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# THE QUARTERLY

OF THE  
Oregon Historical Society



VOLUME X

MARCH 1909—DECEMBER 1909

Edited by

FREDERIC GEORGE YOUNG

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Volume X

MARCH, 1909

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[The Quarterly disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.]

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO WARRE AND  
VAVASOUR'S MILITARY RECONNOIS-  
SANCE IN OREGON, 1845-6.

EDITED BY JOSEPH SCHAFER.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

The expedition of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour to Oregon in 1845-6 has been noted by several writers, among them H. H. Bancroft in his History of Oregon. References to the same incident occur likewise in the written recollections of some of the pioneer settlers of the Willamette Valley, as, for example, those of Jesse Applegate. But the matter has never been made prominent because the fragmentary information available failed to reveal to anyone—either pioneer or historian—the real significance of that expedition which was in its very nature secret. It was known that the gentlemen concerned in it were British officers and it was supposed they were upon some secret mission to obtain information for their government respecting conditions in Oregon; it was also thought that they were spying upon Dr. McLoughlin, the local manager of the Hudson's Bay Company at the instance of Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Company's territories in America. Still, a good deal of mystery has surrounded the subject, the nearest approach to a correct interpre-

tation of the objects of the mission being the brief statement contained in Father DeSmet's "Oregon Missions," published in 1847.\*

Fortunately, the whole matter can now be cleared up; for, among the manuscript records of the British Government relating to the Oregon question, there was recently found a complete documentary history of the Warre-Vavasour mission. Many of the papers relating to it were duplicated, one copy in the records of the War Office and one in those of the Foreign Office; a complete file is contained in the Foreign Office records relating to America, volume 457. This volume in the Public Record Office is labeled on the back, "Warre and Vavasour," and all the papers, charts, etc., contained in it have reference to their expedition. The copies presented herewith were executed by the writer, in part from the War Office copies and in part from those in F. O. America 457, as the one copy or the other was found to be the more legible. A very little supplemental matter is taken from other places, as indicated in the citations. The sketch maps and charts were traced for the writer from the originals contained in F. O. America 457, by Lily Abbott Schafer.

The expedition has its origin at that point in the history of the American-British controversy over Oregon, which, in a dramatic aspect, appears to have been the most critical. The negotiations between Secretary Calhoun and Mr. Pakenham in 1844, though bringing forward conspicuously the new American interest based upon the colonization of Oregon by American pioneers, had yielded no tangible results, while the presidential campaign of the same year issued in the election of Mr. Polk, on a platform pledging his party to the "reannexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon." The expiring session of the 28th Congress, sharing the eagerness of

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\*See Thwaites (ed.) *Early Western Travels*, XXIX, 193-4. The editor in his foot note (No. 90) gives some information obtained from the later writings of Henry J. Warre, but he discounts DeSmet's statement and helps to perpetuate an incorrect view first advanced by Bancroft respecting Warre and Vavasour's secret commission from the Hudson's Bay Company to report on Dr. McLoughlin.



President Tyler to carry out these features of Democratic policy, busied itself with both questions and actually settled that relating to Texas.

The President had recommended the passage of a law calculated to encourage emigration into the Oregon territory, and for extending to American settlers there the benefit of legal protection to person and property; but he was careful to limit the contemplated jurisdiction in such a way that it would not involve the assumption of sovereignty over the territory. The Congress was in no mood to discriminate with nicety between the powers actually possessed under the treaty of joint-occupation and those which it was felt by the western members ought to be exerted for the protection and encouragement of the pioneers who had crossed the continent in order to settle the Oregon country. Accordingly, the House of Representatives on February 3, 1845, by a great majority\* passed a "Bill to organize a Territorial Government in the Oregon Territory." This measure looked to the eventual assumption by the United States of sovereignty over the whole region west of the Rockies and between the parallels of 42 degrees and 54 degrees and 40 minutes. It provided for the assignment of land to settlers, the erection of a fort at the mouth of the Columbia, and other acts which manifested a design to disregard the British claims in the country. Forts were likewise to be erected along the route leading through South Pass in order to facilitate emigration into Oregon.

Even before this bill was known to have passed the House, the British cabinet, who were fully informed of the temper of Congress, had become alarmed over the situation of affairs on the Columbia. They feared an infraction of the treaty of joint occupation by the United States and were concerned lest the posture of affairs in the Oregon country might favor what they considered the sinister plans of the American government. It was important to know precisely how strong the Americans in Oregon were in comparison with the British

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\*One hundred and forty to fifty-nine.

traders and settlers. "You seem confident," wrote Sir Robert Peel on the 23d of February, 1845, to Lord Aberdeen, "that we have the upper hand on the banks of the Columbia—that the settlers connected with the Hudson's Bay Company are actually stronger than the settlers, the subjects of the United States, are at present. Have you carefully ascertained this fact? If our subjects are the stronger at this present time, may not their superiority be speedily weakened or destroyed by the accession of fresh strength to the Americans?" He desired Lord Aberdeen to prepare a circular memorandum on American relations, especially the Oregon question, for the information of members of the cabinet. He suggested, likewise, the advisability of sending a frigate to the Columbia and the placing of a small artillery force on shore.\* The Foreign Office at once applied to Sir John Pelly, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, for information relative to the settlements in Oregon, and received in answer an extract from Sir George Simpson's report, dated Red River, 20th June, 1844. In this Sir George notices the large influx of American settlers, "from 700 to 800 souls," in the fall of 1843, the progress of the movement for the establishment of a provisional government in Oregon, and concludes: "American influence, I am sorry to find, predominates very much, as, out of a population of about 3,000 souls, not more than one-third are British subjects."†

A few days after this the news was received from Mr. Pakenham that the House of Representatives had passed the Oregon bill, and that the Senate was more likely to pass it than not to pass it should time permit. Thereupon Lord Aberdeen notified the Admiralty of the necessity of increased vigilance on the part of Great Britain, and suggested that "Rear Admiral Sir George Seymour should himself visit the

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\*The letter is found in the manuscript correspondence of Lord Aberdeen. The writer is indebted to Lord Stanmore, son of Lord Aberdeen and custodian of his papers, for the privilege of examining this correspondence and taking extracts therefrom.

†This correspondence, dated the 25th and 26th of February, 1845, is found in F. O. America 439.



(Oregon) Coast at an early period in the Collingwood with a view to give a feeling of security to our own settlers in the country and to let the Americans see clearly that Her Majesty's Government are alive to their proceedings and prepared, in case of necessity, to oppose them." No hostile measure, however, was to be taken, until it should be seen how the Senate would act on the Oregon bill.\*

The Senate, probably for lack of time, failed to pass the bill; but the same dispatch, of March 4, in which Pakenham reported this comforting fact to his government contained the aggravating and disquieting news that President Polk, in his inaugural of that date, had pronounced the American claim to the whole of Oregon "clear and unquestionable."† This seemed to confirm the worst suspicions based upon the attitude of the late Congress, and since the new Congress was pledged in advance to the President's policy, there seemed not much hope of escape from serious difficulty over the Oregon question.

The London newspapers struck a warlike note, the Government leaders in the two houses of Parliament spoke out in tones of clear defiance, declaring that Britain, too, had rights in Oregon which were "clear and unquestionable," which rights the Government could and would defend against the aggressions of the United States.

The discussion in Parliament occurred on the evening of April 4th; and so strong and unanimous was the sentiment revealed that it was deemed important to communicate promptly to the United States the news of what had passed; the royal mail steamer, due to sail that day, was detained 24 hours in order that a report of these proceedings might be included in the Government mail for America.‡

On this mail steamer, sailing from England April 5th, went also Sir George Simpson, armed with the documents now

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\*F. O. America 440. Letter dated the 5th of March, 1845.

†The news came first by a New York sailing packet on March 27th. See Everett's despatch to the State Department dated London, April 2, 1845.

‡See Everett's despatch No. 302 of April 16, 1845.

printed for the first time which enabled him to set in motion the expedition of Warre and Vavasour for the purpose of making a military reconnoissance of Oregon. Sir George had prepared his "memorandum on the Oregon question"\* on the 29th of March, apparently after the flurry of excitement incident to the news of Polk's belligerent inaugural had set in. He proposed, first, the establishment of a small military force at Red River for the protection of the Company's interests there, also the embodying of a force of native militia in that country. Secondly, for the defense of Oregon, he recommended that two sailing vessels of war and two steamships should be stationed on that coast. The latter were intended for service in the Columbia. He suggested that a large body of marines should be carried in the warships, and that a force of some two thousand natives might be organized under English officers for service within the territory and on its frontiers. His most specific recommendation was that Cape Disappointment should be taken by the British and a strong battery erected thereon, which, under the conditions of navigation prevailing at the mouth of the Columbia, would absolutely control the channel of the river.

Simpson's suggestions, whether invited or not, appear to have made an impression on the cabinet, and on April 2d Sir George was bidden to an interview with Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen at the residence of the prime minister.† The conference resulted in the determination to send to the Columbia, overland from Canada, one or two military officers who should obtain "a general knowledge of the capabilities of the Oregon territory in a military point of view, in order that we may be enabled to act immediately and with effect in defense of our rights in that quarter, should those rights be infringed by any hostile aggression or encroachment on the part of the United States."‡ It was at first intended to send an officer from London, but the final decision was to instruct

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\*See page 13.

†Simpson to Pelly, July 8, 1845.

‡Aberdeen to Lord Stanley, April 3, 1845. See page 16.

the Governor General of Canada, Lord Metcalfe, and through him the Commander of the Forces there, Sir Richard Jackson, to select one or two officers for the service. They were admonished to consult with Sir George Simpson in regard to the instructions which should be furnished the officers selected. These officers were to proceed to Oregon as private gentlemen, and the objects of their mission were to be kept secret; they were to report by any safe opportunity to the Governor General of Canada, and through him to the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office.

The Commander of the Forces in Canada selected his Aide-de-camp, Lieut. Henry J. Warre and Lieut. M. Vavasour of the Royal Engineers, who were instructed to report themselves to Sir George Simpson and to be ready "to proceed with him to the west"; they were also to "regulate themselves according to his views, and conform in practise, to the instructions he alone, from his knowledge of the intentions of His Majesty's Government, and of the country can give."\* "It would be absurd," says the Commander, "to attempt to give detailed instructions for the survey of a country of which the instructor knows nothing." So he refers the officers to Simpson, but makes, nevertheless, a few suggestions for the special benefit of Lieut. Warre. He is advised to read a manuscript book on the spirit of military surveying, also the instructions for the commissariat lately issued; if possible, he is to study Fremont's report on the country to which he is going, and the reports of the American Secretary of War, 1844, "recommending measures which in their impatience to occupy the disputed territory the present government of the United States appear disposed to overlook, although so obviously prudent, that they may be adopted when that government finds that its plans cannot be carried into effect without opposition." This was the project of creating a new territory—ultimately a new state—on the eastern border of Oregon. The plans for the defense of the western states, and the journal of Colonel

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\*Memorandum for Lieutenant Warre, Ad. Camp, Montreal, May 3, 1845.  
See page 20.

Dodge's military reconnoissance of the far west, were to be studied. The point was, to see how similar expeditions, if directed with hostile intent, toward the Oregon country, could be cut off. Lastly, the officers were to be prepared to assist Sir George Simpson, should he deem it wise to develop some sort of military organization for the "settlers and other inhabitants" of the Company's territories; they should be prudent in avoiding "any attempt to imitate the tactics or discipline of regular troops."

The special instructions furnished Lieut. Vavasour by Colonel Halloway, Commander of the Royal Engineers, required him to examine and report on all existing British posts, their availability for defensive purposes or the means of making them available. He was also to examine as an engineering expert the places Sir George might point out as naturally suited to the erection of defenses for the whole country, and to keep in mind the necessity of haste in the construction of such defenses.

Sir George Simpson, after he had made a run to Washington to see Mr. Pakenham, who dissuaded him from a plan to actually fortify Cape Disappointment in time of peace\*, took the young officers in charge and conveyed them to Red River, where they arrived on the 5th of June. He employed them in the study of the defenses of that territory till the 16th of the same month, when they were sent forward, under the convoy of Mr. Peter Skeen Ogden to the Columbia. While at Rainy Lake, en route to Red River, Simpson had addressed to Warre and Vavasour a confidential letter summing up his suggestions, virtual instructions under the terms of Sir Richard Jackson's instructions of an earlier date.† Her Majesty's Government had confided to him, so Simpson wrote, that the object of the military reconnoissance was to gain a "knowledge of the character and the resources of the country situated between the Sault St. Marie and the shores of the Pacific, and of the prac-

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\*Pakenham correspondence, F. O. America, 426.

†Simpson to Warre and Vavasour, 30th May, 1845. See page 25.



ticability of forming military stations therein and conveying troops thither." He called their attention first to the cordon of posts the United States were forming—as he said—along the Great Lakes, on the Mississippi, and from the Missouri westward to the Rocky Mountains, a project calculated to give them a powerful influence over the Indian tribes which would be a most important preparation in the event of a war with Great Britain, since the British frontier was quite unprotected. He proposed certain defenses on the Canadian side, one in the neighborhood of Fort William on Lake Superior, another at Red River. Simpson described in rather optimistic terms the route they were to traverse from Red River to the Oregon country, declaring in advance of their scientific investigation "that troops, either cavalry or infantry, might by that route be forwarded to the mouth of the Columbia." He suggested, for the Oregon division of their work, a survey of Cape Disappointment, which Mr. Ogden had private instructions to take possession of for the Company, with a view to its ultimate occupation for military purposes by the Government; also the examination of Tongue Point, places between Fort Vancouver and Cape Disappointment on the north side of the Columbia controlling the ship channel, and the settled portion of the Willamette Valley. Mr. Ogden had orders to obtain possession, for the Company, of any points deemed important in a military point of view. In accordance with his constitutional mental habit, Simpson described with a genial expansiveness the resources of the country for the sustentation of troops. He ordered Ogden to provide all the means necessary to enable Warre and Vavasour to make their inspection and to support them in every portion of their work; Ogden was to keep their mission a secret and give out that they were known to the officers of the Company merely as private gentlemen traveling "for the pleasure of field sports and scientific pursuits."\*

The character they were expected to sustain probably ex-

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\*Simpson to Ogden, 30th May, 1845. See page 35.

plains the nature of the preparations the officers made at Vancouver after their arrival and before beginning the execution of their orders. They provided themselves with superfine beaver hats, at \$8.88 apiece; frock coats, at \$26.40 apiece; cloth vests, figured vests, tweed trousers and buckskin trousers; tooth brushes, nail brushes, hair brushes, fine handkerchiefs, shirts, shoes; also tobacco, pipes, wines, whiskies, extract of roses—and in short everything absolutely essential to high-class travelers in an American wilderness, whose bills are paid not by themselves but by their government.

They arrived at Vancouver on the 25th of August and made their first Oregon report on the 26th of October.\* They pronounced the route over which they passed the Rocky Mountains to be “quite impracticable for the transport of troops, with their provisions, stores, etc.” In a word, they declare that “the facilities for conveying troops to the Oregon Territory, by the route we have lately passed, do not exist to the extent Sir George Simpson represents.” Nor do they regard the route as practicable for immigrants with wagons; a small party of Canadian voyageurs did indeed pass to Oregon with their families, but they were forced to abandon their wagons on the east side of the mountains.

On the other hand, by the route which the American immigrants follow, the passage of the mountains is easy; hundreds of wagons had been brought through to the Columbia “in the last three years. That troops might be sent from the United States to Oregon, is evident from the fact (of) 300 dragoons of the United States regular army having accompanied the last emigrants to——(South Pass), ostensibly for the protection of the said emigrants from the hostile bands of Indians infesting the Eastern Plains.” They discuss the attempts which had been made by the settlers to open a route from the east side of the Cascades direct to the Willamette, and report the existence of a southern road known only to the Hudson’s

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\*See page 39. The report they sent home from Red River June 10th, 1845, is not included among the documents printed in the following pages.

Bay people, by means of which it would be possible to enter the Willamette Valley from a point near the California boundary.\*

In their historical sketch of the Willamette settlement Warre and Vavasour emphasize the importance of the emigration of 1843. They say: "Till the year 1842-3 not more than thirty American families were resident in the country. In 1843 an emigration of about 1000 persons with a large number of wagons, horses, cattle, etc., arrived on the Willamette, having traversed the vast desert section of country between the Missouri, the Rocky Mountains and the Columbia. . . . This emigration scattered themselves over the face of the country." They estimate the 1844 emigration to be about equal in number to that of 1843, and that of 1845, which was just arriving, was more numerous than either, probably two thousand persons; they had five hundred and seventy wagons drawn by oxen. Of special interest to American readers is the view expressed by these British officers relative to political conditions in Oregon. They speak of the large American majority in the country from the year 1844, and of the difficulty the Hudson's Bay Company experienced in protecting their possessions against the "desperate characters" among them. Yet the British and the Canadian settlers held out against the American project to form a provisional government in 1843. Finally, in 1845, "the leading gentlemen of both parties formed a coalition. . . . An organization was established, neutralizing the preponderating American influence. . . . This compact is independent of the United States Government. 'Emigrants of all nations, willing to uphold the law . . . are enrolled as members. . . . Nor could (if we can express an opinion) a more judicious course have been pursued by all parties, for the peace and prosperity of the community at large.'" This is the view of the union set forth in several letters of Doctor McLoughlin and may be

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\*This road was opened the following summer by a party of American pioneers living in Oregon whose leader was Jesse Applegate.

regarded as the Hudson's Bay Company view, which at this time the British officers accepted without qualification.

Why this view of the case is so radically changed in the final report,\* written apparently at Red River in the month of June following, we can only surmise. But at that time they say: "In conclusion, we must beg to be allowed to observe, with an unbiased opinion [possibly they considered the earlier opinion biased by the fact of their dependence upon the Company's officers at Vancouver] that whatever may have been the orders,† or the motives of the gentlemen in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts on the west of the Rocky Mountains, their policy has tended to the introduction of the American settlers into the country. We are convinced that without their assistance not thirty American families would now have been in the settlement." Without the help afforded them by the British traders, through motives of humanity—as the officers are willing to believe—the first American emigrants to Oregon could not have held out against the ravages of hunger or the attacks of hostile Indians; since these were succored—that is, the parties of 1841-42—others in ever increasing numbers, were encouraged to make their way to the Columbia in 1843, 1844 and 1845. "The British party are now in the minority, and the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company have been obliged to join the organization, without any reserve, except the mere form of the oath of office. Their lands are invaded—themselves insulted—and they now require the protection of the British Government against the very people to the introduction of whom they have been more than accessory."

The reports sent home by Warre and Vavasour reached the Government too late to exert an influence upon the negotiation with the United States concerning the Oregon boundary question. But they reflect the nature of the impression that conditions in the Oregon country in 1845 were calculated to

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\*See page 65.

†We now know that their orders were to treat the American settlers in a liberal manner. See Simpson Letters, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, p. 70, and ff.



produce on the British mind, and since those conditions were actually brought to the attention of the Government as early as February, 1846, by the other agents whom Warre and Vavasour encountered in Oregon, we have good reason to believe that the attitude of Great Britain in the final stage of the negotiations was not unaffected by them.\*

[No. 1.]

SIMPSON'S MEMORANDUM IN REFERENCE TO THE OREGON  
QUESTION.\*

Dated Hudson's Bay House, London, March 29, 1845.

Should the recent proceedings in the Congress of the United States on the Oregon question result in hostilities between the two countries, I think it would be absolutely necessary for the protection of the Company's interests in Hudson's Bay that a small military force should be stationed at Red River. Besides this force I think it would be very desirable that a company of riflemen should be embodied in the country from our native half caste population, who are admirably adapted for guerilla warfare, being exceedingly active, and, by the constant use of the gun from childhood, good marksmen. It would be necessary, however, to forward from Canada along with the troops a sufficient number of officers to command and discipline this corps.

The officers and men should be forwarded from Canada, proceeding by steam to the Sault St. Marie, and I would provide craft to convey them from thence to Fort William, where

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\*Lieut. Wm. Peel, son of Sir Robert Peel, arrived in London February 9 or 10, 1846, bearing the report of the Hon. Capt. John Gordon, brother of Lord Aberdeen, in command of the ship *America*, which visited Puget Sound in the autumn of 1845. Captain Gordon's report contains a censure upon the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company similar to that quoted above from Warre and Vavasour's second report. Possibly this fact explains their changed attitude between the first and second report.

\*The memorandum found in F. O. America 440 following extracts from a letter of John McLoughlin dated July 4, 1844.

they should arrive in the course of the month of August. From Fort William they would be forwarded in light canoes to Red River, each canoe taking ten men, who would have to work their passage, experienced bowsmen and steersmen being provided in the country.

The Company's agents at Red River would conduct the commissariat department better than strangers.

For the protection of British interests on the Columbia and N. W. Coast, I would moreover suggest that two sailing ships of war and two steamers should be stationed there. It would be highly important to get possession of Cape Disappointment and to erect thereon a strong battery, which would effectually command the mouth of the river, as unless the southern channel may have been found practicable since I was there,\* ships entering the river must pass so close under the Cape that shells might be dropped almost with certainty upon their decks from the battery.

The Columbia River, owing to the difficulty of ingress and egress, cannot be depended upon as a harbor; and to the southward there is no good harbor nearer than the Bay of San Francisco in about 40 degrees N. Lat., but in the Straits of de Fuca, Puget Sound, Hood's Canal, and the Gulf of Georgia there are many excellent harbours of easy access. Although it might be unsafe for sailing ships of war to enter the Columbia River, steamers would find frequent opportunities of going in and out, even in winter, and in summer the weather is so uniformly fine they could make certain of crossing the bar almost any time.

There should be a large body of marines attached to the ships of war, for boating and land service; and a force of about 2000 men, half breeds and Indians, might be collected on both sides of the mountains that could on a short notice be rendered disposable for active service in any part of the Oregon territory. It would be necessary, however, that suffi-

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\*In the fall of the year 1841. See Simpson Letters, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, p. 70, and ff.

cient officers should be at hand to command and discipline these people.

The country is so productive in grain and cattle, and fish are so abundant, that such a force as I have above pointed out could with a little preparatory arrangement be provisioned for twelve months certain.

Should the present negotiations happily result in a partition of the country, the branch of the Columbia called Lewis River would be a satisfactory boundary as regards British interests. But if that cannot be obtained the parallel of  $49^{\circ}$  might be continued as a boundary line until it strikes the north branch of the Columbia, which from that point should be the boundary to the sea. If the 49th parallel be adopted as the boundary line the whole way from the mountains to the sea, then it would be indispensable to have Vancouver's Island and the free navigation of the Straits of de Fuca secured to us, as in consequence of the prodigious tideway in Johnston's Straits it would be impossible for trading ships to reach Fraser's River by the northern channel.

On such partition of the country it would as a matter of course be necessary that the Company and British settlers should be secured in their present possessions by a provision in the treaty, and the free navigation of the Columbia River, as the only practicable communication to the east side of the mountains, as well as the right of way by land (should a practicable route be found) from the Gulf of Georgia to the Columbia, should be secured to us. The provision in the treaty should also secure to us the undisturbed possession of the country now occupied by the Puget Sound Company, the farms on the Cowlitz—in the neighborhood of Vancouver and on the Multnomah Island—our water privileges on the Willamette River, our posts on the Columbia and Umpqua Rivers, and all other establishments now occupied by the Company.\*

\*It will be seen that the above outline of a treaty respecting boundaries and possessory rights in Oregon resembles closely the treaty finally proposed by Great Britain in June, 1846. But three years earlier, March 10, 1842, Simpson urged the government of Great Britain not to yield "any portion of the country north of the Columbia River." See Simpson Letters, *Am. Hist. Rev.* XIV, 87. This is a good index to the progress of British sentiment on the question during the period in which Oregon was being settled by immigrants from the United States.

It is very desirable that Lord Aberdeen should instruct Mr. Pakenham to communicate with me confidentially on the state of the negotiations respecting the Oregon boundary in order that I might be prepared to act according to circumstances without the loss of time necessary for communicating with England.

(Signed) GEORGE SIMPSON,

March 29, 1845.

Hudson's Bay House.

To Sir J. H. Pelly Bart, Gov. of the H. B. Co.

[No. 2.]

Foreign Office, April 3, 1845.

Confidential, to James Stephen, Esq.

Sir: I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to request that you will state to Lord Stanley that Lord Aberdeen is of opinion that, considering the excitement which appears to exist in the United States on the subject of the Oregon Territory, the uncompromising boldness with which the claims of the United States to that Territory have been put forward, and the declaration recently made by the new President in his inaugural address, that he considers the right of the United States to that country "clear and unquestionable," it will be necessary to take without delay proper measures for obtaining a general knowledge of the capabilities of the Oregon Territory in a military point of view, in order that we may be enabled to act immediately and with effect in defense of our rights in that quarter, should those rights be infringed by any hostile aggression or encroachment on the part of the United States.

With this object Lord Aberdeen would propose to Lord Stanley that an instruction should be prepared for Lord Metcalfe [Gov. Gen. of Canada] to be sent out by this next packet which sails on the 5th instant, directing him to communicate confidentially with Sir Richard Jackson [Commander of the Forces, Canada,], with a view to obtaining from him some capable officer, or, if it should be thought necessary, two offi-



cers, to be left entirely to the selection of Sir R. Jackson, who should proceed as private travelers to the Oregon Territory, and examine the important parts of the country, in order to obtain as accurate a knowledge of it as may be requisite for the future and efficient prosecution of military operations in it, should such operations become necessary.

Sir George Simpson, the Acting Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in America, who proceeds to Canada by this mail. will be ready to place himself in communication with Lord Metcalfe, and with Sir R. Jackson, and to impart to them his views as to the best mode of efficiently carrying out the object which is contemplated, as well as to communicate all the practical knowledge, which he possesses in an eminent degree, of the country which it is intended to visit and survey. He will further be prepared to assist the officer or officers who may be dispatched on this service with all the means which, as deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, he has at his disposal.

Whatever expenses may be incurred in this expedition may be defrayed by this office, or by the Colonial Department, as may hereafter be determined whenever the accounts shall have been sent in. But it will probably, in the first instance, be found more convenient that the necessary arrangements for providing the officers and their attendants with everything that may be necessary should be made by Lord Metcalfe.

It is almost needless to say that perfect secrecy should, so far as possible, be preserved as to the expedition and its objects.

The officer charged with the expedition might, if Lord Stanley approves of that course, be instructed to report his proceedings by any safe opportunity which may present itself through the Governor General of Canada under flying seal to the Colonial Department, by which Department those reports would be communicated to Lord Aberdeen.

(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

[Endorsement] L. S. [Lord Stanley]: I presume you know this measure was in contemplation. I propose to mail a copy of this letter by tonight's mail to Lord Metcalfe for his guidance.

STEPHEN [apparently].

[Second endorsement, different hand:

Send by this mail "*Secret*." S[TANLEY], April 4.]

Dispatched 4th of April in bag—delivered to Captain Taylor.

Downing Street, 4th of April, 1845.

Secret. My Lord: I transmit herewith enclosed for your Lordship's guidance a copy of a letter which has been received from the foreign office suggesting that two military officers should be dispatched by your Lordship to the Oregon Territory for the purposes described in that letter, and I have to instruct your Lordship to take the necessary measures accordingly.

I have, etc.,

STANLEY.

The Governor General, The Rt. Honorable Lord Metcalfe, K. G. C. G. Confidential. 3d of April, 1845.

[No. 3.]

*Secret*. His Excellency, Sir R. D. Jackson, Commander of the Forces Govt. House, Montreal, May 2d, 1845.

Sir: Referring to the personal communications which I have had with your Excellency, relating to the nomination of two military officers for special service in the Oregon Territory, I proceed to apprise you of the views of Her Majesty's Government in this mission, conveyed to me by instructions from the Secretary of the State for the Colonies.

The officers whom you have selected will proceed in company with Sir George Simpson, the acting Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Territory, as private travelers, and will carefully examine the important features of the country, in order to obtain as accurate a knowledge of it as may be required for the future and efficient prosecu-

tion of military operations in it, should such operations become necessary. Sir George Simpson, who possesses in an eminent degree a practical knowledge of the country which it is intended to visit and examine, will be prepared with all the means which, as acting Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, he has at his disposal, to assist the officers to efficiently carry out the important duties entrusted to them.

Whatever expenses may be incurred in the expedition will be defrayed by Her Majesty's Government whenever the accounts thereof shall be submitted, but the officers may in the meantime require some advances to be accounted for hereafter which Sir George Simpson is prepared to supply.

The officers will report their proceedings to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and transmit their dispatches open, under sealed cover, to me by any safe opportunity which may present itself.

It is especially to be borne in mind that perfect secrecy should, so far as possible, be preserved as to the expedition and its objects.

It is scarcely necessary to add that cordial co-operation with Sir George Simpson, with reference to the objects of the mission, will be an essential part of the duties of the officers employed.

I request that your Excellency will give such instructions to those officers as you may deem proper to enable them to accomplish the views of Her Majesty's Government.

(Signed) METCALFE.

[No. 4.]

Montreal, 3d May, 1845.

The commander of the forces has been instructed by His Excellency, the Gov. General, to select two officers to accompany Sir George Simpson, Gov. of the Hudson's Bay Establishments in British North America, upon a particular service of an important description.

The officers so selected are Lieut. Warre, Ad Camp to the Com. of the Forces, and Lieut. Vavasour, of the Rl. Engineers.

These officers will report themselves, accordingly, to Sir George Simpson, and will hold themselves in readiness to proceed with him, at such time, and in such manner, as he may be pleased to point out to them.

The enclosed letter from His Excellency, Lord Metcalfe, is transmitted to them for their guidance generally, in relation to the objects of their mission and mode of transmitting their reports, etc. Specific instructions will be given to Lieut. Vavasour by the [officer] Commanding Rl. Engineers with regard to subjects requiring engineering service. Both officers will upon matters of interest common to both be regulated by the memorandum addressed by the Commander of the Forces to his Ad Camp, Lieut. Warre.

(Signed) R. D. JACKSON,  
Com. of the Forces.

#### MEMORANDUM OF LIEUT. WARRE, AD CAMP.

Montreal, May 3, 1845.

1. It would be absurd to attempt to give detailed instructions for the survey of a country of which the instructor knows nothing.

The officers who accompany Sir George Simpson for the purpose of affording military assistance must regulate themselves according to his views, and conform, in practice, to the instructions, he alone, from his knowledge of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government and of the country, can give them.

2. Mr. Warre will do well to consider, in order to carry out the purpose of his particular line of duties, the general instructions given to officers of the Quarter Master General's Department.

He is recommended to read with attention and reflect upon the "Reports" contained in a manuscript book now lent to



him exhibiting the spirit of military surveying by very able officers, and also the instructions for the commisariat, etc., as lately issued.

3. It would be desirable, if he have an opportunity, for him to read a report upon the country into which it is supposed he is now going, by Lieut. Fremont, United States Army, and the reports of the late Secretary of War of the United States (Mr. Wilkins) in Nov., 1844, recommending measures which in their impatience to occupy the disputed territory the present Government of the United States appear disposed to overlook, although so obviously prudent, that they may be adopted when that Government finds that its plans cannot be carried into effect without opposition. I advert to the establishment of a "new Territory" preparatory to the formation of a new state on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, before forming a new territory or state on the western side of the mountains.

4. He will pay attention to the plans proposed for the defense of the western states by General Gratiot, etc., and the extract given him of the journal of expedition under Colonel Dodge of the U. S. Army in 1835, from Fort Leavenworth to the Rocky Mountains and back by way of the Arkansas River.

