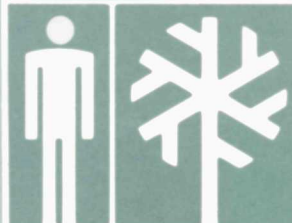


historic resource study

FORT LAPWAI

NEZ PERCE



NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK / IDAHO

Historic Resource Study

FORT LAPWAI

Nez Perce National Historical Park

Idaho

by

Erwin N. Thompson

DENVER SERVICE CENTER
HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

JULY 1973

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Table of Contents.	i
Preface.	ii
Why Fort Lapwai?	1
Social and Military History.	25
Civil War Period.	25
The Regulars Take Over.	31
Fort Lapwai and War	76
The Peaceful Years.	83
Structural History	111
Conclusions and Recommendations.	175
Appendix: Commanding Officers, Fort Lapwai.	176
Bibliography	177
Illustrations and Maps	183

Preface

This report on Fort Lapwai, Nez Perce National Historical Park, is prepared in accordance with a Professional Services Proposal, Nez Perce NHP, approved October 7, 1970. This proposal set forth the needs of a study for development and interpretation. Inasmuch as no history of Fort Lapwai has ever been written, in or outside the National Park Service, the need for such a study was apparent.

My thanks go to several institutions and to a number of persons all of whom contributed greatly of their resources and knowledge:

Superintendent Jack R. Williams and the present and past members of the staff, Nez Perce National Historical Park.

Director Merle W. Wells, Historian Judy Austin, and Curator Rachel Smith, Idaho Historical Society, Boise.

Director Thomas Vaughan and his staff, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

Dr. John A. Hussey, former NPS historian, Piedmont, California.

Mr. Gordon Chappelle, historian, Golden, Colorado.

John Dishon McDermott, NPS, who wrote the history of the Battle of White Bird Canyon.

Historical Architect David G. Henderson, Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, NPS.

The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

The National Archives, Washington, D. C., with special thanks to Dr. Elaine Everley, Old Military Records, and Laura E. Kelsay, Cartography.

A special thanks goes to S. Calvin Riley who removed many blemishes from this report when typing it.

E. N. T.

Why Fort Lapwai?

In 1871, almost nine years after the military founded Fort Lapwai, a puzzled post commander, 1st Lt. Charles Bendire, wrote: "As there are no records prior to the year 1867 at this Post, the exact date, and original purpose of the erection of the public buildings . . . cannot be furnished."¹ Bendire's confusion is understandable. The reasons for Fort Lapwai's establishment and continuation over the years took many twists and turns. Its beginnings were somewhat unusual. In contrast to many frontier posts, Lapwai's original purpose was to protect Indians from whites.

A large percentage of the Nez Perce leaders signed a treaty with the federal government in 1855. This agreement established the boundaries of a reservation and set forth the compensation the Nez Perces were to receive for ceding a portion of their homelands. To carry out the terms of this treaty and to administer the technical and educational assistance, an agent was eventually assigned to the Nez Perces. The U. S. Senate did not ratify the treaty until 1859. The government failed to live up to the agreed terms.

In 1861 an invasion of white miners poured over the Nez Perce reservation. Fast behind came whiskey sellers and others on the make for a quick buck. All ignored the terms of the treaty and many squatted on Nez Perce lands and sold forbidden liquor to the Indians. The agent was powerless to protect the Indians' interests and to enforce the treaty terms. It quickly became apparent that a new treaty was needed, one that would place the gold deposits outside the reservation. As for the whiskey *shebangs* and illegal squatters, military force would be required to remove them:

1. National Archives, Record Group 393, Fort Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, 1867-73, Bendire, Jan. 27, 1871, to (AAQM of post?). Hereinafter cited as NA and RG.

It is required, in order to maintain the laws of the United States on this Indian reservation, to protect the Nez Percé Indians from iniquitous outrages on their persons and property by vicious white men, to expel from the country and commit for punishment white men who are infamously and openly trafficking in intoxicating liquors with Indians, and to preserve the Nez Percés from seeking personal vengeance against the accumulating aggravations, that mounted U. S. troops to the number of at least one company be immediately sent here, and that such be permanently stationed.²

At this same time civil war came to the United States. Swiftly, regular army officers and units left the Pacific Northwest to join the great conflict in the East. Both the State of Oregon and Washington Territory (which then included today's Idaho) mobilized volunteer troops to occupy the military posts throughout the region. Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord assumed command of the District of Oregon with his headquarters at Fort Vancouver. By 1862 volunteer troops had occupied Fort Walla Walla, 100 miles west of the Nez Perce reservation.

In response to alarms sounded by Indian Affairs, Alvord directed that a company of volunteer cavalry at Fort Walla Walla prepare to march eastward to assist the Nez Perce agent in maintaining order, to exercise an influence on the more lawless and arrogant white adventurerers, and to quiet the fears and angers of the Nez Percés. (A company of regular army dragoons had made a similar patrol the preceeding summer.)

On July 22, 1862, Fort Walla Walla's post adjutant published orders that directed Maj. J. S. Rinearson and Company F, 1st Cavalry, Oregon Volunteers, to prepare to march on August 1 "to the

2. Agent C. Hutchins, Lapwai, July 8, 1862, to Gen. B. Alvord, in The War of the Rebellion, A Compiation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1897), Series 1, 50, Part 2, p. 9, hereinafter cited as Official Records.

Lapwai near Lewiston and establish a camp thereat." The orders further stated that these troops would remain in the field until November 1, or until most miners would be ceasing their work before the snows came.³

Rinearson did not get away from Fort Walla Walla until August 2. Four days later he arrived in the Lapwai valley and established "Camp Lapwai." This first camp was set up six miles above (to the south of) the agency on what was then called "Wa-ha Creek," today's Sweetwater. A post-Civil War army surgeon at Lapwai recorded that this first site was two miles up the Sweetwater.⁴

Charles Hutchins, at his humble agency located at the mouth of Lapwai Creek, noted the arrival of the troops with an initial pleasure. However, he quickly learned that Major Rinearson had no intentions of removing the whiskey peddlers. On August 25 Hutchins transferred to the Flathead reservation and J. W. Anderson replaced him at Lapwai. Both agents reported Rinearson's failure to act; Hutchins concluded that these troops were worse than none at all and should be recalled. The major's response was that his instructions clearly stated

-
3. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, 1862-65, Orders No. 42, Ft. Walla Walla, July 22, 1862. These orders were based on similar instructions contained in Dist. of Oregon, Special Orders No. 25, July 8, 1862. See Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, p. 9.
 4. Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 56-57; NA, RG 94, Asst. Surg. C. R. Greenleaf, Medical History of Ft. Lapwai, ca. 1873; NA Microfilm 234, Roll 907, Letters Received by Office of Indian Affairs, Agent C. Hutchins, Sept. 2, 1862, to Supt. of Indian Affairs C. H. Hale.

that he had no authority to interfere with whites who sold liquor only to other whites, whether or not the sale took place on the reservation.⁵

Calvin H. Hale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory, passed his agents' complaints on to General Alvord. He reminded the general that he would soon be negotiating a new treaty with the Nez Perces and it was necessary that the reservation be cleared of illegal activities promptly. Further, he suggested that a second company be sent to the Lapwai because many of the whites on the reserve were Southern sympathizers.⁶

Alvord reacted to these pressures by cautiously ordering Rinearson to arrest any whites "caught in the act . . . of inciting . . . the Indians." Even before he received this communication, Rinearson had taken at least token action to remove a few white trespassers near Lake Waha, south of the camp: "You [Capt. W. J. Matthews] will therefore detail ten men under command of an officer who will proceed to and cause the removal of all such persons."⁷

-
5. Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, p. 30, AAAG, Dist. of Oregon, July 18, 1862, to Rinearson: "The sale of liquor to whites, and the introduction of it for their use, cannot under the circumstances be interfered with, but its sale to Indians is in flagrant violation of the treaty."
 6. NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 907, Agent J. W. Anderson, Aug. 26, 1862, and Agent C. Hutchins, Sept. 2, 1862, both to Hale; and Hale, Sept. 3, 1862, to Alvord.
 7. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Ltrs. Recd., AAG, Dist. of Oregon, Sept. 30, 1862, to Rinearson; and Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 8, Oct. 2, 1862.

By October 1862, General Alvord had decided that affairs in Nez Perce Country were serious enough to establish a permanent post there and to double its garrison by the addition of a company of infantry from Washington Territory. He proceeded to inspect the situation in person:

Brig. Gen. Alvord and Major Francis arrived at Fort Walla Walla on Sunday morning last [Oct. 11]. A salute of thirteen guns was fired in honor of their arrival. General Alvord left for Lewiston on Tuesday, for the purpose, as we learn, of making arrangements for the establishment of a military post on the Nez Perce Reservation. A company of the Washington Territory Infantry left for the same place on Wednesday morning [Oct. 14].⁸

At the Lapwai agency, Alvord spoke to an assembly of Nez Perces: "I have come to see you in order to assure you that the Government desires to do all in its power to protect you." "You will never," he said, "have a worse enemy than the whiskey sellers and the bad whites who intrude upon you and commit outrages upon you and on your families." He concluded by telling them that he would establish a permanent military post on the reservation.⁹

-
8. Daily Oregonian, Oct. 20 and Nov. 4 and 15, 1862. Ironically the citizens of Lewiston were also demanding troops, saying that they feared an "outbreak" among the Nez Perces. See Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, p. 165, R. Bailey, Lewiston, Oct. 11, 1862, to Colonel Steinberger, Ft. Walla Walla.
 9. Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 192-193, Alvord, Oct. 24, 1862, speech to Nez Perces, Lapwai agency. He may have given this speech a few days earlier than the date shown.

Meanwhile, Special Orders No. 77, Headquarters, District of Oregon (but published at Fort Walla Walla) announced the name and the garrison of the permanent post: "Company F, First Oregon Cavalry, and Company E, First Washington Territory Volunteers, will constitute the garrison of Fort Lapwai." On October 26, Major Rinearson announced at Camp Lapwai on the Sweetwater: "This command will march to morrow at 8 a. m. promptly and pitch Camp at or near the site for the new post to be called Fort Lapwai." Thus, the establishment date for Fort Lapwai was October 27, 1862.¹⁰

While the official reason for establishing Fort Lapwai, as recorded by General Alvord, was to protect the Nez Perces from lawless whites, note should be made of Asst. Surg. Charles R. Greenleaf's opinion written many years later:

The object of this movement [from Camp Lapwai to Fort Lapwai] was, to protect more effectively the employees of the Agency, who in consequence of a murder committed by an Indian near the Agency, & his subsequent arrest by the military authorities, became alarmed for their own safety, and refused to remain at their posts, unless the troops were moved nearer to them.¹¹

-
10. Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, p. 188, SO No. 77, Oct. 20, 1862; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 10, Camp Lapwai, Oct. 26, 1862.
 11. NA, RG 94, Greenleaf, Medical History of Ft. Lapwai, ca. 1873. While some doubt may be cast on Greenleaf's theory, the killing of two whites by Nez Perces in the fall of 1862 was a significant event. These deaths were among the earliest interruptions of Nez Perce friendship since the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The killings are discussed in Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 166, 206-09, and 280-81.

Six months later, May 1863, Fort Lapwai found itself playing a new role. During that month the U. S. Department of the Interior held a major council with the Nez Perce tribe that resulted in the Treaty of 1863. From the United States government's point of view the major purpose of the treaty was to reduce the size of the reservation so that the mining districts and the town of Lewiston would be outside it. As one might have anticipated, a number of Nez Perce leaders was unwilling to cede any more land. This group became known as the "non-treaties." The government decided as a precautionary measure to provide a considerable military presence at Fort Lapwai during the council proceedings.

The strength of Fort Lapwai increased from 5 officers and 139 enlisted men in March to 23 officers and 372 enlisted men in May. In overall command was Col. Justus Steinberger, 1st Washington Territory Infantry, ordinarily in charge of Fort Walla Walla. There was no trouble during the council. The pro-treaties signed away the greater part of the reservation; the non-treaties simply refused to sign.¹²

While the presence of the troops had little effect on the outcome of the council, General Alvord was quick to accept any credit that might come his way. Superintendent Hale soon supplied a couple of garlands: "The establishment of the military post at Fort Lapwai last October has in a very material sense paved the way for the conclusion of this treaty by evincing to the Indians a determination, so far as practicable, to protect them from aggression." And: "The presence of six companies of troops at Fort Lapwai during the council was very salutory. The surrounding tribes, formerly hostile . . . [were present].

12. NA, Microfilm 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, March-May 1863; Francis Fuller Victor, "The First Oregon Cavalry," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 3, 123-63.

Some of them insulted the commissioners. Colonel Steinberger very properly sent a company of cavalry to drive off the Palouses and order them to return to their own country."¹³

In 1864 a novel duty fell upon the troops at Fort Lapwai. The year before several whites had murdered their companions while traveling from the mines to Lewiston. The most prominent of the murdered was Lloyd Magruder, a Lewiston merchant. The countryside was shocked at these Magruder murders, as they came to be called. By March 1864, all was ready for the hanging of three of the killers. Because the Treaty of 1863 had not yet been ratified, Lewiston was still legally part of the reservation. Perhaps because of this, the civil authorities called on the troops to guard the public execution:

Day of Execution

The morning was cloudy and windy. . . . About 10 o'clock, Company E, 1st Regiment, W. T. Infantry, commanded by Lieut. [Samuel] Purdy arrived from Fort Lapwai to act as an escort and guard. Large numbers of persons had assembled. . . . At half past 11 a. m., the infantry guard were properly stationed around the wagon: . . . When all was ready, the procession moved with a quick step towards the gallows, which had been erected about three-fourths of a mile from the town, to the south-east. . . .

13. Official Records, Series 1, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 484-85, Alvord, June 14, 1863, to AAG, Dept. of Pacific.

The procession arrived and the troops were duly arranged around the scaffold. . . .

* * * * *

Capt. [William M.] Knox, of the infantry company, was suddenly taken ill, and the command devolved upon Lieut. Purdy, who acquitted himself with much credit on the occasion.¹⁴

The rest of the Civil War period proceeded routinely for the troops at Fort Lapwai. Occasionally the commander provided a military escort for agency officials, dispatched patrols to some area where Nez Perces and whites became embroiled in disputes, and, rarely, attempted to remove the more flagrant whiskey peddlers. In July 1865 the post strength dropped from two companies to one, thus curtailing the activities of the troops. Further reducing the effectiveness of the post, its garrison consisted only of infantrymen during the last year the volunteers served, 1865-66. Agent James O'Neill pleaded for cavalry troops, especially when Eagle from the Light, who had never before acknowledged the agent's presence, asked for help:

On Friday last 'Eagle from the Light' one of the most influential of the chiefs . . . on the *new treaty side* called upon me for assistance to arrest some whites who had been selling his people whiskey through the winter (by which one of their young men lost his life) and to tear down their buildings located some sixty miles from this place. I was unable to grant him the desired assistance owing to the want of riding animals & saddles at the Fort.¹⁵

14. The Daily Oregonian, Mar. 10, 1864.

15. NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 337, O'Neill, Mar. 24, 1866, to General Steel, Dept. Columbia.

The last of the volunteer troops left Fort Lapwai in July 1866. The Regular Army was unable to reoccupy the post until November, when one company of the 8th Cavalry arrived. The professional soldiers' duties remained much the same as had been those of the volunteers. In 1870 the agent and the post commander became involved in an angry discussion over the person of the post trader. While the issue was really that of a contest for authority, the agent stated clearly his opinion of the army's worth on the reservation:

In conversation with Col. E. V. Sumner in which I informed him that I would fence the valley between Fort Lapwai and the Agency by the last of April 1870 into twenty acre lots and have them occupied by Indians as farms . . . he . . . said that he was sorry for that for it would fill the Valley with Indians and make life very unpleasant for the residents of the Garrison. . . . Evidently meaning that Indian society is not agreeable to him.

The agent's recommendation was to reduce the garrison to a handful of enlisted men who would be placed under his command. Higher authority disapproved the agent's ideas.¹⁶

By 1870 some army officers had completely reversed Fort Lapwai's original role--the protection of the Nez Perces. Both an inspector general and the surgeon general wrote that year that "the reason for stationing troops at this point was to protect the settlers from the Indians." While the troops would continue to assist the agent in handling unruly whites, this attitude of protecting the white frontier would prevail and grow over more dominant during the next several years. While it is difficult to discover the thought processes by which this reversal came about, these regular officers

16. NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 339, 2d Lt. J. W. Wham, agent, ca. January 1870, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, hereinafter cited as CIA.

probably were but reflecting the overall mission of the post-war Army in the "Winning of the West", in making possible westward expansion.¹⁷

Gen. E. R. S. Canby, now departmental commander and a man highly sympathetic to the Indians' point of view, reviewed the strategic values of Fort Lapwai in 1871. He foresaw the possibility of clashes between Indians and whites on non-reservation lands, places where the Indians had traditionally harvested camas or pastured their horses and which whites now coveted for their herds. He recognized the need for a new post north of Fort Lapwai but noted that its location could not be determined until a decision was made on the route of the Northern Pacific Railway. At least until then Fort Lapwai should be maintained and even increased in its garrison. He kept in mind, too, the original reasons for the post's establishment:

The propriety of abandoning Fort Lapwai has not been regarded as so well settled. The Nez Percés lands include some that are very valuable for settlement, and there is great danger of their being disposed by the whites unless their encroachments are restrained by the presence of troops.

And again:

About one third of the Nez Percés are called disaffected . . . but the Commanding officer at Fort Lapwai informs me that this party is entirely friendly and embraces a large proportion of the

17. Circular No. 4, War Department, Surgeon General's Office, A Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts (Washington, 1870), p. 423; NA, RG 159, Inspector General, AIG O. H. Ludington, report, Oct. 12, 1870, to AAG Dept. Columbia.

most intelligent and influential men of the tribe.

* * * * *

The principal apprehension of trouble is at the gatherings, for digging camas and kous, which have very much the character of an annual fair with its accompaniments of trading, racing, and gambling. The trouble anticipated has heretofore been avoided by preventing the introduction of whiskey and this precaution will be continued.¹⁸

Throughout the early 1870s the troops at Fort Lapwai made periodic patrols into the country surrounding the reduced reservation where trouble was a potential: The Wallowa and Grand Ronde valleys of northeastern Oregon, the camas prairies north of the Clearwater (particularly Paradise Valley and Hog Heaven, or the vicinity of Moscow, Idaho, today), and the Salmon river valley to the south. On their northern expeditions, these patrols also explored the country to determine feasible sites for a new post should such be decided upon eventually.¹⁹

18. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Canby, Apr. 21 and May 27, 1871, to AG, Div. of Pacific.

19. Examples of these patrols and their objectives may be found in NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, scouting reports 1871-76; NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Canby, Aug. 10, 1871, to AAG, Div. Pacific; AAAG Caziarc, July 12, 1872, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Canby, Oct. 1, 1872, to AAG, Div. Pacific; Microfilm 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai. Post Returns, June & Aug. 1871. An example of the clashes of the time was the incident wherein whites helped themselves to Indian's stored lodge poles on the camas grounds for use in fencing their claims.

The Modoc Indians killed General Canby in 1873. Col. Jefferson C. Davis succeeded to the position of departmental commander. Davis was a forceful, impatient man who believed in direct action. When he visited Fort Lapwai in the summer of 1874 he found an increase of unrest among the non-treaty Nez Perces, nearly all of it caused by the swift growth of the white population in the general area. Davis did not hesitate to respond to the agent's request for troops for a show of strength.

The agent at this time was John Monteith, an honest young man who was determined that all non-treaties should move eventually to the reservation. When Monteith learned that the non-treaties were holding a private council on Weippe prairie, he appealed to Davis for troops. Davis complied, but sending a company from the larger Fort Walla Walla rather than from Lapwai. Before returning to Fort Vancouver, Davis also dispatched troops to the Wallowa valley and to the valleys of white settlements north of the Clearwater:

The Indians had collected in these valleys to dig roots, and to hunt in the adjacent mountains, and some of them had talked saucy to the whites, and in some instances had committed slight trespasses among the farmers. They are doubtless much annoyed at seeing the whites settling upon their lands so rapidly; yet I do not think they contemplate any serious resistance. The land in these valleys is very rich, and is being occupied by settlers very fast.²⁰

In 1874-75, the military was involved in a novel situation in the Lapwai valley. Several years earlier private citizens had purchased from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions its claim to the 640 acres that had contained

20. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Davis, Aug. 3, 1874, to AAG Div. Pacific.

Henry Spalding's mission station, 1836-47. This same land was now the headquarters area for the Nez Perce agency. The new claimants had recently taken the issue into court and had won a favorable decision. In November 1874 the sheriff "ousted" a surprised Agent Monteith from his premises. The maneuvers of agent and claimants during the next several months need not be described here, but the role of Fort Lapwai's troops may be noted with interest.²¹

When General Sherman first heard of the matter he telegraphed the Department of the Columbia to offer the agent military assistance if necessary to prevent destruction of property. This order did not arrive at Fort Lapwai until after the sheriff had seized the property. Shortly thereafter Monteith managed to reoccupy his buildings. Then, in January 1875, the principal claimant, W. G. Langford, wrote the commanding officer of Fort Lapwai urging him not to interfere in the matter for surely the agent had lied about the true facts.

Two weeks later Monteith learned that another attempt would be made to seize the property. The commanding officer responded to his request for aid and a lieutenant and 14 enlisted men went down to the agency to help protect it. Despite the presence of the troops, Langford seized the agency mills and the church, leaving Monteith still in control of the rest of the buildings. The lieutenant's report was not quite accurate: "My services were not required as Mr. Langford appeared with Civil officers and demanded possession. The parties on refusing, he (Mr. Langford) returned to Lewiston without taking further steps to carry his demand into Execution."²²

-
21. The Langford Mission Claim, as this business came to be called, is discussed in detail in Historic Resource Study, Spalding Area, Nez Perce National Historical Park (Denver Service Center, NPS, 1972), pp. 120-22 and 153-56.
22. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, W. G. Langford, Jan. 25, 1875, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; and 2d Lt. E. H. Sheldon, Feb. 8, 1875, to Post Adj., Ft. Lapwai.

As the situation continued to develop, troops marched down to the agency three more times in 1875. On the second occasion, the detachment camped at the agency for one month (March 15-April 17). Finally, on June 11, a detachment arrived "to place the Government Through the Indian Agent in complete possession of the Indian Reservation." In this the troops succeeded, without bloodshed, and the matter returned to the courts where it languished many years. These little patrols gave the troops at least a slight variation in their monotonous garrison life. The civil authorities did not challenge the use of federal troops to thwart them.²³

In June 1876 whites killed a Nez Perce in the Wallowa valley. Immediately, Gen. O. O. Howard, the department commander, turned his full attention to Joseph, Jr., and the Wallowa band of Nez Perces. Although the primary responsibility for resolving the Wallowa issue lay with Indian Affairs, the U. S. Army became a concerned party with the introduction of violence and the threat of continuing troubles. Then, too, Howard's forceful personality overshadowed the quieter character of Agent John Monteith. For the next twelve months, Fort Lapwai and its neighbor, Fort Walla Walla, become the focal points for negotiations with the Nez Perces.

On July 12, the department headquarters directed Fort Lapwai's commander, Capt. David Perry, to interview Joseph: "The Dept. Comdr believes Captain Perry can manage the whole matter so judiciously as to avoid any further colision [sic] between Young Josephs band and the whites." Joseph arrived at the fort even before Perry received these orders. Because

23. NA, Microfilm 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, February-June 1875; NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG Wood, Nov. 15, 1874, to CO, Ft. Walla Walla; and Feb. 18, 1875, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG Wood, Feb. 1, 1875, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; 2d Lt. Sheldon, Mar. 17 and 26, 1875, to Post Adj., Ft. Lapwai; Idaho Historical Society, Lapwai Agency Letters, 3, Monteith, June 14, 1875 to CIA.

of the illness of the interpreter, no thorough discussion of the Wallowa killing ensued. Perry, however, did not believe that war would follow. But he noted that the Nez Perces had already learned of the Custer debacle in Sioux country and one could not predict what influence this might have on them.

Later in July Howard's adjutant general, H. Clay Wood, arrived at Lapwai to meet with Joseph and other Nez Perce leaders. Wood was already convinced that Joseph's band had a legal right to the Wallowa valley. This opinion would soon prove to be a minority view. The post surgeon, Capt. John Fitzgerald, was a witness to the meetings:

During the month 'Joseph' one of the 'Nez Perces' chiefs made complaint that one of his band was wantonly killed by white men in the Wallowa Valley and demanded redress at the hands of civil or military authorities. Was at Post twice for this purpose on the 1st occasion making parade of his band in barbaric pride. He is a fine type of so-called aboriginal race.²⁴

Howard himself arrived at Fort Lapwai in November 1876 at the head of a 5-man commission to attempt to resolve the Wallowa matter. The non-treaties met with the commissioners at the agency church. Howard urged Joseph to give up the Wallowa and move onto the reservation. Joseph refused to give up his homeland. Dr. Fitzgerald recorded this meeting also: "The commission after a week spent in conference, did not succeed in their endeavors to get a statement of differences from Young Joseph . . . and they made their departure on the

24. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, endorsement by AAG Wood, July 2, 1876; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Perry July 12, 1876, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 344, CIA, Letters Received, AAG Wood, Aug. 1, 1876, to Howard; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical History, Fitzgerald, report, July 1876.

16th having accomplished nothing." The Lewiston Teller prophesied that the Army would use force to compel Joseph to move in 1877.²⁵

The Teller's prediction came to be. In May 1877 Howard and Monteith met Joseph and the other non-treaties in council on the parade ground at Fort Lapwai. The non-treaties were ordered to move to the reservation within 30 days. One month later the Nez Perce War began. Captain Perry and two companies marched toward White Bird Canyon and disaster on June 15. In the tumultuous days that followed, Fort Lapwai became the gathering point for the panic-stricken: "The most fearful excitement prevailed at this time, and citizens and friendly Indians and their families flocked from all directions to Fort Lapwai for protection. All kinds of rumors as to Colonel Perry's destruction and indiscriminate massacres were flying in to post from all sources and directions."

Had the Indians attacked Fort Lapwai during these first days, they would have found only 40 soldiers defending the post. The fort's security was more psychological than real. However, within a week eight companies of troops had arrived at the post and a sense of calmness returned to its inhabitants. The place of war gradually drew away from Lapwai and the valley returned to its quiet ways. The Army found it more convenient to establish a supply depot at Lewiston than at the fort, so that not even the business of the Quartermaster Department disturbed the valley.²⁶

25. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, Sept. 1, 1876, to AAG, Div. Pacific; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical History, report, November 1876; Josephy, pp. 484-90; The Teller, Nov. 18, 1876 and Jan. 6 and 20, 1877.

26. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical History, Fitzgerald, report, June 1877; Cyrus Townsend Brady, Northwestern Fights and Fighters (New York, 1916), pp. 151-52, an account by Capt. E. S. Farrow.

Two reminders of the war were to be seen at Fort Lapwai that summer. The guardhouse contained a number of prisoners of war and, nearby, the hospital sheltered the wounded. Eventually both groups of men were moved to Fort Vancouver.²⁷

Until the Nez Perce War, Fort Lapwai had been a two-company post with a strength of about 100 troops. In September 1877 the small fort found itself a regimental headquarters with the arrival of the entire 2d Infantry, including its band. The regimental colonel, Frank Wheaton, established his headquarters in the tiny post adjutant's office and planned the dispersement of his troops. Two companies marched to Camp Howard, a new temporary post near Grangeville. Another two companies set up a camp at Palouse City (then changing its name to Spokane Falls) toward the north. Even with this arrangement, Fort Lapwai was unbelievably crowded during the winter of 1877-78.²⁸

General Howard, back in the Pacific Northwest after the Nez Percés' surrender, designated the whole area between Fort Colville and Camp Howard as the District of the Clearwater; Wheaton became its commander in addition to his other duties. Howard realized that Fort Lapwai was simply too small for its new importance. He preferred to move the district headquarters to Fort Walla Walla. The only problem was that the latter post already had the headquarters of the 1st Cavalry Regiment:

Will you please state to General McDowell [commanding the Military Division of the Pacific] that Walla Walla is much better located to communicate

-
27. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Capt. W. Boyle, CO, July 22, 1877, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Letters Received, Sully, Aug. 6, 1877, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.
28. NA, Microfilm 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, September 1877; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Telegrams, Sladen, Dept. Columbia, Sept. 18, 1877, to Wheaton.

with all parts of my District of the Clearwater than Fort Lapwai . . . and that I think it would be better for the said District and for the post at Walla Walla to have the Headquarters of the Second Infantry there, placing the Headquarters of the First Cavalry back at Benicia [California] or at some other place.

* * * Fort Lapwai is only a two-company post, and is poorly located for communication with the new post at Coeur d'Alene Lake [Fort Sherman, established in 1878] and the post of Fort Colville. There is no telegraphic communication from here [Portland] with Lewiston.

The division commander had no objection to moving the District of the Clearwater headquarters to Walla Walla, but he wanted the 1st Cavalry to remain in the Pacific Northwest. Perhaps because of this latter, Fort Lapwai continued to serve as district headquarters until August 1879.²⁹

Few events occurred to command the attention of the military on the Nez Perce reservation following the war. Occasionally some of the Nez Percés exiled in Canada would return, be taken into custody by the agent, and be lodged in the Fort Lapwai guardhouse for a time. The Bannock War, 1878, caused a brief scare among the white settlers. In the summer of 1880, another alarm went up when some few Indians in the wild country between Fort Lapwai and Boise went on a short-lived campaign against miners and other whites.³⁰

-
29. NA, RG 343, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAAG Rowell, Dept. Columbia, Sept. 22, 1877, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; NA, RG 343, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, Apr. 17, 1878, to AAG, Div. Pacific; and Register of Letters Received, AAG, Div. Pacific, Apr. 22, 1878, to Dept. Columbia.
30. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Telegrams, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Oct. 8, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Register Letters Received, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Oct. 15, 1879, to Dept. Columbia; and Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, July 3, 1880, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

Besides being inadequate, the structures at Fort Lapwai were becoming dilapidated by 1880. The inspector general that year voiced alarm about their condition. Rather than recommending new construction or extensive repairs, he "hoped that the post will be abandoned." General Sherman, in Washington, D. C., agreed:

I have never been to Lapwai or Camp Howard. Both seem out of place and no expenditure at either should be made more than to make such buildings reasonably habitable.

Railroads are changing the condition of that region of the world, and will soon enable [us] to select a few strategic points which must suffice for all time. I do not consider Lapwai such a place.³¹

This pronouncement confused General Howard. On a recent visit to the Pacific Northwest Sherman had told Howard that Lapwai would be continued as an active post. Why Sherman had changed his mind is not known. At any rate, the belief continued to grow that the fort's usefulness was coming to an end. The department quartermaster wrote in the spring of 1881: "It is understood in this office that the abandonment of Fort Lapwai is contemplated, but it is not known at what date."³²

The last quasi-military operation out of Fort Lapwai occurred in the summer of 1882. Rumors were heard that some young Nez Perces were planning to cross the Bitterroots to

31. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, endorsement by Sherman, Nov. 12, 1880, to letter AIG R. Jones, Sept. 3, 1880, to QM General.

32. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, Oct. 17, 1880, to AAG, Div. Pacific; and Chief QM, Dept. Columbia, Apr. 25, 1881, an endorsement to a request for a new storehouse at Ft. Lapwai.

join the Flatheads in opposition to building the Northern Pacific Railway. Patrols went out from Lapwai but all they could find on the Lolo Trail was a couple of elderly women intent on trading and two or three hunters. These offered little military glory; the patrols went home.³³

Brig. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, the man to whom Joseph had surrendered at Bear Paw and now the commanding general of the Department of the Columbia, first visited Fort Lapwai in the fall of 1881. Two years later he composed a long letter in which he set forth his arguments for closing down the post, leaving there only a small detachment for maintenance purposes. In the summation of his reasons that follows it will be noted that he did not mention the Nez Perces, either to protect them or to defend whites. These Indians were thoroughly demoralized by then; their population had greatly diminished; the exiles of the War of 1877 were still in Indian Territory:

1. Fort Lapwai was close to the large permanent post of Fort Walla Walla. By means of railroads and steamboats troops from Walla Walla could be dispatched quickly to Idaho, if necessary.

2. The troops would benefit in drill, discipline, and target practice if they were consolidated into larger units. Also, they could be maintained more economically when concentrated.

3. The location of the fort was objectionable: hot summers with strong winds, cold winters.

33. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Post Adj. Landis, Aug. 2, 1882, to Capt. A. G. Forse; and Letters Received, Forse, Aug. 6, 1882, to Post Adj., Ft. Lapwai.

4. The buildings, with few exceptions, were old and dilapidated. If the post were continued, extensive repairs would be needed.³⁴

Miles' superiors readily agreed with his recommendation. As 1883 ended, plans were developed for the abandonment of Fort Lapwai in the spring of 1884. On April 5, 1884, the following telegram arrived at the fort: "It is the expectation of Dept. Commander that your post will be abandoned about June 1st, the Infantry Company to go to Coeur d'Alene & Cavy to Walla Walla." The 586-acre hay reserve, immediately south of the post, was turned over to the Department of the Interior in May.³⁵

All things take time. Fort Lapwai did not close down as an independent post until August 8, 1884. By then, a small detachment had arrived from Fort Walla Walla to maintain the post. Lapwai was now considered to be an outpost of that station.³⁶

34. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Miles, Dec. 13, 1883, to Div. Pacific; and Register Letters Received, AAG, Div. Pacific, Dec. 21, 1883, to Dept. Columbia.

35. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG, telegram, Apr. 5, 1884, to CO, Ft. Lapwai. The Army would have given up the hay reserve in any case. It was excess to the 640 acres maximum allowed for a military post in the Pacific Northwest. Also, Fort Lapwai had not used this hay reserve for many years. See NA, RG 94, Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai, Maj. L. Smith, CO, Apr. 4, 1884, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Nelson Miles, Apr. 9, 1884, to General of the Army; and Sect. of War, May 7, 1884, to Sect. of the Interior.

36. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 109, Aug. 8, 1884; NA, RG 94, Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai, SO No. 109, Dept. Columbia, July 25, 1884.

When Idaho's Congressional Delegate T. F. Singiser learned of the closing, he dispatched a letter to Gen. P. H. Sheridan urging that the troops be returned. He reminded Sheridan that the general had promised him earlier that the fort would not be abandoned. Not only had the troops departed, but now General Miles was recommending that the Nez Perces in Indian Territory be returned to the reservation. Singiser concluded:

The people living in that section of the country have a lively recollection of the infamous and murderous conduct of these Indians. . . . The relations between the whites and the Nez Perces are not by any means good, and I consider them 'very bad Indians,' ready to take up the torch and the scalping knife at any time on very slight provocation.

He did not say if the Lewiston merchants and contractors were concerned about losing the soldiers' business.³⁷

Probably to please the Delegate and to cover himself, Sheridan sent word to Fort Vancouver that he had indeed "some time ago disapproved the abandonment of Fort Lapwai because of strong representations made to him that it should be held." However, he conceded, he was satisfied with the present arrangement to keep only a detachment there. He warned the department not to remove any buildings "until the matter is further considered."³⁸

For reasons not clearly stated in the military correspondence, the detachment was removed from Fort Lapwai on

37. NA, RG 94, Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai. T. F. Singiser, Id. Delegate to Congress, ca. summer or fall 1884, to Gen. P. H. Sheridan.

38. NA, RG 94, Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai, AG, Nov. 7, 1884, to CG, Dept. Columbia.

November 1, 1884. Early in 1885 another detachment from Fort Walla Walla returned to Lapwai for a couple of weeks. The last time a patrol was at the old post was in June 1885, when the exiled Nez Perces finally returned to the Pacific Northwest. General Miles proudly announced that the return was without incident: "Nez Percé Indians were escorted from the Eastern boundary of the Department to the Lapwai and Colville reservations. They were welcomed by their friends, and very glad to return to their reservation. I see no reason for apprehending any future trouble in connection with these people." Fort Lapwai's days had finally come to a permanent close. On November 17, 1885, a U. S. Army officer formally transferred the buildings to the Nez Perce Indian agent.³⁹

Established to protect the Nez Perces against the whites, Fort Lapwai found its role changing many times over the 22 years of its life: defending whites from Nez Perces, supervising civilian hangings, supporting the agent in his struggle with civilian authority, exploration, community jail, regimental and district headquarters, the center of critical negotiations with the Nez Perces, and, tragically, the base of operations for a war against the Nez Perces. Its history was highly significant both in comparison with other military posts of the 19th century West and in the Nez Perce Country.

