
RM, Royal Marine
RN, Royal Navy
SAJU, San Juan Island and Camp San Juan Island
SO, Special Orders
WHQ, Washington Historical Quarterly

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E. N. T.

INTRODUCTION

In 1929 Sir Winston Churchill sailed from Vancouver to Victoria by a Canadian Pacific steamer. He stood on the bridge and evidenced interest in the many islands along the route. On passing San Juan, the steamer's captain said to Sir Winston that the island should belong to Great Britain and recounted its role in the international boundary dispute of 1859. Mr. Churchill looked at the island and, without removing his cigar, smiled and said: "Captain, why get worked up about it? Lord knows we have more than enough islands already."[1]

British officials in the Pacific Northwest were worked up about San Juan Island in 1859. When General William S. Harney, USA, took it upon himself to occupy this disputed territory, his action led Great Britain and the United States to the brink of war--if only for a few trembling days when neither of the home governments was at all aware of the event.

This historic resource study is prepared in accordance with Professional Services Proposal, San Juan Island National Historical Park, Historic Resource Study, January 19, 1971. Part 1 of the report concerns the social and political history of English and American Camps, concentrating on the period of joint military occupation, 1859-1874. Part 2 brings together the structural histories of the two camps.

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1. British Columbia Provincial Archives, hereinafter cited as BC PA, James and Madge Wofenden Hamilton, "Disputed Island," MS.

PART 1

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL OUTLINE

CHAPTER 1

Events Before the Crisis

Beginning with its union with the North West Company in 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company was the dominant force in the Oregon Country, that vast land that stretched from Russia's Alaska to Mexico's California, from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. But Americans--traders, missionaries, and settlers--gradually increased their presence in the country and by the early 1840s were challenging the mighty company for control of the lower Columbia.

In 1843, the Hudson's Bay Company founded Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island, meanwhile maintaining its Western Department headquarters at Fort Vancouver on the lower Columbia. Then, in 1846, Great Britain and the United States agreed by treaty that the western boundary between the United States and the British Possessions to the north would be the 49th North Parallel. Since Vancouver Island dipped below that latitude, it was further agreed that all of the island would remain British and that the boundary from the mainland to the Pacific would be "the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island."

The negotiators, many thousands of miles removed from the scene, apparently were in ignorance of the fact that two major channels existed: Haro Strait to the west, near Vancouver Island, and Rosario Strait to the east, near the mainland. Between the two lay a future bone of contention, the San Juan Islands.

The British government had had an opportunity to learn something about the geography of the area before it went to the negotiating table. In May 1846, Governor J. H. Pelly, HBC, had written Foreign Secretary of State, the Earl of Aberdeen, explaining that Britain should acquire the San Juans by taking as the boundary "the line coloured red" on Captain Vancouver's map, that is, Rosario Strait. "The only objection to this," said Pelly, "is giving to the U. States the valuable Island of Whitby, / Whidbey /; but I do not see how this can be avoided in an anamicable adjustment." Despite this advice, the useless

term "middle of the channel" was agreed upon.[1]

If the diplomats ignored the islands, not so the people then living in the Pacific Northwest. Before the treaty, in July 1845, the Hudson's Bay officials at Fort Victoria formally took possession of San Juan, the second largest island in the group and only 14 miles from Victoria: "A notice to that effect engraved on a wooden tablet, was erected on an eminence near the South East point of the Island." Even so, Sir George Simpson, HBC, was concerned as early as 1847 that the San Juans "may very soon become a source of dispute" unless a firm demarcation line was established.[2]

In 1848, following the killing of the Whitman missionaries, the United States established Oregon Territory and set up a territorial government. This government considered the San Juan Islands to be under its jurisdiction and organized them as part of Island County in 1852. To be sure, only one or two Americans had attempted to settle on the islands by then, and they had been discouraged by the frown of the Hudson's Bay officials.[3]

Following the 1846 treaty, Great Britain took steps to increase British presence on Vancouver Island. The government undertook to encourage British colonization of the island and contemplated developing a naval base there to counterbalance the harbor of San Francisco which came under the control of Americans that same year. In July 1846, Earl Grey became the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. He was friendly to the Hudson's Bay Company and he was keenly interested in maintaining Britain's influence and power throughout the world. He decided that the Hudson's Bay Company was the best agent

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1. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, microfilm, Public Records Office, London, Foreign Office, General Correspondence, America, U. S., 1846-1872, hereinafter cited as PA Ottawa, FO. FO 5, 809, J. H. Pelly, May 22, 1846, to the Earl of Aberdeen.

2. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1473, Colonial Dept., "Memorandum on the Status of British Subjects in the Haro Islands," ca. Dec. 1872; FO 5, 809, George Simpson, memorandum for the British ambassador to the U. S., Feb. 22, 1847.

3. University of Washington Library, David Hunter Miller Papers, Box 8, San Juan, William Webster, Jan. 8, 1859, to one Nugent. Webster claimed to have settled on San Juan Island in 1852, but was soon discouraged by Governor James Douglas and left.

for colonizing Vancouver Island--and the agent that would cost the British government the least money.

The company was not enthusiastic about sponsoring colonists--settlers had a way of interferring with the fur trade. But, in 1848, the Colonial Office and the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to a "Charter of Grant," whereby the company was granted all of Vancouver Island provided it established a colony of British settlers in five years. The company already possessed a license for the exclusive trade with the Indians in the Western Department that was due to expire in 1859. The government reserved the right to take back the island at that time by repaying the company for its colonization expenses. Also, Vancouver Island was declared a Crown Colony in 1849.[4]

The history of the early days of the colonial government on Vancouver Island lies outside the scope of this report. But it is important to observe that in 1851 James Douglas became the "Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Colony of Vancouver's Island and its dependencies, Vice Admiral of the same, etc." Douglas' origins are uncertain. He was born about 1803 in either Scotland, Jamaica, or British Guiana. Sir George Simpson, HBC, described the governor as a "Scotch West Indian." He arrived in Canada in 1819 and joined the North West Company. He was sent to Fort William in present-day Ontario where he met Dr. John McLoughlin. McLoughlin took an interest in the lad and made him his protégé.

McLoughlin eventually became the head of Hudson's Bay Company's interests in the Oregon Country with his headquarters at Fort Vancouver. Douglas transferred there in 1831. When McLoughlin retired as chief factor in 1845, Douglas was appointed as one of three members of a board of management that succeeded the doctor. It was Douglas who had selected the site of Fort Victoria and, in 1849, he moved there from Fort Vancouver. Fort Victoria then became the company's headquarters west of the Rocky Mountains.

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4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, 32, History of British Columbia, 1792-1887 (New York, reprint, n.d.), p. 219; John S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company As An Imperial Factor, 1821-1869 (Berkeley, 1957), pp. 283-814; Barry M. Gough, The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy (Vancouver, 1971), pp. 84-86 and 131. The Charter of Grant was renewed in 1854 for another five years, to 1859, when the license of exclusive trade was to expire. The latter was actually revoked in September 1858.

Douglas continued in his dual role as governor and as a member of the board of management until 1859. In 1858 he was offered the governorship of the mainland Colony of British Columbia as well, providing he retire from the Hudson's Bay Company. He did so in early 1859 and continued to govern both colonies until his retirement in 1864. Even while still employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, Douglas was careful to place his governmental duties ahead of and apart from the company's interests. (Admittedly the interests of the two quite often coincided.) His biographer has written that Douglas was most careful in his position as governor to show no special favors to the company. However few, if any, of his American critics appreciated his efforts to be first a governor. To them the Hudson's Bay Company, the colonial government, and Douglas were all one and the same.

About six feet tall and imperious in manner, Douglas made a considerable impression on those who met him. Bancroft summarized his personality as "cold, proud, formal egoism." Archibald McKinley, the factor at Fort Walla Walla, wrote of him: "He was always respected by his superiors, inferiors, and equals, and he filled every position from clerk to Governor with dignity and honor. He was a man of great determination and bravery." His deeds and words in the year of crisis, 1859, will reveal further insights into his character.[5]

Both the Hudson's Bay Company and the colonial government strengthened their interest in San Juan Island throughout the 1850s. In either 1850 or 1851, the company established a seasonal fishing station on the island during the annual salmon run. In late 1853, the company dispatched Charles Griffin to San Juan to establish a permanent sheep farm, which Griffin called Bellevue.[6]

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5. Bancroft, British Columbia, pp. 283-301 and 382-84; Herbert P. Plasterer, Fort Victoria, from Fur Trading Post to Capital City of British Columbia, Canada (n.p., n.d.), p. 26; Walter N. Sage, "Sir James Douglas, K. C. B.: The Father of British Columbia," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, 11, 211-27; University of Washington Library, Richard D. Gholson Papers, Correspondence re San Juan Controversy, 1859-60, copy of a statement by James Douglas, copy dated Aug. 7, 1859; Oregon Historical Society, Archibald McKinley, Miscellaneous Papers, McKinley, May or June 1881, to Elwood Evans, typescript. McKinley said that Douglas was born in Jamaica. Sage says that family tradition has Douglas born in Scotland, but that "it is often claimed" that he was born in British Guiana.

6. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, Charles John

Meanwhile, political affairs on the American side of the border were gathering momentum. In 1853, the Territory of Washington was carved out of Oregon. Olympia became its capital, and Isaac Stevens was appointed its first governor. As far as Washington Territory was concerned, Island County was United States soil. (It may have been this attitude that encouraged the Hudson's Bay Company to establish Bellevue Farm.) Then, in 1854, the Territory carried out a reorganization of its counties, and the San Juan Islands were made a part of Whatcom County.[7]

When news of this development reached London, undoubtedly through Governor Douglas, the Foreign Office advised the Admiralty to "show the flag" in the Strait of Juan de Fuca. At that time the Royal Navy had nine ships in the Pacific Station under Rear Admiral Henry William Bruce. The admiral advised London that the issue of San Juan was "a serious difficulty" but that he had faith in Douglas' abilities to handle it. The Admiralty replied that Bruce should avoid an incident because at the moment the United States was friendly to Russia, a country then at war with Great Britain (Crimean War).[8]

Griffin kept a journal at Bellevue, as was the custom of those in charge of Hudson's Bay establishments. Among the mundane entries concerning sheep and buildings is an entry for April 26, 1854, that indicated the deepening dispute over the island: "There is a Report that the Americans have left Nisqually on two open Boats well manned etc to seize the Co's property on the Island here. The Otter [a HBC steamer] remains a few days as guard ship." Two days later Griffin erected a flagstaff at the farm headquarters and displayed the Union Jack. To further emphasize British ownership, Governor Douglas decided to visit the island on May Day. The Otter carried the governor, several company and governmental officials, and their ladies across the strait. But the excursionists had to cut short

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Griffin, Apr. 2, 1855, to Douglas; BC PA, William John Macdonald, "Notes by a Pioneer," 1914, MS, 24 pp., in which he recounts establishing a fishing station on San Juan in June 1851. Douglas maintained that the station was first established in 1850 (PA Ottawa, FO 5, 812, Douglas, Dec. 13, 1855, to Sect. of State for Colonial Dept.).

7. Keith A. Murray, The Pig War (Tacoma, 1968), pp. 25-27.

8. Gough, pp. 153-54, 247, and 249-50.

their visit because of poor weather.[9]

The Americans arrived on the evening of May 3. In charge was Isaac E. Ebey, the U. S. Collector of Customs for the Puget Sound area, Henry Webber, and "3 hands." Griffin went down to San Juan Harbor to meet them and learn their business. But Ebey was uncommunicative. "I paid them a visit," Griffin wrote, "without gleaning anything of importance from them." He dispatched an employee to Victoria to inform Douglas. The governor arrived the next morning on board the Otter to find out what American officials were doing on British soil. With him was the British customs collector, James Sangster. Douglas did not land himself; he had Griffin come on board to report that Ebey planned to place Webber on San Juan as a customs inspector. Douglas ordered Sangster to remain on San Juan and to fly the Union Jack. The governor then returned to Victoria.

Sangster and Griffin met with Ebey and discussed the boundary issue with him. Ebey explained in a friendly manner that his motive was to bring the island and the dispute into notice as a means of settling the question amicably. When Sangster suggested that he would have to arrest Webber, Ebey airly replied that he hoped the British would treat the man well.

On May 6, Ebey and Webber visited the farm headquarters. Ebey handed Griffin a note that demanded an inventory of the livestock on the island, where the animals had come from, who had brought them, etc. Griffin refused to answer the questions. Ebey then installed Webber as a U. S. inspector in a tent "some distance in rear of the Houses," with an American flag flying overhead, and left the island.

The next day, Sangster secured a summons from "Charles Griffin Esquire Justice of the Peace" and had it delivered to Webber by a "Constable Holland." Webber told Holland that he would resist arrest:

> The Constable then called on six men to assist him, but on his going up to seize Webber he presented a revolver in his face, and said if he put a hand on him he would fire, the men demanded arms, and on being refused by Justice Griffin retired. The arms Webber had on him were 4 six barreled revolvers and a large

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9. PA Ottawa, microfilm 1M 16, Hudson's Bay Company Records, Bellevue Sheep Farm, Post Journal, 1854-55, entries for Apr. 26 and 29 and May 1, 1854.

Knife in his boot.

Both Sangster and Webber left San Juan on May 8, in different directions. Two days later Webber returned with instructions to remain. A worried Griffin wrote Douglas for fresh instructions: "Am I to arrest him?" he asked, adding: "The only thing confidential--I should not like any other officer, particularly Captain Sangster--sent here, unless you might think it absolutely necessary."

While Douglas was certain that Governor Stevens was behind Ebey and Webber, he decided against a showdown. He instructed Griffin to consider Webber "as a mere private person, living under the protection of Her Majesty's government." In the end, Griffin adjusted to the fact that he had a new neighbor, Henry Webber. Word spread over the Pacific Northwest that an American official was on San Juan, and the Lion had but roared.[10]

Douglas was correct in his hunch that Stevens had considerable knowledge of Ebey's intentions. When he learned of Douglas' visit to the island, Stevens promptly urged military preparation in a letter to the U. S. Secretary of State:

> James Douglas . . . came down from Victoria in the Hudson's Bay Steamer Otter, and ordered the / customs / inspector off, threatening in case of refusal to seize him and take him to Vancouver's Island. He left the Island, however, without executing the threat. The inspector still remains there, and should he be seized, another will be placed there and protected by a military force.
>
> * * * * *
>
> I will urge that the garrison on Puget Sound be immediately moved from the present post, Steilacoom . . . to Port Townsend . . . that the force be . . . increased, say to six full companies, and that one or two vessels of war be ordered to . . . the Sound.

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10. Ibid., entries for May 3, 4, and 10, 1854; James O. McCabe, The San Juan Water Boundary Question (Toronto, 1964), pp. 11-12; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 809, Douglas, May 17, 1854, to the Duke of Newcastle; Ebey, May 5, 1854, to Griffin; Sangster, May 5, 1854, to Douglas; Griffin, May 3, 7, and 10, 1854, to Douglas; and Douglas, May 12, 1854, to Griffin. See also David Richardson, Pig War Islands (Eastbound Washington, 1971), pp. 35-38. Ebey was killed by Indians not long after this incident.

Here, then, the Pig Incident was anticipated by five years. There was one major difference though: Stevens only urged military force; Harney later would use it.[11]

The next American "invasion" of the island came on June 11. However, it was not accompanied by a sense of crisis--except in Douglas' mind. First arrived a sloop bearing Ebey. Behind was a larger vessel carrying a detachment of U. S. troops and Washington Territory's Acting Governor Charles Mason. Although the visitors may have first appeared ominous to Griffin, the soldiers were merely on their way home after a punitive raid on Indians in Bellingham Bay. Griffin took it all in stride: "They all landed & paid me a visit." By evening the company had departed.[12]

Douglas, during this period, dispatched reports to the Colonial Office describing the latest American threat or outrage. For example he wrote with alarm that fall that a U. S. revenue "cruiser" was standing off San Juan and that the Americans "appear resolved to gain forcible possession of the disputed Territory and I hardly know how to prevent them." The Colonial Office responded with the advice that the San Juans must be maintained as de facto dependencies of Vancouver Island. Sir George Grey wrote: "I have to authorize you to continue to treat those Islands as part of the British Dominions."[13]

On the island the days passed quietly. Griffin and Webber became friends, Webber depending on Griffin for security when wandering coastal Indians landed to fish, trade, or harrass Americans. Then and in the future Griffin displayed friendliness and generous hospitality toward nearly all Americans who came to San Juan, simply because they were fellow human beings. At all times he remained loyal to his employers and to Governor Douglas' cause. The one American visitor who severely tested

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11. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Stevens, July 11, 1854, to Sect. of State Marcy.

12. PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Journal, 1854-55, entry for June 11, 1854; Hunter Miller, San Juan Archipelago, Study of the Joint Occupation of San Juan Island (Bellows Falls, Vt., 1943), p. 29, quoting Douglas, Jan. 30, 1855, to Colonial Sect.

13. McCabe, pp. 10-11; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 809, Hudson's Bay House, London, Jan. 22, 1855, to Earl of Clarendon, quoting from Douglas, Oct. 30, 1854. The "cruiser" that Douglas referred to was probably the U. S. Revenue Cutter Jefferson Davis.

his humanity was Whatcom County's sheriff, Ellis Barnes.

Barnes first arrived on the island on October 19, 1854, and presented Griffin with a county tax bill of $80.33. Griffin refused to pay. Three weeks later the sheriff reappeared:

> Mr. Barnes and two others arrived from Bellingham Bay to receive my decisive answer to the demand for Taxes on the part of the U. S. Government [actually Whatcom County]--on my refusing to pay the amount, notices have been put up to the effect that a sheriff sale will be held on the 21st Inst. at this place to sell off such a number of sheep as will liquidate the demand say $80.33.

Barnes did not pay his third visit until December 9. While he planned to hold the sale that day, he informed Griffin that it would be postponed. On December 24, the sheriff again stopped by the farm and posted additional notices of the proposed sale.

Barnes' failure to carry through his threat gave Douglas a feeling of confidence in his efforts to maintain British sovereignty on San Juan. He visited the island in January 1855 and found all quiet. He and Griffin made plans to extend the pasturage to include the north end of the island and they selected additional land at Bellevue to be cultivated that summer. Back in Victoria he received a visit from Governor Stevens who brought up the subject of San Juan, "merely to remark that the best plan for the settlement of the disputed point of sovereignty would be to leave it to the decision of the Supreme Governments."[14]

Neither Douglas nor Stevens had accurately judged the Whatcom County officials. On March 30 Sheriff Barnes struck. An outraged Griffin described the course of events:

> About 2 p.m. two Boats, manned to the best of my belief by Eight men and two Indians landed here, and soon afterwards [I] received a visit from these persons . . . for a payment of revenues. . . .
>
> I asked them to produce their authority . . . receiving no satisfactory answer . . . I of course refused.

---

14. PA Ottawa: HBC Records, Bellevue Journal, 1854-55, entries for Oct. 19, Nov. 10, and Dec. 9 and 24, 1854; FO 5, 809, Hudson's Bay House, London, May 17, 1855, quoting from Douglas, Feb. 27, 1855.

. . . And they then left, and I believe in the Course of the evening and Night employed themselves looking for my Sheep. but on their first landing here . . . I sent off such assistance as I had at my disposal to protect my Stock which are scattered all over the Island and being so much exposed and with few people at my Command, I could not possibly protect them all. . . .

As soon as daylight appeared on Saturday . . . I left immediately to go where my people and Stock were, leaving two Men and two Boys here.

* * * * *

Some short time after . . . I received by the hands of an Indian boy, a note from one of my men, hurriedly stating that . . . these parties had sold the most valuable part of my whole stock, the breeding Rams, 49 in all, 34 of which they had taken away, the remaining 15 were in the Park, which on my arrival here I immediately set at liberty, besides these 49 Rams they sold <u>unseen</u> 24 other Sheep, to be taken I imagine by stealth. . . .

I lost no time and hurried down to the Beach in front of my House, only in time to see the last of the 34 . . . put into their Boats. I was accompanied by only <u>one</u> of my men. . . . I gave orders to my men to unfasten the cords . . . these men <u>all armed</u> approached and three of them pushed us off. On renewing our efforts, one of them drew from his belt a Revolver Pistol, which the moment I saw I expostulated with them, telling them I could not possibly contend against such a Force. * * * Seeing no other resource [sic] I immediately left the spot. They as quickly left in two Boats, and one Canoe.[15]

Griffin set down in his account book the total loss to his operations caused by Barnes' seizure. The 34 rams were worth £750. In addition, 410 ewes and lambs were missing; Griffin valued these at £650.13. It took eight men ten days to collect and restore the flocks which, he estimated, cost £50. Governor Douglas added a few more expenses: £500 for use of the steamer <u>Beaver</u> to help protect the farm from further raids, £40 for pay of extra help, and £1000 for "incidental losses through dearangement and suspension of business in consequence of Sheriff Barnes' violent acts." The whole bill amounted to £2990.13

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15. PA Ottawa, FO <u>5</u>, 809, Griffin, Apr. 2, 1855 to Douglas.

(almost $15,000).[16]

The Barnes affair passed quickly into diplomatic channels. In the end, the U. S. Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, instructed Governor Stevens firmly "that the officers of the Territory should abstain from all acts, on the disputed grounds, which are calculated to provoke any conflict, so far as it can be done without implying the concession to the authorities of Great Britain of an exlusive right over the premises." Marcy thought that the boundary dispute was a fair one--something that few people in the Pacific Northwest would agree with--and that neither side should use force or insist on complete and sovereign rights until the matter was settled. The instructions had a positive effect on the Whatcom County officials for the time being; they did not again tax Bellevue, although they sent an assessor to the island from time to time.[17]

In the summer of 1855, the U. S. Army sent two topographical engineers to inspect the San Juans and to report on their strategic values. The officers pointed out that while there were "two great channels," Rosario and Haro Straits, there could be no doubt but that Haro was "the natural and direct Ship channel," that its middle should be the international boundary, and that the San Juans belonged to the United States. They regretted that the United States did not own Vancouver Island because it affected the strategic value of the San Juans that "are so situated that they form an admirable land locked harbor of ample size accessible by Six narrow entrances in any wind and weather & capable of being defended almost by small arms. As a naval station secured by batteries, this position commands all the interior waters & the approach to the /U. S./ territories." However, they added, "no system of defense can be complete without the possession of Vancouver."[18]

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16. PA Ottawa: HBC Records, Bellevue Farm Account Book, 1853-58, "Amount due by U. S. Government for sheep seized and driven off by Ellis Barnes"; FO 5, 809, Douglas, Apr. 19, 1855, to Hudson's Bay House, London; William R. Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States-Canadian Relations, 1784-1860 (Washington, 1945), 4, 653n-654n.

17. Manning, p. 121n.

18. National Archives, Record Group 76, Northwest Boundary Survey, envelope 5A, Capt. George Stoneman and 1st Lt. W. H. C. Whiting, July 5, 1855, to AAG, Dept. of the Pacific. (National Archives is hereinafter cited as NA; Record Group as RG.)

In 1856 the United States and Great Britain appointed boundary commissions to survey the 49th Parallel from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains and to attempt to find a solution for the disputed water boundary. The U. S. Commissioner was Archibald Campbell, an energetic, capable organizer, and a man dedicated to not giving an inch to the British. The British government appointed two commissioners: Lt. Col. John S. Hawkins, Royal Engineers, for the land survey; and Capt. James C. Prevost, Royal Navy, to head the water survey.

Captain Prevost, in command of HMS Satellite, arrived at Esquimalt, Vancouver Island, in June 1857. Later he was joined by Capt. George H. Richards, HMS Plumper, who served as chief surveyor and astronomer. While the land survey progressed favorably, Campbell and Prevost quickly reached a deadlock concerning the water boundary, Campbell insisting on Haro Strait, Prevost on Rosario. Nonetheless, the various members of both commissions contributed to knowledge of the San Juan Islands through their surveys and reconnaissances. A double tragedy later was the disappearance of the final reports of both the American and British commissions, before they were published. These have never been found. However, scattered in various depositories are commission members' individual reports and journals of some of their activities in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Among them are a few concerning San Juan Island.[19]

One of the more engaging documents is the journal of a young British naval officer, Richard Charles Mayne (an admiral in later years), aboard HMS Plumper. Soon after the Plumper's arrival in November 1857, young Mayne was required to attend a formal dinner given by Governor Douglas. It was a stuffy affair and Mayne regretted that it was for males only: "Knowing there were a lot of young ladies & none appearing was too bad." But ladies attended later affairs, and Mayne's diary gives a vivid description of the social whirl of the young colonial capital.

In March 1858, the Plumper was off San Juan Island taking soundings as part of the survey work. A storm came on, and the ship anchored in San Juan Harbor. By then Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., was the U. S. customs inspector on the island--Webber and his replacement, Oscar Olney, having long since departed the scene. Mayne wrote: "In the afternoon leave was given, when 4 of our men & 2 [of] Satellite's distinguished themselves by stealing a keg of rum out of the Yankee Collector's (Mr. Hubbs) house

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19. Erwin N. Thompson, North Cascades NP, Ross Lake NRA, & Lake Chelan NRA, History Basic Data, (NPS, 1970), pp. 45-48; Gough, p. 154.

& getting beastly drunk."[20]

George Gibbs, the geologist on the American Boundary Commission, made a geological reconnaissance of the San Juan Islands early in 1858. He attempted to identify the various Indians who camped on San Juan from time to time, especially during the salmon runs. The islands, he said, "for the most part belong to our own Indians, the Lummies claiming Orcas, Blakely, Cypress, Decatur and a part of Lopez, and the C[l]allams a part of San Juan; while only Waldron, Stewart, Johns and Spieden and possibly a small part of San Juan belong to the Sannitch of Vancouver's I. The whole inside or North Eastern part of San Juan formerly belonged to a tribe kindered to the Lummies and now extinct."[21]

Gibbs did not mention the Indians from the north coast of British Columbia and the Queen Charlotte Islands, particularly the warrior Haidas, who for generations had raided the more peaceful Indians on Puget Sound and, in recent years, any white Americans they had come across. (The Hudson's Bay Company had succeeded in establishing fairly stable relations with these Indians.) It was because of fear of the northern Indians, Paul K. Hubbs said, that no Americans had attempted to settle on San Juan before the end of 1858.[22]

As quiet as San Juan was in 1858, boom times had hit Victoria, still called "The Fort" locally. Gold on the Fraser River over on the mainland had brought thousands of prospectors through the tiny settlement. Most of these adventurers were American, and the character of the town seemed wholly American to those passing through it. Even one of the two newspapers had a pro-American viewpoint. But Douglas and his government, reinforced by detachments of Royal Engineers and Royal Marines, the latter from the warships stationed at Esquimalt, maintained order and a sense of thing British.

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20. BC PA, Richard Charles Mayne, "Journal kept in H. M. S. Plumper, Feb. 17, 1857 - Dec. 31, 1860." MS.

21. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geological Memoir of the Islands between the Continent and Vancouver's Island in the Vicinity of the Forty Ninth Parallel of North Latitude," Appendix B, George Gibbs, report of a geological reconnaissance, Feb. 24, 1858, MS.

22. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, photostat, The Seattle Post Intelligencer, June 4, 1892, "San Juan Contest, Paul K. Hubbs Describes the part He Witnessed."

The mainland was made into a colony and was named British Columbia this year, Douglas becoming its governor as well as retaining his position on Vancouver Island. Also in 1858, the Hudson's Bay Company lost its lease on Vancouver Island, but was still very much in evidence as a trading company. Douglas, no longer associated with the company by early 1859 regarded it impartially in his administration of the colonies. In fact, by February, he was considerably at odds with the head of the company's board of management, Alexander Grant Dallas--who happened to be Douglas' son-in-law.[23]

By 1859, San Juan Island was common news throughout the Pacific Northwest. Newspapers had carried articles about the deadlock in the boundary commissions' efforts to fix the water boundary; American papers had crowed about Sheriff Barnes' success in collecting the tax money from the Hudson's Bay Company; the news had spread that the island was a gentle, fertile land that the British were trying to keep locked up; and the local British officials, smarting from 15 years of experience with American squatters and settlers, were determined to retain San Juan.

The Americans began arriving early in 1859. A group in Victoria, lately from the gold fields, hired a surveyor to go over to San Juan to lay out claims. A worried governor wrote: "There is no doubt that the whole Island will soon be occupied by a squatter population . . . if they do not receive a check." At the same time, he was hesitant about administering that check himself: "I fear that Her Majesty's Government would not approve of my adopting measures for the summary and forcible ejection of squatters . . . at the same time circumstances may call for decisive action." He urged that London and Washington eject these squatters until the boundary issue was solved. The British ambassador, Lord Lyons, wrote Secretary of State Cass concerning Douglas' concern in May. But this correspondence had no effect on San Juan.[24]

In March, George Gibbs counted two Americans actually living on the island and heard that the former customs inspector, Henry Webber, held an absentee claim. Griffin at this time had 18 employees, three of whom were said to be whites. By June the number of Americans had climbed to about 25.[25] The British took

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23. Galbraith, pp. 303-05.

24. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 813, Douglas, Feb. 19, 1858, to Sir E. Lytton.

25. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geographical Memoir," Gibbs,

no overt action; the diplomats continued to talk.

George Gibbs and Henry Custer, both members of the U. S. Boundary Commission, visited San Juan in February and March 1859. Both men wrote long reports on their observations. Gibbs' report, which included material on structures and people, will be cited again in the second section of this report. Yet, at this point, some pertinent comments by him illuminate life on San Juan on the eve of the as yet unforeseen crisis:

> We found at Bellevue Mr. Griffin, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Co. Near him was the U. S. Inspector of the Customs Mr. Paul K. Hubbs, with whom was stopping a Capt. C. L. Denman a surveyor. We first called on Mr. Hubbs. He states that the Company manifest no disposition to abandon the island, that on the contrary Mr. Griffin tells him they mean to hold it. They are constantly extending the range of their sheep, and are putting down ever more land in crops this year than before.
>
> Mr. Griffin holds the rank of Chief Trader . . . & has, or did have, a magistrate's Commission from Mr. Douglas. . . .
>
> [The following paragraph is crossed out in the MS]
>
> Calling on Mr. Griffin, I found him very open and unreserved. He asked how the boundary question would be settled. [Griffin said that he thought that the United States should get the San Juan Islands. In his opinion the British commissioner, Captain Prevost, had botched the British position when he had recently compromised by offering a middle channel through the San Juan Islands as the boundary, rather than firmly arguing for the eastern channel, Rosario Strait.]

Henry Custer's report dealt with the geography of San Juan. He prepared a map to accompany his account, but it is not now to be found. Concerning the future sites of American and English Camps, Custer wrote:

> [American Camp area] Some portions also, those lying on the southwest side of the island, are so exposed to

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Mar. 11, 1859; Bancroft, British Columbia, p. 609; Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 47.

the sweep of southern gales that no grain or fruit could be grown there. The violence of these gales is sufficiently shown by the appearance of the trees, whose tops are bent almost at right angles to the remainder of the trunk. All land not fit for cultivation is nevertheless perfectly adapted to grazing purposes.

/English Camp area/ On the 7th of March we sailed along the Eastern shore of San Juan Island up to its northern extremity. We found a small but good harbor on the extreme north west point of the island, with soundings varying between 2 and 15 fathoms. The north side of the island is densely wooded, the land in the vicinity of the shore is level. We also found good anchorages on the west side of the island, between it and Henry Island.[26]

Summer came to San Juan. Griffin and the Americans planted their crops. Just who owned San Juan did not seem a particularly pressing problem on the peaceful island. Then, in the early morning of June 15, an American settler, Lyman A. Cutlar, shot a black boar belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.

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26. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geographical Memoir," Appendix C, George Gibbs, Mar. 18, 1859; Appendix D, Henry Custer, Apr. 11, 1859.

CHAPTER 2

The Day of the Pig

An angry and startled Charles Griffin wrote in his diary on June 15: "An American shot one of my pigs for tresspassing!!!" This small incident, much less significant in appearance than Sheriff Barnes' seizure of the rams the year before, led to momentous events--to a time of military confrontation in the Pacific Northwest. Each of the two principal participants directly involved, Charles J. Griffin and Lyman A. Curlar, penned an account describing the event. Griffin wrote his on the day the boar was killed; Cutlar described the incident eight days later. Both accounts are quoted here in full. Not only do they illustrate how men view the same thing differently, but future events would show how other men seized the moment and twisted the facts for personal motives.[1]

Griffin, on learning of the boar's death, immediately wrote to Governor Douglas, rather than to the Hudson's Bay Company:

> An outrage was committed here to day by a man of the name of Cutler, an American, who has recently established himself on a prairie occupied by me & close to my establishment, he has dug up about one third of an acre in which he planted potatoes & partly & very imperfectly enclosed, my Cattle & pigs had free access to the patch, one of the pigs, a very valuable Boar, He shot this morning some distance outside of that same patch & complains the animal was destroying his crop. he came to me this morning telling me what he had done & offering a renumeration which was so insignificant it only added insult to injury,--and likewise used the most insulting & threatening language & openly declared he would shoot my cattle if they trespassed near his place.--Such outrages unless checked in the

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1. PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Journal, 1858-62, entry for June 15, 1859; BC PA, San Juan (hereinafter cited as SAJU) Correspondence, 1859, 1, Charles Griffin, June 15, 1859, to James Douglas; Miller, San Juan Archipelago, pp. 54-55, quoting Lyman Cutlar, June 23, 1859, to Paul K. Hubbs, Jr. Cutlar later signed an affidavit

commencement will render my position here not only a dangerous one as far as I personally am concerned but also the position of my Herdsmen, as in protecting their flocks must inevitably in discharge of their duty come into collision with such careless intruders, & this same man told me to my face he would as soon shoot me as he would a hog if I trespassed on his claim. I distinctly gave him to understand he had not a shadow of a right to squat on the Island & much less in the center of the most valuable sheep run I have on the Island. he replied he had received assurances from American authorities in Washington Territory that he had a right, that it was American soil & that he & all other Americans squatting or taking up claims would be protected & their claims recognized as being established on American soil. There are now upwards of sixteen squatters who have recently come & established themselves on various parts of the Island all claiming to be Citizens of the United States & they have one & all taken up claims & making improvements . . . on the most important & valuable prairies I have in possession of my herdsmen & stock;--one of them only a few days ago landed upwards of 20 head of Cattle & a mare & has frequently said that the Surveyor General of Washington Territory had distinctly told him that as soon as a few American citizens were once settled here on the Island he would have the place properly surveyed.

It is evident from Griffin's letter that hot tempers flared on both sides. It is also apparent that Griffin looked upon the moment in a larger frame of reference--that American settlers were becoming a threat to the sheep farm operations and to British authority.

Lyman Cutlar wrote his account on June 23, at the urging of Paul K. Hubbs, Jr.:

Pursuant to your request I hereat furnish you with my statement on honor of all the history of the late visit to my [sic] by the high functionaries of the Hudson Bay Co. and of the cause that produced the visit. For some time past I have been greatly annoyed by one of the Hudson Bay Co hogs (black Boar) entering my potatoe patch and destroying the crop, he was repeatedly

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concerning the affair, on Sept. 7, 1859. This latter document will be discussed in due course.

driven off by myself back to the Hudson Bay Co. premises (a distance of one and a half mile) and the Hudson Bay Co. was aware of this fact. In the morning of the 15th inst I was aroused by some person riding by on horseback and upon going out the door found it to be Jacob, a colard man one of the Hudson Bay Co. servants, I immediately glanced towards the potatoe patch (which is directly along side the road) and seen the Hudson Bay Co. hog at his old game. I immediately became enraged at the independance of the negro knowing as he did my previous loss and upon the impulse of the moment seazed my rifle and shot the hog. I then went immediately to Mr. Griffin . . . and offered to pay for the hog. Or as I had some hogs on the Island would give one in the place of that, for the hog anoyed me very much. Then Mr. Griffin flew in a passion and said it is no more than I expected for you Americans are a nusance on the Island and you have no business here and I shall write to Mr. Douglas and have you removed. Then I said to Mr. Griffin that is not what I came here for I came here to settle for shooting your hog. . . .

Then Mr. Griffin said the hog is worth one hundred Dollars and if you choose to pay that all right I said to him I think there is a better chance for lightning to strike you than for you to get a hundred dollars for that hog. . . .

* * * * *

Then I left Mr. Griffin and returned to my house this was in the morning, in the evening Mr. Dallas . . . Mr. Fraser Dr. Tallmil /Tolmie/ Mr. Griffin . . . and the niggar came to my place on horseback, they stopped in front of my house, Mr. Griffin said Mr. Cutlar we wish to speak with you I walked out and asked what they wished Mr. Dallas said are you the man that shot that hog this morning, I said to him I was the man. . . .

* * * * *

Then Mr. Dallas* said if you do not wish to pay one hundred dollars for the hog we will take you to Victoria and see I then told Mr. Dallas I do not think you will take me to Victoria if I know myself and I think I do, Mr. Dallas, then said you had better be careful how you talk the Steamer is here and a possy

* Mr. Dallas is Director of the Co. & Son in law to Gov. Douglass & reported to be worth half a million.

of men we can take you over with us, I then told Mr. Dallas to crack his whip and left them.

Cutlar's account confirms that a heated exchange passed between him and Griffin. It is also apparent that Cutlar had lost his temper that morning at the black employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, Jacob, as well as at the pig: "Immediately I became enraged at the independence of the negro." Not enough is known of Cutlar's background to determine his attitude toward an independent Negro, such as Jacob, at a time when slavery was an American institution. It is interesting to note that in the course of his account, Cutlar referred to Jacob as a "colard man," "the negro," and "the niggar." In the end, it was not racism that brought trouble to San Juan, but conflicting British and American territorial claims.

Cutlar had arrived on San Juan in April 1859 and had established his claim on one of Griffin's prairie sheep-runs, about a mile and a half from Bellevue. He is said to have been from Kentucky and had tried his luck in the Fraser River gold fields. For the moment he stood in the limelight of San Juan's history, a position he probably relished--the stalwart American individual confronting the mighty Hudson's Bay Company. In the future months and years his fame would be eclipsed by other events; but now and again his name would reappear in San Juan's narrative.[2]

Returning to the course of events, Griffin wrote in his diary on the evening of June 15 that the Beaver had arrived bearing "Messers Dallas, Fraser & Dr. Tolmie." A. G. Dallas, Douglas's son-in-law, was at that time the leading member of

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2. The only biography of Cutlar of any significance may be found in Lucile McDonald, "The Pig War Man--What Happened to Lyman Cutler," The Seattle Times, May 30, 1965. McDonald says that Cutlar was 29 years old in 1859 and was living with an Indian wife on his claim. In 1864, American settlers on San Juan elected him constable, even though the island was then under military government. It will be shown later on in this narrative that Cutlar was on San Juan as late as 1869. In 1871, he was living, unmarried, in Skagit County, Washington. He died in 1874, leaving an estate of $489.75. The shotgun that he used to kill the pig is said to be in the Washington State Historical Society Museum, Tacoma. The spelling "Cutlar" is used throughout this report. All the original documents found bearing his signature or having his name in his handwriting (at least three) are unmistakably signed with this spelling.

the board of management in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Western Department. Dr. William Fraser Tolmie was a long-time employee of the Hudson's Bay Company and was also on the board of management. The third visitor, Donald Fraser, was then a member of the Council of Vancouver Island but held no office in the company. He was also a correspondent for the London Times. Other statements to the contrary, Dallas always insisted that his arrival accidentally coincided with the shooting of the pig.[3]

Either that evening or the following morning Dallas, Griffin, and the others visited Cutlar at his home. Cutlar's account of this meeting was quoted above.[4] It is not possible to determine the exchange of conversation between Cutlar and Dallas. Cutlar insisted that Dallas threatened to take him to Victoria if he did not pay $100 for the boar. Dallas indignantly denied this: "I remonstrated with him in regard to his offense which he admitted offering to pay the value of the animal killed, which was not accepted. No demand of $100 or any sum of money was made upon him, nor did I threaten to apprehend him or take him to Victoria. On the contrary I stated distinctly that I was a private individual and could not interfer with him."[5]

Regardless of any threats or promises made, the story spread over the Pacific Northwest that the Hudson's Bay Company had threatened an American settler. For most people, the story was as good as fact. On San Juan, an apparent surge of national pride developed among the American settlers. Next to Hubbs' cabin, twenty settlers raised a flagstaff on July 4 and flew the American flag for several days thereafter. The Union Jack at Bellevue now had to share the breezes.[6]

On July 8, Brig. Gen. William Selby Harney, commanding gen-

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3. PA Ottawa: HBC Records, Bellevue Journal, 1858-62, entry for June 15, 1859; and FO 5, 815, Dallas, May 10, 1859, to General Harney.

4. Cutlar said that the visitors arrived on the evening of June 15. Dallas said it was the next morning.

5. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 815, Dallas, May 10, 1860, to Harney. Dallas made a similar statement as early as August 26, 1859; however this document is presently restricted by its owner.

6. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, photostat, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 4, 1892, "San Juan Contest, Paul K. Hubbs Describes the Part He Witnessed." This was the second time an American Flag flew on San Juan. Webber had raised one in 1854.

eral of the Department of Oregon, U. S. Army, paid a visit to Gov. James Douglas at Victoria. The Colonist reported: "Gen. Harney.--This distinguished veteran, accompanied by his staff, visited Victoria on Friday last. He came on the U. S. steamer Massachusetts. On landing he was saluted from the Fort."[7]

Harney was born in Haysboro, Tennessee, in 1800. As a youth he studied navigation because his mother wanted him to join the navy. However, at the age of eighteen, he entered the U. S. Army as a second lieutenant in the 1st U. S. Infantry Regiment. As a junior officer he performed well in the Florida Indian wars and in the Black Hawk War. Shortly after the outbreak of the Mexican War, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the 2d Dragoons. In Mexico he was the ranking cavalry officer under General Winfield Scott.

Considering the ambitions, cantankerousness, and forcefulness of "Old Fuss and Feathers" Scott and the impetuosity, arrogance, and ambitions of Harney, one should not have been surprised that the two personalities would clash. Scott quickly developed a distrust of Harney's judgement and impetuosity and relieved him of his command of the cavalry. Harney relinquished his command; then suddenly defied Scott and took charge again. Scott had the colonel court-martialed. Harney was found guilty of disobeying orders. He apologized to Scott, and the general restored him to command. Then, Harney appealed his case to Washington where he got a favorable decision. The Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, administered a mild reprimand to Scott. Thus the seeds of future discord between the two were planted.

Harney was appointed the first commanding general of the newly-created Department of Oregon in 1858. He shared with many leading Americans of his day in a strong dislike for Great Britain. In this he had much in common with his fellow citizens of the Pacific Northwest. Within his command, however, he faced the distrust and enmity of a number of his subordinate officers. His two years in the Pacific Northwest were marked by a number of incidents of young officers appealing for justice over his head--just as he had done in Mexico.

General Scott, who had a tremendous ability to assassinate with a pen, wrote of Harney:

> /He/ was a great favorite with five Democratic Presidents. Full of blind admiration for his patrons,

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7. The British Colonist, July 11, 1859.

> he had before, in Florida, hung several Indians, under the most doubtful circumstances, in imitation of a like act on the part of General Jackson, in the same quarter, and now, as that popular hero gained much applause by wrenching Pensacola and all Middle Florida from Spain, in time of peace, Harney probably thought he might make himself President too, by cutting short all diplomacy and taking forcible possession of the disputed island /San Juan/.[8]

Just what Douglas and Harney talked about at their meeting is not known. If they discussed recent affairs on San Juan, neither man disclosed the fact. Douglas insisted later that Harney had not made the slightest suggestion that he might send troops to the disputed place. Possibly, as late as July 8 Harney had not yet thought of such an idea.

The next day, as his ship was passing San Juan, Harney decided to visit. American settlers later said that the reason for his stopping was that he had seen the American flag flying at Hubbs' place and had landed to find out who had put it up. As usual, Griffin recorded the visitor's arrival: "U. S. S. 'Massachusetts' wt. General Harney & suite arrived here about 12 am. Came on shore for almt 20 min. & went away again, did not go further than top of Hill along the wharf." Hubbs' account agreed. He met Harney at the Hudson's Bay wharf and "we walked to the top of the hill, but on sighting the Hudson Bay Company's station the general refused to go any further in that direction."[9]

Hubbs later stated that he had told Harney about the trouble the settlers had had with the Hudson's Bay Company, including Cutlar's experience. If any agreement was reached by the general and the settlers, neither side left any direct evidence of it. Several writers have indicated that the American settlers asked for military assistance and that Harney informed them that he could not send such unless they sent him a petition.[10]

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8. Allen Johnson, editor, Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1943), 8, 280-81; Winfield Scott, Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott, L. L. D., Written by Himself (New York, 1864), p. 605; Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army (Washington, 1903), 1, 322.

9. PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Journal, 1858-62, entry for July 9, 1859.

10. This thesis is set forth in Granville O. Haller, San Juan

Two days after Harney's visit, on July 11, twenty-two settlers signed a petition asking Harney for troops. The petition made no mention of the British, the Hudson's Bay Company, or the Cutlar incident. It restricted itself to outlining various past dangers from the Clallam and northern Indians. The petitioners concluded that the San Juan Islands belonged to the United States.[11]

Harney probably received the petition by the 18th (he definitely had it by the 19th), when he issued orders to occupy San Juan Island. His adjutant general wrote letters on June 18 transmitting Special Orders No. 72 to Capt. George E. Pickett, commanding officer of Fort Bellingham and of Company D, 9th U. S. Infantry, and Lt. Col. Silas Casey, 9th Infantry, commanding officer of Fort Steilacoom and Pickett's superior officer in the Puget Sound District.[12]

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and Secession (Seattle, 1967), p. 7. This pamphlet is a reprint from Haller's account in The Tacoma Sunday Ledger, Jan. 19, 1896.

11. House Executive Document No. 65, 36th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 12-13, petition signed by 22 Americans on San Juan, July 11, 1859, to General Harney. Intentionally or not, the petitioners gave Harney a promotion by addressing him as Commander-in-chief, Pacific Division, U. S. Army.

12. NA, RG 393, U. S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Department of Oregon, Letters Sent, 1858-60, Capt. A. Pleasonton, AAAG, Dept. of Oregon, July 18, 1872, to Lt. Col. S. Casey, Ft. Steilacoom, and Capt. G. E. Pickett, Ft. Bellingham; Haller, San Juan, pp. 7 and 11.

Haller made much of the fact that Harney wrote directly to Pickett instead of going through Casey. While there is reason for noting Harney's direct means, Haller made too much of an issue of it. This was a period when it was not at all unusual for a second lieutenant to write to a major general, and vice versa. Haller also stated that Harney's directions to Casey were insulting and that all this implied an arrangement between Harney and Pickett, with Casey left out. It should be noted that Captain Haller was every bit the expansionist that Harney was--Haller practically insisted that the United States take over Vancouver Island in later years--and he bitterly disliked Harney. By the time he wrote his account, Haller had developed a quite large persecution complex, having been dismissed from the Army in 1863 (but later reinstated). This writer has studied Harney's letter to Casey and is of the opinion that it is a nor-

Harney's instructions to Pickett directed him "to establish your company on Bellevue or San Juan island, in some suitable position near the harbor at the southeastern extremity." He gave two reasons for the occupation: 1. To protect the inhabitants from the northern Indians. 2. To protect American citizens in their rights and to resist any interference by British authorities in any conflicts of interest between American citizens and the Hudson's Bay Company. Cutlar's experience had had its effects. Also, Harney hereby stated for the first time that the British were at least part of his excuse for occupying San Juan.

Harney went on to display either an amazing ignorance of or a disregard for facts. He said that Dallas had arrived on San Juan on a "British sloop-of-war," instead of on his company's steamer, Beaver. He also said that Dallas had "threatened to take an American citizen by force to Victoria for trial by British laws." Harney may only have been repeating what he had been told; however, Dallas would emphatically deny this when he learned of it.

Harney flattered Pickett's ego by adding: "The general commanding is fully satisfied from the varied experience and judgement displayed by you in your present command, that your selection to the duties with which you are now charged will advance the interests of the service, and that your disposition of the subjects coming within your supervision and action will enhance your reputation as a commander."

Casey's instructions informed him that the U. S. S. Massachusetts was now under his command and that he was to station a

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mal letter of instruction. It was sent to Casey at the same time the letter to Pickett went out. For better or worse, Casey was fully involved in the San Juan crisis right from the start. Haller also stated that Harney did not get the settlers' petition until after he ordered the troops to San Juan (July 18). He cited Harney's letter of August 7 to the AG, USA. However, Harney wrote on July 19 that he had received the petition, and probably did have it before he issued his orders.

Captain Pickett's Company D, 9th Infantry, established Fort Bellingham on August 26, 1856. Fort Steilacoom had been established in 1849 at the southern extremity of Puget Sound. See NA, microfilm M617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts, 1800-1916, Roll 96, Fort Bellingham; and Francis Paul Prucha, A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895 (Madison, 1964), pp. 60, 109, and 151.

company of troops on board. The Massachusetts was to steam among the islands on the lookout for northern Indians as well as to visit the various lighthouse stations. In the event Pickett should require assistance on San Juan in its defense, the Massachusetts and its troops would provide such. The steamer was to obtain its wood and water at San Juan and to visit Fort Steilacoom at the end of every two months to obtain supplies and to stand muster and inspection.

Harney flattered Casey a bit too: "Whenever circumstances occur requiring a deviation from the tenor of these instructions, you are authorized to use your own discretion and judgement in the matter, reporting the occurence to this office. The general commanding is pleased to communicate his confidence in the zeal, energy, and intelligence you exercise in the display of your duties to the service, and he rests assured the details . . . will be rendered with satisfaction and advantage to such worthy qualities."[13]

Pickett had his troops and supplies aboard the Massachusetts and was ready to sail for San Juan by July 26. The slow-moving wooden steamer was the principal American ship in the area at the time; even so, it then belonged to the U. S. Quartermaster Corps rather than to the Navy. Samuel Hall of Boston had built the 765-ton ship in 1845. It began its career as an auxiliary steam packet between New York and Liverpool. The War Department purchased the ship in 1847 and used it as a troopship during the Mexican War.

In 1849, the U. S. Navy acquired the ship at San Francisco and converted it into a screw gunboat. Its armament at that time was four guns, of undetermined caliber. Assigned to the Pacific Squadron, it was used in the selection of lighthouse and buoy sites along the Pacific coast. It was decommissioned in 1853 and recommissioned in 1854. In 1856-57, it operated in Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca searching out raiding northern Indians. That it had no spectacular successes probably was due to its notorious lack of speed. The ship was again decommissioned in June 1857. Then, in May 1859, it was transferred to the Quartermaster Corps, U. S. Army, to serve faithfully in the months ahead. Now, as a combination troop transport and patrol boat, it was armed with eight 32-pounders. It had a civilian captain and its crew was largely the infantry company on board.[14]

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13. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Sent, 1858-60, Pleasonton, July 18, 1859, to Pickett and to Casey.

14. U. S. Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations,

The day after he issued the orders to Casey and Pickett, Harney wrote General Scott to inform him of what he had done. He noted the failure of the British government to colonize effectively Vancouver Island: "This, with pressing necessities of our commerce on this coast, will induce them to yield, eventually, Vancouver's Island to our government. It is as important to the Pacific States as Cuba is to those on the Atlantic." He also stressed his belief in the strategic importance of San Juan:

> It contains fine timber, good water and grass, and is the most commanding position we possess on the Sound; overlooking the Straits of Haro, the Straits of Fuca, and the Rosario Strait, it is the most suitable point from which to observe and prevent the northern Indians from visiting our settlements to the south of it. At the southeastern extremity one of the finest harbors on the coast is to be found, completely sheltered, offering the best location for a naval station on the Pacific coast.

Had this child of his place and time found his personal bit of Manifest Destiny? He said that he had received the petition from 25 American settlers requesting protection; he referred to the Cutlar incident; and he concluded by informing the head of the Army that he had ordered a company of troops to land on San Juan.[15]

During the next several weeks Harney wrote additional letters to army headquarters explaining his actions. On August

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Naval History Division, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships (Washington, 1969), 4, 263; National Guard, State of Washington, "Collection of Official Documents on the San Juan Imbroglio, 1859-1872," mimeograph, Pleasonton, July 18, 1859, to Casey.

Following the San Juan crisis, in 1862, the Massachusetts transferred back to the Navy. It was promptly placed in ordinary at Mare Island, California, and surveyed. Then it was converted into a storeship; its engines were removed and it became a bark. Renamed Farallones, she was commissioned as a storeship in 1863. She served in the Pacific Squadron until 1867. Finally, she was sold at San Francisco to Moore and Company.

15. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 63, quoting Harney, July 19, 1859, to Scott.

1, he transmitted a copy of the Islanders' petition. A week later he dispatched a long letter to the Adjutant General bringing him up to date with the rapidly-developing crisis on San Juan. Again he gave his reasons for his deeds. This time the northern Indians got little attention. The bulk of the letter stressed British arrogance and the Cutlar incident. Again he said that Dallas had visited the island on a British man-of-war, this time giving its name--HMS Satellite (Captain Prevost's ship). A new twist in his "facts" was that "the most reliable citizens of the Sound" had informed him "that the Hudson's Bay Company had threatened at different times to send the northern Indians down on them and drive them from the island." He stated that Douglas, being Dallas' father-in-law, had not hesitated to use British naval ships to further the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. While he said he was desirous of an amicable settlement with the British, he declared that "any attempt at possession by them will be followed by a collision."

Altogether this was an amazing letter of misinformation and belligerency. One can only conclude that Harney assumed it would be accepted in Washington as the truth and as full justification for his actions. It is even possible that Harney, in his agitated state, his blind dislike of the British, and his gullibility, believed most of the letter himself.[16]

Not until September, after he had received denials from Governor Douglas concerning the Cutlar affair, did Harney request depositions from Lyman Cutlar and Paul Hubbs concerning the pig incident and Americans' problems with the Hudson's Bay Company on San Juan. These sworn statements contained no new information. Cutlar's choice of words was much more formal than his earlier account; "niggar" did not appear, nor did any reference to Jacob. Hubbs carefully stated that Dallas had arrived on the Beaver. Harney transmitted copies of these documents to the Adjutant General on September 14. While he was not yet ready to admit his error concerning a warship, he did modify his former statements a little by noting that the company's steamers could "readily be applied to war purposes."[17]

Harney's actions received great popular support throughout Washington Territory. Although the Hudson's Bay Company had

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16. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Harney, Aug. 7, 1859, to Col. S. Cooper, AG, Washington.

17. Ibid., Harney, Sept. 14, 1859, to AG, New York.

extended a helping hand to early settlers ever since they began arriving in the Pacific Northwest, as illustrated in the rescue of the survivors of the Whitman Massacre of 1847 and the aid and assistance extended during the Indian attacks on Seattle in 1855, a great many people looked upon it as a foreign, imperialistic monster. Had Harney's future been dependent upon only local support, he could have ridden the wave for a long time.

But not everyone in the Pacific Northwest was convinced that Harney was correct in his deeds. One who was not was none other than a junior officer stationed on San Juan itself, 1st Lt. George P. Ihrie.[18] The lieutenant had met Secretary of State Lewis Cass in Washington during the past winter, 1858-59. Upset by Harney's decisions, Ihrie decided to write Cass directly. While much of Ihrie's letter is factual, one may be excused for being interested in Ihrie's motives. A few months earlier, he had had a run-in with Harney at Fort Vancouver, when Harney had ordered him to detail soldiers to build a private residence for the general:

> I have taken the trouble . . . to investigate the matter, and I am reluctantly compelled to state, that Genrl. H. is entirely mistaken, and has committed a 'grevious wrong.'
>
> The facts, as to 'the Chief Factor,' are these: Mr. Dallas ('the Chief Factor' and Son-in-law of Gov. Douglas) came to this island, on business of the Hudson Bay Co., and on board that Company's Steamer 'Beaver.'
>
> While on the island, in a bantering conversation with an American called Cutlar about a boar of the H. B. C. which Cutlar had shot, and for which he was unwilling to pay the exorbitant price demanded by said Co. for said boar, Mr. Dallas said he 'could take him,' or 'could have him taken,' to Victoria, for trial, etc.

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18. Heitman, 1, 363. George Percy Ihrie was born in Pennsylvania. He attended West Point for two years in the 1840s. In 1855 he joined the Army as a 2d lieutenant in the 3d Artillery. In 1857 he was promoted to 1st lieutenant. Ihrie was on San Juan briefly in the summer of 1859. He resigned from the Army that December. He went back into the Regular Army at the outbreak of the Civil War as a lieutenant colonel. After another brief resignation he became an aide-de-camp with the grade of colonel. Near the end of the Civil War he acquired the brevet grade of brigadier general for gallant and meritorious service. He resigned in 1873.

> etc., to which Cutlar, whose National pride was touched, replied 'he could try it on, if he liked,' etc., concluding with the argumentum ad hominum, 'fill you horn, and come on.'
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> * * * * *
>
> Now, that the 'Horrah! boys, for the American Eagle' has died away, and the 'sober second thought,' of the squatters even, has resumed its channel, open regrets are expressed that Genrl. H. has been so precipitate and discourteous.
>
> Genr. Harney has written here for Mr. Cutlar's affidavit, which has been made before Mr. Crosbie, an American Justice of the Peace, and which is principally composed of inferences.

The impact, if any, of Ihrie's letter is not known. Cass had it placed in the State Department's official files. One wonders if Harney ever became aware of its existence.[19]

Harney's orders of July 18 set into motion a series of events that moved relentlessly toward a crisis that threatened, if only briefly, to lead to a third war between Great Britain and the United States. Ever since, students of the affair have attempted to understand Harney's motivations and reasoning. Some have rationalized his behavior; some have looked upon him with hostility; a few, especially in more recent times, have looked at the summer of 1859 with objectivity. What have these students found?

The report has already noted General Scott's opinion that Harney was the pet of Presidents, a vainglorious candidate for the presidency himself, who aped Andrew Jackson in his Florida campaigns as a sure way to the White House. A unique theory that had a long life was later put forward by Captain Pickett's wife, La Salle Corbell Pickett. Written after her husband's death and after he had entered the Confederate Hall of Heroes, her account described the summer of 1859 as if Pickett had been at least the equal of Harney instead of the company commander that he was. She concluded that the military leaders on the Pacific coast, meaning Harney and her husband, "were ready to risk their lives at the mouths of British guns" to help prevent a civil war in the United States. It was, she said, these

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19. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, pp. 57-58, quoting 1st Lt. George P. Ihrie, Sept. 4, 1859, to Sect. of State Cass. See also Murray, p. 18.

leaders' opinion that "an outbreak [of civil war] could be avoided only by a foreign war which would unite all parts of the country." She dubiously honored her men by concluding: "If a war with England could be precipitated the danger of civil faction would be over." "To this end," she wrote proudly, "Captain Pickett . . . would gladly have given his life." There is nothing in the historical record that even hints that Harney ever had such a thought.[20]

Captain Haller, whose theory already has been alluded to, was convinced that Harney and Pickett were together in a conspiracy to start a war with England, not to save the Union but to assist the South in gaining its independence. He noted darkly that both officers had been born in the South, while himself and Colonel Casey were Northerners. He concluded: "General Harney's conduct is inexplicable, unless it was 'a design and an object with it, the Southern secession from the beginning.'"[21]

Keith Murray, the present-day historian, has examined Harney's actions more objectively. After noting the general's strengths and weaknesses, his successes as well as his failures, Murray concludes: "In international affairs he was neither diplomatic nor prudent. He was prone to exaggeration to the point of being untrustworthy. His pathological concern with military protocol indicated a tendency toward paranoia." He continues: "At the time Harney's behavior seemed incomprehensible to men who tried to make some sense out of it. The simple explanation that he was emotionally unstable and lacked judgement seemed to have escaped them."[22]

At the risk of "overdoing" General Harney, this writer would add only three comments to all that has been said. From a study of his words and deeds, it seems apparent that the general never once doubted that the San Juan Islands belonged to the United States. True, he arrived at this opinion by ignoring considerable evidence around him that there was a dispute concerning the boundary. In his naivete and impetuosity he made the Strait of Haro the boundary in his mind and set out to defend it against all comers. Another factor that must have

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20. La Salle Corbell Pickett, Pickett and His Men (Atlanta, 1900), pp. 123-24. Gen. George B. McClellan, USA, agreed with Mrs. Pickett. See Murray, p. 21.

21. Haller, San Juan, pp. 5 and 11-12.

22. Murray, pp. 20-21.

influenced Harney was that during all this time, 1858-60, he was battling with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver over ownership of the old fur-trade capital. The officials at Victoria were not just foreigners in a foreign colony, they were men with whom Harney had to deal almost daily in his own front yard.

A third factor that may have been underestimated is the influence that Congressman Isaac I. Stevens had on Harney's thoughts. By 1859, Stevens was no longer Washington Territory's appointed governor; no longer did he have to obey the dicta of the Secretary of State as he had in 1856. He was now an elected Congressman who energetically sought to represent all the citizens of the Territory, including the 25 on San Juan Island. Furthermore, he had no love for the Hudson's Bay Company despite its occasional help in the earliest days of the Territory. His reaction to the Ebey-Webber affair has already been noted.

In 1859, Stevens returned to the Territory, arriving at (Fort) Vancouver by ship. Harney insisted that Stevens be his house guest. Stevens' son wrote: "Undoubtedly the governor, in his earnest and convincing manner, fully informed the general with his views of the American right, and the duty of the authorities to defend it." On his way back to his headquarters after visiting Victoria and San Juan in early July, Harney stopped at Olympia to dine with Stevens, "and discussed with him what action the emergency required."

An indication of Stevens' interest in the affair was his prompt visit to San Juan almost as soon as Pickett landed. In young Stevens' mind, his father's influence on the events had been great. He quoted from his father's secretary's diary as to "how General Harney and Governor Gholson consulted Governor Stevens, and [the secretary] declares that the stand [Stevens] took and his influence were the great means of saving San Juan to the United States; that, without his clear and decided counsel, General Harney would hardly have felt justified in taking such vigorous actions as he did."[23]

In summary, General Harney was too susceptible to the

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23. Hazard Stevens, The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens (Boston, 1900), 2, 288, 290, and 292-95. See John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure (Tacoma, 1957), pp. 107-10, for a discussion on relations at Fort Vancouver between the U. S. Army and the Hudson's Bay Company.

influences of others, impulsive, not too bright in the realm of diplomacy, positive that he was infallible, certain that he would emerge a hero, and possibly dreaming that he might win the presidency.

At this grim moment in the narrative, it is proper to conclude the chapter in a lighter vein with a quotation from Joseph Kinsey Howard:

> Then, too, the pig was British, which made a difference. In no time at all he had become an imperial pig, though dead; he took on all the majesty of the lion and the unicorn, 'homi soit qui mal y pense,' and even 'Dieu at mon droit.' His birth was obscure and in no way remarkable, yet he was inexorably marked by Fate, for he and America's Manifest Destiny were born at about the same time.24

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24. Joseph Kinsey Howard, "Manifest Destiny and the British Empire's Pig," Montana, the Magazine of Western History, 5, 19.

CHAPTER 3

The Military Situation

United States

The Department of Oregon had been created in 1858. Harney was its first commanding general with his headquarters at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. The department included Oregon Territory (except Rogue River and Umpqua districts, which were in the Department of California) and Washington Territory (which then included present-day Idaho and western Montana).

In northwestern Washington Territory in 1859 only three army posts were active: Fort Townsend at the entrance to Puget Sound, with one company, under Capt. Granville O. Haller; Fort Bellingham on the mainland east of San Juan, also with one company, under Capt. George E. Pickett; and Fort Steilacoom at the head of Puget Sound, with about three companies. Lt. Col. Silas Casey, 9th Infantry, commanded the Puget Sound District with his headquarters at Fort Steilacoom. The regimental colonel, George Wright, was then east of the Cascades, at Fort Walla Walla, bringing the Columbia Basin under military control. Harney had several companies at Fort Vancouver that he could, and eventually did, send to San Juan.

Harney's orders of July 18 abolished the Puget Sound District and closed Forts Bellingham and Townsend. Captain Pickett was, of course, to take his Company D, 9th Infantry (four officers, 62 enlisted men) from Bellingham to San Juan. Captain Haller, with his Company I, 4th Infantry, was ordered to go on board the USS Massachusetts. Meanwhile, both Casey and Harney made preparations for moving additional troops northward. The American force on San Juan island eventually would reach a maximum strength of 484 officers and men, in October 1859.

American naval strength in the area was negligible. The Massachusetts, with its eight 32-pounders, had already been transferred to the U. S. Army. Two or three other small federal vessels were in the waters about San Juan, such as the Lighthouse Tender Shubrick, which had been made available to U. S. Boundary Commissioner Campbell as a means of transportation; the U. S. Surveying Steamer Active; and the U. S. Revenue Cutter

Jefferson C. Davis.[1]

Great Britain

The British military situation was the opposite of the American--a small land force but overwhelming naval forces. The Royal Navy's Pacific Station, which included the eastern Pacific from South America to Alaska, had a total of 12 ships with a complement of 2,845 sailors in 1859. These would soon be reinforced. At the fledging naval base of Esquimalt, Vancouver Island, there were four naval vessels in July:

Tribune, Capt. Geoffrey Phipps Hornby, screw-frigate, 1,370 tons, 200 horsepower, 31 guns, complement of 300.

Pylades, Capt. M. de Courcy, screw-corvette, 21 guns.

Satellite, Capt. James Prevost, screw-corvette, 1,042 tons, 400 horsepower, 21 guns, complement of 206. (One of the largest wooden corvettes ever built for the Royal Navy.)

Plumper, Captain Richards, originally a sloop, now a screw surveying vessel, 21 guns.

Total of 85 guns.

In addition, Rear Adm. R. Lambert Baynes was then enroute to Esquimalt aboard his flagship, Ganges, Captain Slavel, 84 guns. The Ganges had been built of teak at Bombay in 1821, and was the last sailing line-of-battle ship in active commission--2,284 tons, 196 feet long, 52-foot beam. Her main truck was about 200 feet above the waterline.[2]

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1. NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, various posts. Prucha, pp. 19, 22, 60, 109, 112, and 113.

2. Gough, pp. 141, 144-45, 163, 247, 249-50, and Appendix G; F. V. Longstaff, Esquimalt Naval Base, A History of Its Works and Its Defences (Victoria, 1941), pp. 116 and 172-76; F. V. Longstaff, "H. M. S. Ganges, 1821 to 1929," Canadian Defense Quarterly, 6, 487-92; George F. G. Stanley, editor, Mapping the Frontier, Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862, While Secretary of the British Boundary Commission (Toronto, 1970), p. 67n.

Only approximate figures of British land forces in the colonies in 1859 may be determined. A detachment of Royal Engineers had arrived at Vancouver Island in connection with the Northwest boundary survey. They also helped maintain order on the Fraser River during the gold rush. And with the establishment of the Colony of British Columbia they were assisting in the construction of its capital, New Westminster. Colonel Casey estimated the strength of these "sappers and miners" to be 100; at maximum strength they may have reached 125. Their commanding officer was a Colonel Moody, who would become the lieutenant governor of British Columbia.

When the Tribune arrived at Esquimalt in February 1859 from China, she had on board 164 supernumerary Royal Marines. About half of these marines were distributed aboard the various ships of the Pacific Station. The rest were sent to British Columbia to help clear the forest at the site of New Westminster. Early in the San Juan crisis some of these marines went on board the Tribune; the rest moved to Victoria and occupied barracks where the present Provincial Building now stands. The total Royal Marine strength, on ship and on shore, may have reached as high as 400.[3]

In summary, the Americans on San Juan were greatly outnumbered and outgunned during the summer and fall of 1859. However, they had an admirable defensive position, once the Massachusetts' 32-pounders were landed. British power rested in its overwhelming naval strength. It was this strength that allowed the British to take a flexible stance in the critical days ahead; their superiority freed them from the problem of "losing face." Yet it must be said that the Americans were not out-spirited, especially Captain Pickett who would defy the Lion with only 50-odd men behind him.

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3. Gough, p. 145; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Casey, Aug. 12, 1859, to Pleasonton.

CHAPTER 4

The Americans Land

Between July 18, when Harney issued his orders to occupy San Juan, and July 27, when the troops landed, rumors of the impending action spread through the Pacific Northwest. The story reached Victoria by July 26; the same day Pickett sailed from Fort Bellingham. Captain de Courcy, Pylades, wrote that he heard from both Captain Prevost and Governor Douglas that day: "It was expected . . . an American force would be landed at San Juan."[1]

Commissioner Archibald Campbell, engaged in some personal exploration of the San Juans and deer hunting, happened to have his vessel, the Shubrick, anchored in San Juan Harbor on July 26. Thus he was a witness to the Massachusetts' arrival about 8 p.m. with Pickett's company on board. While Campbell had the opportunity of seeing history being made, it was unfortunate that he was present. For some time thereafter, the British believed that he was a party to the scheme and had plotted with Harney. This mistaken belief had no good effect on the British-American land survey then in progress. History has clearly demonstrated that Campbell's presence that day was coincidental. Nonetheless, he decided to remain a few days, both to explore San Juan and to see what happened next.[2]

Later that night, Paul K. Hubbs was awakened by a knock on his door. The visitor turned out to be Pickett's first sergeant, William Smith, who informed him that the Americans had arrived. Early next morning, Charles Griffin went down to his wharf and saw "a number of Soldiers, Civilians, provisions, and stores landed and being landed." He surmised correctly that the soldiers had come "wt. the intention I fancy of building a

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1. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 76; BC PA "Occupation of the Island of San Juan By the Troops of the United States of America, And the Proceedings of Rear Admiral Sir R. L. Baynes, K. C. B., For establishing a Joint Military Occupation, 1859 and 1860," typescript, hereinafter cited as "Occupation," Capt. M. de Courcy, Aug. 5, 1859, to Adm. R. L. Baynes.

2. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 29, 40th Congress, 2d Session, Campbell, Aug. 18, 1859, to Sect. of State Cass.

military station."[3]

During the day Pickett found time to write a report of his successful landing to Harney: "Fearing lest the rumor of our intended occupation of the Island may have reached Victoria, and also finding it impossible to ship our stock on board the Massachusetts, I deemed it best to authorize the QM to employ the Constitution /not a naval ship/ then in Port at Bellingham Bay to carry to this point the animals and some of the heavier articles of freight. In this manner the movement has been much expedited and we are at any rate the first occupants." Also on that first day Pickett issued orders both for his troops and for the inhabitants of San Juan. Among the paragraphs was the following, which must have startled the British:

> This being United States territory, no laws, other than those of the United States, nor courts, except such as are held by virtue of said laws, will be recognized or allowed on this island.[4]

Pickett learned from Hubbs that Governor Douglas had appointed a new British justice of the peace for San Juan who was expected to arrive that day. "As a matter of course," wrote Pickett, "I shall not allow him to take any official action." At 6:40 p.m. HMS Satellite arrived in San Juan Harbor bearing the new magistrate, John F. de Courcy, a relative of the captain of HMS Pylades.

Douglas had appointed de Courcy on July 23 for the reason that the colonial government had "received complaints of disturbances having been occasioned on . . . San Juan by certain individuals who have recently squatted there." Undoubtedly, this was a reference to Cutlar. The magistrate landed on the morning of July 28. At Bellevue farm, with the Union Jack flying from the flagstaff, de Courcy's commission was read aloud to anyone who cared to listen.

H. R. Crosbie, the justice in Whatcom County, also arrived on San Juan on July 27 or 28. He came only as a sight-seer but, when he learned of de Courcy, he remained as the self-appointed

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3. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, photostat of Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 4, 1892, "San Juan Contest, Paul K. Hubbs Describes the Part He Witnessed"; BC PA, Charles Jns. Griffin, statement, July 28, 1859; PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Journal, 1858-62, entry for July 27, 1859.

4. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1858-65, Box 2, Pickett, July 27, 1859, to Pleasonton; Richardson, p. 58.

American justice of the peace. Despite Pickett's belligerency, Crosbie and de Courcy unexpectedly got along well from the start; before long they worked out an understanding that each would restrict his legal activities to those involving his fellow citizens/subjects. Crosbie wrote of de Courcy that he "realized the responsibility of his position and acted throughout the whole difficulty with a discretion and good feeling which tended very much to preserve peace and quiet."[5]

In his September deposition, Lyman Cutlar stated: "It seemed evident that the magistrate came over for the purpose of apprehending him (Cutler); that he understood process was issued by the said De Courcy to compel his attendance to and answer to his charge; that Captain Gordon, the English constable, with a posse came to his house during his absence on or about the 29th or 30th of July." Crosbie too believed that de Courcy had been appointed with the Cutlar incident in mind, but he did not make any reference to a writ being served on Cutlar. Indeed, it would seem to be unusual for de Courcy to have proceeded against Cutlar with Pickett on the island.[6]

Nonetheless, it is difficult not to conclude that the main reason for Magistrate de Courcy's appointment was Cutlar. A. G. Dallas, writing to an old friend and former associate, Edward Ellice, said that a few days before de Courcy had left Victoria, Dallas had instructed Charles Griffin to lay his complaints formally before the new magistrate. While Dallas did not mention Cutlar by name, the pig incident was undoubtedly Griffin's major complaint of the moment. But the coincidental landing of Pickett changed Dallas' plans.

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5. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1858-65, Box 2, Pickett, July 27, 1859, to Pleasonton; BC PA, San Juan Island Correspondence, hereinafter cited as SAJU Correspondence, 1859, Prevost, July 28, 1859, to Capt. M. de Courcy; Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 29. Before realizing the situation that de Courcy was getting into, the Colonist had complained: "Another moth is fixed on the country by the appointment of J. F. De Courcy, Esq., as stipendiary magistrate at San Juan island. No blame perhaps can be attached to him for getting a snug berth; besides he is a perfect gentleman and well qualified." Later, the paper apologized. Colonist, July 29, 1859.

6. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, pp. 60-61; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Cutlar, deposition, Sept. 7, 1859; H. R. Crosby (sic), "San Juan Difficulty," The Overland Monthly, 2, 203-04.

When Governor Douglas learned that Griffin had not made any formal complaints, he sent the colony's attorney general to San Juan, despite Pickett's presence. Dallas decided to go along too--but on a private vessel. At San Juan Dallas himself began to lay a formal complaint but, following a conversation with Captain Hornby on the Tribune, he agreed with the captain that the British were not then present in sufficient strength to proceed in the matter. Dallas returned to Victoria to argue for more support.[7]

Rumors of Pickett's landing reached Victoria before HMS Satellite returned from delivering de Courcy. In fact the Colonist accurately predicted the landing even as the Massachusetts was being unloaded: "San Juan Island Invaded by American Troops." "We learn that a company of U. S. soldiers under command of Capt. Pickett, were expected to land at San Juan Island yesterday, from Semiahmoo [the U. S. Boundary Commission's headquarters at today's Blaine, Washington], in order to erect barracks and fortifications. They were ordered there by Gen. Harney, when up here a short time ago. We trust our government will call our in[s]atiable neighbor to account for the unwarrantable assumption."[8]

The July 29 issue of the Colonist carried two articles and three letters to the editor about the landing. One writer got after the editor for being too calm under the circumstances; another attacked the rival Gazette for supporting the American outrage. The same day, the Pioneer and Democrat in Olympia editorialized: "We suppose our neighbors may grumble a little at this summary way of settling the disputed title, but then it is the privilege of John Bull to grumble and the motley crowd of native born British subjects congregated in those new Colonies [may grumble away]."[9]

HMS Satellite left San Juan Harbor for Victoria on July 28. The next day HMS Tribune, under orders of the Senior Naval Officer, M. de Courcy, arrived in the bay, anchored, and watched the Americans. Its captain, Geoffrey Phipps Hornby, would play a crucial role in the days ahead. He had taken command of the

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7. The National Library of Scotland, Edward Ellice Papers, Dallas, Aug. 1, 1859, to Edward Ellice, used with the permission of Mr. Russell Ellice, Esquire, Inverness, Scotland.

8. Colonist, July 27, 1859.

9. Colonist, July 29, 1859; Pioneer and Democrat, July 19, 1859.

Tribune at Hong Kong in October 1858. The ship was his first independent command. He was described as being tallish, slightly-built, quiet, firm, with chestnut hair and hazel eyes, and then 33 years old. An admiring subordinate said that Hornby "knew his work." After a harrowing trip across the Pacific, the Tribune had arrived at Esquimalt in February 1859. Forty of the crew had promptly deserted.

On July 29, a junior officer of the ship, Francis Norman, went out hunting on Vancouver Island. When he returned to the harbor in the evening, he was shocked to discover that the Tribune had cleared anchor. He learned that "my ship had been hurriedly despatched with all the marines that could be got together in consequence of a sudden accentuation of the San Juan difficulty." Norman caught up with his ship the next day. From her deck he took a long look at the Americans: "I found Captain Pickett established in his camp on an eminence surmounted by the Stars and Stripes, whence, with characteristic braggadocio, his guns were kept menacingly pointed towards us; whence, too, as soon as the ship arrived, he had the cool effrontery to send a letter directed 'Captain Hornby, H. M. S. Tribune, San Juan, Washington Territory.'"[10]

When Dallas conferred with Hornby and they both agreed that the Tribune alone was an insufficient force to do anything about Pickett, Dallas carried the word back to Victoria (August 30). According to Dallas, Captain de Courcy decided to go to San Juan on the Pylades so "that action should be taken agt. squatters alone, that if interferred with by the U. S. troops, force shld be used." At the last moment, however, the Pylades was ordered to take Colonel Hawkins, with dispatches for England, to San Francisco to catch the mail packet.

If Dallas' account is essentially correct, those last few days of July were indeed filled with the danger of bloodshed. As Dallas wrote on August 1: "There is very great excitement on both sides & our position is a critical one from which grave consequences may arise." He added: "The American troops are I understand determined to resist the landing. If this be true bloodshed will inevitably follow and a flame be raised that will not be easily quenched."[11]

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10. Francis Martin Norman, "Martello Tower" in China and the Pacific in H. M. S. "Tribune," 1856-60 (London, 1902), pp. vii, ix, 222, 227-29, 248, and 250.

11. National Library of Scotland, Edward Ellice Papers, Dallas, Aug. 1, 1859, to Edward Ellice.

As July drew to a close, continuing peace lay in the hands of Captain Pickett, on shore, and Captain Hornby, on board the Tribune a few hundred yards away. Harney at Fort Vancouver, having set his course, continued unswervingly to support Pickett to the fullest. At Victoria, an angry, excited Governor Douglas reacted to the occupation with a mixture of belligerency and hesitation. In the absence of Admiral Baynes, Douglas assumed command of the naval forces, inasmuch as the title to his position included that of Commander in Chief and Vice Admiral.

Although the order itself is not available, Douglas possibly first directed Hornby, through Captain de Courcy, to force Pickett to leave the island, but without open warfare. An officer aboard the Plumper, who visited the Tribune on the evening of July 31, wrote: "Capt. H's orders are not, I understand, the most decided possible, he was ordered to make the Americans leave but not to risk a collision. This was really impossible, so he wrote [via Dallas?] for more force that he might lend in such overwhelming numbers as to prevent the possibility of their resisting him."[12]

The only orders (July 29) found for this report directed Hornby to prohibit Pickett from erecting fortifications and to prevent any reinforcements from reaching him. Then, on July 30, Captain de Courcy sent Hornby a message that these orders were revoked. The British now proposed to land their own force on the island. Hornby received these new instructions late on July 31. He had begun a letter to his wife earlier in the day, explaining to her his circumstances. He too believed that Harney's presidential aspirations played a considerable role in bringing on the crisis:

> [San Juan Island] is the one that lies nearest Vancouver's and has always been held by the Hudson Bay Co. as a sheep-farm, and the agent has until lately had a commission as a magistrate. The Americans claim the island, and . . . a hot-headed General Hearney [sic] (who hopes to get his name up for a future President) has sent a small detachment of soldiers who have formed a camp on the island and hoisted their flag. Now, the Governor's instructions expressly tell him we are to commit no act of war, and we are not allowed to bundle these fellows off neck and crop, so he takes a medium course. He sends over a magistrate, who is to take legal steps to warn them off the land, and to issue a summons (!!) against those that won't go. I

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12. Mayne, entry for July 31, 1859.

am sent to prevent any more troops landing, and to assist the civil power.

Later, after de Courcy's message had arrived, Harnby renewed his letter-writing, describing the changes to his wife:

> Everything is changed since I began my letter. . . . I have received fresh orders to take no steps against these men at present, or prevent others landing. We have sent for a detachment of marines from Queensborough [New Westminster], with whom we propose to occupy part of the island. The object now seems to be to avoid a collision at all hazards until we hear from the American authorities, but I fear if the marines are landed, it will inevitably produce one sooner or later. We have had one most lucky escape. The Governor told me it would be as well if I called on the commanding officer, and told him what my orders were. When I called he was away, and before he returned my visit I had received my counter-orders, so I have not the disgust of having blustered, and then being obliged to haul in my horns. He (a Captain Pickett) speaks more like a Devonshire man than a Yankee. His manner is more quiet than that of most of his countrymen, but he seems to have just the notion they all have of getting a name by some audacious act.[13]

The Plumper sailed to New Westminster where it took on 46 Royal Marines and 15 Royal Engineers. She then proceeded to San Juan Harbor where the troops were transferred to the Tribune on August 2. Hornby reported that he now had a total of 69 marines on board. At this same time Douglas ordered Prevost (Satellite) to visit Commissioner Archibald Campbell to learn if he had known of the occupation in advance, if the American government had ordered it, and if, by chance, the boundary dispute had been settled by the national governments. Prevost sailed to Semiahmoo, to Bellington, and to San Juan, but he could not find the U. S. Commissioner: "Upon anchoring I waited upon Captain Hornby of the Tribune and afterwards proceeded to the military encampment on shore. . . . I addressed myself to Captain Pickett . . . and asked him to inform me where I could find Mr. Campbell: he told me that Mr. Campbell had been there

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13. BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, 1859, de Courcy, July 29 and 30, 1859, to Hornby; Mrs. Fred Egerton, Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Geoffrey Phipps Hornby (Edinburgh, 1896), pp. 64-65.

. . . but he professed ignorance of his exact destination."[14]

Prevost also told Pickett that if the American troops remained on San Juan, the British "might be called upon in self defense to also occupy the Island with an armed force." According to Prevost, Pickett replied that he would protest any such action, but added "that the Island was quite large enough for both."[15] Douglas wrote Hornby on August 2 that it might be necessary to land troops and establish a joint occupation.

August 1 and 2 were busy days in San Juan Harbor. Besides the Tribune, the Plumper had arrived with the marines from British Columbia; the Satellite had anchored in search of Campbell; the U. S. Revenue Cutter Jefferson Davis was on hand; the private vessel Constitution stood at anchor; and, on August 1, Captain Haller and his company sailed in on board the Massachusetts.[16]

The three British captains, Hornby, Prevost, and Richards, went on shore on August 3 to discuss formally with Pickett the idea of a joint occupation, which Prevost had mentioned to him two days earlier. Hornby had first proposed that the meeting be held on board the Tribune. Pickett was agreeable to a conference, but he insisted that it be held at his camp.[17]

Following the meeting, Pickett promptly informed the department headquarters of its substance:

> I had to deal with three Captains, and I thought it better to take the brunt of it. They have a force much superior to mine that it will be merely a mouthful for

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14. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 810, Douglas, July 30, 1859 to Prevost; and Prevost, Aug. 1, 1859, to Douglas; Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859; Mayne, entry for Aug. 1, 1859; BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, Hornby, Aug. 5, 1859, to Baynes. Prevost finally caught up with Campbell at Semiahmoo.

15. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 810, Prevost, Aug. 1, 1859, to Douglas; BC PA, "Occupation," Douglas, Aug. 2, 1859, to Hornby.

16. Colonist, Aug. 5, 1859; Mayne, entry for Aug. 2, 1859. Bancroft, p. 619, says that Haller's company landed at this time. This is incorrect.

17. NA, RG 393, Camp San Juan Island, Box 1, Hornby, Aug. 3, 1859, to Pickett; and Pickett, Aug. 3, 1859, to Hornby. Camp San Juan Island underwent many name changes. Hereinafter it will be cited as SAJU regardless of its actual name at the moment.

them; still I have informed them that I am here by order of my Commanding General, and will maintain my position as far as possible.

They wish to have a conjoint occupation of the Island. I declined anything of that kind. They can, if they choose, land at almost any point on the island, and I cannot prevent them. I have used the utmost courtesy and delicacy in my intercourse; and, if it [the joint occupancy] is possible, please inform me at such an early hour as to prevent a collision.[18]

Hornby informed Douglas that Pickett would not agree to a joint occupation: "His orders as a Soldier gave him no discretion but to seize a small force; to attack an equal one; or to protect against the advance of a superior." Nonetheless, Hornby had answered Pickett that British forces "would certainly be landed the instant that I thought that the honor of the Flag, or the protection of our rights as subjects demanded it."[19]

This was the most crucial moment to have yet occurred since Pickett's landing a week earlier. Should Douglas pursue his plan to land troops, Pickett would resist with violence. And Douglas gave every appearance of wanting the marines to land. That this moment of brinkmanship passed without fighting was due to one man, Captain Hornby. He was precisely the right man in the right place at the right time.

Hornby recognized that Pickett was not bluffing, and that he would resist a British landing force even if outnumbered. Hornby also considered Douglas' orders a most dangerous course to follow, a course that was not at all necessary in view of the situation. Captain de Courcy having left the area temporarily, Hornby was for the moment the Senior Naval Officer. He conducted himself accordingly. He decided that Douglas' instructions gave him a "considerable latitude of action."

Hornby wrote his wife on July 5, describing his recent meeting with Pickett and the seriousness of the situation. Then he concluded with a single sentence--a sentence that averted

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18. British Records Office, London, FO 5, vols. 15-17, Pickett, Aug. 3, 1859, to Pleasonton.

19. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1859, Hornby, Aug. 4, 1859, to Douglas.

bloodshed: "As we are fortunately here in much superior force to him we can afford to be forebearing without danger of our motives being misunderstood, while I hold it would be impolitic to land except some of our people were absolutely interferred with."

The populace on Vancouver Island did not have access to Hornby's philosophy. The hawks vented loudly their shame that British forces did not land. The governor was upset at Hornby. The legislature despaired of both the governor and the captains. The British Colonist summed things up for almost everybody:

> The Americans took the ground that their citizens required protection, and that they landed troops with that object. Now, in order to protect British subjects on the island, we should also have done the same. Then our position would have been exactly similar to theirs. On this high ground, had bloodshed followed, we could have appealed to the world, with right on our side, certain of a verdict in our favor.[20]

Hornby was neither a lone prophet nor a martry. There were those who recognized that his calm judiciousness had saved the moment. Colonel Moody, RE, wrote: "It is fortunate for Great Britain that Hornby of the Tribune is at San Juan. His sound sense may avert evil. He will avert war to the last moment without in any degree perilling the proper dignity of England."

Admiral Baynes arrived at Esquimalt on August 5. He quickly caught up on the developments of the past ten days, looked upon Douglas' belligerency with dismay, and concluded that Hornby had performed to perfection. The admiral attempted to calm the governor, then cancelled any plans for landing British troops on San Juan. A few weeks later he complimented Hornby in writing: "The Admiral then went on to say that he considered we were indebted 'to my good judgement in not following the Governor's instructions' for not being involved in a war, and that he had written to that effect to the Admiralty." One is not surprised to note that in later years Hornby went on to become the Admiral of the Fleet.[21]

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20. Colonist, Aug. 17, 1859; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Douglas' message to the Assembly, ca. mid-August 1859; and the Assembly's reply to the Governor's message, ca. mid-August, 1859.

21. Norman, p. 268; Egerton, pp. 65-70. Robert Lambert Baynes entered the Royal Navy in 1810. He served at the seige of New

From the time of Pickett's landing on July 27 to the arrival of Admiral Baynes at Esquimalt on August 5, a number of events occurred on San Juan that should be noted. Pickett first camped near the shore of San Juan Harbor, about 200 yards inland and a little to the west of the Hudson's Bay wharf. Understandably, he did not feel comfortable under the guns of the Tribune. Within a week he moved his company to the opposite side of the peninsula near a spring that Griffin had been using for his sheep. While the British could have fired on this location easily from the Strait of Juan de Fuca, at least Pickett was out of sight of the Tribune at anchor.[22]

Part of Douglas' plan of action, as Hornby described it above, called for British officials on San Juan to notify Pickett that he was trespassing on British soil. In late July, Magistrate de Courcy warned him that he was trespassing and ordered him to depart. Pickett barely deigned to reply. A few days later, Charles Griffin wrote Pickett that the American camp stood on Hudson's Bay property and asked him to remove. Pickett's reply was curt: "I do not acknowledge the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to dictate my course of action. I am here by virtue of an order from my government, and shall remain till recalled by the same authority." One wonders if Pickett actually believed the U. S. government had ordered his presence.[23]

American Magistrate Crosbie expanded his judicial empire on August 1 by appointing two settlers as constables. They were William Smith and Isaac E. Higgins. To be sure they did not have much to do for the moment. About the only person on the

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Orleans. He became a captain in 1828 and was promoted to rear admiral in 1855. He took command of the Pacific Station in 1858. Later, he became a vice admiral. Died about 1869. A well-controlled man, he was an excellent counterbalance to the more emotional governor. In appearance, Baynes was a rather delicate-looking person, resembling Gilbert and Sullivan's modern major general. A Hudson's Bay Company factor, Angus McDonald, had dinner with Baynes about this time. He described the admiral as "plain, little, big-hearted, unassuming, lowland Scotsman, lame, but full of salt and fresh fun." See Longstaff, Esquimalt, p. 116; and F. W. Howay, William S. Lewis, and Jacob A. Meyers, editors, "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in "Documents," Washington Historical Quarterly, 8, 195.

22. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, Hornby, Aug. 5, 1859, to Baynes.

23. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Griffin, July 20, 1859, to Pickett; and Pickett, July 20, 1859, to Griffin; Murray, p. 38.

island who had a legal "problem" was Lyman Cutlar. As late as August 5, A. G. Dallas was still pursuing the idea of having Cutlar tried in a British court. He wrote Governor Douglas that day:

> Very recently [June 15] an outrage was committed by an American squatter, in killing one of our animals. I am informed by the Attorney Gnereal, that the proper course of proceeding will be to bring the case forward in the Victoria Court. Before doing so, may I beg to be informed if your Excellency is prepared to support the Civil authorities by the apprehension of the offending squatter? or are we to appeal to the United States' Authorities for redress.[24]

But Dallas was behind the times. British Magistrate de Courcy had written Colonial Secretary W. A. Young a few days earlier: "I am privately informed that the American Squatter who shot the pig belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, has been arrested by the United States Constables, and is to be brought up before the U. S. Magistrate . . . Crosbie. It is supposed that compensation will be offered by the American authorities."

On August 1, Captain Prevost wrote that Pickett "informed me that the Magistrate had yesterday held a Court, at which a prisoner had been heavily fined for shooting a boar belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and the amount would be paid over into the hands of their agents as compensation for the loss." Historian James O. McCabe finds this letter to be "astonishing," astonishing that Cutlar was tried at all, astonishing that Cutlar did not mention it in his September deposition, and astonishing that the "fining operation" was held on July 31, "a Sunday!"

No additional evidence concerning the trial has come to light. Was Cutlar actually tried? Was the Hudson's Bay Company compensated? One thing certain, the Cutlar affair came to an end at this time as far as the island was concerned. It continued for a time to get a play in the newspapers of the Pacific Northwest and, of course, Harney continued to use it as justification for the occupation of the island.[25]

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24. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, pp. 56 and 68.

25. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1859, John de Courcy, date torn off, to W. A. Young; Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 75, quoting Prevost, Aug. 1, 1859, to Douglas; McCabe, pp. 39-40.

The British, particularly his fellow commissioner, Captain Prevost, continued to believe that Archibald Campbell had plotted the occupation with Harney. Prevost wrote Campbell demanding to know just what his role was in the affair. At the same time he wrote the British Foreign Secretary: "It would be improper for me to hold further communication with Mr. Campbell . . . unless he distinctly disavows knowledge of the act of aggression, and protests against it."

Campbell took insult at Prevost's demands and replied heatedly: "As the supervision of the movements and operations of the military forces of the United States forms no part of the duties of the Joint Commission . . . I cannot recognize your pretensions to catechize me thereupon--and therefore I decline to return you either a positive or negative answer to your queries."[26]

This small tempest actually made little difference. There no longer existed any hope that these two commissioners could do anything to solve the water boundary dispute. On the other hand, Campbell and the British land commission continued to survey the 49th parallel on the mainland. For the moment the British Land Commissioner, Colonel Hawkins, was absent. He was on his way to England, via Washington, to inform the British government first-hand of the San Juan crisis.[27] One of Hawkins' officers on the commission wrote: "Col. Hawkins had gone off to England to lay the matter before the home authorities. Unless great caution is used I am very much afraid that blood will be shed before advices come from home." However, "our Commission still goes on & will do so as long as the U. S. one does."[28]

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26. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 810, Prevost, Aug. 3, 1859, to the Earl of Malmesbury; NA RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, Campbell, Aug. 4, 1859, to Prevost; Colonist, Aug. 3, 1859 (a sharp attack on Campbell).

27. Raymond Hawkins, Dec. 4, 1968, to Dr. John A. Hussey. Mr. Hawkins is the grandson of the colonel and a keen student of the role his grandfather played in 1859. Hawkins arrived in Washington, D. C., on Sept. 13. He gave the British ambassador copies of Douglas' dispatches. Thus the ambassador had for the moment more information on the affair than did the American government, which then had received but one of Harney's letters. See PA Ottawa, FO 5, 813, Lord Lyons, Washington, Sept. 13, 1859, to Lord John Russell.

28. Stanley (Wilson), p. 66.

When news of Pickett's landing became known, visitors from Vancouver Island and from the mainland descended on San Juan to see the excitement. On July 30, the Victoria Gazette reported: "The little schooner Carolena was also to leave last night, with a party of gentlemen on board, anxious to see the expected 'battle.'" One of those on the boat was the rival editor of the Colonist, Amour De Cosmos, who later wrote a detailed account of the scene of action. He visited American Camp where "we were very politely and hospitably received by Dr. Craig, surgeon to the forces." He also met Pickett, who "would not allow us to depart, without taking of refreshments with him."

Among the visitors was none other than I. I. Stevens. He met with Pickett on August 4. It may have been but an idle visit born out of curiosity. At any rate, he promptly communicated with Harney, telling him: "Things seemed pretty quiet down the Sound. Some excitement at Victoria. No troops up to yesterday morning had been landed from the British men of war."[29]

No troops were landed, but the naval officers made numerous social calls on Pickett--in addition to the official visits. Pickett entertained his guests in as fine a style as his curcumstances allowed. Francis Norman, a junior officer on the Tribune, visited Pickett "and had a long and pleasant 'crack' with him over Oregon whiskey and cigars." He said that Pickett invited Hornby and all his officers to a picnic at the second camp site, near the spring. While the picnic was in progress, Haller arrived in the harbor aboard the Massachusetts. Norman, with a touch of paranoia, suspected that Pickett had lured Hornby away so that Haller could land his company.[30]

Haller himself came on shore. He and Captain Richards, HMS Plumper, made a social tour, calling on both Pickett and Griffin. He recorded that Colonel Moody of the Royal Engineers was also visiting Griffin. In contrast to the official tensions, Griffin gave Haller a grand tour of his flower beds. Thus were the first days of the American occupation.[31]

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29. Gazette, July 30, 1859; Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859; NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1859, Stevens, Aug. 5, 1859, to Harney.

30. Norman, p. 269.

31. Granville O. Haller, "Reminiscences of the San Juan Island Imbroglio," Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States, 25, 43; and Haller, San Juan, p. 14. Haller later liked to think that he "exercised a potent influence in staying English forcible occupation of the island" by informing Richards of the battle of Solferino in Italy between the Austrians and the French. He overestimated himself.

CHAPTER 5

Reinforcements for American Camp

Even as Hornby made up his mind not to land British troops, Harney was planning a strong reinforcement for San Juan. On August 6 the general directed Casey to move his entire command from Fort Steilacoom to San Juan as soon as possible: "Take with you all the ammunition you have on hand as well as your field guns. If necessary charter Steamers . . . as the British authorities threaten to force Captain Pickett's position." Harney promised additional troops if needed; and Casey was authorized to call up volunteers if necessary. Since Colonel Casey would supersede Captain Pickett as commander, Harney gave Casey his orders: His mission would be to disallow "any joint occupation of San Juan Island, either Civil or Military, & that the rights of our Citizens on the Island will be respected on American soil."[1]

Harney informed Governor Gholson of Washington Territory and the Adjutant General of the Army of this movement. He wrote to American naval authorities in San Francisco requesting ships to counter the British fleet. And he dispatched four batteries of the 3d Artillery Regiment to Fort Steilacoom, with instructions to Casey that he could use these troops if he needed them.[2]

Casey left Steilacoom on August 9 aboard a contract steamer, Julia. After a short stop at Port Townsend, where he was visited by Commissioner Campbell, he arrived off San Juan at 7 a.m., August 10. He learned from the ship's captain that they were on the south shore of the island and quite close to Pickett's camp. The colonel decided to land his troops and howitzers at that point, giving as his reasons a thick fog and a low tide. While he did not mention the fact, his main reason for this decision probably was his knowledge that HMS Tribune lay in San Juan Harbor and, for all Casey knew, might attempt to stop him from landing.

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1. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Sent, 1858-60, Pleasonton, Aug. 6, 1859, to Casey.

2. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Harney, Aug. 7, 1859, to Col. S. Cooper, AG; and Pleasonton, Aug. 8, 1859, to Casey; U. of

The troops and the guns got ashore without difficulty. Casey remained on board and sailed around the southeast end of the island into the harbor. At Port Townsend he had asked Campbell to follow him in the event the commissioner might be of assistance in reaching some kind of an agreement with the British. Campbell, still on board the Shubrick, anchored in the bay shortly after Casey's arrival. Thus Campbell was a witness to the first two landings--further evidence for Prevost's opinion that Campbell was part of the plot. Casey landed without the slightest interference from Hornby.[3]

The Gazette dramatically announced to Victoria the news of Casey's landing the next day:

> This morning [Aug. 10] the fog was very dense; so dense, indeed, that not fifty yards upon the waters . . . could an object be discerned. The sound of paddle-wheels, however, now brisk and near at hand, now slow and at a distance . . . advised us of the presence of a steamer. . . . Toward noon the fog lifted, and the U. S. steamers Active and Shubrick, and the mail steamer Julia, steamed simultaneously into the harbor. The Julia had on board . . . a portion of three companies of U. S. troops, under command of Lieut. Col. Casey, which, with some fifty tons of munitions of war, stores, etc., with several howitzers, were duly landed.[4]

Soon after landing, Casey issued his first orders. He announced that he thereby assumed command of all the troops. He said that hereafter the camp was to be known as Camp Pickett. (Pickett had called it simply "Military Post, San Juan Island.") Every soldier was required to keep a full supply of cartridges in his cartridge box and at least three days' cooked rations in his haversack at all times. Casey assigned 1st Lt. John Kellogg

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Washington Library, Gholson Papers, Correspondence 1859-60, Harney, Aug. 7, 1859, to Gholson.

3. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Casey, Aug. 12, 1859, to Pleasonton; NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, Campbell, Aug. 18, 1859, to Sect. of State Cass. Campbell showed that he was quite perceptive in this letter. He felt sure the British would not land and that Admiral Baynes probably had quieted things down at Victoria.

4. Gazette, Aug. 11, 1859. The Colonist carried a similar but less breathless article on Aug. 12.

in charge of the artillery and gave him a crew of 30 men. And, said Casey, "each piece will be kept loaded and provided with a supply of spikes /with which to disable the guns if threatened with capture/."[5]

At Esquimalt, Admiral Baynes quietly notified the Secretary of the Admiralty of Casey's arrival. Regardless of his customary self-control, Baynes must have been startled by the unannounced arrival of Casey in Esquimalt harbor on August 11.

Almost as soon as he landed, Casey invited Hornby to come ashore for a conference. Hornby first replied that he would be pleased to receive Casey on board the Tribune, but later he agreed to meet on shore. Casey explained to Hornby that he had landed his men on the other side of the island rather hand "under the guns of the frigate." He asked who was the British senior officer. When Hornby said it was Baynes, Casey intimated that he would visit the admiral. If the oddity of an American field-grade officer entering a foreign port in a U. S. steamer and requesting a conference with a foreign admiral to settle an international dispute ever entered Casey's head, he made no mention of it. In fact he described this anomaly with some pride:

> The next day, accompanied by Captain Pickett (both of us in full uniform) and Mr. Campbell I went down to Esquimalt on the steamer Shubrick. We anchored near the "Ganges," and I sent to the admiral, by an officer, the note marked 'A.' I received in reply the note marked 'B.' The note marked 'C' was taken on board by Captain Pickett and handed to the Admiral in person. The captain was courteously received by the Admiral. Governor Douglas was present in the cabin. After reading the note the admiral handed it to the governor. The Governor inquired if I knew he was on board the ship. The Captain replied that he knew of no reason to suppose I did, but that I had not sought an interview with him, but with the Admiral. The Captain informed the Admiral that the steamer /Shubrick/ was then firing up, but that I would be happy to wait should he then decide to give me a conference. It was declined, but the Admiral reiterated his desire that he would be happy to see me on board the ship /Ganges/. I was of the opinion that I had carried etiquette far enough in going 25 miles to see a gentleman who was disinclined to come 100 yards to see me.

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5. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1859-75, SO No. 13, Camp Pickett, Aug. 10, 1859. Casey informed Harney that he had

Even Harney seemed to have been taken aback by Casey's adventure: "The general regrets, under all the circumstances, your visit to esquimault harbor to see the British admiral, but is satisfied of your generous intentions towards them. He instructs you for the future to refer all official communications desired by the British authorities to these headquarters." Admiral Baynes was to write: "It is extraordinary that they could have expected me to descend from my position to meet them on board the United States steamer."[6]

Casey's adventure into diplomacy having failed, he set about to defend San Juan with all the determination of a point man: "The British have a sufficient naval force here to effectually blockade this island whenever they choose. I do not know what the intentions of the British naval authorities with respect to this island are. I shall resist any attack they may make upon my position. I request that five full companies of regular troops with an officer of engineers and a detachment of sappers, be sent here as soon as possible."[7]

Harney sent all the reinforcements requested. On August 17,

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adopted Pickett's plan of defense: to fire on the British with the howitzers, spike the guns when necessary, then retreat into the woods.

6. BC PA, Occupation," Baynes, Aug. 12, 1859, to Sect. of the Admiralty; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Casey, Aug. 12, 1859, to Pleasonton; and Pleasonton, Aug. 16, 1859, to Casey.
   A. Casey invited Baynes to come on board the Shubrick.
   B. Baynes declined but invited Casey to come on board the Ganges.
   C. Casey regretted that Baynes did not accept "A."

   The British government was indignant about Casey's enterprise: "Her Majesty's principal naval officer in those parts, Admiral Baynes, who was desirous of settling the matter amicably, was invited in an insulting manner to go on board a small American steamer, in a British harbour, for the purpose of holding a conference with Lieutenant-Colonel Casey, of the United States, who described himself as commanding the forces on San Juan Island." See Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 128, quoting Russell, London, Oct. 6, 1859, to Lyons, Washington.

7. National Guard, Wash. "Collection," Casey, Aug. 12, 1859, to Pleasonton.

four batteries of the 3d Artillery landed; on August 23, Captain Haller and his Company I, 4th Infantry, came ashore from their floating barracks, the Massachusetts. On this latter date too, 2d Lt. Henry M. Robert, with a detachment of engineers, arrived to begin work on a redoubt for placement of the eight 32-pounders that had been removed from the Massachusetts.

By the end of the month Casey had 14 officers and 424 enlisted men under his command. The units and their commanding officers in order of seniority were:

Capt. Granville O. Haller, Company I, 4th Infantry
Capt. Maurice Mahoney, Company A, " "
Capt. George E. Pickett, Company D, 9th Infantry
Capt. Louis C. Hunt, Company C, 4th Infantry
Capt. Thomas C. English, Company H, 9th Infantry
1st Lt. John Kellogg, Battery B, 3d Artillery
1st Lt. Lyman M. Kellogg, Battery A, 3d Artillery
2d Lt. George T. B. Dandy, Battery M, " "
2d Lt. Henry M. Robert, CO, detachment of engineers

None of the regularly assigned officers of Battery D, 3d Artillery, arrived with the unit. Presumably one of the company officers of the other units acted as its commanding officer. These included 1st Lt. George Ihrie, Battery B, 3d Artillery; 2d Lt. Robert N. Scott, Company I, 4th Infantry; and 2d Lt. Edward J. Conner, Company A, 4th Infantry. In addition, 1st Lt. Robert O. Craig, Medical Department, served as surgeon for the command.[8]

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8. NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, Camp Pickett, August 1859; F. B. Heitman, Historical Register of the United States Army . . . 1789 . . . 1889 (Washington, 1890), 1, 175, 205, 218, 314, 321, 359, 382, 521, 562, 834, and 869.

Silas Casey was born in 1807 in Rhode Island. He graduated from West Point in 1826, near the bottom of his class. He served in the Florida campaign and was severely wounded in the Mexican War. Recalled from the Pacific Slope at the beginning of the Civil War, he reached the rank of major general of volunteers in 1862. He retired as colonel of the 4th Infantry in 1868. In 1862 he prepared a manual of infantry tactics (Casey's Tactics). Died in 1882.

Granville Owen Haller, a native of Pennsylvania, joined the Army as a second lieutenant in the 4th Infantry in 1839. In 1859 he was a regular army captain, but had a brevet majority from the Mexican War. (He is often called "major" in accounts of San Juan;

Throughout August Harney and Douglas exchanged a series of correspondence. Harney informed Douglas that the occupation of the island had not been ordered by Washington, rather that Harney had acted under the general instructions received from

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but this report gives the regular army ranks of the officers.) Promoted to major in the 7th Infantry in 1861, he was dismissed in 1863. A joint resoution of Congress in 1879 reinstated him as a colonel of Infantry to rank from 1873. He retired in 1882.

Maurice Mahoney was born in Ireland. From 1836 to 1846, he was an enlisted man, reaching the rank of sergeant major. In 1846 he was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 4th Infantry. He received a brevet captaincy in the Mexican War and became a regular army captain in 1854. In the Civil War he received a brevet colonelcy. In 1867, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the 16th Infantry. He retired in 1870 and died two years later.

George Edward Pickett. Born in Virginia, Pickett graduated from West Point in 1846 at the bottom of his class. In the Mexican War he received the brevet rank of captain. In 1855 he was promoted to captain in the 9th Infantry. During the Civil War he became a major general in the CSA, achieving fame in the battle of Gettysburg. He died in 1875.

Louis Cass Hunt, a native of Wisconsin, graduated from the Military Academy in 1847, also close to the bottom of his class. He too became a captain in 1855, two months after Pickett. During the Civil War he reached the rank of brigadier general of Volunteers. In the post-war Army he eventually became colonel of the 14th Infantry. Died on active duty in 1886.

Thomas Cooper English was born in Pennsylvania and graduated from West Point in 1859. He reached the rank of captain in the 9th Infantry in 1857. During the Civil War he remained in the Pacific Northwest as a lieutenant colonel in the Washington Territory Infantry. In 1869 he became lt. colonel in the 2d Infantry. Died 1876.

John Kellogg came from Massachusetts. He graduated from the Military Academy in the same year as English (1849), but chose the artillery rather than the infantry. He too remained in the West during the Civil War, being first the colonel of the 5th California Infantry, then a lt. colonel in commissary operations. He died in 1865.

Lyman Mark Kellogg was born in New York and graduated from

the President. Taking off his gloves, Harney said he had placed troops on the island to protect American citizens "from the insults and indignities which the British authorities of Vancouver's Island and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company have recently offered them." Douglas tried to explain to Harney that his government and the Hudson's Bay Company were not one and the same, that no British warship had carried company officials to San Juan, and that no attempt had been made to remove forcibly Cutlar for trial.

West Point in 1852. Beginning his career in the Infantry, he later transferred to the Artillery wherein he was promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1858. He was cashiered in 1860. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he returned to active duty as a captain; was dismissed in 1862; and reinstated in 1864. He received a brevet majority for the Georgia campaign. In 1870 he was honorably discharged at his own request, with the rank of captain. Died in 1877. Apparently he suffered from a bending elbow.

George T. Brown Dandy came from Georgia. He attended West Point for two years, then joined the Army as a private. In 1857 he was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 3d Artillery. He remained in the U. S. Army during the Civil War, reaching the rank of colonel, and the brevet rank of brigadier general. Following the war, he made a career for himself in the Quartermaster Corps, retiring in 1894.

Henry Martyn Robert, a native of South Carolina, graduated from West Point in 1857, fourth in his class. He spent his entire career in the Corps of Engineers, remaining with the North during the Civil War. In 1901 he became Chief of Engineers with the rank of brigadier general. He retired a month later. His task on San Juan was erecting the redoubt for the 32-pounders. He is well known to history as the author of Pocket Manual of Rules of Order for Deliberative Assemblies, better known as Robert's Rules of Order. He died in 1923.

Robert Nicholson Scott was a native of Tennessee, but joined the Army in 1857 from California. During the Civil War he was an adjutant general who helped organize the volunteer army. Following the war he served in the Artillery wherein he was promoted to lt. colonel in 1885. Died in 1887.

Edward J. Conner came from New Hampshire. He graduated from West Point in 1857 and was assigned to the 4th Infantry. He retired in 1863. Died in 1868.

Douglas expressed regrets that Harney had not discussed the issue when he had visited Victoria early in July. He asked Harney to remove the troops from the island. Harney replied that he had not discussed the Cutlar incident at Victoria because he had then been unaware of it. As for withdrawing the troops, said Harney, "I do not feel myself qualified to withdraw the present command . . . until the pleasure of the President of the United States has been made known."[9]

Harney notified the Adjutant General of the exchange, still refusing to acknowledge that Dallas had gone to San Juan on a private vessel. When Douglas sent Harney a copy of former Secretary of State Marcy's instruction of 1855, which directed territorial officials to maintain the peace concerning the disputed territory, Harney emphatically denied he had violated the spirit of the letter: "Time and again our light-houses were attacked, and the wives and children of our citizens on that coast were brutally murdered by British Indians. Reports reached me that these Indians had been instigated to these acts by the Hudson's Bay Company." He added: "I was well aware of the extent and power of this great commercial monopoly, second only to the East India Company which has crushed out the liberties and existence of so many nations in Asia, and committed barbaraties [sic] and atrocities for which the annals of crime have no parallel." What the East India Company had to do with San Juan, Harney did not say.

The general did say that he had studied the treaty of 1846 and had concluded that San Juan, "the Cronstadt of the Pacific," was American. In still another communication to the Adjutant General, Harney conceded that he had heard a rumor that Admiral Baynes had countermanded Governor Douglas' orders to land a force on San Juan. But, said Harney, "nothing official on the subject has reached me."[10]

Robert Orr Craig, from New Yrok entered on active duty as an assistant surgeon in 1856. He served as a surgeon in the Civil War. Left the Army in 1865.

9. U. of Washington Library, Gholson Papers, Correspondence, 1859-60, Harney, Aug. 24, 1859, to Douglas; BC PA, "Occupation," Harney, Aug. 6, 1859, to Douglas; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Douglas, Aug. 13, 1859, to Harney.

10. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Harney, Aug. 18, 25, 29, and 30, 1859, to Colonel Cooper, AG. Cronstadt, or Kronstadt, a Russian city near Petersburg (Leningrad), to which the British sent an expedition in 1855, but failed to make the actual attack.

Pomp and circumstance prevailed at American Camp on August 24 when Governor Richard D. Gholson, Washington Territory, arrived to review the troops. The pro-American Gazette described the moment with enthusiasm:

> Most of the passengers, among whom were several American ladies, having landed, the Governor was pulled ashore, and under a civil escort marshaled by Commodore Scranton, proceeded to an eminence near to and commanding a fine view of the new camp site [probably where the redoubt was about to be built]. Here the Governor was received by two Aids of Colonel Casey, and a short distance nearer camp by the Colonel in person. As the party advanced toward camp, a detachment commanded by Lieut. Kellogg, fired a salute of 17 guns, using for the purpose the five 12-pound[er] mountain howitzers composing the main portion of their present field battery, and the nine companies were under arms and passed in review upon the broad and grassy plain a portion of which was formerly the site of Camp Pickett [at the spring, on Home Prairie]. The drilling was excellent . . . Col. Casey remained in the saddle [on his privately-owned horse] during the drill, riding from point to point during deploys, etc., after which he conducted His Excellency to his marquee.

It was the biggest show the military would have on San Juan Island. No slouches themselves when it came to hospitality, the British naval officers invited Gholson aboard the Satellite before his departure.[11]

Gholson had come to the island aboard the steamer Julia. It was undoubtedly a better way to travel than on the Massachusetts. Before he disembarked from the latter, Captain Haller had had some trying experiences with this "beast of burden." It once took two days to coal the ship in Bellingham Bay: "The steamer burns too much coal in the first place--draws too much water in the next place. . . . Lastly she wants speed for the purposes intended." The Pioneer and Democrat agreed: "We know her energetic commander, Captain Fauntleroy will do all that he can, but she is not fitted for the service; she is too large, unwieldly and ponderously slow."

The newspapers continued to have fun with the Massachusetts during the remainder of her service in the Pacific Northwest. In

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11. Gazette, Aug. 27, 1859.

the spring of 1860 she sailed to San Francisco for refitting. The Port Townsend Register announced that she was to be sheathed with green baise. It seems that Captain Fauntleroy wanted copper sheathing but the Army decided on a more economical "yellow metal." The Register reported: "The Quarter Master, more at home with land service than water, and probably thinking that the old craft was not worth a suit of copper, replied, 'Sheath her over with Green Baise Captain she never can go fast enough to wash it off.'"[12]

When describing Gholson's visit, the Gazette referred to the "new" American camp site. Colonel Casey himself had selected this third, and final, location for the camp. He did not appreciate Pickett's location at the spring. For one thing, it could come under direct fire from naval ships in the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Another drawback was its exposure to the constant, fierce gales that swept in from the sea. At first Casey tried to put up with the winds. But when Harney ordered him to intrench his camp, the colonel took that opportunity to relocate to the rear (north) of Bellevue farm, where a forest and a dip in the ground offered more protection. Then, too, this site was adjacent to the high point where he would place the 32-pounders in a redoubt.

Captain Prevost, whose Satellite had replaced the Tribune in San Juan Harbor on August 20, wrote that the new camp "is very strongly placed in the most commanding position in this end of the island, well sheltered in the rear and on one side by the Forest and on the other side by a Commanding eminence."[13] For the first time the Americans had a position that offered defensive values. Of course, by now the British had no intention of landing or attacking.

As the American troops settled down to the routine of occupation, many small happenings occurred which, while not contributing much to the larger aspects of the story, give something of the flavor of the place, people, and times. A few of these are mentioned here without attempting to weave them into the narrative in a literary manner:

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12. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Correspondence, Haller, Aug. 8, 1859, to Casey; Haller, San Juan, p. 13; Pioneer and Democrat, Aug. 9, 1859; Port Townsend Register, Apr. 30, 1860. Oddly enough, HMS Plumper was at San Francisco at the same time, also being refitted. See Mayne, entry for February 1860.

13. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Casey, Aug. 14, 1859, to Pleasonton; and Pleasonton, Aug. 16, 1859, to Casey; House Ex.

When Haller visited San Juan Harbor on August 1, he learned that Pickett was having trouble with one of his officers, 1st Lt. John C. Howard. Howard had pulled a pistol on Pickett and had been placed under close arrest. He had submitted his resignation from the Army just before Haller's arrival. The latter offered to take Howard to Port Townsend on the Massachusetts, but Howard refused to leave the island, "much to the annoyance of the officers there."

A month or so later, Howard disappeared. An exasperated Harney recommended that he be dropped from the rolls of the Army. He was not. Apparently Howard reappeared, for the Colonist reported on September 26 that his court-martial had been going on all week. Later the Pioneer and Democrat announced that Howard had been suspended from the service for six months.[14]

Another officer who got into trouble was 1st Lt. Lyman M. Kellogg, Battery A, 3d Artillery. Kellogg's problem was too much drinking. Casey charged him with drunkenness at the end of August. Kellogg resisted the charge. He said that he had been quite ill: "On the 31st ulto. after muster, I was so sick that I was forced to keep my bed the remainder of the day, until evening Parade, when with an effort I marched the Company on Parade, and being weak, I presume it was considered the influence of Liquor and thereupon placed in arrest." It was a gallant try, but it did not work. Later he asked to withdraw the letter because it was "inaccurate." Although he, like Lieutenant Ihrie, had had a run-in with Harney over the use of enlisted men in building Harney's private residence, he apparently did have a problem with alcohol. He was cashiered in 1860. His future spurts of active duty during the Civil War have already been noted.[15]

Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Casey, Aug. 22, 1859, to Pleasonton; U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, Prevost, Aug. 23, 1859, to "Dear Sir"; Gazette, Aug. 20 and 23, 1859.

14. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Correspondence, 1859, Haller, Aug. 8, 1859, to Casey; House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Harney, Sept. 19, 1859, to the AG; Colonist, Sept. 26, 1859 (which reported erroneously that the post trader, Edward Warbass, was also being tried. This was corrected in the Oct. 3 issue.); Pioneer & Democrat, Oct. 14, 1859. Howard remained in the Army until 1861, when he resigned. He died in 1885. See Heitman, 1, 352.

15. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Correspondence, 1859, Kellogg, Sept. 2, 1859, to Adjutant Connor; House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Harney, Dec. 9, 1859, to the AG.

If the reader should be interested in the bickering and petty jealousies exhibited by the officers on San Juan, he might glance at a letter by Lieutenant Ihrie to the post adjutant: "I . . . call the attention of the Comdg officer . . . to the position taken by the officer of the day, in mounting Guard, at this Camp, as debarring me, during the ceremony (about ten minutes) the right to visit the officer's tent on my left flank, to which I might wish to go on official business, except by passing a circituous and inconvenient round about way, in rear of said tent." Not all Casey's problems were to be found aboard Her Majesy's ships.[16]

The newspapers acknowledged the birth of San Juan Village in August. The Gazette's correspondent, Curioso, wrote: "Some three or four persons had started little tent groggeries near the landing from the harbor and several parties had been seen in a state of drunkenness the night before." An exasperated Charles Griffin wrote in his diary later: "Soldiers, Inds & Men all been determined to be drunk together. Never saw anything like it." Magistrates Crosbie and de Courcy attempted to regulate the liquor trade, but with little success.[17]

Also in August, Edward Warbass was appointed to be the post sutler for American Camp for a period of three years. He had been the sutler at Fort Bellingham and had arrived on San Juan with Pickett's troops. Although he remained sutler for only the three years or so, he was consistently a good friend of the various commanders. He later became a settler on San Juan, living out his years near Friday Harbor.[18]

Before August was over, a third group rose to the claim of ownership of San Juan. Challenging both the British and Americans were the Cowichin Indians, who fished periodically at the north end of the island. They had neither battleships nor colonels, and were quite willing to sell the whole island to the "Bostons." The market price is not known.[19]

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16. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Correspondence, 1860, Ihrie, Sept. 1, 1859, to Adjutant Connor.

17. Gazette, Aug. 11, 1859; PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Journal, 1858-62, entry for Oct. 16, 1859.

18. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1859-75, "Proceedings of a Council of Administration," Aug. 15, 1859.

19. Colonist, Aug. 15, 1859.

While Harney composed his letters of rage at Fort Vancouver, the officers on San Juan continued to exchange social calls with the British. Colonel Casey and his staff attended divine services of board the Satellite. Admiral Baynes, when reporting that the number of American and British squatters on the island had greatly increased, noted happily that the U. S. officers and the British were getting along quite well.[20]

Supplying the large American command involved much logistical work--and good profits for a number of contractors. The Pioneer & Democrat reported that a scow named none other than W. S. Harney had delivered a load of beef cattle to the island (Henness and Colter had this particular contract). Fort Steilacoom supplied Casey with ten mules, six oxen, three wagons, and a parcel from his wife via the Julia. Many other comings and goings of steamers, schooners, and scows made the harbor a busy place that summer and fall.[21]

As the intiial excitement of the occupation died away, a scattering of attacks on Harney's deeds began to appear in the American press. An unknown corrspondent in Olympia wrote a dispatch for the New York Times on August 21: "General Harney, who is here called 'Goliah,'--for two reasons, first, that he is a very large man; and second, that he is all matter and no mind--ought, I think, to be court-martialled, and dismissed from the service for his conduct in this case."

A slashing attack against the general appeared first in a San Francisco newspaper, then was reprinted in the Pacific Northwest. The writer said that he was an Army officer stationed on San Juan: Harney "is one of the weakest officers and most arrogant humbugs in the army, and not at all qualified for his position. He is the laughing-stock, wherever he goes; and his administration is a series of blunders and mistakes. He is as callous as a pot-house [sic] politician, and insensible, I'm afraid, to shame." All the officers on San Juan quickly denied being the author.[22]

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20. Colonist, Aug. 22, 1859; BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1859, Baynes, Sept. 11, 1859, to Sect. of the Admiralty.

21. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Correspondence, 1st Lt. Edwin Harvie, Ft. Steilacoom, Aug. 29, 1859, to Casey; Pioneer & Democrat, Aug. 26, 1859.

22. New York Times, Sept. 30, 1859; Pioneer & Democrat, Oct. 14, 1859, reprinting an Army officer's letter that appeared first in the San Francisco Times. The British Columbia Public Archives has a letter signed by or for all the Army officers on San Juan denying authorship of the letter.

CHAPTER 6

General Scott, "The Great Pacificator"

On September 2, Harney instructed Casey "to make such preparations for the comfort, efficiency, and health of your command as will anticipate a period of at least six months." At that same time, a startled and amazed President of the United States learned of Harney's invasion of San Juan. Casey would command his army of occupation for much less than six months.

The Acting Secretary of War wrote Harney with understatement on September 3: "The President was not prepared to learn that you ordered military possession to be taken of the island of San Juan." For the moment, Buchanan would suspend judgement, but only until further details became available. That same day, the British ambassador read in the Washington newspapers about the affair. He hurriedly wrote Secretary of State Cass: "It is needless that I should dwell upon the considerations which render me extremely anxious that this statement should not reach Her Majesty's Government without such information respecting its truth or falsehood, and such explanations concerning it as the Government of the United States may be disposed to afford."[1]

The history of the diplomatic moves by Washington and London during the next several weeks lie outside the scope of this report. It is enough here to note that on September 14, Lord Lyons sent a dispatch to London stating, with relief: "General Scott, Commander in Chief of the whole of the United States Army . . . is ordered to embark at New York on the 19th Instant, for the North West Frontier where he will take command over General Harney."[2] A week later Lyons was able to tell the Foreign Office

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1. House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Pleasonton, Sept. 2, 1859, to Casey; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Actg. Sect. of War W. R. Drinkard, Sept. 3, 1859, to Harney; Viscount /W. Fitzwilliam/ Milton, A History of the San Juan Water Boundary Question, As Affording the Division of Territory Between Great Britain and the United States (London, 1869), p. 311. Lord Lyons first learned of the affair in a newspaper article that had been telegraphed to Washington from St. Louis, Missouri.

2. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 813, Lyons, Telegram, Sept. 14, 1859, to

that Secretary Cass had informed him that Scott would reduce the American command on San Juan to one company.[3]

General Scott did not land on San Juan Island, but near the end of his visit he did enter San Juan Harbor aboard the Massachusetts. And the 32-pounders in Robert's redoubt fired a salute in his honor. The 73-year-old general did not have much to do with the territorial officials either; he met General Harney but once, and did not visit Governor Gholson at all. Neither did he meet Governor Douglas face-to-face. Instead he used his aide-de-camp, Lt. Col. George W. Lay, as a go-between. In his own cool, logical manner, he proceeded to defuse the powder keg.[4]

Scott told Douglas that in his opinion a danger of Indian raids still existed and that troops should remain on San Juan. He proposed a joint occupation of the island, with a maximum of 100 troops from each nation. Douglas replied that he could not agree to this proposal without the approval of the British government. Supported by Baynes, he countered with a scheme for joint civil occupation. Douglas relayed Scott's proposals to London, including with them his own arguments against a joint military occupation.

Until he could hear from the home government, Douglas did agree that if the Americans removed "the large Military force with its eight heavy guns and numerous field pieces" that the British would remove the Satellite from San Juan Harbor and not occupy the island. Scott readily went along:

> Being assured . . . that there is no intention on your part to attempt to dislodge by force, the United States troops now in temporary occupation of the Island of San Juan, without instructions to that effect from your government . . . I do not hesitate . . . to order the number of the United States' troops, on that island,

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Foreign Office, London. This dispatch illustrates the fastest means of communication then available. Lyons telegraphed Quebec City on Sept. 15. The colonial government there forwarded the message to London by ship, where it arrived Sept. 29--about two weeks.

3. Ibid., Lyons, Sept. 22, 1859, to Russell.

4. Murray, p. 58; U. of Washington Library, Gholson Papers, Correspondence, 1859-60, Gholson, Nov. 1, 1859, to Secretary Cass; Charles Winslow Elliott, Winfield Scott, The Soldier and the Man (New York, 1937), pp. 660-68.

to be reduced to the [small?] detachment (Captain Pickett's company of Infantry) originally sent thither, in July last, for the protection of American Citizens (such protection having been petitioned for by them) against neighboring and northern tribes.[5]

Only one small point irritated Douglas. He considered Pickett's remaining on San Juan to be a personal insult. Pickett had been the first to arrive and he had issued that order claiming exclusive territorial jurisdiction for the United States. Moreover, Douglas considered him to be of "a hasty temperament and somewhat punctilious and exacting." The British did not say that Pickett' removal would be a nice little slap on the wrist of General Harney. Scott got the message and, on November 5, Capt. Louis C. Hunt was ordered to remain on San Juan with his Company C, 4th Infantry, in place of Pickett.[6] All the other companies were to return to the posts from whence they came; and the 32-pounders were to be replaced aboard the Massachusetts.

Scott's adjutant general wrote a special letter of instructions to Captain Hunt. Referring to recent correspondence with Governor Douglas, the letter read: "These papers will show you the spirit in which it is expected you will execute the delicate and important trust confided to you, the General having full confidence in your intelligence, discretion, and (in what is of equal importance in this case) your courtesies." A copy of this letter was forwarded to General Harney for his edification.

At the same time, Scott sent word to Douglas assuring him that work on the redoubt had already stopped and all U. S. pickets had been withdrawn. Also, Hunt would occupy the site in which Pickett's company had camped since this area was farther-

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5. BC PA, "Occupation," Scott, Oct. 25, 1859, to Douglas; and Baynes, Nov. 9, 1859, to Douglas; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 815, Douglas, Nov. 9, 1859, to London; two documents received from Dr. John A. Hussey, in FO 5, vols. 15-17, Scott, Nov. 2, 1859, to Douglas; and Douglas, Nov. 9, 1859, to Duke of Newcastle; U. of Washington Library, Gholson Papers, Correspondence, 1859-60, Scott, Nov. 5, 1859, to Douglas, copy to Gholson.

6. Archie W. Shiels, San Juan Islands, The Cronstadt of the Pacific (Juneau, 1938), p. 68, quoting a confidential letter from Col. Sect. Young, no date, to Colonel Lay; BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1859, SO No. __, Nov. 5, 1859, Hdqrs. of the Army, Massachusetts, signed by Lorenzo Thomas, AAG.

most from the Bellevue farm buildings and because Pickett's men had already built some permanent structures.[7]

The Victoria Gazette reported General Scott's visit to San Juan Harbor on November 7: "Gen. Scott did not land at Bellevue, but while the Massachusetts remained in the harbor he was visited by Capt. Prevost and the officers of H. M. S. Satellite stationed there." The Satellite would soon return to Esquimalt. And, on December 7, 1859, the Pylades left San Juan Harbor, bringing the British "show of force" to an official close.[8]

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7. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1858-65, Thomas, Nov. 7, 1859, to Hunt; Miller, San Juan Archipelago, pp. 115 and 117, quoting Lay, Nov. 7 and 9, 1859, to Douglas and Young respectively.

8. Gazette, Nov. 10, 1859; Gough, p. 165.

CHAPTER 7

Military or Civil Government?

Capt. Louis Hunt reigned supreme on San Juan for four months, until the Royal Marines arrived to share the authority in March 1860. His command was marked by the beginnings of a long struggle between the military commanders on one hand and the American territorial and county officials on the other as to who was in charge of civil matters pertaining to American settlers on the island.

The situation was unique. During the first five years of the joint military occupation, the successive military commanders had few precepts to follow and they received little clarification from their departmental commanders. Few called the situation military government or martial law, but the army officers' responsibilities very much resembled at least the former. The territorial officials would take several years to come to the realization that San Juan was not (yet) theirs to tax and govern. Outlaws and scoundrels would take advantage of the confusion and make San Juan their temporary home and base of operations.

At least Charles Griffin and his successor, Robert Firth, did not have to be concerned about Whatcom County confiscating any more sheep. One thing that was clearly understood was that British subjects came under British laws. Occasionally an individual would arbitrarily change his nationality when he brushed against authority; but the full cooperation of the British and American commanders quickly ended that problem.

When Colonel Casey was still in command, the problem of dealing with British lawbreakers first came into focus. William Moore had permission to sell vegetables, milk, and bread to American Camp, which supplies he brought over from Vancouver Island. Moore decided to supplement his income by bringing in liquor to sell to soldiers and Indians. Eventually he was caught in this act, arrested, and tried before Magistrate Crosbie. Crosbie found him guilty and had him placed in the American Camp guardhouse, which at that time was a tent. For one day he was forced to labor on the redoubt, then was released on the payment of a fine.

Moore promptly resumed his liquor traffic. When American authorities tried to arrest him once more, he fled the island. He next appeared in Victoria where he signed a deposition outlining his recent adventures and stating that he was a British subject, but that Crosbie had made no effort to ascertain this at the trial. Governor Douglas brought the matter to the attention of General Scott. A minor investigation disclosed that Moore had earlier claimed to be an American citizen. While American officials felt that there had been no miscarriage of justice, Governor Gholson directed Crosbie to return the fine to Moore and in the future to let British officials try British subjects or to inform Gholson of the problem.[1]

Although Gholson directed Crosbie not to interfere with British subjects, the governor was not at all happy about this in his own mind. For one thing, General Scott had snubbed him during his recent visit. For another, it seemed to Gholson that Scott's plan violated the constitutional principle of civilian supremacy over the military:

> Recently Gen Scott has instructed the commanding officer on San Juan Island, 'to allow no person claiming to be a functionary of Washington Territory, to interfere with any British Subjects residing, or happening to be on the same, whilst it shall remain in dispute.'
>
> I feel called upon to protest against these repeated assumptions of supreme authority by the military. * * * This order of Gen. S. is in effect a 'declaration of martial law.'[2]

Captain Hunt felt out the boundaries of his authority by attempting to rid the island of whiskey dealers. Most of these entrepreneurs operated in San Juan Village. In February 1860, a resident, J. E. Higgins, applied to Hunt for assistance in searching for stolen goods. Hunt dispatched three soldiers to the town. They entered the suspect's house but were "impetuously

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1. House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., deposition of William Moore, Oct. 6, 1859; U. of Washington Library, Gholson Papers, Correspondence, 1859-60, Gholson, Nov. 13, 1859, to Crosbie; and Crosbie, Nov. 30, 1859, to Gholson; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Douglas, Nov. 7, 1859, to Scott; Murray, p. 57.

2. U. of Washington Library, Gholson Papers, Correspondence, 1859-60, Gholson, Nov. 24, 1859, to Sect. of State Cass.

sent into the street on a 'double quick Shanghie trot' with a warning not to return; consequently the search was postponed." The military having failed him, Higgins turned to the civil magistrate for help.[3]

Hunt then asked Crosbie for advice and, at the latter's suggestion, ordered the closure of some "whiskey shanties" adjacent to the post. Following repeated violations of these orders, the captain brought suit against John Bowken, Frank Chandler, and James Frazer. Only Bowken and Chandler were brought to trial; both were acquitted.

Promptly these three and about ten other citizens sent petitions to both Governor Gholson and General Harney, complaining that Hunt had closed their stores and had ordered some of them from the island. They demanded the same privileges and liberties as any other American citizens. Although 25 other settlers signed a counter-petition supporting Captain Hunt, Harney grasped the occasion to relieve Hunt of his command and to reappoint Pickett in his place.[4]

Pickett, who assumed command in April 1860, was aghast at the "perfect 'bedlam' by day and night" that the village had become. Ever since the joint occupation became known, he said, "this has become a depot for murderers, robbers, whiskey-sellers, in a word all refugees from justice." Furthermore, the whiskey dealers were bringing in northern Indian women to work as prostitutes.

Captain George Bazalgette had by then established the Royal Marine Camp at the north end of the island (March 21). He and Pickett cooperated fully in matters pertaining to lawbreakers. An example of this appeared in the Colonist that September:

> A San Juan Whisky [sic] Seller Arrested.
> A man named John Taylor was arrested on Monday at San

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3. Port Townsend Register, Mar. 14, 1860; Milton, p. 349. Milton said that the suspect was a Britisher named Kearney.

4. NA, RG 343, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1860-63, Hunt, Mar. 30, 1860, to Pleasonton; Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, petition of ten citizens to Harney, Mar. 7, 1860; and petition of 25 citizens to Harney, Apr. 2, 1860; U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, petition of 14 citizens to Gholson, Mar. 7, 1860.

> Juan, by commander Pickett . . . for selling liquor without a license, and for giving liquor to Indians. Upon Taylor stating that he was an Englishman, he was handed over . . . to Captain Bazalgatte [sic], of the Royal Marines, and by him sent to Esquimalt.[5]

When Harney ordered Pickett to replace Hunt on San Juan, he complicated the civil-military question by telling Pickett that General Scott had left no orders directing a joint military occupation. He told Pickett to acknowledge and respect the civil jurisdiction of Washington Territory on San Juan: "Any attempt of the British commander to ignore this right of the Territory will be followed by deplorable result." This blatant rejection of Scott's (and the United States') agreement with the British would swiftly lead to Harney's abrupt removal. Baynes commented, with characteristic understatement: "I was rather surprised at the Instructions given by General Harney. . . . They appear to me to set aside all the arrangements made by General Scott.[6]

In August 1860, the British government raised the question of just how the island should be governed. It proposed that the civil magistracy on both sides be removed from San Juan. In place of Crosbie and de Courcy, they suggested that one of two schemes be adopted: that a purely military jurisdiction be established over the whole island, or that the island be divided geographically and with separate jurisdiction--one British and one American, each with its own magistrate. The British preferred the first, which was essentially the idea that General Scott had advanced. In the end, this concept prevailed. Magistrate de Courcy remained on the island until July 31, 1861, but as a "government agent" rather than as a justice of the peace. Just when Magistrate Crosbie ceased his function on the island is not known. As it will be seen, Washington Territory was not yet ready to give up in its efforts to administer the island.[7]

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5. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Letters, 1859-61, Pickett, June 1, 1860, to "Captain" (Pleasonton?); Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, Pickett, June 19, 1860, to Pleasonton; Colonist, Sept. 15, 1860. Taylor was found guilty and fined £40, or six months.

6. BC PA, "Occupation," Pleasonton, Apr. 10, 1860, to Pickett; and Baynes, May 5, 1860, to Sect. of the Admiralty.

7. BC PA, "Occupation," Douglas, Mar. 21, 1860, to Baynes; Manning, 4, 861; Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 167. The Colonist reported on Oct. 22, 1861, that John de Courcy had accepted a commission in the U. S. Army. This has not been confirmed.

Civil-military relations again became a major problem in 1863, when Capt. Lyman Bissell was commanding officer of American Camp.[8] According to a settler named E. T. Hamblett, Bissell suggested that the American settlers hold a meeting for the purpose of making their own laws for settling any differences they might have concerning land claims and for enforcing good order on San Juan. The settlers met on February 1, 1863, and appointed a resolutions committee composed of I. E. Higgins, Charles McCoy (later, McKay), Augustin Hibbard, and James Blake. Contrary to any expectations Bissell may have had, the resolutions that passed rejected military authority completely: "1st. That we will be governed by the laws provided by the Legislative Assembly of Washington Territory and the United States. . . . 2d. That we cannot concur with Captain Bissell in thinking that he is our Govrnor [sic] or that he has the power to authorize us to make laws," etc.[9]

Higgins forwarded a copy of these resolutions to Brig. Gen. George Wright, commanding the Department of the Pacific, San Francisco. General Wright's response destroyed almost completely any concept of military jurisdiction on San Juan Island:

> You can say to the American settlers on the portion of the island under the jurisdiction of the United States that they will not be interferred with by the military authorities in any manner whatever. The civil authorities, if duly appointed or elected under the laws governing the Territory of Washington, will be permitted to exercise their legitimate functions.[10]

Bissell must have been flabbergasted. Eventually he and Edward Warbass wrote long letters to the Department trying to explain the geography and character of San Juan, and giving

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8. Heitman, 1, 128. Lyman Bissell was born in Connecticut. He entered the Army as a 1st lieutenant in 1847. In 1848, with the rank of captain, he returned to civilian life. Then, in 1855, he came back on active duty with the lower rank of 1st lieutenant. He was promoted to captain in 1861 and, while on San Juan, became a major in 1864. He remained in command of American Camp until the end of the Civil War. He retired in 1870. Died in 1888.

9. "Sovereign Americans on San Juan Island," Washington Historical Quarterly, 1, 75.

10. War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), Series 1, 50, Part 2, p. 343.

their opinions of those who had drafted the resolutions. However Bissell failed to correct a misconception in the general's letter wherein the latter believed that Americans lived in one part of the island, and British in another. Neither did Bissell remind his superiors that San Juan had been placed under an international military jurisdiction, not two separate national ones. Even so, his letter was a caustic response:

> Mr. Higgins is postmaster, but lives by dealing out his poisonous liquor to my men, thereby destroying them for usefulness. Mr. Offutt, the secretary of the meeting, at one time kept a low whiskey ranch in the town and dealt out his vile stuff to soldiers and Indians, but being detected in selling liquor to the Indians last fall he left the island, and was not a resident . . . at the time of the meeting. . . . Mr. Hibbard has a lime-kiln on the island and keeps liquor for sale . . his men sell it to Indians and to the soldiers of the British camp. Last fall he tried to create a disturbance between the officers of the two camps by writing a dictorial letter to Captain Bazalgette, because Captain Bazalgette ordered two of his men out of his camp that went there for the purpose of selling liquor to his men.[11]

No wonder these particular people preferred the remote control of Washington Territory in preference to Camptain Bissell's. General Wright, however, apparently was content to let his instructions stand. One small morsel fell Bissell's way when he was authorized in May 1863 to banish any American resident from San Juan who created disorder.[12]

Capt. Thomas Grey, 2d Artillery, succeeded Bissell as commander in October 1865. During the two years of his regime, the civil-military problem reached its climax and the Army emerged the victor, if such there were. Before recounting Grey's battles, it is worth noting that the majority of settlers on the island had no quarrel with the military. One advantage they had in living on San Juan was that they paid no taxes of any kind to either Vancouver Island or Washington Territory for as long as the dispute continued. The law-abiding residents enjoyed this status and took for granted their routine relations with the

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11. Ibid., pp. 402-04.

12. Ibid., p. 463, SO No. 129, Headquarters, Dept. of the Pacific, May 29, 1863.

military commanders.[13]

Grey took full advantage of the special orders that authorized the expulsion of lawbreakers. During his first two years, he expelled no fewer than fourteen individuals plus a band of Clallam Indians.[14] In June 1866, he ordered all American residents (i.e., men) to furnish him with their names, ages, occupations, number in families 18 and over, and length of residence on the island. The completed list shows that only 21 persons submitted this information. Noticeably absent were the names of any of those settlers who had defied Bissell three years earlier.[15]

Grey and his assistant, 1st Lt. William Graves, met the enemy head on in 1866. In May, I. E. Higgins, the erstwhile postmaster and liquor dealer, erected a fence across the road that led from American Camp to the Hudson's Bay wharf. When he refused to remove the fence, Captain Grey ordered his troops to tear it down. Higgins was arrested and placed in the guardhouse. Later he was released and ordered to leave San Juan. Refusing to go, he was again jailed and ordered to perform hard labor. When he refused to do this, he was placed in a cell and fed bread and water. Then, on July 9, he "was taken out and Serched . . . and then taken to the Landing forced into a canoe with a crew of Indians and three armed men Soldiers." Higgins estimated that "within the last six or seven months there has been driven from the Island . . . as many as twenty persons an some of then [sic] was in the Guard house as long as Six months and at hard work with a Ball and chain."[16]

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13. Washington Territory had suspended collection of taxes on San Juan on November 9, 1860. See Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 167.

14. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, 1861-68, GO No. 27, SAJU, June 14, 1866. Two of these individuals were later allowed to remain on the island.

15. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU, GO No. 28, SAJU, June 25, 1866; and "List of residents."

16. Whitman College Library, Walla Walla, Wash., Kennedy Papers, unsworn and undated statement of I. E. Higgins; U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, Sect. of War Stanton, Dec. 22, 1866, to Sect. of State Seward; Heitman, 1, 301 and 478.

Thomas Grey was born in Ireland. He joined the Army as a

Once on the mainland, Higgins turned to the civil courts for redress. He filed charges of malicious trespass against Grey and Graves. Summons out of the district court of the Third Judicial District were served against Grey. But Grey refused to be arrested, and the sheriff returned to the court empty-handed. Judge Charles B. Darwin was determined to enforce civil law on San Juan and again ordered Grey's arrest. Grey did not hesitate to use his men to stop the posse; again the process went unserved. A summons was served on Lieutenant Graves also. He proceeded to give bail, much to the disgust of the Department of the Columbia.[17]

Secretary of State William H. Seward asked Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to investigate the situation. Col. Orville Elias Babcock reported that he did not think there would be a major collision between the civil and military authorities, nevertheless, "it seems to me that the Military is the Superior Authority on the Island, and should be thus recognized."[18]

The issue was still unresolved a year later when Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, then in command of the Military Division of the Pacific, reviewed its status. He noted that the joint military occupation offered no problems to the British, "as the civil and military affairs in the Colony are under the same head and directed by the same person. But General Scott's Agreement had not

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private in 1837. In 1847 he was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the 9th Infantry, and honorably discharged in 1848. That October he reenlisted as a private, but climbed quickly to the position of sergeant major in the 2d Artillery. Again commissioned in 1855, he served in that regiment until his retirement in 1870. During the Civil War he was breveted to lt. colonel. Died in 1872.

William Preston Graves. Born in the District of Columbia, Graves joined the Army as a 2d lieutenant in the 2d Artillery in 1862. He participated in several Civil War Battles and was breveted to major. He died while on active duty with the rank of captain in 1889.

17. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1469, I. C. Brown, Dep. U. S. Marshall, Port Townsend, Sept. 20, 1866, to Sect. of State Seward. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1866-69, AAAG Fostie, Nov. 7, 1866, to Graves.

18. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, Babcock, Dec. 6, 1866, to Maj. General Rawlins.

the sanction of law and "was repudiated by the Civil authority of Washington Territory as of no binding force." While such a claim as Washington's may be lawful, said the general, it was also incompatible with the arrangement for exclusive military occupation.[19]

The decision in the case of Grey and Graves came in 1868. U. S. District Judge B. F. Dennison at the September term of his court at Port Townsend reviewed the entire affair, then rendered his opinion--that San Juan was under military rule. He refused to issue an "alias arrest" on either Grey or Graves. Also in 1868, Secretary of State Seward confirmed that the joint military administration of San Juan should continue, "for reasons of high public expediancy." He was sure that the War Department could successfully handle any problems that arose between the Army and the civilians.[20]

That would seem to have ended the problem. The American commander could arrest, punish, and exile persons who built fences across roads, and so forth. But what about murder? This question became important in 1870 when Charles Watts shot and killed his boss, Augustin Hibbard, the principal owner of the San Juan Lime Company. The answer was that the Army got rid of the problem as quickly as possible by voluntarily turning it over to civil authorities at Port Townsend.

Lt. Col. (and Brevet Maj. Gen.) George Crook, then in charge of the Department of the Columbia, reviewed the first ten years of joint military occupation in 1870. Although lengthy, his description neatly summed up the problems and the successes of the American commanders and their "supposed power."

> Since the joint military occupation of that island by the Troops of the United States and England, there has been no civil jurisdiction exercised by either of the two nationalities with the single exception of the Case of Watts who murdered . . . and who . . . was by order of the War Department turned over to the Civil authorities . . . the prisoner being taken from San Juan to

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19. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1468, Halleck, Nov. 18, 1867, to the AG.

20. B. F. Dennison, "Opinion of Hon. B. F. Dennison, U. S. District Judge; September Term, 1868, at Port Townsend, W. T., Civil Jurisdiction On San Juan Island," printed copy at the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Port Townsend by the military.

> The terms of agreement by which the joint military occupation . . . took place are such as to make it strictly a military one, and Her Majesty's Government have not and do not allow their civil authorities to exercise any jurisdiction whatever. . . . The English Commanding Officer uses his authority to protect citizens claiming British protection, sends turbulent lawless parties off the Island, administers fines, and I think had the case of Watts and Hibbard been between English Subjects Watts would have been tried by Military Commission and hung by the British Commander.
>
> While the Commanding Officer of the U. S. Forces . . . has not had or exercised the same authority . . . disputes of an ordinary nature have always been settled by him when between citizens of the United States, and when between citizens of the two nationalities by the two commanders . . . conferring together.
>
> The civil authorities of Washington Territory decided some time since in an elaborate opinion by their Chief Justice Dennison in case of Higgins vs. Col. Gray and Major Graves that they have no jurisdiction over the Island.
>
> The people pay no taxes whatever, no duties for imports or exports to either government, and the islands are a natural refuge for all classes of people, thieves, rascals and beggars included, and unless the better portion of American citizens enjoy similar protection to that afforded English subjects they will be compelled to leave.
>
> The supposed power of the Commanding Officer of the U. S. forces to pursue the same course towards American citizens as pursued by the English Commander . . . and the fear of being sent off the Island is all that keeps the Islands from becoming the scene of lawless violence, it has given satisfaction to all good citizens, and would seem to be the only way at present to preserve peace among the mixed population of Indians and whites.[21]

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21. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1870, Crook, Mar. 26, 1870, to the AG.

With the settlement of the boundary dispute in 1872, the joint military administration came to an end. On December 9, the Secretary of State stated that "the civil jurisdiction of the Govt. is therefore to be extended and established over San Juan and the other Islands." For their last two years on San Juan the American commanders would be in charge of the military post only.[22]

The past decade had been a strange interlude for the officers concerned. None of them appear to have been outstanding in dispensing justice to the settler; but all of them seem to have performed this unusual task as well as they could. Probably few of them enjoyed such necessary business of gathering evidence for such things as a messy divorce case--the testimony of which still reposes in the military records of the old post.

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22. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, Sect. of State Fish, Dec. 9, 1872, to Governor E. P. Terry.

CHAPTER 8

Military Men

The Americans

Before he left the Pacific Northwest in November 1859, General Scott informed General Harney by letter that the British government probably would ask for Harney's removal. Scott said that if such occurred, "it might be a great relief to the President to find you, by your own act, no longer in that command." To encourage Harney's departure, Scott enclosed a conditional order that directed him to transfer to St. Louis, Missouri, to assume command of the Department of the West. However, added Scott, "if you decline the order, and I give you leave to decline it, please throw it into the fire."[1]

Harney wasted no time throwing it into the fire. He fired off a reply: "I am not disposed to comply with such an order. I do not believe the President of the United States will be embarrased by any action of the British government . . . nor can I suppose the President would be pleased to see me relinquish this command in any manner that does not plainly indicate his intentions towards the public service."[2]

Back in New York, Scott probably was sorry that he had been so considerate toward Harney. He discovered that Harney had bypassed him and had written directly to the Secretary of War. The Secretary passed the letter on to Scott to read. An enraged general grabbed his pen and scribbled:

> In dismissing this most nauseating subject, I beg permission to add, that the highest obligations of my station compel me to suggest a doubt whether it be safe in respect to our foreign relations, or just to the gallant officers and men in the Oregon department, to leave them longer, at so great a distance, subject to the ignorance, passion, and cap-

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1. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Scott, Nov. 15, 1859, to Harney.

2. Ibid., Harney, Nov. 17, 1859, to AAG, Hdqrs., U. S. Army.

rice of the present headquarters of that department.[3]

Lord Lyons, in Washington, was of a similar mind: "I . . . forbear from making any observations upon the extraordinary character of some of the Dispatches written by General Harney and his subordinates. Indeed, I dare not trust myself to comment upon the tone in which Her Majesty's Officers are spoken of in some of these Papers."[4] But Lyons, Scott, and all others had not yet seen the most drastic of Harney's letters.

Taking advantage of the petition against Captain Hunt by some American settlers, Harney on April 10, 1860, relieved the captain and ordered Pickett to return to San Juan as commander. In his instructions Harney ignored Scott's directives including a joint military occupation. When General Scott learned of this latest move, he wrote: "If this does not lead to a Collision of arms, it will again be due to the forbearance [sic] of the British authorities, for I found both . . . Harney and . . . Pickett proud of their conquest of the Island, and quite jealous of any interference . . . [by] higher Authority." He now wanted Harney removed. On June 8, Secretary Cass notified the British ambassador that President Buchanan had read Harney's orders "both with surprise and regret" and that they would be revoked.

That same day the Adjutant General cut Special Orders No. 115: "Brigadier General William S. Harney . . . will . . . repair without delay to Washington city, and report in person to the Secretary of War." Harney's battle with the British Lion had come to a sudden end.[5]

News of Harney's recall reached the Pacific Northwest newspapers in mid-July. Olympia's Pioneer and Democrat announced that Harney was ordered to Washington to plan a campaign against the Shoshoni Indians: "The gallant General has not, therefore, been ordered home through the influence of Gen. Scott. (This

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3. House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Scott, Feb. 14, 1860, "Remarks."

4. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 815, Lyons, Feb. 28, 1860, to Lord Russell.

5. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 10, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Sect. of War John B. Floyd, June 8, 1860; and Office of the AG, SO No. 115, June 8, 1860; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 815, Sect. of State Cass, June 8, 1860, to Lord Lyons; BC PA, "Occupation," Scott, May 14, 1860, "Remarks of the General in Chief."

is inserted for the information of our British neighbors.) Ed." But the Colonist did not believe the Shoshoni story: "We cannot look upon it as a reason for his recall, other than as a public excuse, whilst the real reason is San Juan."[6]

Lt. Charles Wilson, Royal Engineers, has here the last word on Harney's recall: "General Harney (the San Juan filibuster) has been recalled for his disobedience of orders or something of that kind, so that we may not after all go to war with our cousins; he was at Vancouver when we passed through & was very civil indeed; he is a tall muscular man of 6' 2" & in his youth must have been immensely strong which indeed the anecdotes told about him (if true) bear out."[7]

Despite its inauspicious beginnings, Pickett's second tour on San Juan was successful. He was able to establish good relations with Captain Bazalgette of the Royal Marines and the two cooperated fully in administering the island's affairs. By August 1860, Pickett was able to write: "The most perfect understanding and good feeling both among officers and Men exist between the british forces and ourselves."[8]

The joint-occupation agreement limited the number of troops at each camp to 100. But there was no danger of Pickett's Company D, 9th Infantry, exceeding that figure. While there had been 70 enlisted men in the company on its arrival in April, its strength was down to 45 by August. Recruits were hard to come by, thus Pickett was sent a detachment of 21 men drawn from three infantry companies on the mainland. To assist him in managing the company, Pickett had the services of 2d Lt. James Forsyth, a capable young officer with an illustrious career ahead of him. Assistant Surgeon Robert Craig, who had come to the island with Pickett in 1859, still provided the medical support for the command.[9]

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6. Pioneer and Democrat, July 13, 1860; Colonist, July 19, 1860. Ironically, just as Harney left the Pacific Northwest, news arrived that Admiral Baynes had been made a Knight Commander of the Bath. See Colonist, July 10, 1860.

7. Stanley, p. 115, entry in Wilson's diary for August 6, 1860.

8. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Letters, 1859-61, Pickett, Aug. 28, 1860, to AAAG, Dept. of Oregon.

9. NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1860-61; Heitman, 1, 272.

Very little of the routine affairs of the company has been preserved in its records; but one gets a glimpse of the day when Pickett found it necessary to address his sergeants:

> The Commanding Officer is compelled to call the attention of the Non-Commissioned Officers that some irregularities have been introduced among them, which must be corrected and that at once. When a Non-Commissioned Officer finds it necessary to correct any Private in the Company, it is his duty to confine him, and report the circumstances; but at no time to threaten or use abusive language.[10]

When the Civil War began, nearly all the regular forces in the Far West were recalled to the East. Pickett and his company were ordered in June 1861 to proceed to San Francisco via the first steamer. On June 20, Pickett wrote to Bazalgette: "I cannot take leave without expressing to you both in my own name, and that of my officers, the gratifications we have experienced from our very pleasant intercourse with you during the passed year, and our sincere regrets at having to break up these associations." Bazalgette returned the compliment: "It is with great regret that I learn your departure, but rest assured that the acquaintance formed during our sojourn on this Island will ever be remembered with very pleasant reminiscences both by myself and officers." The Colonist presumed that the British garrison would also be withdrawn shortly.[11]

James William Forsyth, a native of Ohio, graduated from West Point in 1855. His first regular assignment was in Pickett's Company D, 9th Infantry. By the end of the Civil War he was a brigadier general of Volunteers. Following the war he became a major in the 10th Cavalry. From 1873 to 1878 he served as an aide-de-camp and military secretary to Lt. General Sheridan. In 1886 he was promoted to colonel of the 7th Cavalry. He retired from the Army in 1897 with the exalted grade of major general.

10. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, 1859-61, Orders No. 39, Sept. 11, 1860.

11. OR, 50, Part 1, p. 512, SO No. 9, Dist. of Oregon, June 11, 1861; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, Orders No. 9, June 20, 1861; Post Letters, 1859-61, Pickett, June 20, 1861, to Bazalgette; BC PA, "Occupation," Bazalgette, June 20, 1861, to Pickett; Colonist, June 21, 1861.

When Commissioner Campbell, temporarily in Washington, D. C., learned that the American troops would leave San Juan, he called General Scott's attention to the necessity of keeping a company there. Scott agreed. On June 21, the District of Oregon revoked its former orders. But, apparently, it soon became known that Pickett was contemplating leaving the Army because of his Southern sympathies. At any rate, he was ordered on July 11 to move his company to Fort Steilacoom, where "Captain Pickett will then be permitted to avail himself of a leave of absence." Capt. Thomas C. English, with Company H, 9th Infantry, replaced Pickett on San Juan.[12]

English had been on San Juan before, in Casey's command. His stay this time was brief. Four months after his arrival he received orders to take his company East to war. The Colonist had a brief article concerning the move: "Since the U. S. force on San Juan has been ordered East the desertions have been very numerous, and a number of the soldiers may be seen about Victoria."[13]

The replacements, 1st Lt. Augustus G. Robinson and Battery D, 3d Artillery (50 enlisted men), had an even shorter stay on the island. They arrived November 15, 1861, and departed February 17, 1862. Robinson left one document of interest to history--a list of the daily calls for Camp Pickett:

Reveille	6:30 a.m.
Breakfast	7
Fatigue	7:30
Sick	8
Guard Mount	9
Drill	10
Recall from Drill	11
Dinner	12 noon
Fatigue	1 p.m.
Recall from Fatigue	5
Retreat	Sunset
Tattoo	8:30
Taps	8:45

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12. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1860-63, Hdqrs. Dist. of Oregon, SO No. 18, June 11, 1861; RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, Campbell, Oct. 3, 1861, to Sect. of State Seward.

13. Colonist, Nov. 18, 1861; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1859-75, Hdqrs., Dist. of Oregon, SO No. 54, Nov. 4, 1861.

The same order also stated that an inspection would be held each Sunday at 9 a.m., and that the whole command would carry out a general police of the garrison each Saturday. It also placed the Hudson's Bay Company property off-limits, and it forbade visits to San Juan Village without special permission.[14]

The next commanding officer, Capt. Lyman Bissell, Company C, 9th Infantry, would serve on San Juan for the longest period of any to hold the position--3 years and 8 months, to October 1865. For the first year and a half, Bissell had no other officers to help him; then, in August 1863, 2d Lt. Michael J. Fitzgerald arrived to give a hand. During the time this company was on the island, six different doctors administered to its ills: Lewis Taylor, C. C. Dumreicher, Charles F. Deane, Nathan Davidsohn, Edward Storror, and W. E. Strong. The last four were civilian contract doctors. Bissell had problems with nearly all of them, the civilians finding it difficult to adjust to a strict military routine.[15]

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14. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, 1861-68, Camp Pickett, Orders No. 22, Nov. 18, 1861; Heitman, 1, 837.

Augustus Gilman Robinson was born in Maine. He graduated from West Point in 1857. After his San Juan tour, he served in the Quartermaster Corps both during the Civil War and in the post-war years. He retired in 1897 as a colonel and Assistant Quartermaster General. Died in 1898.

15. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, Hdqrs., Dist. of Oregon, SO No. 2, Jan. 10, 1862; microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1862-65; Heitman, 1, 387, 423, and 948.

Michael John Fitzgerald, born in Ireland, enlisted in the Army as a private in 1856. From 1861 to 1863, he served as a hospital steward. Commissioned in the 9th Infantry in 1863, he served on active duty until he retired in 1879 with the rank of captain.

Lewis Taylor, Pennsylvania, entered the Army as an assistant surgeon in 1857. He died on active duty, 1868.

Conrad Carl Dumreicher was born in Germany. He entered the U. S. Volunteers as an assistant surgeon in 1862. Following the Civil War, he was in the Regular Army for two years, but was dismissed in 1868.

Bissell had a small problem in the summer and fall of 1862 concerning Indians. Apparently, a band of Indians was wont to camp near the springs on the south side of the island, where Pickett had camped briefly in 1859. Bissell was determined to put a stop to this custom: "A Patrol composed of the Garrison Police in Charge of the Act. Officer of the Day, will patrol the S.W. side of the Isld. three times a Day and once at night and order all the Indian Canoes that may appear, to [retire?] immidialely [sic] and if not, to fire at them." Drastic as this sounds, it seems not to have worked. A few months later, Bissell was forced to place the "Indian ranch" off-limits after dark: "Hereafter any soldier of this command, caught, or recognized, at the Indian ranch, (without authority) on the beach near the spring after Tattoo, will be confined at hard labor in charge of the Guard, with chain and ball attached to his left leg, for the period of (60) sixty days."[16]

In addition to occasional patrolling, as noted above, the enlisted men on San Juan had a large variety of assignments, all essential in the maintenance of an army post. From the post orders, 1861-1868, the following special duties have been culled: acting hospital steward, master sergeant, orderly, teamster, herder, gardener, company tailor, wood chopper, and blacksmith. The company's strength during these years fluctuated from a high of 70 to a low of 37 enlisted men. At its lowest strengths, the company must have found it difficult to perform all the special duties and still muster the ordinary guard mount as well.

In 1864, Bissell prepared his command to receive a visit from the highest-grade officer yet to visit American Camp, Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell, Commanding General, Department of the Pacific. Presumably the general enjoyed his visit to the peaceful island; at least no great upheavals followed his departure.[17]

Capt. Thomas Grey assumed command of American Camp in October 1865. His confrontation with civil authority has already been noted. It was probably this factor that prompted his temporary transfer from San Juan in June 1867. Once his case was dismissed in the courts, he returned to the island in 1868, but only for a couple of months. At any rate, his Battery I, 2d Artillery, remained at American Camp during the year Grey was absent.

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16. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders No. 16, June 18, and Orders No. 24, Oct. 17, 1862.

17. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 169.

Battery I was understrength when it arrived and, by 1866, had only 41 enlisted men present for duty. Grey requested additional troops because of the "smugglers, whiskey sellers, cattle thieves, and roving bands of Indians, who have to be looked after." Besides, the Royal Marines had a much larger force at English Camp, and Grey thought he should at least match them. The Army took a year to find more bodies; the battery jumped to 72 men in May 1867.[18]

The strange case of the Royal Marine in the American Army arose during Grey's administration. Back in 1861, a Royal Marine named George Hughes had deserted from English Camp and had fled to Washington Territory. There he had enlisted in the 1st Washington Territory Infantry in 1862. He had deserted that outfit briefly, but had returned to serve in it until December 1865. In January 1866, he had enlisted in the U. S. Army at Portland, Oregon, and had been assigned to Grey's Battery I, wherein he was now a buglar.

Captain Bazalgette at English Camp soon learned of Hughes' presence on the island. He wrote Grey a formal letter requesting that Hughes be turned over to him as a deserter. Grey took strong exception to the request; as far as he was concerned, Hughes was a soldier in the American Army: "No one would regret the interruption of the 'good understanding which has always existed between the two camps' more than I and I cannot but express my surprise at your anticipating, in the case of Hughes, any such result."

The governor of British Columbia became concerned that the Hughes affair might indeed damage good relations on San Juan. Through discreet channels the governor brought the matter to the attention of General Halleck at San Francisco. Following an investigation, Halleck quietly settled the matter by having Hughes transferred to Fort Steilacoom. His disappearance from San Juan eased the problem promptly; good relations continued to rule the day.[19]

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18. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letterbook, 1863-67, Grey, Apr. 11, 1866, to AAG, Div. of the Pacific; microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1865-68.

19. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letterbook, 1863-67, Grey, Dec. 30, 1866, to Bazalgette; SAJU, Box 1, Maj. General Steele, Mar. 7, 1867, to Grey; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 816b, Governor Seymour (B. C.), Jan. 3, 1867, to Capt. R. B. Oldfield, RN; Oldfield, Jan. 4, 1867, to Seymour; Seymour, Jan. 5, 1867, to Oldfield; General Halleck, Jan. 21. 1867, to Oldfield.

Grey's successor, Maj. Harvey A. Allen, 2d Artillery, caused a tempest in the British teapot simply because of his rank. For eight years the commanders of the two camps had been of the same rank--captain. With the arrival of Allen in June 1867, Captain William Delacombe at English Camp wondered if he perhaps should be given a temporary promotion in order to keep on even footing with the American. He approached the governor of British Columbia with this idea. The governor wrote the home government which replied that it could see nothing wrong with the concept.

At that point, Rear Admiral George Fowler at Esquimalt became quite upset. He announced that he was in charge of the occupation of San Juan, not the governor. And he did not want Delacombe to have a temporary promotion because it would upset his officers throughout the fleet. The governor then wrote home asking just who was in charge of the British occupation. However, the British government refused to become involved in a discussion on protocol and etiquette between the admiral and the governor. In the end, Delacombe remained a captain.[20]

Allen's term as post commander was not marked by any unusual events. The routine of garrison life was caught for posterity only by the monthly reports and an occasional piece of correspondence. An example of the latter was Orders No. 33, published in July 1868: "The wearing of citizen clothing or the having it in their possession, by the enlisted men of this command is strictly prohibited." Redundantly, the order also said that the wearing of waistcoats was strictly prohibited.[21]

Battery I had several junior officers attached to it under Grey and Allen in addition to 1st Lt. William P. Graves, who fought the civil-military battle along with Grey: 2d Lt. James L. Mast, May-July 1867; 1st Lt. William Borrowe, July 1867 - September 1868; 2d Lt. E. T. C. Richmond, November 1867 - September 1868; and 1st Lt. Melville R. [Souchs?], December 1867 - September 1868. Including the contract surgeon, the officers numbered as high as six--a far cry from Bissell's one-officer operation.[22]

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20. PA. Ottawa, FO 5, 816b, Governor Seymour, confidential, Nov. 1, 1868, to Edward Thornton, British minister to U. S. A., and associated correspondence.

21. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, 1861-68, Orders No. 33, July 27, 1868.

22. NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1867-68; Heitman, 1,

Battery I, 2d Artillery, left San Juan in September 1868, bound for Fort Wrangell, Alaska. It was replaced by Company F, 23d Infantry, under Capt. Azor H. Nickerson. Smallpox broke out in the company that fall. The commanding officer thought that it had been introduced by visiting Indians. Nickerson transferred in November, and 2d Lt. John P. Peterson was post commander until Capt. Joseph T. Haskell arrived in January 1869 to take charge of Company F. While only a second lieutenant, Peterson had remained in command even after the arrival of 1st Lt. Charles Bird in November 1868. Peterson had Bird placed in arrest until the outcome of Bird's recent court-martial at Fort Boise was learned. (Bird was not released from arrest until April 1869.)

Haskell remained commander at American Camp for two years. His regime saw the largest post complement ever at San Juan. Having averaged in the 70s in recent months, the number of troops

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158, 231, 696, and 829.

Harvey Abner Allen, a native of North Carolina, graduated from West Point in 1841. He spent his entire career in the 2d Artillery, retiring as a lt. colonel in 1879. He received a brevet captaincy in the Mexican War. Died in 1882.

James L. Mast was born in South America. He joined the Pennsylvania Infantry in 1861, and was commissioned in 1864. Following the Civil War, he entered the Regular Army as a 2d lieutenant in the 2d Artillery. He was dropped from the active list in 1878, when a 1st lieutenant.

William Borrowe, a New Yorker, was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 2d Artillery in 1861. He was dismissed from the Army in 1865, but was reinstated the same year. In 1871, he was honorably mustered out of the Army as a 1st lieutenant.

Ephriam Thomas Carroll Richmond was born in Maryland. He graduated from West Point in 1867. San Juan Island was his first regular assignment. During the Spanish-American was he was a colonel in the U. S. Volunteer Infantry. As of 1903, he was a lieutenant colonel in the Artillery Corps.

Melville R. [Souchs?]. This name, as such, cannot be found in the lists of commissioned officers. The writing in the Post Returns is not at all clear, and the above is probably a misspelling. Numerous variations have been tried, to no avail.

jumped to 105 in January 1871, when a group of recruits arrived. Because of the 100-man limitation, Haskell quickly had some of the men transferred before the British could complain. In addition to Peterson and Bird, Haskell's staff included at one time or other: Asst. Surg. Frank Reynolds, Asst. Surg. John Brooke, and 2d Lt. Henry C. Johnson.[23]

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23. Heitman, 1, 219, 248, 509, 575, 757, 787, and 825.

Azor Howitt Nickerson was born in Ohio. He entered the military as a 2d lieutenant in 1861. During the Civil War he reached the rank of captain, and brevet major. He remained in the Army following the war, retiring as a major in 1882.

John P. Peterson, a native of Sweden, entered the Army as a private in 1862. He was discharged in 1865. Then, in 1867, he was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 23d Infantry. He resigned in 1870.

Joseph Theodore Haskell was born in Ohio. He served in the Volunteers from 1863 to 1866, with rank of captain and brevet colonel. He joined the 23d Infantry as a captain in 1866. He was promoted to major in the 24th Infantry in 1892, and to lt. colonel in the 17th Infantry in 1896. In 1898 he became a brigadier general of Volunteers. He was fatally wounded at El Caney, Cuba, 1898.

Charles Bird, from Delaware, had a variety of military experience during the Civil War, and was honorably mustered out as a colonel in January 1866. That year he got a regular commission as a 2d lieutenant in the 14th Infantry, but soon transferred to the 23d Infantry. In 1882 he transferred to the Quartermaster Corps for a number of years. When he retired in 1902, he held the rank of brigadier general.

Frank Reynolds was a native of Ireland. He entered the military as a surgeon in 1861 and was mustered out in 1866. He again joined the Army as an assistant surgeon in 1868. Retired in 1878. Died in 1887.

John Brooke was born in Pennsylvania. He became an assistant surgeon in 1862, and was promoted to major surgeon in 1882. He retired in 1894, and died in 1902.

Henry C. Johnson came from Ohio. He entered the military with the rank of private in 1862, returning to civilian life at the end of the Civil War. In 1868, he was commissioned as a 2d lieutenant in the 45th Infantry. He retired in 1872, still a 2d lieutenant.

Haskell hosted a number of distinguished military visitors at American Camp. Col. George Crook, who in his brevet grade of major general was commanding the Department of the Columbia, arrived on the island in April 1869. Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, then commanding general of the Military Division of the Pacific, and his staff inspected American Camp in September 1879. In August 1870, Brig. Gen. E. R. S. Canby arrived "for the purpose of inspecting the Post and examining into a controversy that sprang up." Canby did not explain the controversy. He again visited the post in September 1871.[24]

In October 1871, Haskell compiled a report that discussed the armament of his company in detail. In that this is one of the few such documents on the subject, it is herewith referred to in detail. At the time, Company F had 97 men: five sergeants, four corporals, two musicians, two artificers, one wagoner, and eighty-three privates. On hand were 114 Springfield breech-loading rifle muskets, model 1866, caliber 50. Equipment issued to the troops was listed as:

113 cartridge boxes, caliber 58
113 cartridge box plates
113 bayonet scabbards
101 waist belts (privates)
109 waist belt plates "
6 waist belts and plates (NCOs)
6 infantry swords (NCOs)
1 infantry sword (musician)
1 infantry sword

Also available were 4,400 rounds of center-primed, metallic, ball cartridges. Surplus arms on hand but not in use were: seven Springfield rifle muskets, model 1858, caliber 58, unserviceable; one Colt revolver, old pattern, unserviceable; and one Whitney rifle, model 1845, brass mounted, in good condition.[25]

When Haskell's command departed in January 1872, 1st Lt. E. B. Hubbard arrived with a detachment of 16 enlisted men from Battery E, 2d Artillery. By summer the strength of the unit had dropped to eight. It has not been determined why the Army reduced

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24. NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1869-72; NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1870, Canby, Aug. 17, 1870, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific.

25. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letterbook, 1868-71, Haskell, May 22, 1871, to AAAG, Dept. of the Columbia.

the garrison so drastically at this time; the likely reason is that the decision of the German emperor was expected to be announced soon establishing the international water boundary. Despite his miniature detachment, Hubbard performed like a general in March when he entertained some distinguished visitors:

> H. M. B. S. 'Scout' came into the Harbor on the morning of the 7th Inst with the Commandant of the Fleet, His Excellency the Lieut. Governor of British Columbia, and the commandant of the British Camp on this Island, who made an official visit.[26]

The last commanding officer of American Camp, 1st Lt. James A. Haughey, Company H, 21st Infantry, arrived on the island in September 1872. Two months later, the Royal Marines departed from San Juan. Second Lt. Fred H. Ebstein, Haughey's adjutant, had the honor of accepting charge of English Camp from the British. With the announcement of the boundary decision, Washington Territory assumed charge of the San Juan Islands' affairs. American Camp was now just another army post. Early in 1874, Ebstein received a promotion and a transfer. His replacement was 2d Lt. Joseph W. Duncan.

The last post return for American Camp was dated June 30, 1874. Early in July, Haughey and his men stood their last formation, then boarded a vessel for Fort Townsend. American Camp's 14 years as an active post came to an end. The world had made a few revolutions since Pickett's surprise landing in July 1859.[27]

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26. NA, M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1872; Heitman, 1, 550.

Edward Buckley Hubbard was born in Ohio. He attended West Point for one year (1860-61), then entered the military as a private. In 1861 he was commissioned a second lieutenant. He was honorably mustered out of the service in 1864. In 1867, he was again commissioned a 2d lieutenant, in the 32d Infantry. He was dismissed from the Army in 1883 with the rank of captain.

27. NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1872-74; Heitman, 1, 388, 395, and 512.

James Alexander Haughey, a native of Delaware, entered the military as a 1st lieutenant in 1861. He was mustered out of the Civil War army in 1866. Shortly thereafter he joined the Regular Army as a 2d lieutenant in the 36th Infantry. He was assigned to the 21st Infantry in 1870, when a 1st lieutenant. In the Nez Perce War (1877) he was breveted to captain. His promotion to

Commanding Officers, American Camp

Compiled from the post returns. Each of these commanding officers was absent from his post from time to time. The subordinate officers who were acting at these times are not shown in the following list:

July 1859 - August 1859	Capt. George E. Pickett, 9th Inf.
August 1859 - October 1859	Lt. Col. Silas Casey, 9th Inf.
October 1859 - November 1859	Capt. Granville O. Haller, 4th Inf.
November 1859 - April 1860	Capt. Louis C. Hunt, 4th Inf.
April 1860 - July 1861	Capt. George E. Pickett, 9th Inf.
July 1861 - November 1861	Capt. Thomas C. English, 9th Inf.
November 1861 - February 1862	1st Lt. Augustus G. Robinson, 3d Art.
February 1862 - October 1865	Capt./Maj. Lyman Bissell, 9th Inf.
October 1865 - June 1867	Capt. Thomas Grey, 2d Art.
June 1867 - July 1868	Maj. Harvey A. Allen, 2d Art.
July 1868 - September 1868	Capt. Thomas Grey, 2d Art.
September 1868 - November 1868	Capt. Azor H. Nickerson, 23d Inf.
November 1868 - January 1869	2d Lt. John P. Peterson, 23d Inf.
January 1869 - January 1872	Capt. Joseph T. Haskell, 23d Inf.
January 1872 - September 1872	1st Lt. E. B. Hubbard, 2d Art.
September 1872 - July 1874	1st Lt. James A. Haughey, 21st Inf.

Units at American Camp, 1859-1874

Compiled from the post returns.

4th Infantry	Companies A, C, and I
9th Infantry	Companies C, D, and F (detachment)
21st Infantry	Company H
23d Infantry	Company F

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captain came in 1880. He died on active service in 1890.

Frederick Henry Ernst Ebstein was a native of Prussia. He entered the Army as a private in 1864. In 1867, he accepted a commission as 2d lieutenant in the 18th Infantry, and was assigned to the 21st Infantry in 1869. Promoted on San Juan to 1st lieutenant in 1873. He too was breveted to captain in the Nez Perce War. Retired in 1899 as a major.

Joseph Wilson Duncan came originally from Texas. He was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 21st Infantry in 1873. In the Nez Perce War, he won a 1st lieutenant brevecy. In 1903 he was still on active duty as a lieutenant colonel of the 13th Infantry.

2d Artillery	Batteries E (detachment) and I
3d Artillery	Betteries A, B, D, and N

Detachment of Engineers from A, Engineers

Deaths at American Camp, 1859-1874
Compiled from post returns.

October 1859	One enlisted man, from disease
April 1861	" " " " "
June 1863	" " " " "
September 1865	" " " drowned
December 1865	" " " from disease
June 1866	" " " " "
September 1867	" " " " "
February 1868	" " " " "
April 1870	Pvt. Andrew Cuddihy, suicide by shooting
June 1870	Hosp. Steward William Carroll, from disease
November 1870	Sergeant Miller, suicide by shooting
May 1871	Private Gerloch, unknown
November 1871	Sgt. H. W. Whetson, suicide
May 1873	Pvt. L. Jones, unknown
December 1873	Hosp. Steward (Fargnharson?), unknown
March 1874	Pvt. Abraham (Lute?), unknown
Total 16.	(List may be incomplete.)

Official Names of American Camp

July - August, 1859----------Military Post, San Juan Island
Aug. 10, 1859 - May 1863--------Camp Pickett
June 1863 - September 1865------San Juan Island
October 1865 - February 1867----U.S. Forces on San Juan island
March 1867 - November 23, 1868--Camp Steele
November 23, 1868 - July 1874---Camp San Juan Island[28]

The British

The joint occupation of San Juan Island came into realization

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28. NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, 1859-74; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, 1859-61, SO No. 13, Aug. 10, 1859; RG 94, AG Reservation File, SAJU, Hdqrs., Mil. Div. of the Pacific, GO No. 29, ca. November, 1868.

with the landing of the Royal Marines on March 21, 1860. The modern Royal Marines may be said to date from 1664, although that first unit was neither royal, nor a corps, nor called marines. At the outbreak of the Second Dutch War that year, an Order in Council called for 1,200 men to be "raysed to be in readiness to be distributed in His Mat's Fleets prepared for sea service." This unit was officially called the Duke of York and Albany's Maritime Regiment of Foot.

These first marines were disbanded in 1685. During the next fifty or so years, they were raised and disbanded two or three times more. During that period, however, they added to their laurels, particularly in the capture of Gibraltar in 1704. One marine historian has written of this incident: "This operation and the subsequent eight months' defence of the Rock is esteemed the high-light in our history and which gained us the only battle honour worn on our Colours and appointments."

Between 1739 and 1741, 13 regiments of marines were raised, including three in the American colonies. These latter were soon reduced to one regiment named Gooch's Marines, and numbered the 43d Regiment. It participated in the capture of Louisbourg in 1744-45. Then, in 1755, a regular body of marines, organized in 50 companies and permanently under Admiralty control, was authorized by an Order in Council. These marines were organized by three groups, or "Grand Divisions," based on three great naval ports: the Chatham Division, the Portsmouth Division, and the Plymouth Division.

A few of the battles important to the British marines' history in the following years included the capture of Quebec in 1759 (Wolfe had been a marine); Belle Isle off France in 1761, where the marines won their laurel and the French named them "Les petits Grenadiers"; Lexington and Bunker Hill in 1775; Battle of Capetown in 1797, victory over the Dutch; and the Battle of the Nile in 1798, Lord Nelson and the Napoleonic Wars. In 1802 King George III was pleased to style these fighting men "The Royal Marines."

Other significant events that may be noted were the creation of the Royal Marine Artillery in 1804; the grant of the "Great Globe," "Gibralter," and the Royal Monogram, "G. R. IV," by King George IV in 1827; and the change of designation from "Royal Marine Corps " to "Royal Marine Light Infantry" (RMLI) in 1855. It was from this group, the Royal Marine Light Infantry, that the detachment on San Juan was drawn. Marine historians have pointed out that the term "Light Infantry" is highly prized, there being at that time only one other regiment (Army) so honored.

Badges of the Royal Marines:

Brunswick Star-----first worn in 1739
Foul anchor-------- " " " 1747
Laurel-------------won at Belle Isle in 1761
Globe--------------granted in 1827

Mottoes of the Royal Marines:

Nec Aspera Terrant (Nor do difficulties deter us)
Worn at Bunker Hill and shared with many army regiments.
Per Mare Terramque Vincimus, 1803
Ubique, per mare per terram, 1806
Per Mare per terram, 1827 (from Shakespeare's The Tempest, Act. IV, Scene 1)

Nicknames of the Royal Marines:

The Red Marines--Royal Marine Light Infantry, red jackets.
The Blue Marines--Royal Marine Artillery, blue jackets.
The Royal Jollies--men of the London Trained Bands, 1660.
Leathernecks--from the leather stock worn around neck.
Lobsters--from the scarlet tunics of the RMLI.
Cheeks the Marine--a fictitious character carried on the muster roll of each company, whose pay went to the Greenwich Hospital.
Pongoes--from a battalion at Chatham which collected many of the poorer marines who were weeded out of units about to go overseas.
Les petits Grenadiers--by the French, from a cap similar to those of the Fusilier regiments, worn at the capture of Belle Isle in 1761.
Fish Gunners--the Royal Artillery's name for the RMA.

Aboard ship, the marines were under the complete authority of the ship's captain. Thus the Royal Marine officers played a quite subordinate role at sea, often being bypassed by the naval officers. Consequently, marine officers were often considered to be the social inferiors of the caste-conscious naval officers, and the marines' promotion rate was traditionally slow. On San Juan Island, while the commanding officer had day-to-day control over his men, he was directly under the thumb of the Royal Navy, either the commander-in-chief of the Pacific Station, the Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, or a designated ship's captain. Even the selection of English Camp was a naval responsibility, not the

Royal Marines'.[29]

In the late 1850s, the Royal Navy's Pacific Station encompassed the eastern Pacific from Cape Horn to Russia's Alaska, stretching westward to the International Dateline. Esquimalt had become an increasingly important harbor for British ships ever since the Oregon question of the 1840s, through the Crimean War with Russia in the mid-1850s (although no naval battles were fought in the Pacific or Alaskan waters), to the discovery of gold on the Frazer River in the late 1850s. When gold was discovered, two British warships, the Satellite and the Plumper, were at Esquimalt. Admiral Baynes, aboard his flagship, the Ganges, arrived in October 1858. Then, in February 1859, the Tribune and the Pylades arrived from the Far East, coincidentally in time for the San Juan affair.[30]

The Tribune had on board 164 supernumerary Royal Marines from the 1st and 2d Battalions, RMLI, China. They came to assist the the colonial government in the administration of the gold area of British Columbia. Captain Hornby described to his father the cramped condition of the Pacific crossing:

> We shall be awfully lumbered up with our 150 marines; I dont know where all the room gets to. She [the Tribune] is 1570 tons, her complement is only 330, and yet she only stows three months provisions. . . . No tiers, bad storeroom, sailroom, etc. I take three marine officers to sleep in my forecabin. We shall have three or four casks between every gun on the main deck, and the Royal Marines stowed on top of them; so--as they say she is very wet at sea--they will have a jovial time of it.[31]

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29. This brief history of the Royal Marines is based primarily on: G. W. M. Grover, A Short History of the Royal Marines (Aldershot, 1959), pp. 9-30, 39, and 87; P. H. B. Wall and G. A. M. Ritson, The Royal Marine Pocket Book (Aldershot, 1945), part 1, pp. vi and 1-15; and part 2, pp. 3-8; Cyril Field, Britain's Sea Soldiers, A History of the Royal Marines (Liverpool, 1924), pp. 268 and 270. Also useful were: Sir George Aston, Memoirs of a Marine, An Amphibiography (London, 1919), p. 2; Sam Bassett, Royal Marine (New York, 1965); Patrick Pringle, Fighting Marines (London, 1966), pp. 10-11; and A. B. Campbell, Customs and Traditions of the Royal Navy, With Chapters on the Royal Marines (Aldershot, 1956).

30. Gough, pp. 2-3, 6-7, and 141-45.

31. Egerton, p. 52; Gough, p. 145. Hornby said 150 -

On their arrival, most of the marines were sent to the mainland to help in the establishment of a colonial capital at New Westminster. When Pickett landed on San Juan and the Tribune was dispatched to San Juan Harbor, a number of marines came down from British Columbia to board the Tribune. Later, more marines were withdrawn from the Frazer; this detachment established a camp of permanent buildings in Victoria, where today's parliament building stands. The Royal Marines for San Juan came from this establishment.

By March 1860, Admiral Baynes and Governor Douglas were in agreement that marines could be landed on San Juan; and the Royal Navy had selected the camp site on the shore of today's Garrison Bay. The British determined the strength of the American garrison and established the Royal Marines on the island in approximately the same number. The Gazette carried news items on the departure of the marines:

> San Juan Occupation.--The British force on this Island will consist of Captain Bazalgette, Royal Marine Light Infantry, Commanding, Lieut. Sparshott; 5 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, and 65 rank and file. They will be stationed at about twenty miles from the American Headquarters, and fifteen from Mr. Griffins farm. A substantial storehouse is about being erected, and everything tends to indicate a rather lengthy joint occupation.

And, later:

> H. M. S. Satellite arrived at the entrance of Victoria Harbor on Wednesday [March 21], and received on board the company of marines under Capt. Bazalgette, destined for the occupation of San Juan. The Barracks adjoining the Government Buildings are now quite deserted.[32]

Lieut. Richard Mayne, on board the Satellite, was not impressed

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Gough says 164. Also useful in the above was a conversation between Historian John Luzader, NPS, and the staff of the Royal Marine Museum, England, in 1971.

32. Gazette, Mar. 21 and 23, 1860. Admiral Baynes gave the strength figures as follows: 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 1 assistant surgeon, and 83 NCOs and privates. The post returns for American Camp for February 1860 were: 2 officers, 1 assistant surgeon, and 81 EM; at the end of March the number of enlisted men had dropped to 73. See NA, microfilm M617, Post Returns, SAJU, Feb. - Mar., 1860.

by the landing of the marines. He wrote in his journal that day:

> 'Satellite' left with Marines for San Juan. They are to live in camp on the north end of the Island, near Westcote creek. I cannot help thinking this is a great mistake after saying we would not send troops there for the last 9 months, that it was not 'English' etc. etc. to do so to 'cave in' now, but I suppose it is ordered from home, and then sticking them at the opposite end of the Island as if they were to eat each other. I should like to see /Captain Hunt, American Camp?/ how he will laugh at it!![33]

Despite Mayne's misgivings, the joint occupation proceeded smoothly, upset only temporarily by Harney's abrupt replacement of Hunt with Pickett a month later. The Royal Marines proceeded to build a handsome but modest post at English Camp, the structural details of which will be discussed later. In contrast to the rapid turnover of officers and units at American Camp, the personnel at English Camp had long, stable assignments. Nonetheless, little is presently known of the personal histories of the Royal Marine officers and men.

From the collective correspondence of the period, it may be firmly established that the two Royal Marine commanding officers, Capt. George Bazalgette and Capt. William Delacombe, were judicious, mature men who administered English Camp with a minimum of fuss, and who did all they could to cooperate with the American officials.

Capt. George Bazalgette had received his commission as a second lieutenant in 1847. A year later he had become a first lieutenant and, in 1858, had been promoted to captain. Just after his retirement at full pay in 1872, he would receive a promotion to major. Before arriving on Vancouver Island (he was possibly one of the marine officers who shared Captain Hornby's forecabin on the Tribune), he had served in China, 1857-58. There he had participated in the blockade of the Canton River, the capture of Canton, action near the White Cloud Mountains, and the capture of Namtow. For these services he had received a medal with clasp. During most of his time on San Juan, Bazalgette was borne on the books of HMS Sutlej, the flagship of the Pacific Station from 1862 to 1866.

Bazalgette served as commandant of English Camp until June

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33. Mayne, "Journal," entry for March 21, 1860.

1867, when he was relieved and ordered home to England after seven years of "long and faithful service." A typical comment concerning his administration may be found in a report of Rear-Admiral John Kingcome's inspection of English Camp in 1863: "Inspected the Detachment of Royal Marines landed at San Juan, and found the Camp in a most satisfactory state. The Admiral afterwards visited the American Camp accompanied by Captain Bazalgette . . . and reports that the most cordial and amicable relations exist."[34]

Capt. William Addis Delacombe, who replaced Bazalgette in 1867, had been commissioned a second lieutenant in the Royal Marines in 1850. He had reached the grade of captain in 1862. In later years he would be promoted to major in 1875, and to lieutenant colonel in 1876, on the day of his retirement. Before coming to San Juan, he had won a medal for his performance in a naval expedition to the Baltic. In 1864 he had been in charge of the Royal Marines on board HMS Bombay when that ship caught fire and blew up at Montevideo. During his tour on San Juan, he was carried in the books of the flagship HMS Zealous. Delacombe, his wife, and three children were quite popular on San Juan during the five years they lived there. After the Royal Marines left the island in 1872, the Delacombes lived for an additional year in Victoria. When the news came out that he was returning to England, former British settlers on San Juan hastily organized a deputation to call on him to express their regrets at his departure. The Colonist continued to report on his activities in future years. In 1874, the paper said that he was on recruiting duty in Derby, England. It reported his promotion to major in 1875 and said that he planned to return to British Columbia. But he failed to come back. He died in 1902.[35]

The names of the subalterns at English Camp are more remote. During Bazalgette's command, Lieut. Edward C. Sparshott was assigned to English Camp from 1860 to 1867. The Royal Marine assistant surgeon for at least part of that time was Ingham Hanbury. It is also known that 1st Lt. Henry T. M. Cooper served under Bazalgette--for all or part of the time. Delacombe's officers appear to have been Lieut. James Inman and Asst.

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34. BC PA, F. V. Longstaff, "San Juan Island, Royal Marine Garrison," MS, 1927; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 816a, W. G. Romaine, Admiralty, Nov. 13, 1863, to Hammond, Foreign Office.

35. BC PA, Longstaff, "San Juan Island, Royal Marine Garrison"; Daily Colonist, Sept. 9, 1951.

Surg. Ingham Hanbury in 1867. By 1870, these had been replaced by Lieut. Henry E. Sturt and Asst. Surg. James A. Allan. In 1871, Lieut. Herbert S. G. Schomberg joined his staff.[36]

Of the enlisted men at English Camp, we know very little. That they were a lively group, motivated by much the same things as the soldiers at American Camp is clear from the record. During the months they were at New Westminster and Victoria, large numbers of marines deserted. Lieutenant Norman of the Tribune, referring to no fewer than 40 desertions of sailors and marines, said: "The reasons were two fold. First, the attractions . . . offered by the diggings and local demand for labor. Secondly, for /disciplinary/ reasons connected with the captain /Hornby/ which I have already explained /on the voyage from China/." In the summer of 1860, gold was discovered in the Cariboo country of British Columbia, renewing the gold fever. An unknown number of marines from English Camp deserted to try their hand. Of course, the soldiers at American Camp must have been likewise tempted.[37]

A third reason for desertion was the closeness of American soil. If a determined Royal Marine could get over to Washington Territory, he was beyond the reach of the Royal Navy. That many tried is amply illustrated in the columns of the Colonist. One incident described therein may be the same large number of deserters mentioned by Norman:

> Stampede.--Early yesterday morning, about 30 sailors and marines belonging to H. M. ships at Esquimalt, who had been out on leave of absence, took a plunger and two Whitehall boats, and it is supposed left for the American side. The gun-boat Forwood /Forward/ was ordered to start in pursuit of them, but owing to the fact of her having had to wait to coal-up, the deserters had time, it is thought to make the other side, and thus avoid arrest.

Norman told of one marine named McFarlane who deserted successfully to Washington Territory, where he became a farmer, and then sent his potatoes to the Tribune for sale.[38]

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36. BC PA, Longstaff, "San Juan Island, Royal Marine Garrison"; Daily Colonist, Sept. 9, 1951.

37. Norman, pp. 227-28 and 273-74; Gough, p. 146.

38. Norman, p. 274; Colonist, July 17, 1860.

The enlistments of the Royal Marines expired in the fall of 1860. The Admiralty, having made no prior arrangements for replacements, kept the detachment on San Juan for the time being. Whether these marines reenlisted or a new detachment arrived cannot be determined. Apparently, the occupation continued without interruption. It is thought that a marine's term of enlistment at that time was 12 years. If this is correct, it would mean that the next expiration of enlistment would have occurred in 1872, the same time as the boundary dispute was settled. That would seem to be correct, for the marines on San Juan in 1872 left in a body to return to England for discharge.[39]

Like their American cousins, the Royal Marines had to endure inspections by high officials from time to time. Baynes' replacement, Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Maitland, visited English Camp in June 1861. Besides an inspection he wanted to learn firsthand what the Americans were up to. Colonel Casey had recently visited the island and had discussed with Bazalgette the closing of American Camp because of the Civil War. Casey had suggested that the British should leave also. Bazalgette had replied that he would not leave until ordered to do so by the British government. As it turned out, both camps remained open. Maitland mentioned that the total number of officers and men at English Camp then amounted to 73.[40]

Other senior officers to visit included Vice Admiral the Hon. George Fowler Hastings in 1867: "I visited the Island of San Juan in H. M. S. 'Sparrowhawk' . . . and inspected the Detachment of Marines and the Camp generally. And am glad to report that everything was proceeding satisfactorily as regards the relations between the British and American occupation;" and Rear Admiral Farquhar in 1871: "I found the men in efficient order and their Quarters neat, clean, and comfortable. Captain Delacombe has taken great trouble to render the men contented, and their quarters comfortable, many improvements (some suggested before my last inspection) have been carried out with this view."[41]

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39. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 815, W. G. Romaine, Admiralty, Oct. 22, 1860, to Sir Frederic Rogers, Colonial Office; Colonist, May 27, 1873.

40. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 816a, Maitland, June 26, 1861, to Sect. of the Admiralty; Colonist, June 30, 1861.

41. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 816b, Hastings, report of inspection, July 18, 1867; FO 5, 1470, Farquhar, report of inspection, Aug. 22, 1871.

As soon as the news reached Victoria that the San Juan Islands belonged to the United States, British officials prepared to abandon English Camp. On November 18, 1872, the Senior Naval Officer, Captain R. P. Cator, sailed to San Juan and ordered Captain Delacombe to arrange for embarking "the Garrison, with all stores, naval colonial etc." He also ordered Delacombe to remain behind on the island to assist British settlers with their land claims.[42]

On November 21, General Schofield telegrammed from San Francisco directing Lieutenant Haughey at American Camp "to pay the usual compliments to the British Flag on the withdrawal of the garrison from San Juan." General Canby at Portland wired back that the joint occupation agreement had prohibited artillery pieces on San Juan and that no naval vessel was near enough to reach the island in time to fire a salute. "The only compliments," he said, "that can be paid will be verbal between the commanding officers." Haughey performed this assignment with all the dignity that could be mustered at short notice. Delacombe appreciated the gesture:

> I have the honor to return to you my grateful acknowledgement of the high compliment (contained in your message received through Lieutenant J. A. Haughey USA this day) it was your intention to have bestowed had our withdrawal been less hurried, and on behalf of the officers serving under my command and myself, to express how fully we appreciate and value the personal expressions you have been pleased to forward and with feelings of the very highest respect.[43]

At sunset, November 21, Captain Cator formally hauled down the British flag for the last time at English Camp. Twelve years of occupation came to an end. That evening a telegram arrived from London changing Delacombe's orders. He too was to go to Vancouver Island. The next morning the Royal Marines boarded a warship standing off in Garrison Bay:

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42. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1474, Capt. R. P. Cator, Nov. 25, 1872, to Sect. of the Admiralty; Colonist, Nov. 19, 1872.

43. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1872, 4, Canby, telegram, Nov. 21, 1872, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific; RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, Canby, Nov. 21, 1872, to CO, SAJU; RG 77, Corps of Engineers, Land Papers, Delacombe, Nov. 22, 1872, to Canby; RG 94, Adjutant General, Reservation File, SAJU, Schofield, Nov. 21, 1872, to CG, Dept. of the Columbia.

> British Camp, Nov. 22.--The evacuation of this garrison took place this a.m. The stores, ammunition, Government property, etc., etc., were taken on board H. M. S. Scout early in the morning. At about 11 o'clock, the troops were drawn in line, inspected and marched to the boats of the war vessel, which was done in an orderly manner. When all were embarked, Capt. Cator, of H. M. S. Scout, complimented the men on their behavior, saying, 'Marines, you are a credit to your country.' The crowd of Citizens who assembled . . . gave them three hearty cheers, which were returned by the soldiers in a lusty manner. The boats then left for the ship, and the Camp is now clear.[44]

The camp was not quite clear; Captain Delacombe remained on shore to dispose of the camp buildings. The British had heard that American citizens were planning to take possession of the camp buildings. Cator, having received no instructions on the matter, decided to turn the camp over to the commander of American Camp. On November 24, Lt. Fred Ebstein rode to English Camp to receive the structures from the British. He was disappointed to find that the marines had cut down the flagstaff. At two p.m., November 25, Delacombe and a naval officer formally turned over English Camp to the U. S. Army. Delacombe and his family immediately boarded HMS Peterel and arrived at Esquimalt that same day.[45]

San Juan's Royal Marines made one more appearance in American history. The following spring a San Francisco newspaper reported their arrival in that port. The article was lengthy, but it gave a rare glimpse of the men in red who had for so long called San Juan their home:

> British Troops From San Juan.--The San Francisco Daily Call of the 17th inst. says: The appearance of red-coated English soldiers--or rather marines--upon our streets yesterday, created no little astonishment to those who were aware that the harbor contained no

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44. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1471, Cator, Nov. 25, 1872, to Sect. of the Admiralty; Colonist, Nov. 23, 1872.

45. PA Ottawa, FA 5, 1474, Cator, Nov. 25, 1872, to Sect. of the Admiralty; Colonist, Nov. 26 and 27, 1872; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Letter Book, 1867-73, Haughey, Dec. 15, 1872, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; and Frederick H. E. Ebstein, "A Chapter of American History," Journal of the Military Service Institution, 12, 780-81.

> British ship-of-war at the time. The phenomenon . . . was explained by the fact that the steamer Prince Alfred had arrived from Victoria with the garrison formerly in occupation of the British portion of San Juan Island, lately awarded to the United States by arbitration. The detachment numbers seventy-six men of the Royal Marine Light Infantry under command of Captain Sturt and Lieutenant Schomberg. They are at present quartered at a hotel in the vicinity of the Pacific Mail Steamship wharf . . . until Monday, when they will depart by the Arizona for Panama, thence . . . to Southhampton. The men are fine, healthy, sturdy looking fellows, and seem quiet and well-disposed. Many of them intend to return to British Columbia when they shall have been discharged . . . and will settle upon grants of land accorded them by the Government.[46]

The strange interlude had ended. Few of the original participants were still on the scene, they being a handful of the settlers who had been on San Juan in 1859. Lyman Cutlar was living on the mainland. Governor Douglas and Generals Harney and Pickett were all in retirement. General Scott and Admiral Baynes were dead. The tempers and tensions of 1859 seemed far away now. The departure of the Royal Marines was like losing old friends. The Army and Navy Journal summed up the emotions of the moment: "The joint occupation of San Juan Island has been terminated by the withdrawal of the British troops. . . . Socially, our officers will regret the departure of their British associates, however they may rejoice at the establishment of our disputed title to the Island."[47]

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46. Colonist, May 27, 1873, quoting the San Francisco Daily Call, May 17, 1873.

47. Army and Navy Journal, Nov. 30, 1872.

CHAPTER 9

The Social Whirl

As soon as Pickett landed on San Juan in 1859, sightseers and excursionists began flocking to the island. At first they came for the excitement, some undoubtedly hoping that the British warships would fire on American Camp. Later, after the joint occupation began, excursion boats continued to plv the waters between Victoria and San Juan. When the weather was good, such a trip was a grand way to spend a day. It is still a popular tourist trip today.

Both garrisons on San Juan contributed to the social life by celebrating their respective national holidays: July 4 for the Americans, Queen Victoria's Birthday on May 24 for the British. Both camps also entertained settlers and each other at Christmas and New Year's. Dinners, balls, field sports, and horse racing were the pursuits of pleasure.

The race track was located near American Camp, on the prairie between the redoubt and the springs. The Port Townsend Register faithfully reported the meets. Describing races held in June 1860, the paper said that "the heats were hotly contested, and afforded fine amusement. There was a good turn out of the citizens, and crinoline extensively displayed."

The Sweep Stake race of three half-mile heats was won by Hudson's Bay Company's Charles Griffin's black mare, Bessie (2, 1, 1). American Camp Sutler Ed Warbass' Siwash ran 3, 2, and 2. Asst. Surg. Robert O. Craig's bay gelding, Albany Pony, was at least consistent--4, 4, and 4. But poor Captain Pickett's Port Townsend, a chestnut sorrel gelding, ingloriously "bolted for the springs."

This was followed by the Farmer's Purse of $100 for three-year-olds. Lieutenant Forsyth's Tyhee was the winner (2, 1, 1). Dr. Craig did a little better this time with Jessie, also a consistent runner at 3, 3, and 3. Charles Griffin now knew how Pickett felt; his Sun-beam also bolted, but apparently not for the springs.[1]

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1. Port Townsend Register, June 27, 1860.

July 4, 1861, was observed with three races. Among the contestants were Warbass, Griffin, Craig, and Captain Bazalgette from English Camp. Bazalgette's Jerry won the Sweep Stakes. Asst. Surg. Craig had a different horse this year, a bay stallion named Coy. Coy won both the Pony Purse and the Farmer's Purse. The newspaper said that "the betting was lively, but for small amounts." Pickett did not enter the races this year. Was he still smarting from his earlier experience? Or getting ready for his departure to the C. S. A.?

The races this year were preceded by a ceremony at San Juan Village: "The Fourth was celebrated by reading the Declaration of Independence, horse racing, etc. Early in the day the U. S. flag was raised at the Post Office and San Juan Exchange [?] at 10 o'clock, a.m. The Declaration of Independence was read by Paul K. Hubbs jr, after which, extemporaneous speeches were made by several gentlemen."[2]

Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., who got a lot of publicity during the first months of the American occupation, made the papers in December 1859. The headlines announced: "San Juan Question Settled," and "A joint occupation of the Island of San Juan has been agreed upon." The article went on to explain: "Paul K. Hubbs, Esq., U. S. Revenue collector for the Island of San Juan, on the part of the United States, and Miss Flora Ross, a true and loyal subject of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, resident of Bellevue, on the part of Great Britain, have agreed to enter into a matrimonal connection, and jointly occupy the Island." Hubbs and Miss Ross had to go to the mainland for their wedding. The first marriage on San Juan did not take place until 1863, when E. T. Hambler, J. P., united Hosias Harvey and Caroline Marks.[3]

An island reporter wrote in 1861 that most of the settlers on San Juan were young, unmarried men. Nonetheless, there were some 12 to 15 children of school age and plans were underway to establish a public school. Apparently the school was built soon thereafter. Robert Firth, HBC, made several references to it in his diary in 1865: July 1, "Went to the school meeting;" July 12, "Working at the School." His daughter-in-law of later years was one of its first students. A picture of this log school at Portland Fair Hill appears in David Richardson's Pig War Islands.[4]

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2. Ibid., July 17, 1861.

3. Gazette, Dec. 7, 1859; Colonist, Jan. 29, 1863.

4. Colonist, Feb. 20, 1861; BC PA, Firth, "Diary"; U. of Wash-

The American Camp commanders occasionally took holiday trips to Victoria. In March 1860, Captain Hunt and a large party of friends visited the colonial capital for a few days. Probably because of the crowded conditions, the Hunt party camped just outside the town. The government was said to be considering offering Hunt's party the use of an empty public building. But Hunt returned to San Juan before any offer was made. In 1860, Captain Pickett and Captain Bazalgette visited Victoria together aboard the Massachusetts. One has to wonder if Pickett bumped into Governor Douglas on this occasion.[5]

Of the many descriptions of excursions to and holidays on San Juan described by the Victoria papers, only five are quoted herein. Collectively they describe the simple but pleasant social events on the island.

July 4, 1863, American Camp

> Shrotly after noon a sumtuous dinner was laid out in the company's mess room, to which a large company of citizens, including a number of the fair sex, repaired. The room was very tastefully decorated with evergreens, with here and there a star, formed of side-arms, which had a brilliant and striking effect. On the door were the words 'welcome all,' a motto which was most literally construed inside. . . . Prior to the commencement of the repast an extract from the Declaration of Independence was read, and a few appropiate remarks made by Sergeant Jones, U. S. A.; after which the time honored Star Spangled Banner was sung in excellent style.
>
> Dinner over, all hands adjourned to the prairie outside the camp, where a number of sports took place. Everything passed off most satisfactorily, and all (except those who participated in a ball at the town, which was kept up with great spirit until the small hours) retired well satisfied. . . . The officers from the British camp were also present, and seemed thoroughly to enjoy the proceedings. The following was the programme:
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> Hop, Step, and Jump, won by private Callaghan, U. S. A.; a Foot Race of 100 yards, won by private Newberry,

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ington Library, Lila Hannah Firth, "Early Life on San Juan Island," MS, typescript.

5. Gazette, Mar. 22, 1860; Colonist, July 17, 1861.

R. M. L. I.; High Leap, Standing, and High Leap Running, both won by private Ryan, U. S. A.; Long Leap, Running, won by private Butler, U. S. A.; Long Leap, Standing, won by Corporal Greatson, U. S. A.; Running Backwards, 100 yards, won by private Cole, U. S. A.; Throwing the Shot, won by private Gallagher, U. S. A.; Hurdle Race, 150 yards, won by private Ryan, U. S. A.; Foot Race (blindfold) 100 yards, won by private Malloy, U. S. A.; concluding with a Horse Race.

An excursion to American Camp, 1863

The steamer Enterprise with the San Juan excursionists, numbering about 180 ladies and gentlemen, returned to the Hudson Bay Company's wharf /Victoria/ last evening at 9 o'clock, having been absent about 11 hours. We learn that the affair was . . . successful.

Bellevue was reached about noon, and a landing effected in open boats, which occupied an hour. A shady spot was selected close to the American camp. . . . The officers of the American and English garrison partook of a luncheon with the pic-nic party. . . . After the cloth was cleared, dancing was commenced on the grass, but the sun's rays proving too powerful for terpsichorean indulgence, an invitation was given by the medical officer in charge /Asst. Surg. C. C. Dumreicher/ to adjourn to his quarters; which they accordingly did, and continued dancing until six o'clock, when the steamer's whistle summoned them.

July 4, American Camp, 1873

On the coming 4th July the officers, with the troops and citizens united . . . are sparing no expense to make it a splendid affair . . . music, races and various sports, also . . . a display of fireworks in the evening. A sumptuous repast . . . booths and extensive bowers erected . . . . dancing hall, etc. An orator from the Sound has been secured; the national salute will be fired. . . . We wish success to this the first national celebration proper of the Islanders.

Queen's Birthday, English Camp, 1866

/The HBC steamer Enterprise left Victoria May 24/ with

from 170 to 180 excursionists on a visit to the British garrison at San Juan Island. Among the company were the Hon. R. Finlayson and family, Dr. Tolmie, MLA, and family, Dr. Tuzo, Mr. Munro and family, Rev. T. Somerville, M. A., Councillors Jeffery, sen. and jun., the Committee [or the Mechanics' Institute], consisting of Messers. Trounce, Wallace Bull, Fell and Teague, and a number of citizens and their families.

* * * * *

Reached the beautiful and sequestered little spot where stands the neat and picturesque camp of the British garrison. Capt. Bazalgette being absent [in Victoria to attend the governor's ball], the officer in command, Lieutenant Sparshott, came on board and invited the company ashore.

* * * * *

At one o'clock a drum announced that the sport had commenced, and everybody repaired to the spot prepared for the purpose. * * * The Various contests were open to all comers and many of the passengers entered . . . as did also Lieut. Sparshott and the doctor [Ingham Hanbury] of the station. . . . The wheel-barrow race blindfolded evoked intense amusement, the men rushed about in all directions and several of them disappeared, barrow and all, over the embankment.

* * * * *

Before leaving the party assembled beneath the shade of a large tree when the Rev. Mr. Somerville proposed that the National Anthem should be sung. This was done the marines joining in lustily, and Mr. W. K. Bull [made] a few remarks . . . a short fervent and patriotic address which went to the hearts of the men of the garrison, who gave him three cheers.

(Many of the games that day were similar to those held at American Camp, above. A few extra contests included canoe and sculling races, a sack race, bobbing at rolls, carrying a bucket of water, and walking a greasy pole.)

New Year's Day, English Camp, 1871

The British Camp, San Juan Island, on Monday presented an unusual scene. The soldiers of the garrison had previously decorated the barracks with evergreen, holly, the Union Jack, and other national insignia, and on Monday evening received a large number of residents of the Island and entertained them with a supper and a ball. The attendance of rustic belles was unusually

> large . . . [people danced] until day broke, when breakfast was served and after cheering their hosts lustily the company departed at seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, escorted for a long distance by a band of music and the soldiers.[6]

At least on one occasion an actress visited San Juan and gave "theatricals" at both American and English Camps. She was a Mrs. Phelps who had been performing in Victoria. Altogether she gave five performances on the island: "The houses were crowded, the audiences delighted." From other accounts we learn that Mrs. Phelps sang and gave recitations such as "Beautiful Snow" and "Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines."[7]

This discussion of social activities has not included the whiskey ranches or the wild and wicked early days of San Juan Village. Also not mentioned was the serious problem of the whiskey dealers encouraging Indian women to engage in prostitution. Little is known of the daily social intercourse of soldier and settler, laundress and hospital matron, captain's lady and Private O'Grady's wife. Islanders today have many a folk tale of some of the eccentric characters of those early years of San Juan's history. In most ways, San Juan was like other small frontier communities of the time. It differed, however, in two aspects. It was an island and its inhabitants early developed the special mystique that islanders do everywhere about the significance of their island home. And, for 12 years, these people were part of or under a military government composed of the officers of two nations. It was a place and time unique in North American history.

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6. Colonist, July 8 and Aug. 28, 1863; May 26, 1866; Jan. 5, 1871; and June 12, 1873.

7. Colonist, Dec. 1, 1869.

CHAPTER 10

San Juan Medley

In the course of researching the history of San Juan Island a number of items came to light that are of interest in themselves but could not be woven into the narrative with ease. Rather than lose this material entirely, it is presented here as a potpourri of data that may have some historical, interpretive, or archeological value.

Boundary Commission Explorers

In other sections of this report, pertinent extracts of reports of exploration of San Juan Island by members of the U. S. Boundary Commission have been or will be used with regard to specific topics, such as structural history. One description that has not appeared elsewhere is that of William I. Warren, secretary to the commission, who unknowingly explored the future site of English Camp on February 7, 1860:

> About 8 oclock a.m. broke up camp and proceeded down the western shore of San Juan Id. Camped on the site of an old Indian village on the shore of a deep inlet or bay opposite the lower end of Henry Id. [Westcott Bay?]. Portions of the old lodge were still remaining. It had been about 500 or 600 feet in length, by about 50 or 60 feet in width, and must have accommodated over a thousand Indians. As usual at such localities there were immense quantities of clam shells on the shore.
>
> Shortly after landing and making camp, Dr. K[ennerly] and I started out in a westerly direction and climbed a hill about 400 or 500 feet high [Young Hill, 650 feet]. From this eminence we had a very extensive view. To the south and west is a beautiful valley, mostly of prairie land. At the north eastern base of the mountains is a lake about 3/4 mile in length, and about 200 yds. wide: its outlet is through a swamp into the north end of the bay on which we are camped. A high bluff quite heavily timbered lies at the East. The valley south of us affords excellent grazing, and has been used for that purpose by the Hudson's Bay Co. . . . There are but few trees (oaks) scattered on the southern grassy slope of the mountain:

the northern slope is covered with open timber, very much resembling the Eastern slopes of the Cascade mountains near the 49th parallel--the ground being free of underbrush, and the grazing good.

On the hills we saw in different places cobble stones placed in lines about 100 feet long, arranged in this position probably by the Indians . . . though for what purpose we could not conjecture.[1]

Wreck of the William S. Harney

When the American forces on San Juan were reduced to only Captain Hunt's company in November 1859, Pickett took his Company D, 9th Infantry, back to Fort Bellingham on board the Massachusetts. For lack of space on the steamer he left private and company property and some stores on the island, to be removed at a later date. Early in December, Captain Hunt had these stores placed aboard a contract schooner, General William S. Harney:

As commanding officer of Camp Pickett, San Juan Island, I /Hunt/ caused the Company property of Co. D, 9th Infantry . . . with a quantity of Quarter Master and Commissary Stores . . . and a quantity of the private property of the officers and men . . . to be placed on board the Schooner 'Gen. Harney,' Ro/e/der, Master, for transportation to Bellingham Bay.