5. It would be desirable to see how such sort of expeditions if carried into the disputed territory for hostile purposes might be interrupted or cut off.

6. It is not impossible that Sir George Simpson may deem it prudent to give to the settlers and other inhabitants connected with the country under the control of our British Companies some sort of military organization, toward which military advice and assistance may be required. In such cases the officers will be prudent in avoiding any attempts to imitate the tactics or discipline of regular troops.

P. S. For the reasons given in No. 1 no attempt at instructions is made as to the survey of *particular* rivers, mountains,

valleys or sea ports, or of the sea coast generally; to all these Sir George Simpson will call attention in proportion to their importance.

R. D. JACKSON,  
Comr. of the Forces.

[Enclosure: Extract from Col. Dodge's report, giving mainly routes and distances.]

[No. 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR LIEUT. VAVASOUR,  
ROYAL ENGR.

1. In consequence of confidential directions received from his Lordship, the Governor General, from Her Majesty's Government, and of the orders which I have received from his Excellency, the Commander of the Forces, you will immediately proceed in company with Sir George Simpson, the Governor under the royal charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, and use your utmost endeavors to obtain a general knowledge of the capabilities in a military point of view of such parts of the country as may be indicated to you by that officer, in order that the British Govt. may be enabled to act immediately and with effect, in case of any hostile aggression upon Her Majesty's dominions on the western coast of America.

2. To this end you are desired to proceed with Sir George Simpson, ostensibly in the capacity of a private individual, seeking amusement, but you will examine well the more important parts of the country referred to, so as to guide the prosecution of military operations, should such operations become necessary.

3. As Sir George Simpson has been instructed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to co-operate as much as possible with you, for the accomplishment of the important objects of your mission, and to impart to you his views as

to the best mode of efficiently carrying them out, and also to communicate to you all the practical and local knowledge which in an eminent degree he possesses, of the country to be visited, and to assist you with all the means, which in his official capacity he has at his disposal, you will in all respects be guided by and conform to his advice and instructions in the progress of this survey and special service entrusted to you.

4. You will be careful to preserve perfect secrecy as to the objects of the journey which you are to undertake, and by every safe opportunity you will report your departmental proceedings, and accompany your statements with illustrative sketches, addressing the same to me.

5. As all your communications will be transmitted for the information of Her Majesty's Government, through the Governor General, I need not express to you the necessity of paying the utmost attention to the rendering of as full and at the same time of as accurate a representation as possible of whatever may come under your observation.

6. It will, of course, be an important part of your duty to examine and report on all existing British posts, to ascertain and report if they be of a nature to resist any sudden attack, or whether they could be made so in a short space of time, likewise to examine and report the nature of the defenses which in your professional judgment might if required seem best adapted for the protection of such posts of the country, as Sir George Simpson may deem most exposed to attack; especially on the sea coast, bearing in mind the necessity of dispatch in their construction, and in all cases where sea batteries or redoubts on the coast of the Pacific or of large rivers being proposed, that the plans should show how works could be enclosed, have their exterior faces and lines flanked and ditched if practicable, and be supported by some proper description of Keep either in the interior or gorge, and for the whole to be of more or less strength according to each precise locality and to the verbal or other communications which will be afforded to you by me.

7. In all cases of proposed defense, you will state the probable cost, and means which may be available on the spot, as well as the time required for their construction, and of course you will forward sketches of each design. To save time and trouble much pains need not be spent in the preparation of drawings, outline sketches will suffice for illustrating your views, but the scale, compass bearings and peculiarities of site must be particularly shown. For the same reason of dispatch, estimates of detail will not be required, but the foundation of your calculations of approximating estimates of expense should be stated.

8. As the expenses which you may incur will be defrayed by the government, you will be careful to preserve and transmit statements of your disbursements, duly authenticated.

9. In conclusion, I am to point out to you the necessity of unanimity between yourself and the other officer associated with you on this service, and the local authorities, especially Sir George Simpson, the acting Governor of the British establishments in the Oregon Territory, and finally as a general rule for your guidance you will observe all such instructions as you may receive from Sir George Simpson.

10. You will be pleased to address all your reports on engineer subjects to the Commanding Royal Engineer, Canada, in order that they may be submitted to the Commander of the Forces.

(Signed) N. W. HALLOWAY,  
Col. on the Staff, Comr. Royal Engr., Canada.

His Excellency, Sir Richard Jackson, has this day informed me that he has delivered to his A. D. C. Lieut. Warre, the officer with whom you are to proceed, a copy of the instructions from the Secretary of State, and also certain instructions which he will communicate to you confidentially, it being his particular desire that in all respects you should act in concert and cordially together.

(Signed) N. W. HALLOWAY.



[No. 6.]

SIR G. SIMPSON TO WARRE AND VAVASOUR 30TH MAY, 1845.

Encampment Lac a la Pluie, 30 May, 1845.

Confidential.

H. J. Warre, M. Vavasour, Esquires, Red River Settlement.

Gentlemen: Having been confidentially informed by Her Majesty's Government that the object of your present journey is to acquire a knowledge of the character and resources of the country situated between the Sault de St. Marie and the shores of the Pacific, and of the practicability of forming military stations therein and conveying troops thither, with a view, should it hereafter become necessary, to the occupation thereof for military purposes, and having been requested to afford you every facility for acquiring such knowledge and to furnish you with such information as my experience might suggest, I beg to invite your attention to the following particulars, which I think may be useful as enabling you to frame your report on the important object of your mission.

You are aware that the United States are forming a cordon of military posts along their northern frontier, at Michelinac, the Sault de St. Marie, La Pointe, on the western shore of Lake Superior, Prairie du Chien, Lake St. Peters, and Council Bluffs, and others, I understand, are in progress on the Missouri from that point to the Rocky Mountains, showing the importance they attach to their Indian frontier, and acquiring for them an influence among the surrounding native tribes, which would be highly important in the event of a war, while the trade and settlements along the British frontier are altogether unprotected in that way.

Should Her Majesty's Government be desirous of affording similar protection to the British settlements and interests, and of securing a similar influence over the Indian population in their neighborhood, I should consider that Point Meuron, on the Kaministiquia River (falling into Lake Superior), about nine miles above the Hudson's Bay Company's

trading post of Fort William, situated in about 48° 30 min. N. Lat., and 89° W. Long., and Red River Settlement, at the outlet of Red River into Lake Winipeg, in 50° N. Lat. and 97° W. Long., are the only two points where such protection appears at present necessary or desirable, and at those places military posts could be more advantageously situated than in any part of the Indian country east of the Rocky Mountains.

As regards the means of transport, troops, ordnance, military stores, etc., etc., could be conveyed to the Kaministiquia River from Canada in steam or sailing vessels. The intercourse with the Sault is now so great that for many years past there has been a constant communication during the season of open water, by steam and sailing vessels, to that point, and the Hudson's Bay Company have a sufficient number of decked and open craft on Lake Superior for any amount of transport that might be required as far as the Kaministiquia River.

The soil and climate of the banks of the Kaministiquia are favorable for the production of various descriptions of grain, potatoes and garden stuffs, with pasturage for any quantity of cattle, and an inexhaustible supply of very fine fish in its immediate vicinity.

There is a water communication of about 700 to 800 miles from the Kaministiquia to Red River Settlement, through which you are now passing, but, owing to the obstruction arising from rapids and falls, it is practicable only for craft that can be carried over such obstructions, usually known as "portages." Bark canoes, capable of conveying 15 soldiers and about 30 cwt. of baggage and provisions, which can be navigated and carried across the portages by four men, are the most suitable craft for half that distance, say from the mouth of the Kaministiquia to Lac La Pluie, and boats capable of carrying 30 men with their provisions and luggage, can be employed from thence to Red River. If the troops were to render the quantum of assistance in working these craft which has frequently been afforded by women in the

Hudson's Bay Company's craft, the journey from Lake Superior to Red River might be performed in about twenty days, but if they traveled merely as passengers, the work being performed by the bare number of experienced hands absolutely required in each craft, the journey would occupy four to six weeks.

With the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have always large depots of provision and craft on hand, a regiment might thus be conveyed to Red River Settlement in the course of one summer. The best mode, however, of conducting their transport would be through the agency of the H. B. Co., who, I have no doubt, would contract for the maintenance and conveyance of troops with their baggage from Lake Superior to Red River Settlement after the rate of about forty shillings per man, if they were to assist in the transport, or about sixty shillings per man if conveyed as passengers.

Point Meuron, the site I would recommend as a military post on the Kaministiquia, is high ground, overlooking the river, and is not commanded by any other point within reach. The Indian population in that neighborhood is very thin, not exceeding 100 to 150 families, of the Chippeway tribe, mild and docile in their character, and entirely under the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose posts they frequent and from whom they receive all their supplies of British manufacture.

The Hudson's Bay Company have four establishments on the route from Lake Superior to Red River Settlement, namely, Fort William, Lac a la Pluie, Rat Portage and Fort Alexander, where craft and all other necessary supplies and refreshment for troops could be provided.

At Red River the Hudson's Bay Company have an agricultural settlement containing about 5000 inhabitants, consisting principally of their retired officers and servants, and their half caste families, and a few Indians. The country is beautiful, salubrious, and very productive in wheat, barley,

pease, etc., etc., cattle, sheep, swine and horses are very abundant, and the fisheries so productive that they would alone afford the inhabitants the means of living if all other resources failed. Salt is procured in the settlement from numerous saline springs in the neighborhood, and maple is so plentiful as to afford large supplies of sugar.

The distance from the settlement to York Factory, the company's principal depot on the shores of Hudson's Bay, in communication with England, is about 700 miles. Lake Winnipeg, which is navigable by decked vessels, forms nearly half the distance. From thence to the coast the navigation, by a chain of rivers and lakes, is practically by boats of three and a half to four tons burden. The downward voyage with cargoes is usually performed in about 16 days, and the upward voyage in from five to six weeks. By that route such articles of British produce and manufacture as might be required in the country can be conveyed at a charge of about 15 per cent on English invoice prices.

The Company have at Red River Settlement two establishments or forts, walled in and protected by bastions of sufficient extent to quarter a regiment, and from the facility of obtaining labor and stone, lime, brush, timber and other materials, extensive buildings might be erected there at a very short notice.

Red River Settlement is the most favorable situation in the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains for a military depot, and large levies of troops might be there raised from the half caste population and the neighboring Indian tribes, who, when properly disciplined, would form such a force as would overcome many, and greatly harass all, the United States settlements on the Missouri. A detachment of about 200 regular troops, however, I should consider sufficient to form the nucleus of a force of several thousand natives, who from their activity and habits of life, are admirably adapted for guerilla warfare. The result of your own observations on the spot will, I have no doubt, confirm all I have said on this



subject, and in order that you may be the better able to prepare estimates of the expenses that might be incurred in forming the establishments I have suggested and in the maintenance of troops, I beg to annex a tariff or price current list of labor and supplies of every description.

From Red River Settlement, whither I have now the pleasure of conducting you, a party will be dispatched under the charge of Mr. Ogden, an influential officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, to conduct you from thence across land to the Saskatchewan River, and from thence across the Rocky Mountains to Fort Colville on the Columbia River. Horse traveling is the best and most expeditious mode of conveyance by that route, and the journey may occupy 40 to 50 days, having been performed by me in the year 1841 in 47 days. Mr. Ogden's knowledge and experience will guard against privation, inconvenience or danger along that route. From Fort Colville you will be able to reach the Pacific in boats in five or six days, so that, leaving Red River about the 12 June you ought, according to the ordinary rate of traveling, to arrive at the mouth of the Columbia River in the Oregon Territory about the 12 August. From Red River you will find a fine open prairie country, which has been traversed by wheel carriages to the base of the Rocky Mountains, to a defile or pass situated in about  $51^{\circ}$  N. Lat., which, although impracticable for wheel carriages, is by no means difficult on horseback, having been lately passed by a large body of emigrants' families from Red River Settlement. The country through which you will have to travel abounds with buffalo, deer and game, enabling the Hudson's Bay Company to collect depots of jerked meat, pemican, and other provisions to any extent at their trading stations of Forts Ellice, Pelly, Carlton, Pitt and Edmonton, so that troops, either cavalry or infantry, might, by that route, be forwarded from Red River to the mouth of the Columbia River.

While in the Oregon country I have to suggest your close examination of Cape Disappointment, a headland on the north

bank of the Columbia River at its outlet to the Pacific, overlooking the ship channel, and commanding as far as I was able to judge when on the spot from superficial observation, the navigation of the river, the occupation of which, as a fortification would, in my opinion, be of much importance in the event of hostilities between England and the United States. Mr. Ogden has private instructions from me to take possession of that headland on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, ostensibly with a view of forming a trading post and "Pilots' Lookout" thereon; and if after you have made an accurate survey it be found that any part of the back country overlooks the Cape, Mr. Ogden has been further instructed to take possession of such commanding positions also. I have therefore to request the favor of your communicating to that gentleman whatever preliminary measures you may consider it desirable should be taken, with a view to the prior occupation of all important positions by the company, in order to be afterwards available by Her Majesty's Govt., should such be deemed necessary or expedient.

While in the Oregon country I beg to suggest your visiting the Willamette Settlement, where there is a large population consisting of citizens of the United States and British subjects, the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, that you examine into the resources of the country as regards the means of subsistence, and that you notice any positions on the river which may appear to you well adapted for military stations, more especially on the north bank of the Columbia, between Fort Vancouver and Cape Disappointment, contiguous to the ship channel, which Mr. Ogden will point out to you. It might be well to examine Tongue Point, commanding the ship channel on the south side, the occupation of which, from its commanding situation, might, I think, become an object of importance, and if, after examination, you be of the same opinion, Mr. Ogden has been instructed to take formal possession thereof for the Hudson's Bay Company. You will see from the extent of the Company's agricultural operations,

and from the large quantities of cattle and sheep at their establishments of Fort Vancouver, the Cowlitz and Puget's Sound, that they could provide the means of subsistence for any naval or military force that is likely to be required in that quarter and other parts west of the mountains, while the sturgeon, salmon and other fisheries are inexhaustible.

Mr. Ogden has been instructed to meet all your demands on the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, depots and resources in furtherance of the objects in view, and to afford you safe escort and means of conveyance back to Red River, where I shall expect to have the pleasure of meeting you in the month of June, 1846, whence a passage will be provided for you to Canada.

In conclusion, I beg to suggest that you report from Red River Settlement, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, the result of your observations up to the time of your departure for Oregon, and from Vancouver, by one of the Company's vessels that will sail for England in October you will have an opportunity of communicating such further information as you may have collected up to that period.

Wishing you a safe and prosperous journey, I have, etc.,

(Signed) GEORGE SIMPSON.

To H. J. Warre and M. Vavasour, Esqrs.

Prices current for labor, provisions, Red River Settlement, June, 1845.

Labor per diem, 1s 6d (equals 36 cts.) and rations.  
 Team of horses, per diem, 3s.  
 Team of cattle, per diem, 2s.  
 Beef (fresh), per lb., 2d.  
 Mutton, per lb., 2d.  
 Bread, per lb., 1½d.  
 Biscuit (from 1st and 2d flour), per lb., 2d.  
 Flour (1st and 2d), per cwt., 11s 6d.  
 Peas, per bushel, 2s.  
 Oats, per bushel, 1s 6d.  
 Straw, per load of 800 lbs., 2s.  
 Hay, per load of 800 lbs., 3s.  
 Lime, per bushel, 4d.  
 Brick, per M., 40s.  
 Firewood, per cord, 2s @ 3s.

[No. 7.]

Encampment Lac a la Pluie, 30 May, 1845.

Peter Skeen Ogden, Esqr., Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Company.

*Confidential.*

Dear Sir: Having submitted for your private information a confidential letter I have under this date addressed to Messrs. Warre and Vavasour, two British officers now accompanying us from Canada on their way to the shores of the Pacific at the outlet of the Columbia River, which fully explains the object of their journey, I have now to request the favor of your conducting those gentlemen from Red River to their destination by the Saskatchewan, crossing the Rocky Mountains at the Bow River Pass and touching en route at Forts Ellice, Pelly, Carlton, Pitt, Edmonton and Colville, and the other establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia River.

Your party will consist of six servants of the Company besides Messrs. Warre and Vavasour, and yourself and Mr. Lane, one of the Company's clerks, who you will consider as specially attached to your party, and who is to be employed as I shall hereafter point out. Messrs. Warre and Vavasour are to be provided at Red River with two saddle horses each, and a horse each for the conveyance of their personal luggage, which are to be relieved by fresh horses at each post you may visit, and the necessary number of horses for the remainder of the party will in like manner be provided from station to station.

It is desirable that you should take your departure from Red River not later than the 12 prox., so as to reach the Pacific as early as possible, with a view of anticipating Lieut. Fremont, of the United States Army, who was to have left St. Louis on the 25th April for the same destination,\* and by

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\*Fremont did not in fact try to reach Oregon on his third expedition until the spring of 1846, when he essayed to open the southern route into the Willamette Valley, but returned from Klamath Lake to the Sacramento Valley on meeting Gillespie.



a steady prosecution of the journey I am in hopes you may reach the Pacific by the 12th August.

The first object to be attended to on arrival there is to take possession, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, of Cape Disappointment, ostensibly with a view to the formation of a trading post and Pilots' Lookout (should it not have been previously occupied on behalf of the United States Government or any of its citizens). In that case you will be pleased to employ Mr. Lane and the servants who accompany you in the building of a house on the Cape, taking possession by a rough fence of the headland and the isthmus connecting it with the back country, running a slight fence along the shore of Baker's Bay and across the point to the shore of the ocean, so as to enclose as much of the interior as may be desirable for the exclusion of strangers; likewise enclosing, for the same object, any high ground in the rear, within cannon range, which may command the Cape.

After the necessary enclosures and buildings shall have been erected, I have to beg that Mr. Lane and two men be left in charge of the post, to give their attention to the Indian trade, being furnished with such provisions and supplies from the depot of Fort Vancouver as may be necessary for the maintenance of the post.

I have further to beg that you will point out to Messrs. Warre and Vavasour the ship channel from the mouth of the Columbia up to Fort Vancouver, directing their attention to such points on the north shore as may command the channel, likewise to Tongue Point on the south side, and if those gentlemen be of opinion that the occupation thereof might become important in a military point of view you will be pleased to take possession of the headland on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, and erect a house on such position as those gentlemen may select as the best site for a battery, forming a rough fence across the neck of land connecting the promontory with the back country and along the edge of the woods round the promontory, leaving two men there for a few weeks, the more formally to establish our occupancy.



You will understand, however, that neither Cape Disappointment, Tongue Point, nor any other place is to be taken possession of by the Hudson's Bay Company if already possessed and occupied on behalf of the United States Government or its citizens; but after possession has once been taken by you of any of these points, I have to request that such may not be relinquished unless compelled to abandon it by superior force and overt acts of violence on the part of the United States Government or its citizens, and in that case, either yourself or the officer for the time being superintending the Company's affairs at Vancouver will be pleased to report the same in writing to the commander of any of Her Majesty's ships with whom you may have an opportunity of communicating, calling upon such officer for support and protection, and handing him the best proofs you can adduce of the nature and extent of the violence that may have been exercised in dispossessing the Company of the occupied points, transmitting to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company a detailed report of all proceedings connected with this subject.

Should Messrs. Warre and Vavasour wish to visit the Wilamette Settlement or any other point of the Oregon country where we can afford them protection, you will grant them the necessary facilities to do so; meeting all their demands in writing on the Hudson's Bay Company's stores and resources, providing them with a passage to the mountains in spring, with a view to their accompanying the Express to Red River, so as to arrive there early in June, 1846, securing for them the kindest hospitalities and attentions at our different establishments, and consulting their pleasure, comfort and convenience, in so far as circumstances may admit. I have further to beg that all expenses connected with the conveyance of these gentlemen to and from the Pacific, and all other outlay that may be incurred connected with their expedition, likewise the wages and provisions of the officer and servants who may be employed in taking possession of Cape Disappoint-

ment, or of any other points that may be determined upon, in accordance with the spirit of the letter referred to, be charged to an account to be in the meantime headed "Suspense Account."

I have to request that this letter be considered strictly confidential, and that the object of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour's journey be not disclosed, but that it be given out that they are known to us only as private travelers for the pleasure of field sports and scientific pursuits.

Herewith I hand you an order on the Company's stores and resources at the different establishments you may visit, in furtherance of the objects of this expedition.

I remain, etc.,

(Signed) GEORGE SIMPSON.

[No. 8.]

Sir George Simpson to Lord Metcalfe, 9th July, 1845.

Mechipicoton, Lake Superior, 9th July, 1845.

To His Excellency, The Right Honorable Lord Metcalfe, etc., etc.

My Lord: In conformity to your Lordship's instructions when I had the honor of seeing you at Montreal in the early part of May last in reference to the mission of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour to the Columbia River, I conducted those gentlemen to Red River Settlement, Hudson's Bay, where we arrived on the 5th June, and dispatched them thence on the 16th of the same month overland for Oregon, where I expect they will arrive in the course of the month of August. From Montreal to Red River we traveled by canoe by the most direct route, say the Ottawa River, across Lake Nepisingue, descending the French River to Lake Huron, along the northern shore of that Lake to the Sault de St. Marie, thence along the northern shore of Lake Superior to Fort William at the outlet of the Kaministiquia River, descending [sic] that river, and proceeding by a chain of rivers and lakes to the Lake of

the Woods, thence down the Winnipeg River to the lake of the same name, and from thence to Red River, which empties itself into the southern end of that lake. From Red River Settlement they were forwarded on horseback with a party consisting of a clerk and six servants besides guides, interpreters and hunters, under the charge of Mr. Chief Factor Ogden, who was instructed to take the most direct route to Oregon by the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Rivers, crossing the Rocky Mountains at the most southern British pass (in about Lat.  $51^{\circ}$ ), traversing the Flathead and Kootenai countries, and falling upon the Columbia River at Fort Colville, whence they are to proceed to the shores of the Pacific by boats.

At the interview I had with Sir Richard Jackson previous to my departure from Montreal, I was requested to draw the attention of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour to such points connected with the objects of their mission as I might consider important, and to afford such information as my experience might suggest, which might be useful in enabling them to frame their report for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I, accordingly, addressed a confidential letter to those gentlemen under date 30th of May, copy of which is herewith forwarded, and I addressed another confidential letter to Mr. Chief Factor Ogden under the same date (copy of which is also transmitted), directing that gentleman to take possession, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, of Cape Disappointment at the entrance of the Columbia River, and of such other positions as might be important in a military point of view, in conformity to the desire of Her Majesty's Government, as communicated to me at an interview with which I was honored by Sir Robert Peel and the Earl of Aberdeen on the 2d of April last.

By reference to my letter to Messrs. Warre and Vavasour your Lordship will observe that I consider it highly important to British interests that one or two military posts should be formed on the southwestern Canadian frontier, in order to

counteract the influence which the United States Government is acquiring over the Indian tribes and British settlers, by means of a cordon of military posts, which have been already formed, or are in course of construction, along their northern frontier, extending from Michelimacinac, by the Sault de St. Marie, La Pointe, Prairie du Chien, Lake St. Peter and Council Bluffs, and from thence up the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers to the Rocky Mountains, and your Lordship will further observe that I have in the same communication pointed out the situations where I think such British posts might be most advantageously established; the practicability and expense of conveying the troops, and the resources of the country for their maintenance. So dangerous do I consider the influence thus acquired by the American Government to the British interests on the frontier that I am induced respectfully to request your Lordship's favorable consideration of the remedy for this evil which I have taken the liberty of pointing out.

As it may be of interest to your Lordship to possess the latest information in reference to the proceedings of a public character in Oregon, I have the honor to transmit herewith some extracts from a dispatch I have addressed the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company on that subject, which contains every particular worthy of notice.

Herewith I forward a packet addressed to your Lordship, which was entrusted to my care by Messrs. Warre and Vavasour and with much respect.

I have the honor, etc., etc.

[No. 9.]

Fort Vancouver, Columbia River, November 1, 1845.

My Lord: We have the honor to forward, according to your Lordship's instructions, the accompanying letters, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, containing such information as we have been able to collect up to the present date, on the Oregon Territory.



We shall have the honor to submit a more detailed report on our return to Canada next summer, with a statistic of the separate tribes from whence we have taken our census of the Indian population, which, we believe, has been based on the best information to be obtained in the present unsettled state of the country.

We regret not being able to accompany our report with more numerous sketches or surveys. The whole of the lower Columbia is covered with so dense a forest, and is so impenetrable that it would be quite incompatible with the time allowed to visit so vast a section of the country to give detailed plans of the separate points and the season has been so short during which operations could be successfully carried on in the field as to render it impossible to gain more than a superficial knowledge of the whole.

With regard to Cape Disappointment and the shores of the Columbia River we could not, consistent with our duty, gain any information on their capabilities for defense during the very limited stay we were obliged to allow for that country. We intend proceeding again to those points, and hope to be able to complete our survey, and make such observations as may be advisable under the present circumstances.

The Cape and principal points of the adjacent country being in the possession of American citizens, has much crippled our proceedings, having no authority for their purchase. The absence of Mr. Ogden, to whom Sir George Simpson gave instructions on the subject, has also delayed our operations in that quarter.

We have the honor to be, My Lord, your Lordship's obedient, humble servants,

HENRY J. WARRE,

Lt. 14 Reg.

M. VAVASOUR,

Lieut. Royal Engr.

The Rt. Honorable, The Lord Metcalfe, Gov. General of Canada.

[The report and the letters seem to be in the handwriting of Lieut. Warre.]



[No. 10.]

REPORT OF LIEUTS. WARRE AND VAVASOUR, DATED 26 OCTOBER, 1845, DIRECTED TO "THE RT. HON. THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES." RECEIVED JULY 6, 1846.

H. B. Company's Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory,

October 26, 1845.

My Lord: In continuation of the report, dated June 10, 1845,\* and forwarded from Red River, referring to the particular service entrusted to us, by order of His Excellency Lord Metcalfe, the Governor General in B. N. America:

We have the honor to inform your Lordship of our arrival at this post, in the Oregon Territory.

The overland journey from Red River to the Columbia occupied 62 days, having left the 16th of June, we reached Fort Colville on the 16th August.

There are two lines of communication from Red River to the Columbia, viz.:

1st. The route by which we have lately passed to a defile in the Rocky Mountains, in about 50° 30' north latitude (from whence [to?] the head waters of the north branch of the Columbia) [which?] is seldom used except by small parties requiring dispatch, and is quite impracticable for the transport of troops, with their provisions, stores, etc.

The country on the east side of the Rocky Mountains presents a succession of undulating plains, intersected by numerous belts of thickly wooded swamps, and many dangerous rivers.

The passage of the Rocky Mountains alone would form a sufficient barrier to prevent the transport of stores, etc., on account of the high, steep and rugged nature of the mountain passes; the same insuperable objections, increased by the denseness of an almost impenetrable jungle, and more numerous rivers, and mountain torrents, exists on the west side, following the course of McGillivray's River (which is unnaviga-

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\*In Lord Metcalfe's, 26 July, 1845.

ble), and on the right bank of which we descended to the Columbia.

2d. The northern water communication in frequent use by the traders of the H. B. Company, apparently affording greater facilities for the conveyance of troops, is by the more circuitous route of Lake Winnipeg, the Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers, from whence the "portage" or land carriage of about 110 miles across the Rocky Mountains to the boat encampment on the Columbia.

We shall return by this route in the spring, 1846, and be then able to report on its capabilities.

We beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the following extract of a letter addressed by Sir George Simpson, the Govr. of the Hudson's Bay Company, to ourselves, in which is contained all the information or instructions received from that gentleman on the subject of our present report, viz.:

"From Red River Settlement, whither I have now the pleasure of conducting you, a party . . . etc. [Quote Sir G Simpson's letter from the above clause down to and including the following, five and a half pages of matter. "You will see from the extent of the Company's agricultural operations and from the large quantities of cattle and sheep at their establishments of Fort Vancouver, the Cowlitz and Puget's Sound, that they could provide the means of subsistence for any naval or military force that is likely to be required in that quarter, and other parts west of the mountains, while the sturgeon, salmon and other fisheries are inexhaustible."]

(The report continues):

Your Lordship will perceive, by the above statement, that in our opinion the facilities for conveying troops to the Oregon Territory, by the route we have lately passed, do not exist to the extent Sir George Simpson represents.

The Hudson's Bay Company have a certain stock of cattle, etc., at each of their different trading posts of Fort Ellice, on the Assiniboine, and Forts Carlton, Pitt and Edmonton on the Saskatchewan Rivers, but as far as we could learn they

depend upon the buffalo and other wild animals for their supplies, and had not more than sufficient for the consumption of their present occupants.

The difficulties of the journey across the American continent are much increased by the uncertainty of finding buffalo, nor did we obtain throughout the whole journey one single animal to supply provisions for more than the day's consumption, to even our limited party.

The trading posts above mentioned consist of a dwelling house for the gentleman in charge, and stores, etc., built of wood, surrounded by strong pickets or palisades, about 15 feet in height, and small block houses at the opposite angles armed with field and wall pieces.

They are calculated to resist a sudden attack of a band of Indians, but cannot be considered as works of defense against a disciplined force.

The emigration mentioned by Sir George Simpson in the above extract was composed of several families of retired trappers and servants of the H. Bay Company accustomed to a "voyageurs" life, from whom it is impossible to judge of the practicability of a route for the conveyance of troops. On the east side of the mountains, to the point where they were obliged to abandon their wagons, etc., their course was to the south of that by which we passed, it not being considered safe for our party, composed of only ten men, to encounter the wild tribes of Indians on the open plains.

Fort Colville is situated on a small plain surrounded by lofty sand hills at the head of an unnavigable rapid called La Chaudiere Falls. It is said to be 2049 feet above the level of the sea, 824 [?] miles from the boat encampment on the Columbia (whence the northern portages of the Rocky Mountains). It is 84 miles below McGillivray's River and 672 miles from the Pacific Ocean.

The buildings are similar in construction to the trading posts on the east side of the mountains, and calculated only to resist the sudden attacks of Indians.

The soil of the surrounding country is sandy and unproductive, but the irrigation afforded by the constant overflowing of the river enables the Hudson's Bay Co. to raise about one thousand bushels of wheat annually in its vicinity.

They have also about 100 head of cattle and 300 or 400 horses attached to this post.

One hundred and thirty-seven miles below Colville is Fort Okanogan on the left bank of that river, which is navigable for canoes and boats for some distance into the interior. The buildings are similar to Fort Colville, and calculated for the same defense. There is also a depot of cattle and horses at this post.

For about 50 miles below Fort Colville the fir timber is thinly scattered over the face of the country, after which, and to within 200 miles of the sea, the trees totally disappear. The country is desolate in the extreme, interminable sandy deserts extending on either bank of the river as far as the eye can reach, without vegetation and intersected by ranges of high sandy hills, surmounted by rugged basaltic rocks. In the neighborhood of Fort Colville some limestone is found, but in what quantity or of what quality we had not an opportunity of judging.

One hundred and eighty miles below Okanogan the Snake, or south branch of the Columbia River, joins the north, and nine miles below the junction is Fort Nez Perces, on the Walla Walla River, built of mud, 120 yards square, and better adapted than any of the other posts to resist a sudden attack.

The Columbia River, between Colville and Walla Walla, is obstructed by several rapids which it would be dangerous to descend in boats. No difficulty, however, occurs in making the "portages," which seldom exceed half a mile.