39. NA, RG 94, Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai, Miles, telegram, ca. June 3, 1885, to CG, Div. Pacific; NA, Microfilm 617, Roll 1344, Ft. Walla Walla, Post Returns, August 1884-July 1885; NA, RG 153, GLO Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai, AAQM, Ft. Walla Walla, Nov. 20, 1885, to AG, Dept. Columbia.

Social and Military History

Civil War Period

The troops that founded and built Fort Lapwai were non-professionals, Civil War volunteers recruited in Oregon, Washington Territory, and even in California. As soon as General Alvord decided on the permanent post, the soldiers and a few civilians began constructing barracks, officers quarters, a guardhouse, and the necessary storehouses.

The first monthly post return, dated November 1862, listed five officers, 143 enlisted men, 32 civilian employees, and 74 horses present for duty. Maj. J. S. Rinearson, 1st Oregon Cavalry, oversaw the rush of activities. The garrison's two companies, H, 1st Oregon Cavalry, and I, 1st Washington Territory Infantry, were commanded by Captains W. J. Matthews and William M. Knox, respectively. Two lieutenants assisted each captain. The post surgeon, William M. Carpenter, was a civilian under contract. The other civilians consisted of a clerk, wagon master, 15 carpenters, 3 bricklayers, 2 teamsters, 2 herders, 2 cooks, and 5 laborers. Demands for economy would greatly reduce the civilian strength by the following spring even though the post was far from complete.

During the three and one half years the volunteers manned the post, several changes in command and in units occurred. Among the additional commanding officers were Matthews (above), Col. Justus Steinberger (present only two months in 1863 when the great council with the Nez Perces occurred), Maj. Sewall Truax (who would return later as post trader), and Capt. Abner W. Waters (the last of the volunteer commanders). Changes in the companies resulted in Company F, 1st Oregon Cavalry, replacing Company H in 1863; and Company F, 1st Oregon Infantry arriving in 1865 as the infantry unit.

During most of this period the garrison consisted of one company of infantry and one of cavalry. In theory, the cavalry made patrols throughout the country while the infantry performed such internal duties as guarding the post. In fact, the men of both units performed a multitude of housekeeping and construction chores such as had to be done at all small

frontier posts: company cooks, hospital cook, baker, gardeners, stable hands, clerks, and so forth.

Fort Lapwai's greatest strength during this period occurred during April and May 1863, during the treaty council of that year. At that time 23 officers and 372 enlisted men occupied a tent city in the vicinity of the still-building post. Of these 23 officers, four would join the Regular Army following the war; but none would have an outstanding military career. When the Civil War ended and the volunteers gradually disbanded, the post strength was reduced to one company of infantry. From August 1865 until June 1866 this company never had more than 50 men present.¹

In August 1863, General Alvord directed that the boundaries of the military reservation be established. He limited its size to the traditional 640 acres, but stated that if necessary an additional "Hay Reservation" could be selected, "being careful to locate it so as to interfere with the Indians as little as possible and to be acceptable to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs." That December E. F. Gray surveyed the military reservation. He described these original boundaries as follows:

Commencing at a post marked 'U. S.' about three quarters of a mile North West of this garrison running thence South one hundred and seventeen chains to a post, thence East sixty four chains to a post, thence North seventy seven chains to a post, thence West twenty seven chains and twenty links to a dogwood tree, thence North forty chains to a post, thence West thirty six chains and eighty links to place of beginning.

-
1. NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, Oct. 1862-June 1866. Lt. James A. Waymire and Lt. Samuel Purdy, Jr., would both resign from the Regulars in 1869. Lt. William M. Knox would die in 1866. And Lt. Silas Pepoon would die in 1874. See Heitman, 1, 607, 783, 809, and 1010.

General Alvord disliked these boundaries: "This survey takes in some two hundred acres of hill land [mostly in the southwest corner], which is utterly useless for any military purpose, it being unfit for grazing purposes, for hay, for wood, or for building or cultivation." Nonetheless he recommended that the military reservation be approved as surveyed. Abraham Lincoln signed this approval on April 23, 1864.²

During these early years of the fort's existence, glimpses of the daily life of the garrison may be caught in the military correspondence. The first commander, Rinearson, had an eye for natural beauty. The only trees in the vicinity were those that grew along the course of Lapwai Creek. Anxious to preserve this ribbon of greenery he had the following order published: "Certain parties have been in the habit of chopping down trees along the Creek--hereafter the practice will be discontinued--No trees will be cut within half a mile of the Post." These shade trees continued to delight the garrison families through the years.³

The first post quartermaster, 1st Lt. W. V. Rinehart, found his job to be overwhelming. At that time the quartermaster was responsible for acquiring all the supplies (food, clothing, furniture, and everything else) and for the construction and maintenance of all the buildings of the post. In many ways he was a man of power, one whom others tended to be friendly with in the hope of little favors. On the other hand, when supplies were in short supply or when a roof leaked buckets, the quartermaster got the blame. Rinehart

-
2. NA, Rg 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAAG, Dist. Oregon, Aug. 13, 1863, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; NA, RG 153, GLO, Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai, Alvord, Feb. 29, 1864, to AG, Washington; and Abraham Lincoln, April 23, 1864 (approval). No one, including Truax, yet realized that the rolling hills would prove to be rich wheat land.
 3. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 18, Nov. 10, 1862.

was terrified of his responsibilities: "Being placed in a position which is likely to incur much censure in the event of a failure to secure the necessary supplies and materials for the comfort of the command . . . and feeling myself entirely unable, under existing orders, to do any thing to prevent such an occurrence, I . . . ask to be relieved from duty as A. A. Q. M. and A. A. C. S. at this Post. Rinearson agreed and promptly replaced him with newly-promoted Capt. D. W. Porter.⁴

The records do not indicate whether any of the Civil War officers brought their families to the post. One group of white women present was the company laundresses. Apparently six of these ladies were employed at the post. Their one-room apartments were located to the rear (east) of the barracks. Generally, these were decent, hard-working women, some of them married to enlisted men. They charged officers \$4 per month (or \$2 for one dozen articles) for doing their laundry. Enlisted men had to pay \$1.

Occasionally a laundress came along who indulged in activities other than washing clothes. Mrs. Brown was such a person at Fort Lapwai. She was assigned to wash for Company E, 1st Washington Territory Infantry. While he did not go into details, the company commander wrote in exasperation: "Her conduct during her sojourn at this Post has been so disreputeable as to render her an object of aversion to all and the Laundress' quarters are so constructed that other Laundresses, respectable women, are continually brought into contact with one whose presence is a disgrace." Presumably, she was expelled.⁵

-
4. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Lt. W. V. Rinearson, Oct. 29, 1862, to Rinearson; NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, December 1862. AAQM--Acting Assistant Quartermaster, AACS--Acting Assistant Commissary of Subsistence.
 5. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, "Proceedings of a Council of Administration," Dec. 29, 1862; and 1st Lt. S. Prudy, _____, 1863, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

In the summer of 1863, someone set fire to the grass for miles around Fort Lapwai. While some people blamed the Nez Perces for this (the Indians usually got the blame when something went wrong), Major Truax had a different opinion: "I have good reason to believe that the prairies have been set on fire by white men." It seems that the culprits hoped to sell the post hay for the cavalry horses, thus deliberately causing a local shortage. The final outcome of this little scheme remains unknown.⁶

A serious problem that the garrison faced daily was that of utter boredom. Other than an occasional patrol to check on a bootlegger or some minor clash between Nez Perces and whites, the military life offered the troops nothing but dull routine. The excitement of battle lay on the other side of the continent. This boredom was borne out by the desertion rate. For example, and perhaps an extreme one, ten enlisted men took off for more promising environments in August 1863 alone. In addition, a prisoner escaped from the guardhouse that month. The commanding general became alarmed. He urged the officers to take "the most vigorous steps" to apprehend these deserters, and to improve morale by keeping the garrison busy at "wholesome occupation," such as drill! Further, he added: "There is no objection to the Company Fund of Companies being employed in erecting a nine pin alley, if it would contribute to the exhilaration of the men." If a bowling alley was built, it did not again appear in the military record.⁷

The Civil War ran its course. The volunteers returned to civilian life. The last of these troops marched out of Fort Lapwai in July 1866. Since no regular troops were

6. OR, 50, Pt. 2, p. 548, Truax, July 31, 1863, to AAAG, Dist. Oregon.

7. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, AAAG, Dist. Oregon, Aug. 1, 1863, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

available to replace them, Fort Lapwai remained deserted until November. These volunteers did not make much of a military record during their 44 months at Lapwai. But they did build a solid little frontier post that served a purpose once gold was discovered on the Indian reservation--gold that was important to the Union's cause. While no great confrontations with lawless whites occurred, the presence of the troops undoubtedly added stability to the uneasy conditions of the Nez Perce Country.

The Regulars Take Over

First Lt. John H. Gallagher, 14th U. S. Infantry, led his temporary command, Company E, 8th U. S. Cavalry, into Fort Lapwai on November 23, 1866. This cavalry troop had left Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, on November 2 and had traveled by ship and steamboat to Wallula, near Walla Walla. From there it had marched overland, camping at Walla Walla, Dry Creek, Touchet, Tucannon, Alpowa, and Lewiston. Its strength consisted of one other officer, 2d Lt. Alexander H. Stanton, 1st Cavalry, 49 enlisted men, and a contract surgeon, Edward Storrer.⁸

The troopers occupied the quarters build by the volunteers and settled down to learn about their new station. Gallagher remained their commanding officer only until March 1867, when Capt. Charles H. Lester, 8th Cavalry, arrived to take command of his troop and the post. Lester would be in charge for the next 14 months, a fair amount of time as far as assignments were concerned during that period. The day after his arrival, Lester had the bugle calls published. These calls set the routine of the post. Army people would recall in their retirement that the bugle calls had been their clocks. Rather than

-
8. NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, November 1866; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 1, Nov. 23, 1866. John M. Gallagher, a native of Pennsylvania, joined the volunteers as a private in 1861. He was commissioned in the 106th Penn. Inf. in 1864. By the end of the Civil War he was a captain. Appointed the 14th Infantry as a 1st Lt., he was promoted to captain in 1868. He left the Army in 1871 and died the following year. Alexander Hamilton Stanton joined the Regular Army as a captain in 1861. He was cashiered in 1864, but joined the U. S. Veteran Volunteers in 1865. In May 1866 he rejoined the Army as a 2d Lieutenant. He won a brevet captaincy in 1868 on the Malheur River, Oregon. He died in 1870, a 1st lieutenant. See Heitman, 1, 443 and 916.

saying "Is it 5 o'clock already?", the question was "Is it Stables already?" These calls would vary slightly with the seasons or the whims of the commander:

Calls

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Reveille at Daybreak | 13. Fatigue Call 1:30 |
| 2. Stable call immediately after | 14. Drill Call 2:00 |
| 3. Breakfast Call 6:45 | 15. Recall from Drill 3:30 |
| 4. Fatigue Call 7:30 | 16. Recall from Fatigue 3:45 |
| 5. Sick Call 7:45 | 17. Stable Call 5:00 |
| 6. Guard mounting 8:00 | 18. Retreat Sunset |
| 7. Recall from Fatigue 9:30 | 19. Tattoo 9:00 |
| 8. Drill Call 9:45 | 20. Sunday Inspection 9:00 a.m. |
| 9. Recall from Drill 10:30 | 21. Guard Mount Immediately After |
| 10. Water Call 11:00 | 22. Church Call 11:00 a.m. 9 |
| 11. Orderly Call 12:00 | |
| 12. Dinner Call 12:30 p.m. | |

The Nez Perces complained strongly to Lester that the troops were cutting firewood on the Indian reservation--wood they needed themselves. Lester argued that the Treaty of 1863 allowed the garrison to cut timber. He discussed the issue with the agent and the leaders of the tribe. All agreed finally to submit the matter to the department commander and abide by his decision. Lester lost. The word came down that "wood will hereafter be procured for the use of the Garrison, where it will in no way interfere with the Indians of the Reservation."¹⁰

-
9. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 7, Mar. 15, 1867.
10. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Lester, Aug. 13, 1867, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Steele, Aug. 21, 1867, to Agent O'Neill; and AAG Williams, Aug. 21, 1867, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

Captain Lester and his Company E transferred to Drum Barracks, California, in May 1868. The new post commander was Capt. Edwin V. Sumner who then commanded Company D, 1st Cavalry. Sumner was a promising young officer with a strong career ahead of him. His two junior officers were 1st Lt. Charles E. Bendire, who became the post quartermaster, and 2d Lt. Henry N. Moss, the new post adjutant.¹¹

Dr. Storrer remained for another year as the post surgeon. In the summer of 1868 he brought to Sumner's attention the strange matter of an affliction that troubled the whole command--constipation: "Not a day passes without one or two [men] applying to me . . . for remedies to relieve them. It is somewhat out of the common for a company of troopers to be afflicted in this way." He attributed the cause to a lack of vegetables in the troopers' diet. This in itself was odd, for the post would be known in future years for the excellence of its gardens.

Besides treating the garrison, Storrer also served the medical needs of the agency--for which he received separate pay.

-
11. Edwin Vose Sumner, son of a general of the same name, was born in Pennsylvania. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was commissioned in the 1st U. S. Cavalry as a 2d Lieutenant. His career was a steady, if slow, climb: Captain, 1863; major, 1879; lt. colonel, 1890; colonel, 1894; and brigadier general, 1899. He served as a brigadier general of volunteers in the Spanish-American War. Retired in 1899. Charles E. Bendire came from Germany. He joined the 1st Dragoons as a private in 1854. In 1864 he won a commission as 2d lieutenant in the 2d Infantry. Soon he transferred to the 1st Cavalry and was promoted. He became a captain in 1873, and retired in 1886. Brevet major in the Nez Perce War. Died in 1897. Henry Nixon Moss, another Pennsylvanian, graduated from West Point in 1867, near the bottom of his class. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1869 while at Ft. Lapwai. In 1876 he again came to Lapwai, but decided to retire to civilian life. See Heitman, 1, 209, 731, and 936.

The agent at that time was the famed ex-mountain man, Robert (Doc) Newell. Newell did not appreciate Storrer's services and complained about him. The fort came to the doctor's defense: "Storrer was one of the best doctors in [the] whole country. He went down to the Agency daily. The Indians loved him. Newell wanted to get rid of him so that he could appoint his own nephew as doctor to the Nez Perces." Ironically, both Newell and Storrer were discharged from their respective duties at the same time, July 1869. The new post doctor was Assistant Surgeon Charles Greenleaf, U. S. A.¹²

Storrer's trouble with Agent Newell was nothing compared to Sumner's clash with Newell's successor, 2d Lt. Joseph W. Wham. A regular Army officer, Wham had become Indian Agent under President Grant's program to rid the agencies of political appointees. At first the two officers got along together quite well. At one point Sumner inquired from his superiors if Wham might not sit on a garrison court martial board. (The response was that he could not.)

The fight began when Sumner decided to remove the post trader, for reasons not stated other than "I found that my sutler's store was not being carried on to suit me." The post trader happened to be Sewell Truax, who had been a commanding officer of Fort Lapwai during the Civil War. Truax also ran the trading post at the agency and was a friend of Wham's: "Mr. Truax is also the Indian Trader at the Agency, and my relieving him has raised quite a storm down there."

12. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Storrer, July 8, 1868, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Bendire, Aug. 20, 1869, to Agent Wham. Charles Ravenscroft Greenleaf, another native of Pennsylvania, entered the volunteers as an assistant surgeon in 1861. Within a few months he transferred to the Regular Army. In 1876 he was promoted to major surgeon and, in 1891, to lt. colonel. In 1896 he became a colonel and an assistant surgeon general. He retired in 1902. See Heitman, 1, 476.

Wham was further infuriated when he learned that Sumner had appointed D. C. Kelley as the new post trader: "Mr. D. C. Kelley was an employee at this agency . . . and was retained by me as 'supt. of schools,' but from many circumstances . . . I was convinced that he had been engaged with others in misapplying funds . . . whereupon I discharged him. He moved his family to Oregon and then returned and was the Guest of the Officers at Fort Lapwai." Wham demanded that Sumner not allow Kelley to become the trader.

Now Sumner grabbed his pen and wrote the superintendent of Indian Affairs at Boise:

It has been my constant endeavor to get along peaceably and quietly with the Agency people. . . . Mr. Wham is just a little beyond my point of endurance. . . .

On my return from the East [on leave] I . . . determined to relieve Maj. Truax and I have appointed Mr. Kelley to take charge of the concern. Upon this Major Truax has become quite angry . . . this is but natural . . . but to my surprise Mr. Wham has taken the matter up . . . and tells me that Mr. Kelley can not be made Suttler [sic] that he will not allow it; that the Post is on his reservation and that if Mr. K. undertakes to bring any goods here he, Mr. Wham, will have him arrested. . . . I most urgently request you to take the matter in hand and give Mr. Wham instructions not to interfere with my affairs.

Wham then wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs saying that "Col. E. V. Sumner is not fit commander for an out Post in the Indian Country." Wham recommended that the garrison be reduced to a sergeant, three corporals, and ten privates and that they be placed under his command.

Indian Affairs concluded that Wham was out of line. In February 1870 the lieutenant received a fast transfer to

another agency. But Sumner was not exactly the victor. Kelley would cause succeeding commanders numerous headaches.¹³

The boundaries of the military reservation, as established in 1864, had proven unsatisfactory over the years, as Alvord had predicted. From the Army's point of view there was insufficient pasturage for the fort's stock--50-75 beef cattle and about 100 horses and mules. For the past several years the post commander had authorized grazing on the adjoining land, without complaint from the agent. In 1870, however, the new agent, Capt. D. M. Sells, USA, undertook to fence the Lapwai valley into fields for Indian cultivation. He told the post commander that several Nez Perces were complaining that Army cattle were "eating out their range."

The Department of the Columbia sent 1st Lt. Clinton B. Sears, Corps of Engineers, to Fort Lapwai to work out a solution. Since the Nez Perce reservation was unsurveyed land, the Department did not think it was necessary to restrict the military reserve to 640 acres and directed Sears to run his lines "for any amount of land that may be necessary." Also, Sears was unaware that President Lincoln had declared the military reservation in 1864; no record of this could be found in the Department Engineer's Office.

He found that the agent had had fences built everywhere: "It seemed as if it was necessary to give some one the contract for so many miles of fencing, and that this fencing was put up with very little care." Sears agreed with Captain Sumner that the new military reservation should reach up the valley far

13. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Sumner, Nov. 22, 1869, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; and AAG, Dept Columbia, (Dec.) 2, 1869, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Bendire, Dec. 16, 1869, to Truax; and Sumner, Dec. 21, 1869, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; NA, Microfilm 234, Roll 339, CIA, Letters Received, Floyd-Jones, Supt. Ind. Affairs, Boise, Dec. 25, 1869 to (CIA?), transmitting Sumner's letter to him, Dec. 16, 1869; and Wham, (Jan. 1970), to CIA.

enough to include a dam that had been put in the Lapwai (about 1 1/2 miles above the post). While Sears wrote that the dam had been built by the agent "to bring as many Indians as possible into the valley and settle there on farms," it would seem that the Army's real interest was in using the dam to irrigate the post gardens on the east side of the Lapwai. Sears ran his lines, only a little concerned that his proposal would include four fenced fields. His new boundary description read:

Beginning at a point on a spur of the hills, about 1400 yards N. W. of the flag staff . . . and which is marked by a large flat-faced stone, on which is painted, with black letters on a white ground, Initial point U. S. M. R. N. W. Corner; running thence N 65°30'S--2400 feet--thence S45°30'E--2685 feet--thence S78°20'E--900 feet--thence S41°11'E--2250 feet--thence S16°51'E--4200 feet--thence S71°39'W--2375 feet--thence N 36°W 9300 feet to the initial point and containing 640 acres, more or less.

In addition Sears laid off a large hay reserve to the south of the military reservation, on the east side of the creek:

Beginning at the point where the South line of the Military Reservation intersects the West bank of the Lapwai running thence along, and on the continuations of said line N 71°39'E 4822 feet--thence S41°21'E 7020 feet more or less to the North bank of the Lapwai--thence along this creek Westerly and northerly to the point of beginning, and containing 586 acres more or less.

President Grant declared these new reservations on June 15, 1871.¹⁴ (See illustrations for old and new plats.)

At the end of 1870, Department headquarters ordered that stones replace the wooden stakes marking the angles of the new reserves. The post commander reported a few weeks later that this had been done and that the stones had been painted white with black lettering.¹⁵

A small disaster that occurred during Sumner's regime was the complete destruction of the guardhouse by fire from a defective chimney. Fortunately the guards and the prisoners were working in the stables at the time, thus no injuries occurred. Work began on a new guardhouse immediately. It was a most essential building. Not only did it house the guard itself, it also was home for the military prisoners, of which there usually were from five to ten at Fort Lapwai at any one time. During Sumner's last month as commander, December 1870, seven prisoners were locked up, three for general offenses, four for desertion. All wore the ball and chain and all passed the time of day at hard labor.

From time to time, the agent would send a Nez Perce prisoner to the fort with the request that he be kept in the guardhouse. One such prisoner attempted to escape in May 1870.

-
14. NA, RG 153, GLO, Reservation File, Ft. Lapwai: Sears, Oct. 3, 1870, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Lt. L. V. Caziarc, aide de camp, Dept. Columbia, telegram, Oct. 13, 1870, to Sears; Sears, Oct. 28, 1870, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Abraham Lincoln, Washington, Apr. 23, 1864; U. S. Grant, Executive Mansion, June 15, 1871. Actually, some minor errors found their way into the description signed by Grand (but not in the above). These were corrected by General Order No. 7, USA, May 1, 1872.
 15. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAAG Dept. Columbia, Dec. 22, 1870, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; and letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 18, 1871, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

The guard fired at him hitting him in the thigh. The Nez Perce died three hours later. Sumner wrote: "The prisoner was under arrest for being concerned in an attack upon some ladies in Lewiston, while out riding, and for other misdemeanors."¹⁶

As late as 1973 the U. S. Army has experienced some criticism for the employment of enlisted men as assistants (or servants) to high-ranking officers and their wives. It is with amusement that one reads the comments of an inspector general at Fort Lapwai in 1870. While the inspector found conditions at the fort generally satisfactory, he wrote: "Captain Sumner and 1st Lieut. Bendire each uses a soldier as servant, but does not excuse him from inspection and drill. Satisfactory proof was shown me of their earnest endeavor to procure other servants."¹⁷

Captain Sumner transferred to Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, in December 1870. First Lieutenant Bendire became the commanding officer. Then, in June 1871, the size of the garrison was doubled with the arrival of Company E, 23d Infantry. Its leader, Capt. George K. Brady, was senior to Bendire and assumed command of the post. The junior officers of the fort consisted of 2d Lt. James Rockwell in the cavalry company

16. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, letters Sent, Sumner, Oct. 21, 1869, and May 14, 1870, to AAAG, Dept. Columbia; and May 12, 1870 to Mr. Slater, Lewiston; Ft. Lapwai, List of Prisoners, Dec. 15, 1870. An inspector general at Ft. Lapwai in 1870 thought that the sentences being meted out were too severe. See NA, RG 159, IG, AIG O. H. Ludington, Apr. 30, 1870, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

17. NA, RG 159, IG, Ludington, Pt 12, 1870, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

(Moss had transferred) and 1st Lt. Louis R. Stille in the infantry. Asst. Surgeon Greenleaf still held sway at the post hospital.¹⁸

In January 1871 Bendire made a complete report of inspection of the arms of his cavalry company. In that so thorough a document is not common, it is here extracted from at length. He reported having 77 men in the troop: 5 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 musicians, and 66 privates. The weapons and accoutrements consisted of:

89 Spencer Carbines Cal .50, 26 of which were marked Repeating Rifle Co., Boston Mass. M 1865 Patented March 1862. Remainder no date, but of earlier manufacture.

96 Remington Revolvers Cal .44, marked E. Remington and Sons, Illion, N. Y. USA. Patented March 14, 1858, new model.

-
18. George Keyporte Brady was still another Pennsylvanian. He joined the volunteer infantry as a private in 1861, and was commissioned that same year in the 14th U. S. Infantry. Promoted to captain in 1864, he transferred to the 23d Infantry in 1866. He retired with the grade of lt. colonel in 1894. Died in 1899. James Rockwell, Jr., was born in New York. He graduated from the USMA in 1870, fifth in his class, and was assigned to the 1st Cavalry. In 1874 he was promoted to 1st lieutenant in the Ordnance Corps. During the Spanish-American War he was Chief of Ordnance of Volunteers. In 1903 he was still on active duty as a major in Ordnance. Louis Richard Stille, a native of Maryland, joined the volunteers as a 2d lieutenant in 1862. By the end of the Civil War he was a captain and a brevet major. In 1866 he was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 14th Infantry. He died on active duty, in the grade of captain, in 1890. See Heitman, 1, 239, 840 and 926.

78 Light-Cavalry Sabres, 40 marked Ames M. Co.
Chicago Mass 1865. 20 marked Emerson & Silver
Trenton N. J. 1864. 18 marked T. J. Millard,
Clayville N. Y. 1862.

13,840 Ball and 2,785 Blank Cartridges for
Spencer carbine, cal .50, metallic.

1,500 Ball cartridges for Remington Pistol,
Cal .44, skin.

840 percussion caps for Remington Pistol.

85 carbine slings.

65 carbine cartridge boxes, interior filled with
maple wood, block bored for 20 cartridges, worn on
waist belt.

43 pistol cartridge pouches, no interior filling,
holding 6 cartridges if put up in wood or 20 loose
ones, worn on waist belt.

76 sabre belts and plates.

7 pistol belt holsters, fit on sabre belt, suitable
for Colt or Remington.

All made of black leather, marked "W. Kinsey & Co,
Newark, N. J.

The artillery at the post consisted of one 6-pounder bronze
howitzer and one 12-pounder bronze mountain howitzer.¹⁹

19. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Bendire, Jan. 13,
1871, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; NA, Micro 617, Roll 593,
Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, August 1871.

General Canby visited Fort Lapwai for a few days in May 1871. He formed a good opinion of the garrison but noted that some of the buildings needed repairs. He considered the hospital to be especially inferior, "but as the post is, and has always been extremely healthy no expenditure on that account is considered advisable until the question of the permanency of the post is settled." As a result of the general's visit, Bendire found himself leading his cavalry troopers on several patrols, exploring the country to the north for good fort sites (see Chapter 1).²⁰

In May 1871 Bendire ordered Post Trader David Kelley to stop selling "all Kinds of Spirituous liquors" either to enlisted men or to private citizens. After Captain Brady took over, Kelley received permission to sell beer to the enlisted men. He wrote Brady asking him about sales hours and if he could now sell liquor to citizens. Brady replied:

"You can sell Beer at your store to the Enlisted men of the Command so long as they do not get enough to make them drunk. The Beer must be of the same quality as that brewed in Lewiston and not adulterated with spiritous liquors of any kind.

Your Billiard Room can be kept open until Tattoo every evening except Sundays.

I have no objections to you selling liquor to Citizens by the drink, provided it is not sold to the enlisted men.²¹

20. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG, Dept. Columbia, Apr. 30, 1871, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; and Canby, May 27, 1871, to AAG, Div. Pacific; NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, June-September 187.

21. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Kelley, Aug. 11, 1871, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Bendire, May 15, 1871, to Kelley; and Brady, Aug. 11, 1871, to Kelley.

Bendire, Rockwell, and Company D, 1st Cavalry transferred from Fort Lapwai in the summer of 1971. They were replaced by Company E, 1st Cavalry. Its commander, Capt. George Sanford, was on leave at the time and did not arrive at Lapwai until that December. However, the two junior officers, 1st Lt. Duncan Sherman and 2d Lt. Edwin H. Shelton, were present to run the company's affairs.²²

At the same time Sanford took over command of the post, December 1871, Captain Brady's Company E, 23d Infantry, transferred to Fort Vancouver. For the next seven months only the one cavalry troop manned the post. Then, in July 1972, Company G, 21st Infantry, arrived to share the duties. Asst. Surgeon Greenleaf remained on duty at Fort Lapwai until about June 1873.²³

Sanford and his lieutenants continued patrolling and exploring the country north of the Clearwater through much of 1872. Department headquarters was still considering the abandonment of Lapwai and moving its garrison to a still

22. George Bliss Sanford, a native of Connecticut, was appointed a 2d lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons in 1861. By the end of the Civil War he was a captain and brevet lt. colonel. He retired in 1892 on the same day he was promoted to colonel of the 6th Cavalry. Died in 1908. He was one of the more dynamic officers to serve at Ft. Lapwai. Duncan Sherman came from New York. He was commissioned in the 1st Cavalry as a 2d lieutenant in 1867. He resigned in 1873, a 1st lieutenant. Died in 1879. Edwin Henry Shelton, from Connecticut, graduated from West Point in 1870. He died on active duty in 1880, a 1st lieutenant. See Heitman, 1, 859 and 880-82. Sanford's Civil War experiences may be found in E. R. Hagemann, editor, Fighting Rebels and Redskins, Experiences in Army Life of Colonel George B. Sanford, 1861-1892 (Norman, 1969).

23. NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, 1871-73.

undetermined site. Sanford himself led patrols to the Coeur d'Alene River and into the Bitterroot Mountains in May, June, and September. Lieutenant Sherman covered much of the same country in September and October. However, no decision was made that year concerning Fort Lapwai's fate.²⁴

After the infantry company arrived in 1872, Sanford faced the problem of finding suitable quarters for all the officers--by the end of the year six officers; some with families, were present but only four sets of quarters existed. He arranged to rent Post Trader Kelley's residence on the east side of the Lapwai. Here Lt. Fletcher and family took up residence. One day Fletcher failed to appear on the parade ground when "Assembly" was sounded. When called to give an explanation, Fletcher had a good reason: "Although waiting for the 'Assembly', I failed to hear the call sounded. I would further beg leave to state that, owing to the position of my quarters, I am unable to hear the majority of the calls issued from the guard house." His plight showed up the need either to abandon Fort Lapwai or to improve its facilities. Neither would happen until several years later.²⁵

The most important of the enlisted men at an army post were the sergeant-major, who worked out of the adjutant's office and in reality ran the whole show; the company 1st sergeants, who were fathers, mothers, chaplains, and disciplinarians to their companies; the quartermaster and commissary sergeants, who ran their respective empires and prepared all the forms for the officers to sign; and the hospital steward, who was the "first sergeant" of the hospital and supervised the daily sick call. The hospital steward at Fort Lapwai at

24. Ibid, 1872; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Scouting Reports, 1872; and Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Canby, Oct. 1, 1872, to AAG, Div. Pacific.

25. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Fletcher, Dec. 14, 1872, to Post Adj.

the end of 1871 was H. T. M. Holtzemann, a German immigrant. About 60 years old, Holtzemann died in November from apoplexy. His death in itself would be only of passing interest. But the matter of settling his estate casts a light on life at Fort Lapwai.

In March 1872 the German Consul General at New York wrote Sanford inquiring about Holtzemann's estate, saying that he had heard it amounted to \$11,000. He thought it possible that the hospital steward was the same person, Hinrich T. M. Holtz, who had left an orphan daughter in Germany in the 1830s. He asked Sanford for any information that he might have.

Sanford forwarded an inventory of Holtzemann's estate that had been filed in probate court in March 1872:

Promissory note made by Post Trader D. C. Kelley	\$2,045
Promissory note " " J. K. Vincent,	\$647, but worthless
Receipt for \$1,400, Phillipsburg Coal Iron & Oil Co.	"
112 shares in above company	"
Money in pocket:	\$992.65 currency, \$150 gold coin, & \$8.80 silver coin.
Gold watch	\$100
Masonic ring	10.
2 Masonic pins	2.50
Enamel Ring	.50
Sword	1.00
Violin & case	10.00
Pipe & case	5.00
8 books	2.00
1 pr. duelling pistols & case	10.00
1 ambrotype	worthless
<u>5 photographs</u>	
Total of appraised	\$3,332.95

While this was a small sum for a man's whole life, it was not inconsiderable for a soldier to have accumulated on the frontier. The matter passed out of Sanford's hands into those of the estate's administrator in Lewiston, but not before at least two more alleged relatives wrote to the captain for information.

Holtzemann's grave marker may still be seen in the Fort Walla Walla cemetery, Washington.²⁶

All told, 1872 passed routinely at Fort Lapwai. On December 15 Sanford wrote that a minor earthquake occurred: "At 10 p.m. Decbr 14th two sharp shocks of an earthquake were felt at this post. The buildings were considerably shaken. but no damage of any kind is perceptible. The motion was from N. N. W. to S. E. & the shock was accompanied by a low rumbling like distant thunder."²⁷ As the year ended, word arrived that the Modoc War had begun in southern Oregon. Sanford and his troopers would be saddling their horses in the spring.

Following the Army's failure to capture the Modocs' stronghold in the Lava Beds in January 1873, a call for reinforcements went out to Army posts along the Pacific coast. Sanford received an alert in February that his troop might be needed at Camp Harvey nearer the scene of fighting. He was directed to make his preparations quietly: "The troop, if sent, will of course move as lightly as possible, and heavy baggage packed so as to follow when the roads are better." The orders to march arrived on March 5. For some unexplained reason Sanford took all the heavy baggage, even a laundress and her four children. The command bogged down before it reached Walla Walls, where it went into camp. Department headquarters was irate. The

26. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, J. Ros(ing?), Consul General of the German Empire, New York, Mar. 26, 1872, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Inventory of Holtzemann's estate; Chas. Koehne, Indianapolis, Mar. 19, 1872, to CO, Ft Lapwai; F. Monteith, Lewiston, Apr. 7, 1872, and Mar. 10, 1873, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; and I. D. Holtzermann, Piqua, Ohio, Mar. 18, 1872, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

27. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Sanford, Dec. 15, 1862, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

adjutant general ordered the baggage returned to Lapwai and demanded an explanation. Sanford's reply has not been located.²⁸

With the cavalry's departure, Captain Harry M. Smith, 21st Infantry, found himself temporarily commanding officer of Fort Lapwai. His Company G could boast only of 38 enlisted men and two lieutenants--Fletcher and John M. Ross. Until Sanford could return, Fort Lapwai would be but a housekeeping operation.²⁹

Captain Smith was well-known in the Army as an alcoholic. This condition, of course, reduced his efficiency as commanding officer. At one point, department headquarters had to write him a sharp note asking why 2d lieutenant Fletcher was signing post correspondence as commanding officer. Smith feebly replied: "I was confined to my bed by a severe attack of neuralgia rendering me unfit for the performance of duty." This attack was followed, he said, by pneumonia.

Even before the Modocs surrendered, the department adjutant general was advising his superiors that Sanford should be returned to Fort Lapwai:

28. NA, RG 393, Dept. Col, Letters Sent, AAG, Dept. Columbia, Feb. 6, Mar. 5, ad Apr. 7, 1873, to Sanford.

29. Harry M. Smith, another Pennsylvanian; joined the volunteers as a private in 1861. He was commissioned in 19th U. S. Infantry in February 1865. Promoted to captain in 1866, he was assigned to the 21st Infantry in 1870. Robert Howe Fletcher came from Ohio. He received a 2d lieutenant's commission in the 21st Infantry in 1872. Becoming a 1st lieutenant in April 1877, he won a brevet captaincy in the Nez Perce War. He retired in 1886. He was a competent artist and is believed responsible for the drawing of Ft. Lapwai in this report. John Monroe Ross, born in Ohio, became a 2d lieutenant in the U. S. Colored Infantry in 1865. He switched to the Regulars in 1867. He died in 1884, still a first lieutenant. See Heitman, 1, 125, 847, and 898.

While no hostilities have as yet been inaugurated in that section of the country, it is undoubtedly true that since the departure of Sanford's troop, the Indians in the vicinity of Lapwai have become insolent and sullen in their demeanor, and openly express their contempt for the Infantry.

* * * * *

Sanford is well known to the people and the Indians, and for him they both have a great respect. He is a valuable officer, a good post commander, and should rather have the command of the post than the officer--Captain Harry M. Smith--the present commander.