/The schooner prepared to sail when/ a strong gale from the North suddenly sprung up which soon became almost a hurricane. The Schooner was driven in spite of her anchors (two) upon the beach, among the rocks, where she soon filled with water. The public animals were forced over the ship's side to prevent their perishing from cold, and having been well cared for, have received no injury. The men suffered intensely from the cold, the captain's feet were frozen. * * * The storm raged for 24 hours from the evening of the 3rd December to the evening of the 4th.

Hunt's men were forced to unload the ship at night (4th-5th) and at low tide. The stores and property received much water damage and there was considerable loss. Altogether, the soldiers

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1. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geographical Memoir," Appendix F, William I. Warren, report, 1860.

managed to salvage from 50 to 60 tons, which was later shipped to Bellingham. The site of the ship wreck has not been established; it probably was not too far from the Hudson's Bay wharf, where the salvage was placed by the troops.[2]

Costs of Maintaining Camps

H. H. Bancroft (citing Hanzard's Parlimentary Debates, 199, 1238) wrote that the cost to the British government of maintaining English Camp ran between $12,000 - 13,000 per year, plus the pay of the officers and men. A more exact accounting concerning the cost of American Camp for the year 1867 was prepared by Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck:

> The only cost to the Government during the past year in keeping up the post, besides the ordinary pay and allowances . . . has been some fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars for the repairs of the hospital and quarters, and three thousand for the transportation of the Mail, Officers & soldiers between that place and Victoria. No civilian employe's of any description are now allowed at this post.
>
> The average cost of the ration in San Francisco is 20.8 cents /three meals for one man for one day/. To this should be added about 3/4 cents for transportation and delivery at San Juan Island. The annual allowance of Clothing for each soldier costs $75.00 to which should be added $3.00 for cost of transportation. This would give / for a company of five officers and fifty-eight men/:

Annual pay	for 58 men	$10,920.00
"	cost of rations "	4,519.00
"	cost of clothing "	4,500.00
"	pay & Allowances of 5 Officers	7,728.00
"	cost of fuel for the garrison	1,200.00
"	cost of forage for public animals	2,000.00
"	cost of Mail Communication, etc.	3,000.00
"	cost of repairs to public buildings	2,000.00
	total	35,667.00 /sic/[3]

2. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1859-75, Hunt, deposition, Dec. 7, 1859.

3. Bancroft, British Columbia, p. 638n; NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU, Halleck Jan. 13, 1868, to the AG.

Sutlers

Edward Warbass, who had been the post sutler at Fort Bellingham, landed on San Juan at almost the same time as Captain Pickett in 1859. He hoped, of course, to continue in business as sutler for the new camp. Pickett obliged; at a meeting of the post Council of Administration, a vote passed in favor of Warbass' being the sutler for a period of three years--to 1862. Similarly, British Camp's sutler was Augustus Hoffmeister.

Hoffmeister remained sutler at the north end of the island throughout the joint occupation. On the contrary, Warbass had ceased being the American Camp sutler sometime before 1865, although remaining an eminent citizen on the island. By that date, the sutler at American Camp was one George Mercer. Mrs. Elizabeth Valssy lodged a complaint against Mercer in December 1865 alleging that he had sold whiskey to some privates after hours and that these soldiers had then tried to break into her house. The outcome of her complaint remains unknown, except that Mercer continued to be the post sutler.[4]

In 1868 Hoffmeister and Mercer got together and petitioned British Governor Frederick Seymour requesting to be allowed to trade with Victoria merchants and to bring these goods into San Juan in bond and duty free. They complained that Mercer recently had brought goods in San Francisco, then had to pay duties on them because they passed through Victoria. The colonial secretary emphatically denied the petition. He pointed out that goods for the two garrisons already entered the island duty-free. What Hoffmeister and Mercer were really after, he said, was the right to obtain duty-free goods for their own use and for sale to settlers on the island.[5]

By 1868, the English and American commanders had agreed to close all stores on San Juan except for the sutler stores at their respective camps. The purpose of this drastic decision was to force out of business the remaining liquor sellers. Several citizens complained, but this system continued to be enforced. Of course, the sutlers enjoyed such a ruling; they had in effect a monopoly in their respective ends of the island.

Then, in December 1868, Mercer lost his position. His re-

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4. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, 1861-68, GO No. 44, Dec. 5, 1865.

5. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1868, petition of Hoffmeister and Mercer, no date; disapproved on Aug. 20, 1868.

replacement was William S. Taylor. Mercer was caught with a large inventory of goods. At first he tried to unload his stock on Taylor, but the two men failed to reach an agreement on the price. Mercer, who had so favored the monopoly system only a short time before, now appealed to the American post commander to be allowed to remain in business for six months, selling only to settlers: "I will guarantee not to interfere with Mr. Taylor in his business as Sutler also I will not replentish [sic] any of my Goods without consulting him." It is believed that Mercer's request was not granted, although the record is incomplete.

Taylor's appointment as post trader was in turn limited to three years. At the end of that time, in December 1872, he applied for a renewal of his position. General Canby refused his request: "It is supposed the post will be abandoned early in the ensuing year." While American Camp was not abandoned for another eighteen months, no further notice of post traders has been found in its records.[6]

Governors of Washington Territory, 1859-72

Richard D. Gholson, 1859-60
W. H. Wallace, 1861
William Pickering, 1862-66
George E. Cole, 1866-67
Marshall F. Moore, 1867-69
Alvin Flanders, 1869-70
Edward S. Solomon, 1870-72
Elisha P. Ferry, 1872-80[7]

U. S. Secretaries of State, 1859-72

Lewis Cass, 1857-60
Jeremiah S. Black, 1860-61
William H. Seward, 1861-69
Elihu B. Washburne, 1869
Hamilton Fish, 1869-77

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6. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letterbook, 1868-71, Captain Nickerson, Oct. 5, 1868, to Mercer; Taylor, Jan. 19, 1869, to Captain Haskell; Mercer, Jan. 19, 1869, to Haskell; RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1871, 1, Canby, Jan. 20, 1870, to Mil. Div. of the Pacific; Letters Sent, 1872, 4, Canby, Dec. 27, 1872, to the AG, thru Mil. Div. of the Pacific.

7. Edmond S. Meany, Governors of Washington, Territorial and State (Seattle, 1915).

U. S. Secretaries of War, 1859-74

John B. Floyd, 1857-61
Joseph Holt, 1861
Simon Cameron, 1861-62
Edwin M. Stanton, 1862-67
Ulysses S. Grant, 1867-68
Lorenzo Thomas, 1868
John M. Schofield, 1868-69
John A. Rawlins, 1869
William T. Sherman, 1869
William W. Belknap, 1869-76

Commanders-in-Chief & Senior Naval Officers
Pacific Station Royal Navy 1859-72

Rear-Adm. of the Red Robert Lambert Baynes, C. B., July 8, 1857
(flag in HMS Ganges, 84 guns, sail)
Rear-Adm. of the White Sir Thomas Maitland, Kt., C. B., May 5, 1860
(flag in HMS Bacchante, 51 guns, screw)
Rear-Adm. of the White John Kingcome, Oct. 31, 1862.
(promoted to Vice-Adm. of the Blue, Mar. 5, 1864)
(flag in HMS Sutlej, 35 guns, screw)
Rear-Adm. of the White, the Hon. Joseph Denman, May 10, 1864
(flag in HMS Sutlej)
Rear-Adm. the Hon. George Fowler Hastings, C. B., Nov. 21, 1866
(promoted to Vice-Adm. Sept. 10, 1869)
(flag in H. M. S. Zealous, 20 guns, armored frigate)
Rear-Adm. Charles Farrel Hillyar, C. B., July 9, 1872
(flag in H. M. S. Repulse, 12-gun, armored frigate)

(Red, White, and Blue were squadron colors. However at that time only the White squadron's colors were flown, eventually to become the symbol of the Royal Navy.)[8]

British Ministers to U. S., 1859-72

Lord Lyons, Dec. 13, 1858
Sir F. Bruce, Mar. 1, 1865
Sir E. Thornton, Dec. 6, 1867

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8. Gough, pp. 249-50 and 250n.

British Foreign Secretaries of State, 1859-72

Earl of Malmesbury, 1858-59
Lord John Russell, 1859-65
Earl of Clarendon, 1865-66
Lord Stanley, 1866-68
Earl of Clarendon, 1868-70
Earl Granville, 1870-?

CHAPTER 11

Diplomacy and Settlement

In 1859 the British government proposed that a middle channel, running through the San Juan Islands, be the international boundary. Secretary of State Lewis Cass promptly rejected this proposal. Lord John Russell then wrote: "San Juan is therefore a defensive position if in the hands of the United States. The United States may fairly be called upon to renounce aggression; but Great Britain can hardly be expected to abandon defence." Cass replied that the United States did not consider San Juan Island to be an offensive base, and that the British had overrated it as such. Like Great Britain, the United States would not give up its claim to the island. Negotiations were now stalemated. The only solution, said Lord Russell, was to settle the question by arbitration.[1]

As the 1860s progressed, the importance of the Hudson's Bay Company's claim to San Juan Island declined. In 1860 and 1862 the company submitted claims to the British government for reimbursement for its expenditures on the island. (The company had been reimbursed earlier for its development costs on Vancouver Island.) But the Foreign Office rejected these claims.

In 1863, Chief Factor W. F. Tolmie notified the Hudson's Bay Company's Governor, Sir Edmund Head, that the company was by then losing money on Bellevue Farm:

> I have not long since drawn Mr. Berens attention to the loss we annually sustain by keeping possession of the Farm at Bellevue San Juan Island. All the Sheep Stations on San Juan are squatted over and only the Homestead of Bellevue with about sixty acres of enclosed land remains.
>
> My only object is to inform the Secretary of State

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1. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 814, Lord John Russell, confidential, Dec. 16, 1859, to Lord Lyons; FO 5, 815, Lewis Cass, Feb. 4, 1860, to U. S. Amb. George M. Dallas; and Russell, Nov. 22, 1860, to Lyons.

that the Hudsons Bay Company may be compelled to abandon an occupation . . . where the Company have no means of enforcing such rights as they possess.[2]

At that same time a joint commission began its work concerning the Hudson's Bay Company's and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's possessory rights and claims in the United States under the Oregon Treaty of 1846. This commission did not extinguish these claims until 1869, when it awarded the Hudson's Bay Company a considerable sum of money. However, these claims did not include San Juan Island inasmuch as the British considered it to be British territory, not American. Thus the Hudson's Bay Company could turn only to the British government for redress.

As far as it may be determined, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to claim its Bellevue farm until San Juan was awarded to the United States. With the announcement of the settlement, the company simply abandoned Bellevue, but continued to hope for compensation from the British government for its losses. As of 1872, however, things did not look promising. An anonymous memorandum prepared in the Colonial Department at that time stated: "No claim for compensation can be properly preferred against the Government of this Country by British Subjects in San Juan or the other islands of the Haro Archipelago."[3]

Although the San Juan issue was stalemated, other developments in other places continued to unfold. In 1862, Victoria was incorporated as a city, with a population of 6,000 (soon to decline to 2,000). The colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united in 1866, under the latter's name and with the capital at New Westminster. Then, in 1868, the capital was moved back to Victoria. By this time a number of Americans were casting imperialistic eyes on Canada in general and on British Columbia in particular. The Dominion of Canada was created in 1867; but it would take the promise of a transcontinental railroad before British Columbia would join the new country, in 1871. Also in 1867, the United States purchased Alaska from Russia.

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2. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 816a, Sir Edmund Head, HBC, London, Dec. 3, 1863, to A. H. Layard, M. P.

3. Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia, A History of the Pacific Northwest (New York, 1967), p. 209; Hussey, pp. 113-14; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1473, "Memorandum on the Status of British Subjects in the Haro Islands," ca. December 1872.

Alaska being American, Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, commanding general of the Department of the Pacific, set forth his veiws on the acquisition of British Columbia in 1867:

> I believe with you [Boundary Commissioner Archibald Campbell] that we ought, and in time, must acquire British Columbia west of the Rocky Mountains. It stands as a threatening wedge between our territory on this coast. It is not, & never can be of profit or advantage to England. She ought to get rid of this incumbrance & possible course [sic] of war. She ought to sell it at a reasonable price, which would eventually remove all cause of difficulty on this coast.[4]

Halleck believed that most of the people living in British Columbia wanted annexation to the United States. His aide-de-camp, Capt. Robert N. Scott, reported to him following a visit to British Columbia: "We visited Victoria, Esquimalt, and nearly all the settled portions of Vancouver Island. Crossed over to the mainland . . . New Westminster . . . up the Fraser River. . . . We were in constant communication with the citizens of all classes . . . conversed freely with them upon the subject of annexation." Scott concluded: "Beyond any question a large majority of the inhabitants (whites) of the Colony are in favor of the immediate annexation of the Colony to the United States."[5]

Serious discussion concerning San Juan's fate was renewed in 1868. Then, on January 16, 1869, the British and American governments signed a convention that promised to lead the way to a compromise. The fight next shifted to the U. S. Senate. The opposition to the convention was led by Senators Jacob M. Howard and Zachariah Chandler, both of Michigan, supported by western senators. On one occasion Howard blew the trumpet for San Juan: "But should she [Great Britain] choose war, should she lift her weapon in attempting to enforce her claim, we must accept the issue." These senators won the day and the convention was not ratified. The British ambassador wrote home that Chandler and Howard, "living so near and looking into Canada, cannot control their covetousness, and think that by exciting discord between the two countries they will obtain their object of adding

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4. Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Western Americana Collection, Halleck, Oct. 15, 1867, to Campbell; Plasterer, pp. 34 and 37.

5. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU, Scott, Nov. 20, 1867, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific.

that possession to the territory of the United States.[6]

A group of British Columbia delegates, dispatched to Canada in 1870 to discuss union, brought the San Juan problem before the Canadian officials:

> We who are so intimately acquainted with the locality should join in stating to you as an indisputable fact that the possession by us of the Island of St. Juan and of the group of adjacent Islands is so absolutely essential to our development of the resources of our Colony, whilst to the United States it could only be valuable for the offensive purpose of impeding access from the Pacific Ocean to our Mainland Ports.[7]

When British Columbia united with Canada in 1871, the San Juan issue then became a problem for the Canadian government, as well as for the British. But, as the Canadian Prime Minister, John A. McDonald, put it: "We know very little about the San Juan matter, as until this year we had no special interest in it; and can therefore give no assitance in getting up the case."[8]

The international boundary dispute came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Washington in May 1871. This treaty, which also settled other issues such as the Alabama claims arising from the Civil War, stated that the boundary issue would be settled by submitting to the arbitration and award of His Majesty, the Emperor of Germany. Both nations proceeded to prepare and submit their cases. On October 21, 1872, Emperor William decreed the following award:

> Most in accordance with the true interpretations of the treaty concluded on the 15th of June, 1846, between the Governments of Her Britannic Majesty and of the United States of America, is the claim of the Government of the United States of America that the boun-

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6. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 816b, Edward Thornton, Washington, Apr. 20, 1869, to Earl of Clarendon; FO 5, 1469, Senator Jacob M. Howard, Apr. 16, 1869, speech in U. S. Senate; Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (New York, 1955), pp. 282-83.

7. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1469, Joseph W. Trutch and others, July 5, 1870, to Sir George E. Cartier, Ottawa.

8. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1470, John A. McDonald, Sept. 21, 1871, to Lord Lisgar. (Written after the Treaty of Washington.)

dary-line between the territories of Her Britannic Majesty and the United States should be drawn through the Haro Channel.

On November 23, the British ambassador notified the Secretary of State that the Royal Marines had evacuated San Juan Island.[9]

As soon as the British settlers on San Juan learned of the award, they hastily drafted a petition to Governor Joseph W. Trutch of British Columbia requesting that Captain Delacombe be allowed to remain on the island until the details of the relinquishment of San Juan were worked out. This petition bore 45 signatures and the statement "and many other British settlers, whose signatures have not been available in consequence of the short space of time." But, as it has been noted, Delacombe went to Victoria."[10]

The problem of British settlers came to life once again when the British ambassador to Washington heard that the governor of Washington Territory had told them to take an oath of allegiance to the United States or risk forfeiture of their land claims. Secretary of State Fish asked Governor Ferry to supply him with full information on the matter. The governor replied that he visited San Juan unofficially and had advised the British settlers to file declarations of intentions to become American citizens in order to save their claims. He reminded Fish that the U. S. Secretary of the Interior had already withdrawn the San Juan Islands from settlement for the benefit of the Northern Pacific Railway. Ferry ended his message by saying that 72 British subjects had already filed declarations of intent.[11]

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9. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1473, "Balan," Berlin, Oct. 23, 1872, to Lord Odo Russell, transmitting the text of the award; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," the emperor's award, Berlin, Oct. 21, 1872; and Edward Thornton, Nov. 23, 1872, to Sect. of State Fish.

10. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1474, petition from British settlers on San Juan Island, Nov. 3, 1872.

11. PA Ottawa, RG 7, Series G 21, File No. 74, "San Juan," Thornton, Jan. 20, 1873, to Earl Granville; FO 5, 1474, Hamilton Fish, Jan. 27, 1873, to Ambassador Thornton; U. of Washington Library, Elisha P. Ferry Papers, Box 2, Folder 4, Fish, telegram, Jan. 24, 1873, to Ferry; and Ferry, telegram, Jan. 25, 1873, to Fish.

As a result of all this alarm, President Grant issued a proclamation in February 1873 forbidding land sales until the British settlers' claims were adjusted. However, an issue did not really exist. Nearly all the British settlers wished to remain on San Juan, their island home, and were willing to become American citizens and landowners. The late Governor Isaac Stevens' son, Hazard, described the satisfactory conditions on San Juan in 1874:

> I had the last act in the San Juan controversy. In 1874, President Grant appointed me commissioner on the claims of British subjects on the San Juan Archipelago. Having given notice at every post-office on the islands . . . I proceeded to the islands with a revenue cutter, secretary, and inspector. . . . It appeared, however, that there were none, all the former British subjects having become American citizens and taken their lands under the American land laws.[12]

The last official act concerning the boundary occurred on March 10, 1873, when the charts of the boundary line, the protocol, and the definition were signed in Washington by representatives of the two governments. Present at the ceremony was James Prevost, now an admiral of the Royal Navy. One may but wonder what memories he recalled of the summer of 1859 when General Harney had accused him of transporting officials of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Satellite.[13]

Wars have been caused by incidents as trivial as Cutlar's shooting of a pig. For a brief moment in 1859 an outbreak of warfare had threatened the peaceful charm of the San Juans. But responsible men had intervened and had restored calm with common sense. Despite the war hawks on either side, Great Britain and the United States had already fought their last war. The peace would be maintained. By the time of the German emperor's decision, the disputed boundary concerned Canada, that giant of a young country that now stretched across the continent. The future would see further boundary disputes between Canada and the United States; but the principle of peaceful negotiation, as established by the San Juan issue, would rule the day. The General Harneys would have no role to play.

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12. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU, U. S. Grant, Proclamation No. 777, February 1873; Edmond S. Meany, History of the State of Washington (New York, 1909), p. 254.

13. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 1474, Sir E. Thornton, telegram, Mar. 10, 1873, to London.

Old, retired, and honored Sir James Douglas was depressed when he learned of the emperor's decision. He wrote his daughter, Martha:

> We have just heard that the San Juan question has been decided against England and we have lost the Island. I cannot help thinking that our case has not been fully or clearly represented to the Emperor of Germany, or he could not have arrived at so unjust a decision, which is utterly at variance with the rights of the relative parties. Well, there is no help for it now, we have lost the stakes, and must just take it easy.

A few weeks later, when the Royal Marines left English Camp forever, the brokenhearted old warrior picked up his pen once more: "The island of San Juan is gone at last. I cannot trust myself to speak of it, and will be silent."[14]

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14. Daily Colonist, Sept. 9, 1951.

PART 2

A STRUCTURAL HISTORY

CHAPTER 1

American Camp

1. Pickett's Command, July 26 - August 9, 1859

Capt. Alfred Pleasonton wrote Capt. George E. Pickett on July 18, 1859, forwarding Special Orders No. 72, Department of Oregon, which directed Pickett to move from Fort Bellingham to San Juan Island. Pleasonton told him to select a camp site "in some suitable position near the harbor at the south eastern extremity" of the island and to construct such temporary shelter as needed. In selecting the site, said Pleasonton, "take into consideration that future contingencies may require an establishment of from four to six companies." He advised Pickett to use the Massachusetts to transport his troops and stores and to take from Fort Bellingham any materials he needed such "as doors, window sash, flooring, etc."[1]

The Massachusetts dropped anchor in San Juan Harbor (Griffin Bay) on the evening of July 26. The troops did not land until the following morning. The Hudson's Bay farm manager, Charles Griffin, went down to his company's wharf that morning and saw "a number of Soldiers, Civilians, provisions, and stores landed and being landed."

In the evening he returned to the pier "and then found the troops encamped in tents 15 in no. the American Flag flying under it a field peice." Later that evening he observed an American picket on either end of the wharf and a watchfire near it. He cautioned the soldiers to be careful with their fire near his wharf. Once home he wrote in his journal: "A number of soldiers officers etc. wt. tents stores etc. are encamped near the Lagoon at my wharf."[2]

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1. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Sent, 1859-60, Pleasonton, July 18, 1859, to Pickett.

2. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 29, 40th Cong., 2d Sess., Archibald Campbell, Aug. 18, 1859, to Sect. of State Cass; BC PA, Charles Griffin, statement, July 28, 1859; PA Ottawa, HBC Records, microfilm, Bellevue Sheep Farm, Post Journal, 1858-62. Although it has been

A few additional comments confirm Griffin's location of Pickett's first camp. An early settler, I. E. Higgins, stated that Pickett had "located on my claim nere the Landing." Despite the Hudson's Bay Company's claim to this same land, Higgins was quite indignant about this. (He was also one of the settlers who had petitioned for U. S. troops.) Capt. James C. Prevost, RN, reported to his Senior Naval Officer on July 28 of the presence "upon the shore (of) an encampment of 15 tents, containing about 50 Soldiers . . . with a Flag staff having the United States Flag flying, and a Field Piece stationed near it." Capt. Geoffery Phipps Hornby, RN, said on July 30: "This morning I perceive that the Americans have formed a camp about 200 yards from the beach in which they have two howitzers, the ground rises considerably behind the Camp, and on either side at a distance of about 300 yards it is flanked by woods. In addition to the 50 soldiers, he said, there were about 50 armed civilians.

The Victoria British Colonist carried an unsigned article describing a visit to San Juan on July 30: "On the northern side, there is an open piece of prairie, about a quarter of a mile, falling gently to the harbor. . . . At each end it is thickly wooded by pine and fir. In the center of the space lay Capt. Pickett's company variously stated from 43 to 60 men, and, not hundreds, as was reported. There were eighteen tents pitched. Two brass field-pieces were mounted in the center of the camp, and sentinels posted." Another Victoria correspondent, "Curioso," reported in the Gazette (a pro-U. S. newspaper) that he too had visited the Americans' camp, on July 31:

> Upon landing, we visited the little group of tents belonging to the 9th U. S. Infantry, Company D, Capt. George A. Picket, where were three brass field pieces, to the wheel of the centre [sic] and larger of which was lashed a staff bearing about the United States flag . . . we were received by Lieut. Jas. W. Forsyth, Post Adjt. . . . Several of the officers of HMS Tribune were seated in front of the marquee.
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> The 'army' under Capt. Picket consists of sixty-six men, rank and file, who, including the Commissary department, occupy 21 [t]ents.[3]

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stated that Pickett landed on the south side of the island, all the evidence indicates that he landed at the wharf in Griffin Bay.

3. BC PA, Hornby, July 30, 1859, to Captain de Courcy; and Prevost, July 28, 1859, to de Courcy; Whitman College, Penrose Memor-

Three days after he established his camp, July 30, Pickett wrote Lt. Col. Silas Casey, his commanding officer, that he felt quite uncomfortable "lying within range of a couple of War Steamers." The captain decided to move his camp to the south side of the peninsula in order to put some distance between his men and the Tribune's guns. Thus his first camp, near the beach and the Hudson's Bay Company's pier, had a short life of less than one week.

Pickett had first landed with two officers (Asst. Surg. Robert O. Craig and 1st Lt. John C. Howard) and 51 enlisted men. Before the move was completed he was joined by 2d Lt. James W. Forsyth and 11 men, who had remained at Fort Bellingham to bring over subsistence stores. The first camp had been entirely temporary, consisting of about 21 tents. The artillery was composed of two mountain howitzers and one 6-pounder field piece. According to reliable reports, the camp had been located 200 yards inland, behind the lagoon, and slightly to the west of the wharf. In his post return for July, Pickett had called his establishment "Military Camp, San Juan Island."[4]

Pickett began moving the tents to a spring on the south side of the peninsula, near that shore, as early as July 30. The Colonist reporter on that date described the scene: "The whole of this side is prairie, extending to the end of the Island. In the middle of it, near the springs, were three tents, erected by Captain Pickett's company, to which teams were hauling army stores. Curioso, the American sympathizer, described the new site as an excellent one, "commanding a very extended view, and with water convenient. No permanent fortifications will be erected as yet."

Apparently, the move was completed by August 1. Griffin wrote that date: "Americans removed camp from wharf to behind springs in front of [Home?] prairie." Captain Hornby was bemused by Pickett's relocation. He wrote Admiral Baynes that the Americans "do not seem enclined [sic] to strengthen [their force] nor have any preparations for intrenching or other defence been made by them, though the Camp has been shifted from its first site to one close to the sea on the other side of the Island and equally exposed to the fire of Ships, as was their orig-

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ial Library, I. E. Higgins, statement, 1859; Gazette, Aug. 6, 1859; Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859; NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1859, 22 settlers, July 11, 1859, to General Harney.

4. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1858-65, Pickett, July 30, 1859; NA, Microfilm M617, Roll 1112, Post Return, July 1859.

inal one."[5]

A map of the southeast end of San Juan, prepared by Lt. James W. Forsyth in 1860, shows the location of this camp ("Old Camp") and the spring near which it was located. The spring may still be identified today, it being conspicuously marked by a thick growth of trees on the edge of the prairie.

By August 9, according to Curioso, Pickett had begun the erection of wooden structures at the spring camp. The materials had come from the dismantled buildings at Fort Bellingham. The rival Colonist affirmed this development in its August 12 issue when it stated that "the Barracks and Hospital are in course of erection near the springs on the south side of the island." The Olympia Pioneer carried similar information.[6]

2. Casey's Command, August 10-November, 7, 1859

Meanwhile, Harney had ordered Colonel Casey at Fort Steilacoom to move his command to San Juan. The colonel was directed to take all the ammunition on hand, his field guns, and any supplies and public property he needed from Fort Townsend and the abandoned Fort Bellingham. Harney said that he did not plan to reoccupy these two posts at a later date. In addition, Casey was to augment his defenses with the eight 32-pounders then aboard the Massachusetts.[7]

The steamer Julia transported Casey and three companies of infantry from Port Townsend during the night of August 9-10. The ship arrived off the island about 7 a.m., a dense fog reducing visibility to about 50 yards. Because of a low tide and the fog, and probably because of the presence of HMS Tribune in San Juan Harbor, Casey selected a beach rather than the wharf to disembark his troops: "Finding ourselves a smooth place near the land, with the coast so depressed at the point as to make the ascent

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5. Gazette, Aug. 2, 1859; Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859; BC PA, Hornby, Aug. 5, 1859, to Baynes; PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Sheep Farm Journal, 1858-62, Aug. 1, 1859.

6. Gazette, Aug. 11, 1859; Colonist, Aug. 12, 1859; Pioneer and Democrat, Aug. 12, 1859.

7. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Sent, 1858-60, Pleasonton, Aug. 6, 1859, to Casey; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Pleasonton, Aug. 8, 1859, to Casey.

from the shore easy, I landed the troops and howitzers, with orders to the senior officer to remove them to Pickett's camp."

Another account of the landing appeared in the Colonist. It said that the Julia landed the troops on the southern side of the island. Captain Harnby, aboard the Tribune in Griffin Bay, indicated the southern side when he wrote that the U. S. forces had landed "at the other side of the island." Charles McKay, a settler, wrote some forty years later that the troops did land on the south side. Casey himself suggested the south shore when he wrote: "After hugging the shore for a few miles, I was informed by the captain that we were but a short distance from Captain Pickett's camp."

The conclusive evidence that the troops and guns landed on the south side of the island is to be found in Griffin's journal. On August 10 he wrote: "U. S. Steamers 'Active,' 'Shubrick,' and 'Julia' arrived this morning & landed in front of the springs some 100 or 150 more soldiers, wt. Col. Casey, other officers."[8]

Casey, his officers, and the three companies joined Pickett at his camp and the colonel assumed command of the whole. That same day, August 10, he issued Special Orders No. 13: "The undersigned assumes command of the troops on San Juan Island. The Camp will hereafter be known as 'Camp Pickett.'"[9]

Four days after he landed, August 14, Casey complained of the location of the camp: "We are encamped in rather an exposed position with regard to the wind, being at the entrance to the Straits of Fuca. The weather at times, is already quite inclement." Still, he did not think it advisable to change his position; instead he requisitioned Sibley tents (bell-shaped tents) and stoves. Another momentary problem was the eight 32-pounders which had been landed from the Massachusetts the day before: "With our present appliances I find them rather difficult to manage.

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8. U. of Washington Library, Gholson Papers, Correspondence 1859-60, Pleasonton, Aug. 6, 1859, to Casey; House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Casey, Aug. 12, 1859, to Pleasonton; Colonist, Aug. 12, 1859; BC PA, Hornby, Aug. 14, 1859, to Baynes; PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Farm Post Journal, 1854-55; New York Times, Sept. 30, 1859 (in BC PA); McKay, "History of San Juan Island," WHQ, 2, 291.

9. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1859-75, SO No. 13, Aug. 10, 1859.

During the next few days, the troops and civilian laborers briskly brought stores ashore and manhandled the 32-pounders to the top of the ridge. The Colonist reported that from two to three hundred thousand feet of lumber had been landed. Hornby wrote that Casey's men were "continually landing supplies of all sorts, and have now on the beach large quantities of lumber fit for Gun platforms, Scantling of Barracks etc." He said also that the six of the heavy guns were now on the ridge and were overlooking the harbor where he was anchored. He added worriedly: "By throwing up a parapet they would make them inaccessible to us whilst they could command the harbour." The other two big guns, he noted, were placed so as to defend the camp.[10]

Even as Hornby was contemplating the Americans' building fortifications, the Department of Oregon notified Casey that "a detachment of engineers will be sent you by the mail steamer; in the meantime have platforms made for your heavy guns, and cover your camp as much as possible by intrenchment."[11]

On August 17, four batteries (companies) of the 3d Artillery landed at the wharf in San Juan Harbor. Curioso said that they "marched over the peninsula to the lively strains of martial music." He added: "At dark the troops arrived at the camp-ground, where they were received and disposed for the night." Accompanying these troops were 50 civilian laborers, brought in to erect troop barracks and other structures. On August 23, the promised engineer detachment, under 2d Lt. Henry M. Robert, arrived. About this time Casey ordered a company of infantry that had been on board the Massachusetts to disembark. By the end of the month Casey had 15 officers and 424 enlisted men under his command.[12]

Whether because of the incessant winds or because of the

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10. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU, Casey, Aug. 14, 1859, to Pleasonton; Colonist, Aug. 15, 1859; BC PA, Hornby, Aug. 15, 1859, to Baynes.

11. National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Pleasonton, Aug. 16, 1859, to Casey.

12. Gazette, Aug. 20, 1859; NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1858-65, Casey, Aug. 18, 1859, to Pleasonton; NA, M617, Roll 1112, Post Returns, SAJU, August - October, 1859; National Guard, Wash., "Collection," Casey, Aug. 22, 1859, to Pleasonton. Casey's command would see its largest number of officers in September--17, and largest number of enlisted men in October--470.

additional labor force, Casey had decided by August 17 to move the camp from the spring to a location immediately north of the Hudson's Bay Company's barns. This would place the command on the north slope of the ridge and west of they heavy guns, but the trees in this new location would offer some shelter from the winds. A photograph of this new location shows the troops, their tents, and an artillery piece among the trees. Later, evidence will show that the command camped by companies, as would be expected, with Pickett's company being farthest away from the farm buildings, i.e. away to the north. While no note of the fact has been found in the military records, the assumption may be made that the wooden barracks and hospital at the spring were dismantled and moved to this new location, a site that would prove to be permanent.[13]

For that part of this third camp destined to become the permanent American post on San Juan, three descriptions of it, written toward the end of August 1859, are quoted. It should be noted that the camp was only a few days old and that no permanent structures had yet been completed.

Colonel Casey had reconnoitered for a site for an entrenched camp when he had received orders to build such from General Harney. He found a good location about 3½ miles away, perhaps on today's Little Mountain, but decided against it for moving there would mean giving up such control as he had of San Juan Harbor and the Hudson's Bay wharf: "In view of these circumstances I have taken up a position near the Hudson's Bay establishment, and shall put my heavy guns in position to bear on the harbor, and also on vessels which might take a position on the other side. Shells from the shipping might be able to reach us, and we may not be able to protect the camp from there; but I shall try."

Captain Prevost, HMS Satellite, watched Casey's maneuvers with care. He said that Casey's camp "is very strongly placed in the most commanding position in this end of the island, well sheltered in the rear and on one side by the Forest and on the other side by a Commanding eminence. He has with him 6 field guns [one 6-pounder and five mountain howitzers] and I am told there are 6 others kept out of sight [this was incorrect], which I have not seen. On a ridge about ¼ of a mile from the camp and about 2000 yds from our anchorage 8 32-Pounders have been placed."

Curioso, still on the island and still reporting for the Gazette, described a visit to the camp by Washington Territorial

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13. Colonist, Aug. 22, 1859; Gazette, Aug. 23, 1859.

Governor Gholson on August 24. The troops passed in review "upon the broad and grassy plain a portion of which was formerly the site of Camp Pickett." The party then went on to the new camp "located about half a mile to the north and east [actually, west] of the former, and immediately inland from the HBC's sheep farm . . . in a little valley, and . . . selected with a view to protection against the cold and disagreeable winds to which the camp had hitherto been exposed. It is hard to conceive a more romantic spot; the white tents peeping up and out from among the green foliage . . . the glittering arms of the sentinels . . . and the line of artillery which faces upon a small, clear, sward-covered square."[14]

From the time of Governor Gholson's visit to Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott's arrival in the Pacific Northwest in October, little information has come to light concerning the physical aspects of any construction at the camp. Harney informed Casey on September 2 that no troops would be removed until the President so ordered: "You are therefore instructed to make such preparations for the comfort, efficiency, and health of your command as will anticipate a period of at least six months." A civilian, William Moore, was arrested in mid-September for selling rum on the island. When found guilty, he was placed in the camp guardhouse, which consisted of a simple tent.[15]

The largest work undertaken during this period was the construction of an earthen redoubt for the 32-pounders. The Colonist reported on September 7 that "100 soldiers are engaged in throwing up a fortification on the summit of the hill, below the H. B. Company's station." Admiral Baynes took a great interest in this development. He wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty: "The Hill, South of American Camp, has been marked out for fortifying in some places it has been levelled, and working parties have been lately employed preparing for throwing up earth works. The eight 32 pr Guns are placed there."[16]

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14. House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Casey Aug. 22, 1859, to Pleasonton; U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, Prevost, Aug. 22, 1859, to "Dear Sir"; Gazette, Aug. 24, 1859.

15. House Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Pleasonton, Sept. 2, 1859 to Casey; and William Moore, Oct. 6, 1859, a statement.

16. Colonist, Sept. 7, 1859; PA Ottawa, microfilm FO5 814, extracts from letter, Baynes, Sept. 11, 1859, to Sect. of the Admiralty.

Fifty-five days passed between Admiral Baynes' letter saying that the redoubt was being marked out on the ground and General Scott's order to abandon the earthwork, remove the artillery, and reduce the American forces to one company. Scott himself did not set foot on San Juan. But at the end of his visit to the area his ship, the Massachusetts, did sail into San Juan Harbor. The 32-pounders in the redoubt fired a salute in honor of the commander in chief of the U. S. Army. As far as it is known, this is the only occasion on which the big guns fired, albeit blanks.

American authorities notified Governor Douglas on November 9 that work on the redoubt had ceased. Admiral Baynes observed on November 16 that the guns and ammunition had been removed to the beach. By December they were gone, having been replaced aboard the Massachusetts. The raw scar of the unfinished redoubt remained to remind the inhabitants of the tension of the past few months.

In January 1860, William I. Warren, secretary of the Northwest Boundary Commission, visited the island. He was not impressed with the redoubt: "The Earthworks thrown up last summer have been dismantled, and only serve to disfigure a beautiful mound just south of the camp." He added, "It has received the name of Robert's Gopher hole in honor of Lieut Roberts [sic] of the Engineers who constructed the fort." In June 1860, Admiral Baynes told his superiors that "the Earthworks remain in the same unfinished state as when Lieutenant General Scott withdrew the main body of Troops." In 1884, Hubert Howe Bancroft published a description of the redoubt. This description was undoubtedly penned by some person having an intimate knowledge of its construction. It is quoted at length in the section describing the individual structures, below.

Other than through natural erosion, the redoubt today is remarkably similar to Bancroft's description. The most interesting feature perhaps is that the Army built only five gun platforms, all five of which may still be identified, although six 32-pounders were present at the redoubt.[17]

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17. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, pp. 125-26; BC PA, Baynes, Dec. 2, 1859 and June 26, 1860, to Sect. of the Admiralty; Shiels, pp. 69-70, quoting Lt. Col. George W. Lay, Nov. 9, 1859, to W. A. G. Young, Colonial Secretary, Victoria; NG, RG 76, NW Boundary, envelope 3, "Geographical Memoir," (journal of William I. Warren); Bancroft, British Columbia, pp. 624n - 625n. An editor, possibly Commissioner A. Campbell, later crossed out Warren's reference to Robert's Gopher Hole.

3. Hunt's Command, November 8, 1859 - April 28, 1860

General Scott's orders for the reduction of the American forces on San Juan resulted in Capt. L. Hunt's Company C, 4th Infantry, being left on the island. His instructions read in part: "After the departure of Captain Pickett's Company, you /will/ occupy his part of the camp, where your men will be better sheltered during the winter, and also be further removed from the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company." At the same time, the Vancouver Island government was informed of this development:

> The camp which is in the immediate vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Settlement is occupied by troops about to be withdrawn. As Captain Pickett's camp is further back--indeed out of sight--on ground cleared up by his company and with considerable shelter for the winter erected with labor & expense, it is presumed there can be no local feeling even against his /later, Hunt's/ continuance there.

And again: "That part of the camp near and within sight of the Hudson's Bay Company's buildings is to be broken up. The little clearing in the wood and behind the hill has had considerable shelter erected upon it where the one company will be stationed."

Hunt was told that he was to allow Pickett to take with him any property, such as doors, window washes, etc., that he had brought from Fort Bellingham, "but it is hoped that some part of the excellent shelter he erected may be transferred to you."[18]

The above extracts indicate that Pickett had lost no time in building quarters in this, his third camp. While the other companies were quartered in tents, he had taken advantage of the building material he had brought from Fort Bellingham. Now he was going back to his partly-dismantled former post. While he could have taken some building materials, he apparently left everything for Captain Hunt. On December 8 he described the structures he had given up on San Juan and requested reimbursement for them:

> The buildings erected by my Compy, and Laundresses are now occupied by Capt. Hunts Compy of the 4th Inf. and

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18. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, pp. 115 and 117, quoting Lay, Nov. 7, 1859, to Governor Douglas; and Nov. 9, 1859, to the Colonial Secretary, Vancouver Island; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, AAG L. Thomas, Nov. 9, 1859, to Capt. L. Hunt.

his Camp women. I enclose a plan of these buildings, with the exception of the flooring in the Compy Qrs. all the lumber used was either purchased by the Compy fund or gotten out by the men of the Compy when off duty, you will perceive that in addition to the Qrs. there is a Kitchen and messroom. The whole well shingled a double chimney (Brick made by the Compy at Fort Bellingham) The only thing furnished by the QM has been the nails and flooring for the Qrs., and the lime for the chimneys. The Quarters of the Laundresses were built also by the Compy, the lumber purchased by the women--by the permission of the Comdg. officer, Col. Casey.

Pickett thought that a fair value for the enlisted men's quarters would be $300, and for the laundresses' quarters, $75 each. Eventually, he was reimbursed $121 for the company quarters, $60 for one set of laundresses' quarters, and $19.78 for the second set.[19]

Unfortunately Pickett's plan of his former camp has not been located. However a plan of the enlisted men's barracks, prepared about this time, was located in the National Archives. This document has no name nor date on it, but it is located within a post order that was signed by one of Captain Hunt's officers. Written on the plan were the following notations:

Plan of Compy Qrs, Kitchen & mess room built by Compy 'D' 9th Infy at Camp Pickett W. T. and now occupied by Compy 'C' 4th Infy. Co 'D' furnished every thing excepting flooring for Qrs, nails & lime.

length of Quarters & Orderly Room	54 ft.
width of " " "	20 ft.
length of Mess room & Kitchen	44 ft.
width of " " "	16 ft.
height of Walls from floor to ceiling	8 ft.
Pitch of roof	6 ft.
Brick chimney in Kitchen	
Do in Barracks[20]	

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19. NA, RG 393, Ft. Bellingham and Camp Pickett, Post Letters, Dec. 1859 - Dec. 1861, Pickett, Dec. 8, 1859, to Pleasonton; and Pleasonton, Jan. 31, 1860, to CO, Ft. Bellingham.

20. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1858-65, 2d Lt. Edward Conner, Adj., Orders No. 161, Nov. 12, 1858, containing a plan of the barracks, Camp Pickett, folded inside.

Hunt remained commanding officer of Camp Pickett for almost six months. The records today do not indicate very much construction during his regime. Much of the correspondence concerned the boundaries for a military reservation. In December 1859, Hunt issued an order declaring the military reservation to be an area of four square miles, the flagstaff being the central point. The purpose behind such a large area was to keep whiskey peddlers at least an arm's length from his men. Later, in 1860, the Department of Oregon indicated confusion as to what were the actual boundaries of the reserve.

Pickett, then in command, attempted to unravel the situation. He wrote both Colonel Casey and Captain Hunt. Casey replied that he could not recall if Lt. Henry M. Robert, the engineer who had constructed the redoubt, had prepared a map in the fall of 1859 or not. But Casey thought that Lt. James Forsyth, of Pickett's company, would be able to recall what the reservation was. Hunt wrote that so far as he knew no reserve had ever been properly declared: "Col. Casey when in command caused one to be surveyed, but no Orders upon the Subject, nor Map were turned over to me."

Even before receiving all this wisdom, Pickett compiled a summary of the topic:

> I am nearly positive that no other reservation ever has been laid off except the one made by Lt. Robert of the Engineers. . . . Lieut Robert Surveyed and staked off a reservation different in toto from . . . [Hunt's]. Lieut Forsyth, then the AAQM by direction of Col. Casey pointed out to most of the Settlers the lines . . . only one person (a Mr. Hubbs) has a claim within the lines of this reserve.
>
> I forward the enclosed tracing, made by Lieut Forsyth from a correct chart of the Island. It shows about where the lines of the reserve, as ordered by Captain Hunt would run, if the Survey had been made. The broken lines indicate the Reserve as laid off by Colonel Casey.

The original Forsyth has not been found, but a copy of it, drawn in 1872, is available. If copied correctly, it shows from 12 to 14 permanent buildings (see illustrations).[21]

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21. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU: Lt. Edward Conner, Camp Pickett, SO No. 25, Dec. 14, 1859; and Hunt, Mar. 22, 1860, to Pleasonton; NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860: Casey, Oct. 5, 1860, to Pickett; Hunt, Oct. 5,

Just before he left San Juan, Captain Hunt gave a brief description of his quarters. Whether this was the building erected by Pickett in the fall of 1859 or Hunt had it constructed himself cannot be positively determined: "My men are all comfortably housed and I am established in as neat and snug a cottage as you would wish to see. It is built of hewn logs, closely fitting and lined within, a piazza in front, the columns of which are decidedly rustic, being cut from the forest, peeled and the knobs left some inches long."

A visitor to Camp Pickett, the Boundary Commission's William Warren, also made a few observations on the post. "Camp Pickett is in a very unfinished state," he wrote, "the men were at work cutting down the large trees in the vicinity of the Camp and finishing the Erection of log houses for quarters." Warren thought that the Hudson's Bay headquarters would be a better site for the post, "and no doubt it will eventually be selected for that purpose."[22]

4. Pickett's Second Command, April 1860 - July 1861

Pickett's second tour as commanding officer lasted about fourteen months, until July 1861 when he left the Army to support the Confederate States. Like Hunt's regime, this period has left few documents concerning structures. In an effort to curb his soldiers' social activities in San Juan village, Pickett declared most of the southeast end of the island off-limits. No soldier was to wander farther than one-half mile from the flagstaff. This order incidentally made note of the fact that the soldiers customarily bathed in the ocean, immediately below the Hudson's Bay buildings. Another post order discussed target practice. Local tradition today holds that the musket range was located on the south beach, a few yards east of the spring where Pickett had established his second camp. Today large sand hills are to be found in this vicinity; they would have made an excellent backstop for bullets. Indeed, today's beachcombers find bullets in this area as the wind shifts the dunes.[23]

1860, to Pickett; and Pickett, Sept. 26, 1860, to Capt. James Hardie, AAAG, Ft. Vancouver.

22. NA, RG 76, Northwest Boundary Survey, William I. Warren, Journal, January 1860; Lucile McDonald, feature article on San Juan, Seattle Times, Nov. 16, 1958.

23. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, Aug. 1859 - Dec. 1861, Orders No. 31, June 29, 1860; and Orders No. 6, Apr. 13, 1861.

It was Pickett's belief that any self-respecting army post should have a mountain howitzer or two. However, the terms of the agreement for the joint occupation of San Juan forbade any weapons except the authorized small-arms of an infantry company or marine detachment. Pickett sent in a request for mountain howitzers, saying that the Royal Marines desired to have similar armament. The general disapproved. American Camp continued to hold its ceremonies without the boom of a gun. Another glimpse of American Camp at this time may be seen in the Colonist which described an excursion boat's visit to San Juan. An unidentified tourist noted that American Camp had "a large vegetable garden near the barracks, which contains enough esculents [sic] to keep them until this time next year."[24]

The matter of a proper military reservation continued to bother both the Department and Pickett. At the end of 1860, Lt. Thomas Lincoln Casey arrived on the island with instructions to lay off a reserve large enough to include the garrison and fortification sites. If possible he was to exclude any private land claims. One result of his efforts was the preparation of a new map of the southeast end of the island. Apparently based on Forsyth's, this map was much more accurately drawn. It showed the layout of American Camp in detail, although on a minute scale. By then a fence surrounded the main part of the post. Fourteen buildings (which were colored blue on the original map) comprised the camp. Perhaps because of the time of year, no garden was shown; however, the Hudson's Bay Company's fields were marked. No written material concerning the contents of this map has yet been found; thus the full meaning of the various lines shown yet escape full identification.[25]

5. American Camp, 1861-1874

During the Civil War and the early post-war period, structures and construction at American Camp were but a small matter. On July 4, 1863, the troops hosted a dinner for the local settlers and visitors on the island. The Victoria paper carried an account of the affair:

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24. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, Pickett, July 18, 1860, to AAG, Dept. of Oregon; Colonist, Aug. 8, 1860.

25. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU, Capt. J. A. Hardie, Ft. Vancouver, Nov. 21, 1860, to 1st Lt. T. L. Casey, Ft. Steilacoom; Colonist, Dec. 13, 1860.

> Shortly after noon a sumptuous dinner was laid out in the company's mess room, to which a large company of citizens, including a company of all citizens, including a number of the fair sex, repaired. The room was tastefully decorated with evergreens, with here and there a star, formed of side-arms, which had a brilliant and striking effect. On the door were the words 'welcome all,' a motto which was most literally construed inside. . . . An efficient band was stationed at one end of the room.[26]

Despite such colorful occasions, however, the barracks and other buildings were fast falling into a state of disrepair. None of them had been elaborate to begin with, and few people had guessed in 1859 that troops would still be on San Juan six years later. Now, in the fall of 1865, the post commander ordered the procurement of paint, lime, and building material "as will put in order, preserve and repair the public buildings at this post." The next summer a few more improvements were made. A new arched gateway and gate were added to the military cemetery, south of the redoubt. And a new flagstaff was erected.[27]

A construction boom hit American Camp in 1867-68. It was clear that the troops would not soon leave, and that building improvements had to be made. Detachments of troops went over to Fort Bellingham, now permanently abandoned, and brought back buildings and building materials. At American Camp, the soldiers "got out" lumber from the island's trees. By the time this flurry of construction ceased, the following structures were added to the camp: two sets of officers' quarters, including a 1½-story house for the commanding officer (Nos. 8 and 10), an adjutant's office, or post headquarters (No. 12), a noncommissioned officers' mess house (No. 2), a set of laundresses' quarters (No. 5), a new hospital unit (No. 13), a quartermaster storehouse (No. 17), a commissary storehouse (No. 16), a blacksmith shop (No. 18), a two-story barn and stable (No. 19), a granary, attached to the barn (No. 20), additions to the reading room-orderly room building (No. 24), and a mess hall (No. 4).[28] In the fall of 1867,

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26. Colonist, July 8, 1863.

27. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, Jan. 1, 1861 - Sept. 30, 1868, GO No. 41, Nov. 12, 1865; and GO No. 25, June 20, 1866.

28. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letterbook, Oct. 1, 1868 - Oct. 9, 1871, Captain Haskell, "Special Report showing the number, capacity, and condition of the Public Buildings," Jan. 10, 1871.

five civilians (carpenters, a mason, and a blacksmith) were employed to help with the construction and repairs.

One of the two new officers' quarters (No. 10) was actually a reconstruction of a former Fort Bellingham set of quarters: "This building was taken down with great care, and can be put up at a small cost, the material required . . . being only what is absolutely necessary to render it habitable." The post commander also asked for permission to plaster the two old officers' quarters (Nos. 9 and 11): "The houses, as they now stand, are shells, battered on the inside, and owing to the exposed position of the garrison, extremely uncomfortable and cold." The buildings probably were painted or whitewashed at this time; more than one authorization for white lead, lime, and whitewash brushes were tucked away in the correspondence of the period.

A most serious problem was the condition of the main barracks (No. 1). In May 1867, the post commander asked for 100 iron bedsteads in storage at Fort Steilacoom. He said he had only ten double bunks, all of them worthless, and that "one half of my command have now to place their bedsteads on the floor of their quarters." An upset captain wrote in 1868 that the barracks' roof had been only clapboard until 1863, when it was shingled by the troops, and that the floor had been laid on the earth: "Being crudely erected, and out of green material it has now become rotten--almost uninhabitable, and irreparable. It was never entitled to the name of 'Quarters' or 'Barracks,' it was, and is, an unsightly shed, being uncomfortable and unhealthy." This letter failed to accomplish anything. This captain's successor wrote a similar letter in May 1869:

> Request that authority may be granted for the erection of suitable quarters for the enlisted men at this Post. Those now occupied are not only too small . . . but almost uninhabitable on account of being rotten and unrepairable. . . . I am compelled to allow the Carpenters to sleep in the Carpenter shop, the men in the stables to sleep in the stables, the Bakers in the Bakehouse, the clerks in the Adjutant's and Quartermaster's offices, and other Extra and Daily Duty men in small buildings around the Garrison.

All was in vain. The Secretary of War disapproved the building of new barracks. Instead, he suggested that the number of troops be reduced. The San Juan Island solution was not yet in sight, but the Army was hesitant about putting much more money

into a hoped-to-be-soon-abandoned military post.[29]

Some repairs were made to the barracks between 1868 and 1870; this building shared some $1,500 - 2,000 with the old hospital building. Other developments at the post included the acquisition of wire cloth for a stationary meat safe in the commissary storehouse, and new iron plates for the stove in the company mess. Also, the Department of the Columbia forwarded a variety of authorizations for the purchase of shingles, white lead, and lumber.[30]

In 1871, the post commander, Capt. Joseph T. Haskell, 23d Infantry, made a last great play for a new barracks. He described his plans for a 133-foot, two-story, wooden building. He also hoped to tear down or move the various company buildings. The department headquarters gave him some encouragement when it asked for more detailed plans, elevations, and specifications. Haskell responded with enthusiasm:

> The buildings to be removed are composed of old lumber and logs that will be almost worthless . . . and all that can be used will barely cover what will be necessary to build another office for Quartermaster & Commissary a Carpenter Shop and another Guard House.
>
> The Barracks recommended will be used for the following purposes 1st quarters for all the men 2d kitchen & Mess Room. 3d. Reading Room and Library, school room and Company Store Room, thus doing away with the following buildings on the old plan. #24 Reading Room #25 Company Store Room #1, 2, 3 mens quarters #4 Mess

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29. NA, RG 393: SAJU, Letterbook, Aug. 1863 - July 1867, Capt. Thomas Gray, Feb. 6, May 20, and July 28, 1867, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; Letterbook, Aug. 1867 - Dec. 1873, Maj. Harvey Allen, Oct. 12, 1867, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; Letterbook, Oct. 1, 1868 - Oct. 9, 1871, Capt. J. Haskell, May 22, 1869, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; SAJU, Box 1: AAG J. C. Kelton, War Dept., Sept. 16, 1869, to Maj. Gen. George Thomas; and Lt. William Booner, July 22, 1867, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; SAJU, Post Orders, Jan. 1, 1861 - Sept. 30, 1868, GO No. 36, Sept. 8, 1866; and Orders No. 8, June 7, 1869; and NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU, Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, Mil. Div. of the Pacific, Jan. 13, 1868, to AG.

30. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1860-63, SO No. 40, Nov. 9, 1869; and SO No. 28, May 30, 1870.

Room Kitchen #21 Carpenter shop will be removed or rebuilt between #17 Quartermasters Storehouse & #18 Blacksmith Shop. #23 [Office of AAQM and ACS] will be rebuilt on a line with #[12] Adjutants Office. #15 Guard House the lumber of which [is] all so impregnated with insects, as to make it necessary to destroy by burning . . . will be [re]built where #3 Mens Quarters now stand.

#22 Bakery is an ill shaped building not built on a line with other buildings and will therefore require some alterations to the building in order to make it look well but this is thought can be done by changing the sides without removing the oven, if it could be torn down and rebuilt in another place it would be better but this is not asked for

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It is believed that there is plenty of good brick in the present chimneys, to build the chimney of the new building, and that the (foundation for the) supports may be made of stone collected about the post. The [new] Quartermasters Office, Guard House, and Carpenter shop will be built by the command. #7 Laundress quarters will be moved down to be in a line with #5 & #6 [laundress quarters].

This was a great try; but it did not work. The adjutant general wrote the captain in July : "The Commanding General . . . has concluded to suspend . . . action upon the matter of the erection of new buildings at your post." General E. R. S. Canby visited American Camp that fall. He must have been a little shocked at the enlisted men's living conditions. He immediately authorized the purchase of 8,000 bricks, 23,500 shingles, and 700 pounds of nails--enough for substantial repairs to chimneys and roofs anyway. A month after the general's visit, the post commander described the buildings as being in "fair" condition, but that the storms of the past month "show them to be rather uncomfortable in real winter weather."[31]

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31. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letterbook, Oct. 1, 1868 - Oct. 9, 1871, Haskell, Mar. 14 and Apr. 17, 1871, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1871, 1, AAAG, Mar. 22, 1871; 3, July 27, 1871; and 4, Oct. 24 and Nov. 1, 1871, all to CO, SAJU; NA, RG 49, Abandoned Reservation File, SAJU, Haskell, Nov. 30, 1871, report of post inspection.

Even before the German emperor's decision, Canby was contemplating abandoning San Juan and moving the troops to Fort Townsend as soon as the verdict came down: "I think nothing will be gained by keeping up the post at San Juan for while the officers and hospital quarters . . . are in comparatively good condition, entirely new barracks are indispensible for the health and comfort of the men." In the fall of 1872, when it was apparent that a decision on the boundary was imminent, Canby directed that even repairs to the barracks be as limited as possible.[32]

The boundary decision came down. San Juan was declared to be American soil. But the troops did not leave. They were destined to spend two more years at American Camp. And the problems concerning the barracks remained. In October 1873, a new request for reshingling a number of buildings before winter flew to Portland. Col. Jefferson C. Davis, acting commander of the Department of the Columbia after Canby's death in the Modoc War, visited the island in January 1874. He too concluded that the troops should be moved to Fort Townsend rather than expending funds on repairs at American Camp. The Army abandoned the post on July 17, 1874.[33]

6. American Camp, Post-Army

In 1874 Maj. Nathaniel Michler, CE, prepared the first really professional map of the southeast end of San Juan. This map shows 19 structures and the flagstaff within the fence that surrounded the main part of the camp and ten structures, plus the cemetery and the water point, outside the fence.[34]

The Army's intention in 1874 was to retain the military reservation at American Camp and add to it all the southeast end

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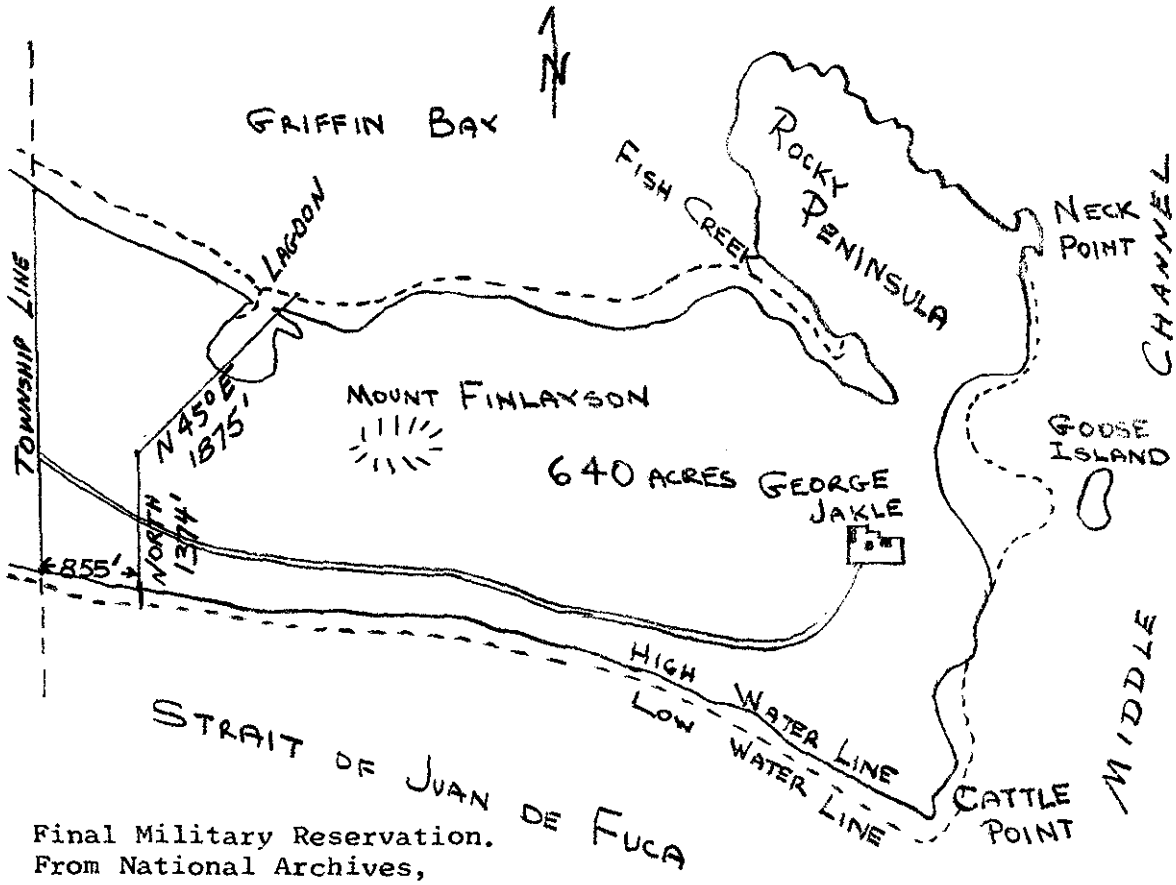
32. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1872, 1, Canby, Mar. 8, 1872, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific; 4, Canby, Nov. 15, 1872, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific; SAJU, Letters, Orders, 1859-72, AAG Ludington, Dept. of the Columbia, Sept. 26, 1872, to CO, SAJU.

33. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, Lt. Ebstein, Oct. 29, 1873, to Post Adj.; Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1874, 1, Davis, Jan. 6, 1874, to AG, U. S. A.

34. NA, RG 77, Office, Chief of Engineers, Land Papers, SAJU, Michler, Apr. 20, 1875, to Chief of Engineers; NA, Division of Cartography, map, southeast end of SAJU, Old and New Military Reservations, 1874.

of the island. However an Act of Congress (February 14, 1853) forbade the taking of more than 640 acres at any one place in Washington Territory as a federal reserve for defensive purposes. The acreage contemplated by the Army amounted to 760 acres. In September 1875, the Army gave up the American Camp area in favor of the eastern tip of the island. Including Mount Finlayson, Cattle Point, Rocky Peninsula, Neck Point, and Goose Island, the new reserve amounted to 640 acres.[35]



Final Military Reservation.
From National Archives,
Record Group 49,
Reservation File, San Juan Island,
no date.

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35. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservations File, SAJU, E. D. Townsend, AG, Mar. 8, 1875, endorsement to Chief of Engineers; GO No. 20, Dept. of the Columbia, Sept. 20, 1875.

A flurry of correspondence urging the sale of the American Camp structures occurred when the reduced reservation boundaries were announced. However, the available records shed no light on the outcome of this. The land itself was thrown open to settlement by a presidential proclamation.[36]

Little use was made of the structures between the departure of the troops in July 1874 and September 1875. Just after the troops left, Major Michler occupied one of the officers' quarters temporarily, his parties still surveying the island. In August 1874, the Reverend T. J. Weekes applied for permission to occupy a set of officers' quarters. The chief quartermaster responded: "Approved on condition that Mr. Weekes will take general charge of all the buildings at the post and protect them from depredations of outside parties."

Col. Jeff Davis added: "The Rev. T. J. Weekes will be permitted to occupy the set of Officers quarters at the late camp of the U. S. Troops (now occupied by General Michler) when he vacates them." However, Davis did not approve of the quartermaster's decision to make Weekes a caretaker. He directed that the small detachment of enlisted men that had been guarding both American and English Camps remain on the island. Weekes could occupy the house "on account of his services heretofore in the capacity of Acting Chaplain at that military station." Perhaps it was this decision that led to a later belief that Weekes acquired a title to some officers' quarters.[37]

Regardless of Colonel Davis' intentions, Weekes decided that he was indeed the caretaker of American Camp. In October 1874 he wrote excitedly that a detachment of enlisted men from Company C, 21st Infantry had taken the charge of the public buildings away from him. He also mentioned that an unnamed person had built a house on the reserve and refused to move. What, he asked, should he do about all this?

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36. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1875, 3, O. O. Howard, telegram, Sept. 14, 1875, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific; RG 92, OQMG, Consolidated File, Box 985, SAJU, Schofield, telegram, Sept. 15, 1875, to AG, USA; AG Townsend, telegram, Oct. 14, 1875, to CG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific.

37. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1874, 3, CO, Ft. Townsend, Aug. 24, 1874, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; Chief QM, Dept. of the Columbia, endorsement, Aug. 29, 1874; and AAG, Dept. of the Columbia, endorsement, Aug. 31, 1874; John A. Hussey, interview with William Rosler, SAJU.

Now occurred an unexpected twist. The Department of the Columbia sent a cryptic letter to the commanding officer of Fort Townsend saying: "It is proper to remark that reports unfavorable to the character of the Rev. T. J. Weekes have reached Department Headquarters, which, if correct, render his further occupation of a government building not desirable." The implications of this letter remain unknown. David Richardson, San Juan Island's historian, has recently characterized Weekes as "Bible-banging, hell-fire preaching, sandy-sideburned beloved." It is impossible to imagine how a man like that could be undesirable as a resident in an abandoned set of quarters.[38]

At any rate, Weekes was allowed to remain in his quarters "until further orders," but he was still not given charge of the public buildings. In December 1874, A. E. Alden took charge of both American and English Camps, and the enlisted guards returned to Fort Townsend. Alden became Weekes' neighbor on officers' row. It is not known how long Alden remained in charge. In March 1875, Edward Warbass, the first American Camp sutler, applied for the position. From that point on, the particulars as to the course of events at American Camp are as yet unknown.[39]

Rev. T. J. Weekes entered the record once more when, in 1884, he received a patent for 80 acres of land in the west half of the southwest quarter of Section 1. This piece of land is to the east of the American Camp buildings.[40]

Individual Structures, American Camp

The following list of structures at American Camp is based primarily on Capt. Joseph T. Haskell, CO, Camp San Juan Island,

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38. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1874, 4, Rev. T. J. Weekes, undated letter; Chief QM, Dept. of the Columbia, endorsement, Oct. 23, 1874; and AAG Wood, endorsement to CO, Fort Townsend; Richardson, Pig War Islands, p. 149.

39. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia: Letters Sent, 1874, 4, CO, Ft. Townsend, Dec. 1, 1874, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; Chief QM, Dept. of the Columbia, endorsement, Dec. 8, 1874; and AAG Wood, endorsement, Dec. 9, 1874; Letters Sent, 1875, 1, CO, Ft. Townsend, Mar. 8, 1875, to AAG Dept. of the Columbia, forwarding Warbass' application, with endorsements by Chief QM, Mar. 13, and AAG Wood, Mar. 18, 1875.

40. Bureau of Land Management, Portland, Ore., Register of Patents.

"Special Report showing the number, capacity, and condition of the Public Buildings at Camp San Juan Island, W. T., on the 10th day of January 1871." This quite complete report is augmented by additional material, some of which has already been cited. Where possible the same number applied to the structures by Haskell is retained here as the historic structure number.

HS 1 Barracks
HS 2 Noncommissioned Officers' Mess House (later, barracks)
HS 3 Bake House (later, barracks and reading room)
HS 4 Messroom and Kitchen (second mess)
HS 5 Laundress' Quarters
HS 6 " "
HS 7 " "
HS 8 Officers' Quarters
HS 9 " "
HS 10 " "
HS 11 " "
HS 12 Adjutant's Office
HS 13 Hospital (ward)
HS 14 " (offices)
HS 15 Guardhouse (blockhouse)
HS 16 Commissary Storehouse
HS 17 Quartermaster's Storehouse
HS 18 Blacksmith Shop
HS 19 Barn (and Stable)
HS 20 Granary
HS 21 Carpenter Shop (originally, quarters)
HS 22 Bake House (originally, quarters, & 2d bake house)
HS 23 Quartermaster and Commissary Office
HS 24 Reading Room, Orderly Room, and School
HS 25 Company Storeroom (originally, musicians' quarters)
HS 26 Bath House
HS 27 Telegraph Office
HS 28 Wash House and Shoemaker Shop
HS 29 Woodsheds and Outhouses
HS 30 Cemetery
HS 31 Post Trader's and Billiard Room
HS 32 Roothouses (locations unknown)
HS 33 Flagstaff
HS 34 Redoubt

Structures not numbered

Post garden
Butcher shop (location unknown)
Fences

HS 1. Barracks. Erected in 1859 by Captain Pickett's Company D, 9th Infantry. Constructed of old lumber brought from Fort Bellingham and lumber produced by the troops on San Juan. Walls were boards set on end. Cubical contents, 19,745 cubic feet, or 365.64 feet per man. Dimensions were given in 1860 as 54 x 20 x 8 feet for the barracks portion and 44 by 16 feet for the kitchen and messhall. In 1871 the dimensions were given as 69 x 20 x 10 feet. An undated Medical Department report, prepared after December 1868, gave the dimensions as being 69½ by 11 feet. An 1874 report said the building was 69½ x 20 x 8 feet. Lt. Charles Bird, on San Juan from November 1868 to January 1872, gave the dimensions as 69.6 x 10.9 x 8.0 feet.

A new mess and kitchen were erected by 1865. An 1874 report indicated that the old mess and kitchen were still standing but "unfinished and unoccupied." But the old mess does not appear on the undated plat of American Camp found in this report. Bird said that the barracks building was heated by a fireplace at one end and a stove at the other.

HS 2. Noncommissioned Officers' Mess House. Erected in 1867 by Battery I, 2d Artillery. Constructed of logs and roofed with shingles. Dimensions by Haskell: 25 x 12 x 7 feet. Dimensions by Bird: 25.6 x 12 x 6.6 feet. In 1871 this structure was in use as a barracks for eight men and was considered to be in good condition. At that time there was a plan to move the building and convert it into quarters for the first sergeant. By 1874 it was the first sergeant's quarters, but still in its original location. Lt. Bird (1868-72) said it was heated by a stove.

HS 3. Bake House. This first bake house later became a barracks and, still later, a reading room and library. The older part of the structure was built by Company C, 9th Infantry (on San Juan from February 1862 to October 1865). Bricks were ordered to repair the bake oven in February 1865. The dimensions of this older part were given by both Haskell and Bird as 20 x 12 x 7 feet. This portion of the building had a ceiling.

The newer part of the building was added in 1868. Haskell said it was 15 x 13 x 6 feet, but Bird recorded it as being 13 x 13 x 6.3 feet. It had no ceiling. The whole building became a barracks in 1868. In 1871, 14 men were living in it. The whole structure was described as being a frame building, constructed of old and new lumber and roofed with shingles. Bird said that it was heated by a stove and that it was inadequate as a barracks.

An 1874 building report said that the structure was then being used as a library and reading room. This report gave the

dimensions of the older part as 20 x 12 x 7 feet and the newer part as 12 x 6 x 6 feet.

HS 4. Messroom and Kitchen. The messroom portion of this structure was erected by Company C, 9th Infantry (1862-65) to replace Pickett's messroom attached to the barracks. It was constructed of logs and had a shingle roof. Designed to seat 65 men, it had to find space for 95 soldiers in 1871. The kitchen part was added in 1868. It was built of old lumber picked up about the post. A medical report called the kitchen part a "shed." Various reports rated the mess as being in good or fair condition; but the kitchen usually received a poor rating. Bird said that the building had "a large fire place & range and every facility for cleanliness."