The current of the river varies according to the season, having a rise of 19 feet at Fort Vancouver in the spring of the year. In ascending the river the chief difficulty is in the scarcity of fir wood, drift wood being the only obtainable fuel,



which the Indians collect and sell to the traders for their culinary purposes.

The boats in which we descended are admirably adapted for this dangerous river navigation and for the conveyance of troops. Each boat would carry 15 or 20 men. But from the depth of water between the rapids, where it is necessary to make a "portage," there is no reason why a much larger boat might not be constructed for the conveyance of troops, etc.

By the Pescous River falling into the Columbia below Okanogan, and by the Eyakama [Yakima] River above Fort Nez Perces, Indian roads exist over a mountainous country to Puget's Sound, which we believe might be made available for the conveyance of troops (landed in that harbor) into the interior. But we have not been able to make a personal inspection of these routes.

In 1841 the Hudson's Bay Company made use of one of these routes to convey cattle to Nesqually, on Puget's Sound.

Fort Nez Perces on the Walla Walla River was formerly the point where the emigration from the United States embarked on the Columbia, and it is still preferred by large numbers of emigrant families. But a more southern and shorter route has been discovered by which they fall upon the Columbia about 125 miles below the Walla Walla, at an impracticable rapid called the "Dalles," formed by the contraction of the river bed into a narrow "trough" or channel, not more than 30 yards wide, where the boats, etc., are transported overland for a distance of one mile.

We find according to the information collected from a number of emigrants, recently arrived from the United States, that on leaving the Missouri they ascended the Platte River for about 400 miles, through a fine open country, with but few intervening rivers not easily forded, to the Forks, from whence, following a northwest course for about the same distance, they reach the Rocky Mountains at a pass which is easily traversed by wagons, etc., through a valley 80 miles in length, terminating on the headwaters of the Colorado or



Green River, from thence across sandy deserts to near the sources of the Snake or south branch of the Columbia River, on which is a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company called Fort Hall.

From this point they descended the north bank of the Snake River (which is navigable only for small canoes) through a rugged barren country to the Walla Walla River—or by the newly discovered route they leave the Snake River about 100 miles from its junction with the Columbia, and following a southwest course, by the valleys of several unimportant streams, they fall upon the Columbia at the "Dalles."

The principal obstructions on this line of communication with the Oregon Territory appear to arise on the west side of the Rocky Mountains. On the east side the country is comparatively level and fertile, abounding in buffaloe, etc.

The passage of the Rocky Mountains presents little or no difficulty. The valley being open and comparatively level. Hundreds of wagons have traversed this pass during the last three years.

That troops might be sent from the United States to Oregon is evident from the fact that 300 dragoons of the United States regular army having accompanied the last emigration to the above mentioned valley through the mountains, ostensibly for the protection of the said emigrants from the hostile bands of Indians infesting the eastern plains.

On the west the country is one continuous sandy desert. Steep ravines and mountain passes constantly intersect the road. In many places the timber is so scarce that sufficient for the ordinary camp purposes is with difficulty obtained, while the sterility of the country not affording food for buffaloe and other wild animals no dependence can be placed on obtaining a fresh supply of provisions by the chase.

The emigrants, on their arrival from the United States, rendezvous at the "Dalles," where an American Methodist Mission is established on a rising ground to the south of the river, about three miles below the rapid.

There is an inexhaustible salmon fishery at this point, to which the Indians of all the surrounding country resort during the months of March and October for their summer and winter supplies.

Frequent attempts have been made to penetrate to the valley of the Willamette by a more southern route, avoiding the Columbia River, but the country is so densely covered with fir trees and intersected by mountains and ravines that the undertaking has invariably failed, the parties being obliged to abandon their wagons, with the loss of numbers of their cattle.\*

We have been informed by the gentlemen of the H. B. Co. that there is a road, known only to their trappers, near the southern boundary (1819) by which easy access might be attained to the valley of the Willamette River, where the great body of the citizens of the United States are settled.†

From the "Dalles" the River Columbia is deep and uninterrupted to the Cascades (48 miles), where it forces a passage through a range of lofty mountains, extending from latitude 49 degrees into California, parallel with the sea coast, and where it again becomes unnavigable for a distance of three miles. The south bank is impassable at this point. The emigrants descend on the north side, recross the river about 15 miles below the rapids, from whence they strike across a thickly wooded country to the Clackamas River, which they descend to the valley of the Willamette.

Below the Cascades the Columbia is navigable to the Pacific (150 miles), although occasionally obstructed by sand bars. Ships of 300 tons burden are constantly navigating its water to Fort Vancouver, 35 miles below the Cascades (the principal depot of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains), on the north bank of the river, situated in

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\*The reference is apparently to those efforts which eventuated a year later in the opening of the Barlow road, which crossed the Cascade Mountains near Mount Hood.

†This road was sought by Fremont, and opened by the Applegate party in 1846.

a small plain, which is partially inundated by the spring freshets.

Fort Vancouver is similar in construction to the posts already described, having an enclosure of cedar pickets 15 feet high, 220 yards in length and 100 yards in depth. At the northwest angle is a square blockhouse containing six 3-lb. iron guns (vide the accompanying sketch). There is a small village occupied exclusively by the servants of the H. B. Co., on the west side, extending to the river.

The fort was formerly situated on a rising ground in the rear of its present position, but was removed on account of the inconvenient distance from the river, for the conveyance of stores, provisions, etc. The present site is ill-adapted for defense, being commanded by the ground in the rear.

About five miles above the fort, on a small stream falling into the Columbia, is an excellent saw mill, and on another small stream one mile distant is a grist mill, capable of grinding 100 bushels of wheat daily.

The Hudson's Bay Company have about 1200 acres of ground under cultivation, producing about —— bushels of wheat and —— bushels of potatoes annually. There are about 2000 sheep, 1300 head of cattle, and between seven and eight hundred horses belonging to the establishment.

The Willamette River, on which the American citizens have formed their principal settlement, joins the Columbia by three channels; the first, and that in most general use, is five miles below Fort Vancouver, the two others are little known and "debouche" 12 and 15 miles lower down, forming a large fertile island, but covered by water during the spring of the year, which renders this, as also many of the low lands in other parts of the country, valueless for cultivation. The three channels unite about six miles above the mouth of the upper, at a point called Linnton, where it was intended to form a village; this idea appears to have been abandoned, at the present time but one family lives there.\*

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\*Peter H. Burnett and Morton M. McCarver, of the 1843 emigration, laid out the town of Linnton, believing that point the head of navigation on the Willamette.

There is sufficient depth of water in the river for boats of any size, for a distance of twenty miles, when a shallow, strong rapid, at the mouth of the Clackamas River, impedes the navigation (except in the seasons of high water) to the Falls, about three miles above, where the village or settlement (commonly called Oregon City), inhabited principally by Americans, is situated.

This settlement was commenced in 1829-30 by Dr. McLoughlin, the chief resident of the H. B. Company west of the Rocky Mountains, who cleared land on the right bank of the Falls, intending to avail himself of their immense water power by erecting saw mills, etc. In the same year, 1830, four Canadians, retired servants of the Company, settled in the country above the Falls, and were followed during the succeeding years, 1831-32-33, by several of their countrymen. The H. B. Co. gave every encouragement to their undertaking by supplying them with horses, cattle and implements of husbandry. In 1833 a fur and fishing company to trade in the valley of the Columbia was formed in Boston, and a vessel despatched from thence arrived at her destination. But having failed in their dealings with the natives and being deserted by many of the crew, who became settlers, the Company was broken up and the remainder of the party returned on the following year to their native country.\*

In 1834 a large party of missionaries sent across the continent by the Methodist Missionary Society in the United States, arrived at the Falls of the Willamette, where they obtained from Dr. McLoughlin the timber he had prepared, but not made use of, for the saw mills, to build a church and dwelling house.

These missionaries remained at the Falls till 1842, when they quarreled among themselves and sold the greater portion of their lands and improvements to Dr. McLoughlin, who

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\*The reference is to the Wyeth enterprise, which is fully illustrated by the Journals and Letters of Nathaniel Wyeth, published in 1899 under the editorship of Professor F. G. Young, Eugene, Oregon.



had originally given them the grants from the "claim" he had made to a portion of this section of the country.

In 1835 many Canadians and H. B. Company's retired servants settled on the river, and in this or the preceding year\* two Roman Catholic missionaries from Canada established themselves near the center of what now had become the Canadian settlement, erecting a church and building a school-house for the education of the Canadians, half-breeds and Indian population. During the following years a few Americans straggled into the country, attracted by the exaggerated descriptions of the soil and climate, as represented by the American traders and trappers, many of whom were in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1841-42 the H. B. Company on the east of the Rocky Mountains contributed largely to increase the British subjects in this country, by encouraging and affording means of transport to such of the inhabitants of their settlement at Red River who might wish to emigrate to the Red River. About 150 families were induced by this means to settle on the Cow-litz River, and on the plains in the neighborhood of Nesqually, in Puget's Sound; and horses, cattle, etc., given to encourage their labor.

The soil of that part of the country not yielding so great a return as anticipated, many of them removed in the following year to the valley of the Willamette.

Till the year 1842-43 not more than thirty American families were resident in the country.†

In 1843 an emigration consisting of about 1000 persons, with a large number of wagons, horses, cattle, etc., arrived on the Willamette, having traversed the vast desert section of the country between the Missouri, the Rocky Mountains and the Columbia. They arrived at an advanced season of the year, much exhausted by their arduous journey, and were

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\*The Catholic missionaries arrived late in the year 1838.

†This estimate varies from that made by Simpson in November, 1841. See Simpson Letters, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, p. 80.

indebted to the H. B. Company for boats, etc., to forward them to their future homes.

This emigration scattered themselves over the face of the country, many of them remaining at the Falls, where saw mills had been erected by Dr. McLoughlin and by Americans; the claims [were?] surveyed and divided into town lots, which were sold to whoever desired to become a purchaser.

In 1844 about an equal number of emigrants arrived from the United States as in the preceding year, and avowedly under the sanction and protection of the American Government, who offered a premium of 640 square acres to any American citizen becoming a settler [sic], seeking by this means to overrun the country and strengthen their claim to the disputed Territory.

In 1842 the American Government appointed Dr. White, previously surgeon to the Methodist Mission in that country, their agent in Oregon, and he exercised the duties of this office, drawing his salary through the H. B. Company on the American Government till this year (1845), when he returned to the United States.

On our arrival on the Columbia in August last we found a much more numerous emigration than on any former year arriving from the United States, having been escorted to the Rocky Mountains by 300 dragoons of the U. S. Army under the command of Colonel Kearney—who, we believe, have returned by the same route.

Lieutenant Fremont, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, accompanied the emigration of 1843, remained a short time in the country and returned in the autumn, but being prevented by the snow from recrossing the Rocky Mountains at so late a season of the year, he entered North California, where he wintered, and reached the United States in the following summer. His report has been published by order of Congress at Washington, and is said to contain much valuable information, which we regret not having been able to peruse.

This officer has accompanied the present emigration to Fort Hall, from whence he crossed toward the southern boundary, and we understand he is making a survey of the Valley of the Klamet River, with a view to its settlement, and to find a line of communication between that country and the headwaters of the Willamette.

This officer always appears in his undress uniform and makes no concealment of his being employed by the Government of the United States.

It is extremely difficult to discover the exact number of emigrants now arriving in the country, but from the best information we have estimated their numbers at about 2000 individuals. They have 570 wagons drawn by oxen, which are found to be preferable to horses for so long a journey, and it is stated that they started with 6000 cattle, including milch cows, etc., etc., large numbers have died on the route. They have a large number of horses and a few mules. Their wagons are admirably adapted for the long rugged land journey.

That the gentlemen of the H. B. Company have not exaggerated the lamentable condition of these emigrants on former occasions is evident by the appearance on arrival of this, said to be the most wealthy and respectable of all the former. Fever and sickness have made fearful havoc among them, and many are now remaining in a helpless condition at the "Dalles" and the "Cascades." They report 30 men, women and children having died upon the journey.

By the foregoing statement your Lordship will observe that even in 1844 the citizens of the United States formed a large majority over the only British subjects in the Oregon country, viz.: the gentlemen composing the Hudson's Bay Company, their servants, and the retired servants who had become settlers.

This majority would be much increased by the arrival of the anticipated emigration of 1845.

The subjects of Great Britain had great difficulty in pro-

protecting their lands and possessions from the desperate characters, chiefly the refuse of the Western States, whose enmity to anything "British" was open and avowed.

In 1843 an organization had been formed by the citizens of the United States to administer justice and keep the peace within what they considered their own territory, as far north as the Columbia River; against this American compact the British and Canadian population protested—and this was the state of affairs till the autumn of 1844.

The property of the H. B. Company had often been threatened, and was at any time liable to be destroyed by the lawless Americans, influenced by the reports of designing individuals; and for the protection of their property, and for the peace and prosperity of the whole community, the leading gentlemen of both parties formed a coalition (1845). An organization was established, neutralizing the preponderating American influence. A governor chosen by mutual consent and the fundamental laws for the government of the whole derived from the statutes of the Territory of Iowa, on the Missouri, recently joined to the United States. Thus the internal peace of the country has been preserved and the allegiance of either party to their respective governments respected.

This compact is independent of the United States Government. Emigrants of all nations, willing to uphold the law in a [the] country, and for the protection of life and property, are enrolled as members. The governmental offices being defrayed by a fixed taxation, according to the laws of Iowa, as before stated.

Nor could (if we can express an opinion) a more judicious course have been pursued by all parties for the peace and prosperity of the community at large.

There are about 300 inhabitants at the village on the Falls. One Roman Catholic and one Methodist chapel, about 100 dwelling houses, stores, etc. An excellent grist mill (the whole of the machinery, etc., having been exported from England by Dr. McLoughlin) and several saw mills.



The buildings are of wood and the town is situated on a ledge of rocks about 30 feet above the average level of the river. Behind the town a perpendicular scarp rises for about 40 feet, sloping gradually away to the rear. This is one of the most important points in the settlement, commanding the navigation of the river, and offering every advantage, as regards position, for defense.

We regret not having been able to make a survey of this place, being fearful of increasing the jealousies already excited by our arrival in the country, which feeling has also prevented our making sketches of many other points, or obtaining information to make our report as efficient as we could wish.

The surrounding country is fertile, and the forests of pine and oak are interspersed by prairies on which the settlers build their houses, raise their crops and pasture their cattle.

The settlement extends about sixty miles on either bank of the river, the country is comparatively level, that on the right bank being frequently inundated during the spring freshets for a considerable distance into the interior; the soil yields an abundant return, with comparatively little labor; and the pasturage is excellent.

To the eye the country, particularly the left bank of the river, is very beautiful. Wide extended, undulating prairies, scattered over with magnificent oak trees, and watered by numerous tributary streams (on which several saw mills are now in operation) reach far to the south, over the confines of North California (to near which boundary our journey was extended), and offering a field for an industrious civilized community, but seldom surpassed, for pastoral and agricultural purposes.

On the right bank of the river, about 30 miles above the Falls, is a Roman Catholic Mission, having four resident priests and six sisters (from Belgium). A church, dwelling houses, and school houses, where we witnessed the examination of about sixty children, the sons and daughters of the Catholic half breed population. About 25 miles above on the same

bank of the river, an American Methodist Mission is established, having one resident minister, a large school house and dwelling house. We regret not being able to give so prosperous an account of the Methodist Missionaries as of the Roman Catholic Brethren. In this instance, the school house was in wretched repair, and but few pupils seemed to attend for instruction. They are but ill supplied by the society in the United States, and we fear that religious instruction gives place to personal aggrandizement with the members of this society.

There are ferries established across the river, which is wide, and navigable for small boats and canoes, at the above mentioned stations.

Below the Falls the river is said to rise 20 to 25 feet during the high waters in the Columbia in the month of June. Above the Falls the rise is also very great, from the quantity of rain falling during the winter, and the melting of the snow on the mountains, during the spring.

The total number of inhabitants in the Valley of the Willamette is about six thousand, of whom about 1000 may be considered as subjects of Great Britain.\*

Notwithstanding the advantages to be found in this valley, many of the American emigrants become dissatisfied, and remove to California, where the climate is more salubrious and their possessions unlimited.

During our absence in the Willamette settlement, Mr. Ogden proceeded alone to Cape Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia River, to take possession of that headland according to the instructions he had received from Sir G. Simpson, but finding it was claimed by two Americans, he entered into negotiations for its purchase, which are not completed, his

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\*Lieut. Peel's report, dated September 27, 1845, just one month earlier than the Warre-Vavasour report, gives the total population of the Willamette settlement at about 3,000 inhabitants, including women and children, of whom about 600 or 700 are Canadians and half-breeds, retired servants of the Company. If both reports are approximately correct, it follows that the emigration of 1845, arriving after Peel wrote, amounted to 3,000.

services being required in the interior, from whence he has not returned.

We also went down the Columbia River, visited Fort George and Tongue Point on the South side, and made a survey of the Cape, which we regret not having had time to complete to forward by the present opportunity.

On our return we found Lieutenant Peel, R. N., and Captain Parke, R. M., of Her Majesty's ship "America," who had made a short tour in the Willamette Settlement. We accompanied these officers back to their ships in Port Discovery, Straits of San Juan de Fuca, and informed Captain Gordon of our arrival in the country and the several objects of our journey.

From Port Discovery we crossed the Straits to Vancouver's Island, commencing in the 48 parallel of latitude and extending 260 miles north, and about 50 in breadth.

This island is somewhat intersected by high mountain ranges, but the soil is said to be fertile and well adapted for cultivation. We visited the H. B. Company's post, Fort Victoria in 48° 26' N. Latitude, and 123° 9' W. Longitude, on the south shore of the Island near the head of a narrow Inlet (of which we forward a sketch) where they have established a fort similar to those already described, a farm of several hundred acres on which they raise wheat and potatoes, and a depot of provisions, supplies, etc., for the different Trading posts further to the north. The position has been chosen solely for its agricultural advantages, and is ill adapted either as a place of refuge for shipping, or as a position of defense.

The country to the south of the Straits of de Fuca, between Puget's Sound and the coast is overrun by high rugged mountains presenting great difficulty in traversing, and but few inducements to the farmer.

Between the above mentioned points there are some fine harbors, among which we may mention Port Discovery and Dungeness, on the south shore, and a bay within three miles of Fort Victoria, called the "Squimal" by the Indians, which

from superficial observation appears to afford anchorage and protection for ships of any tonnage.

The above mentioned harbors contain an abundant supply of fresh water, in which the rest of the coast is very deficient. Large rivers are formed in the winter season, which become perfectly dry during the summer.

There is coal in the neighborhood of Puget's Sound, and on the Cowlitz River. The specimens used by the H. B. Company were obtained from the surface, and were probably on that account not found good.

The specimens of lead found in the mountains on the coast are apparently very fine.

The fisheries (salmon and sturgeon) are inexhaustible, and game of all descriptions is said to abound. The timber is extremely luxuriant and increases in value as you reach a more northern Latitude. That in 50 to 54 degrees being considered the best. Pine, spruce, red and white oak, ash, cedar, maple, willow and yew grow in this section of country north of the Columbia River. Cedar and pine becomes of an immense size.

At Nesqually, near the head of Puget's Sound, is the farm of the Puget's Sound Company commenced in 1839\* and supported chiefly by the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company. They here cultivate wheat and potatoes, but the magnificent ranges of rich prairie country between the shores of Puget's Sound and the Cascade Mountains to the east, are chiefly used as pasturage for the immense herds of cattle and sheep, the greater number of which were brought from California in 1840-41.

From Nesqually we crossed the head waters of several large streams, among others the Nesqually and Chehalis rivers, rising in the Cascade mountains, extending along the coast to Latitude 49°. These rivers have their channels sunk, in some places, upward of a hundred feet below the level of the country, rendering them extremely dangerous and difficult to traverse at the seasons of high water.

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\*That is, as a venture of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. There was a settlement at that point as early as 1833.



The Chehalis flows into Gray's Bay on the Pacific, is navigable for small boats and canoes, and forms a barred harbor for vessels of small tonnage.

The country is easy of access from Nesqually to the Chehalis River, where the soil changes from graveley loam to a stiff clay, and numerous little rivers, which overflow their banks, and flood the country for an immense distance during the winter and spring freshets, render the land journey to the Cowlitz river difficult, and during that season almost impracticable.

There are a few families settled on plains on this route and the Americans are forcing themselves as far north as Puget's Sound. During our travels we met five families on their route to the prairies in that vicinity.\*

There is a settlement of about 90 Canadian families on the Cowlitz River, where the Puget's Sound Company have about 1000 acres of ground under cultivation.

The course of the Cowlitz is rapid, and in high water dangerous, but presenting no obstacles that are not overcome by the energy and perseverance of the Canadian boatmen.

A small establishment has been formed at the mouth of the Cowlitz river as a store for wheat, etc., which the H. B. Company exports in large quantities to the Russian settlement at Sitka and to the Sandwich Islands.

The accompanying account of the population of the Indian tribes, has been compiled, with great care, from the best authorities we could obtain, and from the trading lists lent us by the kindness of the gentlemen in charge of the H. B. Co.

The Indians of Puget's Sound and the Straits of de Fuca, also those further to the north, appear to be more numerous than those of the interior,—and cultivate large quantities of potatoes, etc., for their own use, and to barter with the vessels frequenting the coast. They are not so cleanly as the Indians

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\*The incursion of Americans into the Puget Sound territory is one of the points reported to his government by Captain Gordon, whose messenger, Lieut. Peel, reached London on or before February 10, 1846.

of the prairies, nor are they so brave or warlike. Many of the latter tribes are a very fine race of men, and possess large herds of cattle and immense numbers of horses.

In the neighborhood of Walla Walla individual Indians were pointed out to us, who owned more than 1000 horses. Slavery is common with all the tribes and he who possesses most slaves and the largest number of horses is considered the greatest chief.

The Indians of the north are sometimes troublesome, but those of the Columbia are a quiet, inoffensive, but very superstitious race. To the last cause may be traced their quarrels with the white man and with one another. They are well armed with rifles, muskets, etc., but from policy they are much stinted by the H. B. Co. in ammunition.

The Indian Tribes do not remain upon the same ground during the whole year. In the summer they resort to the principal rivers and the sea coast, where they take and lay by large quantities of salmon, etc., for their winter consumption, retiring to the smaller rivers of the interior during the cold season.

Neither the Roman Catholic nor the Methodist Missions have done much toward reclaiming the Indian population, who are an idle, desolute [sic] race, and very few of them can be induced to exchange their mode of life or cultivate more than will absolutely keep them from starvation.

The total abolition of the sale of intoxicating liquors has done much for the good of the whole community, white as well as Indian; and so long as this abstinence (which can hardly be called voluntary) continues the country will prosper. When this prohibition is withdrawn, and the intercourse with the world thrown open, such is the character of the dissolute and only partially reformed American and Canadian settlers, that every evil must be anticipated, and the unfortunate Indian will be the first to suffer.

We take the liberty of calling your Lordship's attention to the accompanying "Oath of Office" under the Organization,

and also to the resolution with regard to the junction of "Vancouver County" to that organization. The gentlemen of the H. B. Company appearing to us anxious that their motives should not be misunderstood in uniting with the Americans for the mutual protection of their property, or that their allegiance to the mother country should not be impugned.

Every information has been afforded us, in the kindest manner, by Dr. McLoughlin and Mr. Douglass, the gentlemen in charge of the H. B. Company in the Oregon Territory, without reference to our ulterior objects, and we are convinced that the same kindness, and hospitality is extended to all of whatever nation, arriving in this wild country.

We have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's Obedient and Humble servants,

HENRY J. WARRE,

Lt. 14 Regt., Ad. Camp.

M. VAVASOUR,

Lieut. Royal Engr.

We have omitted to mention the arrival of H. M. Ship "Modeste," Captain Baillie, in the Straits of de Fuca, during our visit to that place. He informed us of his intention to remain a part of the ensuing winter in the Columbia River and we have just received the intelligence of his arrival at Fort George.

#### REMARKS.

The Gentlemen in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts on the north of the Columbia have made very accurate estimates of the Indian population in the neighborhood of their several stations, and we have every reason to believe, from our own observations, in the accuracy of these statements.

The Indian tribes on the Columbia and in the interior of the country are a very migratory race, and it is very difficult to arrive at their exact numbers. We believe the above statements to be rather *under* their numerical strength.

We shall have the honor to submit on our return, in 1846, more detailed Statements of all the separate Tribes.

M. VAVASOUR,  
Lieut. Royal Engr.

HENRY J. WARRE,  
Lt. Ad.

REPORT OF WARRE AND VAVASOUR, 26 OCTOBER, 1845.

ENCLOSURE I.

Section A of the Organic Law.

The Officers under this compact shall take an oath as follows, to-wit:

I do solemnly swear that I will support the Organic Laws of the Provisional Government of Oregon, so far as the said Organic Laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain, and faithfully demean myself in office, so help me God.

An Act to Organize the District of Vancouver.

Be it enacted by the House of Representatives of Oregon Territory, as follows:

That all that portion of the Territory of Oregon, lying north of the middle of the main channel of the Columbia River, shall be, and the same is hereby declared, a separate district, under the name and style of Vancouver District; and the said District shall be entitled to elect one member of the House of Representatives, at the next annual election.

This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Oregon City, 20 August, 1845.

Approved, GEO. ABERNETHY,  
Governor.



## ENCLOSURE 2.

Warre and Vavasour's Report, October 27, 1845.

Establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Territory and the Northwest Coast of America.

STATIONS.	Where Situated.	No. of Men.	Acres of land under cultivation	LIVE STOCK.			
				Horses	Cattle	Hogs	Sheep
Fort Simpson.....	Chatham Sound.....	20	8	....	....	....	....
Bohine Lake.....	New Caledonia.....	5	8	....	....	....	....
Conally Lake.....	New Caledonia.....	5	4	....	....	....	....
Fort McLeod.....	New Caledonia.....	5	10	....	....	....	....
Fort St. James.....	New Caledonia.....	10	15	39	94	14	....
Fraser's Lake.....	New Caledonia.....	5	20	....	....	....	....
Fort Chilcote.....	New Caledonia.....	5	....	....	....	....	....
Fort George.....	New Caledonia.....	10	30	....	....	....	....
Fort Alexander.....	New Caledonia.....	10	46	....	....	....	....
Thompson's River.	New Caledonia.....	15	6	....	....	....	....
Fort Longley.....	New Caledonia.....	20	240	15	195	180	....
Fort Victoria.....	Vancouver Island.....	35	120	7	23	1	....
Fort Nisqually.....	Pugets Sound.....	20	100	198	1857	....	5795
Fort Cowlitz.....	Cowlitz River.....	30	1000	103	579	....	1062
Fort George.....	Columbia River.....	6	4	....	....	....	....
Fort Vancouver.....	Columbia River.....	200	1200	702	1377	1581	1991
Fort Nez Perces.....	Columbia River.....	10	12	68	23	12	....
Fort Okonogan.....	Columbia River.....	2	7	....	....	....	....
Fort Flathead.....	McGillivray's River .	5	....	....	....	....	....
Fort Colville.....	Columbia River.....	30	118	350	96	73	....
Fort Boise.....	Burnt River.....	8	2	17	27	....	....
Fort Hall.....	Portneuf River.....	20	5	171	95	....	....
Fort Umpqua.....	Cape Gregory.....	8	50	46	64	45	....
23 Posts.....	.....	484	3005	1716	4430	1906	8848

Warre and Vavasour's Report October 26, 1845. Enclosure 3.

## CENSUS.

Of the Indian Tribes in the Oregon Territory from Lat. 42° to Lat. 54°, derived from the Trading Lists of the Hudson's Bay Company and from best obtainable information.

## Fort Vancouver—1845.

Names of Tribes.	Where Situated.	Male	F'm'le	Slaves	Total
INACOTTS, NEWETTE and 27 other tribes speaking partially the Quocott language	From Lat. 54° to Lat. 50°, including Queen Charlotte's Ids., N. end of Vancouver Id., Milbank' Sd. and Id., and the main shore On Queen Charlotte's Island, not included in the above.	19020	20215	1570	40805
MASSETTES and 13 tribes not included with the above, and speaking different languages.		3232	3381	None	6613
NASS Indians, 4 tribes, speaking the same language.	Nass River, on main land..	857	746	12	1615
CHYMSEGANs, 10 tribes, all of whom speak the same language, with a different idiom.	Chatham Sd., Portland Canal, Port Epington and other neighboring islands.	1202	1225	68	2495
SKEENA Indians, 2 tribes...	At mouth of Skeena River..	195	120	7	322
SABOSSAS Indians, 5 tribes—	Gardener's Canal, etc.....	717	601	111	1429
MILBANK Sd., 9 tribes....	Milbank Sd. and vicinity...	784	797	47	1628
CLALLAMS, CANOITETINES, 24 tribes, speaking Clallam and Canoitelines language.....	Lat. 50° along coast to Whidby's Ids. in Lat. 48° Pt. of Vancouver's Island and mouth of Fraser Rv..	3176	3383	2868	9427
NEW CALEDONIA, 8 tribes....	About forts so designated...	1265	1150	210	2625
LANETCH INDIANS, 3 tribes....	De Fuca St., Vancouver Ids..	194	152	None	445
Children under 12 years, 99					
HALLAMS, 11 tribes.....	De Fuca St. and Vancouver.	517	461	40	1485
Children under 12 yrs., 476					
SINABOIMISH, 1 tribe.....	Do.	208	118	13	569
Children under 12 yrs., 230					
SKATCAT, 1 tribe.....	Do.	173	161	18	543
Children under 12 yrs. 191					
CONVITHIN, 7 tribes.....	Do.	542	636	None	1763
Children under 12 yrs. 585					
Do., tribes not as yet ascertained, say.....					300
LAKE INDIANS, 1 tribe.....	Do.	39	39	None	90
Children under 12 yrs. 12					
CAPE FLATTERY and Gulf of Georgia Indians.....	About.....				1250
(Exact Nos. not ascertained)					
NESQUALLY, 13 tribes.....	Nesqually River and P. S...	1835	1997	182	4014
TWO TRIBES.....	On Cowlitz River (about)....				500
CHINOOKS, CLATSOPS, etc....	Near mouth of Columbia....				429
KLICKITATS, several tribes...	Near Ft. Vancouver.....				500
KALAPOOIAS.....	Willamette Valley.....				300
CLACKAMAS.....	Willamette Valley.....				200
CHINOOKS, KALAPOOIAS, etc. 4 tribes.....	Along Columbia.....				800
KILAMOOKS, 3 tribes.....	On sea coast bet. mouth of Columbia and Umpqua...				1500
CLAMETS, several tribes.....	Rogue River, etc.....				800
WALLA WALLA, Nez Perces, Quakers, and several tribes near R. Nilo.	On Snake River to near Rocky Mountains.....				3000
COLVILLE and SPOKANE....	Near Ft. Colville.....				450
OKANOGAN, several tribes...	On Okanogan and Piscoons Rivers.....				300
KALLISPELMS, Several tribes.....	On the Flathead On Clarke's River.....				300
KOOTENOIS, several tribes...	McGil's R., Flat Bow Lake..				450
Total population.....		33956	35182	5146	86947

## RECAPITULATION

Males.....	33,956
Females.....	35,182
Children.....	1,584
Slaves.....	5,146

Total.....	75,868	of whom an accurate census has been made.
	11,079	Estimate of Tribes of whom no census has been taken.