Sanford and Troop E returned to Fort Lapwai in June 1873.³⁰

Post Trader Kelley became a headache for the officers in the fall of 1872. The post adjutant wrote him that "intoxicating liquor has been obtained at your store, by the enlisted men of the garrison for several days." One present-day writer thinks that Captain Smith's alcoholism caused him to relax vigilance over Kelley's activities. Kelley got off with merely a warning not to sell hard liquor; Sanford wanted him to continue making beer and ale available to the enlisted men.

Six months later the post trader was again in trouble with headquarters. This time he was ordered to remove "all liquor of an intoxicating nature" from his store. Apparently he was slow to act. On March 23, 1873, he was ordered to close his

30. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Smith, June 18, 1873, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG, May 13, 1873, to Col. Jeff C. Davis, acting dept. CO.

store "at once." He could unlock the door only to distribute the mail.³¹

In November 1873, Captain Sanford went on an extended leave and detached service that would keep him absent from the post for several months. Smith again became post commander and again Kelley became an issue. On January 1, 1874, Agent John Monteith wrote his superiors that Kelley's removal would benefit the reservation: "He is constantly selling liquor to the 'Halfbreeds.'" Two months later Lt. Frazier Boutelle, a tough individual who happened to be the officer of the day, observed some "improper transactions" at Kelley's store and he ordered its immediate closure. When he reported this to Smith, Smith sided with Kelley. Boutelle became furious and prepared to bypass Smith and take the matter directly to department headquarters.

At this point a gap exists in the military records concerning Kelley. It is known that he was shortly thereafter suspended as post trader and that Tom Beall, (pronounced Bell) a sometimes agency and army employee, took over the store. Time would prove that Beall was but a front man for Kelley.³²

31. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Shelton, Sept. 2, 1873, and Mar. 13 and 23, 1874, to Kelley; Mark H. Brown, The Flight of the Nez Perce (New York, 1967), p. 40.

32. IHS, Lapwai Agency Letters, Monteith, Jan. 1, 1874, to CIA, NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Boutelle, Mar. 26, 1874, to Post Adj. Frazier Augustus Boutelle, from New York, entered the volunteers in 1861 as a quartermaster sergeant. He received a commission in 1862. Following the Civil War he enlisted in the Regular Army and rose to sergeant major of the 1st Cavalry. In 1869 he was commissioned as a second lieutenant. He fired the first shot of the Modoc War, November 29, 1872. Promoted to 1st lieutenant in July 1873, he arrived at Ft. Lapwai in October. See Heitman, 1, 233.

Despite Kelley's liquor, conditions at Fort Lapwai were quite good at this time. At least Dr. Skinner, the post surgeon, thought so. He noted: "There is very little drunkenness or disorderly conduct, even after pay day." He was pleased that the wooden bunks were moveable, thus allowing for a thorough police. The messes were providing good food for the enlisted men. The doctor counted the books in the post library and found there were 49 volumes in good condition; but only one periodical, the Army & Navy Gazette, was subscribed to. "The usual recreation," he said, "is playing ball, of which both companies seem to be very fond." Finally, Skinner noted: "There is very little venereal disease prevailing, though Squaws are to be seen at all times around the post."³³

From time to time the fort assisted the Indian agent in the performance of his duties. Nez Perces in trouble were placed in the post guardhouse. Patrols went out with the agent on those occasions when he removed whites from the reservation. This latter task was not always appreciated by the Army. Agent Monteith received the following message: "The Commanding General is of the opinion that the settlers you desire to remove are only a few individuals who could be easily removed by you, in your official capacity, aided by some of your assistants. This would be a more peaceful and graceful way of achieving the object." Nonetheless, the Army would help when necessary. The troops did stand by when Monteith ordered William A. Caldwell to leave the upper Lapwai valley in 1874. Boutelle was in charge of the detachment:

33. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical History, Skinner, report for November 1873. (This was Contract Surgeon Skinner's first month at the post.)

"I have only to report that Mr. Monteith effected his purpose without calling upon me for assistance."³⁴

In April 1874, 15 recruits arrived at Ft. Lapwai. Dr. Skinner gave each of them a physical examination and was thoroughly depressed at what he saw:

On 17th a detachment of recruits numbering 15 arrived . . . for Co 'I' 1st Cavalry. They were the worst recruits I ever saw. One man had but one eye. Another had varicose veins. A third had a deformed chest. A fourth was exceedingly delicate, having weak lungs. Most of them could not understand or speak English at all.³⁵

Fort Lapwai sparkled with neatness in June 1874 when Acting Department Commander Jeff C. Davis arrived. Davis' purpose was to inspect all the country north of the Clearwater both to see for himself the places where Indians and whites came into contact and to evaluate the moods of the various tribes. Accompanying the colonel were his aide-de-camp and former commander of Fort Lapwai, Capt. E. V. Sumner; Asst. Surg. A. W. Wiggin; and 1st Lt. John A. Kress, Ordnance Corps. Captain Sanford with his Company E, Lieutenant Fletcher, (as topographical officer) and Hospital Steward Puffer, all from Fort Lapwai, joined the colonel's party. Lieutenant Shelton was to march separately, in charge of the baggage train. Not far from the fort Shelton's horse kicked him and broke two bones in his right leg. Fletcher substituted for him as leader of the baggage train.

Lewiston's Idaho Signal recorded the departure: "General Davis and party, consisting of forty mounted men besides officers

34. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG Wood, Jan. 17, 1874, to Monteith; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Boutelle, Feb. 18, 1874, to Post Adj.

35. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical History, Skinner, report for April 1874.

and teamsters, left Fort Lapwai last Monday [June 22] on an exploring expedition." The brief article continued: "They will be gone about two months . . . they will visit the Colville, Pen d'Oreille, Coeur d'Alene and other sections of country north of here."

The party returned to Fort Lapwai on July 21. Davis left almost immediately for Fort Walla Walla. Back at his headquarters he later penned a thorough accounting of his travels. He discussed the growing discontent of the non-treaty Nez Perces, especially Joseph's Wallowa band. He mentioned visiting Hog Heaven and Paradise Valley (today's Moscow, Idaho area), but that the Indians there "quietly dispersed on the approach of the troops." From there he marched toward Fort Colville:

At Fort Colville, I found the garrison and troop in good condition. Enroute, and there, I saw many of the different Indian tribes: they were all quiet and friendly disposed.

From Fort Colville I returned to Fort Lapwai by the way of Collespelle [Kalispell], Pend d'Oreilles, the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes Mission Country. I saw many of the Indians, they were engaged in fishing and hunting, and were perfectly peaceable. Some few were cultivating little farms.

With the exception of the dissatisfaction among the Nez Perces above alluded to, the Indian tribes throughout the Department are in a very satisfactory condition.³⁶

36. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Davis, Aug. 3, 1874, to AAG, Div. Pacific; Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 45, July 22, 1874; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surgeon, report for June 1874; Idaho Signal, date lost, 1874.

As soon as he returned to Fort Lapwai with the colonel, Captain Sanford again went on leave. He would get a change of station before he could return, thus his days as post commander ended in July 1874. Poor Captain Smith again took over the leadership of the garrison. This time he would be in command for a full year.

With Smith again in command, the matter of the post trader was bound to be discussed. Tom Beall had been managing the store ever since Kelley had been suspended. Beall was in reality Kelley's agent. Agent Monteith complained to the Department of the Columbia that Kelley exerted an evil influence on the Nez Perces--that is, he was selling them liquor. On November 3, Smith was ordered to close the trader's store. Both Indian Affairs and the Army investigated Kelley's activities and both concluded that he was unsuited to the task. In January 1875, the new department commander, Gen. O. O. Howard, wrote:

The agent that Mr. D. C. Kelley left in charge was reported to me to be under the influence of drink (Thomas B. Beale), during the time that I inspected the post last autumn.

The spirit of Mr. Kelley's letter towards the Indian Agent (John B. Monteith) shows of itself that one or the other ought not to be there. Mr. Monteith is certified to be a man of high character. I therefore recommend Mr. B. Loewenberg be appointed to the Post Tradership of Fort Lapwai.

The Secretary of War appointed Loewenberg to the position on February 20, 1875. His operation of the store was a vast improvement over that which had gone before.³⁷

Loewenberg's store opening was covered in the Lewiston paper, The Northerner. This short-lived newspaper, in contrast to most of its contemporaries, noted the comings and goings of the officers at Fort Lapwai. In September 1874, for example, it reported that Captain Smith had taken a short leave, and that General Howard had visited the post briefly at the same time. It was undoubtedly well for Smith that he missed the "Christian general." In December the paper told of the adventures of Lt. and Mrs. Edward Theller, 21st Infantry:

Killed a Lynx.--Lieutenant Theller, of Fort Lapwai, had been losing several of his fine blooded chickens and laid the trouble at the door of a weasel. One night last week, hearing a disturbance in his chicken-coop, he sallied out . . . and found an animal much larger than a weasel. . . . Mrs. Theller, who is an ardent admirer of his fine chickens . . . was close to the Lieutenant's heels and held the door to while he went to the house and got his gun. He then shot the animal and killed it. When taken from the coop it proved to be a large sized lynx.

That same issue mentioned that Lieutenant Boutelle had gone on a duck hunt recently but had been unsuccessful. (Boutelle was one of the crack shooters in the Pacific Northwest.) His hunting companion was none other than Tom Beall,

37. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG Wood, Nov. 3 and 6, 1874, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Howard, Jan. 19, 1875, to Div. Pacific; Ft. Lapwai. Letters Sent, Post Adj., Oct. 18, 1874, to Beall; Smith, Nov. 25, 1874, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AG E. D. Townsend, Feb. 20, 1875, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

before Beall was fired as trader. In the spring of 1875 the paper noted with regret that the Boutelles had transferred:

Left Us.--Lieutenant Boutelle of Fort Lapwai sold his effects at auction last Saturday and left on the Tenino on Thursday for Benicia, California. . . . The loss of Lieutenant and Mrs. Boutelle will be seriously felt by our citizens who wish them prosperity wherever their lot may be cast.³⁸

Only a few changes in the officer roster occurred in 1874-75. After Sanford's departure, Boutelle took charge of the cavalry troop. First Lt. Edward R. Theller, 21st Infantry, had arrived at Lapwai before Sanford left. In September Contract Surgeon George C. Douglas replaced Dr. Skinner. Boutelle's replacement as commanding officer of the cavalry was 1st Lt. Albert G. Forse, who arrived on May 22, 1875.³⁹

The enlisted men's routine varied but little over the months. The post quartermaster became irate over their habits at one point: "The creek back of the laundress quarters had become a receptacle for dead cats and filth of every kind, and the men have been in the habit of committing nuisances [sic] there until the stench from the place is something dreadful."

38. The Northern, Sept. 12 and 19 and Dec. 26, 1874; and May 8, 1875.

39. Edward Russell Theller, born in Vermont, entered on duty as a captain in the 2d California Infantry in 1861. In 1867, he was commissioned as a 2d Lieutenant in the 9th U. S. Infantry. He transferred to the 21st Infantry in 1869, and was promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1871. He was the first officer killed in the Nez Perce War, at White Bird Canyon. Albert Gallatin Forse, from Pennsylvania, graduated from West Point in 1865 and joined the 1st Cavalry. He made 1st lieutenant in 1866, captain in 1879, and major in 1897. He was killed in action in Cuba, 1898. See Heitman, 1, 429 and 592.

The privates had their defenders too. Captain Forse took one look at the issue tobacco and wrote: "It is the Haycock brand and . . . was furnished by the Government as an experiment. There is not a soldier in the company which I command that would use it, could they get the Hunts tobacco . . . [Haycock causes] sore throat and mouth."⁴⁰

Dr. Douglas took the time in one of his monthly reports to discuss the enlisted men's food in great detail, even giving the winter and summer menus for both the infantry and the cavalry companies. He considered the quality and the quantity of food satisfactory. The excellent post garden provided, in season: potatoes, cabbage, onions, beets, turnips, parsnips, carrots, peas, string beans, squash, radishes, lettuce, tomatoes, green corn, cucumbers, and more. Besides those vegetables that could be stored for winter consumption, about 25 barrels of sauerkraut were put up in the fall. The men could hunt prairie chicken and fish for salmon at the appropriate seasons.

The standard menu for the infantry company during the summer consisted of:

Breakfast:	Sun.	} coffee bread hash	Wed.	} coffee bread fried beef		
	Mon.		Sat.			
	Tues.					
	Thurs.					
	Fri.					
Dinner:	Sun.	roast beef potatoes bread plum pudding coffee	Mon.	} soup bread vegetables potatoes roast beef	Tues.	} beef potatoes coffee
			Wed.		Fri.	
			Thurs.			
			Sat.			
Supper:	Everday--coffee, bread, cold meat.					

40. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Theller, Sept. 5, 1874, to Post Adj.; and Forse, July 2, 1875, to Post Adj.

The winter menu was almost the same. Sauerkraut and pickles were served several times a week; no meat of any kind was served for supper. The cavalry troop's menu was not sufficiently different to justify its reproduction here. The most noticeable difference was the serving of fresh pork for dinner three times a week. It also noted that hash was made from beef, potatoes, and onions.⁴¹

Baseball continued to be the most popular sport. Lewiston citizens formed a team and challenged the soldiers to a series of games. On one occasion the post surgeon reported almost too much activity:

Base Ball Match at Lewiston between a club composed of Soldiers of the Garrison and Club of Citizens another match here at Post 3 or 4 days subsequent followed in the evening dancing party and Supper. Pay Master paid Garrison next day after party. From all these causes Several days of considerable dissipation and an increased no. on sick report.⁴²

A remarkable cold wave swept over Fort Lapwai in January 1875. The ordinarily moderate temperatures of the valley dropped below zero on fourteen days. The two coldest days found the thermometer reading -28°F. The barracks had not been designed for such cold and the men suffered. The post surgeon recorded eight cases of frostbite on toes and fingers.

41. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist. AA Surg. Douglas, report for December 1874, "Special Report."

42. The Northerner, April 10, 1875; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist. Douglas, report for Oct. 1874.

It was probably this record cold that a general would use later to say that the climate made Lapwai unsuitable as an army post (see Chapter 1).⁴³

Captain Smith's role as commanding officer drew to a close in 1875. One may only imagine the state of affairs that summer. It is clear that the other officers and the enlisted men held him in contempt. In July Smith had the post adjutant publish the following revealing orders:

The Commanding Officer regrets exceedingly to see that there is a spirit of insubordination displayed by certain Officers of his command in connection with the execution of certain duties required of them in their offices as public servants. He desires it to be distinctly understood that, when in the interest of public service, he issues an order, he intends that it shall be obeyed by both Officers and men without remark.⁴⁴

In October 1875, Lieutenant Forse and Company E, 1st Cavalry, transferred to Fort Walla Walla. (Captain Sanford was now on recruiting duty.) The following month Lapwai's new commander, Capt. David Perry, arrived with his Company F, First Cavalry. Perry had already gained a modest renown as a combat soldier. He had received three brevets for engagements in the Civil War and in eastern Oregon against Indians in the late 1860s. He and his troop had participated in the Modoc War in 1873 wherein Perry had received a slight wound. Historian McDermott has described him as "apparently

43. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., AA Surg. Douglas, report for January 1875.

44. NA, Rg 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 59, July 11, 1875.

a capable officer, if not a flamboyant one." Perry's associates described him as tall, erect, handsome, and arrogant.⁴⁵

The captain took a look at his new post and noted, as had all others before him, that the officers' quarters were too few in number and needed repairs. Lieutenant Theller was living off the post in the rented trader's residence. Still, he thought, "The companies live better here than at most frontier posts. The gardens supply an abundance of vegetables."⁴⁶

Perry brought two lieutenants with him, 1st Lt. Henry Moss, who had been stationed at Fort Lapwai in 1869, and 2d Lt. William H. Miller, another veteran of the Modoc War. Moss' second tour at Lapwai was short. In the spring of 1876 he submitted an unusual request asking for a year's leave to try his luck in civilian life. If successful, he would then resign from the military. The Army did not look favorably on this plan. Moss turned in his resignation on May 5.⁴⁷

45. John Dishon McDermott, Forlorn Hope, A Study of the Battle of White Bird Canyon, Idaho, and the Beginning of the Nez Perce Indian War. (NPS, 1968), pp. 89-91; Heitman, 1, 785. Perry remained in the Army until 1898 when he retired as a colonel.

46. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Dec. 2, 1875, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

47. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Reg. of Letters Received, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Mar. 24, 1876, to Dept. Columbia. William Haven Miller, born in Alabama, was the first officer from the South to be stationed at Ft. Lapwai. He graduated from West Point in 1872 and joined the 1st Cavalry as a 2d Lieutenant. As of 1903 he was still on active duty in the grade of major. He won a brevet 1st lieutenant rank in the Modoc War. See Heitman, 1, 712.

Over the years, departmental inspectors general had visited Ft. Lapwai once or twice a year, then had submitted their reports on the general conditions of the post. In the spring of 1876, General Howard decided he had no one on his staff to send up to Lapwai to make the inspection. He concluded that he would go himself, of course taking his aide-de-camp, Lt. M. C. Wilkinson. They took the steamer as far as Lewiston then rode the 12 miles to the post: "Whithout giving previous warning we appeared at Fort Lapwai before noon next day [April 28]. I spent Saturday the 29th in company with Captain D. Perry . . . examining the quarters, offices, stables, and other buildings."

On "Sunday morning (April 30) the troops were carefully mustered and inspected under my supervision. Captain Perry's company 'F' 1st Cavalry, numbering fifty nine (59) men, is reasonably full, but Captain Henry M. Smith's company; 'G' 21st Infantry, is now very small, numbering only seventeen (17) men, and several more to be discharged the 1st July." He found their arms, clothing, and equipment to be complete and in excellent condition. Howard's well-known religious tendencies came into play: "In the morning and evening, beside the muster, I met all the people in the garrison, in Captain Smith's company quarters at a religious service. I was very much pleased with the general cheerfulness and healthful appearance of all."

Even Captain Smith sobered up for the general's visit: "The officer concerning whom General Scholfield wrote me (who was at times drank [sic] to excess) seems to have reformed, and appears exceedingly anxious to do his whole duty in the most thorough matter." As for Perry, Howard wrote that he was "a courteous officer, yet firm and just in the performance of duty."

The inspection resumed on Monday: "Captain Perry passed the two companies in review before me, and exercised them in marching on foot. Afterward the cavalry company was drilled for an hour mounted. The troops showed very thorough previous drill. The horses were in excellent condition and ready for service." Howard concluded his work Wednesday by examining all the books and accounts which were in good shape. "I came from Lapwai Wednesday afternoon," he wrote, "feeling

greatly pleased with that beautiful post, and satisfied with the pleasant relation between the garrison and the indians near by."⁴⁸

Every July 4 was celebrated at Fort Lapwai, of course, but the 1876 holiday was of special significance--the Centennial of the Glorious Fourth. Post Orders No. 48 described the occasion: "Tomorrow being the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of these United States, all duty excepting guard and the necessary garrison police will be suspended at this post during the day, and such liberty as is consistent with discipline be granted the enlisted men of the command." The celebration was heightened by a 13-gun salute at dawn, another 13-gun salute at the close of the day, and the national salute at noon, this last consisting of 37 guns, one for each state in the Union. Perry further directed that as many troops as possible be allowed to go to Lewiston to witness the civic celebration.⁴⁹

The matter of schooling at Fort Lapwai had become a matter of discussion in early 1875, when an inspector general noted "quite a number of children" at the post. An enlisted man became the teacher and the school was established in an unused room soon thereafter. Perry reorganized the school in 1876 and also encouraged the enlisted men to attend night school. This night school began with recitations in tactics under the direction of the sergeants. By early 1877 it had expanded into a "regular course of study." Any enlisted men who wished to take it had to "bind themselves to constantly attend . . . for the period of one month." Perry wrote that this school had "a fair average attendance." The war brought it to an abrupt halt,

48. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, Apr. 22 and May 12, 1876, to AAG, Div. Pacific.

49. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 48, July 3, 1876; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Perry, Jul (7?), 1876, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

of course, and in the future years schooling for the enlisted men never got underway again.⁵⁰

Every post commander had his own little idiosyncrasies about the management and appearance of the post. Perry's peculiarities in this regard were relatively mild. One of his directives concerned paying proper respect for the parade ground: "The garrison parade ground being a place set apart for forms of ceremony its limits should be regarded with certain observances of respect. Thereafter except when policing it, fatigue and police parties and prisoners . . . are prohibited from crossing the parade ground, but will in the performance of their duties pass around outside of the garrison fence." Mrs. Perry, whose parlor faced the parade ground, must have approved. Another directive from this period probably was born of necessity; soldiers were notorious pet collectors: "Owners of dogs or those who have dogs in charge are required to chain or have them confined during the hours of Parade, Drill etc."⁵¹

When Howard inspected the post in April 1876, he was quite pleased with the performance of the post trader, Mr. B. Loewenberg. While Loewenberg carried a stock of liquor, he apparently carefully controlled its sale. Howard wrote there was scarcely any drunkenness at the post. Of course Howard could not know

50. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Perry, Feb. 13, 1876, to "Sir", Dec. 6, 1876, and Mar. 3, 1877, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AIG Sumner, Apr. 28, 1875, to AAG, Dept Columbia; Lt. R. Fletcher, Supt. of School, Apr. 9, 1877, notice to the EM. In February 1876, Lieutenant Miller requested the following school supplies: 8 Davis arithmetics, 5 English grammars, 5 Mitchell geographies, 8 spelling books, 9 readers (1st, 2d, & 3d), 8 slates, 2 doz. slate pencils, chalk, 2 benches, 1 table, paper, pens, and penholders.

51. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Circular, Sept. 29, and Circular, Nov. 10, 1876.

everything. For example, poor Mrs. McHale, wife of the commissary sergeant, desperately wrote a note to Loewenberg's clerk one dark day: "Pleas Mc[Combe?] dont give James Any more to drink as he is in trouble now. he started to go down [to the store], but, I told him you would not give it to him." McCombe swore later that when he got this note he refused to sell McHale another "sup." Then there was Pvt. Edward Lynch who got drunk, went AWOL, and got caught. The bad part of it all was that he was scheduled to be discharged soon. He wrote Perry begging his forgiveness: "Before leaving camp I was greatly under the influence of liquor, to such an extent that I left without realizing in the slightest degree the offence I was committing by so doing."⁵²

B. Loewenberg was one half of a partnership that he shared with his brother "J". The Loewenberg Bros. owned a mercantile business in Lewiston. In addition to the post tradership, they had several contracts in 1876 to supply the fort with firewood, barley, hay, and straw. Other contractors in the 1870s, most of them from Lewiston and vicinity, included: C. P. Coburn, Sam Phinney, I. E. Putnam, Silcott & White, I. Alexander, W. A. Caldwell, Oregon Steam Navigation Company, C. C. Bunnell, Jno. P. Vollmer, Lewiston Lumber Company, (Charles) Monteith & Snell, and many others. A frontier army post's economic contributions to a neighboring village could be considerable. The following goods and services have been culled from Fort Lapwai's records for 1875-77: lumber, firewood, lime, fence posts, bricks, shingles, lathes, heating stoves, charcoal, window sashes, hay, grain, oats, straw, barley, forage purchased

52. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Mrs. McHale, no date, but 1877; Pvt. Lynch, G, 21st Inf., Mar. 8, 1877, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

while on patrol, horse shoeing, bridge and road tolls, freight storage, steamboat freight, and rent on buildings.⁵³

Until the Nez Perce War, death came to Fort Lapwai but rarely. It was an exceedingly healthy post and disease seldom made inroads on the well-being of the garrison. Accidental or violent deaths also were at an extremely low rate over the pre-war years. It was somewhat unusual then that two suicides occurred during the first four months of 1877.

The first of these was a Private Tucker of the infantry company. The records did not indicate any reasons for his death. Surgeon Douglas simply wrote: "Private Tucker . . . attempted suicide by discharging his musket into his breast, aiming at the heart, not yet fatal, though probably will be." Tucker died before that day had ended.⁵⁴

The second death was that of Capt. Harry Smith. Despite his endeavors he had not been able to win his battle with the bottle. When Captain Perry reported the death he said simply: "Captain Harry M. Smith . . . died here yesterday evening [April 23] . . . at five minutes past seven." The Post Returns noted with brevity that Smith died "of inflammation of the stomach and bowels." Emily Fitzgerald, the post surgeon's wife and ordinarily quite gossipy, wrote her mother: "Poor Captain Smith died and was buried." Only in the monthly report of the post surgeon were the full circumstances recorded. Dr. Fitzgerald wrote:

On the 18th inst. Captain Harry M. Smith 21st
Infantry during a fit of depression following
upon a period of indulgence in drink, and the

53. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post QM, Letters Sent, 1875-77.

54. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Record, AA Surg. Douglas, reports for Jan. and Feb. 1976.

formal instituting of charges against him, attempted suicide by drinking an unknown quantity of the stronger Solution of Ammonia. This resulted in inflammation of the stomach and his death occurred on the 6th day following the ingestion of the caustic, viz. on the 23 inst. at 7 P. M. He was buried at the little post cemetery . . . with military and masonic honors.

Smith left no relatives in the Pacific Northwest and probably was unmarried. Mrs. Fitzgerald wrote that his father was a professor "in the Washington or [and] Jefferson or one of those western Pennsylvania colleges." But Smith's memory was not completely forgotten. A year later a letter arrived from a B. M. Westfall, Dayton, Ohio. "It is our wish to have placed on the grave of Capt. Smith at your Post, some flowers," wrote Westfall. "Will you have the kindness to have them put there if we send them to you?" Smith's remains lie today in the old Fort Walla Walla military cemetery, Washington.⁵⁵

Asst. Surg. John (Jenkins Augustus) and Emily Fitzgerald, witnesses to Smith's terrible death, had arrived at Fort Lapwai from Sitka, Alaska, in May 1876. Only a handful of army wives recounted in print their experiences in the West in the form of reminiscences or diaries. Fort Lapwai and history were fortunate in that Emily Fitzgerald wrote her mother endlessly during the dramatic time of the Nez Perce War. She had a sharp sense of humor and a knack for description. Like most officers' wives, she adhered to the strict cast system of the Army. She knew her position and possessed a fully

55. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Perry, Apr. 24, 1877, to AG, Washington; NA, Micro 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, April 1877; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Westfall, Mar. 13, 1878, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Fitzgerald, report for April 1877; Abe Laufe, editor, An Army Doctor's Wife on the Frontier, Letters from Alaska and the Far West, 1874-1878 (Pittsburg, 1962), pp. 197 and 246.

developed sense of superiority over servants, enlisted men, and Indians.

The Fitzgeralds shared a duplex officers' quarters with Captain and Mrs. Perry. Emily was pleased when she first saw her new home: "We will be very comfortably fixed when we do get into our quarters, and though they are small, I like them very much." After Sitka, the Lapwai valley seemed lovely: "This is a beautiful, green sunny place--such a lovely place for the children [she had two] to play. I expect they will grow fat and sunburnt." Of the four officers's wives at the post only Mrs. Fitzgerald had children.⁵⁶

Naturally, her letters dwelt on their activities: "I put one of the new little white dresses on Bess last Sunday. She wore it out at play on the parade ground."

Servants were a natural subject for discussion. The Fitzgeralds had brought Jennie, a Russian woman, from Alaska. They hoped to employ Jennie mostly as a nurse for the children and to employ a cook for the kitchen: "Doctor has gone into town with Mr. Bomus (one of the officers) to hunt for some Chinamen for cooks." She was then doing her own cooking: "I had a soldier, but he was not nice, and Doctor sent him off."

The doctor succeeded in his search: "I have a Chinaman in my kitchen today. I held out a long time, though. I would much rather get any kind of woman, but after doing all the cooking for two weeks, I felt thankful to see Mr. Sing, and I will cheerfully pay him his thirty dollars in gold once a month, though it does seem awful." She added: "All the other officers here, except Colonel Perry, have Chinese help." Mr. Sing proved to be a good cook: "He made delightful muffins for breakfast and is now making a cake for dinner."

56. From Mrs. Fitzgerald's letters and from other accounts, two of the women were Mrs. Perry and Mrs. Theller. The writer has not succeeded in identifying the fourth wife.

I am going to have a baked stuffed salmon for dinner." But their relationship became strained by autumn: "Mr. Sing departs tomorrow for the mines. I believed I am glad he is going. The clothes from the wash have such a horrible smell and I can't help imagining it is his horrible old teeth (you know how they sprinkle clothes). . . . But he is a good old fellow."

Jennie succeeded Sing in the kitchen. For a time she proved satisfactorily as the cook. Then came the Christmas party: "I am going to have the people of the garrison (seven) all here tomorrow evening, the gentlemen to play whist." The day of the party, Emily busied herself all over the house while Jennie remained in the kitchen preparing the food. Just before the time set for the party Emily visited the kitchen. There she found Jennie as drunk as a lord and the food ruined. Emily perhaps became hysterical. Anyway the doctor ordered the two women to bed and played host by himself. The next day Emily wrote: "I have seen Mrs. Theller and Colonel and Mrs. Perry this morning and they say they had a lovely time. Doctor made them the best coffee they ever had."

Eventually, the Fitzgeralds employed another Chinese cook, Tome. And, eventually, they arranged for Jennie to return to Alaska. However, the poor soul died in Portland before she could return to her home.

Emily enjoyed the pleasant surroundings of Fort Lapwai although at times she felt lonely at the isolated post:

"We are nicely fixed in our quarters now and are real comfortable. Doctor likes Lapwai ever so much."

"Lapwai is a pleasant post, as far-away posts go, but it is very quiet and lonely here."

"We have two or three pretty walks, but we are surrounded on all sides with high hills, not covered . . . with big trees, but with prairie grass. There is not a tree or bush from one end of them to the other. Our post, though, is right on a little stream, the Lapwai, and its banks have some nice, big

trees (mostly cottonwood) on both sides, so we don't have to pine for something green."

Christmas 1876 found Mrs. Fitzgerald and her neighbor, Mrs. Perry, busily planning for the festivities:

We are beginning to think about Christmas. . . . Mrs. Perry is planning for a tree with some little trifles on it for the laundress's children. I will have to have a little tree for my babies."

"This is a real pleasant little post, you know, and it takes so little to make children happy and a [Christmas] tree look pretty."

"We have decided to light up the children's tree on Saturday night, as we (the big folks) are all going to spend Monday evening with Mrs. Perry."

"Someone called in that the Christmas trees had come. I must go and see about them. Everybody at the post has something for the children, and I don't suppose I will have any peace for a month. Too much is worse than too little."

"We took our Christmas dinner at the Agency . . . we went down in a sleigh."

"Mrs. Perry had a tree for the laundresses children and had it lighted up, and she had all the garrison in on Monday evening. She gave us a delightful cold supper, and we had a merry time." Mrs. Perry was considered to be an excellent hostess, as this note by Emily implies: "Mrs. Perry's about the best cook I have come across. Her dinners are celebrated among army people all over this region. She has such a way of dressing things with fancy sauces. Oysters, drawn butter, and such things are scattered about in a delicious manner, and she seasons things to a degree that would give your the dy[s]pepsia, but it is so awfully good."

In true officers' ladies' style, Emily and Mrs. Perry decided to begin 1877 by uplifting the moral values of the laundress' children: "Mrs. Perry and I are going to start a little Sunday school with Bessie and the laundresses' children." They began the school on January 7: "Have ten real nice children, most of them infants about Bessie's age [about 4]. There are three little girls and a boy about nine or ten, and the other five, who are my lot, are all between four and six." She added: "Mrs. Perry has a very sweet voice and will lead us in singing, though we must depend on the tunes we know, as neither of us sings by note." The Sunday school was destined to a short life. The time was fast approaching when Agent Monteith and General Howard would order the non-treaties to move onto the reservation.

When whites killed a Nez Perce in the Wallowa valley in the summer of 1876, Joseph, Jr., paid a visit to Fort Lapwai. Perry talked to him and concluded that the non-treaties intended to remain at peace.⁵⁷ In November, General Howard headed a commission that met with the non-treaties at the post. The council lasted almost a week; but it accomplished nothing concerning the non-treaties. Emily Fitzgerald found the whole affair interesting, but only from her point of view as hostess:

Well, the Commissioners arrived on Tuesday. General Howard and Colonel [H. Clay] Wood are here at the post, and the rest are at the Agency.

* * *

We have had to turn our sitting rooms into sleeping rooms for our guests and sit in our dining rooms. My dining room is the brightest and coziest little room in the house, so it was not very bad.

* * *

57. NA. RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Perry, July 12, 1876, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

Mrs. Perry is confident that the Indians won't come to terms and we will have an Indian war in the spring.

* * *

General Howard had a little service in the Infantry Barracks Sunday night--nothing more than a temperance talk to the men--but the whole thing was very pleasant. Mr. [William] Stickney [a commissioner] led the singing, and all the men sing well.⁵⁸

Howard again came up to Lewiston in April 1877. He conferred with Agent Monteith and Captain Perry. They decided to call a council with the non-treaties for May 3 and to order them to move to the reservation. Mrs. Fitzgerald wrote on May 1 that Howard and his aides had arrived at the post.

The council opened on May 3. Emily described the scene:

There is a big tent pitched on the parade ground, about as far from our porches as from your [her mother's] front door across the street, and in and around it, squatted on the ground, are about a hundred Indians in the most gorgeous get-ups you can imagine. General Howard and his aides, the Indian Agent, and several of the officers of the post in full uniform are inside talking with Joseph. The outside line of Indians around the tent consists almost entirely of squaws and papooses. We go over every now and then, but I soon get tired, and the smell is strongly Indian.

* * *

The guards were doubled this morning and both companies are armed in their quarters. Of course, all this is out of sight of the Indians, and none

58. Laufe, pp. 217-21.

of the officers in Council are armed. It is interesting, though, to see the bright picture before me--the tent and the bright blankets out on the parade.

* * * *

The Indians rode out from the Canyon in single file. All were on ponies and in their gorgeous array and instead of turning into the post gates, they circled the post three times, cupping their mouths with their hands, making the sound Wah-Wah-Wah. When they finally stopped at the gate, they stacked their arms before entering the post. At one time during the Council, Mrs. Perry and I were listening to the speeches when one young brave got very excited in his gestures. As he raised his arms in emphasis, a long sharp knife fell on the ground. (They were to enter the Council unarmed!) Well, it did not make us feel any more comfortable, and we felt less so when we heard the command whispered among the offices to send word to 'double the guard.'

General Howard added a few colorful details to Mrs. Fitzgerald's description:

We had, by way of preparation for the council, a large hospital-tent pitched in front of that one walking sentinel at the guard-house, and extended the tent--as we were accustomed to do with our wall-canvas houses during the Rebellion--by prolonging and propping the ridge-pole and stretching over it the tent-fly, with ropes well cut, and with sides of tent looped up.

* * *

There were fifty non-treaty Nez Perce Indians, not more, arranged as usual; a long rank of men, followed by women and children, with faces painted, the red paints extending back into the partings of the hair,--the men's hair braided and tied up with showy strings,--ornamented in dress, in hats, in blankets, with variegated colors, in leggings of buckskin, and moccasins beaded and plain; women with bright shawls or blankets, and skirts to the

ankle, and 'top moccasins.' All were mounted on Indian ponies as various in color as the dress of the riders. These picturesque people, after keeping us waiting long enough for effect, came in sight from up the valley, from the direction of their temporary camp, just above the company gardens. They drew near to the hollow square of the post, and in front of the small company, to be interviewed. Then they struck up their song. They were not armed except for a few 'tomahawk pipes'. . . . Yet somehow this wild sound produced a strange effect.

* * *

Joseph, Ollicut, and other principal men, came up behind Colonel Perry's quarters, and walked through the transverse hall, this being to them, doubtless, the most modest and acceptable mode of approach. [This must have given Emily Fitzgerald a start. Her and Mrs. Perry's "transverse" halls lay next to each other.]

I had gone to the council-tent to receive them, where were already gathered the agent, the interpreters, Mr. [Perrin] Whitman and James Reuben, lieutenants Wilkinson and Doyle [his aides], several officers and ladies of the garrison, and numerous 'treaty indians,' standing or crouching outside the door. Father [Joseph] Cataldo . . . was also present. After the usual hand-shaking and orderly seating of the assembly, the Catholic father opened the exercises by a short extempore prayer in Nez Perce.⁵⁹

59. Laufer, pp. 246-47; O. O. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, An Account of His Ancestors, His Lands . . . His Pursuit and Capture (Boston, 1881), pp. 51-53.