Haskell's dimensions (possibly including the kitchen) were 55 x 22 x 8 feet. Lieutenant Bird said the mess was 40.3 x 18 x 7 feet and the kitchen, 18 x 11.6 x 6.6 feet.

HS 5. Laundress' Quarters. Located behind (south) of officers' row, this set of laundress' quarters was erected in 1867, thus being the newest of three such sets. It was constructed of logs and roofed with shingles. Its dimensions were 28 x 11 x 6 feet, plus an attached kitchen, 11 x 7 x 7 feet. Including the kitchen it had three rooms. In 1871 it was described as being in fair condition. At that time Private Honey, his wife, and their four children occupied the quarters. By 1874 it was considered to be in poor condition and needing constant repair.

HS 6. Laundress' Quarters. Also located behind officers' row, this set of laundress' quarters was built of both old lumber brought from Bellingham and new lumber purchased by the laundresses themselves. Exact date of construction is unknown, but probably in the fall of 1859. It was a frame building constructed of boards set on end and roofed with shingles. Its dimensions were 26 x 12 x 7 feet, with a kitchen attached, 10 x 7 x 6 feet. Including the kitchen it had four rooms. It was still in use in 1874.

HS 7. Laundress' Quarters. Also built of old and new lumber about the same time as HS 6, above. Located to the west of officers' row, near the hospital. It was a frame duplex; its walls were boards set on end; and its roof was shingled. Its dimensions were 29 x 19½ x 8 feet, plus an attached kitchen, 21 x 8½ x 8½ feet. It had four rooms, including the kitchen,

plus two small attachments. The undated plat of the post suggests a double fireplace. In 1871, Private Ryan and his wife occupied the eastern part of the structure; Private Delaney, his wife, and their seven children lived in the western portion.

Lieutenant Bird's report (1868-72) described the three sets of laundress quarters differently than the description given above. It stated that one set had been built of logs during the excitement, i.e. 1859, and that the other two had been built from time to time of lumber brought over from Bellingham. However, it will be recalled that Pickett stated in late 1859 that his laundresses had by then built two sets of quarters. It is considered probable that these two were HS 6 and HS 7.

In 1871 Captain Haskell wrote that because of a lack of suitable quarters (the above structures were then occupied by enlisted men and their families), two laundresses, Mrs. McDonnell and Mrs. Spaulding, were forced to live in buildings belonging to the Hudson's Bay farm.

The 1874 building report gave the dimensions of this duplex as: 35 x 15 x 8 feet, and the attached kitchen, 35 (sic) x 7 x 8 feet.

HS 8. Officers' Quarters. Located at the western end of officers' row. Built in 1867. A 1½-story, double frame, weatherboarded, shingled-roof house. It had a covered porch in front and an attached kitchen in the rear. Dimension, 40 x 30 x 20 feet. In 1871 the commanding officer of the post occupied this structure.

The post-1868 medical report stated that all the officers' quarters had their own yards and gardens, surrounded by high board fences, attached.

In 1871 Captain Haskell described the structure as having the following rooms: On ground floor--parlor, bedroom, dining room (an extension of the hall), kitchen, and a passage with stairs to the "attic." On second floor--two bedrooms, each with closet, a hall room, a small room at the back, and another small room with a back stairs in it. The undated plat of the post shows the ground floor only; this generally agrees with Haskell's description.

General Canby referred to this structure in 1872 as being of a size intended for a field officer (i.e. major through colonel). In 1874 the structure was described as being in good condition.

HS 9. Officers' Quarters. Second residence from the west end of officers' row. This set of quarters was built "just after the 'excitement'," i.e. in 1859 or 1860. It was originally intended as quarters for junior officers. It was a log structure, roofed with shingles. It had a porch in front and a kitchen in the rear. Its dimensions were said to be 30 x 25 x 10 feet. In 1867 the post commander requested permission to plaster the interior walls.

This may have been the quarters occupied by Captain Hunt in 1860. He described his residence as a neat and snug cottage, "built of hewn logs, closely fitting and lined within, a piazza in front, the columns of which are decidedly rustic, being cut from the forest, peeled and the knobs left some inches long."

In a letter written in March 1871, Captain Haskell said that the building was then being used as a billiard room. In 1874 it was again described as being unoccupied.

HS 10. Officers' Quarters. Built by Battery I, 2d Artillery, which was at American Camp from October 1865 to September 1868, from lumber brought over from Fort Bellingham. Described as being a double frame house, weatherboarded, and roofed with shingles. It had a porch in front and a kitchen and mess in the rear. Its dimensions were 40 x 24 x 10 feet. This set of quarters was considered to be a duplex. In 1871, Lt. Henry C. Johnson and Contract Surg. George A. Benjamin were living in it; it was described then as being in good condition.

Lieutenant Bird (1868-72) called this structure the surgeon's quarters and said that it had been built either in the fall of 1867 or in the spring of 1868. Captain Haskell, in 1871, wrote that this building had two sitting rooms, two bedrooms, a covered passageway, a kitchen, and a dining room (apparently, the occupants ate together). The undated plat of the post shows two small additional rooms, one on the west apartment and one on the kitchen.

HS 11. Officers' Quarters. Located at the east end of officers' row, this duplex was built by Captain Pickett in either 1859 or 1860. It was a double frame house, built of cedar, weatherboarded, and shingled roof. It had a porch in front and on both sides. At the rear were a kitchen and a dining room. Its floor plan strongly suggests that it was intended to be a duplex. In 1867 it was described as being in good condition and then occupied as a single residence by Lt. Charles Bird. At that same time, Captain Haskell said it had a parlor, two bedrooms, a dining room, two closets or storerooms, a passageway, and a kitchen. Measurements given as 35 x 25 x 10 feet.

In 1874 this building was said to be in good condition. A photograph taken about 1903 shows this set of officers' quarters, as well as HS 8, still standing. While its eventual disposition remains unproven, a distinct possibility exists that this structure is today's McRae House at American Camp.

At least two other buildings on San Juan today are known locally as Captain Pickett's house. On the basis of the above description and historical photographs, neither of these two claims could be Pickett's quarters. They and the McRae house will be discussed again at the end of this chapter

HS 12. Adjutant's Office. This small building was located at the west end of officers' row. It was set back about 50 feet from the fronts of the officers' quarters, thus it does not appear in photographs of the row, which were taken from the east. Built of boards set on end; shingled roof. It was described in 1871 as having a porch on all four sides. However, the undated plat of the post shows porches on only the north and east sides. It was built by Capt. Thomas Gray (October 1865 - June 1867). It had two rooms, he said, one for the adjutant and one for the commanding officer, "provided with tables & Desks and everything essential for Officers and Clerks." The 1874 building report described the structure as being in fair condition. This structure will be discussed again at the end of this section.

HS 13. Hospital. The newer of two hospital buildings, this ward was erected in 1867 by A. A. Surg. T. E. Semple. Frame, weatherboarded, shingled roof, and having a porch in front, i.e., on the north side. It was described as being well lighted and well ventilated; historical photographs show a ventilator in the roof. Its dimensions were 29½ x 19½ x 13 feet, with accommodations for six patients. It was said to have been in good condition in 1871. Lieutenant Bird said that a stove heated this building and that a plank walk connected it to the other hospital building, thirty feet away. A neat stake fence surrounded the hospital complex.

HS 14. Hospital. The older of the two hospital buildings, its date of construction is unknown. It was described as a frame house, weatherboarded, shingled roof, and having a porch on its front (south side). The construction materials came from Fort Bellingham. Its dimensions were 35 x 27 x 9½ feet. In 1871 its four rooms were used as a dispensary, a mess for patients and attendants, a kitchen, and a surgery.

The post-1868 medical report on the structures gave the dimensions of this building as being 33 by 18 feet. It said that the four rooms were used as a hospital steward's quarters, a dispensary, a mess, and a kitchen. Lieutenant Bird (1868-72) agreed with these uses, and gave the dimensions as being 33.9 x 18.2 x 9.8 feet. He said that the hall running through the building was four feet wide. The 1874 building report said that this structure was old and in need of repairs.

HS 15. Guardhouse. The guardhouse was a two-story log blockhouse that was brought from Fort Bellingham, probably in 1860. It is also probable that it was the model for the blockhouse at English Camp that is still standing. In 1871 the lower floor was used to house the guard, and the upper floor was used for prisoners. The prison room had four cells. The dimensions of the lower floor were 17 x 17 x 8 feet, the upper floor, 15 x 15 x 6 feet. (Lieutenant Bird: lower floor, 17.2 x 17.2 x 7.7 feet; upper floor, 15.5 x 15.5 x 6.2 feet.)

Bird stated that there was a small room on the second floor in addition to the four cells. According to him, a stove was located on the ground floor, and a stovepipe ran through the upper level, "which gives ample heat."

By 1871 the log walls were infested with innumerable bedbugs; its roof was rotten; and the whole was in bad condition. In 1874 the structure was considered to be worthless.

HS 16. Commissary Storehouse. Built in 1868. Frame, weatherboarded, shingled roof. Dimensions were 30 x 30 x 11 feet. Before it was built, commissary stores seem to have been stored in the loft of the barn. This storehouse was one of the few structures to lie south of the road that ran past American Camp. It could hold six months' subsistence supplies for the company. Bird (1868-72) said that the interior of the building had been improved by partitioning off a room for storing articles for sale to officers and men and by adding a stationary meat safe covered with wire cloth. In 1874 it was said to be in good condition.

HS 17. Quartermaster's Storehouse. Adjacent to HS 16 and built in 1867 or 1868 of old lumber brought over from Fort Bellingham. Its wall boards were set on end. Shingled roof. Attached to its west side was a shed used for storing lime and coal. Its dimensions were either 31 x 15 x 12 feet or 30 x 20 x 10 feet, both being given in the 1871 report--the latter in pencil

as if a correction. The shed measured 15 x 10 x 7 feet. This building could store one year's supply of quartermaster stores, clothing, and camp and garrison equippage for one company. In 1874 it was said to be in fair condition.

HS 18. Blacksmith Shop. Also located on the south side of the road, the blacksmith shop was erected in 1867. It was a one-room building, boards set on end, and a shingled roof. Haskell gave its dimensions as 25 x 15 x 10 feet. Bird said it measured 21 by 14 feet. Bird said that the coal usually came from Nanimo, Vancouver Island, but in the year in which he was writing (?) the coal had come from San Francisco. In 1874 it was described as an old board building in fair condition.

HS 19. Barn. Erected in 1867, this building was known as both the barn and the stable (no cavalry units on San Juan). Two-story, frame, boards set on end, shingled roof. Well ventilated. Ground floor had good accommodations for 15 animals. The upper floor stored hay, etc. Haskell gave its dimensions as 52 x 30 x 18 feet. The post-1868 medical report stated that on the north side of the building there was attached a 20 by 14-foot shed used to shelter oxen. This shed does not appear on the undated plat of the post. This plat does show a large corral west of the structure.

Lieutenant Bird wrote that the building's dimensions were 49.6 x 30 x 10.9 feet. He also noted: "On right side of entrance is sleeping room 8.10 x 12.2 x 10.9 for the wagoner and hostler, and on the opposite side is a corresponding room, 8.10 x 12.2 x 10.9 used for saddles, bridles, harness, etc." These two rooms were on the east end of the structure. Regarding the hay loft, Bird wrote: "It is furnished with a wheel and rope over a trap door by which either hay or grain can be raised with ease. There is also communication from this floor with each animal stall through which hay can be fed without waste." The 1874 building report noted that the ox shed was still present and that the barn was in very good condition.

HS 20. Granary. Although the granary was attached to the south side of the barn, the Army considered it to be a separate structure. Erected in 1867, it was a frame structure built of boards set on end. It had a shingled roof. Dimensions: 35 x 10 x 12 feet. It could hold about 30,000 pounds of grain. Bird said that part of it was used to store straw (more straw was kept in a Hudson's Bay barn nearby).

HS 21. Carpenter Shop. Located in the northeast corner of the main compound, this building was originally used as quarters for Battery D, 3d Artillery. That outfit was on San Juan from August to November 1859; thus this structure was one of the oldest buildings on the post. It was built of logs and had a shingled roof. Dimensions: 30 x 20 x 12 feet. In 1871 it was considered to be in fair condition.

HS 22. Bake House. This building too was erected as quarters in 1859. It housed part of Capt. Thomas English's Company H, 9th Infantry, which was on the island from August to November. It was located in the northwest corner of the main compound. It too was a log structure having a shingled roof. Dimensions: 30 x 15 x 7 feet. (Bird said it measured 27 x 18 x 6.6 feet.) When it was converted to a bakery in 1868, Battery I, 2d Artillery, furnished it with an oven and the other necessary appliances through its company fund. The Commissary Department later reimbursed the company. In 1871 it was said to be in fair condition but "ill shaped" and not in line with other buildings. By 1874 it had been downgraded to "poor."

HS 23. Quartermaster and Commissary Office. This small building was erected on the west side of the parade ground in 1859 by Captain Pickett's company to serve as an orderly room. It was built of old lumber set on end and it had a shingled roof. Its dimensions were 25 x 14 x 10 feet. (Bird said they were 26 x 12 x 7.6 feet.) It had two rooms, one for blanks and stationery, the other for an office with the necessary tables and desks. In 1874 it was described as being an unfit structure in poor condition.

HS 24. Reading Room and Orderly Room. This building was erected in two parts. The date of the construction of the earlier part and its function are unknown. The newer, and smaller, part was added in 1868 for use as a Good Templar's Hall--a teetotaling group then enjoying momentary popularity in various army outfits.

As of 1871, the whole structure, 40 x 10 x 9 feet, was in use as a post reading room and company orderly room in the daytime and as a post schoolroom in the evening. Lieutenant Bird said that the longer room was the reading room and that it was "fitted up with tables, stationery etc stands for newspapers which are supplied by Post & Company Funds. During winter evenings the Reading room is used as a School room."

This structure was not listed as such in the 1874 building report. It was possibly then being used as a company storeroom and the first sergeant's quarters. At least the building housing those functions at that time had dimensions (37 x 10 x 8½ feet) comparable to those given to HS 24.

HS 25. Company Storeroom. Located on the west side of the parade ground, this structure had once been quarters for musicians (buglers?). Its date of construction is unknown. Frame building, boards set on end, and shingled roof. Haskell gave its dimensions as being 15 x 10 x 7 feet; Bird, 14 x 12 x 7.6 feet. It was in bad condition by 1871. It does not appear in the 1874 building report, the company storeroom then being in another building, brobably HS 24 (see above). There is a possibility that this building was in use as the ordnance storehouse in 1874. The report of that year accounted for such a structure, saying that it measured 14 x 12 x 7½ feet, was old, and in fair condition.

HS 26. Bath House. Built in 1870 of boards set on end, and a shingled roof. The boards were taken "from an old house below Camp." It was located a considerable distance to the north of the fence that surrounded the parade ground--about 150 feet. A well supplied the water "by means of a Pump with pipes attached, which also carries the water underground to the washhouse." This well was possibly located northeast of the main post, beyond the sutler's store; there are said to be traces of a well in this area today. (It is possible underground piping is still to be found.) Dimensions of the structure were 20 x 10 x 7 feet. While it was in good condition in 1871, it was considered to be in bad shape by 1874.

HS 27. Telegraph Office. Date of construction unknown. San Juan island was connected to the mainland by a telegraph line in 1866. It was located southwest of the Adjutant's Office. Its dimensions were 15 x 15 x 7 feet. In 1871 it was considered to be in poor condition and inadequate as a telegraph office. No further record of this structure has been found in the military records.

HS 28. Wash House and Shoemaker Shop. It is not known if the term "wash house" meant a place to wash clothes or a place to wash one's face and hands. There was a separate bath house, above, but the wash house was closer to the barracks than the bath house. Its date of construction is unknown. In 1871 it

was described as an "old frame house or shanty--of boards set on end and covered with shingles." In 1871, one part of the building was used as both a shoemaker shop and quarters for Private Hartman. (Was he the shoemaker?) The overall dimensions were 24 x 10 x 9 feet. While the structure appears on the undated plat of the post, it was not listed in either Bird's report or the 1874 building report.

HS 29. Woodsheds and Outhouses. The undated plat of the post shows five structures identified as No. 29. For the purpose of this report these five will be further identified with letters:

29-A, the woodhouse and/or "outhouse," hospital complex.
29-B, " " " , adjutant's office.
29-C, " " " , officers' quarters no. 8
29-D, " " " , " " no. 9
29-E, " " " , " " no. 10

It is somewhat surprising that no outhouses were shown for officers' quarters no. 11 or for the laundresses' quarters south of officers' row. The 1871 building report said that the outhouse for the enlisted men was "out of sight," probably meaning that it was too far off--to the north?--to be shown on a plat.

HS 30. Military Cemetery. Located about 500 yards south of the post. It was enclosed with a neat picket fence. A wooden arch was erected over the gate. In 1873 its dimensions were said to be 34 x 34 x 34 feet (sic). At that time 14 graves occupied the plot, five of them being unknown. The lieutenant making the report thought that the "unknowns" were probably civilian graves.

Between the time of that report and the abandonment of American Camp, at least three more deaths occurred among the troops. The headstones varied from no marker at all, through wooden headboards and a sandstone monument, to a marble tombstone. The bodies were disinterred and moved to Fort Townsend in 1875.

The cemetery was divided into at least three sections in 1873, labeled A, B,and C. Section C had the largest number of graves--six. It is thought that the present outline of stones on the ground was placed there by public-minded citizens in post-army days.

HS 31. Post Trader's and Billiard Room. This large structure was listed as building no. 31 in the 1871 building report. It is shown as no. 30 on the undated plat of the post. For the purposes of this report it will retain the designation HS 31.

No description of the interior arrangement has been found. On the plat it is shown to have had at least three rooms. In 1859 the post trader (sutler) was Edward Warbass, who had come over from Fort Bellingham and who remained on San Juan as a settler. By the time of the Civil War he was succeeded by other post traders.

HS 32. Root Houses. Although listed in the 1871 building report, nothing else is known concerning root houses. Possibly they were somewhere near the Commissary Storeroom, HS 16, and the Company Messhall, HS 4.

HS 33. Flagstaff. Located between Officers Quarters No. 11 and the Guardhouse. A new flagstaff was erected in 1865, undoubtedly replacing an older one. In 1871 it was described as being 100 feet high. A photograph indicates its general appearance.

HS 34. Redoubt. The redoubt was a fortification for the placement of six 32-pounder guns that had been removed from the Massachusetts. However, only five earthen gun platforms may be seen today--and apparently were all that existed. The redoubt was not completed when General Scott ordered the weapons removed from the island.

The redoubt was designed by and constructed under the supervision of Lt. Henry M. Robert, CE, who arrived on San Juan August 23, 1859. With him were ten enlisted men from the Engineers. They were assisted in the construction of the earthwork by a large number of soldiers and some civilians. After the "excitement" the fortification was superciliously called Robert's Gopher Hole.

The only historical description yet found of it appears in H. H. Bancroft's British Columbia:

> The earthworks extended on the west water-front 350 feet, on the southeast 100, on the east 100, and on the northeast 150 feet, the north side being left open, with the garrison ground in its rear. The embankment had a base of twenty-five feet, and a width at top of eight feet. Inside of the redoubt were five gun-platforms of earth, reaching to within two feet of the level of the parapet, each twelve by eighteen feet, two of them being at corners of the redoubt. The parapet was seven feet above the interior, and the slope of the interior twelve to

fifteen feet, the exterior slope being twenty-five to forty feet, with a ditch at the bottom from three to five feet across.

Unnumbered Structures. Structures or developments that have not been given HS numbers at this time include the following:

Post Garden. Also called the government garden. While its location is not known, the garden was possibly near the cultivated fields of the Hudson's Bay Company. The farm manager, Robert Firth, recorded in his diary in 1865 that he was plowing "below the government garden." Of no help was a comment in 1860 that the garden was near the barracks.

Butcher Shop. Listed in the 1874 building report as an old board structure in bad condition, dimensions 25 x 16 x 8 feet. Nothing else, including its location, is known of this building.

Fences. Picket fences inclosed the post proper, the hospital complex, the cemetery, and probably ran between the houses on officers' row. Board fences inclosed the back yards of the officers' quarters thus providing some privacy for the officers' families. Also there was a fence around the corral adjacent to the barn.

Lieutenant Bird (1868-72) said that all the fences were neatly whitewashed. The historical photograph confirms this.

Miscellaneous.

Bird also said that all the structures at American Camp were whitewashed, except the fronts of the officers' quarters, which were painted white. From the historical photograph of the camp, it appears that some doors and shutters were painted in contrasting colors.

Water. Although the 1871 building report mentioned a well and underground piping in connection with the wash house, Lieutenant Bird reported that the post was supplied with water from a spring "at least a mile distant" by water carts. This probably was the spring on the south shore near where Pickett had established his camp on the island in 1859. Bird said that one cart sufficed in winter but that two were required during the summer. He also said: "The ram that supplied the Post at Steil-

acoom, W. T. with water was transferred here, but the pipe was in such damaged condition it could not be used."

Pickett House - I. The residents of San Juan have long believed that Edward Warbass, the first settler at American Camp, moved "Pickett's house" from American Camp in 1875 and made it his residence at Idlewild, near Friday Harbor--a site today called Kwan Lamah. An inspection of this structure today shows that it has been modified and added to over the years. Even so, its appearance and dimensions preclude it from being any one of the quarters on officers' row, including HS 11 that Pickett built.

From time to time the suggestion has been made that Pickett had a private house built on San Juan, away from American Camp, and that this was the residence that Warbass acquired. Nothing in the historical record supports such a thesis. It is well known that Pickett lived with an Indian woman at Fort Bellingham and that they had a baby boy. However, the woman died while Pickett was still at Bellingham, and he did not bring the boy to San Juan. On the contrary, Pickett ordered all Indian women off San Juan in the summer of 1860, prostitution threatening to become a way of life.

It is not probable that Pickett would have set himself up in a private residence. Not only was he then the post commander but he had important responsibilities as the senior American officer of the still-delicate international situation of a joint occupation of the island. His counterpart, Captain Bazalgette, RM, had his family on San Juan; social relations were friendly yet formal; and Pickett was present against the better wishes of Governor Douglas, Vancouver Island. Pickett would not have undertaken anything that even suggested the slightest impropriety; and the record is clear that he did not.

A clue as to which structure Warbass may have moved comes from the reminiscences of an old San Juan resident, William Rosler. Rosler was the son of a former U. S. soldier, Christopher Rosler, who, after his discharge from the Army, had taken a claim on land close to American Camp during the joint occupation. William was in a position to have heard and seen much on San Juan over the years. A few years ago, Rosler drew a map of American Camp as he remembered it and discussed briefly the history of the structures. He stated at this time that Warbass had moved the telegraph office, HS 27, to his estate, and not one of the buildings on officers' row.

The military records indicate that the telegraph office measured 15 by 15 feet and was considered to be in poor condition

in 1871, when it was still relatively new. This suggests that it was hardly the type of structure that Warbass would have desired as a residence. On the other had, it is noted that Rosler did not show the nearby adjutant's office, HS 12, on his map. This structure measured 15 by 17 feet, was surrounded by a porch, and was described in 1871 as being in good condition and in 1874 as in fair shape.

The Warbass structure at Kwan Lamah today meets neither of the above dimensions. It is 15 feet wide but, from external appearances, that which seems to be the original building is 20 feet long. In the undated plat of the post, the chimney in the adjutant's office is indicated as being in the center of the structure. The chimney in the Warbass house today is about 15 feet from the front door. There is a porch on the front and one side of the Warbass house today and there are indications that a porch once stood on the other side. Historical photographs of the building taken when Warbass still lived there, show that many changes have taken place in the structure's appearance since his time.

The conclusion is made that Warbass did move an American Camp structure to his place in 1875. The available evidence leans to the concept that it was either the telegraph office or the adjutant's office. The best of this incomplete evidence suggests that it was the adjutant's office, HS 12. If this thesis should prove to be correct, the association of Pickett's name with the structure would not be appropiate. Both structures were erected many years after Pickett left San Juan.

Pickett House - II. At Argyle, near Friday Harbor, stands an abandoned house that another local legend claims to have been Pickett's house. In contrast to the Warbass structure, little or no evidence has come to light to support any connection between it and the officers' quarters at American Camp. There is the general possibility that it originally was some other structure at the post; but only legend supports such a theory. The building today appears to have deteriorated greatly and possibly could not survive a move even if part of it was eventually determined to have come from American Camp.

To date, these are the only so-called "Pickett Houses" on San Juan that have come to attention. The possibility exists that other structures may rise to this claim. Had Pickett not climbed to the rank of general in the Confederate Army and had he not experienced a moment of glory at Gettysburg in 1863, it is perhaps not too cynical to say that fewer structures would have been identified with his name.

McRae House. About 900 feet west of the redoubt and a little east of the supposed site of officers' row stands the now-abandoned McRae house, known more familiarly as "the little red house." William Rosler, in an interview with Dr. John A. Hussey, NPS, said that this structure was not a part of American Camp, despite occasional rumors to that effect. Rosler said that the building originally belonged to the Hudson's Bay farm. The last farm manager, Robert Firth, decided to settle on San Juan and took this building as his residence.

It may be determined that Firth did become a settler and took a claim of 80 acres on part of the former Hudson's Bay farm headquarters (Lots 3 and 4 of Section 11, and Lot 5 and the NW quarter of the NW quarter of Section 12, Township 34N, Range 3W). This area does not seem to include the present site of the McRae house.

While little is known of the architecture of the Hudson's Bay farm manager's residence, there is nothing to suggest that it was a frame building. All or nearly all the structures erected by the Hudson's Bay Company were constructed in the Canadian style of horizontal timbers inserted in vertical grooved uprights, a style common to the fur trade.

Dr. Hussey also interviewed Mr. Frank H. Mullis, another longtime resident on San Juan. It was Mr. Mullis' belief that the McRae house was a former officers' quarters at American Camp, either HS 9 or HS 10. In exploring this theory, it must be noted that at present the limits of officers' row have not yet been determined. The forthcoming archeology at American Camp will shed light on this factor and should determine if the McRae house is east of officers' row (as is thought now) or actually on it. In either case, the structure could be an officers' quarters--at least theoretically--either on its original site or on a different one.

The front of the house today is the south side of the building, the side facing the road and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. It is intriguing to note from an inspection of the building, that its original front was on the opposite side, the north. The good-quality door on this side has lights around it, and its general appearance is that of a front door and not a back entrance. It is interesting to note that the officers' quarters also faced north. This may be nothing more than a coincidence, but it does lead to the recommendation that a architectural investigation should be made on this structure before its future is planned.

Whether the McRae house or any part of it was originally a Hudson's Bay or American Camp structure, or built of materials

from these two establishments, cannot be determined at present. Archeology and a historic structure report will play important roles in learning this building's history. From its general appearance, this structure resembles only HS 10 and 11. The army measurements for these structures were: HS 10--40 x 24 x 10 feet; HS 11--35 x 25 x 10 feet. The measurements of the McRae house today are 32'6" x 22'6" x 9'6".

Forman House. The Forman house is a yellow building located north of the road, opposite the redoubt. It is about 1,200 feet east of the McRae house. William Rosler said that some of the lumber in this structure came from American Camp; he suggested that it came from the 1½-story commanding officer's quarters, HS 8. An inspection of this house indicates that some features, particularly the stairs, probably came from some older structure.

Ruin, South of Road. Today the ruins of a frame structure lie to the south of the road that runs through the American Camp area, about 700 feet west of the McRae house. Whether these ruins represent an American Camp structure is not known. It should be noted that in this general area were three army structures: HS 16, commissary storehouse; HS 17, quartermaster storehouse; and HS 18, blacksmith shop. So far as maps of the army period may be correlated with maps today, it would appear that the ruin is closest to HS 18, the blacksmith shop. Archeological work will probably shed further light on this ruin's history.

Sources: NA, RG 77, CE, Land Papers, SAJU, "Abstract of Claims registered in 1869"; RG 92, OQMG, Consolidated File, Box 985, SAJU, Ebstein, May 4, 1873, to QMG, re post cemetery; and Duncan, June 30, 1874, Annual Report of Buildings; RG 393: SAJU, bound volume concerning civil affairs of SAJU, including undated description of American Camp by Charles Bird; SAJU, Post Orders, 1861-68, Orders No. 7, Feb. 8, 1865; and Orders No. 35, July 30, 1868; SAJU, Letterbook, 1868-71, Haskell, "Special Report . . . of the Public Buildings," Jan. 10, 1874; and Haskell, Mar. 21, 1872, 2, Canby, Oct. 17, 1872, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific.

NA, Cartographic Division, undated plat of American Camp; and Major Michler's 1874 map of the southeastern end of SAJU; BC PA, "Diary of Robert Firth," 1865-66; Murray, p. 68; Richardson, Pig War Islands, pp. 119 and 188; Seattle Times, Aug. 5, 1862, extracts from article on Edward Warbass; Illustrated Supplement to San Juan Islander, p. 4; Map of American Camp, from memory, by William Rosler, no date; John A. Hussey, notes from interviews

with William Rosler, Walter R. Nicholas, and Frank H. Mullis, 1964 and 1965, history files, DSC, NPS; Mrs. George A. Hipkoe, Bellingham, Apr. 8, 1965, to Leo J. Diederick, NPS, concerning Warbass house; Richardson, Magic Islands, p. 34; and Bancroft, British Columbia, pp. 624n - 625n.

CHAPTER 2

Hudson's Bay Company Farm

The Hudson's Bay Company founded Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island in 1843. Two years later, July 1845, a company agent placed a wooden tablet on top of Mount Finlayson near the southeastern tip of San Juan that announced the company's occupation of the island. Not until 1850 or 1851 did the company send employees to San Juan to operate a seasonal fishing station for a few weeks each year. Governor Douglas wrote that this was done first in 1850. William John Macdonald was in charge of the fishing station in 1851, but his reminiscences give no hint of there having been a predecessor. He said he was sent in June of that year "to establish a salmon fishery."[1]

Macdonald described the site of his station as being on "a small sheltered bay," of which there are many along the coasts of the island. Immediately, he and his men erected "a rough shed" for salting and packing the salmon. As for himself, he had at first "a very primitive rough shelter--four posts stuck in the ground with a ceder bark roof on." His four workmen set to work to build him a house "of round logs with bedstead and table of the same." Although he said he had a comfortable bed, thanks to plenty of the famed Hudson's Bay blankets, he nonetheless spent his last month on board the company schooner Captain Dixon which apparently anchored in the bay.

By the end of his stay, he had acquired only 60 barrels of cured salmon, there having been "a short run" that year. Although Macdonald was vague about time, it would seem that he spent three or four months on San Juan. It is not possible to determine from his account where the fishing station was located. (A U. S. army map, prepared in 1860, showed a fishing station east of San Juan village, on San Juan harbor.)[2]

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1. PA Ottawa, FO 5, 812, microfilm, Douglas, Dec. 13, 1855, to Sect. of State for Colonial Dept.; BC PA, William John Macdonald, "Notes by a Pioneer," MS; NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, Envelope 5A, Henry R. Crosbie, assessment of property in San Juan, May 20, 1859.

2. Macdonald, "Notes," Macdonald left the HBC in 1858 to become

In 1852 the government of Oregon Territory organized the San Juan Islands and Whidbey Island into Island County. When Washington Territory was created in 1853, Island County became a part of it, although at that time there was probably no American settler living on San Juan Island itself. Perhaps in reaction to these political moves by the Americans, the Hudson's Bay Company sent Charles Griffin to San Juan in November 1853 to establish the Bellevue Sheep Farm.[3]

It is reported that on December 13, 1853, the Hudson's Bay steamer Beaver landed livestock on the island; these were brought over from the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's Nisqually station, W. T. This report is probably correct, for in his account book Griffin recorded the livestock on hand as of December 14: 1,369 sheep, 1 horse, 1 stallion, 1 mare, 2 cows and calves, 1 heifer, 1 boar, and 1 sow with young, at a total value of £1,745. Griffin selected a site on the south slope of the grassy peninsula at the southeastern end of the island for his farm headquarters. By April 1854, his own house was under construction: April 2, "John Ross and Tim covering Beams in my Ho(use)." April 5, "John Ross & Holland upper flooring my Ho." April 6, "John Ross & Holland commenced ceiling inside my Ho." June 7, "John Ross commenced a stone foundation to my chimney." August 21, "Making a cupboard."

Early in April, Griffin had four Indians digging in the garden. This probably was the beginning of the substantial garden appearing in Lt. Thomas Casey's 1860 map of the area. Also in April, Griffin heard a rumor that some Americans were planning to seize the company's property on the island. He promptly had a flagstaff erected in order to fly the Union Jack. Meanwhile, the farm gradually developed. Throughout the summer months he had his men work periodically at fencing: May 3, "Cutting 8 feet pine pickets." May 10, "Putting up a field fence" and "a small picket fence." July 10, "Inds all forenoon employed at my small picketing fence round garden & House." September 12, "Fencing around the well." The location of this well has not yet been identified. However a water color of the farm headquarters by James M. Alden of the U. S. Boundary Commission does show the flagstaff, with the Union Jack flying from it.

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a merchant in Victoria. In later years he was an MP and a wealthy respected citizen.

3. Bancroft, British Columbia, p. 607; PA Ottawa, FO 5, 812, Douglas, Dec. 13, 1855, to Sect. of State for Colonial Dept.

On May 3, 1854, Griffin posted in his journal the arrival of Col. Isaac Ebey, the U. S. collector of customs for Puget Sound, accompanied by Henry Webber. They landed and camped at the small lagoon in San Juan Harbor, which Griffin called Belle Vue Harbor, and which others would call Griffin Bay or Ontario Roads. Ebey appointed Webber as inspector of customs for San Juan and soon departed. Webber, terrified of being killed by northern Indians, moved his camp up to the rear of the farm headquarters on May 15. Almost immediately he left the island, but returned on June 12. Griffin noted that this time Webber camped "at the foot of my large field," that is, on the beach southwest of the farm.[4]

The Ebey incident had no effect on Griffin's construction plans. His journal for the summer of 1854 is larded with entries concerning construction. June 20, "Digging a foundation for a Root Ho." June 23, "Got 2,000 bricks from Ft. Victoria." July 10, Sent men off "to collect shells to burn for lime." July 29, The Otter brought 200 planks 1½" (4,740 feet) and 377 planks 1" (6,089 feet). August 1, Building a kitchen chimney. August 30, Whitewashing. September 4, "Arranging fireplaces" and "hauling stones." September 11, "Plastering kitchen chimney." September 12, Putting upper floor in the kitchen. Probably the farm headquarters was substantially completed by the end of 1854. In his Outfit for 1855, Griffin valued his buildings at £760.7.3.[5]

The next major account of Griffin's establishment was written by George Gibbs, geologist for the U. S. Boundary Commission, who visited San Juan in February 1859. By then, Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., had established himself near Griffin's farm as the latest U. S. inspector of customs. Hubbs, in later years, said that his house was 100 yards from the station.

Gibbs took a census of the farm staff and found that in addition to Griffin there were one Englishman, four Frenchmen, one

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4. PA, Ottawa, HBC Records, microfilm, Bellevue Sheep Farm, Post Journal, 1854-55; OHS, George H. Hines, Scrapbook No. 40, pp. 118-19, newspaper clipping, James G. Swan, "San Juan Island and the Famous Deeds Done Upon It," in which Swan interviewed Webber. Webber: "I was living . . . on the Lumni river . . . and was requested by Col. Ebey . . . to go with him. . . . We landed . . . on the 2nd [sic] day of May . . . we . . . pitched our camp where the townsite now is."

5. PA Ottawa, HBC Records, Bellevue Post Journal, 1854-55; and Account Book, 1853-58.

Canadian, one Scotsman, two halfbreeds, and one Kanaka (Hawaiian), a total of eleven. Elsewhere on the island Griffin employed five Kanakas, one Scotsman, and six or eight Indians. Gibbs described the farm headquarters: "At Bellevue there are 7 small houses, a barn, outhouse and shed. The amount of land cultivated here has been, usually, about 6 acres adjoining the dwellings, and 40 on the other side of a ravine, a little to the westward." Griffin told him that he then had 4,000 sheep, 40 head of cattle, and a few horses, and that he put up 1,500 - 3,000 pounds of salmon annually. Gibbs estimated the prairie at Bellevue to measure about two miles by one-half mile. Griffin called this Home Prairie.[6]

Whatcom County, Washington Territory, made several efforts to collect property taxes from Griffin in the late 1850s. At one point, in May 1859, the county assessor inventoried the sheep farm. He said that Griffin had then 80 acres fenced and cultivated, the crops being peas, oats, and potatoes. As for stock, he listed: 4,000 sheep, 40 cattle, 5 yokes of oxen, 35 horses, and 40 hogs. In counting the structures, the assessor probably included those at the outlying sheep stations as well as those at Griffin's headquarters. His total was ten "frame" houses of which eight were dwellings, two barns, and one sheep house. Griffin's employees consisted of a Scotsman who was the head shepherd, another Scotsman who was the dairyman, a Canadian, four half-breeds, six Kanakas, one Negro, and four "Chim-zi-an" Indians.[7]

Three days after Captain Pickett landed in July 1859, the controversial editor of the British Colonist, Amour de Cosmos, paid a visit to San Juan. He gave a word picture of the farm to his readers:

> The station faces the Straits of San Juan de Fuca, and comprises about six small one story dwellings, of hewn logs, built around a small open square. Behind [to the north] are several barns. The dwellings are situated within a hundred yards of the shore, on the side of a gentle slope, running back about half a mile to the summit of the peninsula. About one hundred acres

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6. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geological Memoir of the Islands," Appendix C, report of George Gibbs, March 18, 1859; Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., in the San Juan Islander, Oct. 22, 1859.

7. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, Henry R. Crosbie, "Assessment of Property," May 20, 1859.

around the station were enclosed and under cultivation. We were informed that they claim the whole southern end of the island . . . nearly the whole of which is prairie, and used as a sheep ranch. A herd of 4,000 and odd sheep, with some 1,000 lambs, were quietly grazing a short distance below.

The first thing which particularly attracted our attention on landing, was a small Union Jack flying near Mr. Griffin's house . . . and a few rods further on was a large and new flagstaff, surmounted by the Stars and Stripes. Near it in a small house lives Mr. Hubbs, who, for two years past, has been acting as United States' Deputy Inspector of Customs.[8]

Casey and his officers made surprisingly few references to the physical aspects of the Hudson's Bay farm during the summer and fall of 1859. One of the few notes to be found is from Capt. Granville O. Haller, 4th Infantry. Years later, in his reminiscences, he wrote: "The Britons had a lookout, on a very high hill near the S.E. extremity of the island /Mount Finlayson/, which overlooked every approach to their position in the harbor, where H. M. corvette Tribune lay at anchor with spring cables." Since the British had no troops ashore at the time, the only persons who could have manned such a lookout would have been Griffin and his men. It should be noted that Haller was often unduly suspicious of the "enemy" and may have mistaken a shepherd for a spy. He visited Griffin at his home and the two of them inspected the "fine collection of flowers surrounding his house."[9]

An interesting, if somewhat puzzling, comment appeared in a letter written by the British magistrate on San Juan, John De Courcy, in the spring of 1860. Where De Courcy lived is unknown; his residence may have been one of the Hudson's Bay's buildings, especially since he referred to the "longitudinal holes" in his walls--characteristic of the Canadian style of architecture. His reference to a "fort" is more difficult to explain:

The /British/ 'Sovereignty' proclamation, which has hung up for so long at the entrance to this Fort is now almost illegible and the seals nearly defaced--some quite gone. Will you send me another? And pray tell me,

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8. Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859.

9. Haller, "Reminiscences," Journal of Mil. Service Institution, 25, 41 & 43.

whether it is to be kept exposed to public view, under all circumstances, whoever may be on the island . . . or whether I am to use my discretion and . . . hanging it up some days but not always.

Will you also kindly give me your advice, as to whether I had better make this hut of mine /~wind?~/ tight. The cold makes itself felt in these huts /~with?~/ their longitudinal holes.[10]

The increase of American settlers on San Juan during the early 1860s interferred greatly with the sheep farm operations. From control over the whole island only four years earlier, the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria lamented in 1863 that all the sheep stations were "squatted over and only the Homestead of Bellevue with about sixty acres of enclosed land remains." In fact the farm was now a losing proposition.[11]

Even in reduced circumstances, the farm manager doggedly pursued the operation of the farm until the company finally abandoned it in the late '60s or early '70s. Robert Firth, Sr., succeeded Griffin as manager about 1862. In his diary that he kept in 1865-66, one may note Firth's increasing involvement with community affairs--an involvement that resulted in his remaining permanently on San Juan as a settler. He wrote but brief entries, most of them concerning the weather or the farm animals. Nonetheless, the diary gives a glimpse of daily life at Bellevue, and it is thought worthwhile to extract a number of entries:

1865

Jan. 13, "Fine weather went to the Sheep Station."
15, "Dick went to the sheep station with a fortnight provishans to the Sheeperd."
17, "Went to the new station after some pigs."
31, "Down town /~San Juan village~/ paying the indian women."

Feb. 19, "Went to towen with the cart for a barrel of fish."
23, "Finished plough in the little field."
24, "Comenced plough in the big field."

Mar. 11, "I went to the lime kill, found a sheep killed by dogs."

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10. BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, 1859, 2, John De Courcy, Apr. 11, 1859, to "My dear Young." The date 1859 must be in error since De Courcy did not arrive on San Juan until July 1859. Young was undoubtedly the Colonial Secretary, Vancouver Island.

11. PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 816a, Sir Edmund Head, Governor, HBC, Dec. 3, 1863, to A. H. Layard, MP, quoting Chief Factor W. F. Tolmie.

Mar. 12, "Dry winds found Dick dead on the prairie."
13, "Fine whether buried Dick one of my cows died."
Apr. 5, "Sowing oats in the little field."
8, "Planting potatoes."
10, "Plowing at the new station."
19, "Went to Victoria."
May 7, "Very warm took a walk to town."
8, "Sowing carrots."
20, "Working at the sheep wash."
26, "Repairing fansing."
June 1, "Fixing the barn for shearing."
2, "Comensed sheering sheep."
5, "Went to the electon."
22, "Haling rails."
July 1, "Went to the school meeting."
4, "Some sport today."
5, "Very little work done."
12, "Working at the School."
Dec. 1, "Working at the root house."
1866
Jan. 23, "Went to town and got some salmon and flower."
Feb. 3, "Went to town with my oxen to hall a boat."
22, "Ploughing went to a party a night."
23, "Very little work done."
Mar. 5, "Plowing below the government garden."
Apr. 14, "Fixing one of the houses."
16, "Put the fence up rown the lower field."
June 8, "Boiling tobaco."
12, "Diping sheep in tobaco."
16, "Went to victoria."
27, "Fixing the rase track."
28, "Making binches for the school."
July 4, "Along with the excusion party."[12]

The Bellevue farm appeared on the several maps that the Army prepared during the years of occupation, at least one drawing was made of it, and a few photographs of its later days have survived.

James M. Alden, an artist employed by the U. S. Boundary Commission, prepared a watercolor of the farm headquarters about 1860. He apparently stood in the vicinity of the barns and, looking south, caught the little square of buildings, some fencing, two small buildings off to the west, the flagstaff, and

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12. BC PA, "diary of Robert Firth," 42 pp. Pages missing at beginning and end. Begins Jan. 7, 1865; ends Aug. 2, 1866, plus a loose page for Oct. 9 - Nov. 6, 1866.

also the Olympic Mountains across the strait. His detail suggests strongly that the structures were built in the Canadian style.

The later copy of Lt. Forsyth's 1860 map of the southeast end of the island shows the farm buildings and the fields. About eight small buildings appear to be clustered about the square. A road leading southward to a small cove separates this group from four small buildings to the west. North of the dwellings, toward American Camp, are three or four structures, one of them larger than the rest and believed to be a barn. One small building stands slightly to the south of the houses. All told, there are about 16 or 17 structures. A field surrounds the main complex; and another larger field, labeled "H. B. Co. Garden," lies a short distance to the west. Still farther west is another large field with two structures; although this was not marked by Forsyth, this was a settler's claim (see Casey's map, below).

Lieutenant Casey's more accurate map, also prepared in 1860, generally confirms Forsyth's depiction, although in more detail. On the original map the farm buildings are inked in red and the army structures in blue, thus making it possible to identify them where they meet. Casey shows seven buildings around the square, two to the south of it, four to the west, and four to the north. Two of those to the north are quite large and both are thought to be barns. The most northerly "barn" lay between officers' row of American Camp and the old redoubt.

Casey showed two small fields to the east and south of the main complex that are marked "a," meaning company fields. To the west is a large company field, also marked "a," and immediately east of it is a smaller area marked "b," the company garden.

The 1874 map of the area by Major Michler shows fewer structures for the Hudson's Bay farm. Only six were shown around the square, near the center of which was a small circle that might have indicated either the flagstaff or a well. Off to the west only two small buildings remained. To the north, a large barn complex still stood, although modified in its shape since 1860. Michler's other contributions on this map are his depictions of fencing and the boundary line between the farm and American Camp.

A small map of this area prepared in 1875, probably in connection with Michler's survey, shows the boundary of the Hudson's Bay farm. Of interest here is that the cove immediately below the farm buildings is labeled "Landing Place." This probably meant the landing place for small craft running between Victoria and the farm. (It was not unusual for commuters to make this

trip by canoe.)[13]

Two historical photographs, both apparently taken after the farm's abandonment, add to knowledge of the structures. One of these shows three small structures built in the Canadian style, with shingled roofs. One of the buildings has a stone chimney. A large stone chimeny stands by itself, perhaps because its building has been removed or demolished. Considerable fencing, in at least two styles, and gateposts also appear. The second photograph concentrates on the large stone chimeny, although some of the same fencing may be seen. At the site today are stone ruins that possibly are this same chimney and fireplace.

An architectural drawing, prepared by Superintendent Carl Stoddard, shows construction detail taken from a Bellevue structure that had fallen down. The building measured 17'3" by 10'5". It was built in a typical Canadian style. The corner posts measured 9 by 9 inches and each post had two slots to receive the horizontal timbers. A vertical post that provided for a door opening measured 8 by 6 inches. The slots for the horizontal timbers varied from two to two and one-half inches in width. The dimensions for one of the horizontal timbers were 9 by 6 inches.[14]

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13. The Alden watercolor and the Forsyth, Casey, and Michler maps are to be found in the NA, Cartographic Division; the small 1875 map is located in NA, RG 49, Abandoned Military Reservation File, SAJU.

14. Photographs and drawings that are not included in this report are all on file at San Juan Island National Historical Park.

CHAPTER 3

Cutlar's Farm and Frazer's Land

Lyman A. Cutlar's potato patch loomed large in the young history of San Juan island in June 1859.[1] Although the Colony of Vancouver Island and Washington Territory had already developed their dispute over ownership of the island, Cutlar's deed of shooting a Hudson's Bay boar was the incident, or the excuse, that led to the crisis of 1859. The identification of his home and potato field is important to the development and interpretation of the park.

The first description of Cutlar's location appeared in a letter written by farm manager Griffin on June 15, the day Cutlar shot the boar:

> An outrage was committed here to day by a man of the name of Cutler, an American, who has recently established himself on a prairie occupied by me & close to my establishment, he has dug up about one third of an acre in which he planted potatoes & partly & very imperfectly enclosed, my Cattle & pigs had free access to the patch, one of the pigs, a very valuable Boar, He shot this morning some distance outside of that same patch & complains the animal was destroying his crop.
>
> * * * * *
>
> I distincly gave him to understand he had not a shadow of a right to squat on the Island & much less in the center of the most valuable sheep run I have on the Island.[2]

Here Griffin states that Cutlar located his establishment on open prairie, a prairie that Griffin had been using as a sheep

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1. Three original documents have been located with Cutlar's signature on them. In his large firm handwriting he spelled his name with an "a" in every document.

2. BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, 1859, Griffin, June 15, 1859, to Douglas.

run. In view of the large amount of open prairie country in this part of San Juan Island, it is hardly surprising that the early American settlers selected open land to develop, rather than undertaking the difficult task of clearing forest land.

Hudson's Bay Company Director A. G. Dallas visited Cutlar on the following day, June 16. Although Dallas wrote several letters soon thereafter concerning the shooting, not until May 1860 did he describe his visit in detail. He said: "We took the opportunity in passing Cutler's hut or tent to call on him." Continuing his implication that he just happened to be passing by Cutlar's place, he wrote: "Cutler was perhaps alarmed at seeing four of us approach him on horseback." Dallas was not impressed by Cutlar's farm: "What has been dignified by the name of his farm consisted of a very small patch of potatoes, partially fenced on three sides and entirely open on the fourth. The Boar was shot in the adjoining forest."[3]

While Griffin had written that the boar had been shot some distance from the potato field, Dallas mentioned that it met its death in the nearby forest. In summary, while Cutlar had settled on a fairly extensive prairie, he had picked a spot close to the tree line.

Cutlar first described the incident in writing on June 23, eight days after the event: "For some time past I have been greatly annoyed by one of the Hudson Bay Co hogs (black Boar) entering my patatoe patch and destroying the crop, he was repeatedly driven off by myself back to the Hudson Bay Co. premises (a distance of one and a half mile)." He said that his potato patch was "directly along side the road." When he saw the boar among the potatoes he immediately became enraged "and upon the impulse of the moment seazed my rifle and shot the hog."

If Cutlar did not exaggerate, it would appear that he shot the boar while it was still in the potato patch. A slow-moving animal of its nature would not have had the opportunity to amble "some distance" or even to "the adjoining forest" if Cutlar had grabbed his rifle and shot "upon the impulse of the moment." But the important elements in Cutlar's letter are his statement that the field was next to a road and that he lived 1½ miles from Griffin's.

In this letter Cutlar also implied that his house too was near the road. On that fateful morning, he said, he was awak-

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3. PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 815, Dallas, May 10, 1860, to Harney.

ened by the sound of a horse. When he went to the door he saw a black employee of the company riding by, a man named Jacob. Not only could Cutlar see both Jacob on the road and the boar in the potatoes from his door, but he was sure that Jacob could see the pig also.[4]

At the request of General Harney, Cutlar made a formal deposition concerning the affair on September, 7, 1859, twelve weeks after the event. This statement added nothing to knowledge of his farm's location. In it Cutlar did say that shortly after Pickett's arrival, Henry R. Crosbie, the self-appointed American magistrate on the island, sent word to Cutlar to place himself under Pickett's protection. He did so--for one day. Years later, Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., said that it had been he who had "arrested" Cutlar and had brought him to American Camp. According to Hubbs, "we had a mile and a half to go through 'the enemy's country' to reach Pickett's camp." Hubbs also said of Cutlar's farm: "He lived with an Indian woman on what has for many years been known as the Frazer place."[5]

How long Cutlar lived on his farm is unknown. His time in the limelight was brief. Either in 1860 or 1861 he became a founding partner in the San Juan Island Lime Company, which located its operations at Lime Kiln on the west coast of the island about half way between American and English Camps. Just how Robert Frazer acquired Cutlar's claim is not known.

Robert H. Frazer appeared on San Juan in the fall of 1859. He was a 27-year-old ship's carpenter from Lousiana who had lately tried his luck in the Fraser River gold rush. On his December 1860 map, Lieutenant Casey marked a structure about half a mile northwest of American Camp, labeling it "Fraser and Campbell." It has been assumed by most students of San Juan history that this was Robert Frazer and that the establishment was one of the notorious whiskey ranches that plagued the early post commanders at American Camp. But Robert may have been unjustly cast as the whiskey dealer at Fraser and Campbell's.

Captain Hunt, commanding officer in March 1860, shed some

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4. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 44, quoting in full a letter by Cutlar, June 23, 1859, to Paul K. Hubbs, Jr.

5. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1859, I. I. Stevens, Olympia, Sept. 9, 1859, to Captain Pleasonton, Ft. Vancouver, inclosing Cutlar's affidavit; San Juan Islander, Oct. 22, 1909, quoting Paul K. Hubbs, Jr.

light on the matter. He said there were two whiskey shanties in the immediate neighborhood of American Camp. As a result he had declared a military reservation of four square miles, i.e. one mile from each cardinal point of the flagstaff, and ordered the whiskey sellers to move outside that boundary. One of the shanties, said Hunt, was operated by Frank Chandler and Dennis McCarthy, the other by James Frazer, who turned out to be a British subject. Hunt did not mention anyone named Campbell.

Later, Hunt relented and allowed James Frazer to return to his shanty "on the promise of abstaining from Liquor traffic." That was a mistake. James Frazer was soon "detected in lying, a number of bottles of liquor destroyed which he had kept concealed beneath his flooring. Whereupon he again retired to /San Juan/ 'town'." Hunt then brought suit against James Frazer. But he was never tried, and he disappeared from the record about this time.

The next mention of "Frazers house" to be found in January 1863, when a number of settlers held a meeting there to discuss civil affairs. A notice was circulated that the meeting would be held "at Frazers house in the woods on the road to the garrison." This notices raises more questions than it answers. Did it mean former whiskey-peddler James Frazer's place, or Robert Frazer's? Did it mean the place called Frazer and Campbell's on the Casey map, which was in the woods, or did it possibly refer to Cutlar's former place by then taken over by Robert Frazer, on a prairie surrounded by woods?[6]

Just where Robert Frazer lived and what his occupation was in the very early 1860s is not known. When he registered at American Camp in 1866, as all American citizens were required to do, he gave his occupation as farmer. That same year he married Mary Jane Flemming, daughter of Thomas Flemming. Flemming apparently was a farmer also. His diary has survived and in it he recorded selling hay and pigs to American Camp in 1866. Mary Janes's biographer has said that when she married Frazer she took up residence on the Cutlar land.

Frazer was definitely living next to American Camp by 1869. In that year his neighbor, Christopher Rosler, recorded his preemption claim and made it quite clear that Robert Frazer's place bordered his on the west. About this time, Robert Frazer and his

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6. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1860-63, Hunt, Mar. 30, 1860, to AAAG, Ft. Vancouver; WHQ, "Sovereign Americans on San Juan Island," 1, 75.

in-laws, James and John T. Flemming, ran afoul of Capt. J. T. Haskell at American Camp. The record gives no hint as to the nature of the trouble. The three were bound over to Haskell and were required to pay $500. The conditions established by Haskell read that they "do in every way and manner so conduct themselves, each, and severally in such a manner that no complaint of misdemeanor can be made or proven against them . . . on this island, for the period of one year."[7]

When Major Michler drew his maps of San Juan in 1874, he showed Frazer established northwest of American Camp at approximately the same spot at which Cutlar formerly lived, according to the Forsyth and Casey maps, and at which the Frazer homestead is located today--one mile from American Camp by today's roads.

As soon as possible after San Juan became American territory in 1872, the settlers began formalizing their land claims. The Surveyor General's Office, Olympia, completed a survey of the island in 1875. The U. S. Land Office recorded Frazer's land as being 160 acres in Lots 3 and 4 and the south half of the northwest quarter of Section 2, Township 34N, Range 3W, for which he paid $10 on December 15, 1875. President Arthur signed Frazer's patent to this land on May 5, 1883.[8]

The Frazer family has always been of the opinion that its homestead is the site of Cutlar's house and potato patch. Others on San Juan, including William Rosler (whose father was Frazer's neighbor), have maintained that Cutlar's place was about 1,600 feet to the southeast of today's Frazer house, close to the center of Section 2, T34N, R3W. This latter location is probably within today's national park; the former location is outside the boundaries.[9]

The Maps and Cutlar's Farm. No map is known to exist showing the roads as developed by the Hudson's Bay Company and the early settlers before the establishment of American Camp.

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7. NA, RG 393, SAJU, R. H. Frazer, Statement, July 16, 1866; and Capt. J. T. Haskell, proclamation, no date (he was CO from 1869 to 1872); SAJU, Land Claims, Etc., 1869-72, Ch. Rosler, land registration, Apr. 16, 1869; Seattle Times, Lucile McDonald, "Pioneer Kept Diary," date lost.

8. Dept. of the Interior, BLM, Portland, Ore., various records including survey notes, register of patents, etc.

9. Brown, et. al, "Feasibility Report," p. 10.

Forsyth Map, 1860 (retraced 1872). This map shows two roads that are pertinent to the matter. One leaves the Hudson's Bay farm and heads westward. Just beyond the Hudson's Bay fields, it branches, and one of these branches turns northward. The second road leaves American Camp and winds generally in a northwest direction, eventually joining the first road. These roads meet on a prairie that is separated from the Bellevue prairie by a forest. On the American Camp road, out on the prairie, is a structure on one side of the road and an irregular cultivated field on the other. This unlabeled claim is believed to be Cutlar's.

Generally this is not an accurately drawn map, and its scale should be considered only in relative terms. Measuring the distance from the center of the square at Bellevue to Cutlar's house one finds:

via a straight line-----1 mile
via the HBC road--------1.7 miles
via the Am. Camp road---1.25 miles

Casey Map, December 1860. Generally, Casey's map dipicts the topography of the area more accurately than Forsyth's. (Although, one suspects that Forsyth's map was available to Casey.) The two roads appear somewhat differently on Casey's drawing, but whether they are actually more accurate cannot be determined. Here, Cutlar's place is labeled, and again his house is on one side of the American Camp road while his field is on the other.

Using his scale the distances from Cutlar's to Bellevue are:

via a straight line-----1.03 miles
via the HBC road--------1.60 miles
via the Am Camp road----1.20 miles

It is important to note here that Cutlar's place is shown to be outside the military reservation.

Michler Map, 1874. This is by far the most accurate of the army maps of the area. The road configurations differ considerably from the earlier maps. Whether this resulted from Michler's higher degree of accuracy or whether the road alignments were changed in part by 1874 is not known--but both are suspected. Here, the two roads join in the vicinity of the old military reservation, rather than to the north of it as on Casey's map. No structure appears within the junction as it did on the earlier maps. But farther to the north, outside the reservation, the Frazer claim is shown--very much like Casey showed Cutlar's place.

The distances from Bellevue to the road junction are:

via a straight line------0.83 miles
via the HBC road---------1.40 miles
via the Am. Camp road----1.05 miles

The distances from Bellevue to the Frazer place are:

via a straight line------1.04 miles
via the HBC road---------1.53 miles
via the Am. Camp road----1.30 miles

As noted above, on today's USGS maps the distance from Bellevue farm to the Frazer place via the modern road is one mile.

Conclusions. Cutlar gave the distance to Bellevue as 1.5 miles. Of the two roads on the map, the HBC road comes closest to this distance: Forsyth--1.7 mi., Casey--1.6 mi., Michler--1.53 mi. (to Frazer's). However, the American Camp road is not far off: Forsyth--1.25 mi., Casey--1.2 mi., Michler--1.3 mi. (to Frazer's). It is concluded that Cutlar could have referred to either road, but probably to the HBC road to which he had access via a short lane (Forsyth map). It is also concluded that by the time Michler prepared his map, 1875, the road junction had changed from a point north of the reservation boundary to a point near and a little west of the corner of the reservation. Therefore, Cutlar's former farm now lay to the north of the road junction rather than within it as it once had.

It is concluded too that Robert Frazer acquired the Cutlar property, perhaps in the early 1860s, about the time Cutlar transferred his interests to the lime industry.

Finally, it is concluded that the Frazer house today stands on or near the site of Cutlar's shack and potato patch.

As a last remark one has to note the extraordinary correlation among the three army maps:

	Forsyth	Casey	Michler (Frazer's)
via a straight line	1.0	1.03	1.04
via the HBC road	1.7	1.6	1.53
via the Am. Camp road	1.25	1.2	1.3

CHAPTER 4

San Juan Village

Prior to the arrival of American troops in July 1859, the village of San Juan did not exist. The Hudson's Bay Company had already constructed there a short pier, suited only to boats of shallow draft, and a log corral, to pen their stock at shipping time. The bay itself was called both San Juan Harbor and Ontario Roads. Later, Griffin's name would sometimes be applied to it. The wharf was described as being 100 feet long, 10 feet wide, and built of split logs.[1]

Before Pickett's landing, about 25 American settlers had already arrived on the island. There is no indication that any of them had built homes at the pier; rather, they had "squatted" on the choicer parts of the island, taking up the best land as their future claims.

Pickett landed his men, guns, and supplies at the wharf, then established his first camp nearby, close to the lagoon that lay immediately to the west. Accompanying his command was a number of civilians--one source gave the number as 50. In the next few weeks and months additional people, both American and British, straggled to the island. They came for many reasons: some out of a desire to be where the excitement was; others stranded at Victoria and elsewhere after an attempt to get rich in the Fraser gold fields; some looking for work; and still others ready to turn a quick buck in supplying their brethren with bread and booze. There was many an empty cup to be filled--the "settlers" themselves, the almost 500 troops at the height of the excitement, and the hundreds of Indians who either camped periodically on the island or who were now drawn toward it like the whites.[2]

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1. Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859; OR, 50, Pt. 2, p. 438, Edward D. Warbass, Apr. 14, 1863, to General Alvord, Ft. Vancouver.

2. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, p. 71, quoting Captain Hornby, RN, as saying that about 50 armed civilians were present when Pickett established camp.

A British Colonist reporter visited the island three days after Pickett landed. He observed that "at the head of the wharf a log building was in course of erection, by the sutler and butcher of the company /Pickett's/. Next it lay a large quantity of provisions. Around were gathered a dozen or so American settlers, who all claimed the island as American territory." Later, the sutler, Edward Warbass, would move his stores up to the vicinity of the permanent American camp. In 1860 he would buy another building in the village that would cause him a great deal of future trouble.[3]

Other articles in the newspapers of the time described the rapidly-growing village, whose main business seemed to have been selling liquor:

> /August 9/ Some three or four persons had started little tent groggeries near the landing from the harbor and several parties had been seen in a state of drunkenness the night before. H. R. Crosbie, Esq., the American Justice served an order on the liquor venders, forbidding the sale . . . without a license. /De Courcy did likewise from the British point of view./
>
> /August 22/ Five shanties were erected near the harbor.
>
> /August 24/ Some parties are sinking two wells upon the elevation fronting the harbour, and on washing a portion of the gravel minute particles of gold were discovered.
>
> /August 28/ A site for a town has been laid out, and already quite a number of little houses have been built, and they are doing a brisk business there.[4]

The town did not die when Casey removed most of the troops from the island in November 1859, although business must have gone into a slump. After General Scott left the Pacific Northwest, a group of islanders got together on November 18 to pass resolutions praising the recent actions of General Harney. They held their meeting "at the ware-house of Baker & Roberts, in the town of San Juan." The ordinary functions of this business

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3. Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859.

4. Gazette, Aug. 11, 24, and 27, 1859; Colonist, Aug. 22, 1859; BC PA, 3 Confidential State Documents, including an extract from

enterprise are unknwon.[5]

In January 1860, two members of the U. S. Boundary Commission, William I. Warren and Dr. C. B. R. Kennerly, toured the San Juan Islands, camping for a time near the village. Warren reported that as soon as they camped, some men came up from the village and tried to persuade them to stay at their "'hotels'--where they had 'splendid accommodation'"--to no avail. Later they visited the town to buy some groceries: "There are about 20 houses: one of them is occupied by a store keeper who keeps an exceedingly limited supply of goods; five or six are 'rum mills', and the balance are vacant. The population of the place numbers about 30 or 40; the number being made up of . . . white men, Chinamen and Indians. Whiskey drinking seems to be the principal occupation." He added disdainfully: "There were not more than half a dozen respectable Americans in the place."

Kennerly was not impressed by the Hudson's Bay wharf: "The water near the shore is not deep and should it ever be desirable to erect a wharf at this point it would require one several thousand [sic] feet in length to reach three fathoms at low water."[6]

Captain Hunt, commander of American Camp, carried on a major war against whiskey sellers during the spring of 1860. First, he forced those who had their stores within the reserve to move off. Then he turned his attention to the village itself. The Port Townsend Register carried the story:

> Twelve days ago . . . Capt. J. E. Higgins [a resident of the village] applied to Capt. Hunt, commander . . . for assistance to search for stolen goods. Three soldiers were promptly sent [to town] who, upon entering the suspicious mansion, was [sic] impetuously sent into the street on a 'double quick Shaghie trot' with a warning not to return; consequently the search was postponed. Capt. Higgins has since sworn out a search warrant from our new Justice of the Peace.

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the New York Herald, Aug. 28, 1859.

5. Pioneer and Democrat (Olympia), Dec. 2, 1859.

6. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geographical Memoir," Kennerly's report is Appendix E, dated Feb. 20, 1860; Warren's is Appendix F, dated 1860.

P.S. Since receiving the above, we are informed by 'Observer' that Capt. Hunt has ordered all the 'Groceries' and Tavern keepers to leave the island.

These citizens promptly petitioned the governor of Washington Territory. Not long thereafter Captain Hunt was transferred to the mainland and Pickett returned as commander. But the whiskey sellers did not gain a friend.[7]

Pickett described the lawlessness of the village in May 1860. Among the crimes recently committed was the shooting of an Indian in the street: "There the body still lies with the relatives surrounding and mourning over it." In an effort to curb the violence, he decided to send an armed guard to make nightly patrols of the town.[8]

Three years later, 1863, a number of citizens repeated history by petitioning to have Capt. Lyman Bissell removed as post commander for interferring with their commercial enterprises. Bissell characterized them in return as keepers of low whiskey ranches, thieves, and vagabonds. His friend, Edward Warbass, who at this same time was being sued over a building that he had bought in 1860 (actually a 75 by 40-foot lot containing a saloon and a storehouse), described the town as it appeared to him:

> There are some twenty buildings in the town, built on lots by permission; some from Higgins [postmaster and lime kiln owner], some from Boyce [a nearby settler]; some from both and others [from neither]. . . . The land is claimed by the agent of the Hudson Bay Company, is claimed by Boyce as a farm, and Higgins as a town site. Higgins has plowed up recently the road used by the company to their wharf . . . and he is now engaged in carrying rails to fence it.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Mr Hamblet [the justice of the peace] holds his court

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7. Port Townsend Register, Mar. 14, 1860; U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, McGill, Olympia, June 8, 1860, to the President, inclosing a memorial of American citizens on San Juan to Governor Gholson, Mar. 7, 1860 (14 signatures). In a counter-petition that supported Hunt were two female signers, Mrs. Margaret Campbell and Frances Campbell, the "Proprietors of Restaurant."

8. NA, RG 393, Ft. Bellingham and Camp Pickett, Post Letters, 1859-61, Pickett, May 21, 1860, to Commissioners Page & Roeder, Whatcom Co.

in the house of Bowken, who is retailing liquor. . . . the postmaster, Mr. Higgins, has the post-office in a public bar-room in his own house.[9]

By 1865, the post commanders began to get an upper hand over the more notorious law-breakers on the island. A regulation that appeared about that time reduced the number of stores on the island to two--one at each end of the island. As a result of this, J. T. Bowken, who had had run-ins with the commanding officers ever since 1860, went out of business. An inventory of his goods was taken in November. It is reproduced here, not because it illuminates structural history but because it offers a glimpse of the island's social history:

50 gal. rum
50 " sherry wine
30 " whiskey
3 " syrup
1 bbl. vinegar
½ " cider
1 sack oats
5 " potatoes
23 bottles cloves
22 " mustard
21 " alspice
23 " sage
27 boxes bleaching
20 lbs sugar
3 chests tea
6 mats sugar
6 " rice
1 box coffee
1 sack coffee
½ bbl. sugar
1 " w. sugar
3 doz. English pickles
*2 doz. peaches
*2 " turkey
*2 " chicken
*2 " goose
*2 " [green?] corn
*2 doz. lobster
3 boxes raisins
1 box tacks

8 lbs coffee
8 cans oysters
20½-pints champagne
½ box starch
2 axes
9 lbs tea
4 bottles pepper
6 doz. tins sardines
39 cases gin
12 " brandy
7 " Old Tom gin
25 gal. porter
17 " ale
12 brooms
1 box Castile soap
1 ream paper
1 box yeast powder
10 sacks oatmeal
10 " cornmeal
10 " buckwheat flour
10 gross clay pipes
1 box pepper sauce
2 gross matches
5 bbl. flour
4 boxes soap
3 doz. green peas [sic]
1 sack beans
25 " salt
2 doz neckties
2 " suspenders

3 ax handles
50 lbs. tobacco
5 bottles pepper
5 tins sardines
2 lbs. coffee
6 bags salt
1 case Scotch
1 case claret
130 gal. port
6 boxes "Segars"
5 cases champagne
5 doz. pipes
20 gal. coal oil
1 doz. lamps
205 yds. Alpaca
1½ doz. goves
5 coats
30 shirts
24 Crimea shirts
24 shirts
3 doz Scotch rubber combs
1 box Windsor soap
1 doz. brushes
½ doz. guitar strings
1 case boots
1 " shoes
3 doz. socks
10 pr. pants

* In tins. (Probably should have included English pickles too.)

9. OR, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 402-04: Bissell, Apr. 16, 1863, to AAG,

The quality of life in San Juan village improved greatly in the latter half of the 1860s. This was principally due to the emergence of the hitherto clouded concept that the post commanders were indeed the supreme authority on the island. Contrasted to former times, the town's affairs now verged on the humdrum. In 1866, the Army vetoed a request by the post commander to build a new wharf. The next year J. G. Follensbee asked permission to open a restaurant and "be permitted to sell Beer Ale Cider and Wine excluding all Spirituous liquors." He said that "many farmers come occasionally to this town and are unable to procure any eatables or meals."[10]

Then, in 1872, came the German emperor's decision. The military regulations on San Juan became ineffective; the island became a part of Washington Territory; and a civil administration assumed control over the island's affairs. The new county commissioners undertook to establish the county seat at the still unbuilt town of Friday Harbor. But this new metropolis got off to a slow start, and San Juan village continued for a while as the hub of business. Israel Katz from Port Townsend opened the island's biggest store there. He also became the postmaster. Lila Firth recalled that these were "our only store & Post Office for many many years. The Post office was just a little corner in the store, the store I believe, was the Companys old warehouse."[11]

Deputy Surveyor John Whitworth surveyed the southeast end of the island in 1874. In his notes he described San Juan town as it appeared when the troops left the island: "It is composed of about a dozen houses, among which is a large store [Katz], also a hotel." A few months later, E. W. Blake, the customs inspector on San Juan, asked to be placed in charge of government property in the town. This was the structure and property identified on Michler's 1874 map as "government"; it was known locally as "the Higgins property." The Army investigated the history of this property and decided that it had no interest in it whatsoever. Blake did not get the job of course.[12]

San Francisco; pp. 436-38, Warbass, Apr. 14, 1863, to General Alvord, Ft. Vancouver; pp. 442-43, "Complaint in justice court."

10. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific, Nov. 27, 1866, to CG, Dept. of the Columbia; SAJU, Letters and Orders, 1859-75, Follensbee, Aug. 21, 1867, to Major Allen, CO, SAJU.

11. U. of Washington Library, Lila Firth, "Early Life," MS, p. 24.

12. Dept. of the Interior, BLM, Portland, Ore., John Whitworth;

The town's demise was sudden. Already abandoned in favor of Friday Harbor, the shabby collection of buildings disappeared in 1890. The Daily Colonist in Victoria noted its passing:

An Old Landmark Gone

> The old historical town of San Juan is no more. One day last week a man knwon as 'Whispering Pete' set fire to some debris of an old stable some distance from the old town, which rapidly spread over a hay field and soon reached the buildings (which were unoccupied) of the old town, and soon nothing but ashes were left to mark the spot. San Juan town reached the height of its glory during the time the American army was occupying the garrison near by.[13]

San Juan Village on the Maps. Forsyth's 1860 map of the town showed a road leading to the wharf, one row of structures to the west of the road, and three rows to the east. Altogether he depicted about a dozen buildings. Casey's December 1860 map is somewhat different. It showed a row of structures on either side of the road; these total about ten. The only good map of the village is Michler's 1874 drawing. It depicted the broad "street" leading to the small pier, a considerable amount of fencing, and a row of structures down each side of the street, similar to Casey's plan. There were 14 structures. One of these was marked "store," another building was labeled "Government," and an inclosed space was also indicated as "Government."

Today, some depressions in the earth, glass, and pieces of pottery mark the site of San Juan village. Although pot-hunters have invaded this area, an archeological excavation should bring forth much additional information.

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survey notes, 1874; NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1876, 1, AAG Wood, Jan. 20, 1873, to B. W. Blake, San Juan; and O. O. Howard, Feb. 4, 1876, to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Pacific.

13. Daily Colonist, Sept. 4, 1890.

CHAPTER 5

Settlers, Vicinity of American Camp

Most of the earliest settlers on San Juan Island (those who arrived prior to Pickett's landing) seem to have taken up land at the southeastern end of the island, in the general vicinity of the Hudson's Bay farm headquarters. Although the Hudson's Bay Company had instructued Governor Douglas to make free grants of land on the island to British subjects in 1855, about the only British living there in 1859 were the farm employees. Those who had settled were Americans, many of them recent gold-searchers on the Fraser River.

Possibly the first American to attempt settlement of San Juan was William Webster from San Francisco. He wrote a letter that he had arrived on the island in 1852 and built a log house and a store. He said that when Governor Douglas learned of his presence, "he became very angry with me, and soon after commenced to put up buildings and land live stock on the Island (nothing of that sort was there when I arrived, except a place for coopering casks etc where they sent [spent?] the season to trade with the Indians for Salmon)." Although no other notice of Webster has been found, his statement agrees with the known facts of the company's operations on the island. Perhaps he was the first American.[2]

U. S. Collector of Customs Ebey established Henry Webber on the island as a customs inspector in 1854. As noted earlier, Webber camped in a couple of places in the vicinity of Griffin's farm. Whether he erected any permanent establishment is doubtful. He did however, either then or later, locate a claim on land in the vicinity of the farm headquarters. In later years, Webber's claim would appear as a square encompassing parts of Sections 1, 2, 11, and 12, T23N, R3W, and would include the farm

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1. PA Ottawa, PA FO 1473, "Memorandum on the Status of British Subjects in the Haro Islands," ca. Dec. 1872, apparently prepared in the Colonial Office.

2. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, Wm. Webster, Jan. 8, 1859, to Mr. Nugent, Washington, D. C.

headquarters and American Camp. However, his patent, dated February 18, 1879, would be only for the southeast quarter of Section 2, which did not include either of the above properties.

Webber did not hold his position for long. He was succeeded, about 1857, by Oscar Olney. Being somewhat afraid of an attack by northern Indians, Olney did not tarry long either. In the spring of that same year, Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., arrived, and was present as inspector when Pickett landed. Hubbs erected a cabin about 100 yards from Bellevue. Later, he and his friends put up a 55-foot flagstaff in front of it. Douglas wrote that up to the end of 1858, only one American lived on the island. Most likely, Hubbs was the man he had in mind.[3]

Hubbs himself wrote that "until the fall of 1858 no American settlers had ventured to locate a claim on San Juan, owing to the . . . danger of Indians." About that time he acquired two new neighbors, John Hunter KcKay and John Mills. (Later, McKay migrated to New Zealand; Mills was killed by Indians.)[4]

Early in 1859 matters changed swiftly. By then Victoria was crowded with American citizens who had returned from the Fraser during a lull in the gold fever. A worried governor wrote to England that a number of these had hired a surveyor to plot out claims for them on San Juan. "There is no doubt," said Douglas, "that the whole Island will soon be occupied by a squatter population . . . if they do not receive a check." Griffin confirmed this activity:

> There has been for the last ten days parties over here from Victoria Surveying & laying out land, as far as I can hear they have been sent by a number of Americans residing in Victoria, their obstensible purpose is evidently to make a few improvements on these respective sites at present & in the event of the Island falling into the hands of the United States holding these claims as pre empted land.
>
> These people leave here for Victoria tomorrow, one of them is a Mr. Denman, formerly in Mr. Pembertons office, the other a Mr. Gillette. I heard them say they

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3. Miller, San Juan Archipelago, P. 46.

4. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, photostat of Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 4, 1892, "San Juan Contest, Paul K. Hubbs Describes the Part He Witnessed."

were going over to hire a vessel, a scow I suppose, to bring over lumber, Provisions etc. . . . Mr. Denman intends buying Nebbers House [?] & finishing it, & holding that as his own.[5]

Further mention of this undertaking is found in George Gibbs' report of a visit to the island in February 1859. He said that a surveyor, Capt. C. L. Denaman, was staying at Hubbs' place. Denman and Gilette had surveyed 26 claims of a quarter-section each, leaving 2¼ quarter-sections at Bellevue for the Hudson's Bay Company. In Gibbs' opinion, "few or none of these claimants intended to settle, as far as I could judge, & the whole seemed to be a matter of bare speculation." Gibbs found several squatters already on the island, although they seem not to have been associated with the Victoria group. He described them as: two Americans (sailors or longshoremen), an American mullato, a Scotsman, and two Kanakas.[6]

Henry R. Crosbie, Whatcom County's assessor, made a detailed report on the southeast end of the island in May 1859. He accounted for eight American settlers by name: Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., Charles H. Hubbs, Lyman Cutlar, Edward Gillette, John Witty, a Powell, John Madison, and John Hunter McKay. Paul Hubbs had taken his claim under the Donation Act; all the others had preempted a claim of 160 acres each. He added that even Griffin had taken a claim of 160 acres about three miles from Bellevue.[7]

By July 11, 1859, the number of Americans on the island had grown to at least 22. On that date these men petitioned General Harney for troops to protect them, so they said, from "bands of marauding Indians, who infest these waters in large numbers." Harney had asked for at least 25 signatures but, Paul Hubbs said later, these 22 included "every American settler on the island." Their names:

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5. PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 813, Douglas, Feb. 19, 1859, to Sir E. Lytton; BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, 1, Griffin, Feb. 20, 1859, to "Dear Sir."

6. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geographical Memoir," Appendix B, report of George Gibbs, Feb. 24, 1858.

7. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, Henry R. Crosbie, "Assessment of Property . . . May 20, 1859." Griffin never filed on his claim; he left San Juan long before the settlement of the boundary issue.

J. M. Haggard	H. Wharton, Jr.	Peter Johnson
Samuel Mac Cauley	John Witty	Angus McDonald
J. E. Higgins	B. S. Andrews	William Smith
Charles H. Hubbs	John H. McKay	Charles McCoy
Lyman A. Cutlar	Noil Ent	D. W. Oakes
William Butler	Michael Farris	Paul K. Hubbs, Jr.
J. D. Warren	George Perkins	Paul K. Hubbs [8]
	Alex McDonald	

In the days and weeks following the occupation by American troops, hundreds of persons visited San Juan from both Victoria and American ports. Most of these stayed only for a day or two. A few remained. These newcomers undoubtedly represented drifters, opportunists, and bona fide settlers. A fair number were British; the majority were American.

The editor of the British Colonist visited the island on July 30. He told his readers how the American had celebrated July 4 by erecting the flagstaff in front of Hubbs' house. He said that the Americans had held a local election (20 votes out of 26 Americans on the island) and had elected Hubbs as "magistrate." He added that some six American squatters had settled at the northern end of the island.[9]

Two members of the U. S. Boundary Commission visited the island in January 1860. Dr. Kennerly wrote that between 40 and 50 persons, nearly all American, were engaged in agricultural pursuits. William Warren rode on horseback to Oak Prairie. Along the road he saw "about a dozen claims taken up by American settlers . . . who had built small cabins. Only a part of them were at present occupied." He also gave the population of San Juan village at 30 to 40 persons.[10]

In March 1860, a small group of residents on the island petitioned the governor of Washington Territory complaining of the treatment they had received at the hands of the American Camp

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8. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1859, Petition of 22 settlers, July 11, 1859, to Harney; U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 4, 1892, Paul K. Hubbs, "San Juan Contest."

9. Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859.

10. NA, RG 76, NW Boundary Survey, "Geographical Memoir," Appendix E, report of Dr. C. B. R. Kennerly, Feb. 20, 1859; and Appendix F, report of William I. Warren, 1860.

commander. A few of the names are familiar from earlier lists:

John S. Bowker	Milbrey Day	Moses Ectine
M. P. Sage	H. W. Gordon Heazel	John Hunter McKay
George B. Bordow	Frank Chandler	J. B. Hunt
N. Baker	Dennis McCarthy	D. W. Darling
Robert Kenelly	John Barndon	

This peition was followed promptly by another that supported the American Camp commander:

J. Everett /Hunt?/	/Srveget?/	Alex McDonald
Daniel Oakes	John Henry	William Smith
I. C. Archambault	A. T. Starks	A. Conant
I. L. Archambault	Hary Quinlin	Mrs. L. E. Boyer
E. T. Hamblet	B. S. Andrews	S. Boyce
John Mills	H. W. Wharton	Mrs. Margaret Campbell
D. L. Wiley	J. H. Haggard	Frances Campbell
Mrs. B. P. Wiley	M. /Garen?/	
Charles /Epaell?/	T. M. Boggs	

These two lists contain 39 signatures, probably most of the heads of households then on the island.[11]

The two military maps of 1860 showed several claims at the southeast end of the island. The Forsyth map named only three of these: Hubbs (not Paul K., Jr.), at the very end of the island; Boyce, west of San Juan village; and Graft, three-quarters of a mile north of American Camp. Casey's map showed the above three and named six more: Tays, near a small lagoon east of town; Wannell, on the shore of San Juan Harbor west of town (his claim shown west of his residence); Frazer and Campbell; Lyman Cutlar; and Witty, west of the Hudson's Bay fields.

By the fall of 1860, the lime industry on San Juan was underway. The first substantial kiln was located on the west coast about half-way up the island, at the place still called Lime Kiln. The firm, "San Juan Lime Kiln," at first had three partners: Lyman Cutlar, D. F. Newsom, and Edward Gillette. In 1861 Gillette, who was also a magistrate, sold his interest to Augustin Hibbard. Although Hibbard bought out Cutlar and Newsom

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11. U. of Washington Library, Miller Papers, Box 8, McGill, June 8, 1860, to the President, inclosing a memorial of American citizens, Mar. 7, 1860, to Gov. Gholson; NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, petition of Islanders, Apr. 2, 1860.

in 1864, Cutlar continued to have some association with the kiln until at least 1869, when Hibbard was shot and killed.[12]

The various newspapers commented occasionally on affairs on the island throughout 1861. The Port Townsend Register noted that most of the island's residents were young single men. Nevertheless, there were 12 or 15 children of school age and plans developed to establish a public school (see Robert Firth's diary under Hudson's Bay Farm). Olympia's Pioneer and Democrat reported 60 settlers, "all of whom, we believe, are Americans, opening farms and engaging in industrial pursuits."[13]

The military-civil feuding of 1860 carried on into 1863. Names prominent in the anti-military circle included: E. T. Hamblet, M. W. Offutt, William Smith, I. E. Higgins, Charles McCoy (later, McKay), A. Hibbard, and James Blake.[14] This dispute ended in the mid-1860s, when military supremacy was fully established. At that time all residents who claimed to be American were directed to furnish the American commander with certain information. Only 21 men did so at that time--undoubtedly a quite incomplete listing:

No.	Name	Age	Occupation	How Long On Island	Number In Family	No. of Males Over 1
1.	Georgius Kitchenè	24	Tel. Operator	3 mo.	single	1
2.	Jephthah S. Powell	45	Farmer	11 mo.	"	1
3.	Joseph Spence	27	"	2 yrs.	"	1
4.	William Smith	46	"	7 yrs.	"	1
5.	Benjamin Terrill	51	"	3½ yrs.	2	1
6.	M. S. Adams	36	"	14 mo.	single	1
7.	Thomas Fleming	46	"	3 1/6 yrs.	11	2

12. NA, RG 393, SAJU, bound volume concerning settlers, 1869-72, Thomas Maskey, statement concerning history of lime kiln, Nov. 29, 1870; Colonist, Sept. 25, 1860, and Feb. 20 and June 20, 1861.

13. Colonist, Feb. 20, 1861; Pioneer and Democrat, Jan. 25, 1861. The American newspapers during these years rarely admitted that some settlers were British.

14. WHQ, 1, 75, "Sovereign Americans on San Juan Island."

8.	James L. Wiley	42	Farmer	7 yrs.	5	1	
9.	Robert Wiley	28	"	5¼ yrs.	single	1	
10.	John Montagomery	56	"	5 yrs.	"	1	
11.	Paul K. Hubbs	33	"	10 yrs.	separated	1	
12.	Martin B. Rethlessen	32	"	4 3/4 yrs.	single	1	
13.	Siegfried Rethlessen	31	"	4 3/4 yrs.	"	1	
14.	John Valpey	62	"	3 yrs 7 mo.	"	1	
15.	Enoch May	28	"	14 mo.	"	1	
16.	John Wittey	38	Stock raiser	8 yrs.	5	1	
17.	J. C. Archambault	40	Farmer	7 yrs.	3	1	
18.	Eli T. Hamblet	46	"	7 yrs.	5	1	
19.	George Mercer	41	Merchant	7 yrs.	single	1	
20.	Moses Extine	44	Hotel Keeper	7 yrs.	2	1	
21.	John J. Barrows	51	Farmer	6 mo.	2	1	15

About this time, the American commander drew up a list of persons he had expelled from the island for disordered or turbulent conduct, etc. Although he dated his document June 14, 1866, some of those named were expelled after that date:

William Parsons	James Newman	Isaac E. Higgins
William Carney	John Briggs	James Bishop
James McClusky	David Jemer	* Joseph Nickerson
Benjamin Valssey	Wiley Dickinson	Thos. H. Johnson
* Elizabeth Valssey	Henry Dirk	Band of Clallam Indians

* Name withdrawn.[16]

Although the American government informed the British that it would not take a census on San Juan for the Ninth Census, 1870, it failed to pass on this information to the U. S. Secretary of the Interior. As a result, the first reasonably accurate population figures became available. Excluding the military garrisons, there were 96 males 21 and older, two of whom were Chinese, on San Juan Island. Of these, 21 had been born in the United States and 35 others claimed to be U. S. citizens. The number

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15. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Mil. Reservation File, SAJU, "List of residents . . . June 25, 1866."

16. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Post Orders, 1861-68, GO No. 27, June 14, 1866.

born in Great Britain, including Ireland, who did not claim U. S. citizenship came to 26. Finally, the number born in other countries who did not claim to be Americans was 14, again including the two Chinese. The total population of all the disputed islands was given as 554 men, women, and children, of whom 196 were British.[17]

By the time of the 1872 decision settlement had apparently increased considerably over that of 1870. No fewer than 46 British settlers, "and many other British settlers, whose signatures have not been available in consequence of the short space of time," petitioned to have the English Camp commander to remain on the island to protect their interests. Governor Ferry, Washington Territory, said that 72 British subjects had filed declaration of intent to become U. S. citizens in order to protect their land claims. This figure possibly included all the San Juan Islands. Then, in 1873, a special U. S. commissioner visited San Juan to settle any outstanding British claims. He could find none, "all the former British subjects having become American citizens."[18]

After the U. S. Army abandoned the American Camp area in 1874, the land was surveyed, and settlers, most of whom were already living in the vicinity, formally filed claims. Sections 1, 2, 11, and 12, T34N R3W, which surrounded American Camp, were eventually acquired as follows:

Joseph Sandwith, Jr.	SW quarter, Section 2. Lots 1 and 2, Section 11.
Robert Firth	Lots 3 and 4, Section 11. Lot 5 & NW quarter of NW quarter, Sec. 12. NE quarter of NE quarter, Section 11.

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17. Shiels, p. 273; PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 1469, "Copy of Instruction . . . 18 May 1870"; Sir Edward Thornton, July 8, 1870, to Hamilton Fish; Thornton, Aug. 29 and Oct. 3, 1870, to London; PA Ottawa, RG 7, Series G 21, File No. 74, San Juan, Thornton, Nov. 3, 1873, to Earl Granville.

18. PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 1474, Petition of British settlers, Nov. 17, 1872, forwarded to London by Lord Dufferin, Gov. General of Canada; U. of Washington Library, Ferry Papers, folder "General Correspondence re San Juan Islands," Hamilton Fish, telegram, Jan. 24, 1873, to Ferry; and Ferry, telegram, Jan. 25, 1873, to Fish; Meany, History of the State of Washington, p. 254, quoting Hazard Stevens as special commissioner.

Thomas J. Weekes	W half of SW quarter, Section 1.
Henry Webber	SE quarter, Section 2.
Christopher Rosler	Lots 1, 2, and 3, and SW quarter of NW quarter, Section 1. Lots 1 and 2 and S half of NE quarter, Section 2.
William Taylor	Lots 4, 5, and 6, and east half of SW quarter, Section 1.
Robert H. Frazer	Lots 3 and 4 and S half of NW quarter, Section 2.[19]

Major Michler's 1874 map showed several of the claims outside the old military reservation. To the west were W. Bell and Joseph Sandwith; to the northwest Robert Frazer was living on Cutlar's old claim; east of the Frazer place were the Rosler and Katz claims. Katz's land was shown as formerly belonging to J. Henkinson. As far as Michler was concerned Bellevue farm headquarters still belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company. And the Boyce claim west of San Juan village still went by that name, although a building on it was labeled "Weeks House"--(the Rev. T. J. Weekes?).

At the end of the island, the old Hubbs place was now owned by George Jakle. The only problem concerning this place was that the tip of the island was the new military reservation, and the Army looked on the Jakles as illegal squatters. An army captain investigated the claim in 1876 and found that it had first been occupied by N. R. Hubbs. (It is not known if he was related to Paul K. Hubbs, Jr.) Hubbs had sold it for $500 in gold to a former American Camp soldier, Bryant, who had received his discharge on San Juan. After Bryant had died, his widow had married George Jakle, another former American Camp soldier. The captain inventoried the claim. His list illustrates a farm of the 1870s:

All the buildings and fences were "old."
1 dwelling, 30 by 32', 4 rooms, constructed mostly of drift material.
1 good square-log barn, 32 by 32', double floor

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19. Dept. of the Interior, BLM, Portland, Ore., Register of Patents; plats; and homestead certificates; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Bound volume, 1869-72, Land Claims, etc.

1 stable, 16 by 30', shake building
1 woodshed, 12 by 14', " "
1 wagon shed, 20 by 20', " "
1 dairy, 12 by 12', " "
1 root house, 12 by 18', " "
1 poultry house, 10 by 12', " "
25 acres under cultivation, partly timothy
14,565 rails in fencing (the captain thought 10,000 more accurate)
A few 6-year-old fruit trees
Value of improvements--$1,800

The Jakles succeeded in staying on the place, but the Army retained ownership of the land. In the National Archives today is a thick file of renewed leases by Mrs. Jakle, all signed by her mark X, running down well into the present century. At the same time, she fought doggedly for outright ownership. She won in the end. In 1927, the military reserve was reduced and Mrs. Jakle received a final certificate on her homestead entry (Lots 2, 3, 4, SE quarter of NW quarter, and NE quarter of SW quarter, Section 8, T34N R2W). Her son, George Jakle, Jr., was at one time the keeper of the lighthouse at Cattle Point.[20]

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20. NA, RG 49, Abandoned Mil. Reservation File, SAJU: Capt. G. Burton, Ft. Townsend, Feb. 1, 1876, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; Frank F. Randolph, Jan. 19, 1911, to Senator S. H. Piles; Mrs. George Jakle, Nov. 4, 1915, to Lt. Col. J. B. Cavanaugh; Sect. of the Interior Work, Mar. 9, 1927, to the President; and 1st Asst. Sect., Dept. of the Interior, ca. 1927, to Sect. of the Navy.

CHAPTER 6

English Camp[1]

Soon after London agreed with Lt. General Scott's proposal to occupy San Juan jointly, Admiral Baynes dispatched Captain Prevost, Satellite, to select a camp site on the island for the British forces. Prevost examined seven locations. Of site no. 6, at the northwest end of the island, he said: "There are several spots on the shores of this beautiful harbour which might be made available for a camp of any size, but I could find no fresh water, and a further examination would be required to fix on any particular spot." Admiral Baynes reviewed Prevost's report and thought so little of site no. 6 that he did not comment on it.

However, Prevost returned to this area and inspected it more thoroughly. Lieutenant Roche, of his ship, gave a description of a site that is probably the head of today's Garrison Bay:

> About three quarters of a mile in a SSE direction there is a large patch of water, half lake, half swamp, on the northern shore of which is a situation admirably adapted for an encampment. It slopes gently to the S. W., is well sheltered, has a good supply of water and grass, and is capable of affording manoeuvring ground for any number of men that are likely to be required in that locality, there being a large extent of Prairie land, interpersed with some very fine oak Timber.

Prevost further elaborated, referring to a map which cannot now be identified. He mentioned two streams draining lakes, probably meaning the creek draining into the head of Garrison Bay and the stream running northwest into today's Westcott Bay, both of which drain lakes. It seems apparent too that Prevost regarded Garrison and Westcott bays as one harbor:

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1. This report uses the familiar term "English Camp." Historically, it was more commonly called the Royal Marine Camp and British Camp. No Scot, Irish, or Welsh would have ever used the term English Camp.

> A supply of good fresh water can I think be depended upon throughout the year, as we discovered two running streams emptying into the sea, at the rate of about ten Tons per hour, and which, as shown in the accompanying Plan, are supplied from two small lakes, the drainage from the surrounding Hills.
>
> Good ground for a Camp as a Military Post can be found at either of the Stations marked B and C. Boats being able to land at half tide within 200 yards of the site.

He added that a trail led from this area to the Hudson's Bay farm at Bellevue. He had been informed that it was about eleven miles long.

These reports were satisfactory to Admiral Baynes. In addition to the advantages already pointed out, he noted, the steamer that ran from Victoria to the Fraser could always stop here when necessary. Both he and Governor Douglas approved of the location. The Royal Marines landed on the east shore of Garrison Bay and established English Camp on March 21, 1860.[2]

Even before the Satellite left Vancouver Island with the marines, Baynes fired off requests to Douglas for supplies and equipment for the new camp. He asked for a five-oared whale boat, two cooking stoves (one for officers and one for men), and "a sufficient quantity of lumber, shingles, nails, and other materials, for building a Store house measuring about 40 feet by 20 feet." The camp commander, Capt. George Bazalgette, RM, drew up a list of things he required: 84 tin pannikins, 36 tin plates, 3 "Dishes," 10 camp kettles, 18 lanterns, 1 measures set, and a small quantity of stationery.[3]

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2. PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 815, Baynes, Mar. 2, 1860, to Douglas; BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, 1860, 3, Baynes, confidential, Mar. 16, 1860, to Douglas. The other six sites inspected by Prevost were: 1. Rocky Point, southesast end of island. 2. Hubbs' claim, southeast end of island. 3. Site near Eagle Cove, south of American Camp. 4. A HBC field about 400 yards west of American Camp. 5. A HBC sheep station southeast of Little Mountain on the west shore. 7. An intermittent HBC sheep station at Friday Harbor (Prevost's own first choice).

3. BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, 1860, Baynes, Mar. 17 and 19, 1860; Bazalgette, requisition, Mar. 20, 1860. The request for materials to build the storehouse set a precedent for construc-

Bazalgette's command consisted of two subalterns, an assistant surgeon, and 83 noncommissioned officers and men. At first they lived in tents. After clearing the shore of its thick growth of trees, they erected the storehouse and planted a small garden that was enclosed with a sapling fence.[4]

During his first few months on San Juan, Bazalgette sent a number of requisitions for supplies and tools to Vancouver Island. They are summarized here because they shed some light on construction at English Camp:

Tools

3 crosscut saws	12 pick helves
1 pit was	1 frow
12 spades	12 whitewash brushes
6 shovels	1 water brush
1 chest carpenter's tools	12 sweeping brushes
12 iron wedges	12 scrubbing brushes
24 felling axes	1 hand trowel
6 timber dogs	2 plastering trowels
2 cold chisels	20 pointing trowels
2 hammers	1 solder iron
24 ax helves	4 sticks of solder

Building Materials

Lumber

"A small quantity of lumber for building a cooking house"
5,000 feet of planking
800 " " scantling
300 " " " 2 x 3
300 " " " 2 x 5
4 sashes
10,000 shingles
4,000 "
3,000 feet of boarding
500 feet of batten

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tion at English Camp. Other than the structures the marines themselves built, buildings there were built by the colonial government, rather than by the Royal Navy. This contrasted with American Camp, where the U. S. Army quartermaster had construction responsibility.

4. These strength figures are found on the margin of a letter by Baynes, Mar. 21, 1860, to Douglas, in BC PA, SAJU Correspondence, 1860. The Gazette, Mar. 21, 1860, said that the command consisted of Bazalgette, Lt. Sparshot, 5 sergeants, 4 corporals, and 65 rank and file.

Hardware

80 lbs 3½-in. nails
150 " 3-in. "
155 " 2½-in. "
130 " 2-in. "
115 " shingle nails
6 cant hooks
6 hinges
6 locks, complete
1 (lb.?) 1-in. brads
6 iron bars, 5-ft. each
14 ft. bar iron
6 meat hooks
12 doz. packets of tin tacks

Paint

1½ gal. turpentine
2 gal. raw oil
2 gal. boiled oil
1 "Dryers Patent"
25 lbs. white lead
25 lbs. black paint

For a boat

12 lbs. white lead
6 lbs. black paint
1 gal. linseed oil
1 gal. boiled oil

Miscellaneous Items

2 knives for slaughtering
6 oars
4 oarlocks
12 (?) glue
6 meat hooks
96 rolls paper
692 yards calico
1 stove for guardhouse
12 mops
2 doors
1 iron back piece, officers stove
2 horses
2 bridles & saddles
4,560 (lbs) hay
3,800 " oats
3,040 " straw
1 curry comb
1 mane comb
1 horse brush
2 leathers (?)
3 lbs. leather
2 pitchforks[5]

Only a few notices concerning construction that first year at English Camp have been located. In addition to the storehouse, Bazalgette had a "cooking house" erected soon after his arrival. The lumber for this apparently came from Vancouver Island. The marines themselves performed much of this early work. Admiral Baynes visited the camp in June and recommended that they be granted an extra allowance in pay: "In consequence of the heavy work these men have had in clearing away the Timber, making Trails, and so forth, there has been much wear of Clothes."[6]

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5. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1860: Cooper, requisition, Mar. 25, 1860; Bazalgette, requisition, May 4, June 12, Sept. 8, Oct. 31, and Nov. 2, 1860; Baynes, June 14 and Aug. 6, 1860, to Douglas; Capt. Spencer, Sept. 8, 1860, to Douglas.

6. BC PA, Baynes, June 23, 1860; Bazalgette, requisition, May 4, 1860.

Bazalgette acquired two horses in the spring of 1860 for his transportation to American Camp and for hauling wood. It is known that a barn was erected at English Camp, but whether it was put up at this time is undocumented. It probably did exist by September when the captain got approval to purchase six months' forage. The two-story log blockhouse, that served as the guardhouse here as did the blockhouse at American Camp, apparently was finished by August 1860. A requisition at this time requested a stove for it.[7]

Also in August, Bazalgette received orders to build winter quarters for the marines. In contrast to earlier construction, the barracks was put up for bids. The British Colonist announced: "Tenders will be received at the Land Office until the 19th inst. /September 7." Messers Elford & Mann, Victoria, won the contract on a bid of £690, September 21. This barracks, which was not the one now standing, was close to completion by the end of October. At that time Bazalgette requisitioned arms racks for 80 weapons, shelves for knapsacks, and pegs for belts. He asked for four cupboards for the mess room. Also in this letter the captain requested a building, 30 by 10 feet, divided into three compartments "for Wood, Wash, & Bath house."[8]

The small officers' quarters and a cooking building for the officers were finished by fall also. The marines themselves built these structures. A requisition in November asked for an "iron back piece for officers cooking Stove." Explaining a dispute over land with some nearby American settlers in the fall of 1860, Bazalgette disclosed that he had established a small kiln at today's Roche Harbor in early October. Thus it may be assumed that the various structures were whitewashed that year. (Note: black and white paint was also acquired.)[9]

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7. BC PA, Bazalgette, June 12, 1860, to Baynes; Capt. Spencer, requisition, Aug. 4, 1860; Bazalgette, Sept. 8, 1860; and Delacombe, Mar. 31, 1868, to Rear Adm. Hastings.

8. Colonist, Sept. 13 and 22, 1860; BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1860, Bazalgette, requisition, Oct. 31, 1860; NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, Pickett, Aug. 29, 1860, to AAAG, Ft. Vancouver.

9. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1860, Bazalgette, requisition, Nov. 2, 1860; and letter, May 24, 1867, to Captain Oldfield, RN; NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1860-66, Col. G. Wright, Dec. 20, 1860, to AAG, New York; Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, Bazalgette, Nov. 29, 1860, to Pickett.

Six years later, 1866, an elaborate Queen's Birthday party was held at English Camp. The British Colonist recorded the event that brought some of Victoria's most eminent citizens over for the occasion. At the end of the two-hour ride, the visitors "reached the beautiful and sequestered little spot where stands the neat and picturesque camp of the British garrison." The editor was quite taken by the camp: "We may remark here that the neatness, cleanliness, and good order observable through out the entire camp were the subject of general observation, and reflect the highest credit on both officers and men." The wharf came into the narrative for special attention:

> As the steamer was about to get under weigh the last game which consisted of walking a greasy pole extending 15 feet from the end of the wharf at the extremity of which was a stick three feet high with a bunch of evergreens, worth $3 to the person who could reach it came off. From the deck of the vessel the excursionists witnessed several men who attempted the perilous journey take an involuntary header into the briny deep.[10]

Exactly one year later, May 24, 1867, Bazalgette penned a letter of complaint concerning the officers' quarters. He said that they had been built soon after the 1860 landing and had been meant only as temporary housing. In his opinion they were now unfit for habitation and he asked that they be surveyed. The Senior Naval Officer agreed and recommended to the Colonial Secretary that a new commanding officer's house be built, "my wonder is that Capt. Bazalgette has so long let the matter rest."[11]

Bazalgette transferred from San Juan before the new house was built. His replacement, Capt. William Delacombe, accompanied by his wife and three children, arrived at English Camp on June 7, 1867. A new residence was now a necessity.[12] An inspector from New Westminster visited the island about the same time. He agreed that the officers' quarters were "frail buildings, hardly weathertight." While minimum repairs would cost only $200, he recommended that Delacombe get a new house: "Capn Delacombe has selected a site for such a building in the rear of and about one

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10. Colonist, May 26, 1866.

11. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, Bazalgette, May 24, 1867, to Captain Oldfield.

12. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, Delacombe, June 11, 1867, to Capt. T. Grey, American Camp.

hundred feet above the present Officers quarters. And I do not think that a better selection can be made . . . provided Capn Delacombe's expectations of obtaining a supply of water by sinking a well close at hand be fulfilled." The inspector and the commandant together planned the quarters. It was to be weatherboarded, plasterd on the interior, and covered with two coats of paint. They estimated $2,000. The colonial government decided it could legally furnish the funding.[13]

From seven tenders received, the government awarded a contract in July 1867 to John King and James Syme for $2,010. These men agreed to have the house finished by October. The plans called for a frame "cottage dwelling house" with five rooms in the main part and two wings of two rooms each. The outside dimensions were: 42 by 33 feet for the main section, and 12½ by 31½ feet for each wing. The specifications spelled out in detail the various elements of the structure. Some of these will be listed in the section dealing with individual structures, below.[14]

The specifications underwent a few changes as the work proceeded, such as the adding of a chimney with double fireplaces. Delacombe also asked for a bath house, a pantry, and a wood shed, all of which could be built for $150. He lamented: "I have had the misfortune of having my temporary wash house burnt to the ground." An inspector reported in January 1868 that the residence was completed and was "commodious and well constructed."[15]

One of Delacombe's two junior officers was married and he too had his family on San Juan. By August 1867 discussion had turned to new quarters for this officer. In September the Colonial Secretary directed the preparation of plans and specifications for "a small Cottage for the married Subaltern of Royal Marines." James Grahamslaw of Victoria won the contract for this residence in Oc-

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13. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, Joseph W. Trutch, Lands and Works, June 18, 1867, to Colonial Secretary; Young, Colonial Secretary, statement, June 29, 1867.

14. BC PA, Joseph Trutch, Specifications for dwelling house at British Military Camp, San Juan, July 13, 1867; Bond signed by John King and James Syme, July 31, 1867; and Articles of Agreement, Joseph Trutch and John King, July 31, 1867.

15. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, John King, Aug. 22, 1867, to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works; Delacombe, Aug. 26, 1867, to "Sir"; and Joseph Trutch, Mar. 18, 1868, to the Colonial Secretary; PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 816b, Rear Admiral Hastings, Jan. 9, 1868, to ?.

tober at a figure of $1,700. He agreed to complete the structure in one month. Its specifications and plans have not been located, but its general appearance has been preserved in a photograph. It too was completed by January 1868.[16]

The single subaltern had to be satisfied with repairs to his humble quarters. The inspecting officer in January 1868 wrote that they "appeared well suited" to his comfort. The same was true for the enlisted men's barracks and the NCOs quarters. While there is no record of the actual work done on the barracks, the recommendations for repairs have been preserved:

> The three fireplaces and hearths should be reset with fire brick and the floors, having settled in several places in consequence of the ground cill [sic] and floor joists having rotted away--must be taken up, new timbers laid down where necessary, so much of the present planking relaid as may be found sound--and some new flooring supplied.
>
> The repairs of fireplaces would cost about $50.00. It is difficult to estimate what sum would have to be expended . . . but I should say that the floors of the barracks, guardhouse and storehouse, cannot be thoroughly put into repair for less than $350.00.

The surviving records suggest that these repairs were made by journey work under the supervision of a foreman, rather than by a contractor. The total cost for the two new officers' quarters and their outbuildings, the repairs on the subaltern's quarters, and the repairs to the barracks, storehouse, and guardhouse amounted to $5,541.63. English camp was now considered to be sound and serviceable for the continuing occupation by the Royal Marines.[17]

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16. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 5, W. Young, Aug. 5, 1867, to H. Perry, Secretary to the C-in-C; Young, Sept. 9, 1867, to the Ch. Commissioner of Lands and Works; Trutch, Sept. 12, 1867, to the Colonial Secretary; and James Grahamslaw, Oct. 17, 1867, articles of agreement; PA Ottawa, PA, FO 5, 816b, Rear Admiral Hastings, Jan. 9, 1868, to ?. An interesting sidelight was that, after the contract had been let, the Assistant Colonial Secretary, Charles Good, recommended that these quarters not be built (BC PA, Good, Oct. 29, 1867, to Chief Commissioner).

17. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 5, Joseph Trutch, June 18 and Sept. 12, 1867, and Mar. 18, 1868, to the Colonial Secretary.

Only a few additional references to the structures are to be found prior to the departure of the Royal Marines in 1872. In 1867, at the same time he planned repairs for the barracks, Bazalgette requested 60 iron bedsteads for his command. Presumably he acquired them; the Royal Engineers' storehouse on Vancouver Island had 168 on hand.[18]

An American visitor to English Camp in 1868 was struck by the natural beauty of the place. From his comments we learn that a structure on top of Young Hill, behind the camp, was some sort of "summer house" or gazebo, rather than any kind of structure having a military function:

> In passing along we noticed the camp of the English garrison on San Juan Island, and were struck with the singular beauty of the scenery around it. In the foreground is the level green-sward with a noble tree rising from its center, and fringed with spreading maples. Up through these are winding walks to the officers' quarters, and beyond, a lofty hill, on which a summer house has been erected.[19]

In June 1869 the Masonic lodges in Victoria visited English Camp on an excursion. These people too were struck by the beauty of the area and with Delacombe's hospitality: "The barracks having been turned into a Ball Room was ingeniously garbed with leaves of plants." At the conclusion of their day, Delacombe invited his guests to his house after dinner, "where they were regaled."[20]

The same newspaper also reported on New Year's Day 1871 at English Camp: "The soldiers [sic] of the garrison . . . decorated the barracks with evergreen, holly, the Union Jack, and other national insignia, and on Monday evening [January 2] received a large number of the residents of the Island and entertained them with a supper and a ball."[21]

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18. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 5, Bazalgette, requisition, June 1, 1867.

19. Edmund T. Coleman, The First Ascent of Mount Baker, Mountaineering on the Pacific 1869 [sic], p. 794.

20. Colonist, June 26, 1869.

21. Colonist, Jan. 5, 1871.

The military glitter and the social events at English Camp faded away at the end of November 1872, when the Royal Marines returned to Vancouver Island. The Union Jack was formally hauled down at sunset, November 21. The next day, Captain R. P. Cator, Scout, wired London asking what disposition he should make of the structures. He still had received no answer by November 24 (due to a break in the telegraph wires on the mainland), and became uneasy when he heard that American citizens were about to take over the buildings and occupy them. He decided on his own authority to turn the structures over to the commanding officer of American Camp on behalf of the United States government.

First Lieutenant Haughey at American Camp dispatched 2d Lt. Fred Ebstein and a detachment of enlisted men to English Camp on November 25. Captain Delacombe formally turned over the buildings at two p.m. Ebtein was disconcerted to discover that the Royal Marines had cut down their flagstaff. Haughey reported later that the British had wanted to use the staff as a ship's spar. But the Colonist reported that the flagstaff had been cut up, "a portion divided among the men and a long piece brought around to the Dockyard as a souvenir."

In later years Ebstein recalled the incident. He said that one of his men had carried a U. S. storm flag on his saddle to hoist at English Camp. But when they discovered that the staff had been cut down, "one of my men affixed the Stars and Stripes to a convenient telegraph pole near the wharf, and as the graceful folds of our flag unfurled . . . the hearty cheers of my small detachment, reinforced by a few patriotic American settlers, rang out." Haughey may have been writing figuratively when he reported that Ebstein raised the flag over the commanding officer's quarters.[22]

Ebstein left his detachment at English Camp to guard the buildings. He returned to American Camp and prepared a report on the 17 buildings he had received. Haughey, in turn prepared a more detailed report on the structures and forwarded it to the Department on December 9. (The contents of these two reports will be dealt with at length in the following discussion of the separate structures.)[23]

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22. PA Ottawa, PA FO 5, 1474, Capt. R. P. Cator, RN, Nov. 25, 1872, "Reporting the withdrawal of the British Garrison from San Juan"; Fred Ebstein, "Chapter," Journal of the Military Service Institution, 12, 780-81; Colonist, Nov. 26, 1872; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Letterbook, 1867-1873, Haughey, Dec. 15, 1872, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia.

23. NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, Ebstein, Nov. 27, 1872, to Post

The detachment remained at English Camp until after the abandonment of American Camp in 1874. In August of that year, the recent contract surgeon for American Camp, Dr. Frederick W. Sparling, was authorized to occupy a set of officers' quarters at English Camp. Then, in January 1875, Cpl. George Schofield, in charge of the detachment, turned the care of the structures over to Mr. A. E. Alden, who had been appointed Quartermaster agent in charge of both former military posts. As for American Camp, the eventual disposition of the Royal Marines' structures is unknown in detail. Presumably they were disposed of in 1875, when the Army reduced its reservations on the island to two, located elsewhere.[24]

Major Michler prepared an excellent map of English Camp during his survey of San Juan in 1874. The following spring he also described the site: "A survey was also made of the English Camp as a matter of interest and history; this locality is a beautiful one, and the buildings for both officers and men were pleasant and comfortable; they were kept in a much better state of preservation /than American Camp's/. It is not surprising that the British Troops left with regret when withdrawn." Michler's map showed 27 structures, two wharfs, two wells, a pasture, a garden, roads, and considerable fencing. It too will be discussed further in the section on the individual structures.[25]

William Crook and his family arrived on San Juan about the time that the U. S. Army disposed of its property at both camps, 1875.[26] Apparently Crook either then or soon after moved his

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Adjutant; NA, RG 92, OQMG Consolidated File, Box 985, Haughey, Dec. 9, 1872, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia.

24. NA, RG 393: Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1874, 3, CO, Ft. Townsend, Aug. 24 and Dec. 1, 1874, to AAG, Dept. of the Columbia; AAG Wood, Dec. 9, 1874, to Chief QM, Dept. of the Columbia; and Wood, Dec. 9, 1874, to CO, Ft. Townsend; NA, RG 393, SAJU, Box 1, A. E. Alden, Jan. 3, 1875, receipt of buildings, late English Camp.

25. NA, RG 77, Office, Chief of Engineers, Michler, Apr. 20, 1875, to Brig. Gen. A. A. Humphreys.

26. Crook's daughter, Mrs. Roda Anderson, told the writer that her father homesteaded about 1873 or 1874. The Friday Harbor Journal, Sept. 24, 1964, in a birthday greeting to Crook's son, James, said that James had been two years old when he came to San Juan. Since James was then 91 (Sept. 29, 1964), the year of arrival would have been 1875.

family into one of the structures at English Camp, possibly the 1867 married subaltern's house. His daughter, Mrs. Rhoda Anderson, recalled that this building burned about 1887. After that disaster, they moved into a building that Mrs. Anderson described as the hospital or the library. This structure was located next to the blacksmith shop and was second from the west end of a row of four structures at the back of English Camp. Later, her brother, James, lived in the enlisted barracks that is still standing. Finally, James built his own house, the former Crook residence still standing.[27]

In 1883, William Crook acquired a homestead certificate for the land on which English Camp stood (SW quarter of the NW quarter of Section 25, and lots 1, 11, 12, and 13 of Section 26, T 36N R4W--161.85 acres). He later enlarged his holdings to 320 acres.[28] While he seems to have made use of many of the surviving structures during the latter part of the 19th century, other persons acquired some of them. It is likely that a few structures were moved to nearby farms (see discussion on a hospital building, below). Also, other people were living at English Camp from time to time during this period. In 1894, The Islander (Friday Harbor) reported that the commanding officer's residence had also burned to the ground: "The house had been vacant for a number of years and was going to ruin, until last spring when a Mr. Rogers, of New York, purchased the place and rebuilt and fitted it up for a summer residence, and he, and his family, were living in it at the time of the fire.[29]

A visitor to the site in 1903 described the surviving scene: "Here the block house, the old well, the quarters covered with ivy, the wicket gate, and several of the other buildings built and used by the British are still to be seen. Leading southward are the remains of an old macadamized military road built in those by-gone days, now overgrown and useless."[30]

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27. Mrs. Rhoda Anderson, interview with writer, 1969; Lucile McDonald, feature article in Seattle Times, Nov. 16, 1958. McDonald says it was the captain's house that burned in 1887; but see below.

28. Dept. of the Interior, BLM, Portland, Ore., Homestead Certificate No. 1553, Application No. 1854, to William Crook, signed by President Chester A. Arthur, President, June 13, 1883; Friday Harbor Journal, Sept. 24, 1864.

29. The Islander (Friday Harbor), Oct. 11, 1894, from the collection of notes by Dr. John A. Hussey, NPS.

30. "From Barren Rock to Lime," Wilhelm's Magazine, The Coast,

One hundred years have passed since the Royal Marines lowered their flag that final time in 1872. There are still vivid marks of their 12 years on San Juan: the guardhouse, a barracks building, the storehouse, masonry from the blacksmith shop, stone steps, and the elaborate stonework at the site of the captain's house and elsewhere. Archeologists have uncovered traces of many of the other structures. The Marines' formal garden has been reconstructed. And, soon, a replica of that flagstaff cut down a century ago will stand proudly at English Camp. The adjective that every visitor applied to the site in its heyday is still applicable--"beautiful."

List of Structures, English Camp.

The following list of structures at English Camp is based primarily on four documents: 2d Lt. Fred Ebstein's report of November 27, 1872, listing the structures he accepted at English Camp on behalf of the United States; 1st Lt. James A. Haughey's report of December 9, 1872, on these structures (probably based on Ebstein's report, but with more detail); A. E. Alden's statement of January 3, 1875, listing the structures for which he then became caretaker; and Major Michler's 1874 map of English Camp.

Also included, by individual structure, is some of the specific structural information already mentioned and cited. Because of the earlier citations, no footnotes are given here. In nearly every case the information is so brief as to cause little effort to locate the source.

In June 1969, a historic structure report was completed on the four surviving structures at English Camp. These buildings were then given HS numbers (HS 1 - HS 4); these numbers are retained here.

Since the most detailed descriptions of the camp date from the 1872-75 period, the following list tends to reflect the structures as of that period. There were by then a new messhall, a new sergeants quarters, a new hospital, etc. Of course, these functions must have existed in the early days of the camp as well. This sometimes creates a problem of learning which structure was the old hospital, etc. And this problem will exist until additional information comes to light.

One additional complication should be noted. Major Michler's 1874 map is by far the most accurate map of English Camp

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that has been located. Yet, when it is compared to photographic and written evidence, it is sometimes difficult to reconcile the map with this evidence--particularly in the storehouse-stable area. This is discussed under the individual structures involved. If the map is in error, those errors will then be found in this report, because of the heavy reliance that must be placed on it:

HS 1 Blockhouse (Guardhouse)
HS 2 Barracks (the newer of two)
HS 3 Storehouse (older of two)
HS 4 Blacksmith Shop
HS 5 Captain's Quarters
HS 6 Married Subaltern's Quarters
HS 7 Surgeon's Quarters
HS 8 Unmarried Subaltern's Quarters
HS 9 Officers' Messroom
HS 10 Barracks (the older of two)
HS 11), HS 12) Possibly the Wash and Bath Houses
HS 13 Well
HS 14 Well
HS 15 Unidentified
HS 16 "
HS 17 "
HS 18 Possibly Hospital
HS 19), HS 20) Stable and newer Storehouse
HS 21 Mess House (probably)
HS 22 Library and Schoolroom (probably)
HS 23 Carpenter's Shop and Sawmill
HS 24 Wharf
HS 25 Pier
HS 26 Unidentified (possibly storage shed)
HS 27 " (possibly boat house)
HS 28 Formal Garden and Walks
HS 29 Sentry Box
HS 30 Sentry Box
HS 31 Unidentified
HS 32 "
HS 33 "
HS 34 "
HS 35 Flagstaff
HS 36 Cemetery
HS 37 Birdhouse

Structures, whose sites are unknown
Three water tanks
Summer house (on Young Hill)

Functions for which the structures are unknown
Sutler's Store
Billiard Room
Stable, owned by sutler, used privately by CO
Sutler's residence
Bakery
Vegetable Garden

HS 1. Blockhouse. The official correspondence referred occasionally to the "guardhouse" at English Camp, but rarely to the "blockhouse." It is known that a similarly styled building at American Camp was indeed the guardhouse, its ground floor being the guard room and its second floor having four cells. It is the writer's opinion that this structure at English Camp had the same functions. It was a blockhouse only in the picturesque sense of the word. Its architecture was undoubtedly copied after that of American Camp's guardhouse, which had come from Fort Bellingham where there had been more of a need for a traditional guardhouse because of Indian threats in the 1850s. From an early requisition it is known that there was a stove in the building, as there was at American Camp. Also, in 1867, a request was made to place new flooring in the structure.

Lieutenant Ebstein reported in 1872 that it was a log "guard house of no value." Lieutenant Haughey called it both a guard house and a blockhouse, that measured 18 by 18 feet. He too said that it was "very old and of no value." When A. E. Alden signed for the buildings in 1875, he called this structure the guardhouse.

The collection of photographs showing this structure, some from the English Camp period, some from later, show that a great many alterations were made in this building over the years. Much discussion has ensued concerning the number of loopholes present in the second floor--loopholes that served primarily for ventilation. Photographs that are dated around 1900 showed that the upper floor was weatherboarded and from two to four loopholes left open. A marine's painting, pre-1868, showed clearly six loopholes on each of the two sides that faced the water. The clearest of the two or three photographs taken before 1872 also indicates--not quite as sharply--six openings on each of the watersides.

HS 2. Barracks. This barracks building, still standing, was the later of two such buildings. It started out as a rather small structure of which the function remains uncertain. No reference to the long addition that changed the structure into a barracks has been found. But the small arms racks that were in it lend to the theory that it became a much-needed second barracks. This structure has recently been restored.

Ebstein's report referred only to two frame barracks, both "in fair condition." Haughey said that this building was 79 by 20 feet, frame, shingled roof, and "in good condition." Unfortunately, he lumped together the windows (17) and doors (2), which latter must be incorrect, of both barracks, and he said

the two structures were worth $600. Alden listed this simply as a company quarters.

HS 3. Storehouse. This was probably the first permanent structure erected at English Camp, its materials having been requisitioned even before the Royal Marines departed Victoria. In 1867 it too was reported as requiring new flooring; this repair was apparently accomplished. Ebstein reported on two storehouses, one frame and one slab. HS 3 is undoubtedly the frame one. He considered it to be of no value. Haughey mentioned that its dimensions were 44 by 20 feet.

HS 4. Blacksmith Shop. Described as "Masonry Ruin" in the 1969 report, this structure is now believed to have been the blacksmith shop, the masonry having been part of the forge. Recent archeological work at this site has uncovered a number of artifacts that pertain to blacksmith work. Also, the recently acquired list of structures by Haughey refers to the blacksmith shop in this area. While Ebstein made no reference to this shop, Haughey listed it as his building no. 15. He said that it had no value; he did not give its dimensions. Alden, in 1875, listed the shoemaker shop right after blacksmith shop when discussing this row of structures. It is quite possible that the one structure served both these functions.

HS 5. Captain's Quarters. Also called commandant's quarters and commanding officer's quarters. Built at the end of 1867 as the first adequate quarters for the senior marine officer, more is known about this structure than any other at English Camp. The specifications called for a main part, 33 by 42 feet, containing five rooms, and two wings, each 12½ by 31½ feet, containing a total of four rooms. Haughey's 1872 dimensions were close to these: main part, 41 by 29 feet; two wings, 12½ by 29 feet each; and a 12 by 20-foot kitchen attached. He said that the house had nine rooms, plus the kitchen and a servant's room. He added that it was a frame building, covered with shingles, a verandah in both front and back, and in perfect repair. He valued it at $1,000.

While the specifications are lengthy and discuss all aspects of the construction, only a few items are mentioned here. These are selected because of the possibility that some elements from this structure may still be on San Juan--although the building reportedly burned to the ground in 1897.

Windows. To have 10 by 16-inch lights. Both top and bottom sashes to be hung with weights, pulleys, and patent sash line.

Good brass window fastenings on the meeting rail. Frames to be 1-inch dressed boards, 2-inch sills, 1 by 6-inch facings beaded, and 1½-inch architraves. The bay windows in the drawing room were to project 24 inches; also they were to be 6 feet wide and 8 feet high, and filled with the best enamel furniture.

Doors. To be 2 feet 8 inches by 6 feet 8 inches, double moulded, four-panel doors, hung with 3½-inch loose butts, fitted with the best locks. Plated furniture and porcelain knobs. The dining and drawing room doors to have morticed locks. The front door to be 3 by 7 feet, 2 inches thick, double moulded, four panel, with side and fan lights.

Mantles. To be made of the best seasoned redwood or cedar for the drawing and dining rooms.

Chimneys. The chimneys and stovepipe flue in the kitchen to be built according to plan with three fireplaces and one stovepipe flue (sic). The foundations to be laid in good rubble masonry of large-sized split stone, well grouted together. Turned four-inch brick arches over fireplaces with 2½ by ½-inch wrought iron cambered chimney bars well tailed and turned down in the brick work. Backs and sides to have 5 courses of firebrick throughout. All hearths to be 18 inches in front of fireplaces and set in sand with firebrick.

Painting. Colors to be selected by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and Surveyor General. Mantlepieces to have two coats of plain varnish. The front door to be grained dark oak.

The structure's post-marine history is not known in detail. Possibly former Acting Assitant Surgeon Sparling from American Camp occupied this residence for a time beginning in 1875. For some years before it burned in 1894 it had been abandoned and neglected. Not long before it was destroyed by fire it had been purchased and renovated by a Mr. Rogers.

The 1874 Michler map shows a large rectangle in front of the structure that may indicate fencing. No fence appears in a historical photograph of this area; but a large stone-walled terrace still exists in this area. It is said that officers played tennis here. Michler also shows one small bath house, or stable (Alden listed two stables for the commanding officer's quarters in 1875). Michler's map does not indicate the wings known to have been built.

It is known that the commanding officer had a residence before this new residence was erected. Just where this older set

of quarters was located is unknown. A photograph of the officers' area, taken before the new residence was built, shows a building off to the northeast some distance from the main complex of officers' quarters and on a slightly higher terrace. It is possible that this was the first commanding officer's quarters.

Today traces of possible fireplaces of the 1867 quarters remain, as well as lanes and paths leading to the site.

HS 6. Married Subaltern's Quarters. Also constructed at the end of 1867, it was located west of the captain's house, on a lower terrace. Here too one may find traces of the terrace, rock walls, and a winding path. Unlike the captain's quarters, which was built at the same time, this structure's specifications or plans have not been found. Its cost was $1,700.

Haughey reported it in 1872 that it was 36 by 32 feet and contained six rooms as well as a kitchen and pantry. It was a frame structure, roofed with shingles. He estimated its value at $600. It too appears on Michler's map. Only one illustration, an engraving, has been yet found that depicts this structure.

It is known that the married subaltern also had a set of quarters before he acquired his new residence. In the same pre-1868 photograph mentioned in the section of HS 5, above, an unidentified building may be seen slightly to the northwest of the main complex of officers' quarters. Its location seems near to but not quite on the site of the new residence. It is possible that this was the earlier quarters of the married subaltern. (Also to be noted in this photograph are two small shed-like structures adjacent to the building; these probably were outbuildings.)

HS 7. Surgeon's Quarters. This small T-shaped, frame structure was one of the first quarters built at English Camp, probably erected in the summer of 1860. It was the farthest east of the early officers' quarters on the lowest of the terraces. A twisting stone stairway connected the parade ground with this terrace.

Haughey described it as being 24 by 14 feet, with an ell 20 by 12 feet "and a small kitchen attached." He said that it had no value except for its four doors and three windows. The front of this small residence appears in a historical photograph.

HS 8. Unmarried Subaltern's Quarter. This small, simple, frame residence stood on the same terrace as the surgeon's quar-

ters. Built in 1860, it was considered to be in bad shape by 1867, when it received some repairs. The officers' mess room stood next to this structure and, from the scanty evidence available, it is not possible to tell which of the two structures was the subaltern's quarters.

Haughey described it in 1872 as being 32 by 13 feet, constructed of upright logs that had been weatherboarded. Its three doors and three windows were still in good condition; otherwise the building had no value.

HS 9. Officers' Mess Room. This is the other of the two structures that stood next to the surgeon's quarters on the lowest terrace. It too dated from about 1860 and, in external appearance, resembled the unmarried subaltern's quarters. As indicated in HS 8 above, one cannot be certain which was which.

According to Haughey it was 31 by 13 feet, and had a 12 by 12-foot kitchen attached. It too was constructed of upright logs that were weatherboarded. It had two windows and two doors. Otherwise it was of no value to Haughey. The Michler map does not show a kitchen attached to either of the two structures (HS 8 or HS 9). Archeological excavations may determine which building served which function.

HS 10. Barracks. This is the older of the two barracks; it does not stand today. Built in 1860, it was repaired by the laying of a new floor, etc., in 1867. About the time it was constructed, Bazalgette requisitioned arms racks for 80 weapons, shelves for knapsacks, and pegs for belts. It was a frame building with a shingled roof, and was in good condition in 1872. Haughey gave its dimensions as 90 by 24½ feet. Its disposition after the Royal Marines left San Juan is unknown.

Although Bazalgette requisitioned 80 iron bunks in 1867, there may have been some wooden (built-in?) bunks in the barracks; Alden signed for seven wooden bunks when he became caretaker in 1875.

HS 11 and HS 12. These two structures, located behind the older barracks, may have been Alden's "row of buildings (wash and bath houses)" that he listed in 1875. They were conveniently located near the wells and the barracks for such purposes.

HS 13 and HS 14. Wells. These two wells are shown on Michler's map as being behind the older barracks. Traces of them may still be found.

HS 15 and HS 16. Two small unidentified structures, one at each end of the older barracks--as shown on the Michler map. The several photographs show only the one at the northwest end of the barracks in any detail. It had a chimney, and it appears generally large enough to have been an early NCO residence, or a kitchen, but not large enough to have been the early messhall. The marine's painting suggests that it had one or more lean-tos. This painting also suggests that the small structure at the other end of the barracks also had a chimney.

At this time, one may only conjecture about their functions. It is known that when the marines first landed, three sergeants were in the complement. Could one or the other of these buildings have been an early sergeant's quarters? Or the company kitchen? Or the bakery?

HS 17. Unidentified Structure. Located off the west corner of the older barracks, standing more toward the bay than the latter. It is clear from Haughey's report that by 1872, the principal sergeant was living in a building that was fairly new. Haughey said that it was a frame building of "recent construction" and in good condition. He gave its dimensions as being 30 by 18 feet, its value as $100. In addition to being quarters, said Haughey, it was also a messroom. He probably meant that it was an NCO mess because the privates had their own large mess by then, and the sergeants at American Camp had their own mess.

It may be determined from the marine's painting of the camp that this structure, HS 17, was built after 1867-68. It is possible that it was the new sergeants' quarters. Alden, in 1875, described a structure that served as the sergeant major's quarters and "cook house." James Crook, in 1958, identified the structure as the sergeant's quarters.

HS 18. Hospital. Haughey said that this 29 by 18-foot frame building had been recently constructed. He gave it a value of $100. He thought it could be moved to American Camp and used as either an adjutant's or a quartermaster's office. It seems probable that the hospital was moved in later years, to Peter Lawson's farm about three miles away. Today there is a structure on that farm that measures 28' by 16 feet, with a lean-to measuring 28½ by 10 feet at its rear. The main building looks much like the English Camp structures. It is a firm tradition in the Lawson family today that this building was the English Camp hospital.

A major problem is that of identifying the hospital on Michler's map or in historic photographs. There is a possibility that it was a structure that stood directly northwest of the new

sergeant's quarters (above). This thesis is quite tentative and is based only on the fact that no historical photograph of this structure has yet been found--photographs of other buildings do not resemble the structure on the Lawson farm.

Of course, there must have been an earlier hospital at English Camp. Nothing is known of it or its location.

HS 19. Stable. According to Haughey, this structure had begun its existence with dimensions of 14 by 19 feet. Sometime later it acquired an addition of 23 by 17 feet. Thus it may have been as long as 42 feet. Haughey considered it to be of no value. In 1860, English Camp acquired two horses for official use. It is likely that mild cows and beef cattle were also acquired. They were at American Camp.

According to Michler's map, it is assumed that the stable was one of the two structures to the northwest of the storehouse (HS 3). It will be noted that Michler drew the long axis of these two buildings at right angles to the waterfront. However, in the pre-1868 marine's painting of the camp, a long structure appears in this area that parallels the waterfront. This difference cannot now be accounted for.

HS 20. Storehouse. This second storhouse was a nondescript structure that Ebstein described as being a slab building. Haughey did not bother to list it. It, like HS 19, was probably one of the two buildings that Michler showed northwest of the main storehouse (HS 3). Again, Michler's drawing is at odds with the marine's painting as to the orientation of the structure's long axis.

HS 21. Mess house. The location of the enlisted men's mess has long been a problem. It had to be a fairly large building to accommodate 75 or so men. Also, it was commodious enough to have served for parties and balls. Most of the structures in the barracks complex seemed not to have been large enough for the purpose. The inventories of Ebstein and Haughey, by themselves, were of little help.

Not until one turns to a close examination of the list of structures that Alden signed for in 1875, does the glimmer of a possibility appear. Included therein are words to the effect: 1 row of buildings (blacksmith shop, shoemakers shop, company mess room, school room, carpenter's shop, and saw mill shed). This row of buildings is readily identifiable on Michler's map, in illustrations, and on the ground.

At the northwest end of the row today the masonry work of the blacksmith's forge still stands. The next entry in Alden's row, the shoemaker shop, ir more difficult to fit in. It would hardly have been the large, good-appearing second structure on the row. It is suggested here that this shop was in the same building as was the blacksmith shop.

Alden next listed the company mess. Allowing that the shoemaker shared a building with the blacksmith, the second building in the row would be the mess--a building most suited in appearance to that function. Two small problems are created by this thesis. First, no kitchen building (said to be 12 by 20 feet) seems to be located anywhere nearby. Second, Mrs. Rhoda Anderson contended that this second building was either the library or the hospital. It is to be regretted that Ebstein and Haughey both failed to mention the enlisted mess (Haughey's omission was probably caused by Ebstein's original failure).

With the present information it is concluded that this second building in the row was a fairly new, post-1867, enlisted mess. No information has been found as to where the mess was located before this structure was built.

HS 22. Library. Continuing with Alden's row of buildings and the above theses, the third structure on the row would be the library-reading room-school. The park today has a carved wooden decoration depicting books. This ornament is said to have come from the library. Haughey said that the library was 36 by 20 feet, a new building in good condition, and having a value of $75.

HS 23. Carpenter's Shop and Sawmill. It will be noted that in Alden's list, these two elements come at the end. Michler's map shows only one more structure in the row. It has commonly been held that the sawmill was but little more than a roof over the sawmill. (Only the pit is left as evidence today.) Yet, historical photographs show a small frame building at this end of the row--a building partly hidden by a tree and some smoke. The thesis presented here is that this frame, whitewashed building was the carpenter's shop and that the sawmill, covered only with a roof, stood immediately adjacent to it. The two are listed here as one historic structure. Haughey said that the carpenter shop was 30 by 18 feet, in fair condition, and had a value of $30. The sawpit, he said, had no value.

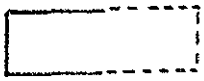
Summary of HS 4 and HS 21, 22, and 23.

While admittedly falling short of absolute proof, the thesis is set forth here that this row of structures consisted of the following:

Blacksmith and Shoemaker

Company Mess

School, Library, and Reading Room



Carpenter and Sawpit

HS 24. Wharf. This is the more easterly of two wharfs or piers. It apparently was the more important of the two. Photographs show a ship of considerable draft docked at its end. According to the marine's painting, the wharf was T-shaped.

HS 25. Pier. The more westerly of the two, located directly in front of the storehouse, this structure appears to have been more of a hastily-built slip than anything.

HS 26. Shed. Structure adjacent to Wharf, HS 24. Shown on the Michler map, this low, shed-like structure may have served as a storage area for nautical gear and the like. A historical photograph shows a boat or two drawn up underneath it, on the beach.

HS 27. Shed. A crude shed or lean-to standing on the beach just below the formal garden. While indicated on the Michler map as adjoining HS 26, above, a historical photograph shows it to have been a separate structure. The marine's painting suggests that its water side was open. Possibly it served as a boathouse.

HS 28. Formal Garden and Paths. Located in the south corner of the parade ground. In its first days, English Camp had an ordinary (vegetable?) garden in this area. This was surrounded by a lattice fence made apparently of saplings. At some later date, a rectangle of land was marked off in this area and possibly fenced--see Michler's map. An attractive circular garden was laid out within the rectangle. It had a series of walks around and through it. A person walking from the main camp to the officers' area would have had to pass through this garden.

HS 29 and HS 30. Sentry Boxes. One of these two unique structures was mentioned by Alden when he took charge of English Camp in 1875. Both appear, none too clearly, in several historical photographs and are included in the marine's painting of the post. One was located on the waterfront a little to the northwest of the storehouse. It is probable that the daily guard mount marched a route from the guardhouse to this sentry box; indeed the marine's painting shows a sentry between the two structures. This painting also shows the second sentry box near the foot of the flight of stone steps leading to the officers' quarters, i.e. to the southeast of the guardhouse.

HS 31. An unidentified structure behind, to the northeast of, the storehouse (HS 3). It is shown on Michler's map and in photographs. It appears to have been a small, neat structure, having a chimney, and two windows and a central door in its front side. It faced the parade ground. A lean-to was attached to its rear. James Crook, in 1958, identified this as the "canteen" (sutler's store).

HS 32. Unidentified structure in the north corner of the camp, slightly elevated above the parade ground. Its foundations may still be identified. It appeared on Michler's map and in historical illustrations. It had a chimney, a centrally-located door, and two windows. A short flight of steps led up to the front door. James Crook, in 1958, identified this as a latrine (head). This identification is doubted, because of the chimney, and because of its elevation waste would drain toward the wells.

HS 33 and HS 34. Two quite small, unidentified structures at the foot of officers' hill, in the vicinity of today's huge maple tree. They appear on Michler's map, and one of them is to be seen in a historical photograph.

HS 35. Flagstaff. Located on the parade ground, between the guardhouse and the barracks, the elaborate foundations for this flagstaff has been uncovered in archeological work. Various photographs show this staff and its Union Jack.

HS 36. Cemetery. Located on the slope of Young Hill, behind English Camp. The cemetery is a small plot surrounded by a picket fence. Wooden headboards mark five of seven graves. The two unmarked graves, no. 1 and no. 6, are unknown. No.'s 2, 4, 5, and 7 are the graves of Royal Marines. No. 3 is the grave of a civilian. The head-board of no. 2 commemorates a drowned marine whose

body was not found as well as the marine buried there. (This numbering system follows that that has been the practice for many years. Actually, it is probably in reverse. Grave no. 7 is that of the first marine to die on San Juan, Cpl. George Stewart, on June 1, 1865.)

HS 37. Birdhouse. This unusual structure appears to have been a rather distinctive, multi-family birdhouse that sat on a pole to the rear of the surgeon's quarters. Structural detail has not yet been located.

Structures not given numbers at this time.

Pasture, as shown on Michler's map.

Fencing, " " " " " .

Stone steps and trails in the vicinity of the officers' quarters, as shown on Michler's map and in illustrations.

Road to San Juan City, as shown on Michler's map.

Unfinished "government" road, as shown on Michler's map.

Hoffmeister's farm, as shown on Michler's map. He was the post sutler throughout English Camp's history.

Structures whose locations are unknown.

Three iron water tanks, "such as are used on board ship," with a total capacity of 600 gallons. Two of these measured 6 by 4 by 4 feet each. The third was 4 by 4 feet. Later, these tanks were moved to Fort Townsend.

"Summer House." A visitor to English Camp recorded that a summer house stood on top of Young Hill. Local tradition today supports this. It possibly was a gazebo or belvedere to which the members of the command and their families could take a pleasant walk. Its location on the hill has not yet been determined.

Three buildings within the camp were privately owned by Post Sutler Hoffmeister. They were not turned over to the U. S. Army: Sutler's Store, Billiard Room, and a Stable rented by the commanding officer. It is possible, of course, that some of

these three match up with some of the unidentified structures listed above.

Other structures not yet identified were listed by Alden in 1875: Bake house, Officers' Servant's quarters, and Hoffmeister's Quarters. Finally, English Camp undoubtedly had a sizeable vegetable garden in its last years. Its location has not been found in the military records.

CHAPTER 7

Settlers, Vicinity of English Camp

One of the first notices of settlers at the north end of San Juan appeared in Captain Prevost's report on potential camp sites for the British garrison. Either on Garrison Bay (a term not then used) or Westcott Bay, he wrote, "two white Settlers are building a log hut each on either side of the Stream, and intend to raise Potatoes as soon as their land is ready. They informed me there were eight in all scattered about."[1]

In contrast to the military-civil turmoil at the other end of the island, the marines and settlers around English Camp appear to have got along quietly. The only major issue concerned the lime deposits at today's Roche Harbor. About September 1860, the marines established a kiln there to extract enough lime for use at English Camp. Captain Bazalgette, perhaps borrowing the idea from American Camp, considered anything within two miles of his camp as his military reserve. As the crow flies, this distance easily included the lime deposits.

Some American settlers, aware of the limestone, ignored Bazalgette's concepts of a reservation boundary and began to move into the area. Bazalgette wrote Pickett informing him that "Sundry persons . . . had commenced Building on improvements made by me." He asked the American commander to remove them. Pickett tried. But the Americans refused to leave.[2]

William Brannock made a statement for Pickett's benefit explaining matters from his point of view. He said that S. Meyerback had hired him in November to prepare a kiln at a site that was three miles from the British. (The deposits are about three miles by today's roads.) Brannock, accompanied by the ubiquitous Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., and John Hofenmeyer, had come up and started

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1. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1860, 3, Prevost in Baynes, Mar. 16, 1860, to Douglas; Colonist, Aug. 1, 1859, reported "some six American squatters" at the north end of the island.

2. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, Bazalgette, Nov. 29, 1860, to Pickett.

work. A lieutenant of the Royal Marines and the post sutler, August Hoffmeister, paid them a visit and the officer ordered the Americans to leave. Hoffmeister said that he had already taken up a claim there under the U. S. preemption law. But Hofenmeyer answered back that that was not so because Hoffmeister was a British subject.[3]

A perplexed Pickett sent all the correspondence off to the Department. Colonel Wright had no immediate answer, and bucked the problem to the Adjutant General. There, alas, the story runs out. What happened in the depths of the bureaucracy is yet to be learned. Certainly, there was no unilateral action that the U. S. Army could have taken to cause Bazalgette to change his boundaries. Perhaps the matter got into diplomatic channels; perhaps it faded away. It is interesting to note that not until many years later did Roche Harbor become the principal lime kiln on San Juan. Hibbard's enterprise at Lime Kiln was for long considered to be the principal source of lime.[4]

When the north end of San Juan Island was surveyed in the fall of 1874, it was determined that English Camp proper lay in Sections 25 and 26 (mostly in 26) of Township 36N, Range 4W. A study of the patent register for these sections shows the following names and the dates they purchased their land (this date does not mean the date they settled):

Section 25:	John McKay, Jan. 26, 1888
	Heirs of James Crook, May 23, 1885
	Silas A. McCrary, June 14, 1890
	Isaac Sandwith, June 4, 1878
Sections 25 and 26:	William Crook, Jan. 5, 1876
Section 26:	James Holden, Apr. 4, 1892[5]

It will be noted that William Crook was the first of these to purchase land. His holdings were: Home Lot 1 and the SW quarter of the NW quarter of Section 25, and Lots 1, 11, 12, and 13 of Section 26. These gave him the site of English Camp. As already noted the United States purchased the site from Crook's descendants after San Juan Island Historical Park was authorized.

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3. NA, RG 393, Dept. of Oregon, Letters Received, 1860, Brannock, sworn statement (X, his mark), Dec. 1, 1860.

4. NA, RG 393, Dept. of the Columbia, Letters Sent, 1860-61, Wright, Dec. 20, 1860, to the AG, New York; McLellan, Geology of San Juan, p. 166. Some present-day accounts state that the Royal Marines exported lime "all over the world." This is probably a vast overstatement.

5. Dept. of the Interior, BLM, Portland, Ore., various records including register of patents.

CHAPTER 8

Historic Roads

Even before the military occupation of San Juan began, a trail ran from Bellevue farm to Roche Harbor. As early as 1854, Governor Douglas reported that on a recent visit to the island he "mustered a force of Indian labourers, and cut a passage through the forest to a fresh range on the west side of the Island about 16 miles from the Establishment to which the sheep were immediately driven." A year later he wrote that roads had been cut through the forest, "nearly from end to end of the Island."[1]

The two 1874 Michler maps, American Camp and English Camp, give a good depict on of the roads in and about the two reservations. Of interest in his English Camp map is a branching of the main road on the slope of Young Hill. The western branch is marked "Road to San Juan City," and the eastern branch, "Unfinished Government Road." He also showed an unlabeled road running south along the shore of Garrison Bay. From the 1874 land survey, we learn that this road ran out to the telegraph station on today's Hanbury Point. Michler did not show a trail of any sort leading from English Camp to the limestone deposits at Roche Harbor. The road network that he showed at the southeast end of the island is much too complicated to be described here.

Today's student of the historic roads during the military occupation is fortunate in having available the survey maps of the island that the Surveyor General's Office, Olympia, Washington, prepared in 1874-75. The surveys themselves were undertaken immediately after the abandonment of American Camp in July 1874. While there is a remote possibility of a few minor changes having occurred since the departure of the Royal Marines in 1872, these maps undoubtedly show the so-called military road as it appeared during the joint occupation. In that these maps had the section lines drawn in, the matter of transposing the route to modern USGS maps is a relatively easy task. All that is left for today's explorer is some intensive investigation of the terrain itself.

Strangely enough, the draftsman showed the telegraph line, which generally followed the road but avoided some of the curves, only part of the distance from English to American Camp.

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1. BC PA, SAJU, Correspondence, 1860, 3, Baynes, Mar. 16, 1860, to Douglas; PA Ottawa, Hudson's Bay House, London, Jan. 22, 1855, to the Earl of Clarendon, quoting Douglas, Oct. 30, 1854; and Douglas, Dec. 13, 1855, to Sir William Molesworth.

RECOMMENDATIONS

American Camp

McRae House. Recommend that following the archeological investigations of American Camp and the establishment of the relationship of this structure to officers' row, that a historical architect prepare a historic structure report on this building. In the probable event that this house was originally an officer's quarters, recommend that its exterior be restored to the historic period and that a functional use be made of the structure.

Blockhouse. The blockhouses at American and English Camps were symbolic of the authority of the two nations involved in the joint military government of the island. The blockhouse at English Camp still stands and has been restored. Recommend that, if in accordance with the Administrative Policies for Historical Areas, the blockhouse at American Camp be reconstructed. Its presence would illustrate the equal powers of the two nations on San Juan. Should reconstruction be considered, a brief study of the Fort Bellingham blockhouses--from whence the American Camp blockhouse came--would be necessary.

Fencing. Recommend the reconstruction of the picket fence around the parade ground and around the hospital complex at American Camp if this would be in accordance with the Administrative Policies for Historical Areas. These fences would aid materially in visualizing the historic scene. They would play much the same role as the outlining of the building sites--which is also recommended.

Warbass House. In view of a determination by historical architects that this structure has deteriorated greatly, its acquisition cannot be recommended. It is recommended that it be architecturally evaluated and recorded before it disappears entirely.

English Camp

Hospital. While positive proof is still lacking, there is a strong probablility that this building now on the Lawson farm was an English Camp structure, possibly the hospital. Recommend that the structure be the subject of an architectural investigation and that, if the findings support the historical thesis and if feasible, it be acquired and moved to English Camp. A historic structure report would be necessary.

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1. Manuscript Material

Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. These archives contain a wealth of documentary and illustrative material concerning the San Juan affair, particularly on English Camp and the Royal Marines. The Provincial Archives' illustrations used herein are so identified in that section of the report. The following documentary material was of immense help:

Charles Jns. Griffin, statement concerning the American landing, dated July 28, 1859.

Robert Firth, diary kept at Bellevue farm, January 7, 1865 to August 2, 1866, plus one page, October 9 - November 6, 1866. Both the handwritten diary and a typescript were available. 42 pages.

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RG 76. North West Boundary Survey, including correspondence, maps, charts, documents, and "Geological Memoir of the Islands between the Continent and Vancouver's Island in the Vicinity of the Forty Ninth Parallel of North Latitude."

RG 77. Office, Chief of Engineers, Land Papers, Box 63, San Juan Island. (Government Land Title)

RG 92. Office, Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File, 1794-1915, Box 985, San Juan Island, Washington.

RG 94. Office, Adjutant General, Reservation File, Box 52, San Juan Island Camp, Washington Territory.

RG 153. Judge Advocate General, Reservation File, 1809-1942, Box 42, San Juan Island, Washington.

RG 393. U. S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920: 1 box, "Special Marking, U. S. Forces San Juan Island, Letters Received, Petitions, and Others, 1865-72."

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kindly gave his permission to quote from these letters. Copies were made available through the courtesy of Dr. John A. Hussey, Piedmont, California.

Oregon Historical Society, Portland. Archibald McKinley, Miscellaneous Papers. A Hudson's Bay Company employee, McKinley made keen observations on the characters of several leading participants in the San Juan affair.

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Of immense value to this undertaking was the huge microfilm collection of the Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, General Correspondence, Northwest Boundary and Island of San Juan, originals in 21 volumes. These volumes are identified by code, both at the Public Archives and herein: FO 5, 809-816b, and FO 5, 1466-77. This film contains not only nearly all the correspondence of the British Foreign Office concerning San Juan Island, 1846-73, but many American documents as well.

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Pioneer and Democrat, Olympia Washington. This newspaper was usually a little behind the Victoria papers in getting the news--often it merely quoted from the latter.

Port Townsend Register. January 18, 1860 - September 18, 1861. This paper folded when its editor attempted to kill a man who called him names.

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Norman, Francis Martin, "Martello Tower" in China and the Pacific in H. M. S. "Tribune," 1856-60, London, 1902. The frontispiece is a painting of the Tribune under sail.

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6. Sources Not Used

Because of the "exigencies of the service," as the military would say, several sources were not consulted that should have been. These include:

The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, especially the following three manuscripts: Alexander Caulfield Anderson, "History of the Northwest Coast;" William Cullen, "San Juan Question;" and Granville O. Haller, "The San Juan Imbroglio" (the published version was used).

Globe and Laurel, a Royal Marine magazine that began publication in 1892. Although listed in the Library of Congress catalogue, this publication was not to be found. The writer appreciates very much the two days of searching that the Library of Congress staff spent looking for it.

London Daily News, November 1, 1872, which is said to have an engraving of San Juan Island. This too is missing from the stacks of the Library of Congress.

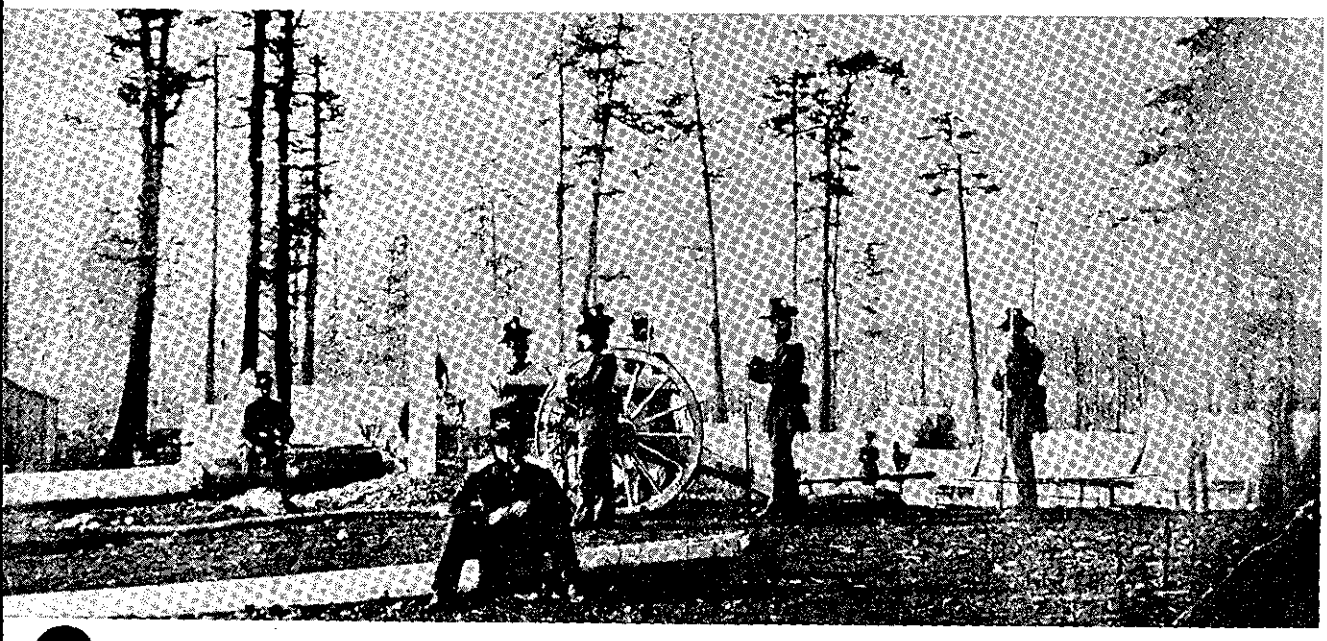
ILLUSTRATIONS & MAPS

1. American Camp. Probably taken in the fall of 1859 when Colonel Casey had picked the third and last site, near the redoubt. More trees stood then than now.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 12736

2. Another view of American Camp about the same time as No. 1. Note frame buildings. The field artillery amounted to five mountain howitzers and one six-inch gun.

Courtesy, San Juan Island NHP



3. Primitive watercolor of American Camp by unknown artist. The detail is essentially correct, but the perspective is off.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 12717.

4. The only photograph of American Camp in its heyday yet found. Taken in late 1860s-early 1870s. Officers' quarters to left, enlisted barracks to right, guardhouse from Fort Bellingham in foreground, hospital and barn in background.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 15273.

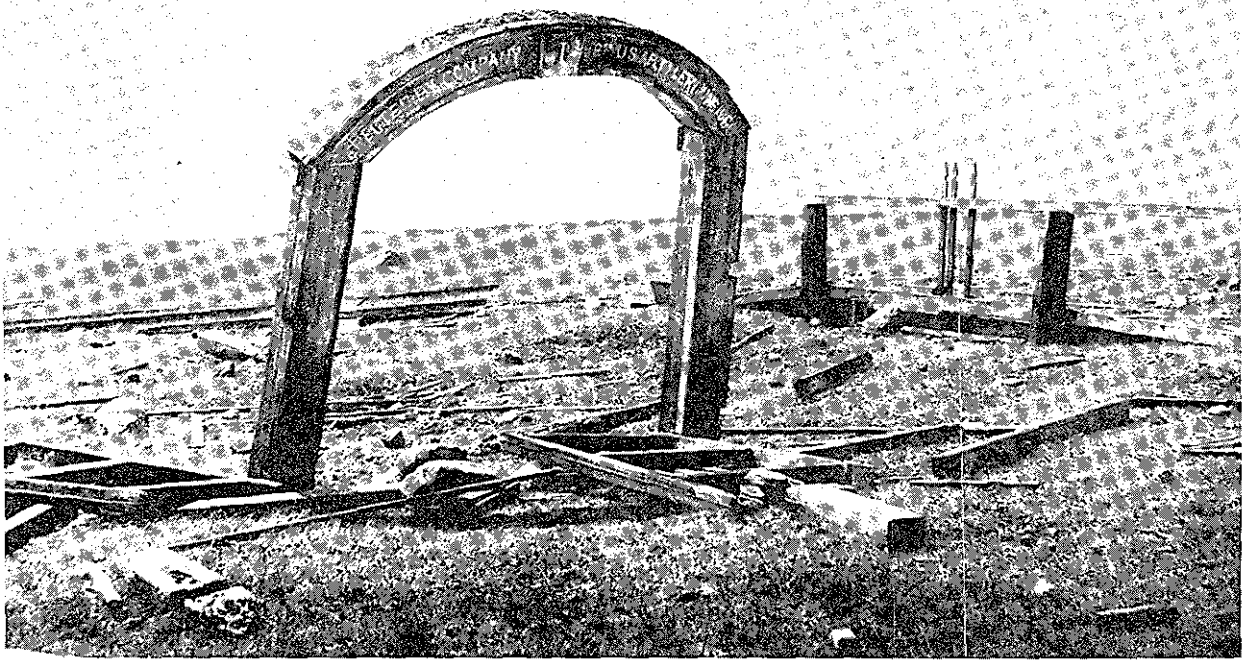
Camp San Juan Island

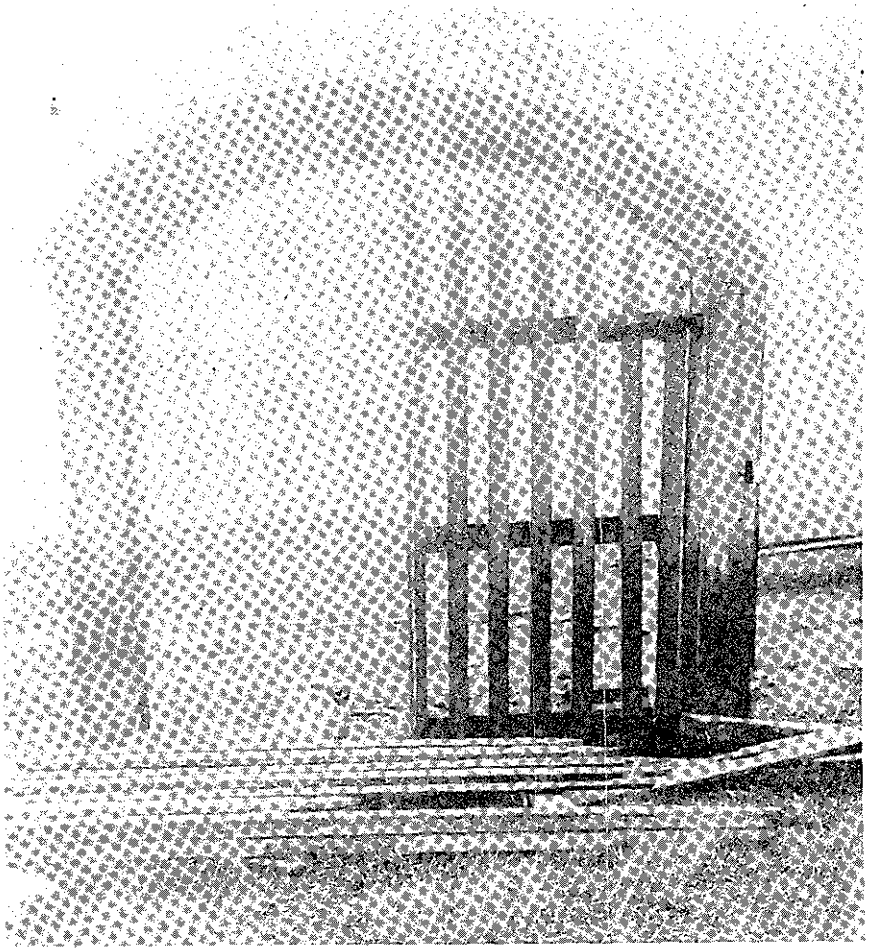
5. Ruins of gate and fence at cemetery, American Camp. Legend says "Erected by Company I, 2d U. S. Artillery, June 186[6 or 8]. Frame of double gate lies in foreground. Today's stone outline of the cemetery (not shown) is believed to postdate Army.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 23338.

6. Arch and gates, cemetery, American Camp.

Courtesy, Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington, Seattle.





7. American Camp Officers' Quarters. HS 11 in foreground, HS 8 (COs quarters) in background. Two sets of quarters in between have disapppeared. HS 11 was built by Captain Pickett either in 1859 or in 1860. Photograph taken before 1903 when it appeared in Coast, 6, 92.

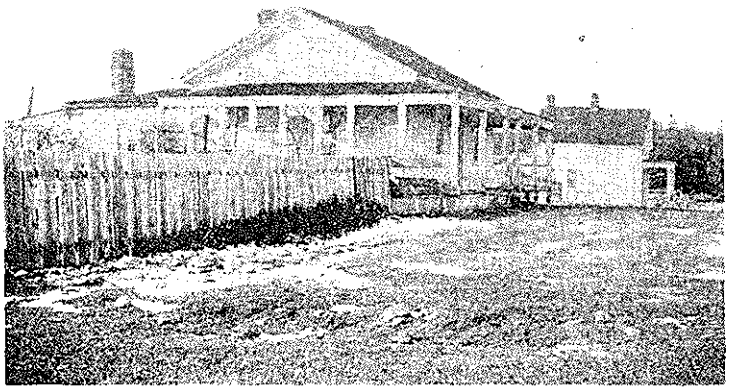
Courtesy, Pacific Norhtwest Collection,
University of Washington Library, Seattle.

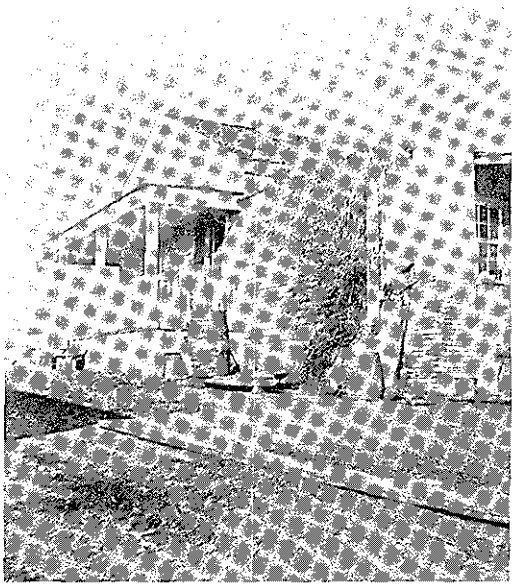
8. Officers Quarters, HS 11, American Camp, from southwest rear, looking at west side of structure. The near lean-to and chimney do not appear on undated plat of American Camp in this report. Date of photograph unknown.

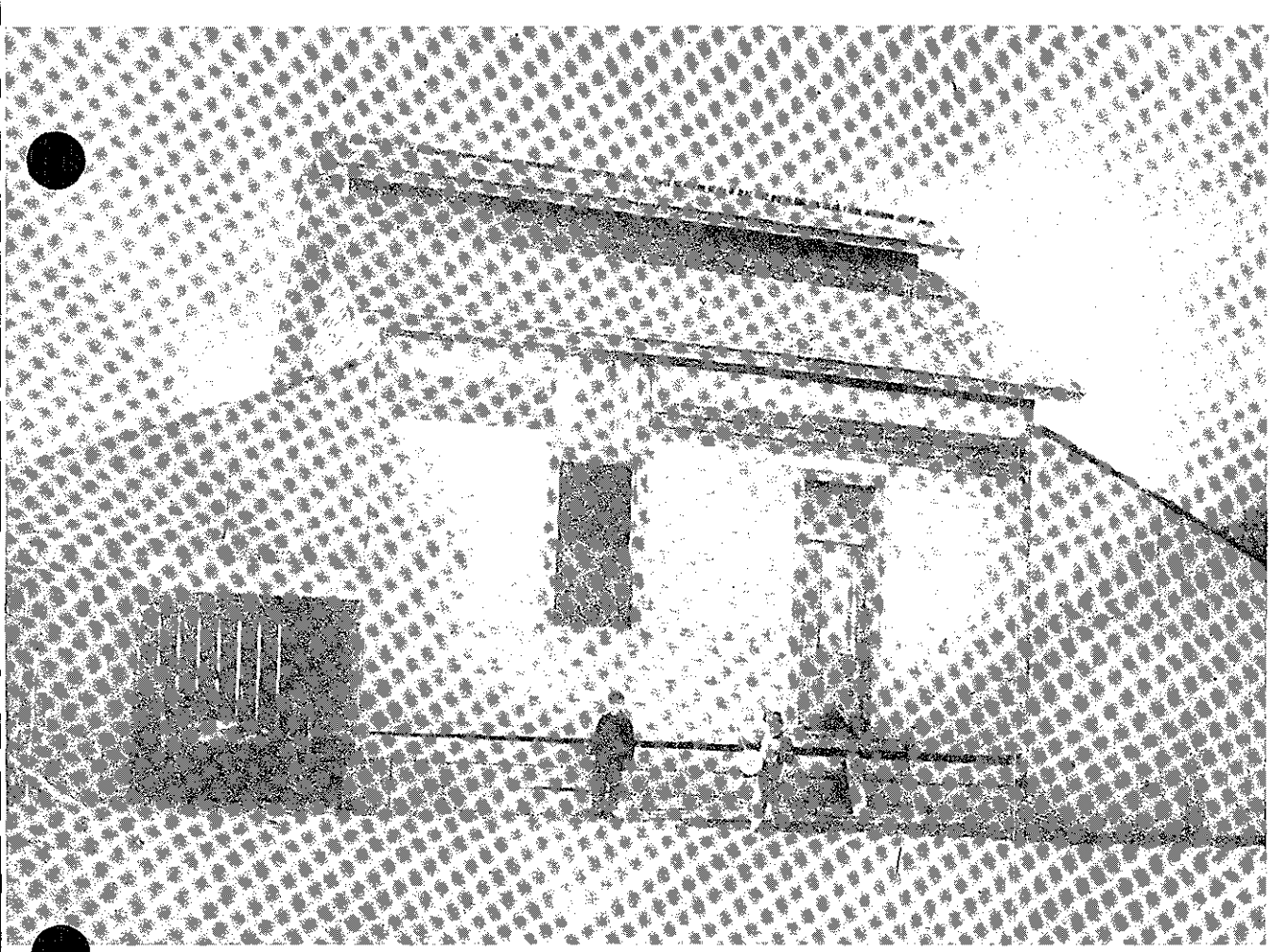
Courtesy, Pacific Northwest Collection,
University of Washington Library, Seattle.

9. Newer unit of hospital complex, American Camp (HS 13). In its late years it was used as a hay barn. This is probably the front (north) side, which had a covered porch. The wings are post-army. Date unknown.

Courtesy, San Juan Island, NHP.

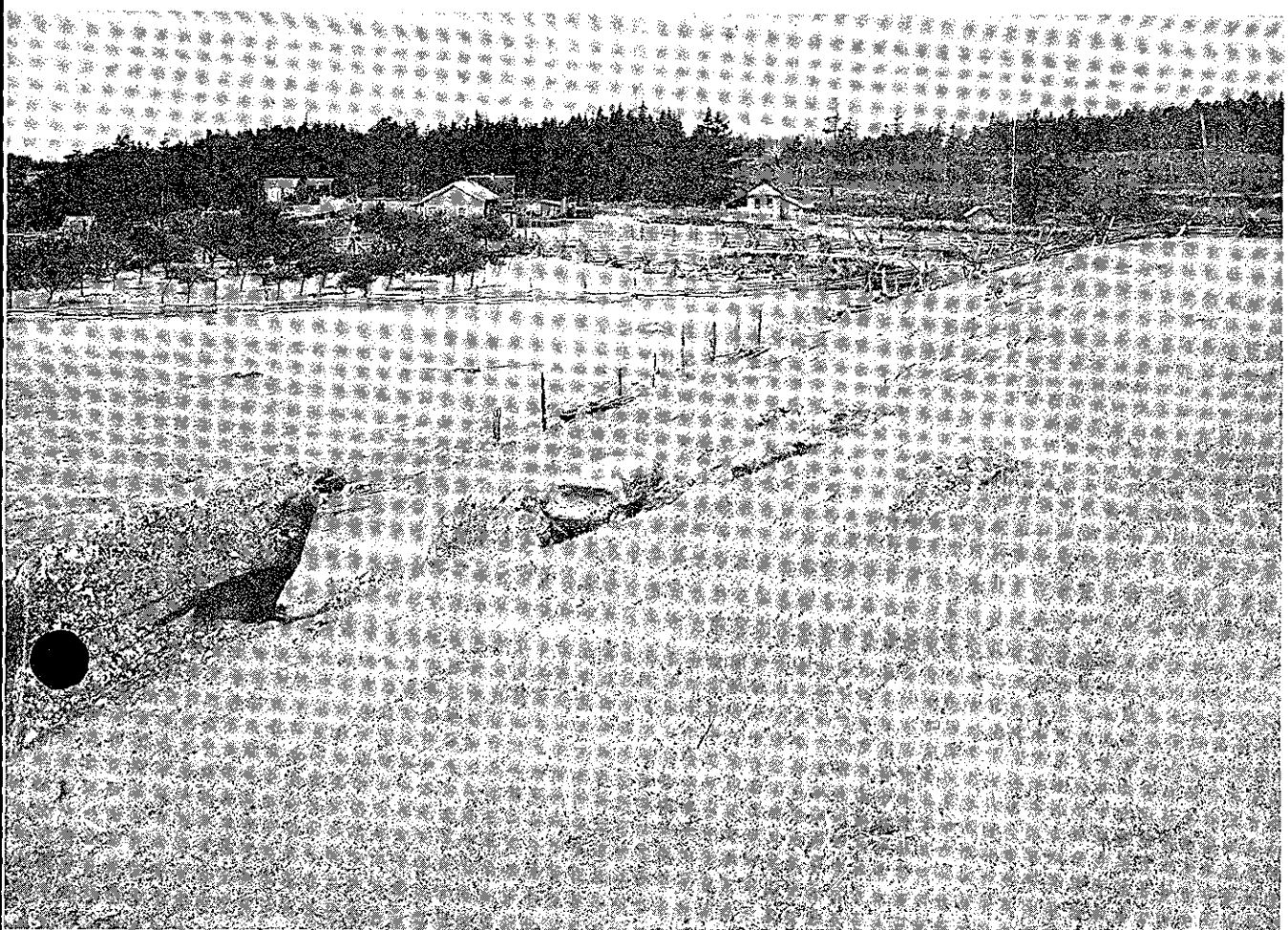






10. Redoubt parapet in foreground, looking toward site of American Camp. Date of photograph unknown, but most of the structures shown may date from army days. The small structure to the right cannot be identified. The lone structure in the center may be HS 13, hospital, but with a different combination of lean-tos than in No. 9, above. The 1 1/2-story building with the dark roof and white ridge may be the old commanding officers quarters, HS 8. The building this side of it may be HS 11 greatly modified or it may be the McRae house--if these are different structures. The two structures in the left background may be HS 16 (nearer), commissary storehouse, and HS 17, quartermaster storehouse. The building to the far left may be either HS 5 or HS 6, both laundresses quarters. Most of the fencing probably postdates the army period.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 12738.



11. Warbass house at Kwan Lamah, San Juan Island. Although claimed by some people to have been Pickett's quarters, it probably was the American Camp adjutant's office, HS 12. Photograph taken by Asahel Curtis for Prof. Edmund S. Meany. The insert is thought to be a photo of Warbass.

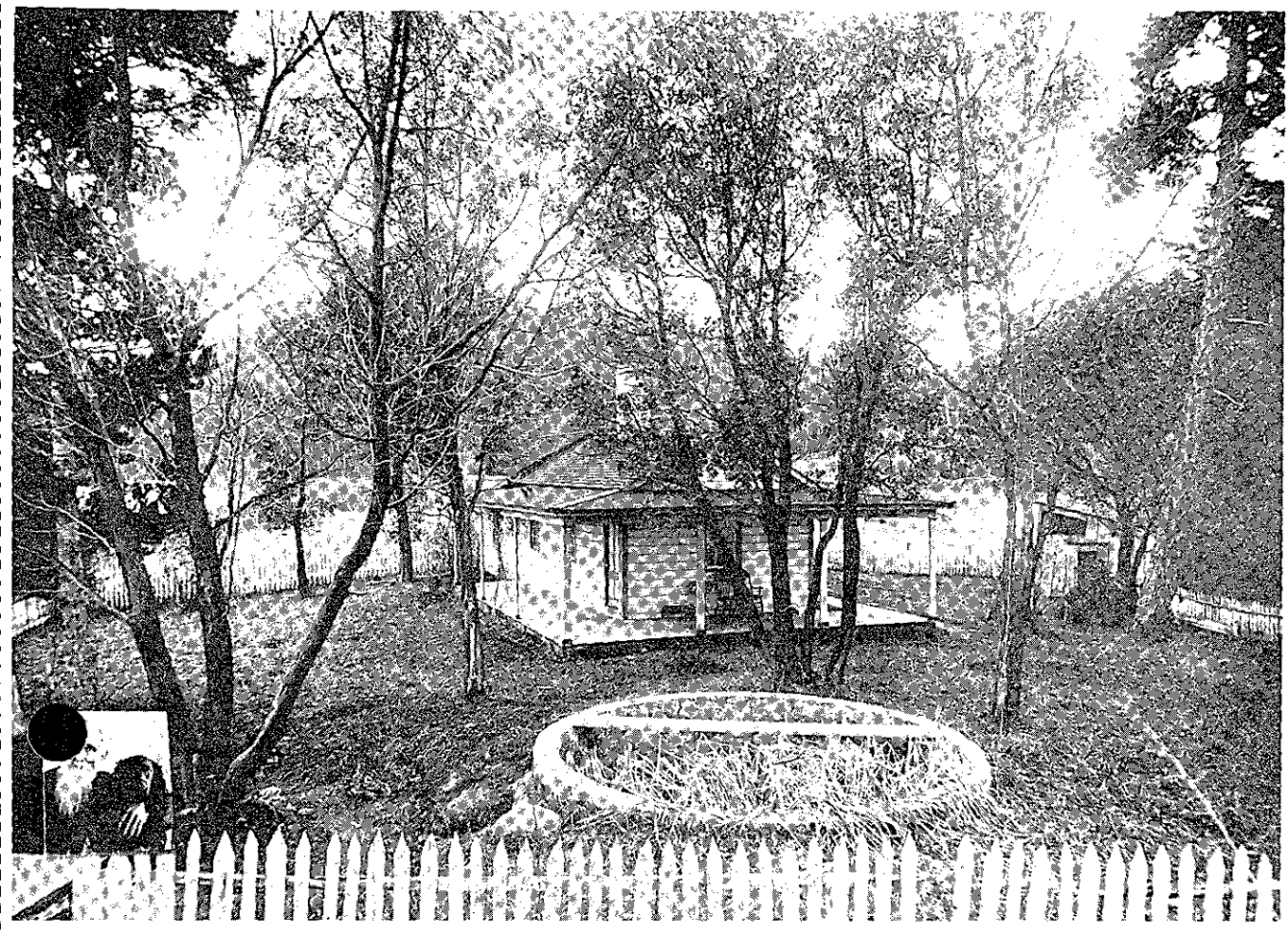
Courtesy, Washington State Historical Society
Curtis 5056A.

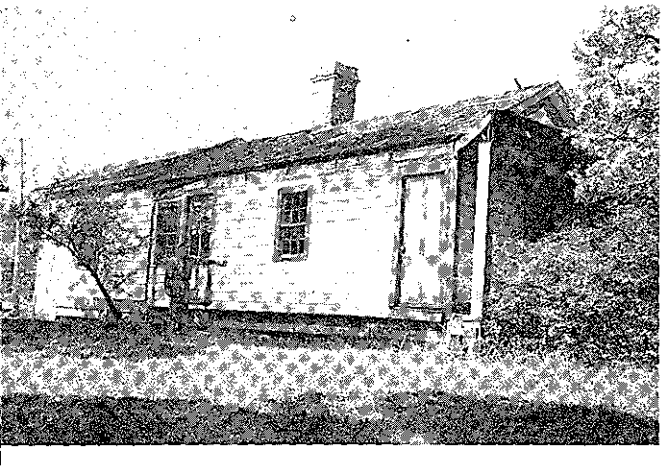
12. The Warbass house today. Traces of a former porch along the side may be seen. If this were the adjutant's office, the rear portion would be a later addition. Today's measurements of the front part do not coincide with those given by the Army.

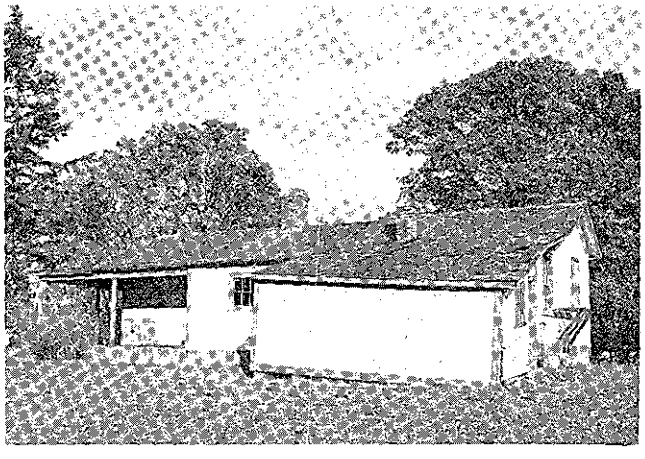
Photo by Carl Stoddard, NPS.

13. Another view of Warbass house today. The structure has deteriorated considerably.

Photo by Carl Stoddard, NPS.







14. Bellevue Farm, Hudson's Bay Company. 1859 watercolor by James W. Alden, U. S. Boundary Commission.

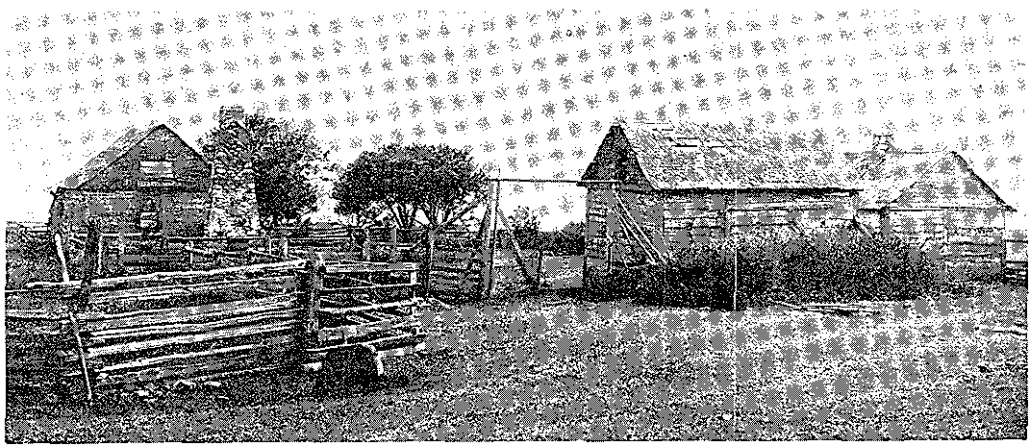
Courtesy, Washington State Historical Society. Alden Sketch Book, No. 27.

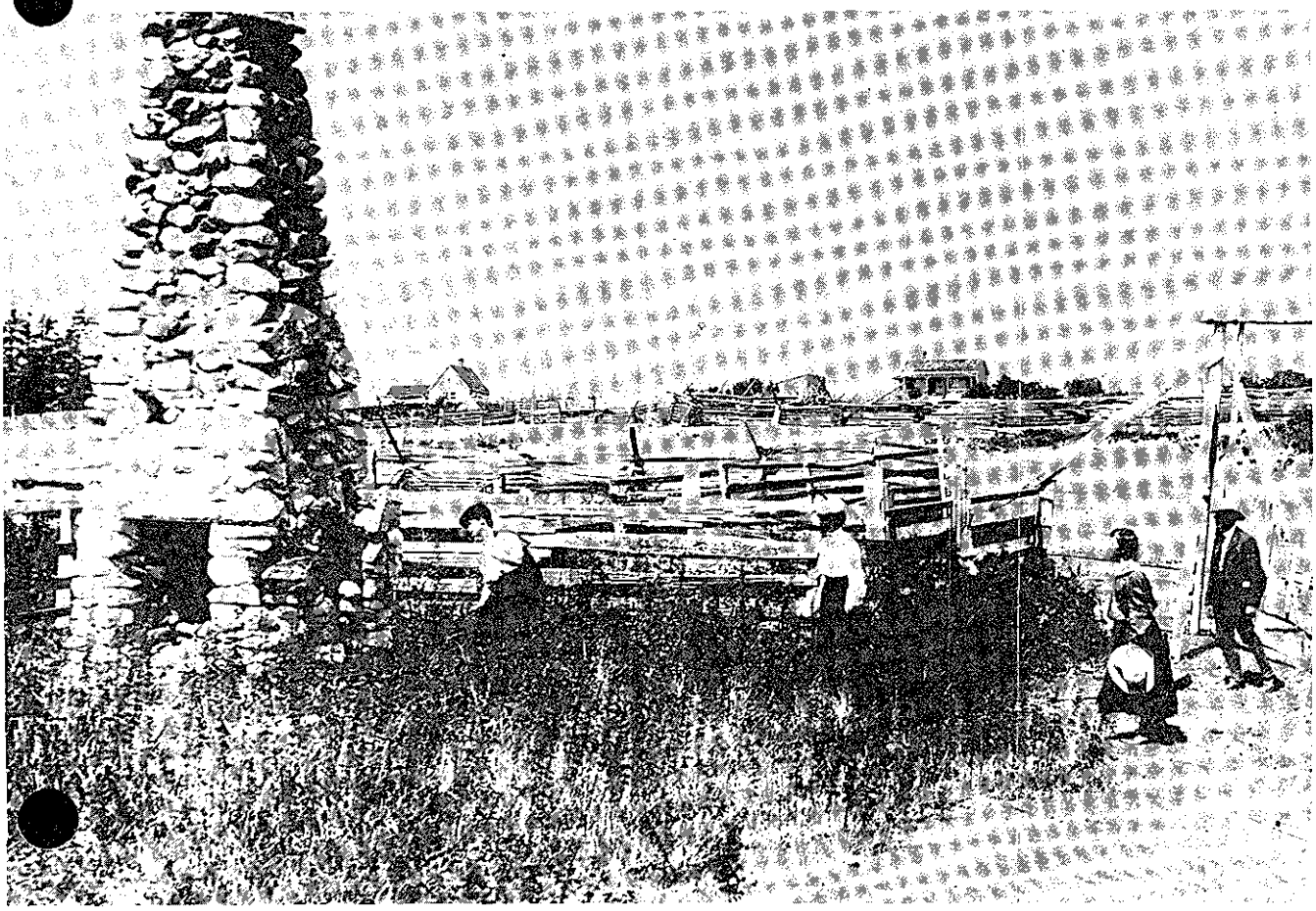
15. Bellevue Farm, date unknown.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, No. 23348.

16. Another view of Bellevue Farm, date unknown. The house to the right in the background is the McRae house. Its porch and front door are shown here to be now on the south side of the building.

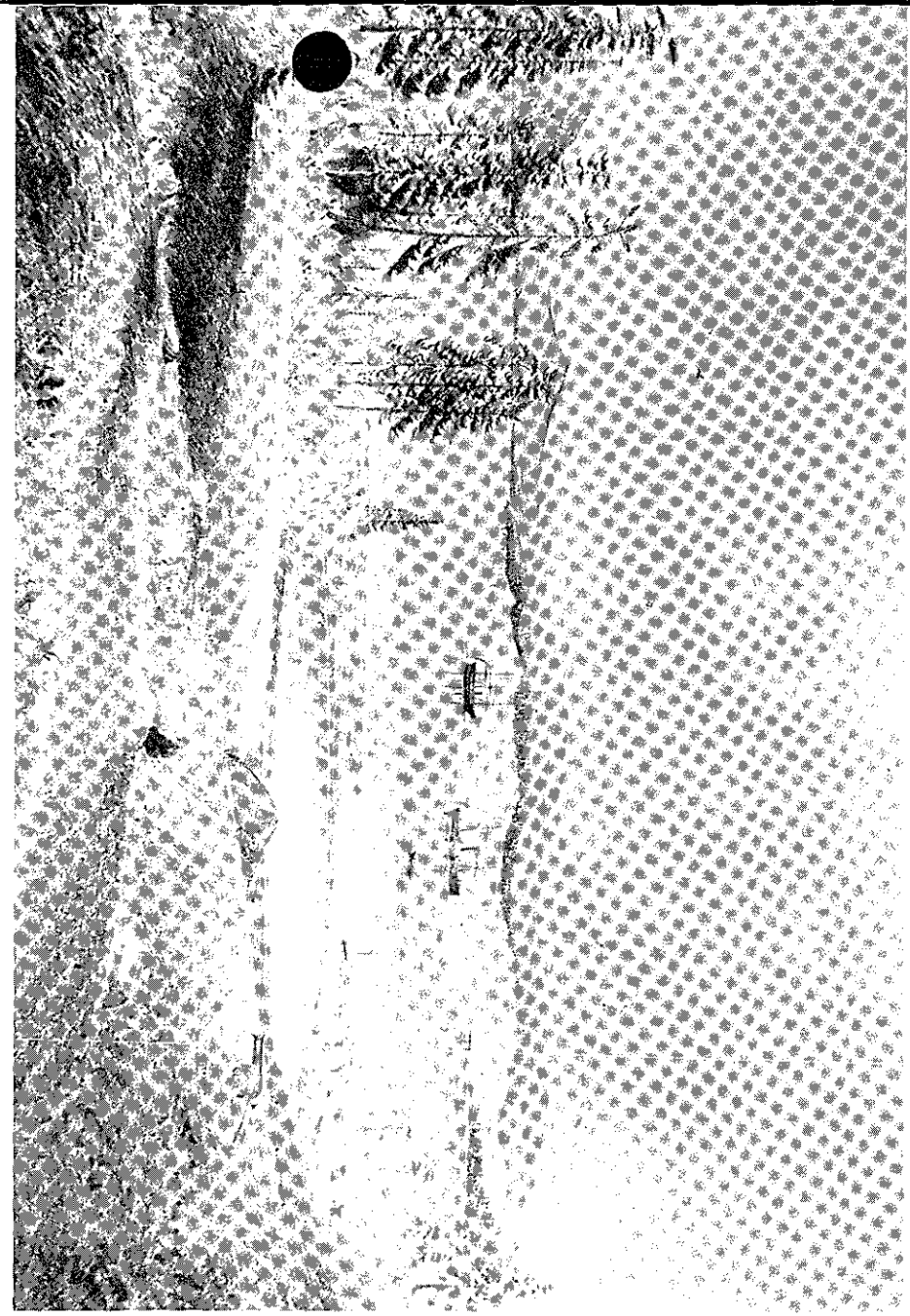
Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 23351.





17. James W. Alden's 1859 sketch of San Juan Harbor and San Juan Village. The artillery piece belongs to the Americans. The ship standing farther out is probably HMS Tribune or HMS Satellite.

Courtesy, National Archives, Washington, D. C.
RG 76, No. 4 1/2.



18. HMS Tribune, Captain Hornby's ship.

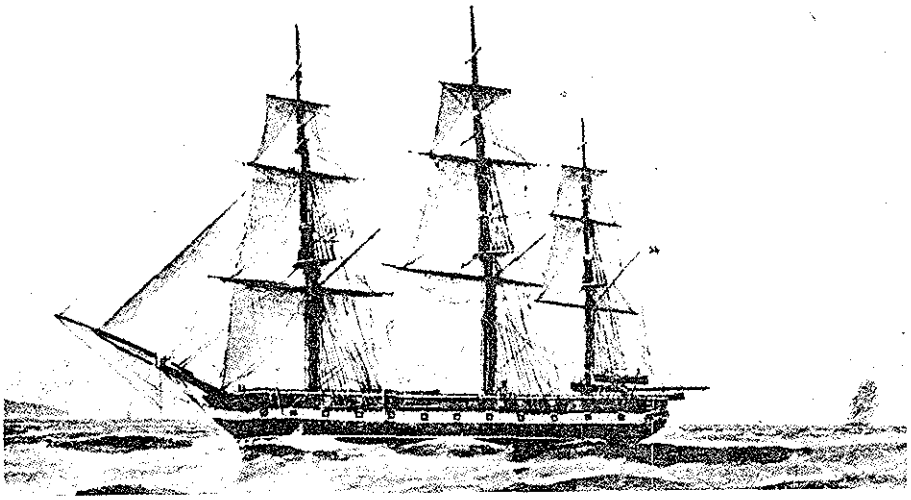
Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 31113.

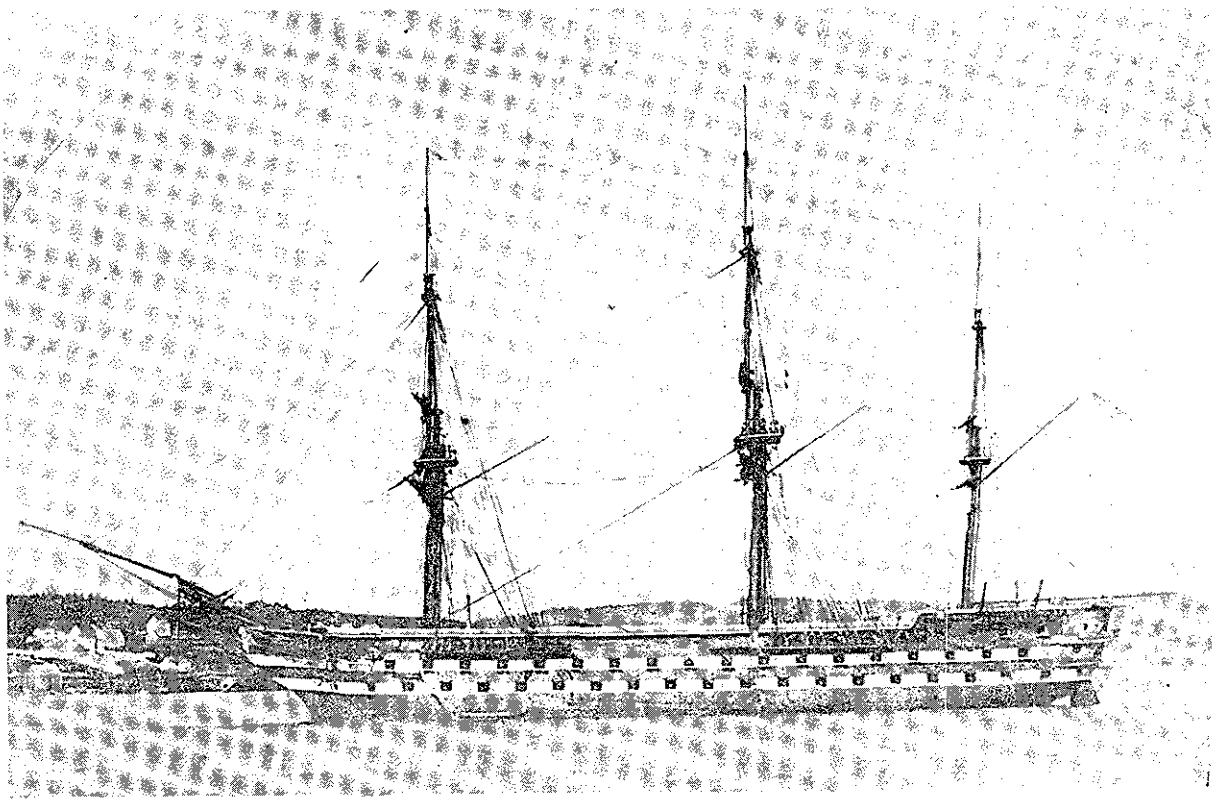
19. HMS Satellite, on left, and USS Active, at Semiahmoo Bay, the headquarters of the U. S. Boundary Commission, 18[illegible] Artist unknown.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 68774.

20. HMS Ganges, Admiral Baynes' flagship.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 18437.



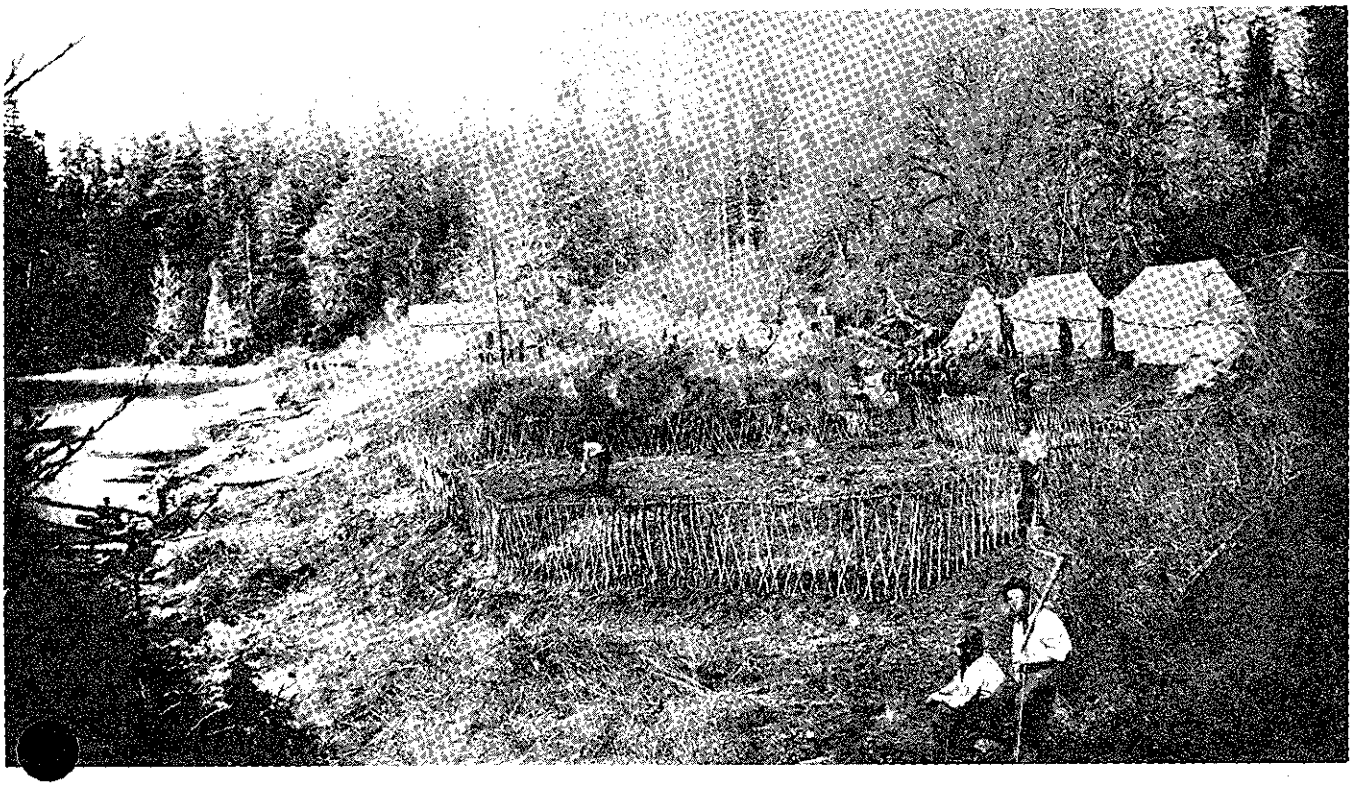


21. English Camp at an early date, probably right after its establishment in 1860. The storehouse has already been built. Later, a formal garden replaced the vegetable plot shown here.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 12720.

22. English Camp, August 1860. The storehouse is on the left, officers quarters on the ledge to the right. The marines are still in tents. Sketch by W. G. B. Willis.

Courtesy, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C14007.



23. Sketch of English Camp by unknown artist. Drawn before the new quarters were built in 1867. Photograph by Asahel Curtis. The original sketch, somewhat deteriorated, is now at San Juan Island NHP.

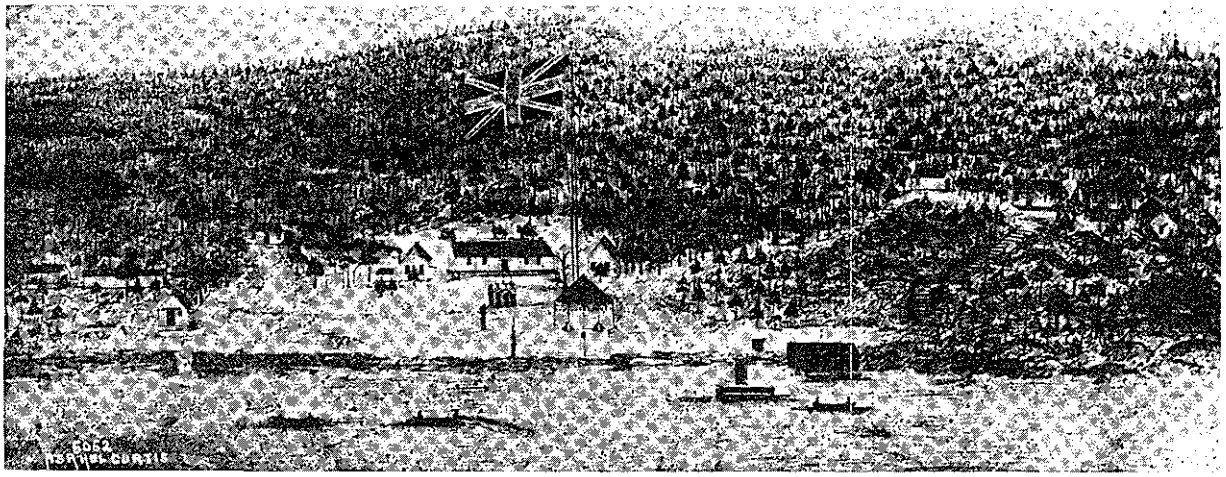
Courtesy, Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington Library, Seattle.

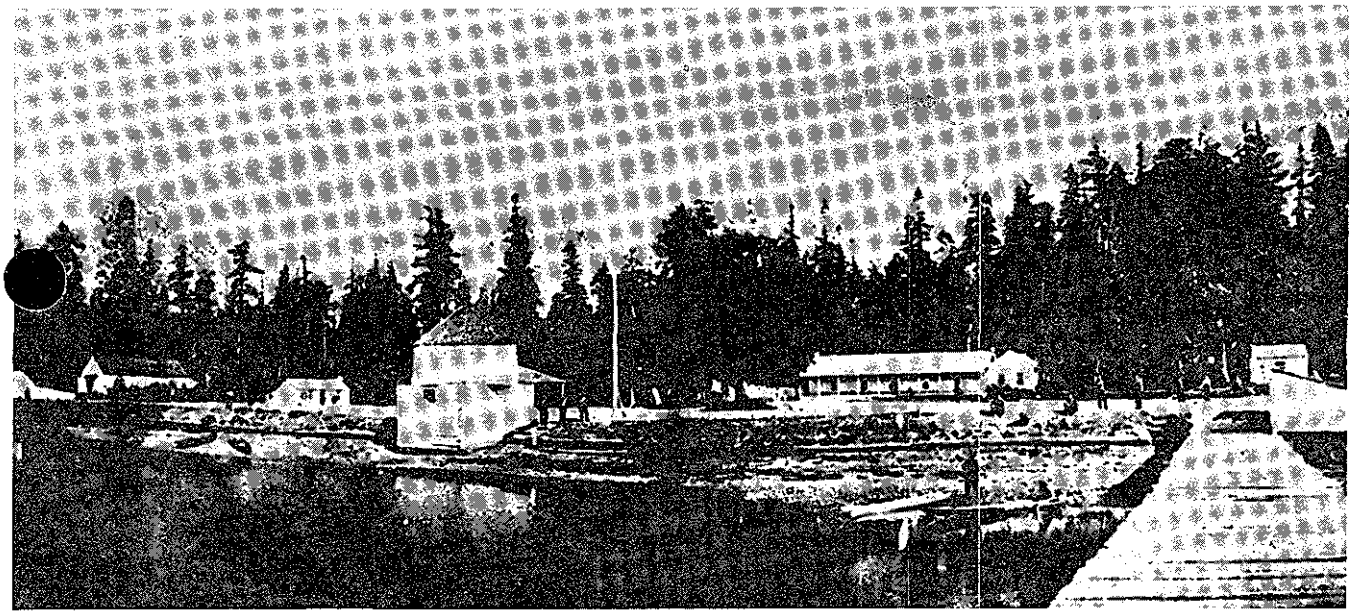
24. English Camp from end of wharf. Photo probably taken in early 1860s.

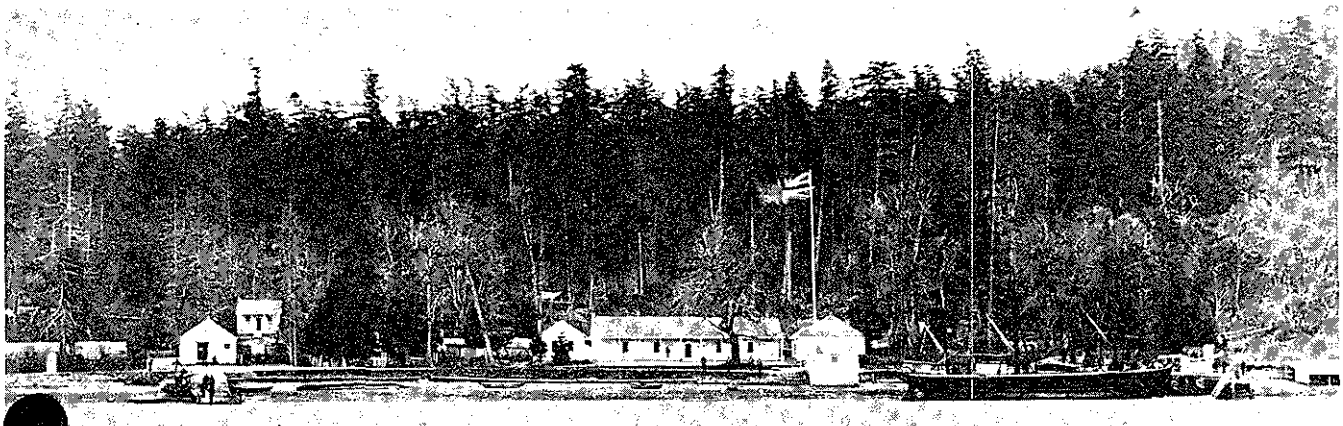
Courtesy, San Juan Island NHP.

25. Another view of English Camp from the bay. The row of structures on a ledge to the rear has not yet been built. Note the ball on top of the guardhouse roof.

Courtesy, Publich Archives of Canada, Ottawa C 25762.







26. Blockhouse, English Camp. Published in Coast in 1903. Note only four loopholes in second floor wall. The sketch, No. 23 above, show six.

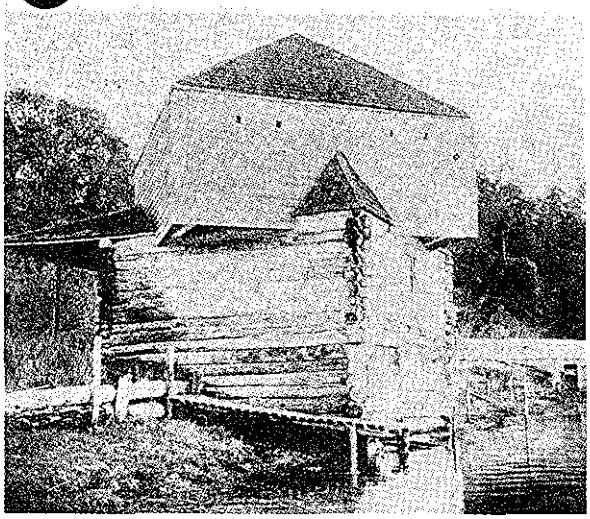
Courtesy, Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington Library Seattle.

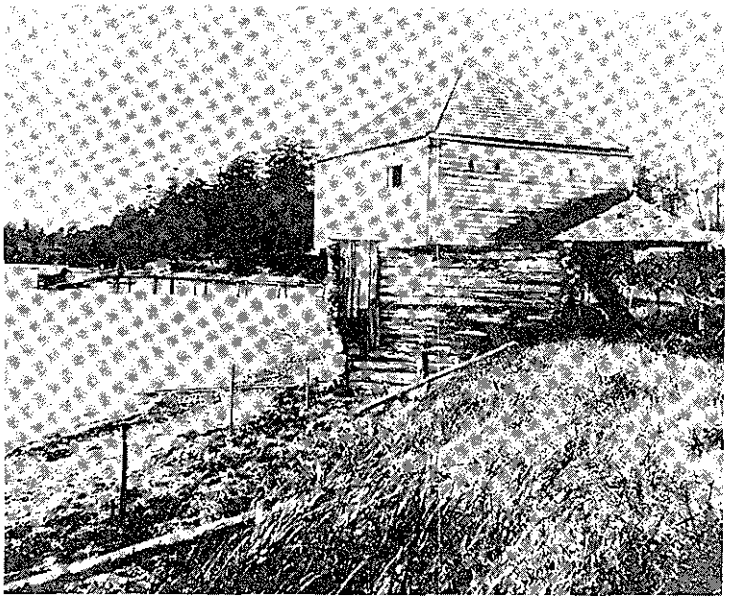
27. Another view of the English Camp guardhouse. Date of photo unknown, although deterioration has set in. The number of loopholes, etc., in the different walls probably changed from time to time over the years as repairs were made.

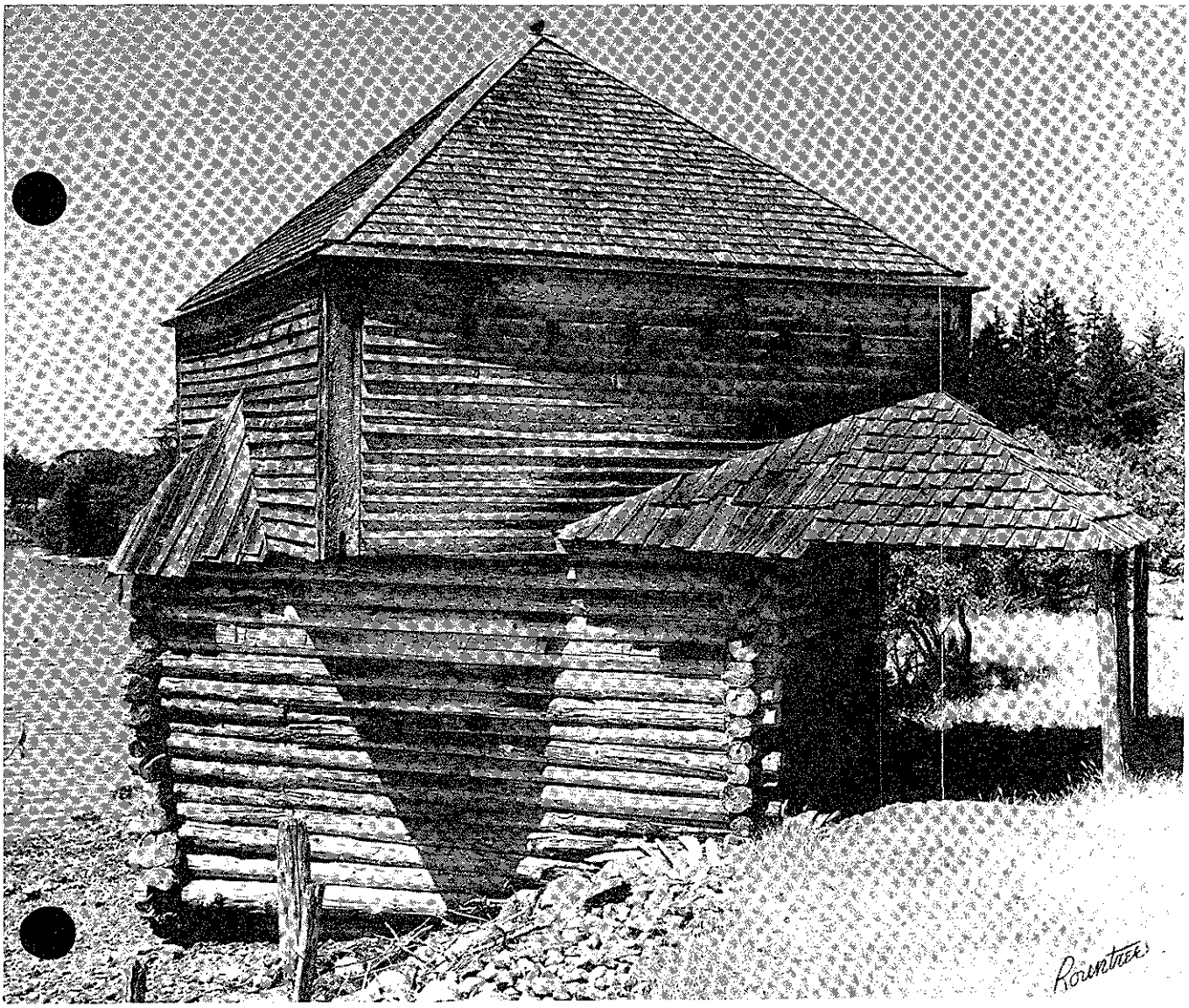
Courtesy, Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington Library, Seattle.

28. Undated photo of English Camp guardhouse, showing six loopholes in the wall. Since the ball is still on top of the roof, this is probably the oldest of the photographs of this structure.

Courtesy, San Juan Island NHP





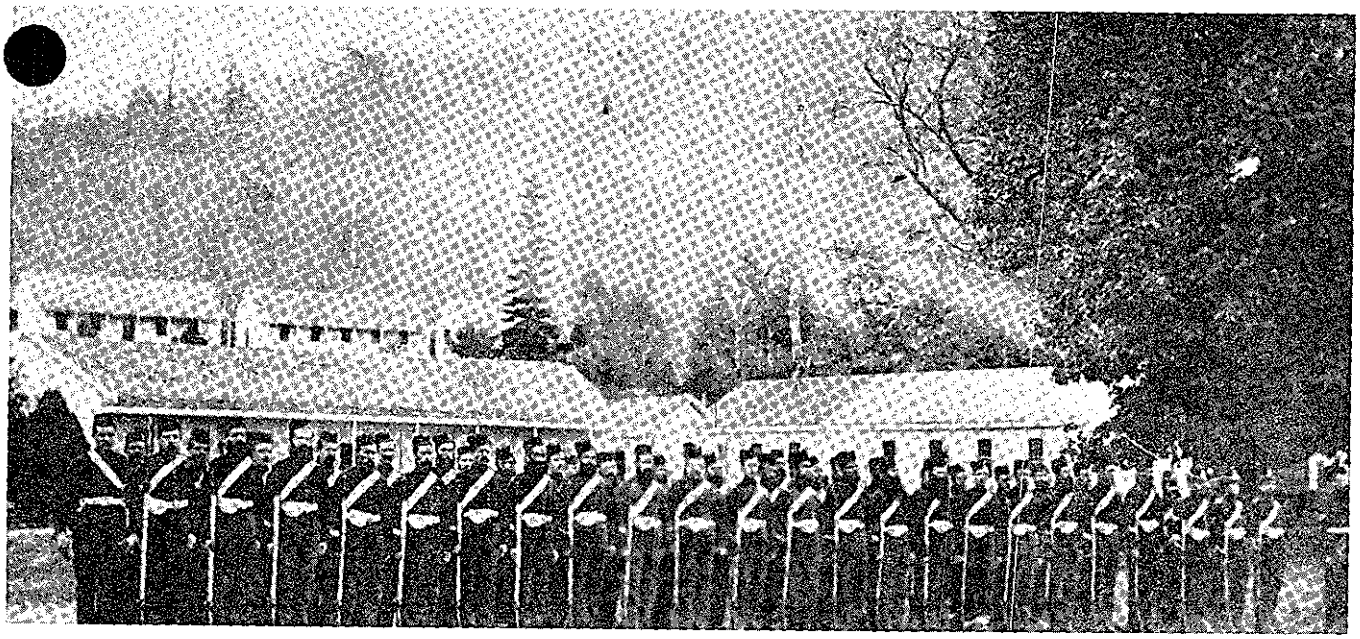

ROUNTREE

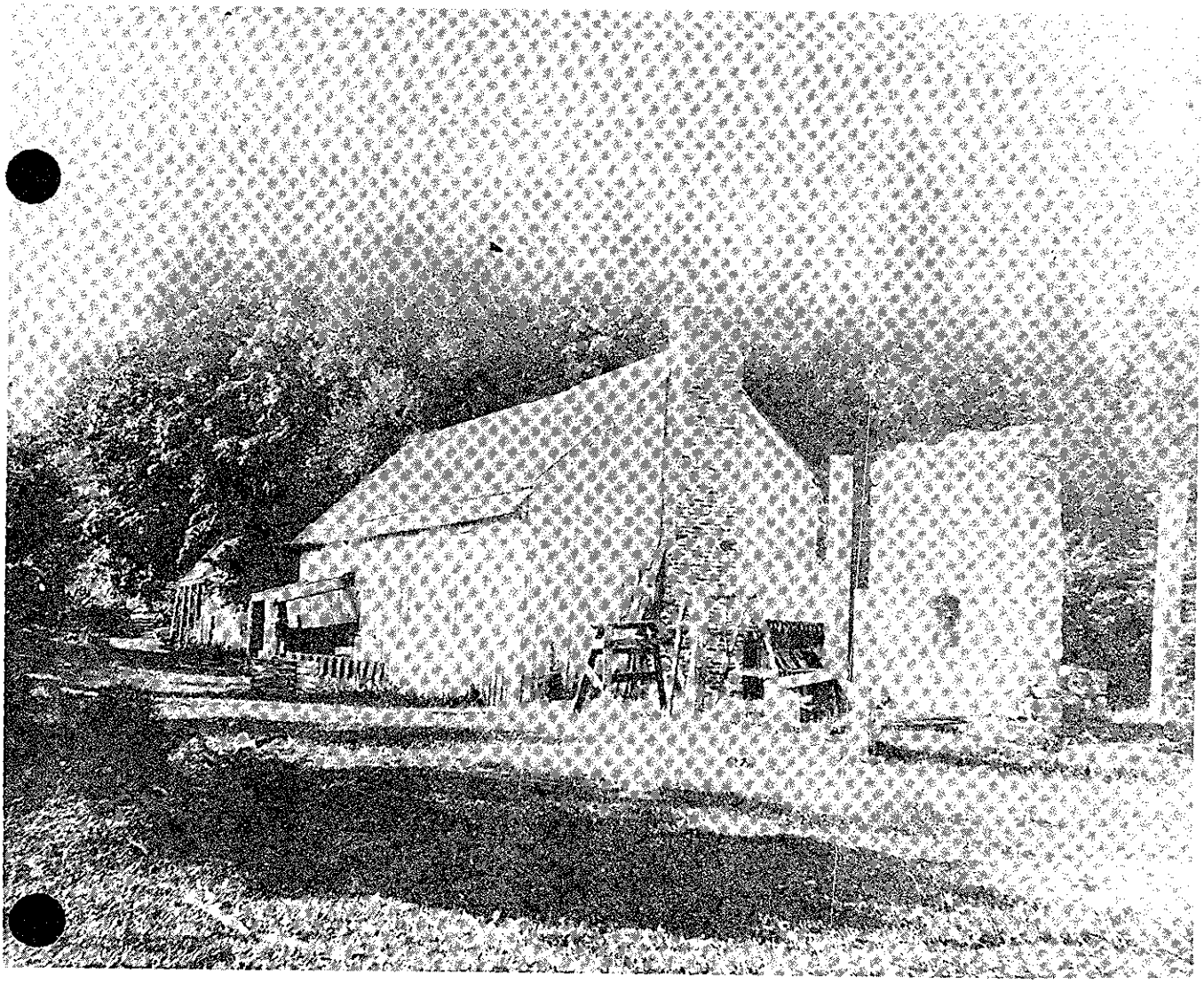
29. Royal Marines on parade in front of the barracks at English Camp. The presence of the row of structures at the rear indicates that this pictures was taken in the late 1860s or early 1870s.