Grand total.....	86,947	Indian population from Latitude 42° to Latitude 54° N.
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Barque "Cowlitz," on the Coast.....	23 men.
Barque "Vancouver," on the Coast.....	23 men.
Steamer "Beaver," on the Coast.....	23 men.
Schooner "Cadboro," on the Coast.....	12 men.
Unattached.....	19 men.
Officers.....	59 men.

Total men employed.....	643 men.
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## RECAPITULATION.

Number of establishments.....	23
Number of Vessels.....	4
Number of Men.....	643
Number of Acres of Land in cultivation.....	3005
Number of Horses.....	1716
Number of Cattle.....	4430
Number of Hogs.....	1916
Number of Sheep.....	8846

M. VAVASOUR,  
Lieut. Royal Engr.

H. J. WARRE,  
Lt. and Ad. C.

## WARRE AND VAVASOUR'S REPORT OF OCTOBER 26, 1845.

## ENCLOSURE 4.

(Maps and Plans Accompanying Warre and Vavasour's  
Report.)

Sketch of Commission Harbour, south end of Vancouver's Island, Straits of de Fuca, showing position of Fort Victoria and Soundings, Lat. 48° 26' N. Long. 123° 9' W. Highwater full and change 3 P. M. Rise 8 ft. Tides very irregular. The soundings are all for low water Spring Tides. Shoal Pt. bears N. N. E. from Rocky Pt.

Plan of Fort Victoria, Vancouver's Island, Sketch of Nesqually and Adjacent Plains on Puget's Sd., Plan of Fort Vancouver on Columbia River. Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Adjacent Plains, which are partly flooded in the spring. [traces the river for about 4 mi., sets the fort in its relative place, etc., neat map]. Sketch of the Route (in red) from Red River to the Pacific Ocean.

[2, 4, and 5, bear Vavasour's name, the others bear no indication of authorship.]

## [No. II.]

Fort Vancouver, December 8, 1845.

The Right Honorable The Secretary of State for the Colonies.

My Lord: We have had the favor of forwarding a report of our proceedings to the 12th Novr. by the Honble. H. B. Co.'s ship "Cowlitz," and beg to apprise your Lordship of the opening of the House of Representatives for the Oregon Territory, and herewith to forward a copy of the Governor's speech on that occasion.

Mr. Abernethy, the Governor, is an American and a large majority of the members, thirteen in number, are also citizens of the United States.

We would beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the second paragraph in the speech, relative to the organization of an efficient militia.

In the preamble of the Organic Laws of Oregon, the first article recommended by the Legislative committee is worded as follows, viz: "We, the people of Oregon Territory, for purposes of mutual protection and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following Laws and Regulations, *until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us.*"

The anxiety shown by Mr. Abernethy for an effective militia, which would be composed almost entirely of American citizens, has arisen chiefly from the interest lately taken by England in the affairs of the country. The arrival, in the first instance, of H. M. Ship America, Captain the Honble. C. Gordon, who forwarded an extract from a dispatch for publication in the settlement, to the purport, that England was determined to protect her subjects and their interests in the Territory. Second by the entrance into the Columbia River of H. M. Ship Modeste, Captain Baillie, with the intention of remaining the winter.

This militia will naturally support the claims of the government of the United States should hostilities actually occur between that country and England. There are about 50 men



already organized as a volunteer corps of cavalry, well mounted, and although undisciplined, are well adapted for the defense of this impracticable country, from their former hardy, active life.

Should the number be increased during the present session, and should England and the United States come into collision, the British subjects in this country will be completely at the mercy of the citizens of the United States.

The stations of the H. B. Company are scattered over so great an extent of country it would be impossible to collect their men in time to meet an attack; and altho there are nominally 200 men employed about this fort, not half that number could be depended upon to meet an aggression.

Some few might be recruited among the half breeds, subjects of Great Britain, in the valley of the Willamette. But, we fear, that if left to their own resources the Hudson's Bay Company will be obliged to employ the Indian tribes, from whom we cannot expect a very manageable or available force.

Her Majesty's Ship "Modeste" is at present lying off this place and we believe it is the intention of Capt. Baillie to remain during the winter. This determination will encourage the British subjects to support their own rights, will prevent the citizens of the United States taking the law into their own hands, and give protection to the property of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The paragraph in the Governor's Message regarding equalizing the weights and measures has arisen from the Hudson's Bay Company using the Imperial measure and the Americans the old Winchester standard.

(Signed by both officers.)

We beg to add a copy of the Govrs. Speech in August last, at the opening of the House after the amended laws were adopted.\*

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\*Speeches not copied—they can be found printed in "Oregon Archives."

## [No. 12.]

WARRE AND VAVASOUR REPORT, JUNE 16, 1846.

The Right Honble. The Secretary of State for the Colonies.

My Lord: In obedience to the orders contained in the accompanying memoranda, we had the honor to report ourselves to Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and embarked at La Chine on the 5th of May, in boats made of birch bark, the usual conveyance of the agents of the Company.

[Omit rest of 1st p., 2d p., 3d p., 4th p., 5th p., 6th p., 7th p., 8th p., to 3d line from the close.]

On the 25th July we entered the Rocky Mountains, crossed the Bow River in canoes made of skins (carried with us for the purpose) and commenced the passage of the mountains.

Our daily journeys were now necessarily very short, and much impeded by the dampness of the forests, the height and ruggedness of the mountain passes.

We crossed, by means of the skin canoes, the headwaters of the McGillivray's River, on the 28th July, crossed with considerable difficulty another range of mountains, and encamped on the 31st on the Lake from whence flow the waters of the Columbia.

Without attempting to describe the numerous defiles through which we passed, or the difficulty of forcing a passage through the burnt forests, and over the highlands, we may venture to assert, that Sir George Simpson's idea of transporting troops, even supposing them to be at Red River, with men, provisions, stores, etc., through such an extent of uncultivated country, and over such impracticable mountains would appear to us quite impossible.

We descended the right bank of McGillivray's River, crossed a range of Mountains thickly covered with pine and cedar trees, to the Flatbow Lake, on the Flathead River, which we crossed and descended on the left bank to Fort Colville on the Columbia, where we arrived on the 16th August, having lost

34 horses from lameness and fatigue out of 60 with which we left Edmonton, distance about 700 miles.

The country on the west of the Rocky Mountains is very much broken and covered with dense forests of pine and cedar growing in many instances to an immense size.

The rivers or mountain torrents are very numerous and extremely rapid. They are scarcely navigable for the small Indian canoes, are subject to the sudden rising of the water and difficult to ford—thereby causing great delay in the construction of canoes, rafts, etc.

The descent of the Columbia and our proceedings to the month of November are detailed in the letter addressed to your Lordship, and forwarded by the H. B. Co. ship "Cowlitz" from Fort Vancouver Nov. 1st, 1845 (a copy of which is herewith enclosed)..

Since November the weather has been extremely unfavorable. The rain, which usually commences about that period, has continued, almost without intermission, causing much sickness and rendering the climate, followed as it is by the intense heat of the summer, extremely unhealthy.

The annual express via the northern water communication, which left Red River on the 20th June, arrived at Fort Vancouver on the 9th November. We have consequently gained upwards of two months by proceeding overland to the Columbia.

The American immigrants continued to arrive in the country till late in December. Their condition was most miserable. The lateness of the season and humidity of the climate having occasioned much sickness and suffering.

They have on nearly every occasion conducted themselves peaceably, but we attribute this conduct to the presence in the river of Her Majesty's ship "Modeste."

They have evidently been misinformed as to the extent, soil and climate of the cultivable portion of the Oregon Territory. Should Great Britain maintain her right to the Territory, we are of opinion that large numbers of the present settlers will

migrate to California, toward which country the Government of the United States are offering every encouragement for emigration, and to which a large number of emigrants from the western states are preparing to proceed early in 1846.

We have, accidentally, had an opportunity of perusing the message of the late President (Mr. Tyler) dated Decr. 3d, 1844, with the accompanying reports, etc.

On referring to that of the then secretary of war, we find the following important passage, preceding [sic] the recommendation of forming a new territory, or state, on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains as follows:

"In consequence of the conflicting claims of a foreign nation to the Territory west of the Rocky Mountains, Congress has exhibited a reluctance to organize it under a territorial government. Entertaining myself no doubt of the propriety and expediency of the measure, justifiable by the legitimacy of our claim, I shall say no more on the subject."

The Secretary of War then proceeds to recommend the formation of a Territory on the eastern side of the mountains, extending from the Kansas River to the Rocky Mountains, along the Wind River chain of mountains south to the headwaters of the Arkansas River and back to the mouth of the Kansas, taking in the headwaters of the Mocho and Osage Rivers. He proceeds by saying:

"This territory will include the lines of communication to California to Mexico and Santa Fe, and to Oregon, by a more southern route recently discovered by Lieut. Fremont 150 miles south of the present pass.

The establishment of military posts in this territory would enable the American government to throw troops into Oregon, and would no longer leave our title a barren and untenable claim. Its possession and occupancy would thence forward not depend on the naval superiority in the Pacific Ocean."

An appropriation of \$1,000,000 for erecting military posts from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains is also recommended by the Secretary at War, to carry out the above plan



of ensuring a foundation on the eastern side of the mountains previous to taking forcible possession of the west or Oregon Territory.

In the year 1840 Lieut. Warre traversed the greater part of this section of the country, recommended as a new territory.

It was found, except in the immediate vicinity of the river banks, which are liable to constant inundations, to be quite unsuited for cultivation. Water and timber are very scarce, having traveled for days in succession without seeing a tree of any kind and finding only stagnant water strongly impregnated with salt.

The prairies are very beautiful and might be made available as sheep pasturage, but the Pawnee and Comanche Indians are constantly at war with the surrounding tribes, and levy their contributions from all white traders not strong enough to resist their importunities.

On the Mocho and Osage Rivers the land is very fine and many families were settled in their vicinity, but the country is so unhealthy, from fever and ague that many of the recently arrived immigrants in Oregon have left their farms [there] on this account.

The object of the Government of the United States in forming this territory is evident in consequence of its military advantages. We have before shown that their troops have with little difficulty been conducted to the Rocky Mountains, the passage of which at the emigrants pass offers little or no obstruction—with how much greater facility will they be able to traverse the prairies if stations are erected, and stores, provisions, etc., supplied at intermediate points on the route. .

We regret that our time has been so limited as to prevent our examining the route on the west side of the Rocky Mountains. The country, we are informed, varies little in appearance from the Columbia to the Green River, presenting an extent of sandy hills and mountains, with very little vegetation, and a great scarceness in many parts of wood and water.

We entertain no doubt as to the practicability of cutting off,

or otherwise obstructing the passage of any body of troops from the United States, in their descent of the south branch of the Columbia, from the ruggedness of the present route and the obligation they are under of keeping to the beaten track to obtain water and wood, and from the fact that troops brought 2000 or 3000 miles across any country would be harassed by their long march, and rendered unfit for active service on their first arrival in the country.

It is therefore both evident and expedient, should it be the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take military possession of the Oregon Territory, that the British troops should be in occupation of certain positions, previous to the arrival of any force from the United States.

We beg, therefore, to request your Lordship's attention to those points, the prior occupation of which would enable a comparatively small force to resist any number of regular troops likely, from the known scantiness of the available force in the United States, to be dispatched to this country, viz.:

1. The first and principal points are Cape Disappointment on the north and Point Adams on the south shore, commanding the entrance into the Columbia River.

2. Puget Sound is easy of access for ships of any tonnage at every season of the year, and from Nesqually, near the head of the Inlet, troops can be forwarded during the summer months (say from July to October) with great facility, to any part of the Territory.

3. Fort Vancouver is a central position and would afford temporary accommodation for troops, but the present site of the fort is ill chosen for defense, nor does it command any particular or important point.

4. The falls of the River Willamette, where the village called "Oregon City" is now commenced, is an important point and is well adapted for defense, from the steepness and impracticability of the immediately surrounding country.

A small force stationed at this point would overawe the present American population and obtain any quantity of cattle, etc., to supply the troops in other parts of the country.

5. It would be advantageous that an advanced post were established at some point on the Columbia River, say the "Cascades" or the "Dalles." But there is no accommodation for troops, and building materials are very scarce; nor will these points be of the same consequence, except as a guard against surprise, should the line of road over the Cascade range of mountains, which is already projected, be found available. In which case no troops or emigrants will take the longer and more tedious route of the Columbia River.

With the above points occupied the approaches to the only inhabitable part of the country are completely obstructed—the barrenness of the desert on one side, and the mountains and denseness of the forests on the other, render it impenetrable except by the known routes. Nor are there any available harbors on the coast where troops could be landed, except in Puget's Sound, Chehalis Harbor for vessels of very small tonnage, and the Columbia River.

#### I.—THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

The "Points" on either bank, and for some miles up the Columbia River (except Point Adams) although apparently on superficial observation admirably adapted for positions of defense, are very objectionable on account of the height and steepness of the ground, preventing a battery being placed near the water level, where it would be most effective, and rendering extensive outworks necessary to prevent the position being flanked or commanded by the ground in the rear, or on either side.

These objections are particularly objectionable to Chinook Point, to the projecting point opposite Pillar Rock commanding the Tongue channel, heading to the north shore from Tongue Point, and to many positions otherwise adapted for obstructing the navigation of the river.

In the present state of the country the Columbia River is the only line of communication leading directly from the coast to the interior.

The Columbia River falls into the Pacific Ocean in Lat. — Long. —, forming a barred harbor for shipping, not drawing over 18 feet water. The sea is constantly breaking over this bar, and perpetually over the sands to the north and south of the entrance to the river, rendering it dangerous for ships at all seasons of the year.

The distance from Point Adams on the south and Cape Disappointment on the north shore is about 5 miles, intersected by sand banks, having two islands, the courses of which are liable to constant changes in consequence of the shifting sands.

We were enabled to mark the course of the north channel during our stay at Cape Disappointment by the departure of two vessels, an American merchant ship and a trader belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, having taken nearly a month descending the river in consequence of the prevalence of the southwesterly winds during the winter, they were detained 47 days in Baker's Bay, showing the uncertainty of the river navigation and the disadvantages attendant on it as a place of debarkation.

Cape Disappointment, at the northern entrance, overlooking the channel in most frequent use by vessels trading to the river, projects as a peninsula from the main shore, to which it is connected by a narrow neck of land, not over 400 yds. in width, and is not commanded by any ground in the rear, but the narrow ridge of high ground facing the entrance is too steep, and the headland too small for a work of any magnitude, except at an enormous and useless expense.

The area of the Cape contains 37 acres, rising toward the river like a wedge, rendering the greater portion steep and inaccessible. The area of the neck contains about 194 acres, of which about 60 are swamp. The soil is rich and deep in the valleys. The substrata is a kind of rocky, brittle sandstone. The timber is magnificent and covers the whole Cape, and is the only material found in the neighborhood calculated for building purposes. There is one small stream of spring water on the Cape, and two on the connecting neck of land, but they are not of very good quality.



Cape Disappointment is inaccessible toward the sea in consequence of the sands, which form an impassable line of breakers along the coast. It is also cut off from the mainland by high, rocky headlands connected by a deep and marshy impassable swamp. There is no lime stone in this part of the country, but sufficient shells have been collected for building chimneys, etc., and coral, making very fair lime, has been frequently imported from the Sandwich Islands.

The anchorage in Baker's Bay is completely under the command of the north end of the Cape. The tide usually rises 8 to 10 feet. The currents are very strong and sweep across the sands, increasing the dangers of the navigation.

During the year 1845 a new spit has formed, nearly across the north channel, on which there is very little water, and changing the former bearings for entering the river. We beg to refer your Lordship to the engineering report of Lieut. Vavasour and to the accompanying sketch, for a more minute description of this headland, with projects for its defense, etc.

The House of Representatives in the United States brought forward a bill on the 5th Feb., 1845, for the organization of Oregon as a territory attached to the States.\*

They then recommended the immediate construction of fortifications at the mouth of the Columbia River, on Cape Disappointment, and we understood from several respectable emigrants that Lieut. Fremont, U. S. Topographical Engineers, had accompanied the present emigration with the intention of taking possession of the headland on behalf of the United States Government.† The importance they attach to this point has induced us to urge the Hudson's Bay Company, through Mr. Ogden, to take immediate possession of so important a position, in order to prevent the American Government obtaining it, secretly from the present claimants, and occupy it without the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government.

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\*This bill passed the House of Representatives on February 3d, 1845, by a vote of 140 to 59.

†The editor knows of nothing in the published proceedings of Congress or the War Department to confirm these statements.

Mr. Ogden was at first inclined to meet our views on this subject, but his instructions from Sir George Simpson not being sufficiently explicit, we are under the necessity of laying before your Lordship the accompanying correspondence with Mr. Ogden relative to the purchase of Cape Disappointment from the American citizens, which was not completed till near the end of February, 1846, and detained us till that period before we could complete the survey of the Cape or make any arrangements for fulfilling this important part of our mission.

Your Lordship will observe that Mr. Ogden has taken the entire responsibility of the purchase upon himself, but he was induced to effect this in consequence of the importance we attached to gaining peaceable possession of the Cape. The anticipated arrival of Lt. Fremont and the resolutions of the House of Representatives induced us to form this opinion and we trust your Lordship will approve of the expense incurred to gain this object.

Point Adams on the south shore, commanding the south channel, is low sandy ground, densely covered with fir and pine timber. The channel has been seldom made use of. The chief obstacles to its navigation appear to be the strength of the current and the narrowness of the passage

In the rear of Point Adams are situated the "Clatsop Plains," on which about 20 families, Canadians and Americans, are settled. They grow wheat and potatoes, and have sufficient number of horses, cattle, pigs, etc., to supply troops until provisions can be obtained from the settlements above.

Her Majesty's ship "Modeste" entered the river on the 2nd of November, and ascended the Columbia to Fort Vancouver; she anchored immediately opposite the fort, on the 29th Novr., having taken nearly a month in the ascent, owing to detention from wind, etc.

The House of Representatives elected by the settlers in Oregon, assembled at Oregon City on the 1st December.

We had the honor of forwarding a copy of the Governor's message, or speech, on the occasion by the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany's ship "Vancouver," addressed to your Lordship, with an enclosure to His Excellency the Governor General in Canada, considering that the delay in forwarding our dispatches through England to Canada in order that they might be returned to England would warrant our deviating from His Lordship's instructions on this occasion.

The House of Representatives remained in session about a fortnight, many laws, arbitrary in the present state of the country, were proposed, but the majority of the members being well and peaceably inclined, they were not adopted.

To show the feeling of the American population against the British subjects, it may be well to inform your Lordship of two measures, which were proposed as laws, but rejected.

1st. For the prevention of the half breed population from holding land or property in the country under the Organic laws, which would be equivalent to a separation between the two parties. The half breeds, children of the gentlemen and servants of the Company and of the Red River settlers, forming the principal and most numerous portion of Her Majesty's subjects in this country.

2d. For the taxation of the Sandwich Islanders, employed almost exclusively as servants and laborers, by the H. B. Company, and intended merely to annoy and embarrass the gentlemen in charge of the said company.

The only laws of importance, except of local interest, that were passed during the session, were for the formation of two lines of communication across the Cascade range of mountains, south of the Columbia, which if practicable will shorten the distance from the emigrants pass in the Rocky Mountains to the Valley of the Willamette, and avoid the necessity of descending the Columbia.

We have conversed with the contractor of one of these routes by the Sandiham [Santiam] River, who is sanguine as to the result. We should have visited this route had it been practicable at this season, but the snow in the mountains obstructed all communication. From the numerous difficulties experienced

by Lieut. Fremont and Dr. White (Indian agent for the U. States), who endeavored to penetrate by this route, across the Cascade Mountains, we cannot believe that wagons, etc., can ever be brought across. Lieut. Fremont succeeded in forcing a passage, with the loss of all his horses, and great suffering to himself and men.\* Dr. White returned to the settlement and declared it quite impracticable.

Dr. White returned to the United States in August last attended by only three or four men. We regret to hear that he encountered a war party of Sioux Indians, after he had made the passage of the Rocky Mountains, who attacked and it is reported murdered the whole party.†

The rain continued with but little interruption, notwithstanding which we visited the inner channel of the Willamette River, and the settlements situated on the left banks. We found this channel obstructed by numerous "snags" or fallen trees.

Having landed at the settlement on Sauvis or Multnomah Island, which we found much flooded by the high water, we crossed the river to a small settlement near its mouth, called "Skapoose," where half a dozen American and Canadian families are located on the low ground between the river and a range of lofty hills, running parallel to the left bank.

The ground is good, but liable to be completely inundated during the seasons of high water.

From thence we crossed the hills to a large settlement on a fine rich, open prairie country called the "Tuality Plains," where about 150 Canadians, half breed, and American families are settled.

The route across the Willamette Hills was about impassable on account of the heavy rains. The creeks and swamps were flooded and very difficult to traverse. In the driest season this road is only passable for cattle and horses, and is the track used by the Indian tribes. The country is densely covered with pine and cedar.

\*This is a misconception as to Fremont's 1843-4 route.

†But Dr. White, rather characteristically, lived "to tell the tale!"



From the Plains a wagon road has been commenced to Skapoose, which may be available during the summer months, but the ground must require great care in the construction, and at an immense expense, in order to be practicable in the winter.

The Tuality Plains are very beautiful, the ground rich and undulating, intersected by hills of fir and oak timber. The farms are well stocked with horses and cattle, in addition to which, hundreds of the latter are running wild throughout the country, having originally belonged to the H. B. Company.\*

In order to reach Oregon City on the falls of the Willamette we proceeded through a thickly wooded country, with occasional patches of open prairie, watered by numerous streams and occupied by Canadians and American families. This road to the falls has been made with much care, but the rivers having overflowed [sic] their banks and carried away the logs which had been placed across as a substitute for bridges, we had much difficulty in effecting our passage, swimming our horses and wading through numerous swamps and marshes.

From the falls we again ascended to the settlements higher up the Willamette River, the current in which was very strong. The banks are high and densely covered with timber. The roads to the Roman Catholic Mission, etc., were quite as impassable at this season as from the Tuality Plains.

The difference in the strength of the current in the river from that when we formerly (in September) visited this part of the country, is very remarkable and would scarcely be credited by any person unacquainted with the extraordinary rise of rivers in this country.

The village at the falls has much improved in appearance. Many buildings have been erected and the trees, etc., cleared from the adjacent heights.

Since the summer a village called Portland has been commenced between the falls and Linnton, to which an American merchant ship ascended and discharged her cargo, in September.

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\*Many were brought up from California in 1837. See Schafer's History of the Pacific Northwest, 160-163.

The situation of Portland is superior to that of Linnton, and the back country of easier access.

There are several settlements on the banks of the river, below the falls. But the water, covering the low lands during the freshets render them valueless for cultivation, and but few situations can be found adapted for building upon.

The American immigrants have as yet confined themselves principally to the valley of the Willamette, which has by far the richest soil, and finest land, in the whole territory. The cultivable part of it, however, cannot be said to extend more than 60 or 80 miles in length, and 15 or 20 miles in breadth. Nearly all the prairie land is now taken up, and the immigrants are too indolent to clear the woods. They are consequently forming new settlements on the banks of the Columbia, at the mouth of the same river, and on the beautiful but not very rich plains to the north, in the neighborhood of Nisqually and Puget's Sound.

During the month of February we again descended the Columbia, attentively examined the headlands and important positions on either shore, and completed our survey of Cape Disappointment and beg to submit the following remarks.

Point George, on which Fort George (formerly Astoria) is situated, is about 12 miles from the mouth of the river; the ground rises gradually to the rear, covered with pine trees. The Hudson's Bay Company have a small establishment on the end of the point, undefended even by pickets. This post (which they hold by permission of the government of the United States, having been given up at the close of the last war) is to be abandoned, and the depot or trading post to be established on Cape Disappointment.

About three miles above Fort George is Tongue Point, a high, steep peninsula, covered with timber, containing about 70 acres, connected with the main shore by a narrow neck, about 80 yards in width. This point completely commands the ship channel, and is not itself commanded by the ground in its rear (vide sketches, etc.).

Chinook Point, at the head of Baker's Bay, nearly opposite Point George, is a long, level, swampy beach, commanded by the hills in the rear which are covered except on the extreme point with dense forests of pine.

Above Chinook Point, the north shore presents a succession of steep, inaccessible, rocky hills, descending to the water's edge, covered with timber, offering points where a temporary work might be erected to obstruct the navigation but from the commanding nature of the ground rendering the construction of one of a more permanent nature a large and unnecessary expense.

From above Tongue Point the banks of the river recede, forming large shallow bays, intersected by numerous small islands and sandbanks, through which the ship channel has a tortuous course tending towards the north shore, from thence to Vancouver, the head of the ship navigation, the breadth of the river seldom exceeds two miles, and the channel varies according to the sand, from shore to shore.

Much difficulty is experienced on the Lower Columbia in finding "encampments" from the nature of the river banks, which in some places are low, swampy, and covered with "jungle," and at others high, rocky, and too steep to be easily ascended.

The tide also covers the low lands for 30 miles from the mouth of the river. The wet season continued with little interruption till the 17th March.

We have received no intelligence from England since the 20th May (1845), and in consequence of the impossibility of traversing the Rocky Mountains during the melting of the snows we cannot await the anticipated arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company's ship, supposed to have left for this country last September.

We left Fort Vancouver in company with the annual express forwarded to the Red River Settlement by the northern water communication on the 25th March. Having made the usual "portages" at the "Cascades," "Dalles" and Chutes, we reached

Fort Nez Percés on the Walla Walla River on the 3d April, from whence we proceeded on horseback, calling at the Methodist [American Board] Missions on the Walla Walla and Spokane Rivers, to Fort Colville over a barren, rocky, sandy desert. This country for a distance of 200 miles is completely denuded of timber and with the exception of the Snake (or south branch of the Columbia River, about 300 yards wide, which we crossed in the Indian canoes, swimming our horses, the Spokane River traversed by the same means, and two other small streams), is very scantily supplied with water. From the Spokane River to Fort Colville (about 80 miles) the country is well timbered with pine and larch, but the soil is poor and sandy.

The boats left Fort Nez Percés on the 3d April, ascended the Columbia, but did not arrive at Fort Colville till the 22d, when we again embarked and reached "The Boat Encampment" on the 2d May.

The upper Columbia River, with the exception of two narrow lakes about 30 and 25 miles in length, is extremely rapid, and in many places dangerous even for boat navigation. The banks are very precipitous and densely covered with small pine timber, causing much difficulty in hauling the boats and many impediments in making "portages" at the different rapids.

From the Boat Encampment we proceeded on snow shoes across the Rocky Mountains by the usual "portage" route, ascending the Canoe River, through which we had constantly to wade, for three days, crossed the height of land from whence the Athabasca River takes its rise and descended the latter river a distance of 110 miles to Jasper House, a small post of the Hudson's Bay Company, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, where we obtained large and well constructed boats in which we descended the same river upward of 200 miles to Fort Assiniboine, formerly a post of some importance to the H. B. Company, but of late years abandoned except as a depot of provisions, for the canoes and boats, proceeding to and from the Columbia and the Athabasca and Mackenzie River stations further to the north.



The Athabasca River, although very strong at seasons of high water, is free from dangerous rapids, between the points above mentioned, nor is it necessary at any season to make a "portage."

From the Athabasca River we proceeded, on horseback, a distance of about 100 miles to Edmonton on the Saskatchewan River, through a flat and nearly continual swampy country, difficult to traverse at all seasons, and almost impassable during the early spring and autumn.

There is one large (the Pamino) and two smaller rivers to cross, which we effected in canoes, swimming our horses.

We arrived at Fort Edmonton, already described, on the 17th May, and embarked on the 18th in large and well built boats, but too heavy to be serviceable were it necessary to make portages, from which the Saskatchewan River, although occasionally interrupted by sand banks, is free.

Allowing the boat to drift with the current during the night, we continued without interruption, descending the same river to Fort Carlton, from whence we proceeded on horseback a distance of about 460 miles to the Red River Settlement, by nearly the same route we followed last year, and arrived at Fort Garry, the principal trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the 7th June.

Although the more northern route to the Columbia River is in every way preferable to that by which we entered the Oregon Territory last year, the difficulties of conveying men, provisions, stores, etc., should it ever be deemed advisable to send troops overland to that country, are also very great. The ascent of the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca Rivers, which we descended with great facility, causes much delay and loss of time. The portage between the two rivers, although not impracticable, would require much improvement, the swamps and deep muddy gullies, filled up with "fascenes" to form a roadway, the swollen streams bridged, on account of the depth and tenacity of their muddy beds and banks, and boats or rafts constructed at the "Pamino" River.

The snow covered the whole country to the depth of several feet, at the season we crossed the Rocky Mountains, and provisions were carried on men's shoulders the greater part of the before mentioned distance of 110 miles, but later in the year the Hudson's Bay Company are annually in the habit of forwarding furs, stores, etc., on horseback through the same pass, and without any serious impediment, except those arising from the denseness of the forests on either side, the occasional swamps, which could be made practicable by "fascines," and the necessity of constantly fording the headwaters of the Canoe and Athabasca Rivers.

We beg to forward herewith a more detailed census of the Indian population, from which our condensed report (forwarded in Nov. last) was taken.

The Indians of the Northwest Coast appear to be unusually numerous, but we have been repeatedly assured that their numbers are not exaggerated. Around the different posts, visited by us, our own observations led us to believe that the accompanying lists are accurate. We have endeavored, when it was not possible to obtain the exact statement of their numbers, to make our estimate rather under the actual numerical strength. We beg also to forward a condensed report of the different establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, visited by us during our journey to and during our residence in the Oregon Territory, showing their capabilities of defense, situation, description of buildings, etc.

In conclusion, we must beg to be allowed to observe, with an unbiased opinion, that whatever may have been the orders, or the motives of the gentlemen in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts on the west of the Rocky Mountains their policy has tended to the introduction of the American settlers into the country.

We are convinced that without their assistance not 30 American families would now have been in the settlement.

The first immigrations, in 1841 or 1842, arrived in so miserable a condition that had it not been for the trading posts of

the Hudson's Bay Company they must have starved, or been cut off by the Indians.

Through motives of humanity, we are willing to believe, and from the anticipations of obtaining their exports of wheat and flour to the Russian settlements and to the Sandwich Islands, at a cheaper rate,\* the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company gave every encouragement to their settlement, and goods were forwarded to the Willamette Falls, and retailed to these citizens of the United States at even a more advantageous rate than to the British subjects.

Thus encouraged emigrations left the United States in 1843, 1844 and 1845, and were received in the same cordial manner.

Their numbers have increased so rapidly that the British party are now in the minority, and the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company have been obliged to join the organization, without any reserve except the mere form of the oath of office. Their lands are invaded—themselves insulted—and they now require the protection of the British Government against the very people to the introduction of whom they have been more than accessory.

We leave this settlement (Red River) on the 18th June, and expect to reach Canada (by the same route we ascended last year, from La Sault St. Marie) about the 20th July.

We have the honor to be, My Lord, your Lordship's obedient, humble servants,

HENRY J. WARRE,  
Lt. 14th Regt.

M. VAVASOUR,  
Lieut. Royal Eng.

Employed on the [particular] service.

Sir George Simpson, on his arrival in this settlement, from Canada, on the 7th June, requested us, in the accompanying letter, to give him such information connected with the result

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\*See on this point Simpson Letters, Am. Hist. Rev., XIV, p. 80.

of our late journey to the Oregon Territory as we might feel at liberty to disclose.

As the instructions received from the Governor General, and the Commander of the Forces in Canada, desire the most cordial co-operation with Sir George Simpson, and as we could not fulfill his wishes without multiplying the correspondence, already too voluminous, we laid our report, etc., before him, in order that he might receive the desired information.