As the council dragged on, Emily Fitzgerald grew somewhat concerned. But her neighbor, Mrs. Perry, who was already known in the Army for extreme nervousness, almost panicked:

On Monday [May 7] the Indian Chiefs, Joseph, White Bird, and Ollikut, will again see the general and the Agent and unless they say unconditionally yes (which no one thinks they will) six or eight companies of troops will be on the move after them by Tuesday morning.

* * *

We are safe here, but if they would only leave the Doctor here, too, I should be happy, but he will go with the troops. Poor Mrs. Perry is almost crazy. Her husband was badly wounded in the Modoc War.

* * * *

It would seem sort of funny to you that the people here take things so quietly. I am continually wondering why no one (but Mrs. Perry) seems excited.

* * *

Oh, how I hate them [non-treaties]. I wish they could be exterminated, but without bloodshed among our poor soldiers. General Howard is promenading the porch quoting scriptures. Indeed, I think he is real good, but he is awfully queer about it.⁶⁰

As the council drew to a close, with seeming agreement in the air, Mrs. Fitzgerald's observations became more relaxed in tone: "Joseph seems inclined to come in now. I guess he sees too many soldiers about. Major [Capt. Joel G.] Trimble's company is encamped just outside the post. . . . [Ollikut] has always given more trouble than Joseph He is a

60. Laufe, pp. 248-49.

splendidly horrible looking Indian, over six feet, and straight as an arrow." She finally shook hands with two of the leaders: "I happened to go out this mornining when General Howard was talking to a couple of them on the porch, and they all shook my hand fervently and looked straight into my eyes as they departed. One was 'Looking Glass,' one 'White Bird,' and the other, some unpronounceable Indian name with three h's in it."

Dr. Fitzgerald recorded Howard's departure from Fort Lapwai: "In furtherance of his wishes for a peaceful adjustment he [Howard] remained at Post until the 16th [May], when his presence was required at Head Qrs. of the Dept. he departed for Portland in the belief that his mission had been successfully accomplished."⁶¹

Capt. William H. Boyle, recently Howard's aide-de-camp, arrived at Fort Lapwai in early June to take command of Smith's Company G, 21st Infantry. Mrs. Fitzgerald was delighted. The Boyles had children: "They are much older than mine, but it is a pleasure to see the young people about this quiet post. They have a pretty girl about twelve, a boy about ten, and a grown-up son."⁶²

61. Laufe, p. 249; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Fitzgerald, report for May 1877. This report does not dwell on the terms of the agreement nor on the details of the Nez Perce War itself. All these factors have been written about countless times. This report restricts itself to Fort Lapwai itself: what happened when, how things looked, what the people did.

62. Laufe, p. 257. William Henry Boyle, a native of New York, served as an officer in the Civil War. By the end of that war he was a major. In 1866 he was commissioned as a 2d lieutenant in the 2d Infantry. During the Modoc War he served competently as a quartermaster in the field. He retired in 1900 in the rank of lieutenant colonel. See Heitman, 1, 236.

Lieutenant Fletcher had transferred from the post in May, when he had received a promotion into a vacancy in another company of the 21st Infantry. But Lieutenant Teller was still present to help Boyle run the company. Assisting Perry in managing the cavalry company was 1st Lt. Peter S. Bomus, who had been assigned to Company F, 1st Cavalry back in July 1876. Camped just outside the garrison was Captain Trimble's Company H, 1st Cavalry. His sole junior officer was 1st Lt. William R. Parnell.⁶³

The deadline for the Nez Perces' move to the reservation approached and for a brief time it seemed that all would end well. Then the killings on the Salmon River occurred. Emily Fitzgerald started a letter to her mother on June 15. Word arrived at the post that four settlers had been killed: "Well, our Indian troubles, that we thought all over, have begun again." Mrs. Boyle "just ran down the back way," behind officers row. "She says it makes her feel sick." Howard had returned to Fort Lapwai on June 14 just to be present for the occasion of the move. Emily wrote: "General Howard, the [Indian] inspector, the Agent, and Colonel Perry and the aides are all just now counseling together as to the country and best plan of action."

Later in the day more bad news arrived to the effect that seven more whites had been killed: "Our post is all in a commotion. The two companies of cavalry will leave in a few hours." Mrs. Boyle paid another visit: "Mrs. Boyle and I have just been sitting looking at each other in horror. Poor Mrs. Theller is busy getting up a mess kit for her husband." Emily could not turn to her husband for comfort. He was down at Portland serving as a witness in a lawsuit arising from the time he had served at Sitka. Undoubtedly for the betterment of everyone's nerves, Mrs. Perry had gone down

63. Peter Sporr Bomus, from New York, graduated from West Point in 1870 and was appointed to the 1st Cavalry as a 2d lieutenant. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1876, to captain in 1888, to major in 1901, and to lt. colonel in 1903. See Heitman, 1, 229.

to The Dalles to visit friends and was not at Fort Lapwai when war began.⁶⁴

Fort Lapwai and War

In the evening, June 15, Captain Perry led Troops F and H, 1st Cavalry, out of Fort Lapwai toward the scene of trouble. Riding with the cavalry officers was Lieutenant Theller, 21st Infantry, substituting for Lieutenant Bomus. Howard wrote: "Lieutenant Theller had been added to Perry's command,--four resolute young men, including Trimble and Parnell. They were all married. Mrs. Perry had just gone down the river. . . . Mrs. Trimble and her children, and Mrs. Parnell, were at Walla-Walla; only Mrs. Theller was there to suffer the added trial of parting with her beloved husband for battle, or it might be for death."⁶⁵

On June 17, a rumor spread through the post that Perry's entire command had been ambushed and every soldier killed. Howard could not believe this. He scribbled a message for Perry: "Be careful about those traps--of course you will." Dr. Fitzgerald, who returned to the post from Portland about a week later, reported: "The intelligence of this disaster reached Ft. Lapwai in the afternoon and evening [of the 17th]. The first news being in fact worse than the reality and was to the effect that Perry's Command had been annihilated." On the following day, the official report came in: Lieutenant Theller and 33 enlisted men dead; the command routed. Howard went to Mrs. Theller to tell her she was a widow. But she guessed the news before the general could speak. Mrs. Fitzgerald wrote

64. Laufe, pp. 254 and 258-60. Howard had met Mrs. Perry in Lewiston on his way up, June 14.

65. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p. 98.

home : "More than half the command is dead and missing. Poor Mr. Theller is dead. The wounded men were left on the field."⁶⁶

Panic swept over Fort Lapwai in the first days following the battle at White Bird Canyon. Perry and his surviving cavalrymen remained in the field. Only 40 or so infantrymen guarded the post. General Howard described the scene:

On one occasion two friendly Indians, who had been chased and fired upon by some unruly white men . . . rushed toward the fort . . . and cried out something which the excited people of the garrison took to mean 'Indians are coming.' Defences were made; the little garrison was arranged at its best resistance. Some of the officers were at the top of the hill, in two minutes, looking out. Laundresses and children, wild with fear, and with hair flying, came running to the officers' line of houses. A resolute army lady [Mrs. Fitzgerald?] gathered and took charge of a large number of women and children. Some incidents had a comic and ludicrous side, and, in retrospect afforded much merriment: as ladies seizing rifles and pistols, barricading doors and cellar-ways, stepping into water-pails in dark passages.⁶⁷

Boyle had one of the officers' quarters barricaded with cordwood and instructed all the women and children to gather there if attacked. Emily Fitzgerald described a false alarm, perhaps the same incident Howard wrote about: "The long roll was sounded, the men were all under arms, and the women and children all gathered in one house around which there are

66. NA, RG 94, Medical Hist., Ft. Lapwai, Fitzgerald, report for June 1877; Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p. 98; NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, June 17, 1877, to Perry.

67. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p. 127.

breastworks. For a few moments, I think, we women with our helpless little children suffered as much as if the Indians had really come. We were very calm and brave, though, that is Mrs. Boyle, and Mrs. Theller, and I wore ourselves out trying to quiet the excited laundresses."⁶⁸

To help quiet the edgy fort, Howard ordered all the refugees to leave and go to Lewiston for protection. "It was," he wrote, "a hard order, and caused much gossip, and, I fear, the feelings of many friends were deeply touched; but it was necessary."⁶⁹

In less than a week after Perry's disaster, eight companies of troops had assembled at Fort Lapwai. Howard prepared them to march on the Nez Perces. Mrs. Fitzgerald and Mrs. Boyle kept busy consoling Mrs. Fletcher and the laundresses and entertaining the officers passing through:

[June 24] Mrs. Boyle and I have been with Mrs. Theller. The poor little laundress, who has also lost her husband, has been staying in our house ever since her husband left, as she was afraid in her own quarters outside the garrison. Then all week there have been troop passing through and we have entertained the officers. I had eight for lunch and seven for dinner, and I think Mrs. Boyle must have had a dozen today. The parade is full of horses, the porches are full of trunks and blankets, everybody is rushing about, and everything is in confusion.

* * * *

Here are these nice fellows gathered around our table, all discussing the situations and all knowing they will never all come back. One leaves his watch and little fixings and says, 'If one of

68. Laufe, p. 264.

69. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p. 128.

those bullets gets me, send this to my wife.' Another gave me his boy's photograph to keep for him, as he could not take it. He kept his wife's with him, and twice he came back to look at the boy's before he started off. One officer left a sick child, very ill; another left a wife to be confined next month.

[June 29] Poor Mr. Theller is still waiting here. She won't leave until she can get her husband's body.

[July 12] A young man named [2d Lt. Sevier] Rains was killed last week. It was his first fight. He was a lovely boy. Mrs. Theller felt dreadfully about his death. He was the officer in charge of the party that found and buried Mr. Theller's body. Rains had so marked Theller's grave that he would have no difficulty in finding it again, and now we don't know that it can be found. Mrs. Theller is so anxious to have the body. Poor woman, I have felt so sorry for her. It was two weeks after the fight before they were able . . . to go out to bury the men . . . and Mrs. Theller used to say, 'If he was only buried. Oh, my poor Ned, lying there with his face blackening in the sun.'⁷⁰

The Battle of the Clearwater, July 11 and 12, though not a clear-cut victory for the Army, marked the end of the emergency at Fort Lapwai. The war would continue for months, but on the east side of the Bitterroots. Peace and calmness returned to Lapwai valley. The most striking evidence of this change was the news that Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Perry were coming

70. Laufe, pp. 262-63, 269, and 274. Mrs. Theller eventually left for San Francisco. Her husband's remains were later sent to that city for reburial. Lieutenant Rains' remains today lie in the Fort Walla Walla cemetery.

up from Portland to visit the post. General Howard took time out from the war to be at Lewiston when the steamboat docked. He was disappointed to learn that his wife had not come; and he was doubly disappointed to see Mrs. Perry there. The captain's wife took the occasion to have hysterics. Later, Howard had Dr. Fitzgerald for lunch at his field headquarters. The general asked: "And Mrs. Perry? She is well, is she? She went off into hysterics when she arrived." Emily felt sorry for the poor woman: "You will understand better when I tell you she is a very nervous and excitable woman. I fell sorry for her and pity her, for I know how hard it is to keep up myself."⁷¹

On July 20, Emily Fitzgerald learned of what she had been fearing ever since June 15: Dr. Fitzgerald was to accompany Howard over the Lolo Trail. He would be absent until October 17. During those lonely months, Emily kept busy looking after her children, taking a deep interest in the widowed laundress, and fighting to retain her quarters when a large reinforcement came to the post:

Mrs. Hurlbut [wife of Pvt. W. L. Hurlbut, Co. F, 1st Cavalry, killed at White Bird Canyon] the poor little laundress I have mentioned . . . was here staying in my house at nights all that first month. She is expecting daily to have another baby, and she was afraid, in case of an alarm at night, she would not be able to get across the parade to the breast works. So she asked me if she could bring her children and sleep up with Jennie, which she did until lately. . . . She is a very nice little lady, and her children are as nice as I know. She is left destitute. After her sickness, we will all help her. A purse will be raised to take her back to her friends.⁷²

71. Laufe, pp. 280, 283, and 286.

72. Laufe, pp. 286-87. Mrs. Hurlbut had her baby on August 12.

When Dr. Fitzgerald joined Howard's command, the post surgeon at Fort Walla Walla, George Miller Sternberg, returned to Fort Lapwai from the field (he had been in the Battle of the Clearwater) to take charge of the post hospital. He arrived just in time to take charge of the large number of wounded returning from the battlefields: "Poor Dr. Sternberg is disgusted and worked to death. The hospital has 36 men in it. 28 or 29 wounded, and the others sick." The small post hospital could not house this number of patients, and several tents were erected in its vicinity.

Surgeon Sternberg would eventually become the surgeon general of the U. S. Army and one of the most famous doctors in the Army's history. His fame would come principally from his work in bacteriology and his many contributions to army medicine, including the establishment of the Typhoid Fever Board and the Yellow Fever Commission, both of which included the brilliant Walter Reed.⁷³ But of much greater importance to Fort Lapwai's history is the fact that Sternberg asked his wife to come to the post and that she too proved to be literary minded: "The next courier to Fort Walla Walla came with a letter saying that if I could bring a good servant my husband would be very glad to have me join him at Fort Lapwai. After consulting with June, a faithful Chinese cook, I read him the letter and asked him if he would go with me." June agreed.

Mrs. Sternberg rode into Fort Lapwai with anticipation: "We passed the hospital, then the stockade [a simple fence], the guardhouse, and entered the gate to an enclosed parade ground. The first house to the right on the officers' row was that of Colonel Perry, who had turned it over to Dr. Sternberg." Actually

73. Heitman, 1, 921; Malone, DAB, 11, 590-92. Sternberg's accomplishments are too many to list here. The interested reader is directed to the DAB and to Mrs. Sternberg's biography of her husband--see next note.

she was sharing the duplex with Mrs. Fitzgerald, but Mrs. Sternberg did not mention Emily in her account.⁷⁴

As the war progressed an ever increasing number of Nez Perce prisoners of war was confined to Fort Lapwai's small guardhouse. The Indian inspector, Colonel Walkins, warned Captain Boyle that a danger existed that the treaty Indians might attempt to rescue the prisoners. Inasmuch as the garrison was down to a handful of infantrymen, Boyle was not certain that he could stay on top of the situation. He quickly passed on the inspector's recommendation that the prisoners be taken to Fort Vancouver. Mrs. Sternberg witnessed the event: "The ladies grew more and more nervous in regard to the number of prisoners and the very few soldiers, while the Indian Agent was uneasy about the constant intercourse between the Reservation Indians and prisoners." When the prisoners learned they were to leave, she wrote: "Never shall I forget the deep moans, and the peculiar cries of the Indians."⁷⁵

Although Sternberg was overworked and shorthanded, the wounded gradually improved, "many of them moving about the garden or sitting on the porch." An argument developed whether these men should be moved to Fort Walla Walla or Fort Vancouver or allowed to remain under canvas at Fort Lapwai--which some surgeons considered to be the healthier arrangement. In the end they traveled to Fort Vancouver. The Sternbergs returned to Fort Walla Walla in October.⁷⁶

74. Martha L. Sternberg, George Miller Sternberg, A Biography (Chicago, 1920), pp. 64-65.

75. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Boyle, July 22, 1877, to AAG, Dept. Columbia, Sternberg, p. 65.

76. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG Wood, July 29, 1877, to Medical Dir., Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Sully, Aug. 6, 1877 to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Sternberg, p. 67.

In August Boyle learned that his brief tenure as post commander was about to end. The entire 2d Infantry Regiment was on its way to occupy the fort. The first unit, the regimental band (one chief musician, two principal musicians, and fourteen musicians) arrived at the post August 18. Mrs. Fitzgerald, still lonely for her husband, enjoyed the change: "The post is quite lively. There are three or four young officers here, and then we have the band of the 2nd Infantry. It plays an hour in the mornings and one in the evenings."⁷⁷

The Peaceful Years

The 2d Infantry Regiment arrived at Fort Lapwai in September 1877 under the leadership of the respected fighter Col. Frank Wheaton. By the end of the month the garrison had swollen to the impossible strength of 23 officers and 243 enlisted men. The barracks and the officers' quarters quickly overflowed and a tent city sprang up adjacent to the post. Mrs. Fitzgerald hung on grimly to her precious quarters.⁷⁸

77. Laufe, p. 298; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Boyle, Aug. 18, 1877, to AAG, Dept. Columbia

78. Frank Wheaton, a native of Rhode Island, joined the Army as a 1st lieutenant in 1855. By the end of the Civil War he was a brig. general of volunteers (hence the customary title "General" Wheaton and a brevet maj. general. He had attended Brown University for one year in 1850 and, at the end of the war, Brown awarded him an honorary degree. His first post-war assignment was in a black infantry regiment as lt. colonel (the 39th). In 1869 he transferred to the 21st Infantry. He had overall command of the expeditionary force in the first, futile attack on the Stronghold in the Modoc War. He became colonel of the 2d Infantry in 1874. In 1892 he was promoted to brig. general, and to maj. general in 1897. He retired the same year. While he was commanding officer at Ft. Lapwai, three of his children died of scarlet fever at their grandmother's home in New York. See Heitman, 1, 1022; Malone, DAB, 10, 38-39; Army & Navy Journal, Feb. 16, 1878, p 447.

Emily wrote her husband at the end of August: "Do hurry home before somebody wants our quarters." A month later she gave more detail: "The whole 2nd Infantry is near here, and this was to have been made a big post, but General Wheaton has been dispatched to stop building now and wait. . . . The Perrys hear they are to go to Walla Walla, the Boyles hear they are to go to Colville, Doctor Sternberg is still waiting here for Doctor Fitzgerald to come back. . . . The Perrys moved out of their house, as General Wheaton wanted it, and took the Boyles', who moved into the next set." Emily retained her own quarters; but she now had the colonel for a neighbor.⁷⁹

Wheaton's first task was to disperse his command before the onset of winter. In the end, two companies moved to temporary Camp Howard near Mt. Idaho, two others set up camp at Spokane Falls, and a fifth was dispatched to Fort Colville. Still, Fort Lapwai was crowded with the regimental headquarters and five companies.⁸⁰

Before September ran out, department headquarters created the District of the Clearwater with Wheaton as its commander. This district ran from the Canadian border in northeastern Washington (so as to include Fort Colville) south to include Camp Howard. Essentially it was a paper organization, although Wheaton maintained some overall administrative control.

A pathetic incident occurred at Fort Lapwai that fall. Wheaton arranged for the public sale of the effects of 19 of its former soldiers who had been killed. The total sum received came to \$262.12. The late Pvt. L. Dauch, Co. F,

79. Laufe, pp. 306 & 309.

80. NA, Micro 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, Sept. 1877-May 1878; Army & Navy Journal, Oct. 20, Nov. 24, and Dec. 1, 1877.

1st Cavalry, killed at White Bird, had the largest estate--\$40,36. His buddy, the late Pvt. P. Connolly, had the smallest--\$1.25.⁸¹

Meanwhile, Emily Fitzgerald became better acquainted with her new neighbors: "One lady arrived the other day, so I am not the only lady in the garrison, as I expected to be since the Boyles and Perrys left. She is Mrs. Cochren [Capt. M. A. Cochran]. She has two little children, and my two were delighted to have someone to play with. General Wheaton is living in the Perry house next door to us. He told me yesterday my children were the best he had ever seen in his life."

Doctor Fitzgerald arrived home from the campaign on October 17, to learn that he was being transferred to Fort Boise, at the territorial capital. He and Emily left Fort Lapwai on October 28 by an army ambulance. At Walla Walla they transferred to a stagecoach and arrived in Boise on November 7. To Emily Fitzgerald, the Lapwai valley was not but a memory. It may have been her whom General Howard had in mind when he wrote that the wife of an army officer had told him: "'You don't know how I do love Fort Lapwai, and with what regret I left the place.' It is the bright sunshine, the beautiful rolling hills and gorgeous mountains, and valleys of every shape and description, lighted up into attractive pictures, it is the excellent climate that invigorates while it does not freeze you; it is these, with good companionship, that makes this most frontier of posts dwell pleasantly in the memory of those who have resided here."⁸²

81. NA, RG 343, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG Rowell, Dist. of the Clearwater, Sept. 22, 1877, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Letters Sent, Wheaton, Oct. 20, 1877, to AG, Washington.

82. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, pp. 50-51; Laufe, pp. 314-18. At Fort Boise, Fitzgerald went into the field again in 1878 during the Bannock War. That fall the Fitzgeralds traveled to Pennsylvania on a five-months leave, their first since leaving for Alaska. While at home, Dr. John was struck with "inflammation of the lungs." He died on Aug. 11, 1879. Emily lived until 1912.

Although Fort Lapwai now possessed the largest garrison of its history, the years following the Nez Perce War must be regarded as the quietest in the post's 22 years of existence. Rarely did anything occur to upset the routine housekeeping atmosphere during Wheaton's regime. In 1878 several members of White Bird's band, which had found refuge in Canada, slipped back onto the reservation. Most of these were "captured" by the agent or by the troops and locked up temporarily in the fort's guardhouse.

James Reuben, a Christian Nez Perce, brought the first five of these returnees into Fort Lapwai on June 26. Two others joined these in the guardhouse a couple of days later. By August the guardhouse contained 14 "prisoners of war," while four women and two children were allowed to go free at Kamiah. Yellow Wolf, a noted warrior, described his reception. Shortly after he went into the guardhouse, the acting post commander, Capt. William Falck, came in, shook hands, and questioned him. Falck told Yellow Wolf: "The white men are mad about you Indians, and if they found you on the Reservation, they would kill you. The Agent can do nothing. He would do nothing. The white men will not bother you, so long as you are here. Our soldiers will protect you. But do not think you are a prisoner. We put you here just to be away from the whites." Prisoners or not, the returned exiles were shipped to Indian Territory to join Joseph in "the Hot Place."⁸³

In the National Archives today a report by Captain Falck describing the return of these exiles rests in the Fort Lapwai correspondence. Falck interviewed the first of the returnees. One of them, a woman named Lucy, decided to tell him the whole story of her adventures. She had been married to a warrior of the Wallowa band who was killed in the war. Lucy said she had

83. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist. AA Surg. F. S. Stirling, report for June 1878; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, List of Prisoners, Aug. 15, 1878; Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, Yellow Wolf, His Own Story (Caldwell, 1948), pp. 283-84.

fled into Canada with White Bird's band and

[They] had been living with Sitting Bull ever since, who treated them all very badly excepting White Bird. . . . The first to leave [Canada] was a party of seven who are now in confinement at this post. Then a party of four men and one squaw left, who went to the Pend d'Oreille country and lastly the party to which they belonged, hearing that the Umatillas were about to fight the whites, made up their minds to leave and join them, the entire party consisted of 11 men two boys, 8 women and 3 Children. They left Sitting Bulls Camp about the 20th of June, in ten days they struck the Milk River in a southwesterly direction from the Camp, and in five days thereafter the Rocky Mountains, they came through the Black feet country and saw no whites until they reached the Bitterroot Mountains, thence they came in by the Elk City trail.

The women all had horses when leaving Sitting Bulls Camp, some of the men were dismounted until near Helena, north of there they stole two good American Horses; when near the Hell Gate River in the Flathead Country, three men of the party left, and the following morning drove in a large band of horses, after selecting the best and gentlest the balance were set a drift.

The men and women of the party separated every morning and met in Camp at night when the men would bring in blankets clothing, coffee, sugar, and plunder generally. When in the Bitterroot valley the women were left in charge of two men with directions to take the Lo Lo trail, but on the following day the women overtook the men and found the latter in possession of a large and fine band of horses and Mules.

They went in Camp about 90 Miles from Elk City and while resting . . . were overtaken in the afternoon by a party of 30 white men, who attacked them and fought them at long range until evening, the whites were successful in capturing all of the horses and mules including the horses and saddles of the entire party, excepting six on which they mounted the squaws the men marching until they reached the reservation where they again provided themselves with mounts by stealing from the Kamia Indians.

In this fight the Squaw says one white man was killed, but no Indians. The entire party camped near Clear Creek when James Lawyer's first party found them, they all refused to surrender and declared their determination to join the Snakes; during the night the five Squaws escaped and surrendered to Lawyer.

Three women are still with the party who are probably gone to the Salmon River, there to open some caches left by their people last year . . . thence they will endeavor to join the hostiles. . . . The Indians are but poorly armed, the whole party had only four guns and one revolver, and two belts partially filled with Ammunition, this was a Henry Rifle, the other guns were Springfield Rifles.

Lucy tells me that the party leaving sitting Bulls Camp were not all mounted they only made about 50 [sic] miles a day (marching day and night) it took them 10 days before they struck Milk River, consequently Sitting Bull at that time was about 50 miles from the border. She tells me Sitting Bull has no permanent Camp but keeps constantly moving, they always camp on the Prairie.

* * * * *

White Bird is determined to remain with Sitting Bull and help him fight the white men, only a few of his own band are left, one of the Young Chiefs with him, Hats-Huts-E-cut-ta-kat, however says he is coming in shortly to surrender.

One of the five squaws is a young daughter of Chief Joseph, she showed me a photograph which had been sent to her by her father from Leavenworth.⁸⁴

Another group of Nez Perces returned to the reservation in 1878. Immediately after the Battle of the Clearwater in 1877, Howard's troops captured 23 men, 9 women, and 1 child, whom they considered to be "enemies". These 33 people then went down to Fort Vancouver where the military had kept them in confinement ever since. In 1878 General Howard determined to return these prisoners to the reservation and set them free. Howard realized that white citizens might seize them and try them for alleged crimes, or that they might be killed "by exasperated or drunken white men," and thus set off new alarms. He determined to use Fort Lapwai's troops to offer them any needed protection.

These Nez Perces arrived on the reservation at the end of April. While some whites demanded they be rearrested, but no real trouble ensued. They settled down among their friends and picked up the pieces of their lives.⁸⁵

In June 1878, a detail from Fort Lapwai recovered the bodies of Lt. Seiver Rains and his ten enlisted men who had been ambushed and killed near Cottonwood during the war. On June 10, these "were buried with military honors in the Post Cemetery this evening at 6 o'clock." Today, the remains of the enlisted men rest in a common grave in the old Fort Walla Walla military cemetery. Nearby, a grave marker identifies Rains' final place of rest.⁸⁶

84. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Falck, Aug. 2, 1878, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

85. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, Feb. 8 and May 17, 1878, to AAG, Div. Pacific; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., AA Surg. Stirling, report for April 1878.

86. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Stirling, report for June 1878.

The Bannock War of 1878 caused a brief alert at Fort Lapwai. Word of the outbreak reached the post in June, when two cavalry troops were ordered "to be in readiness to move." (Company H, 1st Cavalry, had transferred to the post in May; Company E, 1st Cavalry, had just recently encamped near the post.) At the same time the commanding officer was authorized to recruit 40 Nez Perces as scouts. In June and July these scouts, under army personnel, made at least two patrols. Their own leaders were Captain John and Jim Slickpoo. In September word arrived to discharge them from the service of the United States.⁸⁷

The only physical evidence of the Bannock War to have been found at the post was a cordwood and earthen barricade that had been erected around the post trader's store, in case of Indian attack. This defensive work would have struck a chord in Mrs. Fitzgerald's memory had she still been at the fort.⁸⁸

A number of small incidents occurred at Fort Lapwai during Wheaton's command--he was absent for long periods of time actually--that contributed to the history of the place. For example, Nez Perce leaders took a vote in 1878 as to whether they preferred the reservation to be under the administration of the Interior Department or the War Department. To the Army's embarrassment, the vote was 117 to 6 in its favor. The embarrassment was caused by the Nez Perces' conclusion that since the Army had "won", it now was in charge.⁸⁹

87. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Stirling, reports for June and July 1878; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Telegrams Sent & Received, Lt. Rowell, Ft. Lapwai, July 2, 1878, to Wheaton; Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG Nickerson, Sept. 5, 1878, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

88. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Stirling, report for July 1878.

89. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Falck, Aug. 31, 1878, to AAG, Dept. of Clearwater.

Liquor in the post trader's shop continued to be a matter of discussion. Until September 1878, enlisted men were limited to three drinks each per day. On September 23 this restriction was lifted for "men who do not abuse the privilege." Men who did drink too much would find themselves on the "black list." Trader Loewenberg notified the post adjutant in October that he had place two privates on that black list, for reasons unstated.⁹⁰

A large amount of ordnance stores arrived at Fort Lapwai after the Nez Perce War when the temporary depot at Lewiston was closed out. Wheaton became concerned that the sheer volume prohibited the proper care of and accounting for these supplies. He asked that an ordnance sergeant be sent to the fort. Eventually such a sergeant did arrive.⁹¹

Maj. Ely McClellan served as post surgeon at Lapwai from 1878 to 1880. Whether these years witnessed an unusually prolific period of procreation, or whether McClellan kept better records than most surgeons, at least four births were reported in the hospital records: Feb. 9, 1879: "Delivered wife of Pvt. Pancoust of daughter; Feb. 24, 1879: "Delivered wife of Commissary Sgt. McHale of a daughter," Mar. 18, 1879: "Delivered wife of Pvt. Steel 'D' Co. 2nd Inf. of daughter;" and, finally, May 13, 1880: "Delivered the wife of 1st Lt. T. T. Knox, 1st U. S. Cavalry of son."⁹²

90. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Lt. Rowell, Sept. 23, 1878, to Post Trader; and Letters Received, Loewenberg, Oct. 31, 1878, to Post Adj.

91. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Wheaton, Oct. 4, 1878, to AG, Washington.

92. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Maj. E. McClellan, monthly reports.

Post Treasurer Charles Rowell, who died in action many years later in Cuba, decided to build up the post library in 1878. He put the bite on Harper & Brothers, New York: "Your generous compliance with requests of this kind, are well known to me, and the officers of the Army generally, and fully appreciated by every one who realizes the importance of and great benefit arising from a Post Library, at a Frontier Post, where the men have little or no recreation, and none of any improving kind." Harper & Brothers came through. The following spring 66 books, some of which were paid for, were on their way to Fort Lapwai.⁹³

The post school thrived during these years when the garrison was large. The school teacher in December 1879, Pvt. William F. Bader, reported 11 pupils, five of them the children of enlisted men, the rest, officers' offspring. The top student was Bertie Spurgin (probably Capt. William Spurgin's son). The pupils received grades for conduct, reading, spelling, definition, geography, history, arithmetic, mental arithmetic, penmanship, grammar, composition, and presentation. In addition to listing the text books in use, the teacher mentioned the newspapers and periodicals received: four New York newspapers (Herald Daily, Tribune Time-Weekly, Clipper, and Ledger), the Daily Oregonian, Army & Navy Journal, Scribner's Monthly, Atlantic Monthly, Harper's Weekly and Monthly, and the Cincinnati Commercial Weekly.⁹⁴

In December 1878, no fewer than 133 recruits arrived for the 2d Infantry. Until they could be dispersed throughout the district, these new soldiers were packed into the available space of the post. Life must have been hell in the enlisted quarters. The post quartermaster wrote the adjutant:

93. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, 2d Lt. C. Rowell, Dec. 12, 1878, to Harper Brothers; Wheaton, Mar. 1, 1879, to OQMG, Washington. The Army paid the shipping costs.

94. NA, RG, 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post School Reports, 1879-81.

I . . . invite attention to the disorderly conduct of some of the recruits now occupying the quarters built for the Band. . . . It is reported to me that one of the stoves with a hot fire in it was thrown over night before last, and that the building narrowly escaped taking fire in the consequence: that there are a half dozen 'roughs' among the number who bully and terrorize the rest to such an extent that the orderly ones are afraid to report . . . there being no non-commissioned officer in the quarters at night.

These conditions undoubtedly contributed to the large number of desertions that occurred at Fort Lapwai that spring--19 in April alone.⁹⁵

One rare item in the Fort Lapwai records was an order published in 1878 that listed the maximum prices the post trader could charge for his wares. This schedule listed everything from "hair vigor" to spittoons, from collar buttons to Dandy Jim tobacco. Because of its potential value to future restoration or furnishing projects in the National Park System, this list is quoted in its entirety:

95. NA, Micro 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, December 1878; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters & Endorsements Sent, AAQM Clark, Jan. 29, 1879, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Falck, Apr. 18, 1879, to CO, Ft. Walla Walla.

Schedule of maximum prices for Post Trader:

Ale & Porter	50¢ bottle
Blacking, Waterproof	37½¢ box
" Masons	12½¢ "
" French	25¢ "
Brandy, Martell	\$2.50 bottle
Bitters, Vinegar	\$1.00 "
Bay rum	\$1.00 . "
Brushes, Hair	\$1. & 50¢ ea.
" Clothes	\$1.25 "
" Button	50¢ "
" Nail	50¢ "
" Tooth	25 & 50¢ "
" Shaving	50¢ & 75¢ "
Braid, woolen	12½¢ piece
Buttons, Woolen	25-37½¢ per doz.
Blueing	50¢ box
Brushes, shoe	75¢ & \$1. ea.
Brooms, whisk	50¢ "
Brooms	75¢ "
Buckets, Wooden	\$1.00 "
Basins, wash, tin	50¢ "
Boots, leather	\$7-8 pair
Cigars	12½¢ ea.
Cloves	\$1. pound
Cheese	33¢ "
Chimnies, Eureka	75¢ ea.
Cups & Saucers	37½¢ ea.
Collar buttons	12½-25¢ ea.
Cloth, blue	75¢ yd.
Carbot	25¢ "
Cocaine	\$1.25 bottle
caps	25¢-37½¢ box
Candles	37½¢ lb.
Candy Fancy	50¢ ea.
" stick	50¢ "
Combs	25-50¢ ea.
Cups, pin	25¢ ea.
Chimneys, lamp	50¢ ea.
Candle sticks	25-75¢ ea.
Crackers	20¢ lb.

Drilling	25¢ yd.
Envelopes, letter	25¢ pack
Flannel, red	50-75¢ yd.
" white	75¢ "
" Canton	25¢ "
Florida water	75¢ bottle
Ginger, Jamaica	50¢ "
Gloves, white	25-50¢ pr.
" " ,silk	\$1.25 pr.
Honey in Comb	50¢ can
" " Glasses	\$1.00 ea
Heel Ball	12 ¹ / ₂ ¢ cake
Hair Vigor	\$1.25 bottle
Hankerchiefs, white	50¢ ea.
Ink, violet	50¢ bot.
Ink, black	12 ¹ / ₂ ¢ bot.
Jumpers	\$1.25 ea.
Knives, sheath	50-75¢ ea.
Knives, pocket	\$1-1.50 ea
Lemon sugar	50¢ can
Lye	25¢ can
Lawnsdale	50¢ yd
Matches	25¢ pack
Oil, sweet	\$1.00 bot.
Oil, coal	\$1.00 gal.
Overalls	\$1.25-\$1.50 ea
Pain Killer	37 ¹ / ₂ ¢ bot
Powder	\$1.00 lb
Plates, dinner	25¢ ea.
" soup	25¢ ea.
Pitchers, molasses	\$1.00 ea
Pencils, indelible	50¢ "
" lead	12 ¹ / ₂ ¢ "
Paper, letter	25¢ for 12 sheets
" note	15¢ " " "
" Guyelle	50¢ pack
Prints, yd.	12 ¹ / ₂ ¢ yd.
Pills	25¢ box
Pins	12 ¹ / ₂ ¢ paper
" clothes	50¢ doz.
Penholders	2 fot 12 ¹ / ₂ ¢
Pipe stems	25-37 ¹ / ₂ ¢ ea

Pants, duck	\$1.00 ea
Pots, coffee, large	\$1.00 ea.
Pots, coffee, small	75¢ ea.
Plates, pie	25¢ ea., 3 for 50¢
Padlocks	37½-50¢ ea.
Rope	25¢ lb.
Razors	\$1.25-\$1.75 ea
Razor Straps	75¢ ea.
Shirts & drawers, flannel	\$1-\$1.50 ea
" white	\$2-\$2.50 ea
" hickory	\$1.00 ea.
" (over), woolen	\$2-\$3.00 ea.
" " calico	75¢ ea.
" & drawers, merino	\$1.00-\$1.75
Sandpaper, sheets	5¢ sheet
Seidlitz powders	75¢ box
Slippers, leather	75¢ pr.
" carpet	\$1.00 pr.
Saleratus	25¢ box
Syrup, maple	\$1.50 can
Spitoons, brown	\$1.00 ea
" china	\$1.50 ea
Seltzer [Aperient?]	\$1.00 bot.
Sarsaparilla	\$1.00 bot.
Shaving cream	75¢ cup
Socks, cotton	25¢-75¢ pr.
" shaker	50¢ pr.
Sheeting 10/4	50¢ yd.
Scissors	50-75¢ ea.
" buttonhole	75¢ ea.
[Sozodont?]	\$1.25 bot.
Soap, Castile	75¢ bar
" fancy	25¢-37½¢ cake
Suspenders	\$1-\$1.25 pr.
Scarfs, woolen	\$1.75 ea.
Spool, silk	24¢ or 3 for 50¢
" cotton	\$1.00 per doz.
Tripoly	25¢ pack
Tacks, carpet	25¢ or 3 for 50¢ (paper)
Tacks, common	12½¢ paper
Troches	50¢ box
Tobacco, Liorilland	\$1.00 lb

Tobacco, Cable	\$1.00 lb.
" Navy	"
" Durham	"
" Dandy Jim	"
"	"
Ticking	25¢ yd
Towels, Russian	75¢ ea.
" Damask	62½¢ ea.
" Linen	50¢ ea.
Wax, white	12½¢ cake
Whiskey	12½¢ drink
Whiskey, Scottish	\$7.00 gal
Wine, port	\$1.00 bot.
" sherry	\$1.00 "
" White	\$1.00 "
" claret	\$1.00 "
Wash boards	75¢ ea. 96

Wheaton and the 2d Infantry left Fort Lapwai in August 1879. His replacement was Lt. Col. Alexander Chambers, 21st Infantry. The garrison now consisted of Company E, 1st Cavalry, and Company I, 21st Infantry. But in contrast to pre-war years, the number of officers now averaged as high as eight.⁹⁷

96. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 139, Nov. 4, 1878.