Courtesy, San Juan Island NHP.

30. Rear of the row of structures on the ledge at the back of English Camp. On the right stands part of the forge of the former balcksmith shop. The structure next to it is believed to have been the new mess house, HS 21. Beyond it was the school-library-reading room building, HS 22. Date unknown.

Courtesy, Pacific Northwest Collections, Univers of Washington Library, Seattle.



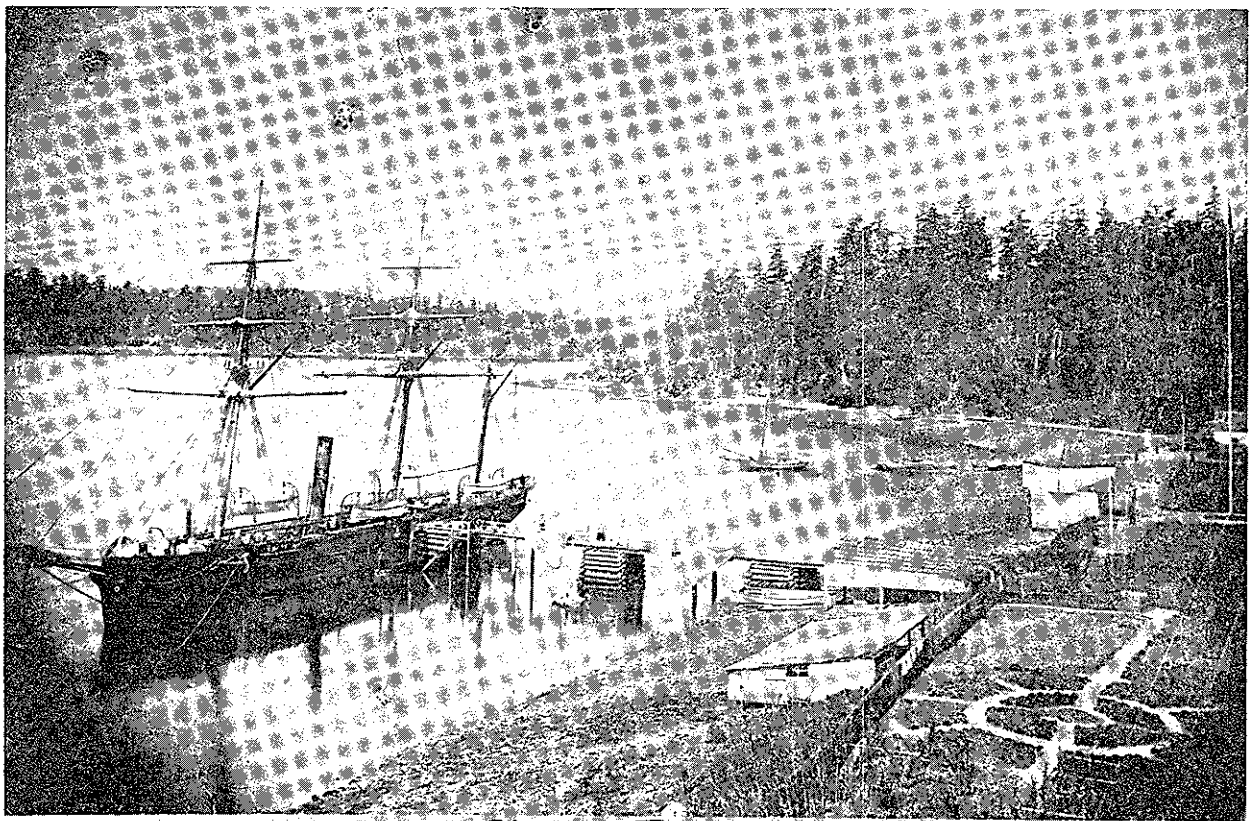


31. English Camp, date unknown. Note formal garden that lay at the foot of the steps leading up to the officers quarters. Archeologists have uncovered the base of the former flagstaff. The number of loopholes in the guard-house here seems to be down to two to a side.

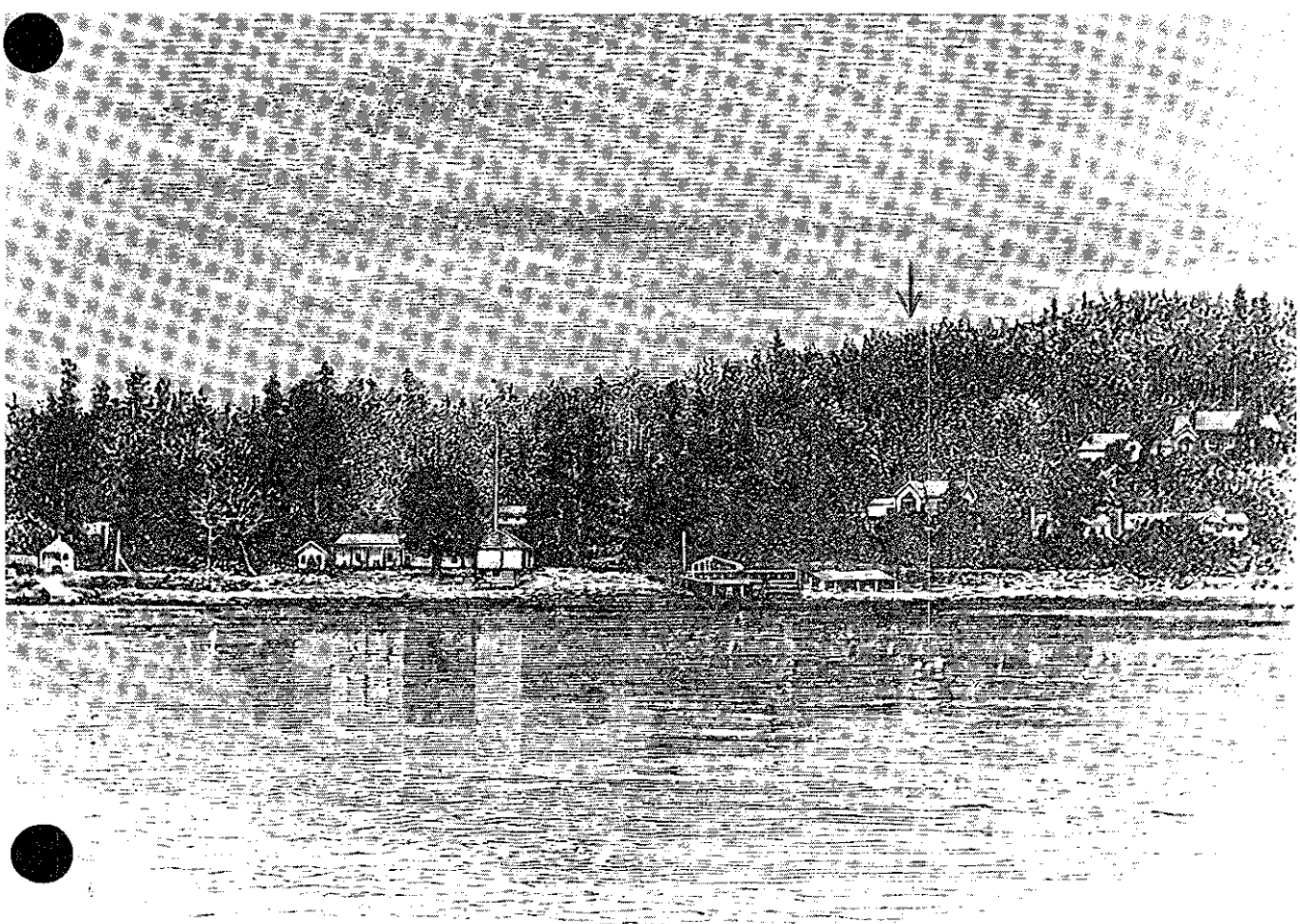
Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 14348.

32. Undated engraving of English Camp. The arrow points to the new married subaltern's quarters, built in 1867. is the only picture of this structure yet found.

Courtesy, San Juan Island NHP.



San Juan.

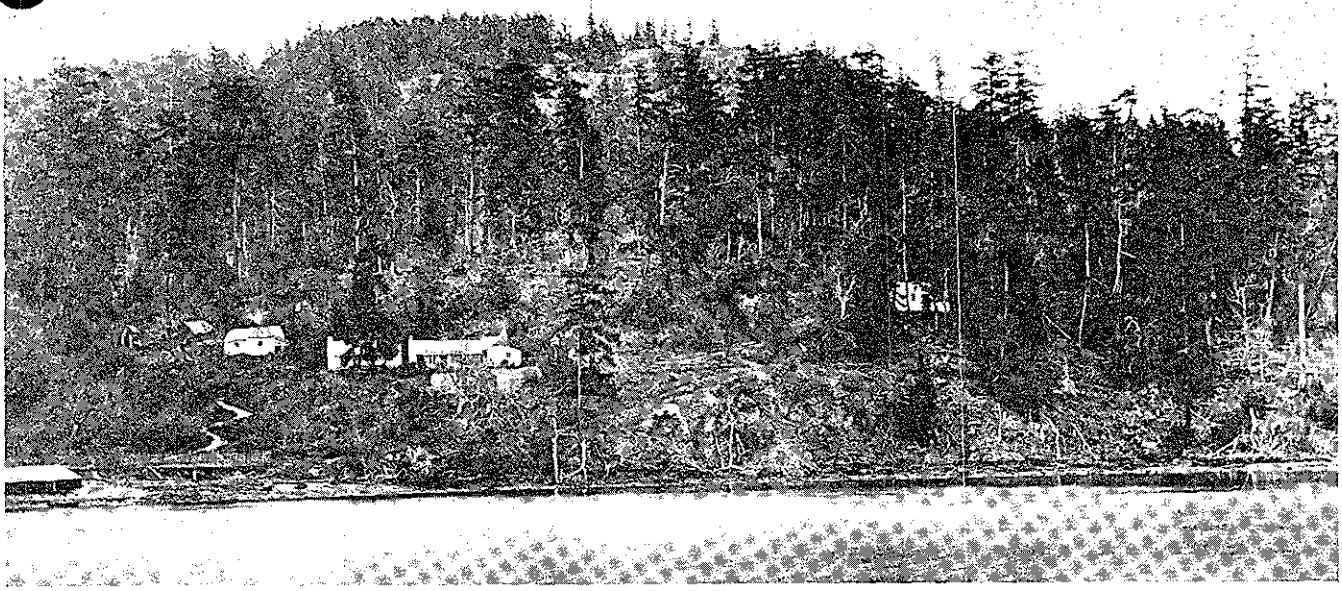


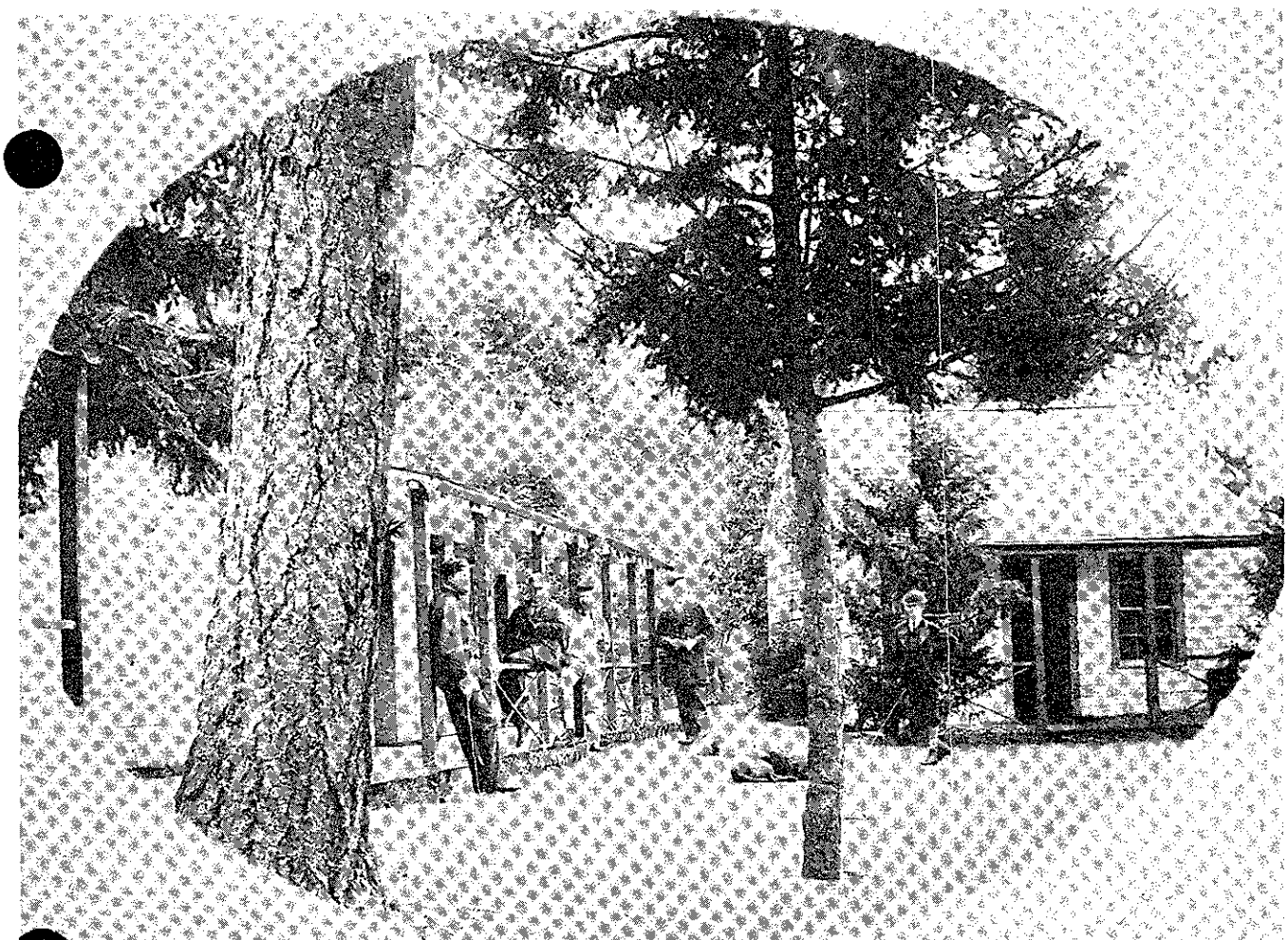
33. Officer's area, English Camp, before the construction of new quarters in 1867. The function of the building on the far right is unknown, but it may have been the first house for the commanding officer. Similarly, the white house to the left, above the path, may have been the early house for the married subaltern.

Courtesy, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C 37860.

34. To the right is the assistant surgeon's house, English Camp. The building on the left is either the officers mess or the bachelor subaltern's quarters. Another print of this photo identifies this latter structure as the mess. The gentleman on the left is Captain Delacombe. The boy on the right is his son. The men in the center have been identified as Dr. Redfern and Dr. Potter, both of the Royal Navy, and Post Sutler Hoffmeister.

Courtesy, Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia. No. 14349.



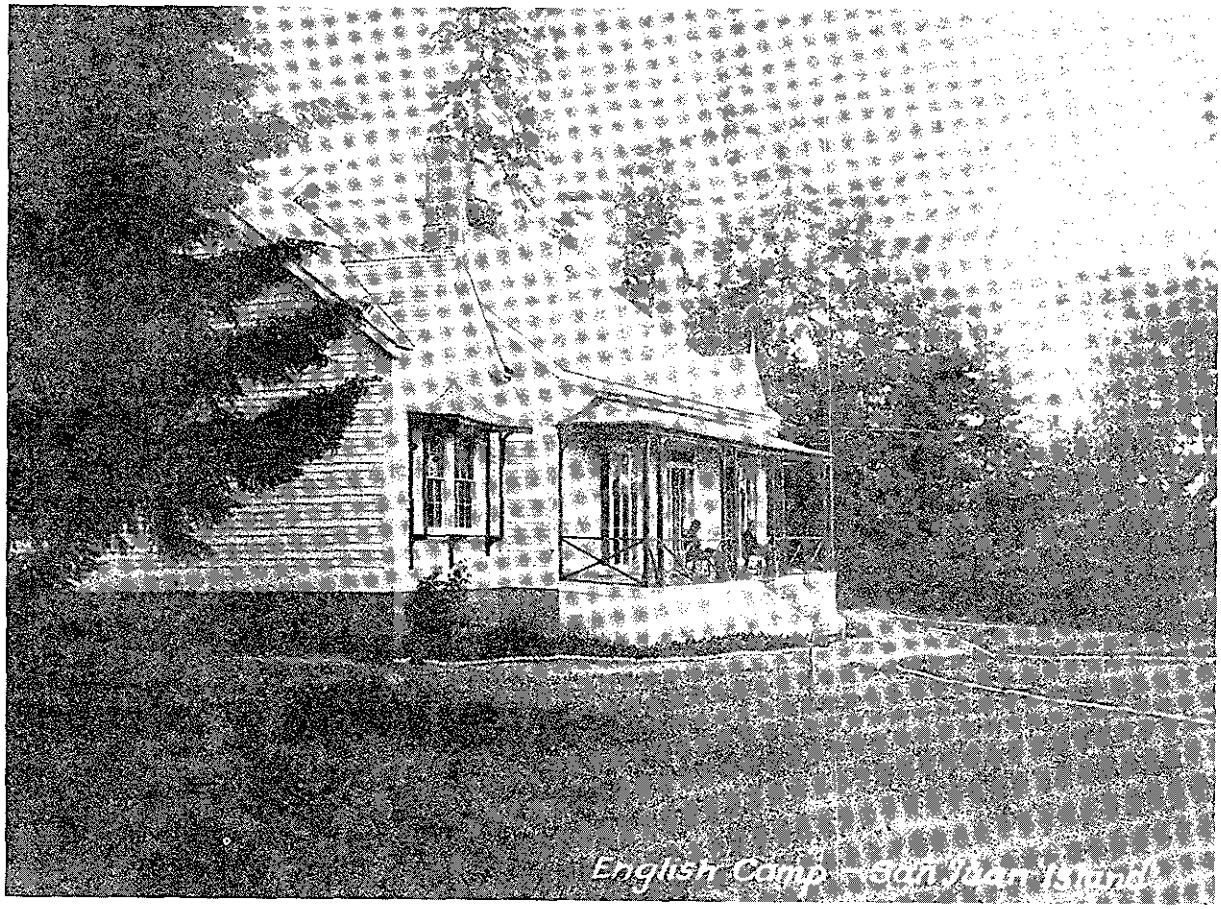


35. The new commanding officer's quarters at English Camp, built in 1867.

Courtesy, San Juan Island NHP.

36. Another view of Captain Delacombe's new quarters. Photo said to have been taken by Asahel Curtis for Professor Meany.

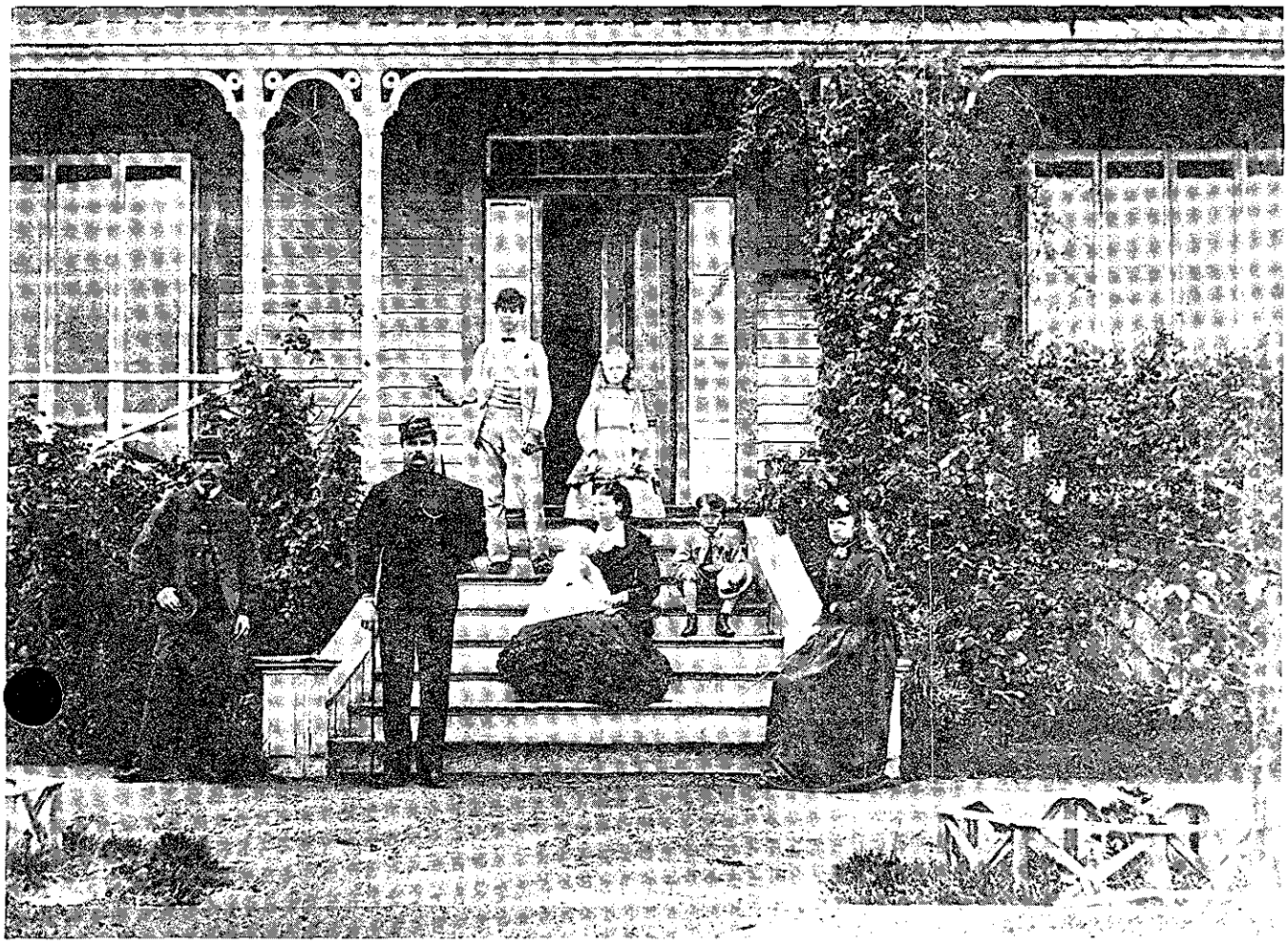
Courtesy, Washington State Historical Society
Curtis 5059 A.



English Camp - San Juan Island

37. Undated photograph of Captain Delacombe and his family on steps of his quarters. One wonders if the baby was born at English Camp--the Delacombes were said to have had three children when they arrived. The man and the woman to the left and right have not been identified.

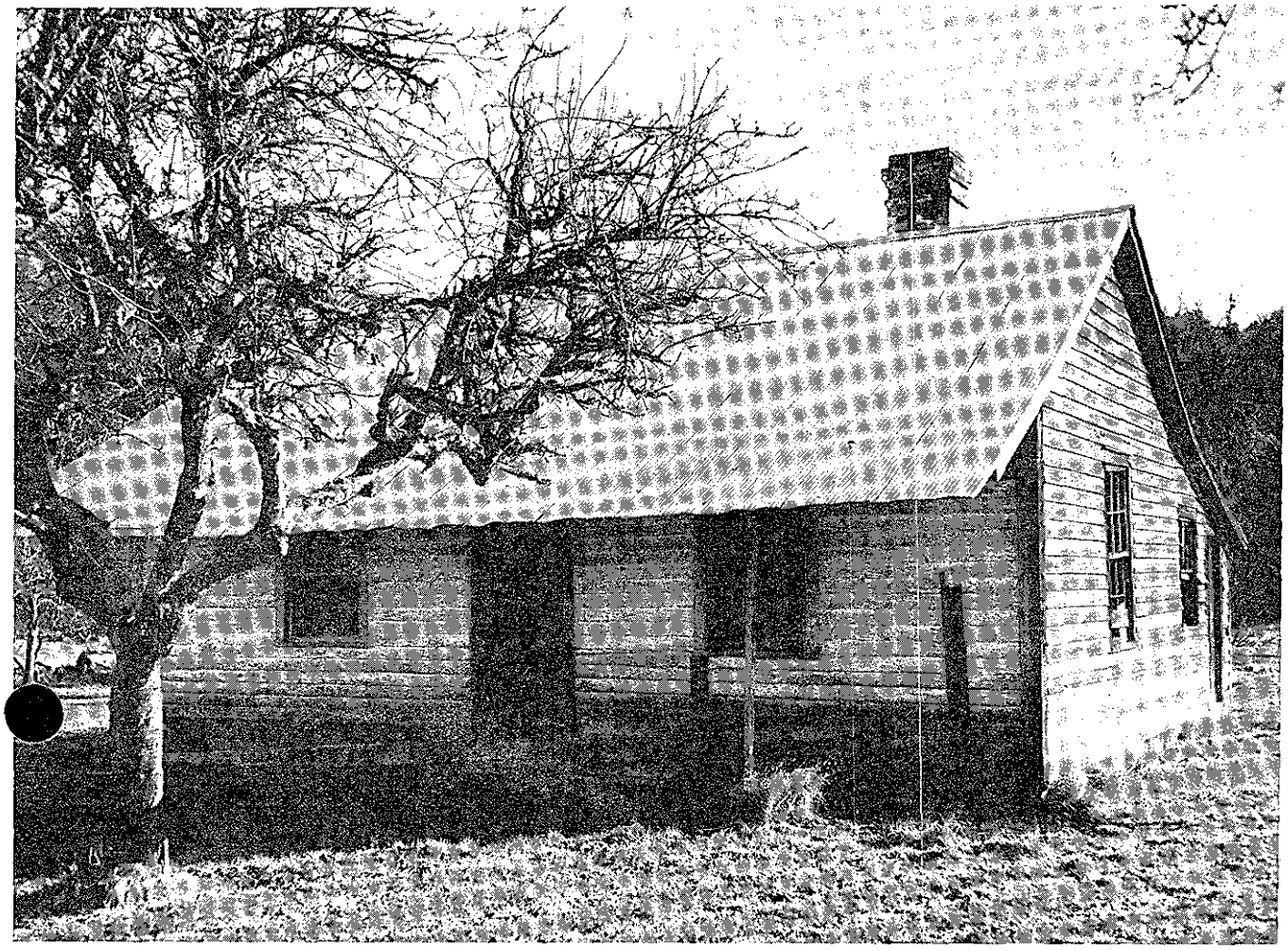
Courtesy, San Juan Island NHP.

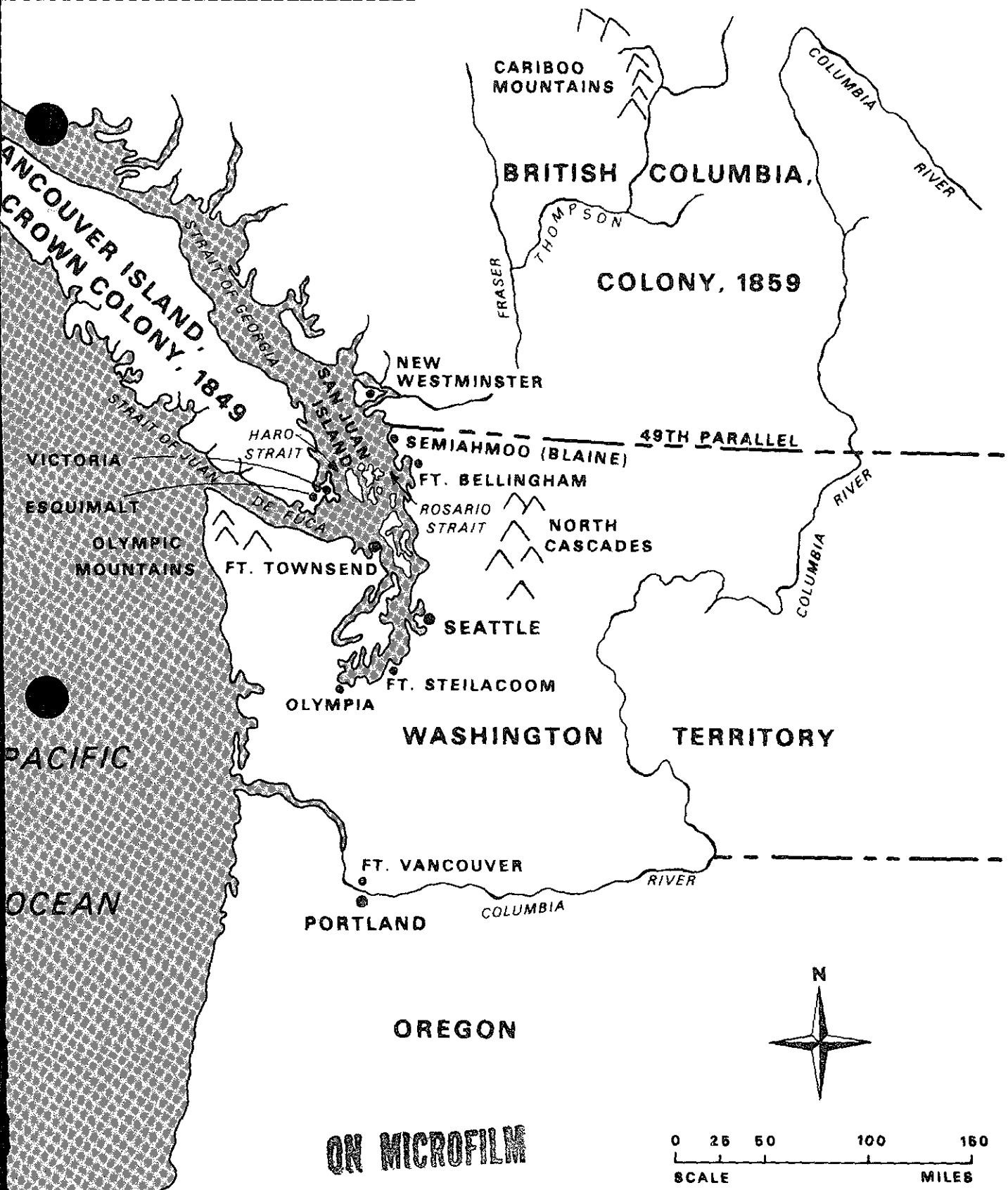


38. Grave No. 7, English Camp cemetery. This was the grave of the first Royal Marine to die on San Juan: Cp. George Stewart, 1863.

39. Structure on the Lawson farm, San Juan Island, that is supposed to have come from English Camp where it served as a hospital building.

Photo by Carl Stoddard, NPS





ON MICROFILM

PACIFIC NORTHWEST 1859

438/28010

MAP NO. 1

LEGEND

1 BLOCKHOUSE
2 BARRACKS
3 STOREHOUSE
4 BLACKSMITH SHOP
5 CAPTAIN'S QUARTERS
6 MARRIED SUBALTERN
7 SURGEON
8 SINGLE SUBALTERN
9 OFFICERS' MESS
10 BARRACKS
11 WASH & BATH HOUSE
12 WASH & BATH HOUSE
13 WELL
14 WELL
15 UNIDENTIFIED
16 UNIDENTIFIED
17 UNIDENTIFIED
18 POSSIBLY HOSPITAL
19, 20 STABLE & STOREHOUSE
21 MESSHOUSE
22 SCHOOL & LIBRARY
23 CARPENTER & SAWMILL
24 WHARF
25 PIER
26 POSSIBLY STORAGE SHED
27 POSSIBLY BOAT HOUSE
28 FORMAL GARDEN
29 SENTRY BOX
30 SENTRY BOX
31 UNIDENTIFIED
32 UNIDENTIFIED
33 UNIDENTIFIED
34 UNIDENTIFIED
35 FLAGSTAFF
36 CEMETERY
37 BIRDHOUSE

MT. YOUNG (YOUNG HILL)
(GAZEBO ON TOP)

36

PASTURE

CULTIVATED, 1869

UNFINISHED GOVERNMENT ROAD 1874

ROAD TO AMERICAN CAMP →

HOFFMEISTER FARM

ROAD TO TELEGRAPH STATION →

GUSS ISLAND

HARRISON BAY

ON MICROFILM

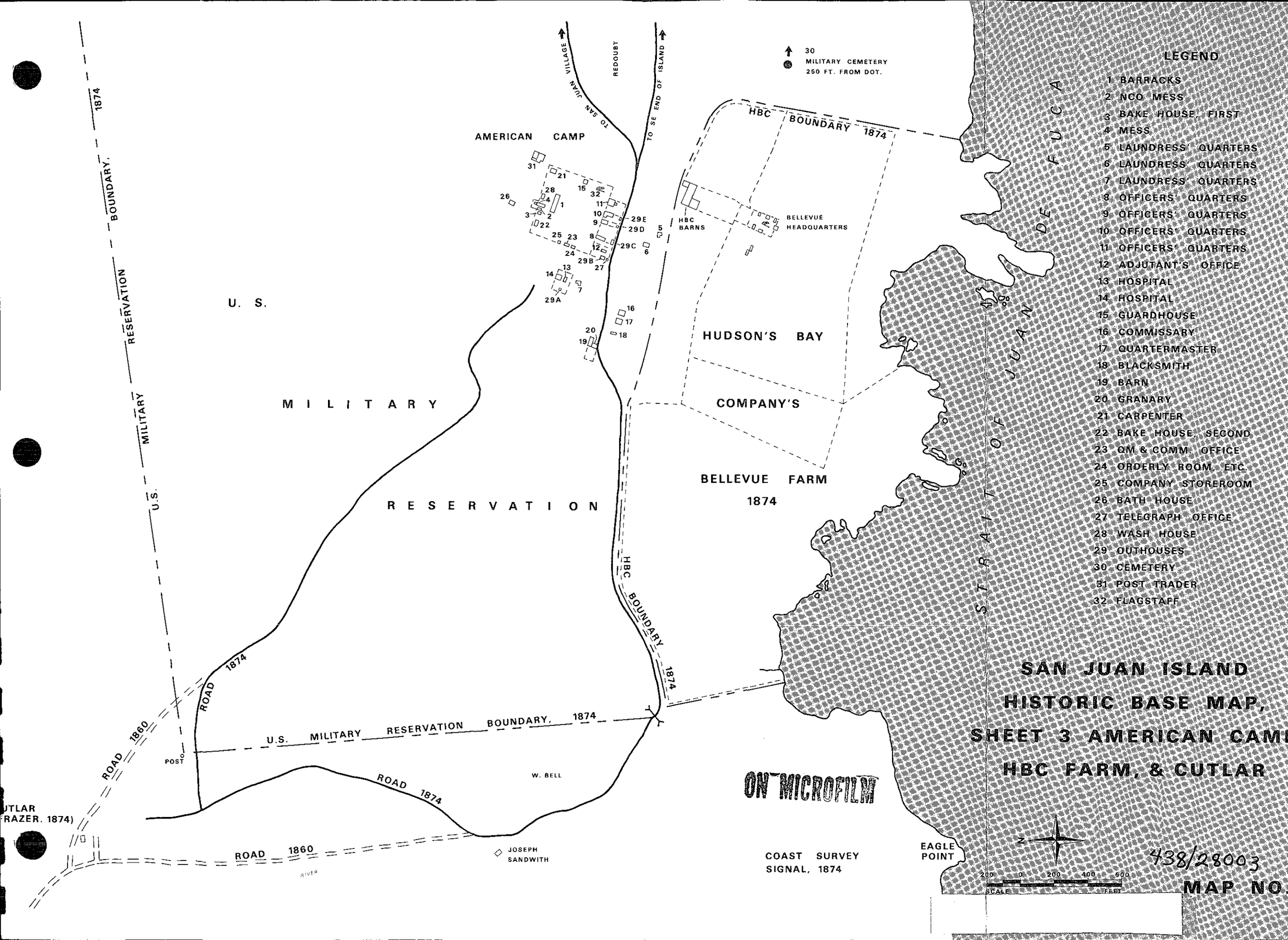
N

200 0 200 400
SCALE FE

SAN JUAN ISLAND
HISTORIC BASE MAP,
SHEET 2, ENGLISH CAMP

393/28,002

MAP NO


AMERICAN CAMP
VILLAGE
TO SAN JUAN
REDOUBT
TO SE END OF ISLAND
30
MILITARY CEMETERY
250 FT. FROM DOT.
HBC BOUNDARY 1874
HBC BARNS
BELLEVUE HEADQUARTERS
HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY'S
BELLEVUE FARM
1874
U. S.
MILITARY
RESERVATION
BOUNDARY, 1874
U.S.
R E S E R V A T I O N
ROAD 1874
ROAD 1860
U.S. MILITARY RESERVATION BOUNDARY, 1874
HBC BOUNDARY 1874
POST
W. BELL
ROAD 1874
ROAD 1860
JOSEPH SANDWITH
RIVER
UTLAR
FRAZER, 1874)
COAST SURVEY
SIGNAL, 1874
EAGLE POINT
OF JUAN DE FUCA STRAIT
LEGEND
1 BARRACKS
2 NCO MESS
3 BAKE HOUSE, FIRST
4 MESS
5 LAUNDRESS' QUARTERS
6 LAUNDRESS' QUARTERS
7 LAUNDRESS' QUARTERS
8 OFFICERS' QUARTERS
9 OFFICERS' QUARTERS
10 OFFICERS' QUARTERS
11 OFFICERS' QUARTERS
12 ADJUTANT'S OFFICE
13 HOSPITAL
14 HOSPITAL
15 GUARDHOUSE
16 COMMISSARY
17 QUARTERMASTER
18 BLACKSMITH
19 BARN
20 GRANARY
21 CARPENTER
22 BAKE HOUSE, SECOND
23 QM & COMM. OFFICE
24 ORDERLY ROOM, ETC.
25 COMPANY STOREROOM
26 BATH HOUSE
27 TELEGRAPH OFFICE
28 WASH HOUSE
29 OUTHOUSES
30 CEMETERY
31 POST TRADER
32 FLAGSTAFF
SAN JUAN ISLAND
HISTORIC BASE MAP,
SHEET 3 AMERICAN CAMP
HBC FARM, & CUTLAR
ON MICROFILM
N
200 0 200 400 600
SCALE FEET
438/28003
MAP NO.

GRIFFIN BAY

BOYES' CLAIM

LAGOON

LAGOON

HBC WHARF

STORE

GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT

HOTEL

SAN JUAN

POST

BARN

WEEKES HOUSE

BLAZED TREE

MILITARY RESERVATION

← TO AMERICAN CAMP

← TO AMERICAN CAMP

TO SE END OF ISLAND →

SAN JUAN ISLAND
HISTORIC BASE MAP,
SHEET 4 SAN JUAN VILLAGE, 1874

ON MICROFILM

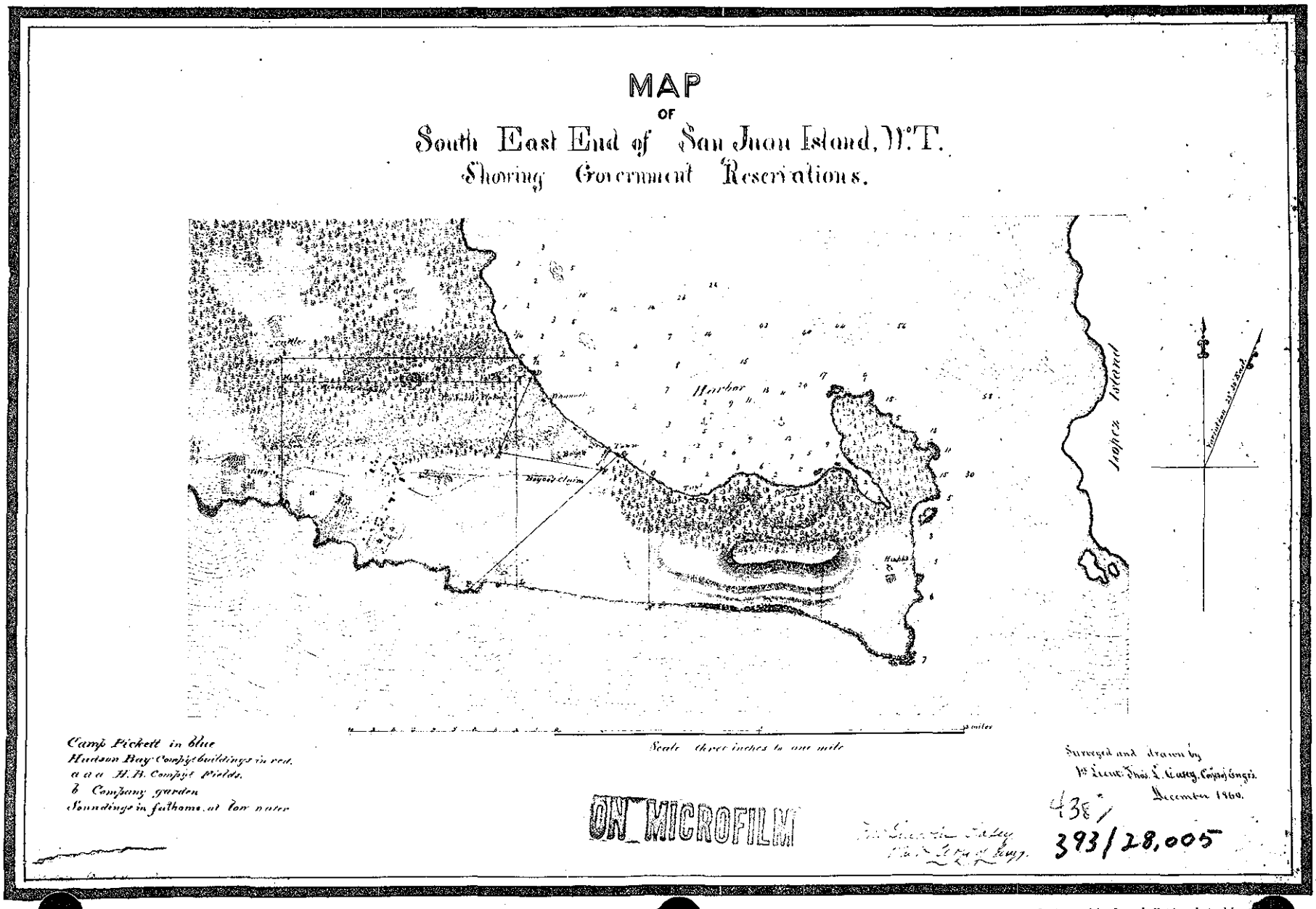
N

200 0 200 400

SCALE FEE

438/28004

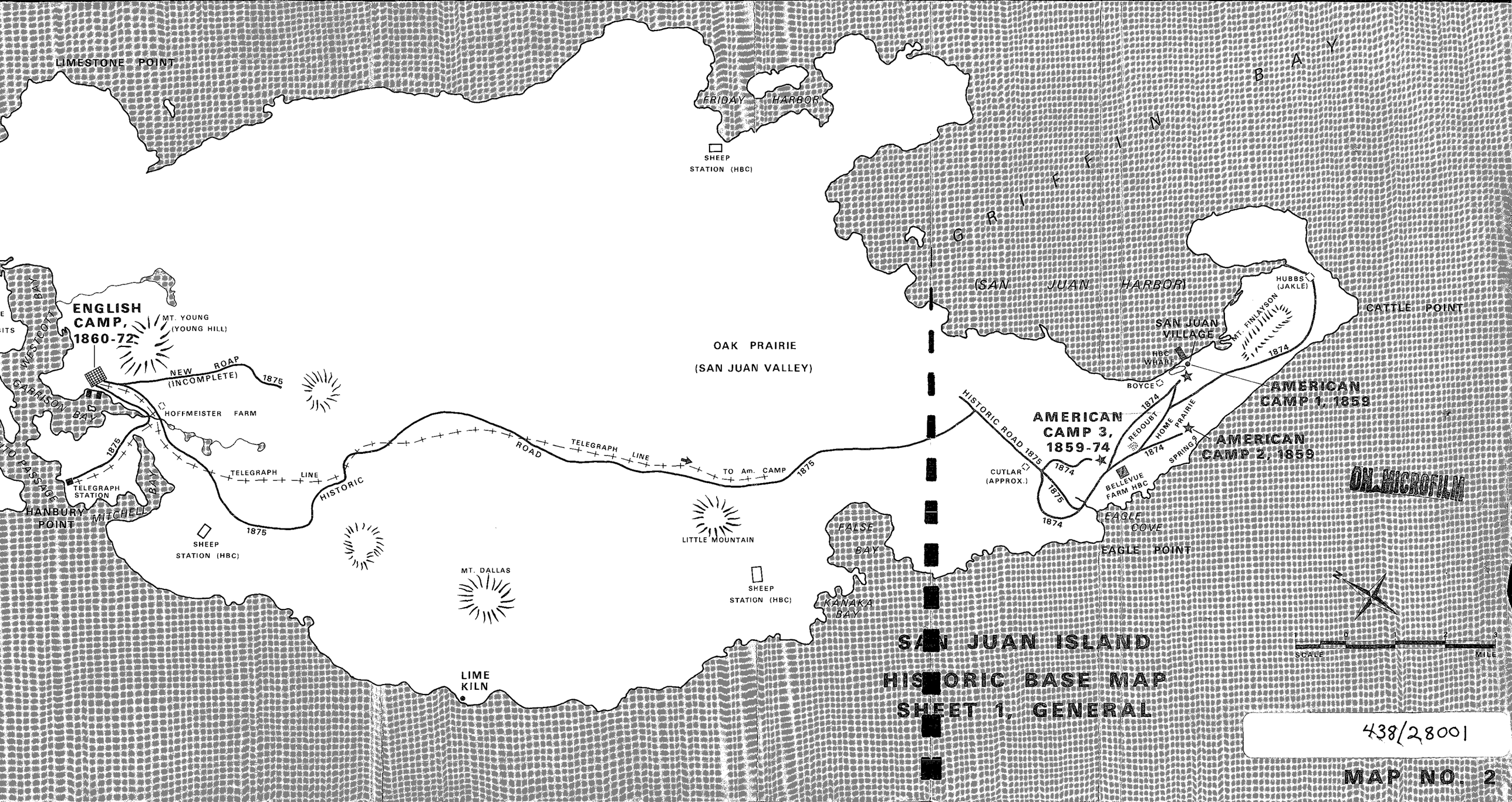
MAP NO 5



[illegible]ast end of San Juan Island, December 1860, by 1st Lt. Thos. L. Casey, CE. Casey's map is the earli[illegible]n of the American Camp area. It is the only [illegible]at identifies Lyman Cutlar's house. Note the trees in the vicinity of American Camp. The names op[illegible] are listed here because of the difficulty of reading them: Cutlar, Graff, Fraser & Campbell, Whannell's Farm, Whannell, Witty, Boyce's Claim, Tays[illegible]s

Courtesy, Cartographic Branch National Archives (Record Group 77, US 324, No. 119)

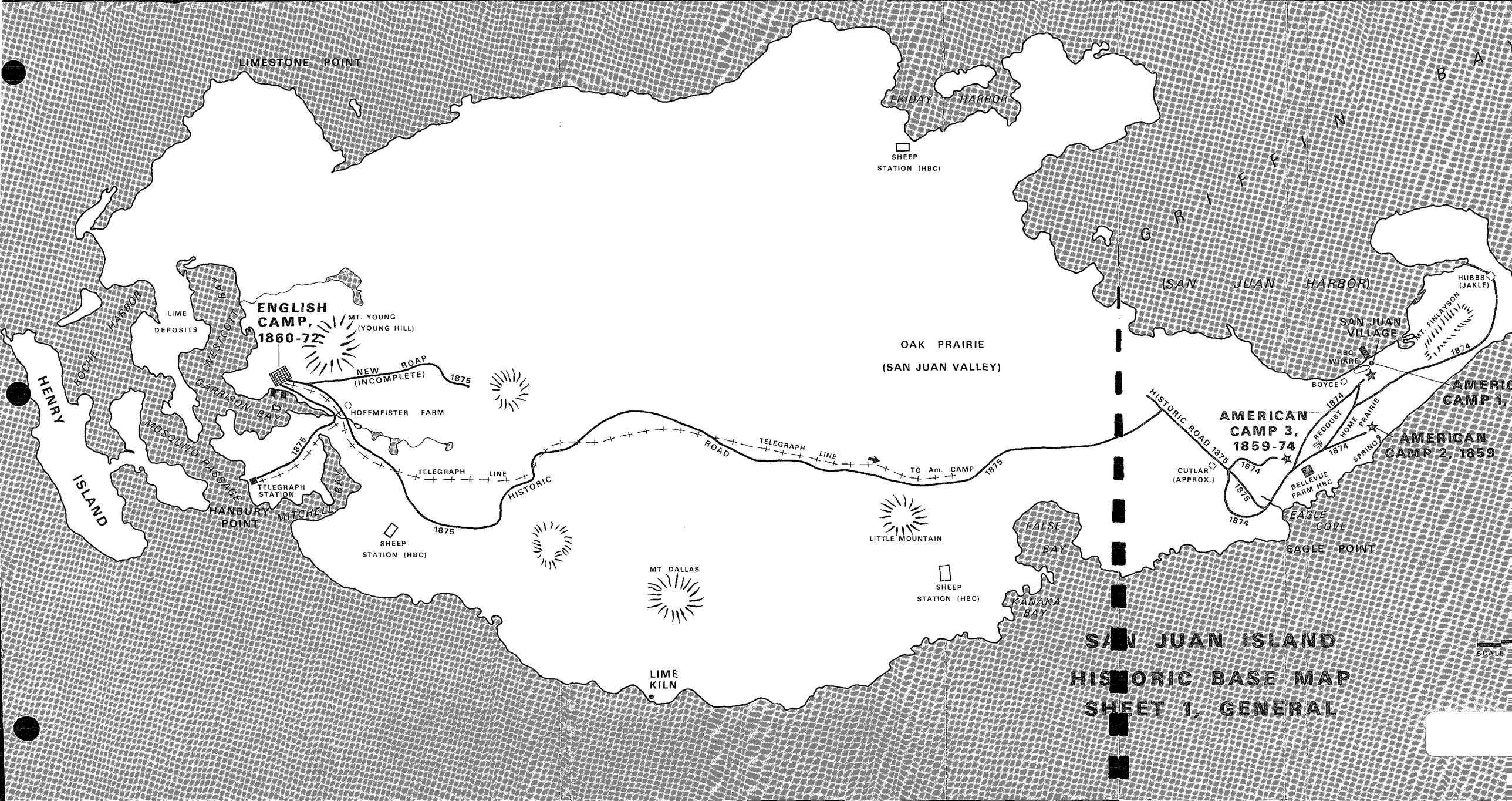
MAP NO.6

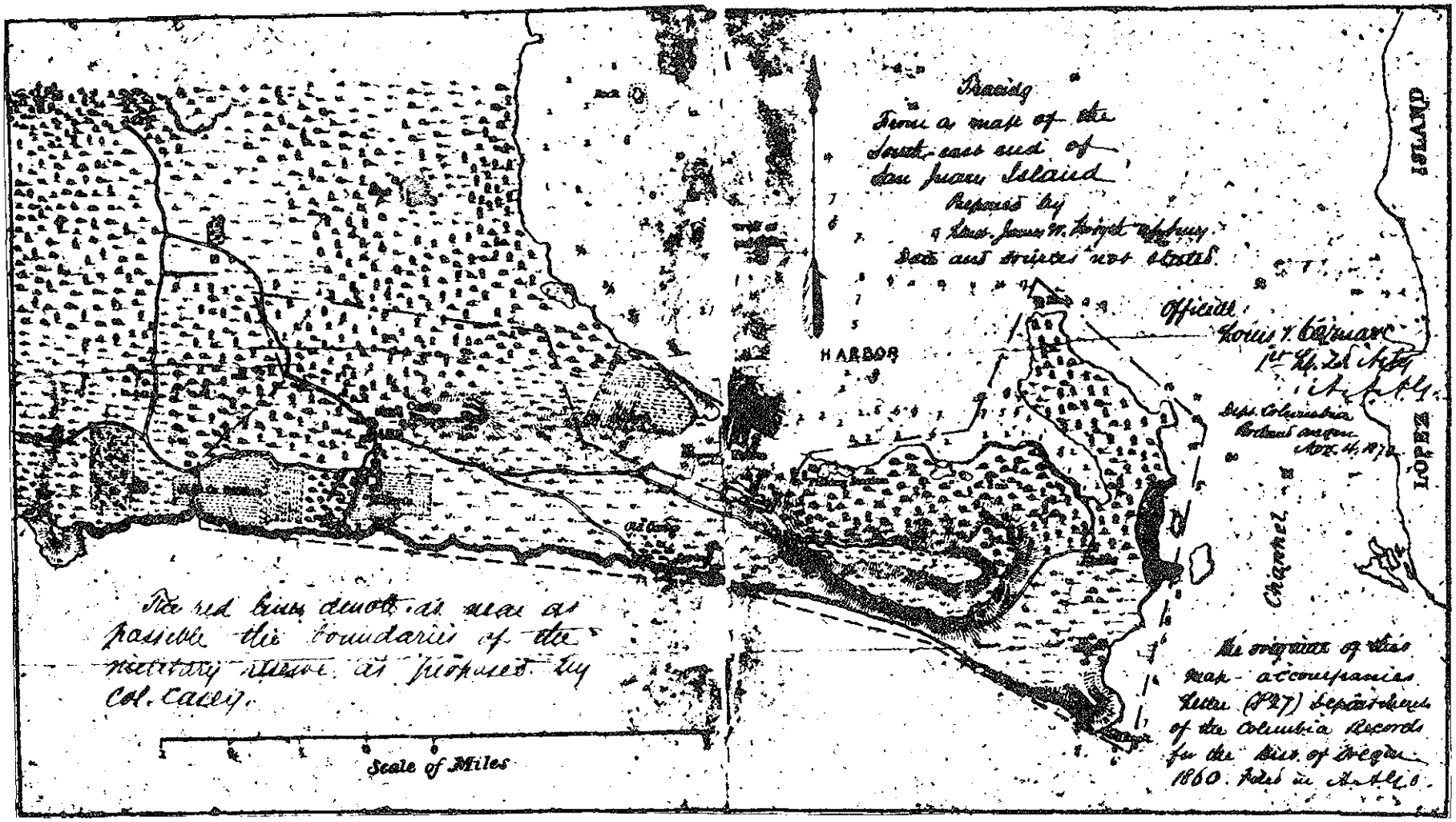


ON MICROFILM

438/28001

MAP NO. 2


LIMESTONE POINT
FRIDAY HARBOR
SHEEP STATION (HBC)
GRIFFIN BAY
(SAN JUAN HARBOR)
HUBBS (JAKLE)
MT. FINLAYSON
1874
SAN JUAN VILLAGE
HBC WHARF
BOYCE
AMERICAN CAMP 1,
AMERICAN CAMP 2, 1859
AMERICAN CAMP 3, 1859-74
REDOUBT
HOME PRAIRIE
SPRING
BELLEVUE FARM HBC
EAGLE COVE
EAGLE POINT
HISTORIC ROAD 1875
CUTLAR (APPROX.)
OAK PRAIRIE
(SAN JUAN VALLEY)
TELEGRAPH LINE
TO Am. CAMP
1875
HISTORIC ROAD
TELEGRAPH LINE
LITTLE MOUNTAIN
SHEEP STATION (HBC)
FALSE BAY
KANAKA BAY
MT. DALLAS
LIME KILN
SHEEP STATION (HBC)
1875
HOFFMEISTER FARM
NEW ROAP (INCOMPLETE)
1875
ENGLISH CAMP, 1860-72
MT. YOUNG (YOUNG HILL)
LIME DEPOSITS
ROCHE HARBOR
WESTCOTT BAY
GARRISON BAY
MOSQUITO PASSAGE
HENRY ISLAND
HANBURY POINT
MITCHELL BAY
TELEGRAPH STATION
1875
SCALE
SAN JUAN ISLAND
HISTORIC BASE MAP
SHEET 1, GENERAL



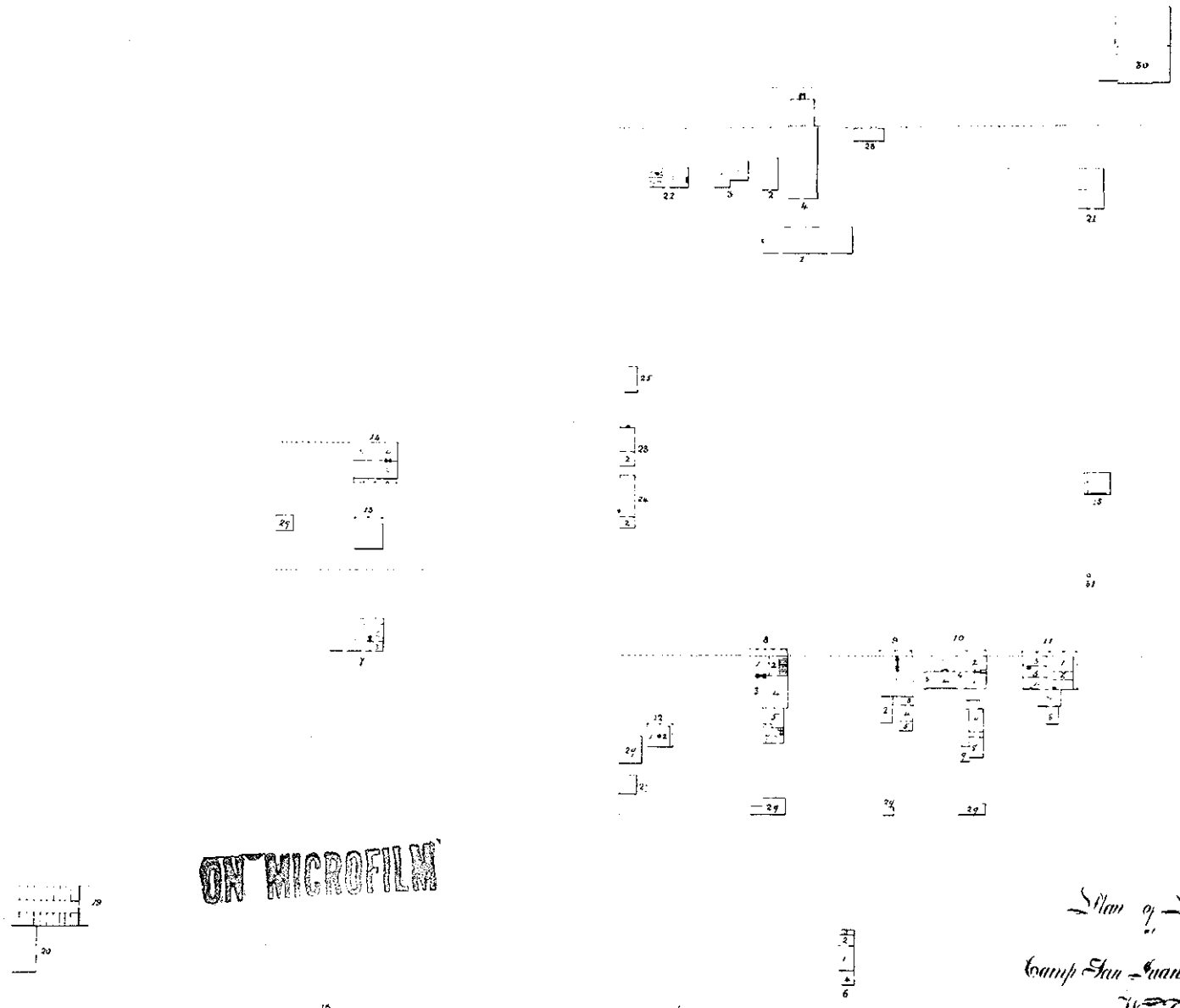
Southeast end of San Juan Island traced in 1872 from a map drawn by Lt. James W. Forsyth circa 1860. Forsyth's original map has not been located. It is similar to Casey's map (no. 6) but shows some different detail.

Courtesy: Cartographic Branch
National Archives

(Record Group 49)

ON MICROFILM

438/28,006



ON MICROFILM

Plan of Post

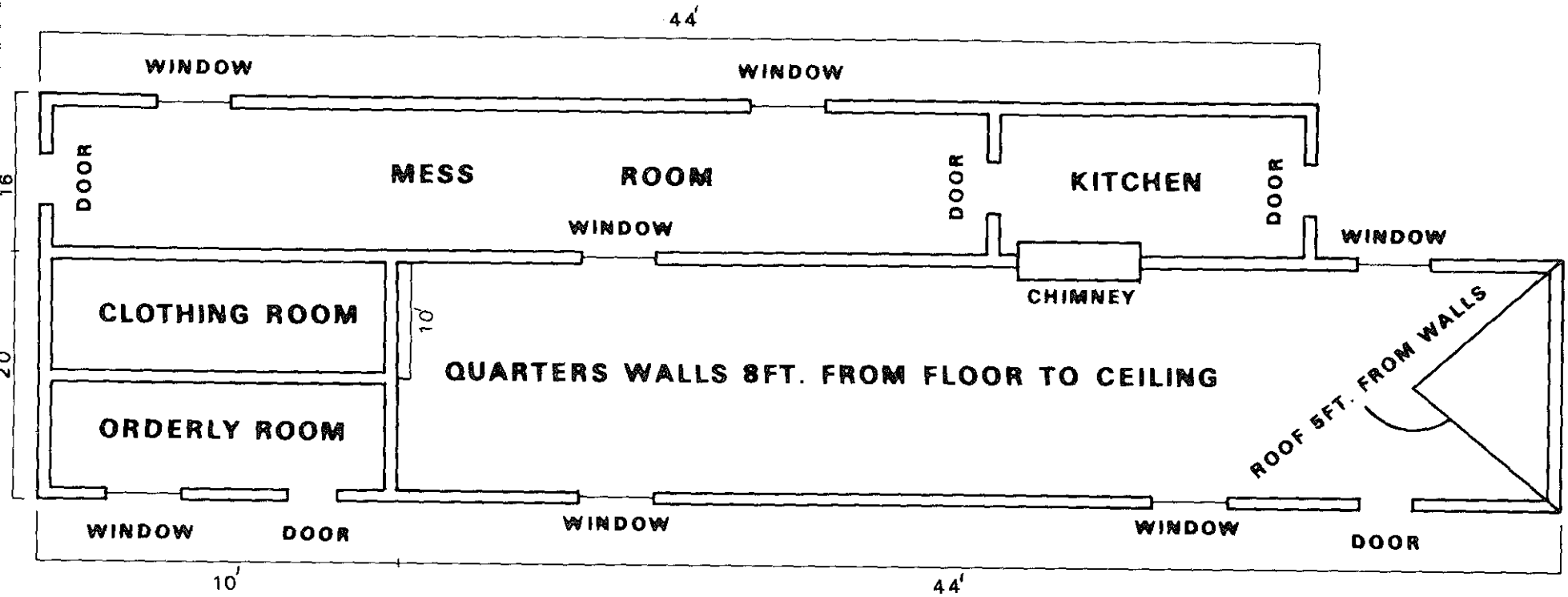
Camp San Juan Island,

W. T.

438

393/ 28,007

MAP NO 8



PLAN OF HSI, BARRACKS, WITH EARLY MESS ROOM AND KITCHEN.

FOUND IN NATIONAL ARCHIVES, RECORD GROUP 393,

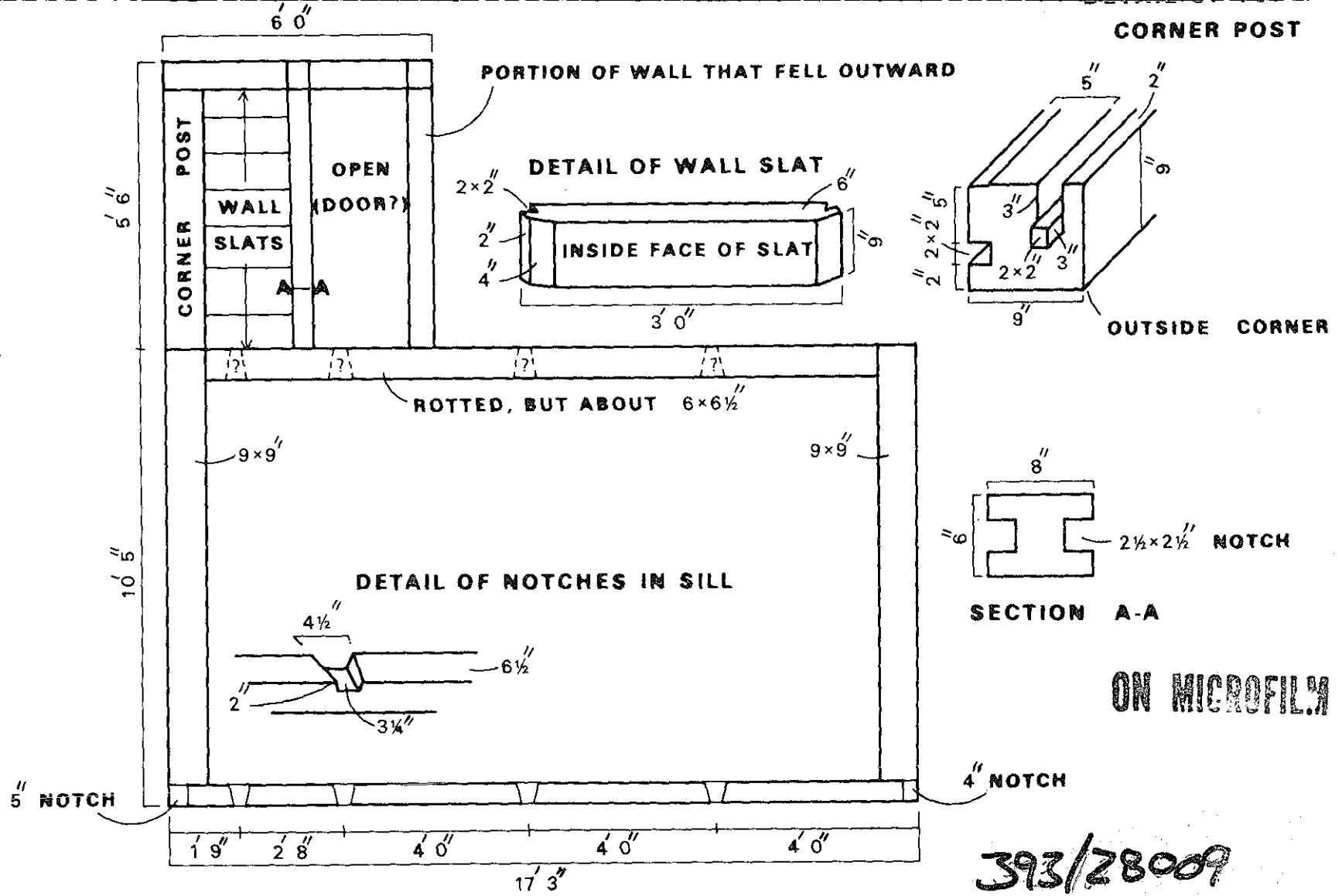
ON MICROFILM

DEPARTMENT OF OREGON LETTERS RECEIVED, 1859

438/28,008

393/28,008

NOT TO SCALE



ON MICROFILM

393/28009

FLOOR PLAN OF RUINS OF HBC STRUCTURE AT BELLEVUE FARM

COPIED FROM FIELD DRAWING BY SUPERINTENDENT CARL STODDARD

NOT TO SCALE

MAP NO. 10

☆ GPO 782—629