H. J. W., Lt. 14th.

Fort Garry, Red River Settlement, June 16th, 1846.

Red River Settlement, Fort Garry, 10th June, 1846.

Copy. Confidential.

Gentlemen: Referring to my letter of the 30th May, 1845, I have to request the favor of your furnishing me with any information you may feel at liberty to give connected with the result of your late mission to the Oregon Territory.

In particular, it is very desirable I should be possessed of your opinion as to the capabilities and value of Cape Disappointment as a military station, and of the site of Fort Victoria and the neighboring harbor as a port of refuge and refreshment for shipping.

I have further to beg the favor of your inspection of the upper and lower forts in this settlement, with a view to ascertaining the protection and extent of accommodations to troops, and that you will furnish me with a report on that subject, stating what alterations and improvements you may consider it advisable to make to place them in a better condition for the reception of troops.

I shall feel obliged by any general suggestions you may feel at liberty or be disposed to offer, in reference to the maintenance and defense of the Company's establishments and interests, in such parts of both sides of the continent as you may have visited.

(Signed) GEORGE SIMPSON.



Red R. S., June 12, 1846.

Copy. Confidential.

My Dear Sir: In answer to the questions in your confidential letter of the 10th June relating to the protection and accommodations for troops in the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company at Red River, we beg to inform you that Fort Garry will afford sufficient accommodations for 300 men including officers, etc., should all the buildings be given up for the accommodation of the troops. We would also recommend that chimneys should be constructed at either end of the buildings now used as storehouses, and that the walls of the same buildings be filled between the frame work in order to render them sufficiently warm for barracks in the winter.

The above are the only alterations we think it advisable to make at the present time, leaving the alteration of the interior arrangement to the officers in command after the arrival of the troops in the country.

(Signed) HENRY J. WARRE, etc.  
M. VAVASOUR, etc.

[No. 13.]

LIEUT. VAVASOUR'S [ENGINEERING] REPORT.

Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River,  
Oregon Territory, 1st March, 1846.

Sir: In continuation of my report dated Red River Settlement 10 June, 1845, I have the honor to inform you that I left that settlement in company with Lieut. Warre and party of the 16th June. [Omit down to last ¶ on page 7. Matter omitted refers exclusively to the part of the journey east of the mountains, a description of the Columbia River and the trading posts along it, to Fort Vancouver, matter which is sufficiently covered in the general report.]

Before continuing my report, and with reference to the 3d paragraph of your orders, I beg to insert an extract of a let-

ter from Sir George Simpson to Lieut. Warre and myself (Sir George Simpson having remained at Red River), which contains all the information or advice I have received from that gentleman.

"While in the Oregon territory" [as per Sir G. Simpson's letter copied from W. O. records].

By the foregoing extract you will perceive that the points to which Sir George Simpson has drawn my attention are Cape Disappointment and Tongue Point. The former has been purchased by one of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, the latter is in the possession of an American citizen. The banks of the Willamette River, between the Columbia and the Falls, and also for the most part settled by British subjects and American citizens.

Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia River in  $45^{\circ} 36$  min. N. Lat., and  $122^{\circ} 39$  min. W. Long., 100 miles from the Pacific Ocean, at the head of the ship navigation, is the principal post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the west of the Rocky Mountains.

The present fort is placed near the end of a small plain on the bank of the Columbia River, which is nearly inundated by the spring freshets. A ridge of the high land on which the old fort was situated confines this plain on the north, in the rear of the present site, over which it has a command.

This establishment contains several large store houses, made of squared timber, one small stone powder magazine and several framed dwelling houses; these are surrounded by a picket fence 15 feet high and 226 yards by 106 yards. At the N. W. angle there is a bastion block house 20 feet square, the two lower stories are loop-holed, the upper is an octagonal cap containing eight 3 lb. iron guns. The establishment was removed from the rising ground before mentioned in consequence of the inconvenient distance from the river side, for the conveyance of goods and procuring water, the latter defect has been remedied by sinking two wells in the present fort, which are supplied by the river, the water filtering

through the soil, which is composed of gravel and sand a few feet below the surface, these wells rise and fall with the variations of the river. The plain is inundated in the same manner, the water rising through the earth and forming a lake, before the banks are overflowed. .

The simplest method of strengthening this post against sudden attack would be to dig a ditch round it, throwing the earth against the pickets, which should be loop holed and a banquette formed on the interior, erecting another small block house at the S. E. angle,\* to flank the south and east sides, and placing small traverses behind the gates.

But in the event of Vancouver being occupied by troops, I would recommend the position marked on the plan, which is not commanded by any ground in the immediate vicinity, is contiguous to the ship channel, and presents the advantage of never being liable to inundation; it is at present covered with fine pine trees, which could be made available in the construction of barracks, etc., all of which must be built of wood, there being no limestone found on the Columbia nearer than Fort Colville or Vancouver's Island in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. The lime used by the Hudson's Bay Company in building their chimneys being made from coral brought from the Sandwich Islands.

For this position I would recommend a picket enclosure, ditched and flanked by two small block houses, having a battery facing the river, made of logs, in which two eighteen pds. [pounders] might be placed to command the ship channel, the H. B. Co. having two at their establishment, the barracks to be built of logs or squared timber, which can be procured of any dimensions in the immediate vicinity.

The H. B. Co. have a saw and grist mill on a small stream six miles from Vancouver and a large farm attached, with large bands of horses, herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep.

The Columbia River is about one mile wide at Vancouver and runs in a N. W. direction towards the sea; six miles be-

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\*Which was done, to the great annoyance of the American settlers.

low Vancouver the north branch of the Willamette River, from the south, enters the Columbia, and the south branch 12 miles further down, forming a large island which is nearly all inundated at the periods of high water.

The Cowlitz River joins the Columbia from the north, about 35 miles below Vancouver. These are the most important tributaries, but there are innumerable small streams running into it from either side. About 90 miles from Vancouver on the south side of the river is Fort George, formerly called Astoria, which was given up to the American Government at the close of the last war. At this post there are a few old wooden buildings, but not even surrounded by a picket fence. This establishment is about to be abandoned and a new one formed on Cape Disappointment. A range of hills runs on either side of the river following its general course, receding at some places for three and four miles from its immediate banks, at others abutting immediately on them, forming perpendicular scarps, where the hills recede from the river the intervening ground is low and marshy, and covered with water for two months in the year. There is no road from Vancouver to the sea and all communication is carried on by boats and canoes navigating the river.

The most important points on the Columbia River are Cape Disappointment, Point Adams and Tongue Point. Cape Disappointment being the extremity of its north and Point Adams of its south bank. These two points completely command the entrance of the river, which is about five miles wide.

Cape Disappointment is a high, bold headland, consisting of two bluffs, having perpendicular scarps toward the sea, connected by a narrow ridge running nearly N. and S., of about 30 feet in width on the top, the face being nearly perpendicular and about 320 feet in height, sloping more gradually to the rear, where it is connected with the mainland by a neck of 30 yards in width. The sea coast for about half a mile presents a scarp of about the same height as the Cape, but is only a narrow ridge with two spurs running at right



angles toward Baker's Bay. These spurs are also narrow and steep; that to the N. West falling into a large, deep marsh of about half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in width, near the extremity of which there are two headlands jutting into the sea and rising abruptly from it. The Cape and adjacent country is densely covered with pine trees.

Point Adams, on the south shore, is a low, sandy point, densely covered with timber, having some small plains in its rear, on which there are several families settled. .

The entrance to the Columbia River is obstructed by a very dangerous bar, two lines of breakers, called the north and south spits, running respectively from Cape Disappointment to Point Adams, and also a middle sand, between these two points, on either side of which run the north and south channels..

The north and one in general use passes close under the north bluff of the Cape, which completely commands it, and also the anchorage in Baker's Bay. The south channel runs along the Clatsop shore, is straight but narrow, and has seldom been attempted. These channels are constantly changing; the difficulties of the northern have been greatly increased by the formation of a new spit in the channel during the last year, altering all the former bearings and marks for entrance.

Tongue Point on the south shore of the Columbia and 15 miles from its mouth, is a narrow peninsula, half a mile in length, containing about 70 acres of land. The highest point is about 300 feet above the river, from whence it descends, in a succession of steps, towards the mainland, and its extremity; the western side is steep in all and quite perpendicular in many places, on the east side it slopes more gradually, but is very steep, having a small space of open level on the summit, the remainder is covered with magnificent fir trees, having a thick underbrush on the east side. The ship channel at present known passes round this point, whether the river is entered by the north or the south channel, for which

reason the occupation of this point is evidently so advantageous.

For the occupation of Cape Disappointment I would recommend three batteries of heavy guns. One of four guns on the center of the Cape, one of four guns on the north bluff, and a third of two guns on the spur running from the north bluff toward the middle sand, with a two-storied block house placed near a small run of water, with the earth thrown up to form a parapet round it, overlooking the landing place in Baker's Bay. The block house will be made of wood, being the only material on the spot, and which can be procured of any dimensions, many of the trees on the Cape measuring 20 feet in circumference.

On Point Adams I would place a battery of six guns, having its gorge defended by a block house similar to that for Cape Disappointment. These points being covered with immense timber, which would require a length of time to remove, open works could not easily be formed, more particularly at the Cape, from the nature of the ground. From the nature of the coast and the continual line of breakers, boats could not land for several miles north or south of these points, and boats entering the river by the ship channel on a calm day would be exposed from every part of the Cape, and a few men well disposed could prevent their effecting a landing in Baker's Bay, the only available spot for the purpose near the Cape.

The nearest place on the sea coast north of Cape Disappointment for a safe landing in boats is 18 miles distant in Shoalwater Bay, and the nearest harbor in Chehelis Bay, commonly called Gray's Harbor, which will admit vessels of the light draught, having only nine feet of water on the bar, is 40 miles distant.

For the occupation of Tongue Point I would recommend a battery of heavy guns on the west side, overlooking the ship channel, with a block house or defensible barrack near its gorge. Tongue Point might easily be cut off from the main

shore by a ditch across the narrow neck of land connecting it, which is only 80 yards across.\*

There are some other points on the north shore apparently offering good positions, such as Chinook Point and Point Ellis. The whole of the north shore from Cape Disappointment is covered with an impenetrable forest, with the exception of Chinook Point, which is low and sandy, having a high bare hill in its rear, at the foot of which there is a small marsh. Point Ellis is steep and rocky; these points might be made available for temporary purposes, but, with the occupation of Cape Disappointment and Tongue Point would not, I think, be required. The south shore of the Columbia is also high and covered with forest.

The navigation of the Columbia River is obstructed by numerous sand banks, which are constantly shifting, and vessels are often detained a long time in ascending and descending it, as also in Baker's Bay, waiting for a favorable opportunity of crossing the bar. The H. B. Company's barge Vancouver was one month from Vancouver to Baker's Bay, and 45 days laying in the Bay, before an opportunity offered of leaving the river. An American merchant vessel, the Toulon, was also detained for the same period. The two ships cleared the bar in company during my last visit to Cape Disappointment.

The other posts belonging to the H. B. Company which I have visited are the Cowlitz, Nesqually and Puget's Sound, and Fort Victoria on Vancouver's Island, in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Descending the Columbia River for 35 miles (from Fort Vancouver) to the mouth of the Cowlitz, ascending it for 45 miles to the Cowlitz farm, the Cowlitz is very rapid and shallow, but like all the rivers in this country, subject to sudden rises of the water, caused by the melting of the snows or the rains in the mountains, during these floods the river is difficult of ascent, the boats being pulled up by the branches, the banks being too thickly wooded to admit of

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\*The present railroad is laid through such a ditch.

tracking with a line, it, however, is navigable at all seasons for flat bottomed boats, in which the H. B. Company transport the produce of the Cowlitz farm to Fort Vancouver.

The farm establishment is situated on a large plain about 500 yards from the river, and about one mile from the landing place; there is a small settlement of about 19 families, and a Roman Catholic church in the immediate neighborhood. There are large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and bands of horses at this point.

At the Cowlitz we procured horses and rode to Nesqually, a distance of about 60 miles. This route, or portage, as it is usually called, passes through small plains, traversing the intervening points of woods, crossing the Quinze Sous, Vassals, Chute and Nesqually Rivers, all of which are fordable in the summer, but become deep and rapid in the winter and spring.

Nesqually is also an agricultural and sheep farm, the buildings are of wood situated at the end of a large plain, close to a fine stream of fresh water, and about one mile from the shores of Puget's Sound.

This appears the best place for landing troops in the country. The Straits of Juan de Fuca and Puget's Sound being accessible to vessels of any tonnage and at all seasons with safe and commodious harbors. There being large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep at the Nesqually establishment, provisions could easily be procured, and troops forwarded from Puget's Sound to the Columbia by the Portage and Cowlitz River.

Light baggage, etc., can be forwarded from the head of Puget's Sound, making a portage of five miles through a thickly wooded country to the head of the Satchal or Black River, which can be descended in flat bottomed boats or rafts for 25 miles, to the Chehalis River, ascending which for 30 miles, from whence there is a portage of 15 miles, to the Cowlitz Farm. This latter portage can be traveled by carts, the road having been opened by the few settlers on the plains. The Satchal and Chehalis Rivers are rapid and the latter is



obstructed in one or two places by drift wood. From the Cowlitz farm the troops, etc., can descend the river in boats, to the Columbia and proceed to any required position on it, by the same means.

At Nesqually I would recommend a block house or defensible guard house, overlooking the Sound, and commanding the road from the landing place, the banks on the shore being too steep to be easily ascended excepting at this point. Any description of works can be thrown up, (such as a bastioned redoubt) on the large plain near the Sequality stream, with barracks, etc., for the accommodation of the troops.

Fort Victoria is situated on the southern end of Vancouver's Island in the small harbor of Commusan, [?] the entrance to which is rather intricate. The fort is a square enclosure of 100 yards, surrounded by cedar pickets 20 feet in height, having two octagonal bastions, containing each six 6-pd. iron guns, at the N. E. and S. W. angles. The buildings are made of square timber 8 in number forming three sides of an oblong. This fort has lately been established; it is badly situated with regard to water and position, which latter has been chosen for its agricultural advantages only. About three miles distant and nearly connected by a small inlet, is the Squirrel harbor, which is very commodious and accessible at all times, offering a much better position and having also the advantage of a supply of water in the vicinity.

This is the best built of the Company's posts, it requires loop holing, and a platform or gallery, to enable men to fire over the pickets; a ditch might be cut round it, but the rock appears on the surface in many places.

There is plenty of timber of every description on Vancouver's Island, as also limestone, which could be transported to Nesqually or other places in the territory when it may be hereafter deemed necessary to form permanent works, barracks, etc.

Oregon City is situated on the right bank of the Willamette River about 21 miles above its junction with the Columbia,

and immediately below the Falls, which are about 35 feet in height. It contains about 300 inhabitants, two churches of wood, two grist and three saw mills, and about 80 houses, with one exception built of wood. There are two ferries across the river communicating with the Tuality Plains. The country in the immediate vicinity is very high and rocky, forming two scarps one immediately behind the town and the other about 500 yards from the river. These scarps are very high, the first being about 100 feet and the second of still greater elevation; the ground falls away towards the Clackamas River, below the junction of which with the Willamette River there is a small rapid which is difficult to ascend during high water. The ground on the left bank of the river immediately opposite to Oregon City is very much broken, steep and rocky, and both the banks are covered with a thick forest.

The settlement extends about 60 miles up the river on either bank and contains about 5000 inhabitants, composed of Canadians and Americans. Twenty-five miles from Oregon City there is a Roman Catholic mission with several large wooden buildings, two churches, dwelling houses and a nunnery. There is an American Methodist Mission 25 miles higher up the settlement. At both of these missions ferries are established across the river.

At Oregon City I would recommend three block houses, one at the upper end of the town, near the Falls, one near the lower end overlooking the road to Champooick, and the upper settlements, to be placed on the first scarp, and a third on the higher scarp behind, to prevent its being occupied and a command obtained over the ground below. The mills of Dr. McLoughlin might be loop holed and made defensible, being built of square timber.

I have recommended block houses for the defense of those points of the country at which I think defensive works are required, as the country is nearly all covered with dense forests at these points; they are easy of construction and the materials are on the spot.

All defensive works must be thrown up by the troops, there being no available labor in the country. Everything there has a nominal value and there is no circulating medium, wheat is being taken as the standard. For these reasons I have not been able to form any estimates of expense.

As all subjects of general information are embodied in the joint report of Lieut. Warre and myself addressed to his Lordship the Secretary to the Colonies, I have not referred to them further than as they are connected with the descriptions of the establishments of the H. B. Company in the country.

(Signed) M. VAVASOUR,  
Lt. Royal Engr.

To Colr. Holloway, Comr. Royal Engineers, Canada.

[No. 14.]

Hudson's Bay House, Decr. 16, 1846.

[To Mr. Addington]—Sir: As the expedition of Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour, and the journeys of Sir George Simpson to Washington were undertaken at the instance of the Earl of Aberdeen, I have forwarded the acct. of the expenses thereby incurred to the Foreign Office, and request that you will have the goodness to cause it to be sent to whatever department of the government it ought to be directed.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedt. servant,

A. BARCLAY.

Specimen items in the general account of Warre and Vavasour at Fort Vancouver, showing the prices current on the Columbia in the years 1845 to 1846.

To 2 pr. plain blankets.....	3.66	7.32
29 lbs. fresh beef.....	.08	2.32
7 lbs. butter.....	.18	1.26
1 lb. Hyson Tea.....		1.12
10 lbs. loaf sugar.....	.18	1.80
15 loaves bread.....	.12½	1.87
3 candles.....	.20	1.60
1½ graniteware cups and saucers.....		2.60
15 lbs. salt pork.....	.10	1.50
15 lbs. mutton.....	.06	1.90
4 lbs. gunpowder.....	.30	1.20
3½ lbs. bar lead.....	.10	1.35
6 lbs. twist tobacco.....	.40	2.40
25 lbs. fresh pork.....	.10	2.50
9 5-8 qt. Brandy.....	2.50	24.09
1 5-8 qt. Port Wine.....		4.88
1 3-8 qt. Madeira.....		4.12
2 foolscap books, 2 quires.....		2.40
1 memorandum, 800.....		.28

NOTE: At Vancouver the American money table is used, the dollar being the unit. East of the mountains from and including Ft. Colville, the British table is used.

#### HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, DR.

To the Hudson's Bay Company for supplies and advances connected with the expedition of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory and returning to Canada, as per detailed accounts, viz:

No. 1. Montreal Dept.—Passage from La Chine to Red River— Express Canoes.....	166	13	4
No. 2. Red River 1845, supplies, journey to Vancouver.....	89	14	5
No. 3. Swan River, supplies, journey to Vancouver.....	12	7	2
No. 4. Saskatchewan, supplies, journey to Vancouver.....	246	0	5
No. 5. Columbia, sundry supplies.....	166	12	0
No. 6. Northern Dept. Conveyance from Ft. Vancouver to Red River	111	0	0
No. 7. Northern Dept. P., passage from Red River to St. St. Marie— Express Canoes.....	110	0	0
No. 8. Red River—Sundry supplies, 1846.....	61	0	0
Total.....	963	7	4

G. SIMPSON.

Certified:

HENRY J. WARRE,  
Lt. 14th Regt.  
M. VAVASOUR,  
Lt. Royal Engr.

\*That is, 963 pounds, 7 shillings, and 4 pence, or about \$5,000.



## SUSPENSE ACCOUNT, DR.

To the following supplies to Lieut. Vavasour, viz.:

1845.					
Aug.	27	To 1 S. fine beaver hat.....	@	\$ 8.88	Warre, do.
		1 frock coat.....		26.40	" "
		1 cloth vest.....		4.32	" "
		1 pr. buckskin trousers.....		9.12	" "
		1 pr. tweed trousers.....		6.48	" "
Aug.	28	4 white cotton shirts.....	\$2.40	9.60	" "
		3 tooth brushes.....	.28	.84	
		1 nail brush.....		.40	
		2 hair brushes.....	.72	1.44	
Sept.	12	1 large razor strop.....		1.68	
		1/2 doz. pipes.....		.12	
Oct.	20	3/4 bundle seed beads.....	.24	.18	
		1 bundle garnet beads.....		.12	
		3 cakes vegetable soap.....	.32	.96	
		1 bottle Extract of Roses.....		1.68	
		1 nail brush.....		.40	
Nov.	8	1 pr. Blucher shoes.....		3.72	
		1 Valencia Vest.....		3.36	
Dec.	2	2 Paris silk handkerchiefs.....	.84	1.68	
		1 pr. Warner shoes.....		2.08	
		2 yds. Hair Ribbon.....	.08	.16	
	8	43 yds. H. B. blue strands.....	2.14	1.42	
		2 yds. Highland gaiters.....	.04	.08	
	22	1 yd. white flannel.....		.46	
	24	1 doz. clay pipes.....		.24	
1846.					
Jan.	22	2 1/2 yds. wh. blanketing.....	2.20	5.50	
		3 1/2 yds. grey cotton.....	.10	.30	
		1/4 yd. 2d dark blue cloth.....	3.80	.96	
	22	1/4 lb. colored thread No. 12.....		.19	
		9 yds. lace.....		1.80	
		1 yd. black padding cloth.....		.18	
		1/2 ger. black braid.....		.12	
		2 yds. silk twist thread.....		.04	
Feb.	4	2 yds. hair ribbon.....		.16	
		1 yd. 6d ribbon.....		.06	
		1 skein colored silk.....		.02	
		1 paper pins.....		.24	
March	24	Transfer Cr. Mr. Ross.....		2.22	
	11	3 yds. green silk gauze.....		3.24	
	12	1 pr. ladies' shoes.....		2.08	
		1 yd. hair ribbon.....		.08	
	16	1 box Bowlands Odante.....		1.08	
		1 yd. grey cotton.....		.18	
		1/2 yd. 2d blue cloth.....	3.84	1.28	
		1-6 yd. scarlet cloth.....	2.24	.27	
		1 pc. black carding.....		.12	
	21	Cash paid for newspapers at the Wil-			
		lamette Falls.....		1.40	
		To transfer Cr. Mrs. McIntosh, for			
		needlework.....		12.22	
		To transfer Cr. Mrs. Pambrum for			
		ganished work.....		7.00	
\$127.78 @ 4s 6d per dollar is.....				\$127.78	
				£ 28 15	

(Signed)

G. SIMPSON,  
M. VAVASOUR.

\*Warre's separate account is similar. The general account includes supplies, etc., for both officers and the men employed by them.

## [No. 15.]

Expedition of Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory. Inclosures in Colonial Office letter of 3d November, 1846.

Schedule of enclosures forwarded by Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour, with their dispatch and general report, addressed to the Rt. Hon. the Secy. of State for the Colonies, dated Fort Garry, Red River Settlement, June 16, 1846.

No. 1. Copy of memorandum of the Comr. of the Forces in Canada.

No. 2. Dispatch addressed by Lord Metcalfe, Gov. General in Canada, to the Comr. of the Forces, dated Montreal, May, 1845.

No. 3. Instructions from the Comr. of the Forces in Canada to Lieut. Warre.

No. 4. Copy of letter addressed by Sir G. Simpson, Gov. of the Hon. H. B. Co., to Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour, dated Encampment Lac La Pluie, May 30, 1845.

No. 5. Copies of dispatches forwarded from the Red River Settlement to the Gov. Genl. in Canada and the Secy. of State for the Colonies, dated Fort Garry, Red River Settlement, June 10, 1845. Marked (B) and (C).

No. 6. Copies of dispatches forwarded from Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, by the Honble. H. B. Co. vessel the "Cowlitz" to His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated Fort Vancouver, November 1st, 1845. Marked (D) and (E).

No. 7. Copy of bill, organizing the Oregon Territory and attaching it to the United States and recommending the immediate construction of fortifications, by the American Government, on Cape Disappointment. Marked ( ).

No. 8. Copy of dispatch enclosing speech of Govr. of Oregon, forwarded by Hon. H. B. Co.'s ship "Vancouver," to the Sandwich Islands, thence under cover to the British Consul at Blas [?] to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated Fort Vancouver, Dec. 8, 1845, marked (H), enclosing dispatch to Gov. Genl. in Canada of same date, marked (G).

No. 9. Census of the Indian population in the Oregon Territory.

No. 10. Condensed report of the Hudson's Bay Company's Trading Posts visited by Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour on their journey to and during their residence in the Oregon Territory.

No. 11. Copy of a letter addressed by Sir G. Simpson to Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour on their return to the Red River Settlement dated Fort Garry, R. R. St. [?], June 10, 1846.

No. 12. Copies of correspondence with Mr. Ogden, Chief Factor of H. B. Co. service, relative to the purchase of Cape Disappointment. Marked (F). (Nine letters.)

No. 13. Table of estimated distances on the Columbia River and in the Oregon Territory.

No. 14. Account given in by the Honble. H. B. Company for supplies, etc., connected with the expedition of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory and return to Canada.

(Signed) HENRY J. WARRE,  
Lt. 14 Regt.

Surveys, plans and sketches accompanying the above mentioned dispatches.

No. 1. Map showing the route of Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory.

No. 2. Plan of Fort Vancouver.

No. 3. Plan of Fort Victoria and chart of Camrasan [?] Harbor.

No. 4. Sketch of the plains in the vicinity of Fort Nisqually on Puget's Sound forwarded in November, 1845.

No. 5. Survey of Cape Disappointment showing its command over the ship channel.

No. 6. Eye sketch of the route from Cowlitz River to Puget's Sound.

No. 7. Eye sketch showing the site of Oregon City of the Willamette River.

No. 8. Survey of Tongue Point on the Columbia River, showing its command over the ship channel.

#### APPENDIX.

One result of this expedition was a book entitled: "Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory." By Captain H. Warre. (A. D. C. to the Commander of the Forces). Lithographed, printed and published by Dickinson and Co., New Bond street. [London, Eng.], and dedicated to "The Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee of the Honorable the Hudson's Bay Company."

The book contains, aside from the preface, the following sketches lithographed:

1. Fort Garry.
2. Falls of the Kamanistauquoia River.
3. Buffalo hunting on the W. Prairies and forcing a passage through the burning prairie. (Two on same page).
4. Distant view of the Rocky Mountains.
5. The Rocky Mountains.
6. Source of the Columbia River.
7. Fort Vancouver and Indian tombs. (Two on same page).
8. Mount Baker and Cape Disappointment.
9. Valley of the Willamette River.
10. The American Village (Oregon City).
11. Fort George (formerly Astoria), and McGillivray's or Kootenai River.
12. Les Dalles, Columbia River.
13. Mt. Hood from The Dalles.
14. Mt. Hood.
15. Falls of the Pelooos [Palouse] River.
16. The Rocky Mountains from the Columbia River, looking N. W.









THE QUARTERLY  
OF THE  
Oregon Historical Society.

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Volume X

JUNE, 1909

Number 2

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[The Quarterly disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.]

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY FREDERICK V.  
HOLMAN, AS PRESIDENT OF THE OREGON  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT ITS ANNUAL  
MEETING HELD AT PORTLAND, OREGON,  
DECEMBER 19, 1908.

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THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF THE FRASER RIVER.

The dedication of a monument to Simon Fraser at New Westminster, British Columbia, on the thirtieth of September, 1908, in honor of his exploration of the Fraser River, in 1808, recalls a most daring achievement. It is an historic event of great interest and of importance in the history of British Columbia and of the original Oregon Country. The Fraser and the Columbia are the only rivers which break through that great range of mountains which starts near the Gulf of California, and is known in that State as the Sierra Nevada, and continues through Oregon and Washington as the Cascade Mountains. This range of mountains finally disappears in British Columbia.

FOUR IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS.

In historical importance this exploration by Simon Fraser should be considered as one of four notable events in con-



nection with these two great rivers. These events chronologically are as follows:

First. The discovery by Captain Robert Gray, May 11, 1792, of the Columbia River.

Second. The discovery by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, June 17, 1793, of the Tacoutche Tesse, which is now known as the Fraser River.

Third. The Lewis and Clark Expedition, in 1804-1806, to the mouth of the Columbia River.

Fourth. The exploration by Simon Fraser, in the summer of 1808, of the Fraser River to its mouth.

It is the discovery and exploration of the Fraser River of which I shall speak particularly in this address.

As the mouth of the Columbia River was theoretically discovered by Captain Bruno Heceta, of the Spanish Navy, August 15, 1775, who named it Rio de San Roque, so the mouth of the Fraser River was theoretically discovered by Lieutenant Don Francisco Eliza, of the Spanish Navy, in 1791, who named it Boca de Florida Blanca, in honor of the Prime Minister of Spain. Neither of these discoverers entered either of these rivers. But the mouth of each of these rivers was shown on Spanish maps afterwards published.

#### FAILURE OF VANCOUVER TO FIND THE COLUMBIA AND FRASER RIVERS.

It is surprising that Captain George Vancouver did not find the Fraser river. He was an experienced explorer and had been a midshipman in Captain Cook's last voyage, in the years 1776 to 1780, inclusive. But it is no more surprising than Vancouver's failure to find the Columbia River. He was put on his inquiry, if he did not have actual notice, in regard to the existence of each of these rivers. Had he found them, or either of them, his fame would be far greater than it is, although it is still great.

It is not important now to speculate on what might have

been the result had Vancouver, as he should have done, discovered and entered the Columbia River prior to Gray. But the inquiry arises nevertheless. The United States, in its official correspondence with Great Britain, strenuously insisted on its right to the portion of the Oregon Country drained by the Columbia River by reason of its discovery by Gray. Although that was only one of the claims urged, it was an important factor in the final adjustment, by the boundary treaty of June 15, 1846, of the rights of the United States to that part of the Oregon Country south of latitude forty-nine.

The mouth of the Fraser River is practically a delta, its several exits running through what is apparently a sand island, as viewed from the Gulf of Georgia. On the twelfth and thirteenth of June, 1792, Captain Vancouver's two vessels were anchored in the Gulf of Georgia a short distance south of this delta. June 12 he started to explore in a yawl. He discovered and named Point Roberts, at the south of the delta. Proceeding along the delta, he came, early on the morning of June 13, to Point Grey, which he named. This is the extreme northern point of the delta and the southern point of English Bay, immediately south of what Vancouver named Burrard's Canal, now known as Burrard's Inlet. This delta Vancouver named Sturgeon Bank. In his Voyage, Vancouver says this delta has the appearance of an island, but he continues: "this, however, is not the case, notwithstanding there are two openings between this point [Point Roberts] and Point Grey. These can only be navigable for canoes, as the shoal continues along the coast to the distance of seven or eight miles from the shore, on which were lodged, and especially before these openings, logs of wood, and stumps of trees innumerable."

Certainly this should have shown Vancouver that there was a large river near and that these openings were connected with it. The spring and summer freshet was on in the Fraser, as it was in the Columbia River, when Vancouver was at the mouth of the Columbia, April 27, 1792. At the mouths of each of these rivers the water was discolored, as is shown in

in Vancouver's Voyage, and yet Vancouver did not find either of these rivers!

June 22, 1792, as Vancouver was returning to his ship, he came on two Spanish naval vessels. He showed the Spanish officers the sketch he had made of his last excursion. Vancouver says: "They seemed much surprised that we had not found a river said to exist in the region we had been exploring, and named by one of their officers Rio Blanco in compliment to the then Prime Minister of Spain; which river these gentlemen had sought for thus far to no purpose."