97. Alexander Chambers, from New York, graduated from the Military Academy in 1853, near the bottom of his class. When the Civil War broke out, he was a captain in the 18th Infantry. For a brief period he was a brigadier general of volunteers. When that grade was revoked he reverted to his regular grade in a regular unit. He was promoted to major in 1867, to lt. colonel in 1876, and to colonel of the 17th Infantry in 1886. Died while still on active duty, in 1888. See Heitman, 1, 293.

The post surgeon at this time, Maj. Ely McClellan, had come to Fort Lapwai only because he was promised a new hospital. He would finally get it, a handsome structure and one of the last structures built at the post. Capt. William F. Spurgin commanded the infantry company, and Capt. William H. Winters led the cavalry troopers.⁹⁸

During the few weeks between Wheaton's departure and Chambers' arrival, Spurgin was acting post commander. Agent Charles B. Warner, new himself to his job, took the opportunity to ask Spurgin to arrest some five Nez Perces or mixed bloods for being drunk. Those named were Joseph Craig, Frank Newell, James Slickpoo, Ha Ha Quits Quits, and "Cephus." Spurgin apprehended at least Newell, then asked Warner exactly what the charges were. At the same time Spurgin wrote the department pointing out that Warner was not requesting aid, but demanding it in a "mandatory tone." Quite some time later,

98. Ely McClellan, from Pennsylvania, entered on active duty as an assistant surgeon in 1861. He died on active duty in 1893, when in the rank of lt. colonel surgeon. William Fletcher Spurgin was born in Kentucky. He attended West Point for three years. He went on active duty in the volunteers for three months in 1862. Then in 1864 he returned to duty as a captain in the U. S. Colored Infantry. Toward the end of the Civil War, he served in the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land. Then, in 1866, he joined the Regular Army as a 1st lieutenant in the 38th (black) Infantry. After the army reorganization of 1869, he found himself in the 24th (black) Infantry, transferring to the 21st Infantry in 1870. His climb was steady if slow: captain in 1876, major in 1897, lt. colonel in 1899, colonel of the 4th Infantry in 1901, and brig. general in 1902, 13 days before his retirement. William Henry Winters was born in Ohio. He entered the volunteers as a private in 1861 and was commissioned as 1st lieutenant later that year. He resigned with the rank of captain in 1862. Two years later he again enlisted as a private, in the 1st U. S. Cavalry. In 1865 he was commissioned as a 2d lieutenant and promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1866. He achieved his captaincy in 1873. See Heitman, 1, 656, 913 & 1051.

department headquarters instructed the post commander not to make arrests for the agent without specific instructions from higher headquarters.⁹⁹

Second Lt. A. T. Earle, stationed at Camp Howard, started out for Fort Lapwai on January 9, 1880. Five days later the worried commander at Lapwai reported that Earle had not yet arrived and that a storm had hit the mountains south of the post. He also dispatched a combination Nez Perce-soldier search team. On January 15 two Nez Perces found Earle, alive but with both his feet severely frozen: "He had lost all hope. Considering the exposure to which he was subjected for five days and four nights it is deemed wonderful that he was found alive." Earle entered the post hospital for a long period of recovery.¹⁰⁰

Frostbite was not all of Earle's problems at this time. Some citizen-creditors pursued him through army channels for debts owing them. From his hospital bed, Earle explained that he would not acknowledge their claim: "The party contracting this debt left my home and took up a residence in San Francisco contrary to my wishes & advice since which time I have allowed an equitable sum for separate maintenance."¹⁰¹

99. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Warner, Aug. 6 and Sept. 24, 1879, to Post Adj.; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Spurgin, Aug. 6, 1879, to Warner; and Pearson, May 26, 1882, to Warner, with endorsement, Dept. Columbia, Mar. 22, 1882; Dept. Columbia, Reg. of Letters Received, Spurgin, Aug. 7, 1879, to Dept. Columbia.

100. NA, Micro 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, Jan. 1880; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Spurgin, Jan. 14 and 15, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia. Richard Tilghman Earle, a native of Maryland, attended West Point for three years in the late 1860s. In 1875 he joined the Regular Army as a 2d lieutenant in the 2d Infantry. Died on active duty as a 1st lieutenant in 1890. See Heitman, 1, 393.

101. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Earle, Mar. 24, 1880, thru CO, Ft. Lapwai, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

Chambers dispatched a telegram (Fort Lapwai now had a telegraph line) on April 12 telling of the death of Private Higgins, Company I, 21st Infantry. No explanation of the circumstances was ever written; the telegram said simply "drowned this morning crossing Lapwai." Death struck again two months later. The victim was the respected Captain Winters. The entire post was shocked and saddened.

"Deceased was Officer of the day and at 2 o'clock a.m. went to the post Surgeons Quarters for some medicine. Complaining of pain in the bowels. From this time until 12 M of the same day the surgeon was with him frequently and at this time he was seized with a severe chill about 5:30 p.m. he was feeling much better and was engaged playing with his youngest child and reading only a few moments before his death which occurred while his family were at dinner and only a few moments after his wife left the room she having left the table twice to see him."

He died at 6 o'clock p.m. and the Post Surgeon pronounces his death causes by pernicious intermittent fever."

The funeral was held at 2 p.m., June 14. His entire company served as escort in the procession to the post cemetery. The remains of both Higgins and Winters were later transferred to the Fort Walla Walla cemetery.¹⁰²

During the summer of 1880, the troops at Camp Howard searched the site of the White Bird Canyon battle of 1877 and recovered all the remains they could find. Of the 33 enlisted men killed, only the bones of 28 could be located. Chambers reported that these had been brought to the post, "and will

102. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Telegrams Sent, Chambers, Apr. 12, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Chambers, June 15, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

be buried tomorrow. It is not yet practicable to obtain the bodies of the soldiers killed in the Clearwater fight, owing to overflow of the Clearwater river."¹⁰³

Fort Lapwai failed to pass inspection by department officers in 1880. Soon after the inspector general made his report General Howard had the following orders telegraphed to the post:

Put your whole command at the work of clearing up and policing for sanitary purposes, the grounds upon which your post is located, especially around the quarters and in rear of officers quarters. This order is intended to cover, if necessary, the destruction of any small outbuildings tending to impair health of command. Keep command engaged at this work till your medical officer reports everything done that practically can be, then report action here.

Chambers was absent at this time. Presumably the acting commander soon had Fort Lapwai sparkling again.¹⁰⁴

Chambers transferred in January 1881. Captain Spurgin was then elevated to the position of post commander. He would remain the commanding officer until August when he would go on detached service to West Point.

Little occurred outside the routine during Spurgin's command. Camp Howard was abandoned in July, its moveable supplies

103. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Capt. S. McKeever, Camp Howard, June 10, 1880, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; and Chambers, June 13, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia. The Clearwater bodies were removed to Fort Lapwai in August. All are now in the Fort Walla Walla cemetery.

104. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG, Aug. 16, 1880, Telegram, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

being transported down to Lapwai. The cavalry commander attempted to get a commission for one of his sergeants, John Metz, who had once held a commission in Germany under the name of Hans Von Metzradt; he failed. More births occurred; in March 1881 Lt. C. A. Williams became, presumably, the proud father of a son. In May, Company D replaced Company E, 1st Cavalry. The company commander was Capt. Albert G. Forse. The junior officer was none other than Frazier Boutelle, who had been stationed at Fort Lapwai before the Nez Perce War.¹⁰⁵

Boutelle started off his second tour at Lapwai by registering a complaint on the poor quality of the drinking water from the garrison well. He and his family had diarrhea, and he blamed the water for this. Spurgin agreed. He said that he had had the well thoroughly cleaned, "still the water remains bad and will be used for police purpose only." From then on drinking water came from a spring 3,150 feet southeast of the post, known locally as Wheaton Spring. Spurgin also investigated the possibility of piping this water to the post, but nothing came of this recommendation.¹⁰⁶

In June 1882 the post commander notified the department that Boutelle had neuralgia and badly needed to go to Portland for dental treatment. Whether because of this urgency or not will never be known, but a month later department headquarters asked: "Will Lieut Boutelle probably be one of the marksmen from you post at Department contest?" He was. And, presumably,

105. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Major McClellan, report for March 1881; NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG, Mar. 26, 1881, to CO, 1st Cavalry; and AAG, May 17, 1881, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; NA, Micro. 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns for May 1881.

106. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements, Boutelle, July 21, 1881, to Post Adj., with endorsement from Adg. to Post Surg; and Spurgin, July 26, 1881, to AAG, Dept of Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Spurgin, July 29, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

he visited the dentist while down-river. Boutelle did not win the departmental championship, but he placed reasonably well among the finalists.¹⁰⁷

Maj. Edward Pennington Pearson, 21st Infantry, became commanding officer in September 1881. He would remain as such exactly one year. He commenced his leadership by having a visit by the new department commander, Gen. Nelson A. Miles. Miles made no written comment at the time but, several months later, would recommend the abandonment of Fort Lapwai (see Chapter 1).¹⁰⁸

The Secretary of War made two changes in the post trader position during Pearson's regime. He appointed Ed McConnville to the position in October 1881. Then, in June 1882, L. P. Boise succeeded McConnville. Boise promptly got in trouble with the major when his cows got onto the parade ground and destroyed some hop vines and young trees around the officers' quarters. Pearson was sensitive about this, for only a few months earlier he had ordered the landscaping of the parade.¹⁰⁹

107. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Reg. of Letters Received, CO, Ft. Lapwai, June 15, 1882, telegram, to Dept. Columbia; Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG, July 22, 1882, telegram, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, CO, Co. D, 1st Cav., Aug. 2, 1882, to Post Adj.

108. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders No. 94, Sept. 21, 1881. Edward Pearson, born in Pennsylvania, joined the volunteers as a private in 1861. That same year he was appointed to the 17th U. S. Infantry as a 1st lieutenant. By the end of the Civil War he was captain. He did not get promoted to major until 1881. He became colonel of the 10th Infantry in 1891 and a brig. general in the volunteers in 1898. He retired in 1899. Heitman, 1, 779.

109. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Actg AG, Washington, Oct. 15, 1881, and AG, Washington, June 20, 1882, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Post Adj., Mar. 20, 1882, to Post Treasurer, and Aug. 20, 1882, to Trader Boise.

Two key positions at the post, sergeant major and officer of the day, came up for discussion shortly after Pearson took over. Sgt. Egmont Sutor, 1st Cavalry, had been appointed the acting sergeant major back in July. Now he was exhausted. His job of supervising just about everything done at the post, from reveille to tattoo, seven days a week, had worn him down. In addition he was post librarian and duty sergeant for his own Company D. He asked to be relieved as sergeant major. His company commander, Captain Forse, agreed, saying that Sutor had become so nervous he could not sleep. Presumably Pearson made a change.

He also spelled out the duties of the officer of the day, the officer who was responsible for the post for the full 24 hours of a day, with the special duties of overseeing guard mount and police inspections:

Hereafter the Officer of the Day will inspect the Company dinners, and at least once during his tour inspect the different squad rooms, company kitchens, mess halls and wash rooms, also the Company, guard, and hospital privies. He will report in writing on the guard report the results of these inspections and state if the dinners were properly cooked and served and if the cooking utensils and mess furniture are clean. Unless otherwise ordered the Post Library and Billiard room may be kept open for the use of the enlisted men until 10:30 p.m. The Officer of the Day will cause the guards to require the Chinese laundry at the post to close and extinguish lights at 10:30 p.m.¹¹⁰

110. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Sgt. Suto, Sept. 21, 1881, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Orders, Orders No. 136, Dec. 3, 1881.

These orders are the only mention of a Chinese laundry at the post. Its existence was an indication that no laundresses were employed at this time. The hours for lamps out were modified that winter--in favor of those who wished to stay up late. The barracks and office lamps were to be extinguished at taps; but the noncommissioned officers, the hospital steward, and the library could burn their lamps until 11 p. m. One lamp, in the guardhouse, was kept burning through the night.

Careless handling of lamps and stoves could cause fires in the wooden structures. Pearson had elaborate fire fighting procedures conspicuously posted throughout the fort. Hand force pumps were hung up in the officers quarters, barracks, storehouses, guardhouse stables, and bakery. Each barracks building acquired ladders with hooks, fire axes, and fire buckets, all painted red. The quartermaster nailed slats on all the roofs "in such a way, that the tops of all the chimneys and the ridges of the roofs can be easily reached." In non-freezing weather a filled water wagon stood permanently in the southeast corner of the parade ground. And, when fire did occur, the musician of the guard was required "to sound the fire call until the entire garrison is aware of the fire."¹¹¹

Captain Forse of the cavalry company, a tough officer but one who protected his men fiercely, got called on the carpet one fine day for his unusual sense of humor. The adjutant wrote him: "I am directed by the Post Commander to inquire the meaning of the remark on the Morning report of this date '1 horse absent with leave.'" Another light touch of humor appeared in the orders that directed the musicians to henceforth practice south of the quartermaster stables, or, as far away from the quarters as it was possible to get.

¹¹¹. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Pearson, Jan. 24, 1882, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Orders No. 17, Feb. 6, 1882.

Even the post surgeon contributed a laugh. Someone had turned around the salute cannon so that it faced north. Everytime it fired it "jarred" the hospital. He asked that it be fired toward the south again.¹¹²

Post Surgeon Bartholf's report for September 1882 listed the diseases that occurred that month. On the whole they indicated that Post Lapwai was still a healthy post: 1 intermittent fever, 5 acute diarrhea, 1 syphilis; 1 gleet, 1 rheumatism, 1 headache, 1 catarrh, 1 constipation, 1 piles, 1 bunion, 3 contusion, and 2 sprains.¹¹³

The officers at Fort Lapwai, as always and everywhere, had assignments "in addition to their regular duties." The post returns for May 1882 showed a typical listing of these extra chores. Major Pearson had only one job, that of post commander. Dr. John H. Bartholf, in addition to being post surgeon, was the post treasurer and the "custodian of the funds pertaining to the billiard table." Captain Forse, besides commanding his company, was in charge of post schools. Lieutenant Boutelle instructed in musketry as well as serving as a company officer. First Lt. Charles A. Williams, another company officer, was also the post signal officer. Second Lt. J. T. Reynolds wore many hats including company officer, post adjutant, engineer officer, and acting ordnance officer. And 2d Lt. Lawrence J. Hearn, the most junior officer of all, had charge of the school for instruction of packing.

Similarly, the enlisted men had various assignments other than soldiering. The post returns for January 1883 for the two companies showed 3 bakers, 1 blacksmith, 2 tailors,

112. NA, RG 343, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Adj., Apr. 9, 1882, to Forse; A. Surg. Bartholf, Apr. 24, 1882, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Orders No. 114, Sept. 14, 1882.

113. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., A. Surg. John H. Bartholf report for Sept. 1882.

1 printer, 1 bricklayer, 4 clerks, 1 plumber, 3 shoemakers, 2 painters, and 3 carpenters. Soldiering on the frontier was not always glamorous.¹¹⁴

Fort Lapwai's last commanding officer, Maj. Leslie Smith, 2d Infantry, took over the post in October 1882. At the same time, Company B, 2d Infantry, Capt. C. A. Dempsey commanding, replaced Company I, 21st Infantry. Company D, 1st Cavalry, remained at the fort until June 1884, when it transferred to Fort Custer, Montana. However, Lieutenant Boutelle left his company in December 1882 to go on recruiting duty in the East. He would not return to Fort Lapwai.¹¹⁵

Major Smith, as had so many of his predecessors, had a run-in with the post trader, who was still Mr. Boise. By this time, the Army had prohibited the sale of alcoholic drinks at traders' stores. Boise attempted to get around this restriction by selling bitters--as a tonic. Smith was not amused: "These bitters being largely composed of alcohol, cause more and worst cases of drunkenness than the same quantity of whiskey." He ordered the store closed temporarily in April 1883. But the problem of alcoholic drinks continued down to the last days of the post. As late as July 1884, Orders No. 101 stated: "The sale or giving away of Jamaica

114. NA, Micro 617, Roll 594, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, May 1882 and Jan. 1883.

115. Ibid., Post Returns, Oct 1882-July 1884. Leslie Smith was born in Ireland. He joined the Army as a private in 1854. In 1861 he received a commission as 2d lieutenant in the 1st Infantry. He retired in 1889 with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Charles Adam Dempsey, a native of Virginia, graduated from West Point in 1865 at the very bottom of his class of 68 cadets. His entire career was spent in the Infantry. He retired in 1901 as colonel of the 30th Infantry Regiment. See Heitman, 1, 366 and 901.

Ginger and Alcohol by the Post Trader is only an evasion of the law and Post orders; and is hereafter positively prohibited."¹¹⁶

Any number of small problems came Smith's way as the months slipped by. First came the problem of the laundry soap. Clothing washed with this soap ended up with a most disagreeable odor. While officers could afford to purchase soap in Lewiston, the enlisted men usually could not. Furthermore, the quartermaster storehouse had 800 pounds of this stinking stuff on hand.

Smith had little regard for the current Indian agent, Charles Monteith. Possibly he enjoyed informing Monteith that two Chinese employees of the agency had come up to the fort "for the ostensible purpose of running off an officers servant for some real or imaginary wrong." Smith had had them removed, and he reminded Monteith that he really should have had them thrown in the guardhouse, "but feared that you would be inconvenienced."

The major wrote Monteith another letter a few months later chastising him for neglecting "an old Indian woman who is blind, naked and starving, and living alone in a grass hut on the Sweetwater." "It seems to me," wrote Smith, "that the Indian Dept. should be able to make some provisions for the care of such Indians."

Monteith, probably urged on by the missionaries working on the reservation, complained to Smith about horse racing at the fort. But Smith was one ahead of him. He replied: "Horse racing on the Military Reserve was prohibited by me more than a month ago, since which time I have not heard of any racing whatever."

116. NA. RG, 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Smith, May 10, 1883, to AG, WASO; Ft. Lapwai, Post Orders, Orders No. 52, Apr. 5, 1883; No. 62, Apr. 22, 1883; No. 63, Apr. 25, 1883; No. 101, July 28, 1884; and Circular, July 24, 1884.

Another headache for Smith was Hospital Steward Nebelsieck who had acquired a ranch in the Lapwai valley. For a time the steward was in the habit of visiting his ranch during working hours without informing anyone or requesting permission. Then he brought his family to the post to reside. But, worst of all, he brought all his stock which, said the major, "has given a great deal of trouble by hanging around the Hospital and breaking into the Post enclosure." That Smith, who was a tough disciplinarian, had to refer this matter to the department headquarters, was indicative of the power of the medical corps, including hospital stewards.

One of the last problems that came Major Smith's way at Fort Lapwai was Lt. William Muhlenberg's debts. This young infantry officer owed money all over the place. His worst sin in this regard concerned Pvt. John Healy of his company. Healy was a patient in the post hospital on payday, July 1883. The lieutenant collected the private's pay for him. One year later, Healy complained that the officer had not yet given him the money, which amounted to \$35.75. Smith investigated the case, then ordered Muchlenberg to pay up immediately. The last endorsement in Fort Lapwai's military correspondence, was one from Healy, on August 7, 1884, saying that he had finally received the money.¹¹⁷

The Military Division of the Pacific had drawn up plans for the abandonment of Fort Lapwai as early as December 1883. By April 1884, the department commander had decided that the post should close down on June 1. While the cavalry company did leave that month, the mechanics of bringing the operations to a close caused the infantry to remain at Lapwai until August 8. Captain Dempsey closed out the post returns on that date

117. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Smith, Dec. 1, 1882, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; and Smith, May 29 and Oct. 23, 1883, to C. Monteith; Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Smith, Oct. 30, 1883, to Monteith; Jan. 17, 1884, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; and June 26, 1884, to Muhlenberg; and Pvt. Healy, Aug. 7, 1884, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

by reporting: "The Company left Ft. Lapwai I. T. August 8th on route to Boise Barracks I. T. arriving at the latter place August 29th, 1884, Distance marched 364 miles."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸. NA, Micro. 617, Roll 594, Post Returns, Aug. 1884.

Structural History

Volunteer troops, assisted by a number of citizen craftsmen built the bulk of the structures at Fort Lapwai between late 1862 and 1864. The military records from this Civil War period are scarce. Yet knowledge of these buildings may be developed from their continued use by the regular troops in the post-war years.

Lt. W. B. Hughes, the post quartermaster at Fort Walla Walla, received an order in October 1862 directing him to furnish the necessary tools, materials, wagons, and teams for the erection of quarters at the site of Fort Lapwai. These orders further stated: "So far as practicable the labor will be performed by the troops, but such citizen employe's as are absolutely necessary for the erection of the quarters at Camp Lapwai will be hired." The earliest post returns showed that 15 carpenters, 3 bricklayers, and 5 laborers had been hired. But economy soon reared its head and by April 1863, the number of civilians working at the post was down to one.¹

Lt. W. V. Rinehart, 1st Cavalry, Oregon Volunteers, became the first post quartermaster at Fort Lapwai. The responsibility of getting quarters erected before winter really set in overwhelmed him. He begged to be relieved from the task. Capt. D. W. Porter, of the same unit, promptly replaced him. Porter wasted no time in getting construction underway. By the end of 1862 he had purchased 26,700 bricks and 204,000 shingles.²

-
1. OR, L, pt. 2, p. 186, AAAG, Dist. Oregon, Special Orders No. 76, Oct. 19, 1862; NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, Nov. 1862-Apr. 1863.
 2. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Page listing purchases in Nov. and Dec. 1862.

In January 1863, the post commander wrote the commanding general: "The buildings are progressing as well as could be expected. The company quarters are finished and occupied. The officers will not be finished for some time, but will be completely inclosed in a few days, when they will be occupied." The two barracks, one infantry and one cavalry, stood on the east side of the designated parade ground. The two duplex officers' quarters faced them from the west side. The same letter referred to the guardhouse, located at the north end of the parade, thus suggesting that it too had been completed.³

Other buildings that must have been finished in 1863 included the bakery, quartermaster storehouse, commissary storehouse, hospital, adjutant's office, laundresses' quarters, and the cavalry and quartermaster stables. The post treasurer discussed the bakery as early as April 1863, and it probably was in operation much before that date.

A sawmill was acquired for the post at a very early date, probably in November 1862. While little suitable timber grew in the vicinity of the post, adequate forest growth occurred in the Craig Mountains only a few miles south of the post. Transportation apparently was adequate to haul construction materials to the post. The quartermaster reported in February 1864 that he had nine wagons and 40 team mules.⁴

The troops undertook some additional construction in 1864, when 10,000 feet of lumber was purchased. But the structure(s) involved remains unknown. The volunteers abandoned Fort Lapwai in July 1866. Not until November did a company of regular troops reestablish the post. During the four-month interlude a caretaker of sorts kept an eye on the buildings. The new

3. OR, L, Pt. 2, pp. 280-81, Rinearson, Jan. 8, 1863, to Alvord.

4. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAQM S. Hammer, Feb. 29, 1864, "Report of Public Animals, Wagons."

company mentioned no particular difficulties in reoccupying the various structures.

The first major incident relative to the structures occurred at daylight October 21, 1869. Due to a defective chimney, the roof of the guardhouse caught fire. The fire spread rapidly entirely destroying the building. The post commander reported that he had enough construction material on hand to build a new guardhouse and that no extra appropriations would be needed.⁵ The new guardhouse was in operation three months later.

By the early 1870s an increasing number of requests for repairs and for new construction began to appear in the post's correspondence. In January 1871, for example, the post surgeon noted the deficiencies of the hospital and recommended that a new hospital building be erected. The response was typical for the time and place--ten years' worth of correspondence would be written before the new hospital would be authorized.⁶

The earliest good description of Fort Lapwai's buildings did not appear until 1871, when the post quartermaster reported on the status of all the structures to the department quartermaster. Thereafter such reports became fairly regular and construction history became more complete. This report stated that all the buildings were constructed of pine, but that the post quartermaster did not know the date they were built.⁷

-
5. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Sumner, Oct. 21, 1869, to AAAG, Dept. Columbia.
 6. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Dr. Greenleaf, Jan. 7, 1871, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.
 7. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Lt. Rockwell, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

General Canby visited the post in the spring of 1871. On the whole he was pleased with what he saw. Since an infantry company was due to join the cavalry, Canby said the old infantry barracks, its kitchen, and its storehouse would need some repairs. He too found the hospital to be inferior, "but as the post is, and has always been extremely healthy no expenditure on that account is considered advisable until the question of the permanency of the post is settled." This question of permanency would last down to the eve of the Nez Perce War. It would be the repeated reason used by the Department of the Columbia to deny requests for construction funds.⁸

The most aggravating problem at Fort Lapwai in the 1870s was the scarcity of adequate quarters for the officers and their families. The two duplexes (four sets of quarters) did not measure up to army regulations as far as space allotments were concerned. Compounding the problem was the fact that usually more than four officers were assigned to the post at any one time. Despite repeated pleas for additional quarters, department headquarters remained firm in its denials. In August 1872 it relented somewhat by allowing the post commander to rent the post trader's residence on the east side of Lapwai Creek. While this house was inconveniently located, it served as quarters for many years to come.⁹

As the 1870s progressed, a wide variety of repairs was carried out. Occasionally these resulted in the addition of a room or two here and there; more often they involved reshingling, new floors, or simply whitewashing. Materials, such as lumber, bricks, shingles, lime were usually contracted for from Lewiston merchants. As in the beginning, the troops undertook the actual work.

8. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Canby, May 27, 1871, to AAG, Div. Pacific.

9. NA, RG 159, IG, AIG Ludington, report of inspection Aug. 3, 1872; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAAG, Dept. Columbia, Aug. 8, 1872, to CO, Ft. Lapwai.

General Canby inspected the fort from top to bottom in April 1876. His impressions were typical of inspecting officers. The troops were in fine shape; generally the post was in good condition; but the buildings could be improved:

A new storehouse was in process of construction, and an addition to the hospital. I authorized some changes in the repairs to the Commanding Officer's quarters . . . in amount not to exceed \$200. The stables are very poor, badly constructed, and badly lighted for horses; but nothing would be gained in making any repairs. It will be better to wait till new ones can be constructed--using the material of the old, as far as it will go.¹⁰

The post quartermaster's correspondence was replete with items of supply of all kinds, from office tape to pompoms, from storm flags to wagon bows. This correspondence was analyzed for the three years 1877-80 and the following items that could be associated with construction have been extracted:

- elbow stove pipe
- heating stove, officers
- cooking stove, officers
- whitewash brushes
- calsimine brushes
- paint brushes
- iron soldering
- putty knives
- sash tools
- umber burnt in oil - for barracks and quarters
- " raw " " " "
- umber Turkey, burned " "
- coach varnish - desks and office furniture
- copal " - general use
- Japan " - mixing paints

10. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, May 12, 1876, to AAG, Div. Pacific.

Shellac varnish - painting, etc.
lamp black - for barracks and quarters
sienna, burnt - for barracks
" raw - "
white lead - for buildings
red lead - for mixing paint
green Swiss - for barracks and quarters
Prussian blue - for public buildings
Spanish white - renewing walls
chrome yellow - for painting, etc.
linseed oil, boiled and raw
door locks, with knobs and latches
door bolts
iron butts for hanging doors
bricks
cement
glass (10 x 12, 10 x 14, 12 x 16, 10 x 15)
laths
lime
finishing nails
plaster of Paris
earthenware sewer pipe, 6" 11

Reminiscing on the Nez Perce War, General Howard gave a word picture of the post on the eve of battle:

There is really no fort. There is a hollow square on the western side of the ravine [Lapwai Valley]. . . . The usual officers' quarters are on the west, facing inwards; the barracks opposite; office on the south; guard-house, with its one sentinel walking up and down in front, on the north, and the parade between. The post-trader's and laundress' houses are nearer

11. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, 1877-80.

the Lapwai; while the stables and other outbuildings are arranged a few paces outside the square, and up the valley.¹²

Fort Lapwai's regular garrison took to the field in the summer of 1877. The entire 2d Infantry Regiment marched into the post on September 22. Needless to say, the small two-company post was now somewhat overcrowded. Although some of the new companies moved elsewhere that autumn, the quartermaster undertook to supply additional, "temporary" quarters for the enlisted men. Colonel Wheaton occupied Captin Perry's former quarters but, being a colonel, decided to enlarge them: "As there are no field officers quarters at Lapwai I request authority to expend \$500.00 on a Captains set for my present occupation. Shall commence cutting and hauling logs at once for proposed enlargement of Ft. Lapwai." Department headquarters discouraged this expansion for the time being. While the conditions of that winter are not described in detail, the large number of letters calling attention to the shortage of quarters bespoke of uncomfortable crowding.

One of these letters stressed the acute lack of space on officers' row: "It might not be inappropriate for me to add, that during the last fall and winter, 18 Commissioned Officers--four with families, and three of them field officers, have without one word of complaint, been crowded into 15 rooms and but 9 of these 15 rooms are assignable as rooms, dimensions [of the others] too small and ceilings too low."¹³

The post surgeon, in May 1878, further described the appearance of the post at this unusual time:

12. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p. 51.

13. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Telegrams Sent & Received, Wheaton Sept. 21, 1877, to Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Wheaton, Mar. 27, 1878, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

Co 'H' 1st Cav. occupy the barracks on the N. end of Parade. Co 'E' 1st Cav have pitched their tents (Λ) to the North of these barracks, inside the fence of the parade. The officers of Co 'E' are in tents pitched in the S. W. corner of the parade. There are also some 7 or 8 wall tents pitched to the S. E. of the barracks inside the parade in which some of the unassigned recruits are living. Two hospital tents are used as a practice room for the band.¹⁴

By the summer of 1878, the department quartermaster had relented a little, and plans went forward to add rooms to several structures, such as the hospital and the enlisted messhalls. (These various undertakings will be discussed under the individual structures below). But the basic problem persisted over the next several months, at least until Wheaton moved his district headquarters elsewhere in August 1879.

The great flood of 1879, in contrast to destruction at the Nez Perce agency, did little damage to Fort Lapwai. The high water threatened for a time to undermine the line of laundresses' quarters next to the creek. The most serious problem was the washing out of the road to Lewiston through Soldiers Canyon. Wheaton directed the troops to repair this necessary lifeline.¹⁵

Ironically, the principal expansion of Fort Lapwai occurred during its last four years as an active post, 1880-84. The post quartermaster completed an almost-elegant, two-story hospital in 1880. The commanding officer thought it was much too large for Fort Lapwai's now-decreasing garrison. The following year witnessed the completion of a new cavalry stable and a new

14. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical History, AA Surg. Stirling, report for May 1878.

15. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent. Wheaton, Mar. 1, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

commissary storehouse. And, before the post's abandonment, a new duplex officers' quarters and quartermaster storehouse sprang up.¹⁶

Nonetheless, the older buildings continued to deteriorate. No one really anticipated that the post had a long future before it as a military base. Consequently, maintenance on the main body of structures was essentially a holding operation during those last years. Finally, the order arrived at Fort Lapwai to "suspend work in your post except slight repairs in quarters." Three months later, December 1883, General Miles wrote a powerful letter recommending Fort Lapwai's closure. Ironically, the new Officers' duplex was finished and occupied on January 1, 1884.¹⁷ That August 8 the last troops marched out of the post and, except for an occasional visit by a detachment from Fort Walla Walla, Fort Lapwai lay abandoned.

In the discussion that follows the individual structures and features at Fort Lapwai, an arbitrary set of numbers has been assigned to the buildings. The army records contain two differing numbering systems, neither of which accounts for all the known structures at the post. Neither of these has been found satisfactory. The present system does resemble the Army's numbers in that, generally, the oldest buildings and those immediately around the parade ground are listed first. These individual histories have been reduced to a minimum in that only three of the original military structures remain standing today.

16. NA, RG, 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Chambers, Mar. 8, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia, Spurgin, Mar. 1., 1880, to AAG, Dept Columbia; Lt. T. Knox, Apr. 13, 1881, to OQMG, Washington.

17. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, letters Sent, AAG, Sept. 12, 1883, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Miles, Dec. 13, 1883 to Div. Pacific.

Individual Structures and Features:

Historic Structure No. 1, Infantry Barracks
HS 2, Kitchen and Mess, Infantry Barracks
HS 3, Latrine, Infantry Barracks
HS 4, Cavalry Barracks
HS 5, Kitchen and Mess, Cavalry Barracks
HS 6, Latrine, Cavalry Barracks
HS 7, Barracks, NE Corner of Parade
HS 8, Barracks, SE Corner of Parade
HS 9, Officers' Quarters
HS 10, Officers' Quarters
HS 11, Officers' Quarters
HS 12, Adjutant's Office
HS 13, Hospital, Old
HS 14, Guardhouse
HS 15, Commissary Storehouse (Old)
HS 16, Quartermaster Storehouse (Old)
HS 17, Quartermaster Storehouse (New)
HS 18, Quartermaster Stables (Old)
HS 19, Cavalry & Quartermaster Stables (Old)
HS 20, Granary (Old)
HS 21, Granary (New)
HS 22, School
HS 23, Telegraph Office
HS 24, Magazine (Old)
HS 25, Magazine (New)
HS 26, Bakery (Old)
HS 27, Bakery (New)
HS 28, Carpenter Shop
HS 29, Blacksmith Shop
HS 30, Laundresses' Quarters
HS 31, Laundresses' Quarters
HS 32, Laundresses' Quarters
HS 33, Laundresses' Quarters
HS 34, Post Trader's Store
HS 35, Post Trader's Residence (Kelley's Cottage)
HS 36, Cemetery
HS 37, Corral, Slaughter House, & Hay Yard
HS 38, Cavalry Stables (New)
HS 39, Hospital (New)

HS 40, Commissary Storehouse (New)
HS 41, Flagstaff

HS 1, Infantry Barracks

Erected as temporary barracks, this structure lasted the 22 years of the post's existence. Completed and occupied by January 3, 1863.¹⁸

Instructions received, spring of 1863, to lath and plaster the quarters. This may have meant all quarters or only officers' quarters.¹⁹

This barracks, when being used as a kitchen and messroom by the one cavalry company and as a grain storeroom was described by the post quartermaster, January 1871:

Dimensions, 90' by 30' and 10' to the eaves. . . .
Has 3 doors [and an 8-foot porch] on Western side and 2 upon the Eastern. It is a frame building battened outside; needs a ceiling of boards and partition walls for squad room and orderly room. It is in good condition but requires 8400 feet of lumber to fit it up for company quarters. It has no fireplaces and requires Stoves, as estimated for.²⁰

-
18. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG Dept. Pacific, Dec. 13, 1862, to Alvord; OR, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 280-81, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 8, 1863, to Alvord.
19. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG, Dept. Columbia, May 4, 1863, to "Colonel."
20. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, AAQM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

An infantry company arrived at the post in June 1871. This old barracks was repaired and occupied by the company.

About January 1873 the post surgeon described both the infantry and cavalry barracks:

The barracks are two frame buildings, battened upon the outside and board lined within, each 91 by 30 by 10 feet, and erected upon stone foundations, raised about two and a half feet from the ground. A porch, 8 feet wide, runs along the western face of the buildings. The ceiling is of board, not tightly laid. Between the roof and the ceiling is an unoccupied garret, lighted by two windows at each end. The quarters are warmed by airtight stoves, wood being the fuel used. Each building has four windows, 2 feet ten inches by 4 feet, upon its western face, and three upon its eastern. Three doors open upon its western face and two upon its eastern. In the center of each building dividing it into equal portions, is the orderly room. This . . . gives two . . . dormitories . . . measuring 40 feet 6 inches by 30 feet by 10 feet. These rooms are amply ventilated by windows and cracks, and each contains seven bunks for the accomodation [sic] of 28 men.²¹

November 1873: Surgeon noted that the wooden bunks were moveable, thus allowing a thorough police.²²

21. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report ca. January 1873.

22. Ibid., report for November 1873.

By July 1874 single iron bunks had replaced the wooden ones. The post commander wanted to extend this structure by 30 feet. This addition was not built.²³

April 1876 General Howard recommended raising of structure and placing new sills underneath for better ventilation.²⁴

September 1879 the post commander repeated Howard's recommendation, adding that a new floor and a ceiling were needed.²⁵

The post quartermaster wanted no ceilings and he wished to remove all the ceiling joists (2 1/2 ft. apart) and replace them with three iron rods at regular intervals for binding the building. He also wanted to wainscot the sides to a height of four feet and plaster from there to the eaves.²⁶

In 1880 post commander said building did not need to be raised; the stone foundation allowed for ventilation and prevented decay of sills.²⁷

-
23. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 31, 1874, to AAG Dept. Columbia.
 24. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, May 12, 1876, to AAG, Div. Pacific.
 25. NA, RG 393, Fort Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Sept. 1, 1879, to AAG Dept. Columbia.
 26. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Oct. 20, 1879, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.
 27. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Oct. 1, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

February 1882, the enlisted men reshingled the roof of the porch.²⁸

Another post quartermaster described the barracks in 1882: A one-story, frame building, on the ground, facing west; orderly room, 13' 6" by 16' 8", and storeroom, 13' 6" by 12' 7" in north end. Latter had small loft over it. Dormitory, 75' 8" by 29' 3" occupied by 28 enlisted men. Airspace 945 cubic feet per man. Porch 7' wide on west side. Generally good condition; floor to be repaired. This floor was replaced in August 1882.²⁹

August 1883, the post commander ordered the barracks whitewashed outside and in.³⁰

HS 2, Kitchen-Messroom and Washroom, Infantry

The kitchen-messroom structure was built to the rear of the infantry barracks. Later, washroom was added. In 1871, when only one cavalry company occupied the post, this was used as a storehouse for vegetables. Described then as being a log and frame building, two doors, six windows, all in poor order. Measured 45' by 20' by 16' high. Required 700 feet of flooring, five window frames and glass, and other repairs.³¹

-
28. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Geb. 4, 1882, to AAG Dept. Columbi.
 29. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Sept. 4, 1882, to AAG Dept. Columbia.
 30. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 131, Aug. 31, 1883.
 31. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

With the arrival of an infantry company that summer, the structure again served as kitchen and messhall. A washroom was built on the south end. This measured 22 by 18 feet. Its front (western) wall was 10 feet high; the east wall was 7 feet 8 inches. Constructed of the following rough lumber: 1-inch boards, 2 x 4 " scantling, 1 x 3 " batting, and 4 x 4" floor joists. It had a shingle roof and "shed pattern." It had a 6' 8" by 2' 9" door on the west side, and a 2' 8" by 2' 2" skylight located 3 1.2 feet from the main building. At the south end was a 2' 9" by 1' 11" window.³²

July 1872, reported to be build of "logs" and not in good condition.³³

June 1876, the troops constructed several drains from kitchen to covered cesspools, 30-40 yards away. Washroom then had basins and one bath. But the men preferred Lapwai Creek in summer. In 1878 drains were open and their wooden planks rotten. Post commander wanted 4,000 feet of 2-inch planks to replace them.³⁴

April 1882, the post quartermaster described the complex. The messroom-kitchen was log, on the ground, and lined. The messroom measured 28' 9" by 16'; the kitchen was 16' by 15' 3". Floor was in very bad condition. The washroom, 7' 9" by 21' 6", had two rooms: washroom and bathroom. It was too small and had poor flooring. The floor and sills were replaced that month.³⁵

32. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Aug. 31, 1871, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

33. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, July 1, 1872, to Post Adj.

34. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for June 1876; RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Surg., May 31, 1878, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, June 1, 1878, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

35. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

Orders were given in August 1883 to paint and whitewash the kitchen and the mess.³⁶

HS 3, Latrine, Infantry

The first mention of a latrine appeared in a surgeon's report dated about January 1873. He located it some distance to the rear of the barracks, on the edge of Lapwai Creek. He said it was filled with earth and its shed moved as occasion required.³⁷

In May 1878 the surgeon worried that the latrine was too far from the barracks. He urged that "tubs" be placed nearer the barracks for night use.³⁸

December 1881, new privy built. Later described as adjoining a new privy or sink for the cavalry barracks, frame, measuring 17 by 7 feet, with an outside urinal, and the whole enclosed by a fence. Location not given.³⁹

36. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 131, Aug. 31, 1883.

37. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical History, Post Surg. report ca. January 1873.

38. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Surg., May 1, 1878, to Post Adj.

39. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Dec. 2, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

HS 4, Cavalry Barracks

Erected as temporary barracks, this structure lasted the 22 years of the post's existence. Completed and occupied by January 3, 1863.⁴⁰

Instructions received, spring of 1863, to lath and plaster the quarters. This may have meant all quarters or only officers' quarters.⁴¹

The quartermaster described the structure in January 1871. He said it was of the same materials as the infantry barracks (above), measured 90 by 30 feet and 10 feet to the eaves, and had an 8-foot porch on its western side. In the middle was an 8 by 10-foot orderly room with a 40' 6" by 30' squad room on either side. It was in good condition needing only 300 feet of flooring.⁴²

About January 1873 the post surgeon described at length both the infantry and cavalry barracks. (See under HS 1, Infantry Barracks, above.)

November 1873, the surgeon noted that the wooden bunks were moveable, thus allowing a thorough police.⁴³

40. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG Dept. Pacific, DEc. 13, 1862, to Alvord; CR, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 289-81, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 8, 1863, to Alvord.

41. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG Dept. Pacific, May 4, 1863, to "Colonel".

42. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

43. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for November 1873.

By July 1874 single iron bunks had replaced the wooden bunks. The post commander wanted to extend this structure by 20 feet.⁴⁴

April 1876 General Howard recommended raising the barracks and placing new sills underneath for better ventilation.⁴⁵

By December 1876, the 20-foot addition to the barracks had been added. Building now measured 110 by 30 feet.⁴⁶

In September 1879 the post commander recommended raising the building, new flooring, and a ceiling. A month later the post quartermaster argued for no ceiling and he wished to remove all the ceiling joists (2 1/2 ft. apart) and replace them with three iron rods for binding the building. He also wanted to wainscot the walls up to four feet and to plaster from there to the eaves.⁴⁷

In 1880 the post commander said building did not need to be raised; the stone foundation allowed for ventilation and prevented decay of sills.⁴⁸

44. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 31, 1874, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

45. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, May 12, 1876, to AAG, Div. Pacific.

46. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, Dec. 12, 1876, to Post Adj.

47. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Sept. 1, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Oct. 20, 1879, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

48. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Oct. 1, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

October 1881, mention was made of the first sergeant's room and the company tailor's room in the cavalry barracks.⁴⁹

Troopers had resingled the porch roof by February 1882.⁵⁰

A post quartermaster described the cavalry barracks in 1882: A frame building, one story, on the ground, and facing west. At the north end were an orderly room, 15' 10" by 16' 9", and a storeroom, 13' 6" by 16' 9". The dormitory measured 29' 6" by 92' 3" and was occupied by 38 men. Each man had 890 cubic feet of air space. New flooring put down in July 1882.⁵¹

August 1883, the post commander ordered the barracks whitewashed outside and in.⁵²

HS 5, Kitchen-Messroom and Washroom, Cavalry

The kitchen-messhall structure was built to the rear of the cavalry barracks. Later, washroom was added. Described in 1871 as measuring 45 by 20 feet and 16 feet high, having two doors and six windows, and being a log and frame building, then requiring 300 feet of flooring.⁵³

-
49. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, CO, Co. D, 1st Cav., Oct. 18, 1881, to Post Adj.
50. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Feb. 4, 1882, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.
51. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.
52. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 131, Aug. 31, 1883.
53. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

In 1871 a washroom was added to the north end of this structure. Its appearance and measurements were the same as for the new infantry washroom (see HS 2, above).⁵⁴

June 1876, the troopers constructed several drains from kitchen to covered cesspools, 30-40 yards away. Washrooms then had basins and one bath. In 1878 drains were open and their wooden planks rotten. Post commander wanted 4,000 feet of 2-inch planks to replace them.⁵⁵

April 1882, the post quartermaster described the complex. The messroom-kitchen was log, on the ground, and lined. The messroom measured 28' 6" by 19'; the kitchen was 14' 6" by 19'. The floor (of both?) had been renewed during past year. The washroom, 7 by 29 feet, had two rooms: washroom and bathroom. It was too small; a new floor and sills were put in that month.⁵⁶

Orders in August 1883 called for painting and whitewashing the kitchen and mess.⁵⁷

54. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Aug. 31, 1871, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

55. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for June 1876; RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Surg., May 31, 1878, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, June 1, 1878, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

56. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

57. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 131, Agu. 31, 1883.

HS 6, Latrine, Cavalry

First mentioned in a surgeon's report about January 1873. Located some distance to rear of the barracks, on edge of Lapwai Creek. A latrine was filled with earth and its shed moved as occasion required.⁵⁸

May 1878 the surgeon worried that the latrine was too far from the barracks. He urged that "tubs" be placed nearer the barracks for night use.⁵⁹

December 1881, new privy built. Later described as adjoining a new privy or sink for the infantry barracks, frame, 17 by 7 feet, outside urinal, and the whole enclosed by a fence. Location not given.⁶⁰

HS 7, Barracks, NE Corner of Parade and HS 8, Barracks, SE Corner of Parade

With the arrival of the 2d Infantry Regiment in 1877, the overcrowdedness at the post was extreme. But not until September 1878 were estimates prepared for an additional barracks to measure 72 by 30 feet. No structure of these dimensions was built.

58. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report ca. January 1873.

59. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post. Surg., May 1, 1878, to Post Adj.

60. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Dec. 2, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

HS 8

Located at the south end of the kitchen-messroom row, southeast of the cavalry barracks. At different times it housed troops and served as an ordnance storehouse. In 1881 four troopers were housed in its north room, and eight in the south. The quartermaster said it had two rooms, 18 by 32 feet 4 inches and 18 by 16 feet. It too was not ceiled or plastered. Floors poor. Also to be painted and whitewashed in 1883.⁶³

HS 9, Officers' Quarters

This, the most northerly duplex on officers' row, served for all or most of Fort Lapwai's history as the commanding officer's quarters (the northern set of quarters) and, at least when he was from the regular ranks, the post surgeon's residence (the southern set). (Civilian contract doctors did not always fare so well.)

Built by the volunteers, these quarters were somewhat smaller than the standard set for captains for that period. This smallness was caused in part by the low ceilings on the second floors--so low as to disqualify the upstairs rooms from being considered as adequate space. These garret rooms were thought to be barely large enough for servants.

January 1863: "The officers' quarters will not be finished for sometime, but will be thoroughly inclosed in a few days, when they will be occupied." ⁶⁴

63. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Apr. 30, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Post Adj., Oct. 23, 1881, to CO, Co. D, 1st Cav.; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OWMG, Washington, and Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 131, AGu. 31, 1883.

64. OR, 50, Pt. 2, pp. 280-81.

The post quartermaster first described these two duplexes in 1871:

Each building comprises 2 sets of captains quarters, and is in excellent order. The front rooms, bedrooms, and mess-rooms, are lathed, plastered, and ceiled. Above each front room is an attic. Dimensions of each building 79' 6" by 46' 3". In each set of quarters, the front room is 14' by 14' 9" and 12" high; the rear rooms (or bed rooms) are 11' by 14' 9" and 12' high; the mess-rooms are 15' by 11' and 9' high, the kitchen 12' by 12' and 9' high. Of windows the front room has 3, the rear-room 1, the mess-room 3, and kitchen 1. The rooms have each an open fire place, except the kitchens, where stoves are used. A porch 8' wide runs along the North and East sides.⁶⁵

In 1869 the surgeon complained about his kitchen chimney: "The whole through which the stove pipe passes is so small that the pipe rests directly on the lathing which is in constant danger of taking fire." Also, he could neither latch nor lock the dining room door as the lock was about to fall off.⁶⁶

April 1876, General Howard stayed in Captain Perry's quarters. The general authorized repairs not to exceed \$200 for the commanding officer's quarters. This resulted in an 18-foot, one-story wing extending north from the main part of the structure.⁶⁷

65. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

66. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Surg., Sept. 29, 1869, to Post Adj.

67. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, May 12, 1876, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received Lt. P. Bomus, Dec. 12, 1876, to Post Adj.

Asst. Surg. and Mrs. John Fitzgerald moved into the south set of quarters in this structure in 1876. Emily Fitzgerald wrote: "We will be very comfortably fixed when we do get into our quarters, and though they are small, I like them very much."

(June 2, 1876) "We got into our house Wednesday (this is Friday)." And, "I have two carpets down, and Jennie [a servant] is washing the last windows."

(November 10, 1876) "Well, the Commissioners arrived on Tuesday. General Howard and Colonel Wood are here at the post, and the rest are at the Agency." Further, "we have to turn our sitting rooms into sleeping rooms for our guests and sit in our dining rooms. My dining room is the brightest and coziest little room in the house, so it was not very hard."

One day in December Emily Fitzgerald's maid became quite drunk and had to be put to bed. From this one learns that the maid slept upstairs in the garret.⁶⁸

A printed description of the post, circa 1876-77, mentioned that the roofs of the officers' quarters were shingled and that each set had a woodshed and a yard attached.⁶⁹

May 1877, Emily Fitzgerald announced that she would have her back rooms (kitchen and woodshed?) whitewashed. At the same time she noticed General Howard "promenading the porch quoting scripture."⁷⁰

68. Laufe, pp. 195, 197, 217 and 230.

69. NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, printed description of post, no date, but during Perry's time.

70. Laufe, p. 230.

Fort Lapwai became a regimental and district headquarters in the fall of 1877. Colonel Wheaton now occupied the commanding officer's quarters. Wheaton reported:

There are four sets of Officers Quarters . . . in bad repair, for the accomodation [sic] of thirteen officers. * * * There are but two rooms in the Quarters occupied by myself that do not leak, not one chimney fit to use, and but two rooms that are of size to be considered assignable Quarters.

* * * *

It might not be inappropriate for me to add, that during the last fall and winter, 18 Commissioned Officers--four with families, and three of them field officers, have without one word of complaint, been crowded into 15 Rooms, and but 9 of these 15 rooms are assignable as rooms, dimensions too small and ceilings too low.

About one week later Wheaton again wrote:

There are nine assignable rooms in four sets of Officers Quarters . . . the little rooms in rear of these are seven (7) feet four (4) inches in height, though they can be considered shelter, they are not, with such low ceilings, on sanitary grounds, fit for sleeping apartments, and as against rain they are not even shelter, in my own quarters, carpets have been injured by rain leaking into the rooms through these low ceilings. To occupy these nine assignable rooms . . . there are . . . thirteen (13) officers who collectively are entitled to thirty-four (34) rooms.⁷¹

71. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Wheaton, Mar. 27, 1878, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Wheaton, Apr. 6, 1878, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

May 1878, a second extension, 60 by 20 feet. was added to the colonel's quarters. A later drawing showed that this ell extended northward from the rear of the quarters.⁷²

The commanding officer wrote in May 1879: "The privies attached to the Officers quarters, being too close to the houses, or in fact under the same roof, should . . . be removed to the base of the hill in rear."⁷³

March 1880: "The officers quarters are in need of repairs. Floors in the old Quarters worn out. Porches are in a dilapidated condition."⁷⁴

March 1881, the post commander reported that "the shed room used as a dining room" in what seems to have been the south set of quarters (the surgeon's) had been "plastered with a single rough coat," and that a new woodshed had been erected in the rear of these quarters.⁷⁵

An inspector general, in June 1881, said that while these quarters were in fair repair and much improved, "the Kitchens however are mere sheds and with all the work spent on them still unsuitable . . . the floors are close to the ground. . . . I earnestly recommend the speedy erection of proper annexes."⁷⁶

72. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for May 1878.

73. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, May 2, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

74. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Mar. 5, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

75. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Mar. 1, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

76. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAIG, June 2, 1881, report of inspection on May 17, 1881.

January 1882, a shed kitchen torn down and a new frame kitchen built. This possibly was the south set of quarters in HS 9. In March the roof of the north set (the COs) was repaired.⁷⁷

Post quartermaster described this duplex in April 1882: The main part was 46 by 30 feet, one-story, attic, and stone foundation. The south set of quarters had a 23 by 48 foot addition in rear. The north set (the COs) had a one-story addition to the main building, 16 by 18 feet; and an addition in the rear, 19 by 60 feet. The attic was a total loss of space, "hardly suitable for servants rooms." Ground floor rooms badly arranged. New privy for south set of quarters. Roof needed reshingling.⁷⁸

April 1883, "back" part of the south set of quarters to be resingled.⁷⁹

HS 10, Officers' Quarters

This duplex officers' quarters, identical to HS 9 in the beginning (see description under HS 9), was also under construction from the very first days of Fort Lapwai. Not yet completed in January 1863, but far enough along so that it could be occupied in a few days.⁸⁰

77. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 2 and Mar. 2, 1882, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

78. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OWMG, Washington.

79. Ibid., Post QM, Apr. 11, 1883, to OQMG, Washington.

80. OR, 50, Pt. 2, pp.. 280-81.

Its natural drainage was unsatisfactory. September 1869, surgeon recommended "that a ditch of suitable depth and direction be dug" in rear of structure, "for the purpose of carrying off the water which now flows directly . . . under the houses."⁸¹

A captain and three lieutenants (one with a family) were sharing this duplex in 1872: "At present the Captain and 1st Lieut. of the Infantry Co. have but three rooms and a kitchen [one set]; and the Lieutenant having a family, the Captain is restricted to one room. The two Lieutenants of Cavalry Troop have each one room and a Kitchen jointly."⁸²

A printed description of the post, circa 1876-77, stated that the roof was shingled and that each set of quarters had a woodshed and a yard attached.⁸³

At the beginning of the Nez Perce War, this structure was barricaded with cordwood, extra water and provisions were stored in it, and the women and children of the post were to take shelter here if the Nez Percés should attack.⁸⁴

May 1879, the post commander complained: "The privies attached to the Officers quarters, being too close to the houses, or in fact under the same roof, should . . . be removed to the base of the hill in rear."⁸⁵

81. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Surg., Sept. 21, 1869, to Post Adj.

82. NA, RG 159, IG, AIG, Dept. Columbia, report of inspection, Aug. 3, 1872.

83. NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, printed description of Ft. Lapwai, no date, but during Perry's command.

84. Sternberg, p. 65.

85. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, May 2, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

In March 1881, the commander reported that "the shed room used as a dining room" in both these sets of quarters had been "plastered with a single rough coat." He also noted that each set needed a new kitchen.⁸⁶

The southern half of this duplex was "repainted, calcimined & whitewashed" in April 1881.⁸⁷

In February and March 1882, two shed kitchens were torn down and two new frame kitchens built. These probably were for HS 10.⁸⁸

The post quartermaster described these quarters in April 1882. He said the main part was one story, with attic, 46 by 30 feet, and a stone foundation. Both sets had a 23 by 48 foot extension to the rear. Attic was a total loss of space. Ground floor rooms badly arranged. Roof needed reshingling.⁸⁹

HS 11, Officers' Quarters

Ever since the early 1870s, the succeeding post commanders had requested permission to erect a third duplex officer's quarters. Not until March 1879 did it finally seem possible to have this structure erected. That month Colonel Wheaton reported: "Extra duty men have been employed in the Post Shops constructing window and door frames etc. for porposed new back buildings

86. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Mar. 1, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

87. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Apr. 30, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

88. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Feb. 4 and Mar. 2, 1882, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

89. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

for Officers Quarters." By "back buildings" he meant the mess-kitchen-woodshed complex. For the new quarters this would be a single unit divided internally, and much more substantial than the two separate "sheds" of the older quarters. This new structure was to be located at the southwest corner of the parade.⁹⁰

Two months later, a report stated: "A Back building to Officers quarters is nearly completed."⁹¹

In July 1879 the quartermaster reported: "An addition to officers quarters 28' x 31' with shed attached has been built during the year of saved lumber and shingles, walls and ceilings plastered and all by the labor of the troops at an aggregate cost of \$500."⁹²

In December 1880 the department headquarters forbade constructing the main, front unit. In June 1881 an inspector general wrote of these double dining rooms and kitchens: "These small rooms only 12 feet square have been from [1879] . . . occupied by officers and their families. I renew my recommendation . . . that the main building be finished."⁹³

90. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Wheaton, Mar. 1, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

91. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, May 2, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

92. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, July 19, 1879, to OQMG, Washington.

93. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, AAG, Dec. 29, 1880, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAIG, report of inspection, June 2, 1881.

October 1881, post commander reported: "Two officers are living in the back buildings of two sets of quarters, the front portions of which have not yet been erected."⁹⁴

November 1881: "The only new building erected during the month is a small frame kitchen to increase the limited capacity of the quarters of Lieut. Boutelle." It is known that Boutell's wife was at Fort Lapwai. Does "limited capacity" indicate that they were living in this structure?⁹⁵

The post quartermaster, in April 1882, reported that two officers were "using as quarters, that part of the set of Quarters after the plan of the Qr. Mr. General known as 'dining room and kitchen,' having for their kitchens, temporary additions in rear, and the room known as 'dining room' being slightly larger than designed in plan of Qr. Mr. General. The front part of these quarters has not been finished for want of money."⁹⁶

Construction on the main, front part of these quarters got underway, finally, in May 1883. The post commander complained that because of his inability to hire carpenters and because the wheelwright (who had been supervising the work) had been discharged, progress was quite slow.⁹⁷

94. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Oct. 6, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

95. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Nov. 2, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

96. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

97. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, June 1 and July 1, 1883, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

The new quarters were ready for plastering on August 1, 1883, and the post commander hired a plasterer who had been working at Fort Spokane. This plasterer did not arrive until September.⁹⁸

The post adjutant noted in November that the new quarters leaked: "You will therefore cause your carpenter to put tin stripping over the top of the end windows on both ends of the quarters at once."⁹⁹

Finally, on January 1, 1884, the post commander proudly announced: "The new double set of officers quarters are now occupied." Fort Lapwai was abandoned seven months later.¹⁰⁰

This structure is the sole survivor of officers' row. It is the only Fort Lapwai structure presently administered by the National Park Service. While it is relatively intact, the duplex stands in need of restoration. The original "back building" still stands; but its "temporary" annexes, such as the kitchens, were removed in recent times.

HS 12, Adjutant's Office (and Billiard Room and Library)

January 25, 1871: "Adjutant's office--a frame building battened outside and 30' by 20' and 12' high to the eaves. Has a porch 8' wide, on the northern face. Inside it is lathed,

98. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 15, 1883, to O. W. Fee, Ft. Spokane; and July 19, Aug. 1, and Sept. 1, to AAG, Dept Columbi.

99. Ibid., Post Adj., Nov. 27, 1883, to Post QM.

100. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 1, 1884, to AAG, Dept Columbia.

plastered and ceiled, and divided into two rooms of nearly equal size—one of these is now used for Adjutant's office and contains the Troop library. Both are in good order."¹⁰¹

August 3, 1872: "The A. A. Surgeon, temporarily at the post, is quartered in one room of the Adjutant's office."¹⁰²

April 13, 1881: Adjutant's office replastered and repaired.¹⁰³

April 30, 1881: "The telegraph office and clerks office is now in the eastern room of the Adjutants building. The Adjutants office is now in the western room: this room had been cleaned calcimined and will also be used as formerly for Court Martial room."

And: "I desire to erect a one story building 50 x 20 feet, in height and appearance same as the building in which [is] the Adjutant's Office, Containing two rooms, one room to accommodate the billiard table belonging to the Post and which is now ready to be set up; and the other for the reading room and Library."¹⁰⁴

August 3, 1881: "The work of reconstructing [sic] the Library and Reading Room has been nearly accomplished."¹⁰⁵

101. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

102. NA, RG 159, IG, AIG, Dept. Columbia, Aug. 3, 1872, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

103. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 13, 1881, to OQMG, Washington.

104. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Apr. 30, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

105. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Aug. 3, 1881, to AGG, Dept. Columbia.

December 3, 1881: "Until otherwise ordered the Post Library and Billiard room may be kept open for the use of the enlisted men until 10:30."¹⁰⁶

On April 15, 1882, the quartermaster described both units. Concerning the adjutant's office: "Frame building on stone foundation containing room 15' 6" x 18', used as office for Post Commander and Post Adjutant and room 13' 4" x 18', used as clerks room and telegraph office. Condition: Fair. Capacity: Just about sufficient. No room to spare." On the newer part: "Frame building on stone foundation, adjoining Adjutant's Office and composed of two rooms; one 18' 3" x 24' 3" used as Library and Reading room, the other 18' 3" x 24' 9" used as billiards room with tables for checkers, chess etc. They can be thrown into one room the wooden partition between them being arranged for that purpose. Condition: Good. Capacity: Ample."¹⁰⁷

Today the residence of the superintendent for the Northern Idaho Agency stands on the approximate site of the old Adjutant's Office.

HS 13, Old Hospital

In 1863 General Alvord directed that a suitable hospital "be fitted up or Erected." This 1 1/2-story, frame hospital stood outside and to the northwest of the parade ground fence. Most surgeons found it to be quite unsatisfactory. As early as 1871, a surgeon recommended that it be converted to officers' quarters and a new hospital be built:

106. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 136, Dec. 3, 1881.

107. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

The ward is 20 ft. long, 15 ft. wide, and 12 ft. high, and is intended for the reception of 8 patients, given thus but 450 cubic feet of air to each patient. It has 5 windows and 1 door, which opens into a narrow hallway . . . it is heated by a stove, the pipe from which passes through the ceiling, with a brick flue, in the garret above.

The only means of ventilation are, by the windows, and door, and from the situation of the ward, in the S. E. corner of the building sheltered from the prevailing N. and N. W. winds; these means are exceedingly defective.¹⁰⁸

A detailed description of the structure appeared in the post quartermaster's report in January 1871:

A frame building battened outside. It is one story and one half high, and is lathed and plastered within. The first floor consists of a ward room 20' by 15', a surgery 15' by 15', each 12' to the ceiling, and a kitchen and a mess-room [wing], each 12' by 12' and 10' to the ceiling. Above the ward-room and surgery are the two garret rooms, occupied by the Hospital attaches. The building has a front of 44' and a porch 8' wide extends along the Eastern side. The building has no regular bath room, but a tub has been placed in the room in rear of the kitchen-- A small storeroom 12' by 8'.¹⁰⁹

108. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG, Dist. Oregon, May 4, 1863, to "Colonel," and Asst. Surg., Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 7, 1871, to CO, Ft. Lapwa.

109. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept, Columbia.

A surgeon gave a similar description about January 1873. He added a few details: the stone foundation had a three foot elevation in front but was at ground level at the rear; the hall measured 6 by 15 feet; a small storeroom stood in the rear of the dispensary (surgery, above); the bathroom measured 12 by 5 feet; and a small cellar, 8 feet square, "with neither artificial walls nor floor, nor natural light," was located underneath the dispensary. A privy stood 30 feet from the building.¹¹⁰

Another surgeon reported in June 1873 that the hospital steward was living in the dispensary.¹¹¹

In July 1874 the storeroom behind the dispensary was converted to a bathroom. The interior walls of the building were white-washed.¹¹²

In the summer of 1875 four canvas awnings, with iron frames, were authorized for the ground floor windows along the south side of the building.¹¹³

110. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Asst. Surg., "Locality and History of Post," ca. January 1873.

111. Ibid., Asst. Surg., report for June 1873.

112. Ibid., Post Surg., report for July 1874.

113. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Asst. Surg. April 23, 1875, to Post Adj.; and Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, ADC Wilkinson, endorsement July 17; and Ch. QM, endorsement, July 28, 1875.

A two-room addition, on the north end of the main structure was begun in the spring of 1876. It is not certain that this addition was ever completed; it was still being discussed as late as August 1878.¹¹⁴

Drains from the hospital to covered cesspools some 30 to 40 yards distant were constructed in June 1876. That fall a cow shed and "other nuisances" were moved from the rear of the hospital to a new site 400 yards northwest. These buildings "together with a stable for two horses and about 2000 square yards of ground were enclosed with a rough fence of young beech."¹¹⁵

In April 1881, with the completion of a new hospital, the old hospital was converted into officer's quarters. That July a board of officers condemned the structure as being unfit for officers quarters.¹¹⁶

However, this structure continued to stand at Fort Lapwai. About 1891, Kate McBeth, a missionary, moved from Kamiah to old Fort Lapwai. Her residence at the former post was the old hospital building. She called it the "mission house." Photographs of the interior, taken while she lived there, are extant: and

114. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, May 12, 1876, to AAG, Div. Pacific; RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for April 1877; and Post. Surg., report for August 1878.

115. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for September 1876.

116. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 13, 1881, to OQMG, Ft. Lapwai; and CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 5, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

these are the only interior photographs known of any of the fort's structures. She was still living in this building as late as 1897.¹¹⁷

HS 14, Guardhouse

Located at the north end of the parade ground the original guardhouse was also built by the volunteers. They finished constructing it probably early in 1863.

On October 21, 1869, fire completely destroyed this building. A new guardhouse, on the same site, was commenced in November 1869 and finished in January 1870. The quartermaster described it:

A frame building battened outside, 40' by 30' 6" and 10' to the eaves, has one Prison room 13' by 15' and 10' high . . . and three cells 10' by 14' and 8' high . . . they are double lined with 2" plank, each has a door opening into the Guard Room. A large open fire place is in the center of this building. The building is in good order and was erected in 1869 to replace the old one destroyed by fire, ventilation obtained by doors, windows, and sheet iron gratings above each cell.¹¹⁸

117. Kate McBeth, The Nez Perces Since Lewis and Clark (New York, 1908), pp. 164, 167, and 171-74. In my report on the Spalding area I mistakenly placed Miss McBeth in the old agency dispensary building for this period.

118. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Oct. 21, 1869, and Jan. 27, 1871, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; and Post QM, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

Another quartermaster gave different dimensions in July 1872. He said the prison room measured 16 by 16 feet, and each of the three cells were 4 by 8 feet. An inspector general that summer also contradicted the above description by recommending substituting the plank ceiling of the cells and the prison room with iron grating so as to improve the ventilation.¹¹⁹

Still another description, by a post surgeon, differed in some details. He said the building was made of squared logs; it was open to the ridge, but the cells were ventilated by grated openings in the doors and sides of the building; and the cells measured 8 by 5 feet.¹²⁰

By July 1880 the guardhouse had been moved farther north, onto a new stone foundation, and in line with the new post hospital. Some interior improvements were made at this time, such as a new floor. That fall a new porch was built onto its front.¹²¹

119. NA, RG 393, Fort Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, July 1, 1872, to Post Adj.; RG 159, IG, AIG, report of inspection, Aug. 3, 1872.

120. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., "Locality and History of Post," ca. January 1873.

121. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 6, Aug. 8, and Nov. 22, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

The remodeled guardhouse was described as having a main room for the guard, cells for close confinement, and two light prison rooms. The last entry of note was by the surgeon, who recommended filling in the guardhouse sink and moving the privy over to a new sink.¹²²

HS 15, Commissary Storehouse (Old)

Also built by the volunteers about 1863, the commissary storehouse stood on the south side of the parade, in line with and east of the adjutant's office. The quartermaster described it in 1871:

Commissary subsistence Storehouse--frame building, battened on outside, board lined within, Dimensions 50' by 22' 6" and 20 1/2 feet high. On the first floor there is the storeroom, the office 10' by 10' high [sic], and a closet for small stores 19' by 6' and 8' 6" high. At the eastern end is a cellar 12' by 20' and 8' deep, and above this the second floor.

He recommended that this structure be enlarged. A 25-foot extension was constructed that summer, onto the east end of the original building. This extension also had a cellar (4 feet 6 inches deep) with a cellar door on the south side of the building.¹²³

122. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAIG, report of inspection, June 2, 1881; and Asst. Surg., Aug. 3, 1882, to Post Adj.

123. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Aug. 31, 1871, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

By 1881 deterioration had set in. The post commander complained: "The Commissary Store house is inferior. Recently the cellar has been filled with water. The building is composed of two sections. The oldest section showed signs of spreading. If this Post is kept up a new Commissary Store house should be erected."¹²⁴

In 1882, the quartermaster again described the whole building:

Frame building on stone foundation 76' x 22'.
One room for office 8' x 10'. Cellar 41' 9" x 19' 3" and 7' 10" deep.
Very poorly arranged for storing Commissary supplies.
Cellar partially filled with water in winter and early spring. Supplies stored there have to be moved upstairs and then freeze.¹²⁵

A new commissary storehouse was constructed in 1882-83. At that time the post quartermaster contemplated using this old building as an additional quartermaster storehouse. Whether he did or not remains unknown.¹²⁶

HS 16, Quartermaster Storehouse (Old)

The volunteers constructed this poor building about 1863. It was a log building chinked with mud and mortar. It measured 84 by 22 feet and was 17 1/2 feet high. Within it was a 15 by 20 foot room used as the quartermaster's office. As

124. Ibid., CO, Ft. Lapwai, Mar. 1, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

125. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Arp. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

126. Ibid., Post QM, Mar. 31, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

early as 1871 the quartermaster described it as a poor building; nevertheless he was then lining it with boards. It was located south of the parade, roughly behind the adjutant's office.¹²⁷

A new quartermaster storehouse was constructed in 1876. How long after that the old building stood is not known.

HS 17, Quartermaster Storehouse (New)

Construction of a new quartermaster storehouse began in the spring of 1876. It was located behind (south) and lay parallel to the old commissary storehouse. By August the workmen had completed everything except plastering the quartermaster's office. This task was not completed until the following spring.¹²⁸

A problem developed concerning this new structure in 1880. The post commander wrote: "The store house, Qr Mr, was built on brick piers and is gradually falling down. It is now propped up with cord wood." By summer the solution to this, the installation of stone pillars, had been found. The structure was then considered "strong and secure."¹²⁹

127. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

128. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Sent, Howard, May 12, 1876, to AAG, Div. Pacific; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent CO, Ft. Lapwai, Aug. 6, 1876, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for April 1877.

129. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Mar. 8 and Aug. 8, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

The quartermaster described the structure in 1882. It was a frame building on stone and brick supports. It measured 100 by 34 feet. His office, 20 by 18 feet, and a room for clothing and veterinary stores, 20 by 15 feet, were located in the west end. Also, the loft was floored for twenty feet (over the rooms) at this end. Elsewhere a small space, 10 by 9 feet, was partitioned off and shelved for the storage of small tools. The quartermaster wished the rooms were a little larger, otherwise he thought the building to be very fair.¹³⁰

HS 18, QM Stables (Old)

This small, humble, frame building was erected early in the fort's history to provide shelter for the quartermaster's horses. It measured 36 by 21 feet and 10 feet 6 inches high at the eaves. Besides five stalls it had a loft for hay and a small room. When the Regulars took over, the quartermaster began stabling his animals in the large cavalry stables. The officers then used this structure to house their private animals. An officer's servant lived in the small room for a time. In 1877, the 2d Infantry Band was forced to take shelter in this old building until barracks were built for it (HS 7, above.) This building's functions in the late years of the post remain unknown.¹³¹

HS 19, Cavalry and Quartermaster Stables (Old)

Built by the volunteers, this large frame structure underwent several changes of function over the years. When the

130. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

131. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Dec. 9, 1878, to AG, Washington.

quartermaster first described it in detail, in 1871, it consisted of a T-shaped unit that had 71 single stalls and 4 double stalls, all for the cavalry mounts. A wing extended east from the top of the T that was used by the quartermaster; this unit contained eleven double and one single stalls. It is quite possible that the quartermaster unit was added after the cavalry stables had been built. At the junction of the T two small storerooms (9 by 9 feet) were partitioned off for grain, hay, and tool storage. At the east end of the quartermaster stables were a harness room (20 by 9 feet) and another storeroom (15 by 9 feet). On the roof top stood four ventilatores, each 12 by 4 by 2 feet 6 inches. Apertures along the walls increased the ventilation. Part of the floor was covered with something called "Russ pavement;" the rest was simply earth.