#### THE JOURNEY OF MACKENZIE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

In 1789 Alexander Mackenzie, afterwards knighted for his discoveries, discovered the Mackenzie River. He went down that river to where it flows into the Arctic Ocean. In 1791 he went to London and returned to Canada in the spring of 1792. Very soon after he started with an expedition to cross the continent to the Pacific Ocean. October 10, 1792, he and his party arrived at Fort Chippewayan, on the Lake of the Hills, now known as Lake Athabasca. Into this lake flow the waters of Peace River. With his party he ascended Peace River until November 1, 1792, when they came to a place to which Mackenzie had sent ahead two men to begin the preparation of winter quarters. On Mackenzie's map it is called Fork Fort. Its latitude is 56 degrees 9 minutes; its longitude, 117 degrees 35 minutes and 15 seconds, as ascertained by observations made by Mackenzie. Here Mackenzie and his party passed the winter. May 9, 1793, they started again on their journey, ascending Peace river. May 31 they came to the junction of Finlay and Parsnip Rivers, which form Peace River. The expedition ascended Parsnip River to its head waters. After making a short portage, it came to a river, named by Mackenzie Bad River. This river was descended to the place where the latter river joins the great river, which Mackenzie called Tacoutche Tesse (Tesse meaning river) being a name given

it by a tribe of Indians. This is Fraser River. This discovery of this great river occurred June 17, 1793.

Mackenzie descended the Tacoutche until he was deterred by the hostile attitude of the Indians, the physical difficulties of following the river, and by information given by the Indians of its dangerous character. Mackenzie then ascended the river, going north a distance equal to about one degree of latitude. Here he left the Tacoutche and went overland, westerly, until he came to an arm of the Pacific Ocean, now called Bentinck Inlet, at about latitude fifty-two degrees. On his return trip he arrived at Fort Chippewayan August 24, 1793, where his Journal ends.

It is sometimes said in a loose way by writers that Mackenzie thought the Tacoutche was a part of the Columbia River. This was not the case when he discovered the Tacoutche. He did not then know that the Columbia River had been discovered, nor did he learn of it until after his return from his discovery of the Tacoutche.

Mackenzie kept a journal. In it he speaks of the Tacoutche as "the great river," and he also wrote in his journal:

"The more I heard of the river [Tacoutche] the more I was convinced it could not empty itself into the ocean to the North of what is called the River of the West, so that with its windings, the distance must be very great. Such being the discouraging circumstances of my situation, which were now heightened by the discontent of my people, I could not but be alarmed at an idea of attempting to get to the discharge of such a rapid river, especially when I reflected on the tardy progress of my return up it, even if I should meet with no obstruction from the natives."

#### THE FABLED OREGON OR RIVER OF THE WEST.

In referring to the River of the West, Mackenzie undoubtedly had in mind the fabled river described by Jonathan Carver in his Travels. In 1778 Jonathan Carver published, at London,



the first edition of his book, describing his travels in the interior of North America. Carver was a great traveller, and also what I may call a great fabricator or fictionist. In the introduction or preface of his book, Carver says that the greatest part of his discoveries have never been published. He added:

“Particularly the account I give of the Naudowesies, and the situation of the Heads of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the center of this great continent, viz: The River Bourbon, which empties itself into Hudson’s Bay; the Waters of Saint Lawrence; the Mississippi, and the River Oregon, or the River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the straits of Anian.” This is the first time the word Oregon was used or mentioned in print.

In the book Carver further wrote of these rivers, and showed on a map, bound in the book, the Straits of Juan de Fuca between latitudes forty-seven and forty-eight and a part of the fabled “Straits of Anian” running southerly from the Straits of Juan de Fuca into the River of the West sixty or seventy miles east of its mouth, somewhat as though Puget Sound extended southerly to the Columbia River. The mouth of the River of the West he placed at about latitude forty-four. This location of the mouth of this river was evidently used by Carver to carry out his fiction, for on his map he placed opposite the mouth of this river the words “Discovered by Aguilar.” In January, 1603, Martin de Aguilar, a Spanish naval officer, made an imaginary discovery of a great river, which he asserted flowed into the Pacific Ocean a short distance north of latitude forty-three. The mouth of de Aguilar’s river was afterwards shown on maps. It was easy for Carver to connect the head of his fabled river with the mouth of de Aguilar’s imaginary one.

At the time Mackenzie discovered the Tacoutche, he knew that the fabled Straits of Anian, and those of De Fonte did not exist. But he supposed the Oregon or River of the West might exist.

## MACKENZIE'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

The Columbia River was discovered by Captain Robert Gray, May 11, 1792, about the time Mackenzie left Montreal on his journey to the Pacific Ocean. The discovery of the Columbia River was not known to Mackenzie, probably, until the return of Vancouver to England in 1795, although Mackenzie may have heard of it after his return, in the fall of 1793, to Montreal, from his expedition, for Captain Gray returned to Boston by the way of the Cape of Good Hope in 1793 or 1794. Mackenzie went to England in 1799 and there supervised the publication of his Journal. It was published in 1801.

Captain George Vancouver returned to London in September, 1795, and his Voyage was published in London in 1798. In this book, Vancouver gave a detailed statement of the discovery of the Columbia River, the latitude and longitude of its mouth, and of the exploration of the Columbia by Lieutenant Broughton from its mouth to Point Vancouver, in October, 1792, a distance of about one hundred miles.

Mackenzie's main Journal of his expedition was published, as written by him, subject to editorial supervision. But in the latter part of this volume is a summary, possibly written by his cousin, Roderick Mackenzie, who is said to have revised the manuscript of Alexander Mackenzie. In this summary the Tacoutche is spoken of as being the Columbia River, and a map is bound in the volume showing between dotted lines the Columbia River as being a continuation of the Tacoutche Tesse, as far south as latitude fifty-one, but no further. Vancouver's Voyage is the undoubted source of Mackenzie's knowledge of the Columbia River, as set forth in the summary to Mackenzie's Journal and in said map.

The course of the Columbia River, for more than the one hundred miles above its mouth, as explored by Lieutenant Broughton, was not known until the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1804-1806, and then only from the junction of the

Snake with the Columbia River. North of the Snake River the course of the Columbia River was not known until 1811. The first white man who discovered and explored the sources of the Columbia River was David Thompson, one of the partners of the Northwest Company. He was also the first white man to descend the Columbia to its confluence with the Snake River. In 1811 Thompson, in a light canoe, manned by eight Iroquois and an interpreter, went down the Columbia River, arriving at Astoria July 15, 1811. This was only a short time after the founding of Astoria. The Tonquin, the ship which brought the Astor expedition, entered the Columbia River March 24, 1811. April 12 the expedition landed and camped at Astoria to make that place its permanent home.

Alexander Mackenzie was a great and intrepid explorer. He was the first white man to cross the American continent from civilization on the Atlantic slope to the Pacific Ocean, north of latitude forty-two, the northern boundary of California.

#### THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BY FRASER.

The first permanent settlement on the Tacoutche or Fraser River was made under the leadership of Simon Fraser on behalf of the Northwest Company. This was the first permanent occupation of the continent by white men west of the Rocky Mountains, north of latitude forty-two degrees and south of latitude fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, and being what was subsequently known as the Oregon Country.

It was in 1805 that Simon Fraser and his party arrived in that country. I shall not go into details concerning his occupation of this part of the country except to say that he named it New Caledonia and established several trading posts or forts, for this address relates to the discovery and exploration of the Fraser River and not to settlements in the country.

## SIMON FRASER.

Simon Fraser was a near relative of the noted Baron Simon Fraser Lovat, a Scotchman known as Lord Lovat. The latter was a Jacobite intriguer, who took part in the Scottish rebellion of 1745, which ended in the battle of Culloden. He was executed in 1747. His family is one of the oldest in the Scottish Highlands. Simon Fraser, the explorer of Fraser River, was born in 1776, on his father's farm near Bennington, Vermont. His father, also named Simon Fraser, emigrated from Scotland in 1773. In the American Revolutionary War his father was a British Loyalist or Tory, one of the so-called United Empire Loyalists. He became a captain in the British army. He was captured in the war and died in prison. Young Simon Fraser was taken by his widowed mother to St. Andrews, Ontario, which was his home during his youth, although he attended school at Montreal. In 1792, when he was sixteen years old, he joined the Northwest Company. His promotion was rapid. In 1802 he became a bourgeois or partner of that company. That he arrived at this position when he was only twenty-six years old is a proof of his ability and of how he was considered by his company. This is also shown from his being sent to, and placed in command of, this new field of operation in New Caledonia.

## FRASER'S EXPLORATION OF THE FRASER RIVER.

In the fall of 1807 Simon Fraser received instructions from the Northwest Company to explore the Tacoutche to its mouth. It was then believed that this river was a part of the great Columbia River. This belief was strengthened by the fact that for a long distance, to the point Mackenzie ceased to descend the Tacoutche, its course was almost due south, and the mouth of the Columbia was only about one degree of longitude west of this part of the Tacoutche. There were political reasons for this exploration because the expedition of Lewis and Clark, in 1804-1806, was a military expedition of



the United States Government. There were business reasons to ascertain if furs could be shipped by sea and supplies brought up the river. It was well to spy out the land.

Fraser knew that the mouth of the Columbia was about eight degrees of latitude, a distance of several hundred miles, from where he was to start. He knew only of the route so far as Mackenzie had explored the Tacoutche, from what he had learned by his own experience, and from what the Indians had told him. It is doubtful if he had any exact knowledge, or any knowledge, of what Lewis and Clark had discovered on the Columbia north of Point Vancouver, for their expedition had not returned to St. Louis, Missouri, until September 23, 1806, and the instructions to Fraser to explore the river must have left Montreal in the spring of 1807.

There could have been no doubt in Fraser's mind that his exploration would be a difficult and dangerous undertaking. Mackenzie had turned back because he had found the river so dangerous to navigate. The Indians along the river below he knew were of a treacherous and warlike character. Fraser had no guide. He made very careful preparations for his journey. The expedition consisted of twenty-one men besides himself, in four canoes. The exact day that the expedition started is in doubt, but it is not material. It probably left Fort George on the Tacoutche, which I shall hereinafter call the Fraser, on May 28, 1808. At the outset one of his canoes was almost wrecked at Fort George Canyon. The next two days were very dangerous navigation. May 30 the expedition arrived at the lowest point on the river reached by Mackenzie, where the latter turned back. But Fraser did not hesitate. In his Journal he says that for two miles there was a strong rapid with high and steep banks which contracted the channel in many places to forty or fifty yards, and that "this immense body of water, passing through this narrow space in a turbulent manner, forming numerous gulfs and cascades, and making a tremendous noise, had an awful and forbidding appearance."

As the passage by land appeared even worse, Fraser resolved to try to have one canoe run the rapid, with a light load and manned by his best five men. The attempt was unsuccessful, the canoe was dashed against a rock, but its crew fortunately saved themselves by climbing up the rock. The rescue of these five men was a perilous act, endangering the lives of all who took part in it. Fraser says in his Journal:

"The bank was extremely high and steep, and we had to plunge our daggers at intervals into the ground to check our speed, as otherwise we were exposed to slide into the river. We cut steps in the declivity, fastened a line to the front of the canoe, with which some of the men ascended in order to haul it up, while the others supported it upon their arms. In this manner our situation was most precarious; our lives hung, as it were, upon a thread, as the failure of the line or a false step of one of the men might have hurled the whole of us into eternity."

The Indians advised him to abandon the river and travel overland. Fraser says in his Journal:

"Going to sea by an indirect way was not the object of my undertaking. I therefore would not deviate."

He proceeded on the land a short distance with horses, obtained from the Indians. He then voyaged by the river several days under great perils, at times portaging his goods and canoes over mountains and across canyons and ravines. Sometimes they went over rapids and through river canyons, which it is said never before nor since were attempted.

June 9 the expedition came to a place where "the channel contracted to a width of about forty yards enclosed by two precipices of immense height, which bending over toward each other, make it narrower above than below. The water which rolls down this extraordinary passage in tumultuous waves and with great velocity, had a frightful appearance." It was impossible to carry the canoes overland. The whole party without hesitation and with most desperate daring embarked in their canoes. In his Journal, Fraser says: "Thus skim-

ming along as fast as lightning, the crews, cool and determined, followed each other in awful silence, and, when we arrived at the end we stood gazing at each other in silent congratulation at our narrow escape from total destruction."

Here the Indians made a map and informed Fraser that it was impossible to proceed further by water, but he continued for the day. Fraser wrote:

"This afternoon the rapids were very bad, two in particular were worse, if possible, than any we had hitherto met with, being a continual series of cascades intercepted with rocks and bounded by precipices and mountains that at times seemed to have no end. I scarcely ever saw anything so dreary and dangerous in any country, and at present, while writing this, whatever way I turn my eyes, mountains upon mountains whose summits are covered with eternal snows, close the gloomy scene."

June tenth he became convinced the party could not continue down the river by water. So he placed his canoes on scaffolds and cached a part of his supplies. The whole party then proceeded on foot, carrying heavy packs, occasionally traveling by water in canoes hired from the Indians. June 26 Fraser wrote in his Journal:

"As for the road by land we could scarcely make our way with even only our guns. I have been for a long period among the Rocky Mountains, but have never seen anything like this country. It is so wild that I cannot find words to describe our situation at times. We had to pass where no human being should venture; yet in those places there is a regular footpath impressed, or rather indented upon the rocks by frequent traveling. Besides this, steps which are formed like a ladder or the shrouds of a ship, by poles hanging to one another and crossed at certain distances with twigs, the whole suspended from the top to the foot of immense precipices and fastened at both extremities to stones and trees, furnish a safe and convenient passage to the natives; but we, who had not had the advantages of their education and experience, were

often in imminent danger when obliged to follow their example."

The expedition continued on its journey, sometimes on land, sometimes on water in the canoes of the Indians. July second they arrived at a place where the tide rose about two and a half feet. That day they were compelled to take a canoe forcibly in order to continue their journey. July third they arrived at one of the mouths of the Fraser, probably what is called the "North Arm." Although some writers have endeavored to belittle Fraser's achievement and have asserted that he did not reach the mouth of the river, it is now completely established that he did.

In his Journal Fraser says of the location of the mouth of the Fraser River:

"The latitude is 49 degrees, nearly, while that of the entrance of the Columbia is 46 degrees 20 minutes. This river, therefore, is not the Columbia." He then adds: "If I had been convinced of this when I left my canoes, I would certainly have returned."

Dr. George Bryce truly says in his book, "The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company," referring to the latter entry in Fraser's Journal: "How difficult it is to distinguish small from great actions! Here was a man making fame for all time, and the idea of the greatness of his work had not dawned upon him."

And Simon Fraser's exploring expedition was a great work, not only in its accomplishment but in its effects. It is proper that this river should always bear his name. In exploring a known river he discovered it. While the Fraser River is navigable only a short distance above its mouth, it makes the only water grade possible through almost impassable mountains. The great wagon road and the Canadian Pacific Railway utilize this grade.

Just before and after Fraser arrived at the mouth of the river, the party narrowly escaped being massacred by the In-



dians. This was prevented largely through the fortitude of Fraser.

Without delay, on July third, the expedition started on its return trip, arriving at Fort George August sixth, without any remarkable experiences on the way. It seems somewhat strange that it took the party a longer time to go to the ocean than to return. Had Fraser known of the conditions he could have made his trip much easier by waiting until later in the season, after the summer freshet was over. But this fact does not in any way detract from, nor change the renown to which this intrepid band of sturdy Nor'westers, and especially its leader, is entitled.

There is no other large river on the Pacific Slope so terrible or so dangerous to follow as the Fraser, unless it be that part of the Snake River between Huntington, Oregon, and Lewiston, Idaho, along which Wilson Price Hunt and his party wandered so helplessly and almost hopelessly in the fall and winter of 1811.

Those interested in this perilous expedition of Fraser should read his Journal, which is printed as a part of a work, in two volumes, written in French by L. R. Masson, entitled "*Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.*" The Journal of Fraser is printed in English. The first edition was published at Quebec in 1889. Although not an old work, it is now very difficult to obtain.

In preparing this address I have been given interesting and important information, personally, by Judge F. W. Howay, of New Westminster, British Columbia, particularly facts relating to the Spanish discovery of Fraser River. Notwithstanding his judicial duties, he has found time to become a diligent student and a scholarly writer of British Columbia history. I have, so far as possible, examined original sources of information in an endeavor to be accurate in statements of fact.

It may be of interest to add that Simon Fraser continued in the service of the Northwest Company until the coalition of that company with the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821.

April 19, 1862, at the age of eighty-six, he died at St. Andrews, Ontario, where he had lived as a boy.

In recognition of his explorations of the Fraser River, Fraser was offered knighthood, but his limited means prevented his acceptance. It is said, however, that one reason for his refusal was that he believed that he was entitled to be Baron Lovat, as the nearest relative of the noted Lord Lovat, of whom I have spoken.

Simon Fraser was one of the intrepid explorers and hardy pioneers of the Pacific Northwest, men who found the way and showed others where and how to follow. The armies of occupation and of civilization followed slowly on. In a few years he was succeeded by the great leaders and successful fur-traders of the Hudson's Bay Company. At the old, the original Vancouver, on the Columbia River, came and ruled, Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon, James Douglas, afterwards knighted, and Peter Skene Ogden, all held in grateful memory in Oregon and Washington.

In this one hundred years since Simon Fraser's exploration of the Fraser River, the whole Pacific Northwest has grown wonderfully in population and in civilization. The days of centennials, beginning with that of Gray's discovery of the Columbia River, show that while the long ago of this part of the continent is comparatively new, its traditions are those of a hardy, a brave, and an intrepid people.

## FATHER WILBUR AND HIS WORK.\*

BY WM. D. FENTON.

James H. Wilbur, familiarly and affectionately known as Father Wilbur, was born on a farm near the village of Lowville, N. Y., September 11, 1811; was married to Lucretia Ann Stevens, March 9, 1831, and died at Walla Walla, Wash., October 8, 1887, in his 77th year. These three events, as related to his individual life, were the most important, his birth, his marriage and his death. The task of the biographer merges and enlarges itself into the work of the historian. The simple and short narrative common to the lives of most men and women concerns but few, and it is only when a life in its larger development has touched closely the affairs of men and has caused, or been a part of, the times that the narrative becomes historical.

Wilbur was the son of Presbyterian parents, but did not himself become identified with any church until after his marriage, when he and his wife were converted and became members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the village of Lowville, N. Y. At the age of 29 years the presiding elder of his district, William S. Bowdish, granted to him a license as an exhorter, in accordance with the customs and usages of the church at that time, and within two years thereafter Aaron Adams, as presiding elder, granted him the usual license to preach, and in July, 1832, he became a member of the Black River General Conference and entered upon his life work as a Methodist minister. It is recorded that he traveled the circuit of Northern New York until he was called to this then remote field of his future labors, the Oregon Country. George Gary was then superintendent of the Oregon mission, and was a former presiding elder over Mr. Wilbur in the Black

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\*Paper read at celebration of sixtieth anniversary of founding of Taylor Street Methodist Church of Portland, December 13, 1908.

River Conference. On September 27, 1846, in company with William Roberts, who had been appointed superintendent of the mission, he sailed from New York on the bark *Whitton*, coming by way of Cape Horn to the Columbia River, and landed at Oregon City, June 22, 1847.

You will recall that the treaty of Washington was signed June 15, 1846, by which the United States and Great Britain settled the Oregon boundary, and although a provisional government had been established for the government of the then Oregon country, it was not until August 14, 1848, that the Congress of the United States created a territorial government embracing this vast region of country between the 42d and 49th parallels and the Pacific Ocean on the west, and the Rocky Mountains on the east. James K. Polk was President of the United States, and James Buchanan was Secretary of State, and acted as plenipotentiary for the United States, exchanging ratification of the treaty of Washington with Richard Packenham, representing Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. Wilbur and Roberts arrived 13 years after Jason Lee had established the Methodist Mission a few miles north of Salem, but Wilbur and Roberts came, not so much to extend and enlarge the work begun by Lee in an effort to bring religion and civilization to the Indians in this section, but rather to establish the foundation of a Christian civilization in this far-off country by the establishment of missions and churches and schools for our own people, who were then in increasing numbers coming to this section. Some of his co-workers of that early date who have left their impress upon the institutions of the church and of the state, were David Leslie, George Gary, A. F. Waller, Gustavus Hines, William Roberts and T. F. Royal, all of whom have passed away excepting Thomas F. Royal. Wilbur's only daughter was the wife of Rev. St. Michael Fackler, first Episcopal clergyman in the Oregon Country. Mr. Fackler was a native of Staunton, Va. He resided on a farm near Butteville, Marion County, for a time, and conducted services at Champoege, Butteville, String-



town, Oregon City, Portland and on the Tualatin Plains. He married Miss Wilbur in 1849, and she died in 1850, and was buried in the lot in the rear of where Taylor Street Church now stands. She left an only child and daughter, who survived her but 11 years. Father Wilbur's wife died at Walla Walla, September 13, 1887, in her 76th year, and thus, upon the death of Father Wilbur, no lineal descendant of his family survived. He and his wife were buried in Lee Mission Cemetery, near Salem, Oregon.

When Wilbur arrived in Portland in June, 1847, there were 13 houses in a dense forest, where now stands a city of nearly 250,000 people, and at that time Salem and Oregon City were the chief centers of business and population and influence. Salem was but a missionary point in a country inhabited chiefly by Indians; Oregon City was a trading post with a few hundred population, and Portland did not exist as a municipality. In 1849 Wilbur was appointed to the circuit embracing Oregon City and Portland, and in 1850 built the first church in this city. It is estimated that the parsonage and church so constructed cost \$5,000; mechanics received \$12 per day, and lumber was \$120 per thousand. The first sermon was preached in this city by William Roberts, then living at Oregon City, and the services were held in a cooper shop on the west side of First street, between Morrison and Yamhill. This was on the first Sunday in November, 1847. It is recorded that on the preceding Sunday Rev. C. O. Hosford rode to a point on the east side of the river, and was ferried across the stream by James B. Stephens, in an Indian canoe, and landed at what is now the foot of Stark street; that he clambered up the muddy bank and entered a dense forest of fir, and looking southward, entered an opening in the woods, crawling under and climbing over newly cut logs. At that time this pioneer preacher, who had been sent by Superintendent Roberts to arrange a religious service, found scattered about 14 log cabins and a few families. This was on the last Sunday of October, 1847, and on the succeeding Sunday William

Roberts held the first religious services and preached the first sermon in what is now the city of Portland, and James H. Wilbur preached the first sermon in Taylor Street Church in the spring of 1850.

Until the General Conference of 1848, Oregon had been considered a foreign mission, but during the session of that body in May of that year, in Pittsburg, Pa., the Board of Bishops were charged to organize during the quadrennium, what was to be called the "Oregon and California Mission Conference," and the territory to be embraced therein was to include all that portion of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains. California, as a result of the war with Mexico in 1846, had been added to the territorial possessions of the United States. The Oregon country, comprising now the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, the western half of Montana and a portion of Wyoming, had been acquired by the United States by right of prior discovery and occupation as well as by purchase, and its chief importance lay in the fact that the United States had claimed this vast section of country from the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray, May 11, 1792, more than a half century prior to our acquisition of California, and its pioneer missions and settlers were chiefly from the United States.

In the spring of 1849 Bishop Waugh, to whom the Board of Bishops entrusted the details of organization of the "Oregon and California Mission Conference," gave explicit instructions to William Roberts, then superintendent of the Oregon Mission, directing its organization, and accordingly the first conference was held in the chapel of the Oregon Institute in Salem on September 5, 1849. There were present as participants, William Roberts, of the New Jersey Conference; David Leslie, of the Providence Conference; A. F. Waller, of the Tennessee Conference; James H. Wilbur, of the Black River Conference; James Owen, of the Indiana Conference, and William Taylor, of the Baltimore Conference—six men, two from California and four from Oregon, charged with founda-

tion work for the great church of which they were official representatives. Owen and Taylor, of California, were not present; Roberts was elected chairman, and Wilbur secretary; William Helm, an elder from the Kentucky Conference, was readmitted, and J. L. Parrish, who had been received on trial in the Genessee Conference in 1848, was recognized as a probationer in the Oregon and California Mission Conference, and J. E. Parrot, John McKinney and James O. Raynor were admitted on trial. It will be interesting as indicating that they were in the days of small beginnings to note the record of membership at that time. Oregon City reported 30 members and six probationers; Salem circuit 109 members and 25 probationers; Clatsop, eight members and one probationer; an aggregate of 348 members and six probationers; there were fourteen local preachers, and only three churches, one at Oregon City, one at Salem, and one on the Yamhill circuit; there were nine Sabbath schools, with 261 scholars.

At this conference William Roberts was appointed superintendent, and James H. Wilbur and J. L. Parrish were assigned to Oregon City and Portland. For the Salem circuit, William Helm, J. O. Raynor and David Leslie; Yamhill circuit, John McKinney and C. O. Hosford; Mary's River, A. F. Waller and J. E. Parrot; Astoria and Clatsop were to be supplied. The Oregon and California mission conference met one year later, in Oregon City, on September 4, 1850, and there was a reported increase of only 47 members and 20 probationers. James H. Wilbur was appointed to Oregon City and the Columbia River. The third meeting of the conference was held in the Oregon Institute on September 3, 1851, and at that time there were 475 members and 170 probationers. The last and final meeting of the Mission Conference was held at Portland on September 2, 1852, and thereafter, by order of the General Conference held in Boston in May, 1852, California and Oregon were separated, and each state given a separate conference.

Wilbur was a strong man mentally and physically, and he

was not only a forceful preacher, but a great executive. Inured to the hardships and privations of pioneer life, he worked as a common workman in the construction of old Taylor Street Church and in the building of Portland Academy, of which he was the founder. One of the earliest cares of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Oregon country was the establishment of educational institutions, the oldest one being the Oregon Institute, now Willamette University. It was in the mind of Wilbur to feed the university by the establishment of academies and schools in different parts of the state. With this end in view, and to serve its immediate constituents, he established the Portland Academy from a fund arising from the donation of three blocks of land in this city, one of which was used as a building site, and the other two of which were to constitute an endowment. The Portland Academy was opened in 1851, in charge of Calvin S. Kingsley. Father Wilbur also founded the Umpqua Academy at the town of Wilbur, in Douglas County, Oregon.

In September, 1851, Chapman, Coffin and Lownsdale were the proprietors of the townsite of the city of Portland, and, recognizing the demands for the establishment of educational institutions, donated block 205, upon which the Portland Academy was first built, and block 224, immediately west of this, for this purpose, the deed to which was made to Father Wilbur "in trust to build a male and female seminary thereon and therewith," and it was intended that this should be held in trust for the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the state of Oregon. At that time these blocks were covered with heavy fir timber, and it is recorded that Father Wilbur personally cleared the ground and hewed out of the native fir the timbers for the frame of the building, and assisted in its erection. He solicited subscriptions, advanced and borrowed on his own credit, about \$5,000, and the building was completed November 17, 1851. In June, 1854, the Territorial Legislature incorporated the school, with a board of trustees, of which Wilbur was president; T. J. Dryer, vice-president; C. S. Kingsley, secretary, and W. S. Ladd, treasurer.



Many of the children of the pioneer men and women of those early days were students and graduates of this institution, called Portland Academy and Female Seminary. The building was constructed at the corner of West Park and Jefferson streets, and stood there a monument of the devotion and zeal of these early settlers until within recent years.

The Willamette University was incorporated by act of the Territorial Legislature January 12, 1853, and Wilbur was one of the first trustees. You will recall that the Territorial Legislative Assembly, in 1851, passed an act incorporating the City of Portland, and that the first election was held on April 7, 1851, Hugh D. O'Bryant being elected Mayor by a majority of 4 over J. S. Smith. In June, 1851, the territorial election for Delegate to Congress took place, and as an indication of the population of the city at that time, it may be noted that Joseph Lane received 162 votes, and W. H. Willson 60 votes, or a total of 222 votes.

Taylor Street Church was incorporated under the laws of the territory by special act of the Legislative Assembly on January 26, 1853, although the church had been organized before that time, and the building constructed. The original structure was a frame building fronting on Taylor street, near Third street, and the present brick structure was erected in 1868. It will be remembered that the first Protestant Church erected on the Pacific Coast, from Cape Horn to Bering Strait, was the Methodist Church in Oregon City, begun in 1842, by Waller, was completed in 1844 by Gustavus Hines, and that Bishop E. R. Ames, who visited Portland in March, 1853, was the first bishop who presided over an Oregon conference, held at Salem, March 17 of that year. The superintendents of the Oregon mission were: Jason Lee, 1834-1844; George Gary, 1844-1847; William Roberts, 1847-1849, when the Oregon mission was succeeded by what was called the Oregon and California Mission Conference, under the strong and intelligent hand of William Roberts, who conducted the work of the Oregon and California Mission Conference until it was

merged in the Oregon Conference, in 1853. In all of this work, Wilbur was an active participant; his duty led him into close contact with public affairs, and his activities were not confined entirely to the immediate work of the Christian ministry.

On September 11, 1863, a joint convention of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon was held at Salem, Or., to elect a successor to Benjamin Stark, whose senatorial term would expire March 4, 1864, and Benjamin F. Harding, of Marion County, was chosen. James H. Wilbur was nominated as a candidate before that convention. He was appointed superintendent of teaching at the Yakima Indian Reservation in 1860, and was continuously in the Indian service for about 20 years. From the position of superintendent of teaching he was promoted by President Lincoln to the position of Indian Agent. It will be remembered that the Yakima Indian Reservation was established near old Fort Simcoe, an abandoned military fort, and that the Indians there assembled were from various tribes of Western Washington, but chiefly the Yakimas on the north bank of the Columbia River.

Wilbur had the confidence of the authorities at Washington, and in 1873, during the Modoc Indian war, he was appointed peace commissioner with A. B. Meacham and T. B. Odeneal, charged with the duty of attempting to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Modoc Indians. They were to meet at Linkville, February 15, 1873, but Meacham declined to serve with Odeneal or Wilbur, or either of them, and Jesse Applegate and Samuel Case were appointed in their stead. At that time Wilbur was Indian Agent at Fort Simcoe. Applegate accepted his commission, but subsequently resigned, and he characterized the peace commission as "an expensive blunder." It is enough to say that it failed in its mission, and there are those who believe that if Wilbur had been allowed to serve with Meacham, his knowledge of Indian character would have enabled him to negotiate the peace treaty, and would have avoided the subsequent treachery of the Modocs and the murder of General Edward R. S. Canby.