A fence enclosed a yard on the north side of the stables. The gateway for this corral was rather stylish for an army installation on the frontier. At this point the fence ran in a semi-circle and a small structure (each 11 12. by 22 feet) stood on either side of the entrance. One of these served as a residence for the quartermaster sergeant; the other contained the saddles and bridles for the cavalry. They apparently shared a common shake roof.¹³²

In February 1872 these two "gate" rooms caught fire. For once the troops responded quickly and were pouring water on the fire three minutes after the alarm sounded. This speedy reaction saved the structure.¹³³

132. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

133. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Feb. 8, 1872, to AAG, Dept Columbia.

By 1876 different officers were complaining strongly about the stables. One officer wrote: "The present Stable is a poor concern. The air is constantly impregnated with dust, and in winter the Stable is cold; an unhealthy place for horses." Three years later the post commander requested new feed boxes and repairs to both the stables and the fencing.¹³⁴

The quartermaster began building new cavalry stables in the fall of 1880. He completed the structure in early May 1881. The quartermaster continued to use the old stables for his own animals. Despite repairs, the building continued to deteriorate. The quartermaster complained bitterly in 1882: "So bad, as scarcely to give shelter to the animals kept there (ten (10) horses and forty-two (42) mules). Rain and melting snow pouring down on them." The two rooms at the gate were then occupied by a citizen packer and the sergeant in charge of the QM stables.¹³⁵

However, the shabby old building continued to house the quartermaster animals until the fort closed in 1884.

HS 20, Granary (old)

The granary stood next to the old Quartermaster Stables (HS 18, above). It was a frame and battened building measuring

134. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AAG, Dept. Columbia, Aug. 8, 1876, to CG, Dept. Columbia; and Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Sept. 1, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

135. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

36 by 16 feet, and had a capacity of 4,000 bushels. In December 1879 its floor gave way and, in the following spring, the post commander said it was falling down.¹³⁶

HS 21, Granary (New)

Some time between 1880 and 1882 a new granary was built at Fort Lapwai. While it undoubtedly stood in the vicinity of the stables, its exact location is not known. The post quartermaster described it:

Frame building, 38' by 30', on stone foundation, 3 feet above the ground. Space 14' 5" x 8' 5" used as issue room. The remainder divided into two bins, one rectangular 28' 10" x 19'; the other L shaped 14' 5" x 9' 6" and 14' 5" x 17' 11". Condition: Good.¹³⁷

HS 22, School, and HS 23, First Telegraph Office

Fort Lapwai never had a really suitable schoolroom. When the first organized classes started, in 1875, they were held in an abandoned laundress' quarters. By 1881 the classroom had moved to an equally unsatisfactory building located in the same general area as the old granary (HS 20, above). The school was described at this time as a balloon frame, neither ceiled nor plastered, unfit for occupancy during winter, and an "eyesore." The post commander requested, and

136. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, July 1, 1872, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Dec. 31, 1879 and Mar. 5, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

137. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

got, permission to tear it down. He hoped to reuse its lumber to build a new school to stand between the two main barracks buildings. However, the wood proved to be quite rotten. The school was moved to a barracks (HS 7, above).¹³⁸

The telegraph line reached Lapwai on June 30, 1879. The station was first established in a slab building located near the school and the granary. Its original function remains unknown. It too was considered to be an eyesore. The post commander had it torn down in the spring of 1881, at the same time the school building was demolished. The telegraph office then moved into the adjutant's building. The exact location of this first telegraph office cannot be identified on the military plans of the post.¹³⁹

HS 24, Magazine (Old) and HS 25, Magazine (New)

The first magazine at Fort Lapwai was little more than a dugout in the base of the hill west of the old quartermaster storehouse. No sooner did the quartermaster write that it was "boarded & properly & securely fastened", than the magazine caved in. Swiftly, "the wood work was removed, the cavity enlarged, and a new and spacious structure is now being erected in its place." This was 1877.¹⁴⁰

138. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Feb. 15, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Apr. 30, 1881, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

139. Ibid.

140. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, Dec. 12, 1876, to Post Adj; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surgeon, report for April 1877.

However, this rebuilt dugout did not prove satisfactory for long. In 1881, the department headquarters authorized an expenditure of \$91.40 for materials to build a new magazine. The directive said that the floor should be planed, tongued, and grooved. This new "magazine and Ordnance Store House" was completed by October 1881. Some of its timbers had come from the now dismantled dugout. The quartermaster described it as a frame building on a stone foundation, measuring 29 by 18 feet. These dimensions seem rather small in view of the fact that a large store of artillery ammunition was still on hand at the post, left over from the Nez Perce War.

The location of this new building has not been established. As a final comment, the post quartermaster, in 1882, considered it to be inadequate. He asked permission to build still another. Apparently this request was denied.¹⁴¹

HS 26, Bakery (Old) and HS 27, Bakery (New)

The volunteers constructed the first bakery very early in the post's history. It too was located at the base of the hill, south of the old quartermaster storehouse. In fact, its back part was "embedded in the foot hill." Several dimensions were given for the structure; it apparently measured 31 by 22 feet. One quartermaster said it was a frame building, another wrote that it was made of logs.

Several minor changes were made in the structure over the years. In 1870 the surgeon recommended shelving and a new lining in the cellar under the structure. In 1874 two privates were excused from inspection so that they could help the mason who was working on the oven. The post surgeon reported

141. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Div. Pacific QM, July 29, 1881, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia; and Capt. A. Forse, report of inspection, Sept. 1, 1881; Ft. Lapwai, Qm, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

in 1876 that a small, 6 by 8-foot shed had been built on the south side of the building to serve as a sleeping apartment for the baker. When the 2d Infantry Regiment arrived, Colonel Wheaton had his headquarters clerk occupy this "wretched little shed."¹⁴²

A new bakehouse was constructed in 1882. A year later the oven and chimney were removed from the old bakehouse and it was converted into an icehouse.¹⁴³

In November 1881, department headquarters authorized a new bakery for Fort Lapwai. The post was allowed to purchase 9,000 bricks at Genesee, north of the Clearwater. In March 1883 the quartermaster described the frame building as measuring 29' 8" by 18'; the outer walls of the oven were 17 1/2 by 22 feet. There was an additional room in the rear for the baker, much larger than its predecessor--16 by 11 1/2 feet. The exact location of this new bakery is unknown.¹⁴⁴

HS 28, Carpenter Shop

A row of structures stood behind (to the east of) the barracks. The most southerly of these was the post carpenter

-
142. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Surg., June 25, 1870, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; and Post ACS, Oct. 30, 1874, to Post Adj.; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surg., report for October 1876; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Dec. 9, 1878, to AG, Washington, and Apr. 30, 1881, to AAG, Dept Columbia.
143. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 189, Dec. 10, 1883.
144. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post ACS, Nov. 2, 1881, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 11, 1883, to OQMG, Washington.

shop. In 1871 it was described as a frame building made of slabs, measuring 35 by 15 feet and 18 feet high. The carpenter shop proper occupied about two-thirds of the space. The rest of the building, "with floor raised a foot above that of the carpenter shop," was a 12 by 15-foot saddler's shop. This structure's history was undistinguished. In 1882 it was described as being unlined, standing on ground sills, and in fair condition.¹⁴⁵

HS 29, Blacksmith Shop

Varying dimensions were given for this structure. It measured approximately 32 by 22 feet and stood 16 feet high. A shed, 10 1/2 feet wide, ran along its east side. This shed was said to be 5 1/2 feet high. It was a frame building, standing on ground sills, battened outside, and a shingle roof. It was described in 1882 as having two fires. The quartermaster discussed its condition at that time: "Very old and much out of repair, and very badly arranged for work and particularly heavy work incident to the repairs of wagon wheels etc." He recommended a new shop; but such was not built.¹⁴⁶

HS 30, Laundresses' Quarters

Located behind the barracks, this structure also dated from the Civil War period. It had four one-room apartments, each 16 by 16 feet, and ten feet high to the ceiling. Attached to each room was a shed, 10 feet wide and 9 feet high which

145. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Ft. Lapwai, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

146. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, July 1, 1872, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

served as a kitchen and washroom. The building was constructed of slabs and had a shingle roof. In 1873 the surgeon wrote that the interstices between the slabs were filled with mortar and the rooms were board-lined. He also noted that each room had an open fireplace.¹⁴⁷

HS 31, Laundresses' Quarters

Comprised of only two sets of laundresses' quarters, this structure was otherwise the same as HS 30, above.

By 1883, this structure was considered to be quarters for noncommissioned staff officers. Its condition at this time was very bad. The ordnance sergeant was then living in it.¹⁴⁸

HS 32, Laundresses' Quarters

In 1871 the quartermaster decided to erect a third building for the laundresses. While he planned for six rooms and total dimensions of 100 by 16 feet, he did not get the necessary permission to proceed. Not until 1874 did the approval come, and then only a small structure, 41 by 25 feet, for two laundresses. It too was a frame building sitting on the ground. By 1882 the commissary sergeant was living in this building. The following year this sergeant was sharing the structure with the citizen wheelwright, and presumably their

147. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surgeon, "Locality and History of the Post, ca. January 1873.

148. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 11, 1883, to OQMG, Washington.

families. The quartermaster described it thus: "Frame on ground. Unlined. 40' 5" x 26' 4". Two rooms in each set, and also a small apartment partitioned off front room for sleeping room. Capacity: insufficient for purpose. Condition: becoming old and not worth extended repairs."¹⁴⁹

HS 33, Laundresses' Quarters

A fourth building for laundresses' was built on the row at some unknown date before 1882. It was not as long as the quartermaster had planned for in 1871, but it did measure 86 by 20 feet. It had five rooms in it, each measuring "about 17' x 19'; it was built of logs. In 1882 this structure was serving as an extra storehouse, but a highly unsatisfactory one. The quartermaster removed his supplies from it in 1883. At its last notice, the building was empty.¹⁵⁰

HS 34, Post Trader's Store

Little is known about the appearance of this non-army structure. An army plan of the post shows a two-room building and a small outbuilding near it, the two of them fenced off on the sides facing the post. It was located on the west bank of Lapwai Creek about 300 feet northeast of the parade ground. In its early days it had a billiard table, but no mention was made of this in later years--possibly because the trader sold the table to the post, for one does show up in the military

149. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, Post QM, Jan. 25, 1871, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Orders, Orders No. 45, July 22, 1874; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, Dec. 12, Apr. 15, 1883, to OQMG, Washington.

150. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, and Apr. 11, 1883, to OQMG, Washington.

records at this time. The merchandise carried by the trader is discussed elsewhere in this report. The only specific reference to the structure itself found in the military correspondence was a directive to the trader to whitewash the store, outbuildings, and fences connected with the establishment.¹⁵¹

HS 35, Post Trader's Residence (Kelley's Cottage)

In 1872 the Army began renting the post trader's residence as officer's quarters. This six-room house was located on the east side of Lapwai Creek, across from the trader's store--a most unsatisfactory location in relation to the main post. When the 2d Infantry was at Fort Lapwai, three officers were assigned to this building; in other words it served as a sort of bachelor officer's quarters for a time.

In 1879 the department headquarters authorized the purchase of this building for \$450. However, the post quartermaster inspected it and found it in such poor shape and so poorly located that he did not wish to buy it. However, a plan of the building and a description of it was prepared at that time (see illustrations),¹⁵²

HS 36, Cemetery

The first location of the post cemetery is not known except that it was on the side of a hill. In 1872 the post commander proposed to move the cemetery "to a suitable place

151. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Post Adj., Mar. 24, 1881, to Post Trader.

152. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Lt. R. Fletcher, Dec. 14, 1872, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Nov. 12, 1879, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

in the valley." Thereafter, it was described as being 500 yards from the post. Maps show it northwest of the post, close up against the west range of hills. The surgeon reported in 1873 that a fence surrounded the cemetery and that each grave was marked and designated.¹⁵³

The flood of 1879 did some damage to the cemetery. That summer an estimate was submitted "for rebuilding the present dilapidated . . . fence and for Head Boards." Shortly thereafter the post commander noted that the graves of those killed on the Rains patrol of 1877 had no headboards. He requested "the regulation iron head boards such as are used in National Cemeteries."¹⁵⁴

In June 1880, the remains of 28 men killed at White Bird Canyon in 1877 were reburied in the post cemetery. The post commander then reported that the cemetery was full and recommended an extension of the grounds be made. That fall he said: "Cemetery enlarged and substantial fence encloses it." But an inspector general, in 1882, found the cemetery unsatisfactory: "Some graves have no head boards, even those large graves which announce a fight; on others the boards have fallen; and numbering is ignored."¹⁵⁵

153. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Letters Received, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Feb. 29, 1872, to Dept. Columbia; NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist. Post Surgeon, report for November 1873.

154. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 1 and Aug. 26, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia.

155. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, June 13 and Oct. 1, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Register of Letters Received, AIG, report of inspection, Oct. 24 & 25, 1882.

In March 1883, post orders gave detailed directions for improving the appearance of the cemetery:

The Post Quartermaster will at once make a complete plat of the Post Cemetery, which plat must be entered in a book of record to be kept in the Post Quartermasters office.

The graves will be straightened as nearly as possible, in regular rows; headboards will be put up at each grave, painted white and lettered in black; giving in all cases the name, company and regiment, with date of death.

Small foot boards will also be put up at all graves (as well as spaces laid out for new graves) painted the same . . . and numbered in black, from one up, in regular order, running through each row of unfilled spaces as well as filled graves.

Despite all this, the cemetery fence was again down that fall and cattle were destroying the grave.¹⁵⁶

After Fort Lapwai was abandoned, all the remains were transferred to Fort Walla Walla, Washington, where they may be identified today.

HS 37, Corral, Slaughter Yard, & Hay Yard.

South of the stables, on the west side of Lapwai Creek stood a fenced (board) hay yard, 190 by 170 feet; a corral next to it, 175 by 145 feet, surrounded with a slab fence; and a shed, 15 feet wide, along one side of the corral. Also near

156. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 42, Mar. 21, 1884; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, 2d Lt. O. Bundy, Nov. 7, 1883, to Post. Adj.

the corral was a board slaughter house, measuring 12 by 10 feet.

The surgeon was quite worried about the slaughter house being upstream from the main post. He recommended that it be moved downstream to an island in the creek, a few hundred yards north of the post trader's store. This proposed site had formerly been the "slaughter yard," "easily recognized by the skulls and bones lying there." Not until the fall of 1882 did the post commander order the removal of the slaughter house.¹⁵⁷

HS 38, Cavalry Stables, New.

In October 1880, construction began on new cavalry stables for Fort Lapwai. One month later the foundations had been laid and the framing started. But due to the cold weather progress was slow. Not until April 30, 1881, were the new stables ready for occupancy. A fence and a corral, "connected with the Stable," were also constructed. The post quartermaster described these new stables as being a frame building, 200 by 32 feet and 18 feet high. The pitch of the roof was 45 degrees: "Door, 9 feet wide, in middle of East side, opens into corral and picket line. Grain bin 19' 9" x 10' on one side of this door and saddle room 17' x 10' on the other. In middle on West side Saddlers work-room 14' x 10'. Condition: Good. Capacity: 74 horses."

This structure still stands and is used today for storage by the Northern Idaho Indian Agency.¹⁵⁸

157. NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, printed description of the post; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post Surgeon, Mar. 13, 1882, to Post Adj.; and Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Orders No. 147, Nov. 6, 1882.

158. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Oct. 1, Nov. 22, 1880, and Apr. 30, 1881; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

HS 39, Hospital, New

In August 1878, the surgeon general of the U. S. Army approved the construction of a new regulation hospital for Fort Lapwai. The post quartermaster had estimated the cost at \$8,000, but department headquarters had cut this back to \$5,000. One year later, the post quartermaster felt vindicated when it was realized that \$3,000 more were needed.

In July 1879 the post commander reported that the framework of the superstructure for the two-story building was nearly completed. In March 1880 he said that the building was ready for occupancy although not completely finished on the inside nor painted on the outside.

The quartermaster described the handsome new building as having been built according to the surgeon general's plans for a 12-bed hospital. It was a frame building, measuring 78 by 26 feet. A two-story porch, 10 feet wide, ran completely around the building. It was a fine addition to Fort Lapwai, but much too large for the needs of the post.¹⁵⁹

HS 40, Commissary Storehouse, New

The last major structure to be built at Fort Lapwai was a new commissary storehouse. In June 1882, the post commander reported: "The cellar for a new Subsistence store house had been dug and partly walled and the lumber purchased and partially framed." It was completed by March 1883, when the quartermaster described its appearance. It held the offices

159. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surgeon, report for April 1878; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 1 and July 5, 1879, and Mar. 5, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, AIG, report of inspection, Sept. 1, 1881; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

for both the quartermaster and the subsistence officers (usually the same person). The frame structure, standing on a stone foundation, measured 81 by 32 feet. The 30 by 40 foot cellar was located under the west end; it was seven feet deep. Most of the building consisted of one large storeroom, 48' 10" by 31'. In addition were a sales room, 31 by 11 feet; the quartermaster's office, 17 1/2 by 13 feet; and the commissary of subsistence's office, 17 1/2 by 17 1/2 feet. The storehouse still standing at former Fort Lapwai is believed to be this structure. The Northern Idaho Indian Agency uses it for storage.¹⁶⁰

HS 41, Flagstaff

Only one reference to the flagstaff is to be found in the post's records. In August 1874 the post quartermaster requested permission to purchase \$50 worth of timber for a flagstaff. It is assumed however that an earlier flagstaff existed. From the various drawings and photographs it may be determined that the flagstaff was located toward the north end of the parade ground, in front of the guardhouse--until the guardhouse was moved farther north and the parade ground enlarged.¹⁶¹

Miscellaneous Structures

A number of Fort Lapwai's minor structures are listed here without being historic structure numbers. Generally, the reasons for their being so listed is either that little

160. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CQ, Ft. Lapwai, June 6, 1882 and Jan. 2, 1883; Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1883, to OQMG, Washington.

161. NA, RG 393, Dept. Columbia, Register of Letters Received, Post QM, Aug. 4, 1874, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

is known about them or their locations or that they were removed from the post a considerable distance.

Gardens. The gardens were cultivated on the east side of Lapwai Creek a short distance above (south of) the post. This fertile piece of land is still cultivated today. These gardens were indeed productive and they received the praise of all who saw them. While the cultivated acreage probably changed from time to time, it was described in 1873 of being about 20 acres.¹⁶²

Dump. The location of the first dump(s) is not known. In September 1881 the post surgeon recommended a new site: "Over the edge of the perpendicular bank by the side of the road, abreast of the two large cottonwood trees, fifty yards south of the present dumping grounds and about five hundred and fifty yards south of the corral gate." It is assumed that this site became the new dump. At the same time the post commander wrote: "The Post Quartermaster will have a substantial sign board erected there with the word 'Dump' plainly painted thereon." It is suspected that today's highway runs over this site.¹⁶³

Wells. The post surgeon recorded in 1873 that an abundant supply of excellent water was obtained from two wells, "one midway between the company quarters and the other in the S. E. corner of the parade ground." By 1876, drinking water was obtained only from the latter--but both were still in use. At this time the water was described as "tolerably good," but the well itself was in bad condition, "from the decay of the

162. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Post Surgeon, "Locality and History of the Post," ca. January 1873.

163. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Post Surgeon, Sept. 16, 1881, to CO, Ft. Lapwai; and CO, Ft. Lapwai, endorsement thereon.

wooden casing, and insufficient protection from surface drainage."

In 1881 Lieutenant Boutell's family became ill, and the blame fell on the well water. An attempt was made to clean out the well, but the water was still bad. From then on, drinking water was brought in (apparently by a water cart) from "Wheaton Spring," 3,150 feet south east of the post.¹⁶⁴

Rifle Ranges. In 1874 the post quartermaster wrote: "Request that the targate [sic] may be moved down the flat as far as the cemetery. I do not consider it safe for any one to drive along the road now, as men are firing from the brush just below the traders store." In 1882 there were two rifle ranges, possibly in that area: "One of them for four targets for distances from 100 to 600 yds; the other for one target and distances 700 to 1000 yards: the targets are of canvas on wooden frames."¹⁶⁵

Hay Scales. The Idaho Signal mentioned hay scales at Fort Lapwai. Their location is unknown.¹⁶⁶

Forage House. When describing the buildings of the post in 1876, Lt. Peter Bomus listed the "forage house." He said it measured 38 1/2 by 30 1/2 feet. Its location is not known.¹⁶⁷

164. NA, RG 94, Ft. Lapwai, Medical Hist., Post Surgeon, reports for January 1873 and June 1876; Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Lt. F. Boutelle, July 21, 1881, to Post Adj., and CO, Ft. Lapwai, endorsement thereon, to AAG, Dept Columbia.

165. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, Dec. 8, 1874, to Post Adj.; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Sept. 29, 1882, to Ord. Officer, Dept. Columbia.

166. Idaho Signal, July 13, 1872.

167. NA, RG 494, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Bomus, Dec. 12, 1876, to Post Adj.

Chinese Laundry. Only one reference to this institution has been found: "The Officer of the Day will cause the guard to require the Chinese laundry at the post to close and extinguish lights at 10:30 p.m." Its location is unknown.¹⁶⁸

Ice Houses. In 1876 the quartermaster reported having an ice house, 16 by 10 feet, frame. The next year the ice house was said to be made of logs and having a capacity of 30 tons. The post commander said in 1880 that the ice house had been moved to the "ice pond." The quartermaster reported in 1882 that he had two ice houses: One partly underground, 14 by 15 feet, capacity 510 tons. The other, a frame building, double-lined, 14 1/2 high, and measuring 10 by 16 feet.¹⁶⁹

Wheelwright Shop. Although the location of this shop is unknown, it is possible that it was a small structure in the same line of buildings as the carpenter and blacksmith shops. It measured 17 1/2 by 18 1/2 feet. Log, unlined, loft, floor, and two rooms. In 1883 the quartermaster said it was not good enough to be wheelwright shop and was not worth repairing.¹⁷⁰

Fences. There were many separate fences at Fort Lapwai: around the laundresses' quarters, at the back of the hospital, around the several stables, around the parade ground, and more.

168. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Orders and Circulars, Post Orders No. 136, Dec. 3, 1881.

169. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Received, Post QM, Dec. 12, 1876, to Post Adj.; NA, Micro 617, Roll 593, Ft. Lapwai, Post Returns, printed description of post; NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Nov. 22, 1880, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; and Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Apr. 15, 1882, to OQMG, Washington.

170. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Mar. 31, 1882 and Apr. 15, 1883, to OQMG, Washington.

Several of the more pertinent comments concerning fencing follow:

In 1875 the quartermaster requested authority to purchase 250 posts, 1,000 feet of 1-inch planks, and 3,200 feet of 2 by 6 lumber to build a fence around the hay and straw stacks.

When the parade ground was extended northward to include the new hospital, 1879-80, the post commander requested materials to enclose this added portion and to replace the old parade ground fence:

Size of Parade	430' x 1066'
375 posts, ea.	5" x 6" x 7'
4 boards,	1" x 6" x 2992'
100 lbs, nails	
	<hr/> \$282.18.

These figures were revised considerably a year later:

22,905 ft.	1 x 12 x 20 boards
288 pieces	4 x 6 x 14 posts
288 pieces	2 x 6 x 16 rails
288 pieces	2 x 4 x 16 rails
300 lbs, nails	
	<hr/> \$772.98

This new fencing was installed by July 1880. But three years later the quartermaster requested still more material: "Especially to put a top rail in the barbed wire. . . . This fence which was put up some two or three years ago was completed with the exception of a top rail above the [rim?] for about one half the entire extent of the fence. Animals are constantly cut by the wire."¹⁷¹

171. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Register of Letters Sent, Post QM, June 5, 1875, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, July 1, 1879, to AAG, Dept. Columbia, and no signature, ca. March 1880, "Estimate for fence around garrison," Ft. Lapwai, QM, Letters Sent, Post QM, Mar. 31, 1883, to Ch. QM, Dept. Columbia.

Sentry Box. The post adjutant directed that the sentry box "on post No. 3" be repaired--1883. Unfortunately, one does not know what guard post No. 3 was.¹⁷²

Sawmill. The post had a circular saw, probably from its earliest days. The post quartermaster discussed its capacity in 1884: "There is at this post an 8 horse power mill for sawing wood, which is adequate for our purposes. About 14 days sawing will cut the months supply [firewood?] during the winter months."¹⁷³

Hog Pen. In an early discussion in this report concerning menus at Fort Lapwai, it was noted that the cavalry company enjoyed pork from time to time. However, at one time at least, the infantry also had pork. This is proven by a letter from the adjutant to the company commander, I, 21st Infantry, demanding removal of the company hog pen to the "'Island' at the bend of Lapwai Creek, below and to the North and East of the ice pond and not far from the firing station, long range." He also ordered that the present site be disinfected with dry earth or ashes.¹⁷⁴

172. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Post Adj., Nov. 16, 1883, to Post QM.

173. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, CO, Ft. Lapwai, Feb. 13, 1876, to AAG, Dept. Columbia; Ft. Lapwai, Endorsements Sent, Post QM, May 19, 1884, to Ch. QM. Dept. Columbia.

174. NA, RG 393, Ft. Lapwai, Letters Sent, Post Adj., Mar. 11, 1882, to CO, Co. I, 21st Inf.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Only three of the historic military structures still stand at Fort Lapwai: officer's quarters, HS 11; new cavalry stables, HS 38; and new commissary storehouse, HS 40. However, some of the original flavor and general appearance of the old post may yet be found: the parade ground, Lapwai Creek, the hills, and the garden site. Although agency buildings now cover much of the site and the little town of Lapwai next door is growing, the Lapwai valley is still relatively undeveloped.

The National Park Service administers only one structure, the officers' quarters, at this time. The Northern Idaho Indian Agency operates out of its own structures on the rest of the site. However, cooperation between the two federal agencies has been a success in the past and promises to continue in the future.

At this time only two recommendations are made:

1. To proceed as soon as possible with the restoration and interpretation of the officers quarters.
2. To program a historical research project in the Bureau of Indian Affairs records in the National Archives, 1880-to date. As discussed in the Historic Resource Study for the Spalding Area, Nez Perce National Historical Park, these records are so arranged that they cannot possibly be investigated in the times that were appropriated for both these reports. An investigation of them would clarify many matters concerning both sites, including their many structures, from about 1885 on.

Appendix

Commanding Officers, Fort Lapwai

This list of commanding officers does not contain those officers who acted as commanders during the absences of their superiors:

Camp Lapwai

Maj. J. S. Rinearson, 1st Ore. Cav. Vols., Aug. 1862-Nov. 1862

Fort Lapwai

Maj. J. S. Rinearson, 1st Ore. Cav. Vols., Nov. 1862-Mar. 1863
Col. Justus Steinberger, 1st Wash. Terr. Inf., Apr. 1863-May 1863
Maj. Sewall Truax, 1st Ore. Cav. Vols., June 1863-Aug. 1864
Capt. William J. Matthews, 1st Ore. Cav. Vols., Sept. 1864-July 1865
Capt. Abner W. Waters, 1st Ore. Cav. Vols., Aug. 1865-June 1866
1st Lt. John H. Gallagher, 14th U. S. Infantry, Nov. 1866-Feb. 1867
Capt. C. H. Lester, 8th U. S. Cavalry, Mar. 1867-Apr. 1868
Capt. E. V. Sumner, 1st U. S. Cavalry, May 1868-Dec. 1870
1st Lt. Charles E. Bendire, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Dec. 1870-May 1871
Capt. George K. Brady, 23d U. S. Infantry, June 1871-Nov. 1871
Capt. George B. Sanford, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Dec. 1871-Feb. 1873
Capt. Harry M. Smith, 21st U. S. Infantry, Mar. 1873-May 1873
Capt. George B. Sanford, 1st U. S. Cavalry, June 1873-July 1874
Capt. Harry M. Smith, 21st U. S. Infantry, July 1874-Oct. 1875
Capt. David Perry, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Nov. 1875-June 1877
Capt. William Boyle, 21st U. S. Infantry, July 1877-Aug. 1877
Col. Frank Wheaton, 2d U. S. Infantry, Sept. 1877-July 1879
Capt. William F. Spurgin, 21st U. S. Infantry, Aug 1879
Lt. Col. Alexander Chambers, 21st U. S. Infantry, Sept. 1879-Dec. 1880
Capt. Albert G. Forse, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Aug. 1881
Maj. Edward P. Pearson, 21st U. S. Infantry, Sept. 1881-Sept. 1882
Maj. Leslie Smith, 2d U. S. Infantry, Oct. 1882-July 1884

Bibliography

1. Manuscript Material

National Archives, Washington, D. C. The National Archives holdings contain much material concerning Fort Lapwai. The following record groups were searched:

RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of the Interior, Letters Received concerning Washington Superintendency, 1853-80, and Idaho Superintendency, 1863-80.

RG 94, Office, Adjutant General, Reservation File for Fort Lapwai, about 1 inch; and Medical History of Fort Lapwai, June 1873-December 1883.

RG 153, General Land Office, Reservation File, Fort Lapwai, about 1 inch.

RG 159, U. S. Army, Inspector General Reports, selected reports pertaining to Fort Lapwai.

RG 393, U. S. Army Continental Commands: Fort Lapwai:

Lists of Prisoners, 1871-84
Letters Received, 1862-82
QM Letters Received, 1881-84
Scouting Reports, 1871-72 and 1876
Reports of Troops Arriving and Leaving, 1877-78
Proceedings of Garrison Courts-martial, 1872-74
Abstracts regarding Subsistence, 1883-84
Reports on Schools, 1879-81
Miscellaneous, 1882
Post Orders and Circulars, 1862-83
Post Letters (Sent), 1866-84
Register of Letters Received, 1873-84
Telegrams Sent and Received, 1877-84
Requisitions, 1877-80
Endorsements Sent, 1867-73 and 1877-84
QM Letters Sent, 1881-84

Department of the Columbia:

Letters Sent, 1866-84
Letters Received, selected items
Registers of Letters Received, 1866-85

Microcopy 234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81, Idaho Superintendency, Rolls 337-353.

Microcopy 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts, 1800-1916, Fort Lapwai, Rolls 593-94; Camp Howard, Roll 485; and Fort Walla Walla, Roll 1344.

Of the utmost importance were the many sketches, plans, maps, and photographs found in Cartographic Division and Audiovisual Division.

Idaho Historical Society: The typescripts of the Lapwai Agency Letters, 1871-83 were most helpful, especially concerning the long dispute over ownership of the agency land at Spalding.

Northern Idaho Indian Agency, Lapwai: A record of the agency structures at former Fort Lapwai, "Buildings at Northern Idaho Agency."

2. Government Publications

Heitman, Francis B., Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 2 volumes, Washington, Government Office, 1903.

McDermott, John Dishon, Forlofn Hope, A Study of the Battle Of White Bird Canyon, Idaho, and the Beginning of the Nez Perce Indian War, National Park Service, 1968

Thompson, Erwin N., Historic Resource Study, Spalding Area, Nez Perce National Historical Park, Idaho, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1972.

U. S. War Department, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1868-83.

U. S. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 4, A Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1870.

U. S. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 8, A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army, with Descriptions of Military Posts, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1875.

The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1897. Series 1, volume 50, part 2, concerns Ft. Lapwai.

3. Newspapers

Army and Navy Journal, 1866-79.

Daily Oregonian (Portland), Civil War Years.

The Golden Age (Lewiston), Aug. 2, 1862-Aug. 8, 1865.

Idaho Signal (Lewiston), Mar. 9, 1872-Aug. 8, 1874.

North-Idaho Radiator (Lewiston), Jan. 28-Apr. 15, 1865.

The Northerner (Lewiston), Sept. 12, 1874-May 15, 1875.

The Teller (Lewiston), Oct. 21, 1876-1885.

4. Books and Articles

This bibliography lists several standard works on the Nez Perce War that, surprisingly, barely mention Fort Lapwai. I am delighted these renowned authors ignored the fort; it allowed me to get into some virgin history.

Arnold, R. Ross, Indian Wars of Idaho, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1932.

Bancroft, H. H., History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, 1845-1889, volume 31 in Works, San Francisco, 1890.

Beal, Merrill D., "I Will Fight No More Forever," Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1963. Beal does not use the preface "Fort" and does not distinguish between the agency and the military post.

Beal, Merrill D. and Merle W. Wells, History of Idaho, 2 volumes, New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1959.

[Beall, Tom], "Early Reminiscences of 'Uncle' Tom Beall," in Fifth Biennial Report of the Librarian of the Historical Society of Idaho for the Years 1915-16, Boise, 1916.

Brady, Cyrus Townsend, Northwestern Fights and Fighters, New York, 1916.

Brown, Mark H., The Flight of the Nez Perce, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967.

Cave, Will, Nez Perce Indian War of 1877 and Battle of Big Hole, Missoula, no date. An excellent little pamphlet on the war, but contains nothing on Fort Lapwai.

Hagemann, E. R., editor, Fighting Rebels and Redskins, Experiences in Army Life of Colonel George B. Sanford, 1861-1892, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. Sanford spent little effort describing his life at Fort Lapwai; but Hagemann has an excellent introductory chapter describing Sanford's life on the frontier.

Haines, Francis, The Nez Percés, Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.
Another historian who does not distinguish between the post and the agency.

Howard, O. O., My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians, Hartford, 1907.

Howard, O. O., Nez Perce Joseph, An Account of His Ancestors, Lands . . . His Pursuit and Capture, Boston, 1881.

Howard, Helen Addison, Saga of Chief Jospheh, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1965.

An Illustrated History of North Idaho, embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootnai and Shoshone Counties, State of Idaho, Western History Publishing Company, 1903.

Johansen, Dorothy O. and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia, A History of the Pacific Northwest, New York, Harper & Row, 1967.

Joseph, Alvin M., The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest, abridged edition, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1971.

Laufe, Abe, editor, An Army Doctor's Wife on the Frontier, Letters from Alaska and the Far West, 1874-1878, Pittsburg, University of Pittsburg Press, 1962. A superb account by an army officer's wife who lived at Fort Lapwai.

Malone, Dumas, editor, Dictionary of American Biography, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961, selected volumes.

McBeth, Kate C., The Nez Percés Since Lewis and Clark, New York, 1908.

McWhorter, L[ucullus] V., Hear Me, My Chiefs!, Nez Perce History and Legend, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1952.

McWhorter, Lucullus Virgil, Yellow Wolf, His Own Story,
Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1948.

Miles, Nelson A., Serving the Republic, New York, 1911.

Prucha, Francis Paul, A Guide to the Military Posts of the
United States, 1789-1895, Madison, State Historical
Society of Wisconsin, 1964.

Sternberg, Martha L., George Miller Sternberg, A Biography,
Chicago, 1920, Post surgeon at Fort Lapwai, 1877.

Victor, Frances Fuller, "The First Oregon Cavalry," Oregon
Historical Quarterly, 3, (1902), 123-63.

Wilson, Eugene Edward, editor, Hawks and Doves in the Nez
Perce War of 1877, Personal Recollections of Eugene
Tallmadge Wilson, Helena, Montana Historical Society,
1966. Wilson was in the Nez Perce War as a civilian
volunteer. Not too much on Fort Lapwai.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

Illustration No. 1

Earliest known photo of Fort Lapwai. Looking west, one sees the laundress' quarters in foreground. In the lower right corner is the sutler's residence. Inside the parade ground fence the barracks and their kitchens stand nearest the camera. Opposite them stand the two duplex officer's quarters. To the left (south) are the commissary storehouse (the nearer) and the adjutant's office. On the right (north) stand the flag staff and the guardhouse. The hospital may be seen in the upper right. This photo was taken before the Nez Perce War, 1877.

Courtesy, Idaho Historical Society

Illustration No. 2

Another early photo of Fort Lapwai, looking from the northwest. The hospital stands in the foreground. In the background, toward the right, one may see the long cavalry-quartermaster stables.

Courtesy, Idaho Historical Society

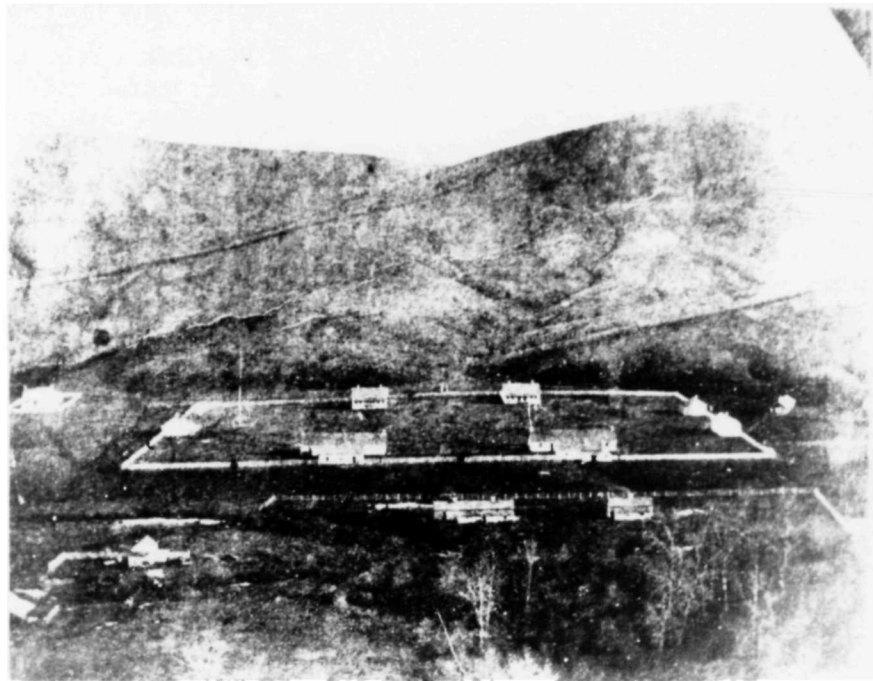


Illustration No. 3

This photo probably dates from post-army, early-agency days. The third set of officers' quarters, built in 1883, stands nearest the camera. The distant, two-story building toward the left is the new post hospital. Photo taken from southeast.

Courtesy, Idaho Historical Society

Illustration No. 4

Although no agency-period structures appear here, this photo was taken after 1884--note the third set of officers' quarters in left foreground (these quarters still stand). Right of it stands the adjutant's office-reading room. On the right margin the ends of the old and new commissary storehouses may be seen. Beyond them stands the infantry barracks. In the background one notes the small guardhouse and the new hospital.

Courtesy, Idaho Historical Society



Illustration No. 5

A panorama of Fort Lapwai from the east. Jane Gray was probably the photographer of this composite picture, about 1890. On the far left stands the new cavalry stables. The new hospital dominates the far right.

Courtesy, Idaho Historical Society

Illustration No. 6

The new post hospital at Fort Lapwai, built in 1880.

Courtesy, National Archives
U. S. Signal Corps photo No. 111-SC-87788

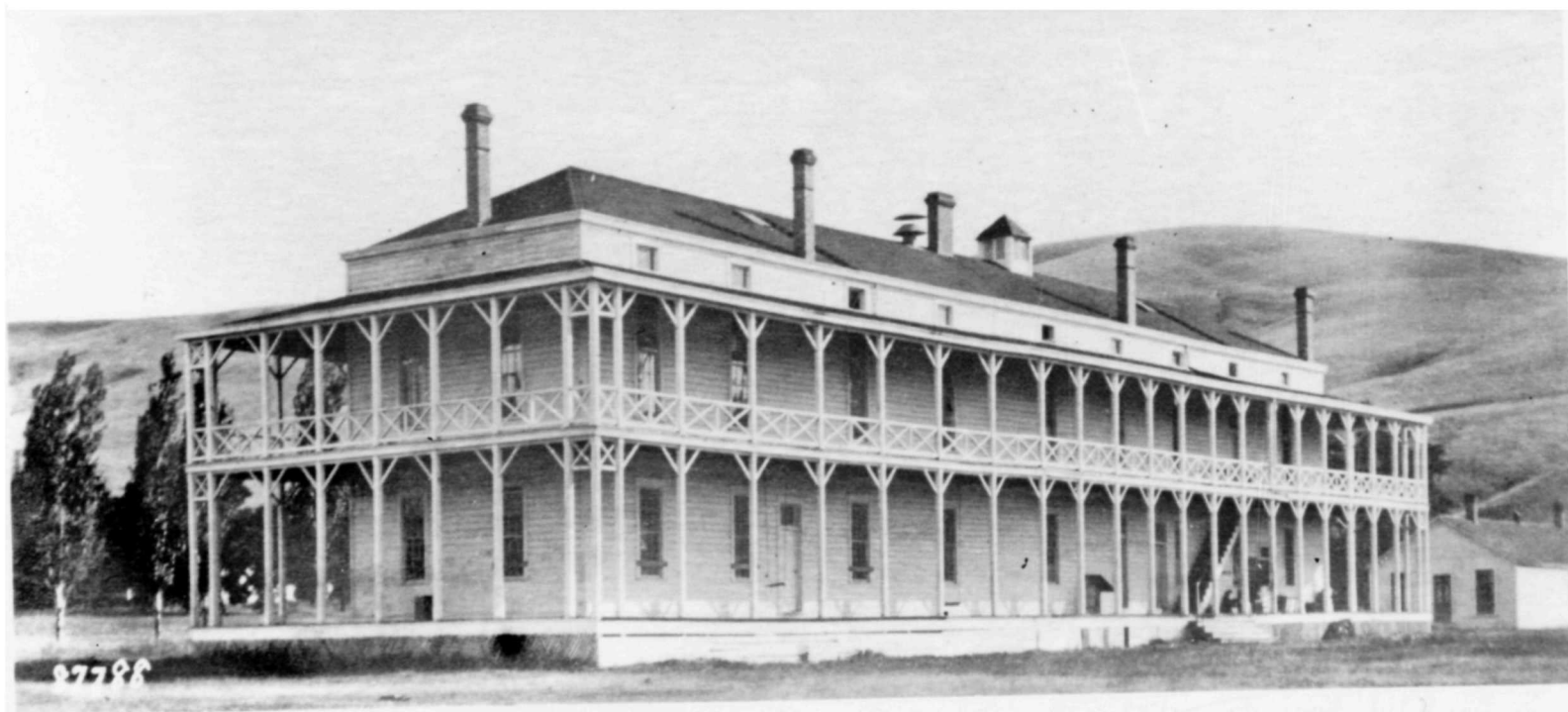


Illustration No. 7

Interior of old post hospital at Fort Lapwai When Miss Kate
McBeth occupied it as a residence in the 1890s. Jane Gray
took this picture about 1892.

Courtesy, Idaho Historical Society



Illustration No. 8

The still-standing officers' quarters at Fort Lapwai, constructed in 1883. The older kitchen-dining room annex may be seen. Photo probably taken in the 1950s.

Courtesy, Northern Idaho Indian Agency, BIA

Illustration No. 9

The "new" cavalry stables, still standing at Fort Lapwai.

Photo by Dr. John A. Hussey, 1963

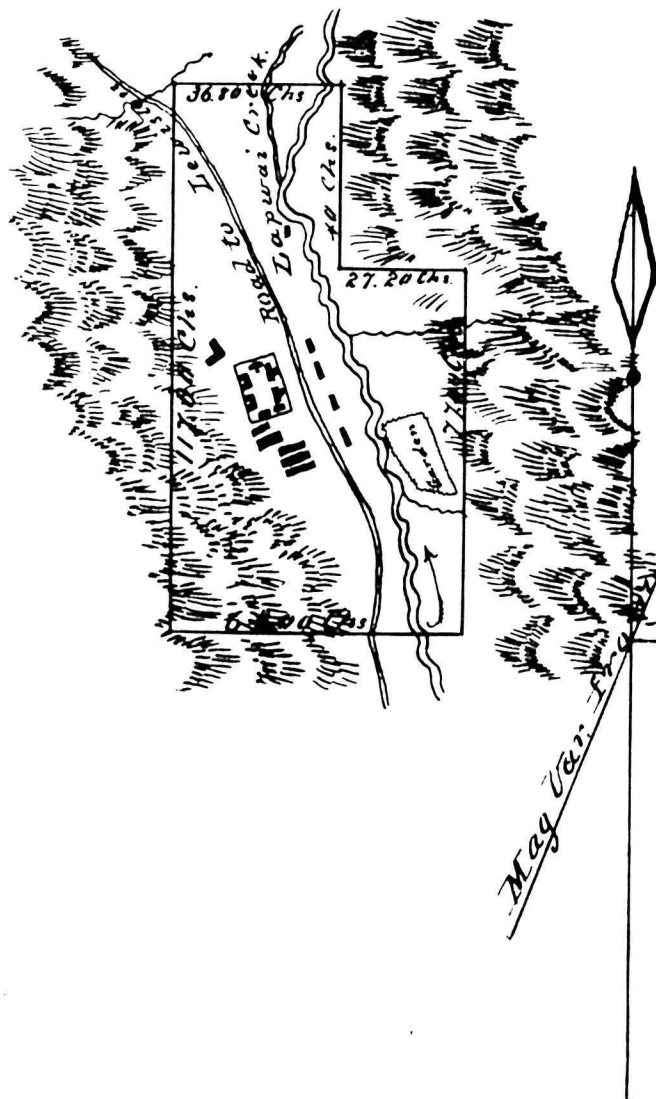


Map 1

Plat of the first military reservation at Fort Lapwai, 1863.

Courtesy, National Archives

[RG153, Records of the Office
of the Judge Advocate General
(Army)]



*Plat of Fort Lapwai
reservation in Idaho Territory
as Surveyed by me on the 1st day
of December A.D. 1863*

*E. F. Gray
Surveyor*

Area 640 Acres

Scale 40 Chs to the inch

*Declared and Occupied as a
Military Reservation since
Oct 23^d 1862.*

Hd. Qrs. Fort Lapwai

Febr'y. 17. 1864

*Small Lumber
May 10 Co
Comm*

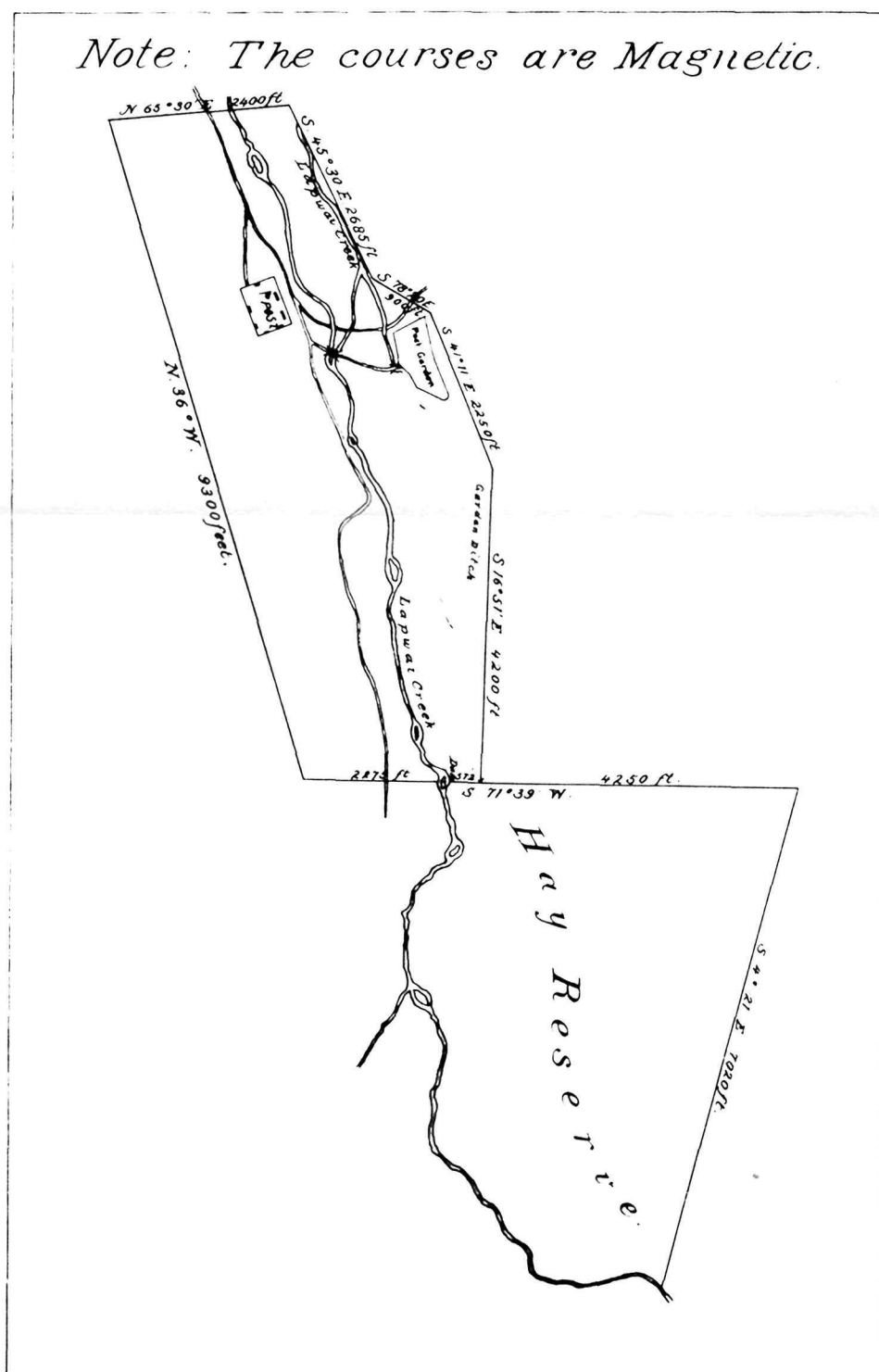
Map 2

Plat of the second military reservation and hay reserve, Fort
Lapwai.

Courtesy, National Archives
(RG 77, Dr. 189 Idaho 2-2)

Fort Lapwai Reserve.

Note: The courses are Magnetic.



Map 3

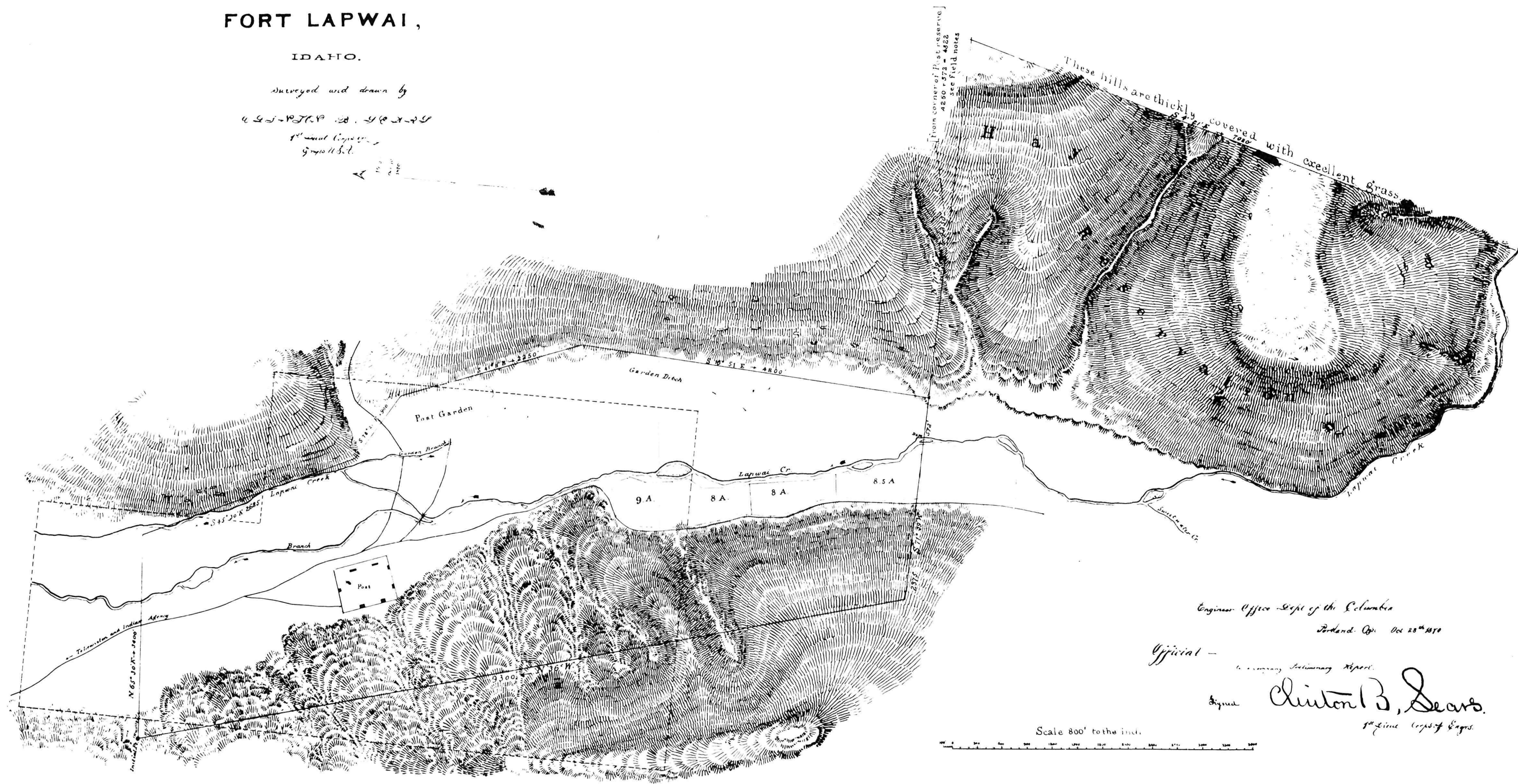
Plat of Fort Lapwai, 1870, showing old and new military reservations, the post proper, the post garden, and the hay reserve. The four enclosed areas marked 9A, 8A, 8A, and 8.5 [acres] represent Indian farms fenced by the agent.

Courtesy, National Archives

(RG 75, Map 6844)

MAP OF
 The Military & Hay
 Reservations:
 at,
FORT LAPWAI,
 IDAHO.

Surveyed and drawn by
 U.S.-P.T.P. B. J. C. A. & S.
 1st Lieut. Corps of Engs.
 1890.



Engineer, Office Dept of the Columbia

Portland, Ore. Oct 28th 1890

Official -

in company preliminary report.

Signed

Clinton B. Sears.

1st Lieut. Corps of Engs.

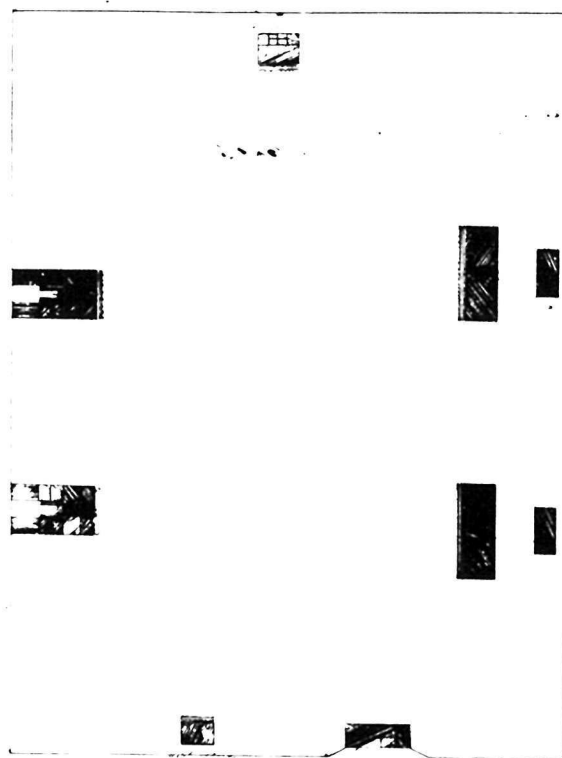
Scale 800' to the inch.

Map 4

Earliest known plan of Fort Lapwai, date unknown.

Courtesy, National Archives

(RG 77, Misc. Fts., Ft. Lapwai #2)



Scale 100 ft to the inch

Fort Lapwai
Idaho Territory

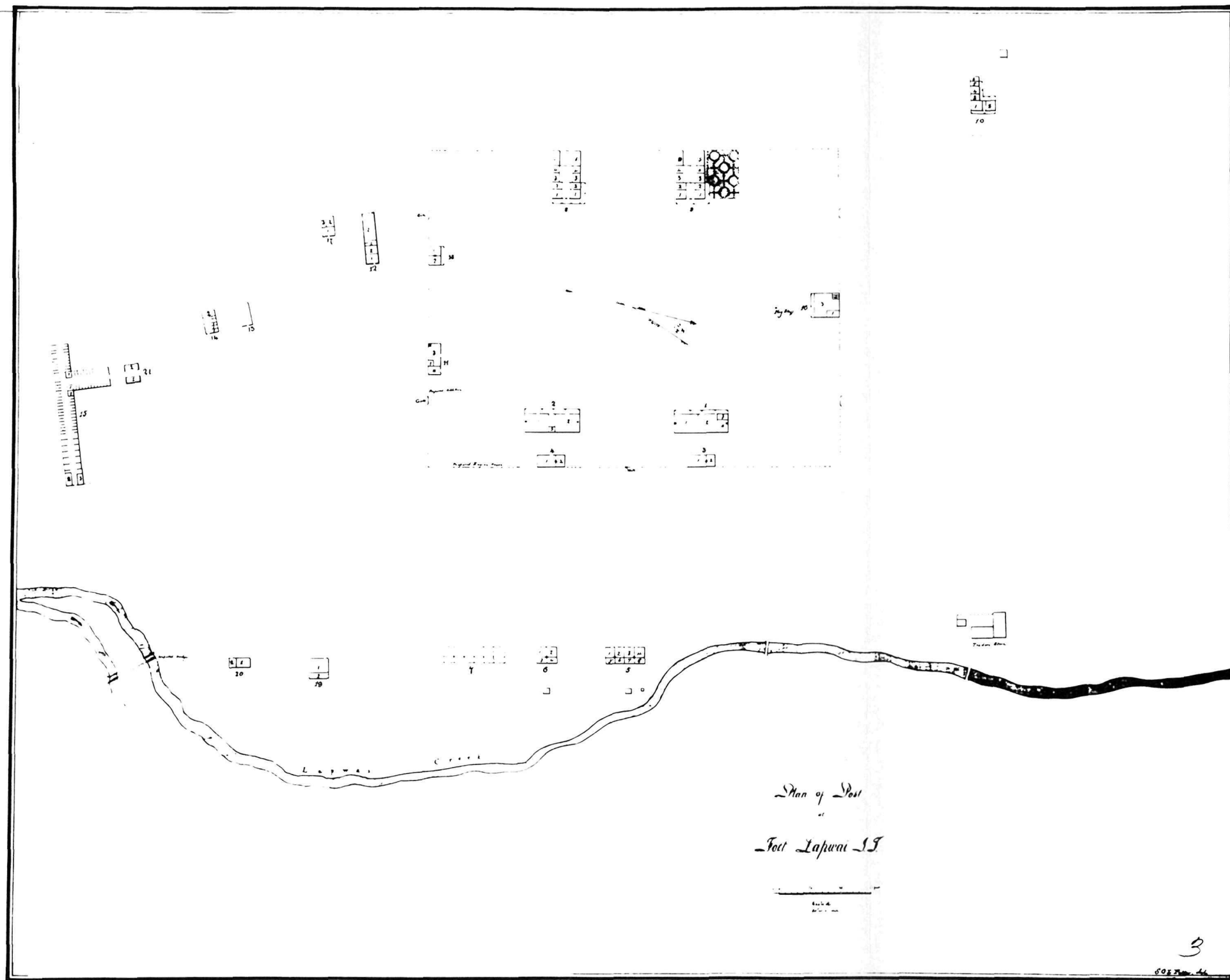
Map 5

Fort Lapwai, probably 1871. It is thought that this plan accompanied a letter written by 2d Lt. James Rockwell, Jr., Post Quartermaster, dated Jan. 25, 1871. The legend in Rockwell's letter is as follows:

1. Company quarters (kitchen in 1871)
2. Company Quarters
3. Kitchen-mess (storeroom in 1871)
4. Kitchen-mess (wash room in 1871)
5. Laundress' quarters
6. Laundress' quarters
7. Laundress' quarters (not built in 1871)
8. Officers' quarters
9. Officers' quarters
10. Hospital
11. Commissary storehouse
12. Quartermaster storehouse
13. Granary
14. Officers stables
15. Cavalry and Quartermaster Stables
16. Guardhouse
17. Post bakery
18. Adjutant's Office
19. Blacksmith shop
20. Carpenter shop
21. QM Sergeant's quarters and saddle room

Courtesy, National Archives

(RG 77, Misc. Fts. Ft. Lapwai #3)



Map 6

Fort Lapwai, 1879 or 1880. This is the latest of the military period maps.

Courtesy, National Archives

[RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General (Army); Reservation file for Fort Lapwai.]

Legend

Fort established by Oregon Volunteer Company in latter part of 1862 on left bank of Lapwai River three miles from its confluence with the Clearwater River. Elevation above the sea 3000 ft. A fort was necessary in an expedition of a landless class of white people into the country occupied by the Nez Perce Indians, secured in the summer of 1862 in Idaho. Occupied in June 1866. Fort Lapwai was permanently occupied by regular troops in November of the same year. A stage coach carrying the mails reports from and arrives at Lapwai, Idaho twice a week from the Fort and connects in 40 hours with Walla Walla 300 miles distant.

Buildings, Barracks. Two buildings one 110 x 26 the other 70 x 16.

Quarters for four Officers. Two buildings one 55 x 26 the other 55 x 26 with a recent addition of 18 x 16 and second addition 10 x 19 1/2.

Two Kitchens 15 x 15 1/2 and **two Dining Rooms** 11 x 15 1/2 under one roof connected with sets of Officers Quarters.

New Hospital for twelve beds 80 x 30. **Old Hospital building** 55 x 16.

with two additions one 16 x 16 and the other 10 x 16 for housing of Quarters.

Two Storehouses. Independence 10 x 22. **Quartermaster** 100 x 26.

Forge House 30 x 30. **Guard House** 60 x 30. **Bake House** 32 x 22.

Blacksmith Shop 30 x 35. **Carpenter Shop** 30 x 15. **Ice House** 16 x 10.

Seven **Stables** are in provided with quarters in these buildings. **Residence** 15 x 25. **Post Office** 40 x 25.

One Stable with capacity of 10 horses. **The Adjutant's**

Residence Post and City declared by President June 15, 1872.

and located in New Orleans. 5 miles west of the Columbia Portland.

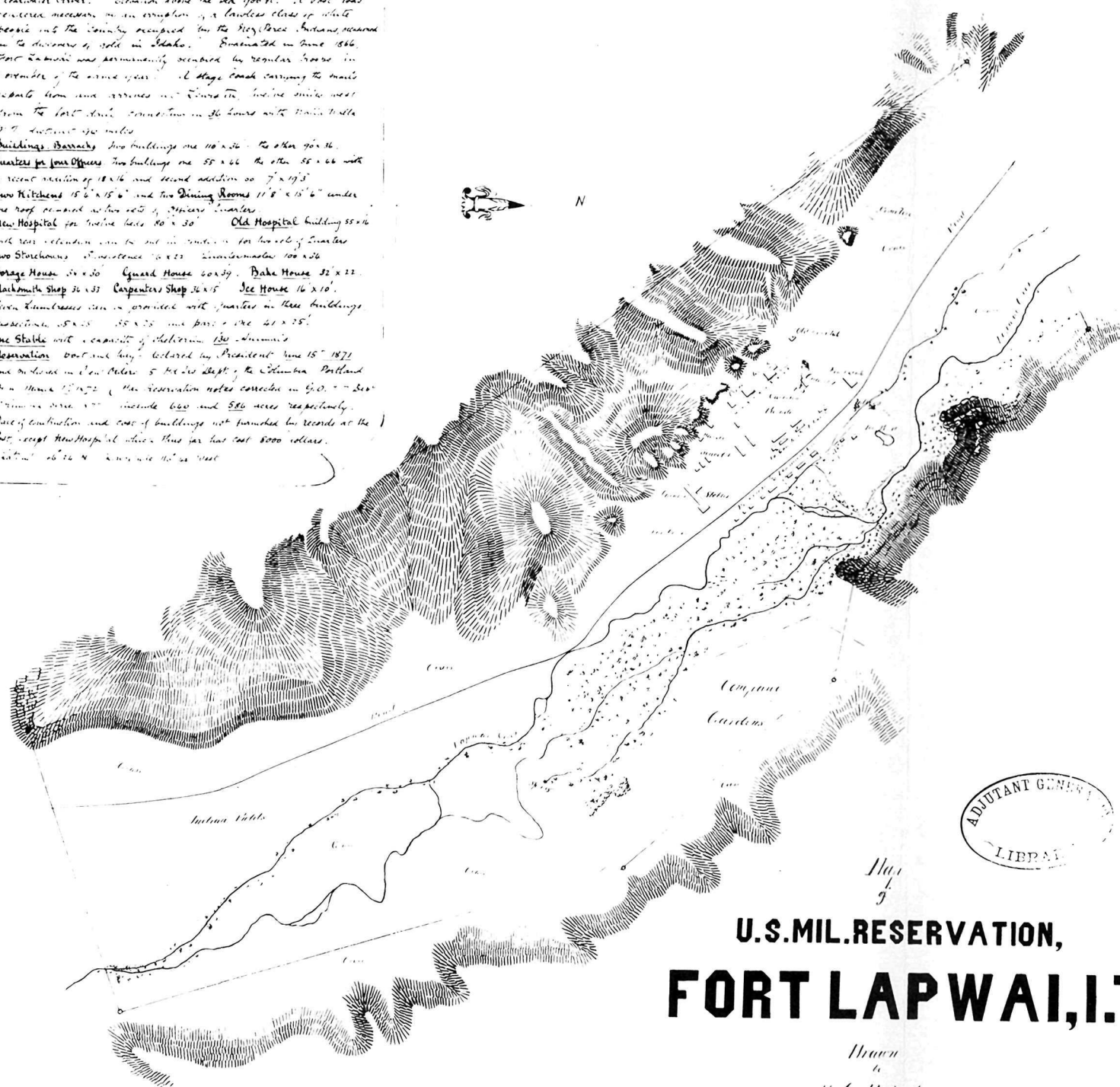
in a March 1872. The Reservation notes correct in G.O. "See"

in March 1872. include 100 and 500 acres respectively.

Base of construction and cost of buildings not furnished by records at the

Post except New Hospital which thus far has cost \$2000 dollars.

Latitude 46 24 N. Longitude 116 22 West.



Drawn
by
S. C. Robertson
2nd Lieut. 1st Cav

Scale 1/2000

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

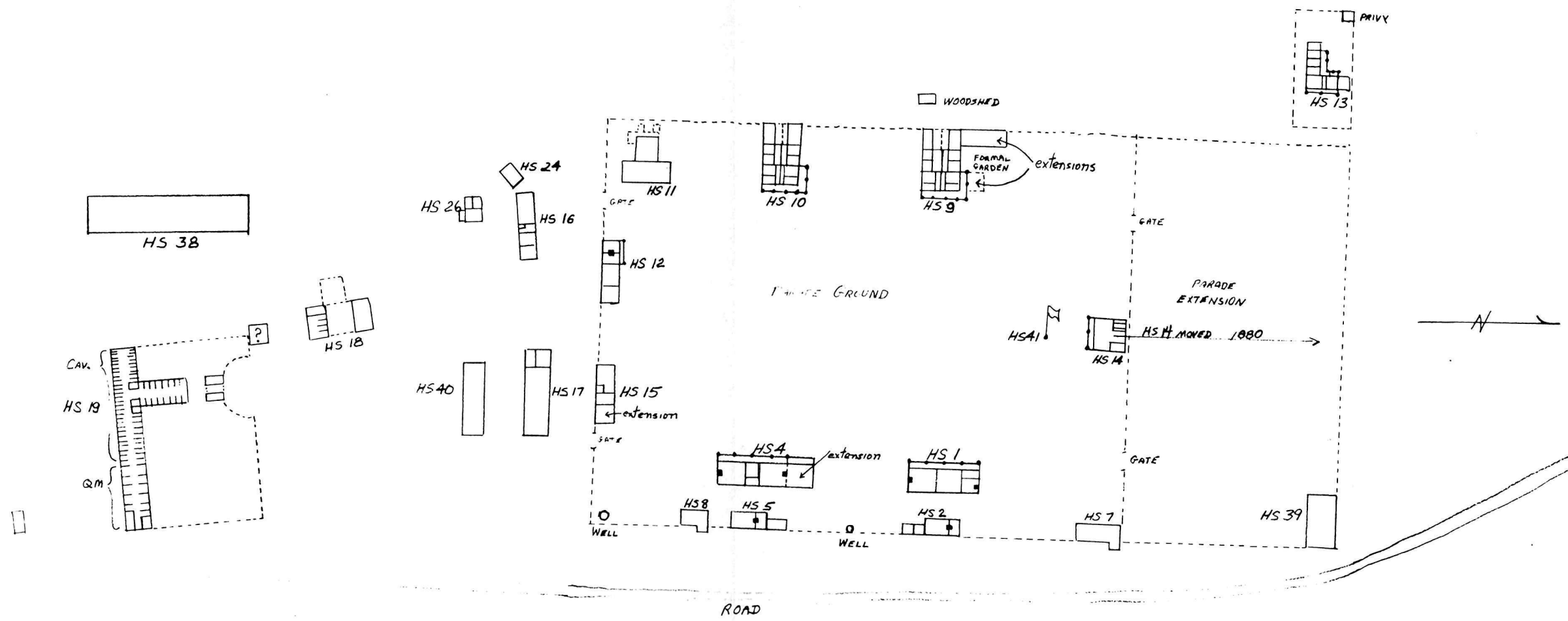
Map 7

Locations of several structures are conjectural. The structures are not depicted precisely to scale.

- HS 1 - Infantry Barracks
- HS 2 - Kitchen-Messroom & Washroom, Infantry
- HS 3 - Latrine, Infantry. Location unknown
- HS 4 - Cavalry Barracks
- HS 5 - Kitchen-Messroom & Washroom, Cavalry
- HS 6 - Latrine, Cavalry. Location unknown
- HS 7 - Barracks (later, school and library)
- HS 8 - Barracks (later, ordnance storehouse)
- HS 9 - Officers' Quarters (COs and Surgeon's)
- HS 10 - Officers' Quarters
- HS 11 - Officers' Quarters
- HS 12 - Adjutant's Office (& Billiard Room and Library)
- HS 13 - Old Hospital
- HS 14 - Guardhouse
- HS 15 - Commissary Storehouse, Old
- HS 16 - Quartermaster Storehouse, Old
- HS 17 - Quartermaster Storehouse, New
- HS 18 - Quartermaster Stables, Old
- HS 19 - Cavalry and Quartermaster Stables, Old
- HS 20 - Granary, Old. Exact location unknown.
- HS 21 - Granary, New. Exact location unknown.
- HS 22 - School. Exact location unknown
- HS 23 - First Telegraph Office. Exact location unknown.
- HS 24 - Magazine, Old
- HS 25 - Magazine, New. Location unknown.
- HS 26 - Bakery, Old
- HS 27 - Bakery, New location unknown.
- HS 28 - Carpenter Shop
- HS 29 - Blacksmith Shop
- HS 30 - Laundresses' Quarters
- HS 31 - Laundresses' Quarters
- HS 32 - Laundresses' Quarters
- HS 33 - Laundresses' Quarters
- HS 34 - Post Trader's Store
- HS 35 - Post Trader's Residence
- HS 36 - Cemetery, Not shown
- HS 37 - Corral, Slaughter Yard & Hay Yard
- HS 38 - Cavalry Stables, New
- HS 39 - Hospital, New
- HS 40 - Commissary Storehouse, New
- HS 41 - Flagstaff

CAMPSTERY
400 YD.

COWSHED & STABLE
100 YDS NW



HISTORICAL BASE MAP
FORT LAPWAI, 1864

0 50 100 150
SCALE FEET

MAP No 7