Wilbur devoted himself to the Indian service for about 20 years, and as it seems to me, made a sacrifice which not only did him an injustice, but deprived the commonwealth of a larger service which he might have rendered if he had continued in his work as a great preacher and constructive builder of Christian civilization among his own people. At this distance, and from this point of view, missionary efforts of the early churches, both Protestant and Catholic, seem to have been devoid of permanent results. Jason Lee and his associates, as early as 1834, were inspired with the purpose to convert to Christianity the Indians in this great, unsettled and undeveloped region. The Methodist Church for a generation devoted its great energy to this work. A like ambition inspired the mission of Dr. Whitman, Father DeSmet, Archbishop Blanchet and other devoted men, both Protestant and Catholic. It may be that their work in some measure acted as a bridge over which the early pioneers could pass to a ripper and better civilization. These missionaries to the Indians, in anticipation of the probable failure of their work in that direction, turned their energies toward the establishment of educational institutions and of local churches for the development of our own people, and in this work Wilbur was a pioneer builder of strength and character. The foundations laid by him in this city in the building of Taylor Street Church were broad and deep, and the influence of what he did in the early '50s, in the work of his hands here, far outreaches any work that he did or could have done in his self-immolation in the service of a passing and perishing race. The American Indian, while uncivilized, was not entirely without religion. While it is true that he had no special knowledge of religion as we understand it, and especially of the Christian religion, he was not barren of all religious instincts and traditions, and was not entirely without guidance. The work done in his behalf has been transitory and without permanent effect. This, perhaps, could not be foreseen, and yet, as civilization has extended its influence over that vast Indian territory which at one time embraced the

entire United States, it will be seen that the Indian race itself has vanished, and that but a fragment here and there now remains. Wilbur, when he retired from work among his own people and devoted himself exclusively to the Indian service, was in the prime of a vigorous manhood, and had not yet reached the age of 50 years. If he had remained in the work of Christian education and in the work of the ministry among his own people, it is impossible now to say what might have been the record of his successful life. There are men and women still living, here and elsewhere, who were co-workers with him, and who testify to the sterling qualities with which he was endowed. He was a type of man devoted to the ministry of the church, that has in large measure passed away. In his day he had much to do of detail, of preparation, of control, that could not now and ought not to be done by his successors. These men were forerunners of a different era, and did the work which times and conditions required them to do. They were all men of strong natures, vigorous in thought, forceful in debate, aggressive along all lines, and unused to the gentler methods and diplomacy of the modern pulpit. The work which was here to be done required such men, it was foundation work, under trying and unfavorable conditions, and they had the time and opportunity which does not come to men of the present day. But few of their illustrious number survive the cares and marks of time. Among that number are Thomas F. Royal and John Flinn, and there may be others. Father Flinn—hale and hearty at the age of more than 90 years—still goes in and out among us in mental and physical vigor. You will recall that the Taylor Street Church was organized in 1848, and the building was constructed in 1850. Father Flinn delivered the second discourse in the old church building. He came from the Maine Conference, and as early as September 3, 1851, became a member of the Oregon and California Mission Conference.

Among the contemporaries of Father Wilbur and Father Flinn in these earlier days were T. H. Pearne, Isaac Dillon,



J. S. Smith, John W. Miller and N. Doane, all of whom were men of power and influence and of the same general type. These were the days when an empire was in process of building. The Oregon territory originally was divided into four districts or counties—Tuality, Yamhill, Champoege and Clackamas. Tuality County was first established July 5, 1843, and comprised at that time all of the territory west of the Willamette and north of the Yamhill River, extending to the Pacific Ocean on the west and as far north as the north boundary line of the United States, which President Polk and his party claimed was 54:40. On September 4, 1849, its name was changed from Tuality to Washington County, and Portland, which was founded by A. L. Lovejoy and F. W. Pettygrove, in 1845, was first incorporated in January, 1851, and remained within the limits of Washington County until the organization of Multnomah County, on December 22, 1854. At that time there was no newspaper or other publication in what is now Multnomah County, and it was not until December 4, 1850, that Thomas J. Dryer published the first newspaper and named it *The Weekly Oregonian*. The *Daily Oregonian* was not published until February 4, 1861, and *The Sunday Oregonian* was first published on the 4th day of December, 1881.

The first school of public instruction in this city was opened in a little frame building on Front street, at the corner of Taylor, and was constructed by Job McNamee, the father of Mrs. E. J. Northrup, who, with her family, were at one time members of Taylor Street Church. The first school teacher was Dr. Ralph Wilcox, of New York, and he had under his charge about a dozen pupils. He was also the first physician coming to this city, and it will be remembered that for many years he was Clerk of the United States Circuit Court for this district and Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Territorial Legislature of 1848.

Recurring to the statement that Wilbur was nominated in the joint convention of the Legislative Assembly, September 11, 1863, as one of the candidates for the office of United

States Senator, it is worthy of historical record that in the early political history of this state there were strong and influential men identified with the Methodist Church who were more or less active in the political forces of the state. In this same Joint Assembly Thomas H. Pearne, who was a distinguished editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, was also mentioned as a candidate for the Senate, and had the support of Addison C. Gibbs, who, on the preceding day, had been inaugurated as Governor of the state, and who was also a member of the Methodist Church; J. S. Smith, who was elected to Congress as a Democrat in June, 1868, was a preacher in the Methodist Church under the mission conference presided over by William Roberts, and was admitted to that conference in 1851-2. He also was a co-worker with Wilbur in all the activities of the church in this section. George Abernethy, the first Governor of Oregon, was a member of the Methodist Church at Oregon City, and assisted in building the first Protestant Church erected on the Pacific Coast, which is still standing at Oregon City. William Roberts was the administrative officer and active member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this jurisdiction for many years during these pioneer times. He was an ideal executive and a fit co-worker with James H. Wilbur. The one was skillful to plan, the other strong to execute, and to these two men, in large measure, is due the successful issue of the preliminary work entrusted to their care.

The contemporaries of Wilbur profoundly admired the man, and in this regard he had the love and affection of men of all classes. In his zeal and constructive ability he has been regarded as the Jesuit of Methodism in the Northwest. If he had lived in the days of Ignatius Loyola, the Spanish soldier and prelate, he would have taken the three vows of that great order founded by him, and devoted himself to a life of poverty, chastity and obedience in the service of his Master. H. K. Hines, for some time editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, who delivered a memorial discourse at the funeral of Father

Wilbur at Taylor Street Church, October 30, 1887, speaking of him, said: "So long had he been a chief, if not the chief, figure in our Methodism on this coast, that it is not at all strange that his loss is so widely felt and unusually mourned. His place in our church work was unique; and perhaps it might be said there was place for but one Father Wilbur in our work. His was a history and a work that can never be repeated, nor even imitated on this coast. He was essentially and by nature a pioneer."

Summarizing what Dr. Hines has so well said of the man whom he knew, it may be said that Father Wilbur as an administrative and executive officer had rare discernment and force. His address was familiar, his carriage imposing, and his presence indicative of great will force. He was benevolent to a fault, and for many years prior to his death it is said that he disbursed about \$3,000 a year in benevolences, although he was a man of small fortune. By his will he bequeathed \$10,000 to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, \$10,000 to the Church Extension Society, and \$10,000 to the Freedman's Aid Society, and the remainder of his estate, amounting to about \$17,000, over and above these specific bequests, was bequeathed to Willamette University.

Speaking of his work among the Indians, Dr. Hines said:

"Twenty-two years of the life of James H. Wilbur were breathed out into what was such a moral desolation when he and his companions went there: Lost some would say, in the all-absorbing and unresponsive soul of paganism." And, while Dr. Hines dissents from this estimate of the sacrifice which Wilbur had made, it is debatable whether such a man should have made so great a sacrifice. A sense of natural justice and desire to bring light to a race in spiritual darkness, would prompt such men as Wilbur to give the best of their lives to such work. It is not true, as Dr. Hines has said, that "very much that was greatest in the character and most widely influential in the life and reputation of Mr. Wilbur himself, was the fruit and growth of that work and these years of conse-

cration to the redemption of the Indian race." This may in part be conceded to be true, and yet the biographer and historian who not only narrates events but seeks to discover the philosophy and purposes of the acts of men and their influence beyond their times, must regret that the labors of so great a man should have been so long and so exclusively devoted to a race that he could not help into a permanent and enduring civilization. Here and there a remnant of that race yet remains, and its untamed blood lives its nature and instinct, in a few strong members, but the severe chronicler of the times must attest the truth of history that in large degree the work of evangelism among the native races has not measured up to the expectation of the brave men and women who have sacrificed so much of life and of treasure and labor in their behalf. And the chief distinction that will be noted in the life and work of James H. Wilbur will be that upon virgin soil, in the unbroken forests of the Oregon country, with his own hands, he laid the foundation of Taylor Street Methodist Church, and like institutions and influences in other sections of this then new country, and that he here began a work which, in the circle of its influence and in the effectiveness of its power, will be eternal. What he did here and elsewhere along these lines was done with no thought of distinction or enduring fame. Longfellow says that "the talent of success is nothing more than doing what you can do well, without a thought of fame," and true greatness takes no notice of what the future may have in store for those who achieve, and is not troubled about the memorial tablet. Wilbur lived a life of usefulness and struggle, but in and through it all there was purpose and achievement. Daniel Deronda, at the end of that tragic story so well portrayed by George Eliot, says: "What makes life dreary is the want of motive; but once beginning to act with that penitential, loving purpose you have in your mind, there will be unexpected satisfactions—there will be newly-opening needs continually coming to carry you on from day to day. You will find your life growing like a



plant." And so it is that these early pioneer preachers, of whom Wilbur was a distinguished type, were placed in the way of empire building, and the motive which most strongly impelled them to action was that they might establish a Christian civilization in this distant and remote section of their country, and that they might set in motion forces that would endure forever. They were men without fortune, and inured to the hardships and privations of a new country; they were poorly compensated in money, and at times overwhelmed by apparently insurmountable difficulties. A mark of a great mind is the renewal of effort at each succeeding failure, and so it was in the case of Wilbur and men of his type, although they met with difficulties and oftentimes failed to accomplish results desired, each failure quickened their ambition to a higher and better effort.

Confucius says: "Our greatest glory is not, in never falling, but in rising every time we fall." This is, indeed, pagan philosophy, but none the less Christian, for such has been the mainspring of that effort which has extended the religion of Jesus of Nazareth from a Roman province to the conquest of the world.

## LAND TENURE IN OREGON.\*

INCLUDING THE TOPOGRAPHY, DISPOSITION OF PUBLIC LANDS, LANDLORDISM, MORTGAGES, FARM OUTPUT, AND PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF TENANT FARMING OF THE STATE, TOGETHER WITH TABLES AND COPIES OF LAND LEASES.

BY LON. L. SWIFT.

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\*Prepared at University of Oregon, 1907-8, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the Master's degree. Acknowledgment is made of assistance received from the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the preparation of this study.

## CHAPTER I.

## INTRODUCTION.

Agricultural efficiency is determined largely by the system of land tenure under which farming is conducted. In Oregon, as in the United States as a whole, the percentage of tenancy has been increasing since 1880, the year in which the first data was collected on this subject. The proportion of rented farms in Oregon in 1880 was 14.1 per cent of the total number of farms in the State; by 1900 this percentage had increased to 17.8. The increase of tenant farming in the United States during the same period was much greater than in Oregon, rising from 25.5 per cent in 1880 to 35.3 per cent in 1900. As soon as the desirable government land that is available for homestead entry or desert entry is all taken up, as is already practically the case, tenant farming will increase rapidly. The high price of land will make it impossible for the farmer of small means to secure a farm of his own and an ever increasing number will endeavor to rent.

No argument is required to prove that tenant farming is undesirable. Landowners universally acknowledge that the farmer should own the land he tills. A tenant, who is merely concerned with gaining returns from a tract of land for one or five years, has little interest in improving the soil and providing for its future efficiency. Farming requires interest of the farmer in the welfare of the farm to insure the best results both for present and future; and contract or agreement, no matter how strict and specific, can not take the place of direct personal interest. Tenants are seldom found who have the same concern in preserving and increasing the productivity of a rented farm that men do in a farm of their own. Life leases or personal contact of owners and tenants may slightly alleviate difficulties that would otherwise arise, but no system

of renting yet discovered proves as satisfactory, both to the farmer himself and to the community as a whole, as operation of farms by landowning farmers.

If tenant farming continues to increase, agricultural efficiency will not be as great as it would be under a system of farming where land is tilled by owners. The soil will become less productive because it is being constantly "skinned" by tenant farmers. It has been aptly said that the nation which tills the soil so as to leave it worse than they found it is doomed to decay and degradation. Tracts of land have actually been abandoned in the states along the Atlantic Seaboard because the soil has become too unproductive to support both landlord and tenant.

Tenant farming naturally seeks the most fertile lands because they yield the largest returns for the labor of cultivating and harvesting. Poor grades of land will scarcely pay a tenant for his work after the owner receives his share of the produce; consequently, tenants devastate our best, most productive lands, the garden spots of the United States, which should receive the greatest care and attention. Many reasons can be given to show that tenant farming is employed mostly on fertile and valuable lands. Owners of the best farms acquire a competency sooner than their less favored neighbors, and are enabled to retire from active work and rent their farms. Capitalists invest their money in the better grades of land because it yields the surest and largest returns for the sum invested. Tenants, as a rule, are men of limited means, who have not the capital to conduct farming on an extensive scale such as is necessary to make a success of farming on poor grades of land where the margin of profit is small. More risk is involved in farming poor land because the outlay is necessarily greater in proportion to the amount of returns and crops are more uncertain. Diversified farming is especially adapted to fertile land, and this kind of farming can be conducted largely by the farmers' own personal labor. These



facts make it evident that tenant farming is preying on the better lands and is gradually reducing their productivity.

One wholesome condition in our present system of tenant farming is the lack of landlordism. A large proportion of the owners of rented farms in the United States, and especially in Oregon, rent only one farm; and most of these landowners reside in the same county in which their farms are located. They are in no sense the great landlords like England supports, for they maintain a close personal contact with their tenants. In 1900, more than two-thirds of the owners of rented farms resided in the same county in which their farms were located, and 94 per cent of the owners of rented farms, rented only one farm. The figures for the United States do not show such a favorable condition, but the proportion of landlordism is small. As tenant farming is increasing rapidly in this country, and as cash tenancy, which is the system generally employed by the wealthy landlord, is increasing more rapidly than share tenancy, it appears very doubtful whether the small proportion of landlordism existing at the present time will long be maintained.

Short leases tend to increase the evils of tenant farming by making the renter more transitory and less interested in the welfare of the land. A very large proportion of leasing in Oregon is conducted by one year contracts, and farms are seldom rented in this State for more than two or three years under definite agreement. This short system of leasing may be due largely to the newness of the State, but it produces very unsatisfactory results. The tenant farmer in Oregon generally has the name of being a land skinner and shiftless farmer. The best results of tenant farming are said to be produced by cash tenancy rather than by share tenancy, and by long leases rather than by short leases.

The object of this paper is to show the conditions and tendencies of land tenure in Oregon and the progress and results of farming. The practical workings of the systems of renting

employed in Oregon at the present time are discussed as reported by prominent landowners throughout the State. After a brief outline of the topography of the State and of the disposition of public lands, a somewhat detailed discussion will be given of tenancy in Oregon, of residents of landowners who rent their farms, and of the agricultural credit system of the State. Attention will also be given to the number, size and productivity of the farms in the different sections and counties of Oregon. The census reports for 1900 give the latest figures bearing on tenancy and farm output that have been obtained, which is a disadvantage, making it impossible to bring the figures up to the present time. Perhaps the most vital chapter is that dealing with the systems of tenant farming employed in Oregon as explained from the reports of prominent landowners throughout the State. Owing to the lack of data or other information on the agricultural credit system of the State, this part of the investigation is incomplete and unsatisfactory. The appendix contains copies of some model leases according to which leading landowners in different parts of the State have rented and are renting their farms.

## CHAPTER II.

## TOPOGRAPHY.

Oregon is nearly an exact parallelogram, being in extent approximately 275 miles from north to south and 350 miles from east to west. The Cascade mountains running parallel with the coast about 110 miles inland, divide the State into Eastern and Western Oregon, which differ greatly in climate, elevation, and productivity. The Willamette Valley, the most productive portion of the State, lies between the Cascade mountains and the Coast Range. It is drained by the Willamette River and its tributaries. The rainfall is between 40 and 50 inches annually; but, owing to almost total absence of precipitation during the summer months and to the present methods of farming, the farm output can, doubtless, be greatly increased by means of proper fertilizing and irrigation. The soil is fertile and farming so diversified that almost every kind of agricultural activity attempted in any country in the latitude of Oregon is pursued. The counties lying in this section of the State are Multnomah, Washington, Clackamas, Yamhill, Marion, Polk, Linn, Benton and Lane. Southwestern Oregon is hilly and mountainous but contains many fertile valleys. This part of the State is especially adapted to the raising of fruit. This section includes, in all, five counties: Douglas, Jackson, Josephine, Curry and Coos. Curry and Coos are on the coast and not well adapted to orchards. The other coast counties are Lincoln, Tillamook and Clatsop. Columbia lies immediately east of Clatsop along the Columbia River, and the two counties have similar climatic and agricultural conditions. These counties have a very heavy rainfall and are lined with timbered hills and mountains. The principal farming industry is dairying.

Eastern Oregon is cut off by the Cascade Mountains from the rainfall enjoyed by the western part of the State, and con-

sequently is a semi-arid region. The kinds of farming engaged in are principally stock-raising and the production of wheat. Umatilla county is especially adapted for wheat farming. The greater part of Eastern Oregon is very sparsely populated, Baker, Union and Umatilla comprising the more thickly settled portion. In these three counties, as well as in Wallowa, farming is somewhat diversified. In the counties along the Columbia River, Morrow, Gilliam, Sherman and Wasco, the principal industry is wheat raising; but Wasco produces a large quantity of excellent fruit. Stock-raising is the principal industry in the other seven counties, which are Crook, Wheeler, Grant, Malheur, Harney, Lake and Klamath. None of these counties are favored with a railroad except Malheur, Klamath and Grant; but the last two named have only a branch line extending into their territory.



## CHAPTER III.

## DISPOSITION OF PUBLIC LANDS.

Oregon has a total area of 61,976,520 acres or 96,838 square miles, which is one thirty-third of the area of the United States. Of the total in Oregon, 698,880 acres, or 1,092 square miles, is water surface, leaving 61,277,440 acres, or 95,746 square miles, of land area. The approximate area of timber land is 18,459,520 acres, or 28,843 square miles; agricultural land, 42,817,920 acres, or 66,903 square miles. The area appropriated is 26,208,219 acres, or 40,950 square miles; area reserved, 14,894,967 acres, or 23,274 square miles; area unappropriated and unreserved, 20,174,254 acres, or 31,522 square miles. The actual area included in farms in 1900 was 10,071,328 acres, or 15,736 square miles, being nearly one-sixth of the total area of the State.

The area of land granted under the various acts up to June 30, 1904, may be classified as follows:

Confirmed donation land claims, 2,614,082.24 acres.

Wagon-road construction land grants, 2,453,932.32 acres: including Oregon Central and Military road, 845,536 acres; Corvallis and Yaquina Bay road, 90,240 acres; Willamette Valley and Cascade Mountain wagon road, 861,504 acres; Dalles Military road, 556,832.67 acres; Coos Bay and wagon road, 99,819.35 acres.

Railroad construction land grants, 4,812,298.64 acres: including Northern Pacific, 602,684.94 acres; Oregon and California, 3,821,901.80 acres; Oregon Central, 387,711.90 acres.

Swamp lands: selected, 526,903.63; approved, 351,743.16 acres; patented, 249,244.82 acres; rejected, 152,151.41 acres.

Grants of land for common schools, 3,404,302 acres: for charitable, educational, penal and reformatory institutions, 136,080 acres; for internal improvements, 500,000 acres.

Scrip—Private land claims, 5,200 acres.

Scrip—Sioux half-breeds, 80 acres.

Scrip—Agricultural college located, 70.240 acres .

Allotments to individual Indians, 535,167.45 acres.

Mineral lands, total, 31,184.9 acres, including lode and mill sites, 2,404.56 acres; placer, 2,903 acres.

Final homesteads, 3,493,637.24 acres.

Commuted homesteads, 588,029.29 acres.

Final timber-culture entries, 223,861.84 acres.

Land sold under timber and stone acts, 1,940,052.04 acres.

Reservoir rights of way, 1,110.13 acres.

Forest reserves, 4,649,240 acres.

State reclamation land grants, approved, 121,786.04 acres.

Land withdrawn for national reclamation purposes, withdrawn, 1,504,600 acres; restored, 91,520 acres; balance, 1,413,080 acres.

Land disposed of for cash under the various acts, 4,211,483.51 acres.

Entries pending in public-lands general land office, on July 1st, 1904; original homestead entries, 2,057,840 acres; final homestead entries, 59,450 acres; commuted homestead entries, 29,145 acres; timber and stone entries, 367,140 acres; other cash entries, 89,900 acres.

Crater Lake national park, 159,360 acres.

Indian lands reservations, 1,274,554 acres.

Ceded Indian lands not open to settlement, 26,111 acres\*.

Nearly one-half of the farming land of Oregon has been taken up under the final or the commuted homestead acts. The rate at which land is being acquired under these laws is becoming less year by year. Reports from 1868 to 1904 show that land available for homestead entry was rapidly diminishing before the latter date.

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\*Pub. Land Comm. Report, Sen. Doc. Vol. 4, pp. 138-360.

TABLE 1.

ACREAGE TAKEN UP ANNUALLY UNDER THE FINAL AND COMMUTED HOMESTEAD ENTRIES  
FROM 1868 TO 1904.

Year.	Final.	Commuted.	Year.	Final.	Commuted.
1868.....	4,068.22	.....	1887.....	90,774.14	11,810.14
1869.....	9,528.57	.....	1888.....	118,925.60	15,267.92
1870.....	15,371.17	.....	1889.....	145,764.60	22,625.85
1871.....	23,498.89	.....	1890.....	140,308.78	26,153.02
1872.....	26,971.45	.....	1891.....	165,641.24	32,291.37
1873.....	39,542.33	.....	1892.....	176,066.13	27,484.32
1874.....	36,995.87	.....	1893.....	148,787.76	25,655.25
1875.....	47,619.89	.....	1894.....	116,097.66	11,653.69
1876.....	44,795.59	.....	1895.....	132,404.76	11,082.41
1877.....	58,289.64	.....	1896.....	152,265.09	4,789.30
1878.....	54,749.09	.....	1897.....	175,001.97	3,387.95
1879.....	36,024.76	.....	1898.....	211,398.10	8,327.04
1880.....	39,873.50	.....	1899.....	179,811.42	7,475.07
1881.....	50,316.85	.....	1900.....	168,145.24	17,268.05
1882.....	63,638.26	5,312.75	1901.....	152,189.49	42,457.23
1883.....	85,559.67	9,614.54	1902.....	130,835.96	92,173.67
1884.....	77,285.32	13,436.87	1903.....	118,437.04	120,709.91
1885.....	67,990.56	9,371.56	1904.....	109,637.60	62,164.37
1886.....	76,025.09	7,517.07			

In general, it may be said that the yearly acreage taken up under final homestead entry became greater till 1893. During 1893, 1894 and 1895, the acreage was less than it had been before and much less than it was during the years immediately succeeding. The largest yearly acreage was taken in 1898, and the figures steadily grow less since that date. The area taken up in 1898 was nearly twice as great as in 1904. Commuted homestead entries do not show a general decline in acreage during the last years for which the report is given, but only half the area was commuted in 1904 as in the preceding decade. The annual acreage was smaller from 1894 to 1900, inclusive, than it had been during the years immediately preceding; but from 1901 to 1903, it increased rapidly and fell off in 1904. If the figures on final and commuted homestead entries since 1904 could be obtained, there is no doubt that they would show a decided decrease since that time. Practically all land suitable for farming that is available to homestead entry has now been taken up.

\*Pub. Land Comm. Report, Sen. Doc. Vol. 4, pp. 138-360.

## CHAPTER IV.

## LAND TENURE IN OREGON AND OTHER STATES.

Renting has proved unsatisfactory in Oregon as elsewhere. Tenancy had not reached a high percentage in this State before 1900, the latest date for which figures have been obtained on land tenure. In table one, it was shown that the yearly acreage acquired by farmers in Oregon under the final and commuted homestead acts, had not decreased to any considerable extent before 1900. As long as good land could be had for the asking, the landless farmer did not need to rent but secured a farm of his own. Yet, by 1900, renting was already working its evils in this State. The tenant had already shown himself to be anything but a successful farmer. In our discussion, we will first examine the figures relating to tenant farming in Oregon as compared with those for other states and geographical divisions of the United States and then study the different sections and counties of Oregon itself. Before beginning this discussion, it may be well to have in mind just what is meant by the term "farm" and by the classification of farmers into six groups as defined in the census reports.

In instructing those collecting data for land tenure in the United States for 1900, the following definition was given to specify what each farm should include: "A farm, for census purposes, includes all the land under one management, used for raising crops and pasturing live stock, with the wood lots, swamps, meadows, etc., connected therewith, whether consisting of one tract or of several separate tracts. It also includes the house in which the farmer resides, and all other buildings used by him in connection with his farming operations, together with the land upon which they are located. If the individual conducting a farm resides in a house not located upon the land used by him for farm purposes, and his chief occupa-



tion is farming, the house and lot on which it is located are a part of the farm. If, however, he devotes the greater part of his time to some other occupation, the house in which he resides is not a part of the farm. If the land owned by an individual, firm, or corporation is operated in part by the owner and in part by one or more tenants or managers, or if the land is wholly operated by tenants or managers, the portion of the land occupied by each is a farm, and must be reported in the name of the individual or individuals operating it. No land cultivated under the direction of others is to be included in the report of the land operated by the owner. For census purposes, market, truck and fruit gardens, orchards, nurseries, cranberry marshes, greenhouses and city dairies are "farms." *Provided*, The entire time of at least one individual is devoted to their care. This statement, however, does not refer to gardens in cities or towns which are maintained by persons for the use or enjoyment of their families and not for gain. Public institutions, as almshouses, insane asylums, etc., cultivating large vegetable or fruit gardens, or carrying on other agricultural work, are to be considered as farms."\*

Six classes of farmers are named by the census reports for 1900: owners, "part owners," "owners and tenants," managers, cash tenants and share tenants. Owners are those cultivating farms belonging to them; part owners, those owning a part and renting a part of the farms tilled by them (in 1880 and 1890, farms thus operated were reported as two; one owned, the other rented); owners and tenants, those cultivating farms operated by the joint direction and by the united labor of two or more persons, one owning the farm or a part of it, the other, or others, owning no part but receiving for supervision or labor a share of the produce; managers, those operating farms for a fixed salary; cash tenants, those cultivating farms for a definite amount of money; share tenants, those cultivat-

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\*U. S. Census Report for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, page XIV.

ing farms for a certain per cent of the produce.\* In 1880 and 1890, the first four classes were all included in class one.

Some of the questions relating to land tenure in Oregon that first present themselves for consideration, are the number of farms operated by each class of farmers, the size of these farms, and the relative quality of the land as shown by its value. A classification of the percentage of the number of farms, farm area, and value of farm property, by tenure for the United States, Western Division, California, Washington and Oregon, will reveal the general status of Oregon in regard to the manner in which its farming was conducted in 1900.

TABLE 2.

PERCENTAGE OF THE NUMBER OF FARMS, ACRES IN FARMS, AND VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY,  
CLASSIFIED BY TENURE FOR THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA,  
WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, IN 1900.†)

Farmers.	United States.	Western Division.	California.	Washington	Oregon.
Owners.....	54.9	69.6	60.7	73.3	68.0
Part Owners...	7.9	10.1	11.3	10.5	11.9
Owners and Tenants.....	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.9
Managers.....	1.0	3.1	4.5	1.2	1.4
Cash Tenants..	13.1	7.7	12.5	7.1	7.4
Share Tenants.	22.2	8.9	10.6	7.3	10.4

ACRES IN FARMS.

Owners.....	50.2	37.6	35.1	54.7	52.0
Part Owners...	14.8	20.7	17.1	26.8	20.5
Owners and Tenants.....	1.1	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.1
Managers.....	10.7	26.7	24.3	4.4	11.5
Cash Tenants..	9.2	7.3	10.4	5.5	5.3
Share Tenants.	14.0	7.2	12.6	7.8	9.6

VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY.

Owners.....	51.0	46.1	40.6	57.2	53.8
Part Owners...	12.5	16.6	16.0	21.3	17.4
Owners and Tenants.....	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.9	1.3
Managers.....	5.2	15.5	18.1	3.4	6.3
Cash Tenants..	12.1	9.3	11.4	6.6	8.3
Share Tenants.	18.0	11.8	13.4	10.6	12.9

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, p. XLIII.

†U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 260-261.

In Oregon, more than two-thirds of the farms, in 1900, were operated by owners and nearly all the others, by tenants. Owners operated 68 per cent; part owners, 11.9; share tenants, 10.4; cash tenants, 7.4; managers, 1.4; owners and tenants, 0.9. Some of the land operated by part owners was rented and some owned by those who cultivated it; that operated by owners and tenants was farmed jointly by owners and tenants.

Owners operated 13 per cent more farms in Oregon than in the United States. This difference was made up mainly by share tenancy and partly by cash tenancy, the percentage of share tenancy in the United States being twice as large as in Oregon; cash tenancy, 5.7 larger; part owners, 4.0. In the Western Division, the percentage of the different classes of tenancy was much the same as in Oregon; share tenancy, however, was slightly less, and managers, greater. The relative number of farms in California operated by managers was larger than in the Western Division; cash tenancy was 5.1 per cent greater than in Oregon, the difference being equaled by the percentage of owners. In Washington, the percentage of farms operated by owners was greater than in Oregon and by share tenants, less. Washington was much the same as the Western Division except that it had a smaller per cent of its farms operated by managers. Tenancy in Oregon, therefore, more nearly resembled that in Washington than it did that in California. All the states of the Western Division differed from the United States in having a smaller percentage of rented farms, which shows that the older the country becomes, the larger is the per cent of farms operated by renters. This tendency is seen in the difference of the proportion of tenancy in the three states, California, Washington and Oregon. California had a larger relative number of rented farms than Oregon, which was the newer state. Washington, likewise, being newer than Oregon, had a still smaller percentage of rented farms. It may also be noted that the highest per cent of managers was to be found where the largest farms were

located. The average size of California's farms was very large, and this State had the largest per cent of managers. In the Western Division, where the area of the average farm was large, the relative number of farms operated by managers was greater than in Oregon, in Washington, or in the United States.

Tenure classified according to size of farms and value of farm property shows that owners operated farms that were smaller than the average size farm, but more valuable to the acre. The same condition was, for the most part, true of farms cultivated by both cash and share tenants. Farms operated by part owners were much larger than the average, but in each farm of this class were included not less than two; one owned, the other rented, which interpretation makes this class, also, smaller than the average but slightly less valuable per acre. By far the largest farms were operated by managers, and this class was much less valuable per acre. Farms cultivated by the class designated as owners and tenants were almost average in size and value. Oregon had no exception to any of these general rules or classifications.

The kinds of farms operated by each of the six classes of farmers may be further explained by the percentage of land improved which each cultivated.

TABLE 3.

PERCENTAGE OF FARM LAND IMPROVED OPERATED BY EACH OF THE SIX CLASSES OF FARMERS, IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, IN 1900.(\*)

Farmers.	United States.	Western Division.	California,	Washington.	Oregon.
Owners.....	51.2	35.7	38.9	38.5	33.1
Part Owners...	45.4	30.2	54.2	44.6	36.9
Owners and Tenants.....	59.5	40.2	42.8	47.8	40.7
Managers.....	12.5	11.0	22.9	18.8	11.6
Cash Tenants..	55.1	24.1	31.5	25.3	32.8
Share Tenants..	70.3	63.9	74.0	66.3	49.5

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, p. 144.



Farms operated by share tenants had the largest per cent of improved land. Share tenancy, therefore, is peculiarly favorable to farms that are mostly under cultivation, farms that grow such crops as hay and grain, from which the produce can easily be divided between owner and tenant at harvest. Farms rented for cash, in the Western Division, California, and Washington had less than an average per cent of improved land as compared with all the farms of each of the geographical divisions. They were not, to a large extent, at least, stock ranches, because they were smaller than the average size farm; but, as would naturally be expected, those used for diversified farming, which contained, in many instances, much waste or uncultivated land. Dairy and fruit farms, and all farms that do not admit of easy division of their produce, almost inevitably rent for cash. As farms operated by owners are of all kinds, their percentage of improved land is nearly average. By far the smallest per cent of land was improved in the farms conducted by managers, making it quite evident that stock-raising was the principal farm industry handled by this class of farmers. The exceptional large size of these farms is in direct accordance with this statement. The figures showing the actual average area of farms operated by managers in comparison with farms of average area are amazing.

TABLE 4.

AVERAGE AREA IN ACRES OF ALL FARMS AND OF FARMS OPERATED BY MANAGERS IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, IN 1900.(\*)

Classes.	United States.	Western Division.	California.	Washington.	Oregon.
All Farms.....	147.4	393.5	403.5	258.0	283.1
Managers.....	1514.3	3303.9	2152.5	922.2	2228.3

These figures are so large as almost to lead us to question their truth, but they need no further explanation than has already been given.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 4 and 5.

Another significant classification of the six different kinds of tenure may be made with reference to the output of farm produce. The percentage of the total value of live stock on farms and of the relative value of other commodities produced by the six classes of farmers as compared with the valuation of farm property handled by each class, will show the productive ability secured by the various ways of farming as well as the kind of farming in which each class of farmers was principally engaged.

TABLE 5.

PERCENTAGE OF THE VALUE OF LIVE STOCK ON FARMS AND OF THE VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS, CLASSIFIED BY TENURE, IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, IN 1900. (\*)

## UNITED STATES.

Items.	Owners	Part Owners.	Owners & Tenants	Managers.	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants.
Live Stock....	54.0	14.0	1.2	8.1	9.5	13.2
Products.....	53.1	11.7	1.1	4.7	11.5	17.9
Property.....	51.0	12.5	1.2	5.2	12.1	18.0

## WESTERN DIVISION.

Live Stock....	49.2	16.3	0.5	24.9	4.8	4.3
Products.....	48.8	16.8	0.6	15.7	8.1	10.0
Property.....	46.1	16.6	0.7	15.5	9.3	11.8

## CALIFORNIA.

Live Stock....	41.6	15.0	0.5	20.7	12.7	9.5
Products.....	41.6	16.6	0.5	14.9	12.7	13.7
Property.....	40.6	16.0	0.5	18.1	11.4	13.4

## WASHINGTON.

Live Stock....	61.1	18.9	0.97	5.0	7.2	7.1
Products.....	58.7	20.9	0.8	2.9	6.7	10.0
Property.....	57.2	21.3	0.9	3.4	6.6	10.6

## OREGON.

Live Stock....	58.6	15.5	0.9	13.3	5.0	6.7
Products.....	57.2	18.1	1.1	6.4	6.4	10.8
Property.....	53.8	17.4	1.3	6.3	8.3	12.9

Owners operated 53.8 per cent of the value of farm property in Oregon. On these farms was reported 58.6 per cent of all live stock in the State, and 57.2 per cent of the value of farm

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 260-261.

products came from land cultivated by this class of farmers. Owners, therefore, maintained about an equal percentage of live stock and products in proportion to the value of the land which they cultivated, and a higher per cent of each than the relative value of the land on which they farmed, making it evident that they were a thrifty, productive class of farmers, and that no one class of agriculture was especially followed by those who operated the farms which they owned. What was true of Oregon in this respect was equally true of the other geographical divisions.

Tenants, on the whole, in each of the five divisions, reported a smaller per cent of live stock than valuation of farm property operated by them, but almost an equal ratio of farm produce. In Oregon, their percentage of farm output, though less in live stock than in produce, was especially small in both. Tenant farming may be said to be unfavorable to the raising of live stock and better adapted to the production of cereals and other crops; but, in Oregon, it is not a success in either. Farms operated by owners, which represent two classes of farms, owned and rented, form a go-between of renting and ownership, holding about an equal ratio in output to valuation. This class of renters, however, are, doubtless, more self-reliant and earnest farmers than other tenants. Yet in Oregon, the farm output of part owners was in 1900 lower in percentage than the valuation of the farms.

Farms operated by managers had a very high valuation of live stock in proportion to the value of the land controlled by them, and the value of products raised on these farms was not below the average. This means of farming, unlike tenancy, is exceedingly favorable to the raising of live stock, and is not altogether bad for the production of cereals and other crops. It has produced better results in all kinds of farming in Oregon than have been obtained through renting. Owners and tenants, the third class of farmers, have not specialized in any particular lines of farming, nor have they proved overly successful.

To sum up, the farmers that have reached the best results in all kinds of farming are, with the exception of managers, at least, those who own the land they cultivate. Renters, on the other hand, both cash and share, are the most unsuccessful farmers; but, perhaps, those who own one farm and rent another have shown better efficiency than those who have no land of their own. Renting has also proved wholly unsatisfactory in stock-raising, which industry has been most successful on farms cultivated by managers.

The proportion of live stock raised on farms operated by the different classes of farmers varies greatly in each class according to the kind of stock. Farms conducted by managers raised a much larger percentage of cattle and sheep than of swine or goats; renters, both cash and share, raised a large proportion of swine to the number of sheep or cattle. It is as significant to note how the different kinds of stock were raised as how all stock were raised.

TABLE 6.

PERCENTAGE OF CATTLE, HORSES, SHEEP, SWINE, AND GOATS RAISED ON FARMS OPERATED BY THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF FARMERS, IN OREGON, IN 1900. (\*)

Farmers.	Cattle.	Horses.	Sheep.	Swine.	Goats.	Total.
Owners.....	57.5	60.5	56.0	61.4	67.0	58.6
Part Owners..	12.4	15.9	20.3	15.5	17.9	15.5
Owners and Tenants....	00.9	01.0	00.4	01.5	02.0	00.0
Managers....	18.3	0.97	16.9	02.1	00.9	13.3
Cash Tenants.	05.6	04.7	03.1	07.7	02.4	05.0
Share Tenants.	05.3	08.2	03.3	11.8	09.8	06.7

Farms operated by owners raised about an equal percentage of cattle as compared with the valuation of cattle raised on all farms. Owners were slightly above the average in horses and swine, and below in sheep. A very large per cent of goats was raised by owners, but this class of live stock was small in valuation and of little importance. The farmers that varied most in percentage of the different kinds of stock were managers. The relative valuation of all live stock raised on farms conducted by managers was 13.3 per cent. They were consid-

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, p. 336.



erably above the average in cattle and sheep, below in horses, and raised a very small percentage of swine or goats. Cash and share tenant farms both raised a larger relative amount of swine than the average of either class showed in the valuation of all live stock. Share tenants also exceeded their average in horses and goats; cash tenants, in cattle. Both raised few sheep. Part owners raised a large per cent of sheep but a relatively small number of cattle.

An examination of the different kinds of cereals in the same way will show that classes of tenure have been favorable or unfavorable to the production of the various grains.

TABLE 7.

PERCENTAGE OF THE NUMBER OF BUSHELS OF WHEAT, OATS, BARLEY, CORN AND RYE  
PRODUCED ON FARMS OPERATED BY THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF FARMERS,  
IN OREGON, IN 1900.(\*)

Farmers.	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Corn.	Rye.	Total Products.
Owners.....	46.2	49.7	55.4	62.8	62.2	57.2
Part Owners..	26.3	19.0	20.7	15.2	23.3	18.1
Owners and Tenants.....	01.5	01.7	01.3	01.8	02.4	01.1
Managers.....	02.0	01.9	02.1	00.8	00.6	06.4
Cash Tenants.	05.1	06.3	07.0	09.6	03.0	06.4
Share Tenants.	18.9	21.4	13.5	09.8	08.5	10.8

Share tenants raised 10.8 per cent of the value of all products, but a much smaller proportion of wheat, oats and barley. Owners produced a small per cent of these grains as compared with their total output of products. Cash tenants, however, are not large producers of these grains, and managers are small producers. Share tenants, therefore, are especially engaged in the production of the staple grains.

The relative increase of tenant farming in Oregon during the two decades previous to 1900, may be seen by the accompanying table.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, p. 96.

TABLE 8.

PERCENTAGE OF FARMS OPERATED BY OWNERS, CASH TENANTS, AND SHARE TENANTS, IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, BY DECADES FROM 1880 TO 1900. (\*)

UNITED STATES—	Year.	Owners.	Cash Tenants.	Share Tenants.
	1880....	74.5	08.0	17.5
	1890....	71.6	10.0	18.4
	1900....	64.7	13.1	22.2
WESTERN DIVISION—	1880....	86.0	05.5	08.5
	1890....	87.9	05.0	07.1
	1900....	83.4	07.7	08.9
CALIFORNIA—	1880....	80.2	08.9	10.9
	1890....	82.2	08.7	09.1
	1900....	76.9	12.5	10.6
WASHINGTON—	1880....	92.8	03.2	04.0
	1890....	91.5	03.0	05.5
	1900....	85.6	07.1	07.3
OREGON—	1880....	85.9	04.6	09.5
	1890....	87.5	04.2	08.3
	1900....	82.2	07.4	10.4

The percentage of tenant farming did not increase so fast in Oregon from 1880 to 1900 as in the United States, but cash tenancy increased more than share tenancy. The Western Division, California, and Washington, all show much the same tendency as Oregon. The comparatively slow increase in tenant farming in the Western states up till 1900, was due, unquestionably, to the open public domain, which granted choice land to the settler merely for the asking, and required a very small amount of capital for the farmer to secure a place of his own. It is to be noted that cash tenancy increased much faster in the western states and in Oregon than share tenancy; but it is difficult to say for certain why this is true.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 688-689.

## CHAPTER V.

## LAND TENURE IN THE COUNTIES OF OREGON.

The conditions of land tenure in Oregon have been outlined for the States as a whole and the State has been compared to other geographical divisions. Let us turn our attention to the different counties and sections of the State itself. The figures showing in what counties the percentage of each of the different classes of farmers was the highest in 1900 will tend to explain the kinds of farming in which each was principally engaged.

TABLE 9.

PERCENTAGE OF THE NUMBER OF FARMS OPERATED BY THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF FARMERS IN OREGON IN 1900, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTIES. (\*)

Counties.	Owners.	Part Owners.	Owners & Tenants.	Managers.	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants.
Harney.....	84.8	06.3	....	4.0	2.0	2.9
Curry.....	83.4	02.4	....	2.8	9.0	2.4
Tillamook....	82.9	09.7	0.1	0.8	4.3	2.2
Columbia....	82.8	06.2	....	1.1	6.6	3.3
Malheur.....	80.1	06.7	....	4.3	2.4	6.5
Wallowa.....	79.5	06.7	1.0	0.6	3.4	8.8
Grant.....	79.2	08.5	1.1	2.0	3.2	6.0
Wasco.....	77.8	87.6	....	1.7	4.4	8.5
Lincoln.....	77.5	11.0	1.4	0.2	6.8	3.1
Josephine....	77.2	07.7	0.7	0.9	5.2	8.3
Wheeler.....	76.7	14.3	0.8	0.8	3.3	4.1
Baker.....	76.1	03.7	01.7	3.6	5.1	9.8
Clatsop.....	73.9	04.6	00.2	2.8	15.0	3.5
Morrow.....	73.4	15.2	01.2	1.0	1.2	8.0
Lake.....	73.3	08.3	01.3	5.3	6.3	5.5
Union.....	72.9	08.5	01.0	1.0	4.6	12.0
Lane.....	71.6	10.1	01.1	0.8	6.0	10.4
Klamath.....	70.2	12.1	01.8	1.5	5.1	9.3
Coos.....	70.0	07.9	00.8	0.7	16.9	3.7
Washington..	69.2	09.8	01.1	0.7	10.7	8.5
Clackamas....	69.0	11.8	01.2	0.5	10.0	6.5
Crook.....	68.8	16.8	....	2.4	5.6	6.4
Douglas.....	68.2	08.2	00.7	0.9	12.1	9.9
Umatilla.....	66.4	14.3	01.1	2.4	4.0	11.8
Jackson.....	65.7	10.0	01.5	1.7	12.0	9.1
Marion.....	62.0	13.8	00.4	2.1	5.0	16.7
Benton.....	61.5	17.8	01.6	0.2	6.5	12.4
Yamhill.....	60.2	15.5	01.6	0.9	5.7	16.1
Linn.....	59.2	13.1	01.4	0.7	4.5	21.1
Gilliam.....	58.5	31.3	....	0.7	2.9	6.6
Multnomah....	58.3	06.8	00.3	0.7	28.5	4.4
Polk.....	54.2	15.0	01.5	0.9	3.5	24.9
Sherman.....	50.6	32.1	00.6	0.4	0.9	15.4

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 116-117.

Owners operated a larger percentage of farms in the newer and more isolated districts than in other places. As was seen in the discussion of tenure for the different geographical divisions of the United States, the older sections have the largest proportions of rented farms. The coast counties and those situated east of the mountains in central and southern Oregon had the largest percentage of owners. The smallest proportion of owners was in the Willamette Valley, with the exception of Sherman and Gilliam, which are in the wheat belt along the Columbia River. Harney reported 84.8 per cent of its farms operated by owners. Curry, Tillamook, Columbia and Malheur, each had over 80 per cent handled in the same way. Sherman reported only 50.6 per cent of its farms operated by owners, and a large number of the Willamette Valley counties reported less than 60 per cent. Land owning farmers, those who till their own farms, do not specialize in any particular kinds of farming. A high proportion of this class are found invariably in the more undeveloped counties almost regardless of the kind of farming to which the country is adapted.

Where the percentage of ownership is smallest, share tenancy is largest; and share tenancy is least in operation where ownership has its highest percentage. The older sections of the State had, in 1900, the largest proportion of share tenancy. The counties of the Willamette Valley ranked first; the northwest and southwest, next; central and eastern Oregon, third; and the coast had the smallest percentage of share tenancy. Polk and Linn counties had over 20 per cent of their farms operated by share tenants; most of the other counties of the Willamette Valley, between 10 and 20 per cent. The coast counties had less than 4 per cent of their farms operated by this class of tenants. It may be well to note that the sections in which share tenancy was most prevalent were those producing the bulk of the main cereal crops; and in the great stock counties, which ranked first in cattle, horses and sheep, there was a small percentage of share tenancy. The produc-



tion of cereals was the kind of farming principally engaged in by share tenants; dairying, fruit or live stock do not come in this class. The facilities with which cereal crops can be divided at harvest as compared with other kinds of farming, bears out the conditions indicated by the tables.

Cash tenancy, like share tenancy, had its highest percentage in the older sections of the State; but unlike share tenancy, it was most prevalent where farms were small and where orchard and dairy products gave the principal farm income. Cash tenancy may be said to take the place of share tenancy where farms are small and where farming is more intensified and diversified. Multnomah county, which is favored with the metropolis of the state, had by far the largest percentage of cash tenancy, showing a total of 28.5 per cent. In general, the coast ranked first in cash tenancy; Willamette Valley, second; and Eastern Oregon showed the smallest proportion of cash tenancy. Stock raising or the production of cereals are neither favorable to cash tenancy. Such counties as Sherman, Morrow, Gilliam, Malheur, Harney, Grant and Wheeler reported the smallest proportion of cash tenant farmers.

Part owners, the class of farmers that operated two farms (one owned, the other rented), farmed for the most part, in the same sections that reported the highest percentage of share tenancy. The wheat belt along the Columbia River was particularly favorable to this class. These farmers appear to have been nearly all share renters and to have been engaged mostly in the production of cereals and live stock. The eastern part of the State ranked first in part owners; the Willamette Valley, second; and the coast, last.

Counties excelling in large stock farms showed the highest percentage in managers. This is the same idea that was clearly demonstrated in the discussion of the different geographical divisions of the United States. Nearly one-half of the counties in Oregon had less than one per cent of their farms operated by managers, while Lake, Malheur and Harney

each reported four per cent or more. The eastern part of the State ranked ahead of the western part in percentage of managers.

Seven counties reported no farms operated by owners and tenants. Klamath, which showed the highest percentage of this class of farmers, had only 1.8 per cent. No particular section of the State was noticeable in advance in the proportion of this class of farmers, yet the smallest percentage was in the sections devoted almost exclusively to stock-raising.

## CHAPTER VI.

## HOW TENANCY WORKS IN OREGON.

Many prominent landowners in different parts of the State have responded to a list of questions sent to them in regard to tenancy. The questions pertained principally to the practical workings of cash and share tenant farming as these systems are employed in the State at the present time. The views of these landowners, who are well informed on conditions of renting, will be discussed as reported by them by taking the different phases of our subject in order and reviewing each of the different sections and counties of the State.\*

Keeping in mind the statistics we have just considered, which, though taken eight years ago, form a good basis for our study, we will remember that the counties of the Willamette Valley with the exception of Multnomah, Washington and Clackamas, showed the highest percentage of share tenancy; also that the kind of farming in which share tenants were principally engaged was the production of the cereals. These two ideas were substantiated by every answer given by the landowners residing in these counties. It was unanimously reported throughout the State that the production of cereals favors share renting, while cash renting favors dairying,

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\*From questions sent out, 43 answers were received. Twenty-one counties reported as follows:

Crook.....	3	answers.	Umatilla.....	2	answers.
Wallowa.....	3	"	Union.....	3	"
Benton.....	2	"	Sherman.....	2	"
Marion.....	2	"	Klamath.....	3	"
Baker.....	2	"	Josephine.....	1	"
Grant.....	3	"	Malheur.....	2	"
Clackamas.....	1	"	Gilliam.....	3	"
Morrow.....	2	"	Tillamook.....	2	"
Lake.....	1	"	Wheeler.....	1	"
Clatsop.....	3	"	Lincoln.....	1	"
Curry.....	1	"			

fruit raising and the production of vegetables. Stock raising is said, for the most part, to be let by cash tenancy, but sometimes on shares. Hay land is generally rented for cash; hops, generally on shares. The reasons for different kinds of farming favoring different forms of tenancy is said to be due, as might be supposed, to the nature of the crop produced. Grain land is not rented for cash because the quantity of the crop from year to year is so uncertain, a large crop one year not insuring an equal output the next; and the produce is easily divided at harvest time. In fruit raising, dairying or gardening, conditions are different. The quantity of the output is more certain and the produce almost impossible to divide. The hay crop is both reasonably certain and easy of division, and is generally rented for cash because this relieves the owner of the responsibility of looking after the selling of his share and allows the renter to do as he pleases with little restriction, making him more independent and self-supporting. Stock raising favors cash renting because it is not always easy to make an equitable division of the property, yet stock are often rented on shares.

It is generally conceded that the cash tenant has more money than the share tenant, but in a few cases this is denied. Share tenancy is said by many to be the form of renting employed because the renter has little or no money to pay cash. Cash tenancy is the method preferred by all the landowners but three or four who have reported, if the kind of farming will permit; the idea being that the cash tenant is, as a rule, more industrious and thrifty, more independent and self-reliant, and the owner is relieved of responsibility.

Statistics prove beyond all doubt that tenant farming is increasing not only in the United States but in each and every state in the Union. This fact is conceded by most of the landowners in this State, but some deny it, as do many people well acquainted with the figures, by saying that tenants become landowners in time, and that tenancy is only a stepping stone to ownership. This idea is true but not conclusive.



Those who acknowledge that tenancy is increasing attribute the increase to immigration, lack of more fertile public domain, rise in land values, and retirement of older and more wealthy farmers from active work, all of which ideas are the facts that statistics substantiate. As soon as the public land in Oregon is all taken up, as it nearly all now is, that can be cultivated, and no more fertile tracts lay further removed from civilization as has been the condition in the past, tenancy will increase rapidly for years to come unless steps are taken to avert this movement.

Many forms of share renting are employed in Oregon to meet the needs of the different kinds of farming and varied conditions throughout the State. For cereal farming when the lessee furnishes everything and delivers the owner's share to market, the lessor receives from one-third to one-fourth of the crop, varying according to the productivity of the soil, distance from market, and other conditions. In the Willamette Valley, the lessor often receives one-third delivered to market and stands no expense except taxes; but the more common practice appears to be a division on this ratio with the grain delivered in bin on the farm. The prevalent rule is the same in other parts of the State except on the large wheat farms along the Columbia River, where the lessor usually furnishes the sacks for his share of the grain and receives one-third of the crop delivered to market if it is not hauled over five or six miles; if the hauling is a greater distance, he receives one-fourth. The fertility of the soil is also taken into consideration. When the lessor furnishes the seed, horses and machinery, he generally receives one-half of the crop. On irrigated lands, the owner furnishes all, or sometimes one-half, of the water.

Hay, when baled, is divided on the same ratio as grain; when not baled but put in stack or barn, it is divided equally between owner and tenant. The lessor furnishes the water for irrigation.

If stock are rented on shares, as they often are, the increase

is divided equally between lessor and lessee. The lessor furnishes sires, bulls, rams, half of wool sacks, half of dipping material; tenant furnishes hay, fodder, pasture, range, and does all the work. This, in general, is the system employed throughout the State for renting stock on shares.

Pasture land is usually rented separately from grain land for so much an acre, or else the owner retains the pasture for his own use. Sometimes the lessee is allowed enough pasture for a few stock. In the wheat belt along the Columbia River, the pasture is a secondary consideration and the lessee is often allowed the free use of it for the few stock he may have. Straw is generally the property of the lessor the same as the pasture, but it is often divided equally between owner and tenant.

Up till harvest, the horses are sometimes fed from the undivided hay and grain and sometimes not. No rule prevails in regard to this, for it is about as often one way as the other. During harvest, however, they are more often fed from the undivided produce than not; and hay is more often fed in this way than grain.

An agreement is seldom made in regard to poultry, but in a very few cases, the eggs are divided equally between lessor and lessee. The lessee is generally allowed to keep what poultry he wishes as long as they do no particular damage to crops, which agreement is commonly understood and no specified agreement is made in regard to this matter.

Cash rent is generally figured on five per cent of the value of the land. For grain land it varies from two to five dollars, according to the fertility of soil, distance from market, and other conditions. Hay rents from two to six dollars an acre, alfalfa bringing the highest rent; wild grass, the lowest. When grass is seeded, lessor furnishes the seed. Pasture land rents from one to two dollars an acre, but poor quality is sometimes let at a lower rate, dry land in the eastern part of the State demanding only \$.25 to \$1.00 an acre. A report from Josephine county says that ordinary farming land in that sec-

tion rents from \$8.00 to \$10.00 an acre when it is near town; when eight or ten miles from market, for \$5.00 to the acre; and truck land near town brings \$20.00 an acre. An answer from Marion county gives the rental of nursery land at \$10.00 an acre. Range land is rented for ten cents an acre.

More leases are made for one year than for any other period of time. This fact is probably due to the newness of the State, because the landowners do not wish to make long-time contracts with people they do not know. In the Willamette Valley and coast counties, which have been settled longer than Eastern Oregon, more long-term leasing is done. Where summer-fallowing is carried on almost exclusively as in the Columbia River district, farms rent mostly for two years, because each farm is divided into two sections and it takes two years for each part to raise a crop. What is summer-fallowed one year raises grain the next. But in counties that are newer than the average, like Wallowa and Grant, grain land is seldom rented for more than a year at a time. Many farmers throughout the State who rent for one year give the lessee the option of leasing the next if he does good and satisfactory work. Stock ranches are generally rented for three or five years, because it takes time for stock to mature. Landowners are almost unanimous in desiring that the system of renting should be long. They say this secures the best results because it gives the tenant a better chance to take an interest in the farm by reaping the benefit of his labors and improvements; and in a long period of time, the renter has a much better opportunity of making money enough to buy a farm, which is, of course, the desired goal of this class of farmers.

A long-term lease does not make any difference in the share each party receives except when new land is to be broken and brought under cultivation, in which case, the lessee generally gets the whole crop for the first year. Both the lessor and the lessee receive the benefits derived by long-term leasing and the ratio of division does not change. Scarcely anywhere in Oregon is it customary to give a written notice three or six

months before the end of the year if either party wishes to bring the lease to a close. Clatsop county, however, reports that it is the custom to do so, and a few landowners located in different parts of the State give a like answer; but provision for bringing the lease to a close is generally made in the contract.

How the partnership property should be divided is generally specified in the lease. The crops each year are generally divided by the number of bushels at the thresher or by weights at the warehouse; hay in the stack, by measurement. Plowing, cultivating or improvements are paid for by the owner, or else the lessee gives an equivalent of such things as existed when he first acquired possession, as for example, 300 acres of plowed land at the beginning of the lease calls for an equal acreage plowed at its expiration. Stock is generally not divided till the close of the lease, when it is often done, in the case of sheep, by running them through a shut and making them dodge right and left alternately through a dodge-gate into separate corrals; cattle and horses, by each party choosing alternately. The herd is sometimes sold and the lessor first is paid the appraised value of his stock when he leased in the beginning and half the increased value received by the sale.

Owners do not as a rule co-operate with their tenants in the management of their farms, but the tenant follows his own judgment as to what he shall do as long as he observes the agreement set forth in the lease. Sometimes the lessor may assist the tenant in the way of advice or he may advance him money.

Artificial fertilizers are almost unknown in Oregon. The only way in which the land is fertilized is by feeding stock on the farm and hauling manure from the stables and corrals and spreading it over the fields, but in most parts of the State, nothing whatever is done to replenish the nourishment of the soil. Many farmers in Eastern Oregon require their land to be summer-fallowed every other year and cultivated during the summer months to keep down the weeds. West of the



mountains, very little summer-fallowing is done. Landowners of the Willamette Valley report that no provisions are made in renting land to prevent weeds or to replenish the soil. They appear to be unable to solve the problem of maintaining the efficiency of the farms. The only means used to keep tenants from skinning the land is the stipulations of the lease, but these are, in nearly all cases, wholly inefficient to meet the requirements of good farming, and very often not observed at all. Rotation of crops is almost unheard of unless it be from one kind of grain to another. Summer-fallowing is the only method used in the eastern part of the State, but this is aided somewhat by cultivation of the plowing. Many landowners say that they believe it impossible to keep tenants from skinning the land.

Owners are generally secured in receiving their part of the rent. Grain, when divided at the thresher, is looked after by the owner who is present in person or by agent; when it is delivered at the warehouse, checks are made out to the owner for his portion of the grain. Sometimes the owner has marked sacks and secures his portion at the thresher in this way. Lessors of large wheat farms along the Columbia River often have contracts that give them a lien on the crop till the lessee has completed the year's farming, delivered the grain, and fulfilled all of the agreements. Many lessors do not secure themselves in any way, but trust to the tenants to fulfill the terms of the contract. Cash rent is often paid in advance; when not paid at the beginning of the lease, lessors generally require security in the way of a gilt-edge note or bond. Dairy farms rented for cash may divide the income from milk at the creamery so that the lessor receives his amount specified in the lease; if rented on shares, then the checks are made out according to the specified ratio to owner and tenant, respectively, at the creamery.

New fences and buildings are generally, if not always, constructed by the owner. The most common rule for keeping them in repair when farms are rented is that the owner fur-

nishes the material and the tenant does the work of hauling and repairing. The contract generally states that the tenant shall keep all fences and buildings in as good order and condition as they are when he takes possession of the farm, damage by the elements being excepted; but the owner is to furnish the material for this purpose. In the sections of the State where irrigation is carried on, the owner makes the ditches, generally pays for the water, and the tenant keeps all lateral, private ditches in repair, but the owner furnishes necessary lumber and other material. Sometimes the tenant constructs the lateral ditches.

Tenants very seldom work the road tax. It is generally paid by the owner. In a few exceptional cases, the contract specifies that the tenant shall work the road tax; more often, he does this work and is paid by the owner for his labor. The tenant, as a rule, secures firewood on the farm if any is to be had. In most of the farming communities in Oregon, no timber or trees that will make firewood is found on the farm, and the farmers either buy wood or coal.

Two of the greatest common causes of difficulty between owner and tenant are poor farming on the part of the renter and incomplete or verbal contracts. Among other causes mentioned are feeding from the individual hay and grain, failure to keep ditches in repair, interference on the part of the owner when the tenant is farming according to the contract, and the terms of the lease allowing the tenant too small a share of the crop to allow him to farm in the manner that good farming should be done and make money. Not putting the grain in properly at the right time, overstocking and not doing enough cultivating are mentioned as either causes of trouble between owner and tenant. Reports from Tillamook county and a few from other parts of the State say there has been no difficulty as yet. The general idea expressed in regard to tenant farming is that the tenant is a poor farmer, who is prone to be shiftless, lazy and dishonest in carrying out the stipulations

of the contract. Undesirable tenants are much more plentiful than reliable and energetic ones.

Landowners would rather rent their farms than have them handled by hired laborers, notwithstanding the undesirability of renting. The general opinion expressed is that hired labor constitutes a poorer class of farmers than tenants, and requires supervision from day to day. Renting relieves the owner of the responsibility that hiring does not, and the tenant has more interest in the amount and quality of the work done. Hired labor, which is very high-priced in Oregon, will, if not closely supervised and directed, eat up all the profits. It is also very unreliable and scarce at harvest time when the demand for farm labor is much greater than at any other season of the year. Farm work is of such a nature that labor has a better opportunity and greater temptation to shirk than in most other occupations, so it must be closely directed by one who is interested in the results produced, or else, at the end of the year, the balance sheet will be large on the wrong side. One man has well expressed the farmers' idea in regard to hired labor by saying that he prefers to let somebody else be worried by hired help.

During the last few years, not much change has taken place in what each party furnishes, in the respective shares received by the owner and tenant, or in any other way. The owners of large wheat farms along the Columbia River say that, since the railroad has been put through, those having places within five miles of the railroad receive one-third of the crop instead of one-fourth as formerly. Replies from different parts of the State say that the amount and also the proportion of cash rent has increased. Attention is also called to the fact that small orchards are charged for extra, which was not the case a few years ago. The large majority of answers claim that no change has taken place recently, thus indicating that the change for the State as a whole has not been marked for several years passed.

In Oregon, the prevailing opinion among landowners is that

there are more people desiring to rent farms than there are farms offered to rent. A great many, on the other hand, say that the number of rented farms and of renters is about equal. These different answers come not from distinct, separate sections of the State, but each view, from all parts. Morrow county, unlike others, gives the report that enough tenants can be found to rent the land. The reason for this condition is not given, but it probably is because farming must be conducted on a large scale to make it pay, the yield per acre being very small; and the party who farms the land has a great risk to run. When the crop is exceptionally good and the price of wheat high, then the farmer strikes it rich; if the opposite is the case, then he will lose money. Very few renters have enough capital to undertake farming under such speculative conditions. This argument is not conclusive and may be a little overdrawn, yet it may help to show the conditions that prevail in that section.

Tenant farmers, in nearly all parts of Oregon, manage, if they are industrious and ambitious, to accumulate money by tenant farming to acquire land of their own. The only counties reporting the opposite are Lincoln and Marion. All the other counties claim that a good per cent of the tenants become landowning farmers in time. Nearly all government land suitable for farming in this State has been taken up, and tenants are compelled to buy farms when they become landowners. The counties reporting available public domain suitable for farming are Lake, Malheur, Baker, Umatilla, Crook and Tillamook. The first four named offer government land available either to homestead entry or to desert entry; Tillamook, of course, has no dry land. Practically all the desert land remaining can not be irrigated; and, when taken up, must be farmed to raise only such crops as will grow with very little water. At present, very little attractive government land remains anywhere in the State.

When landless farmers acquire land, banks or loaning associations will nearly always advance from 40 to 60 per cent of



the value of the property, but the more prevalent way in which land is transferred is by the purchaser paying one-fourth or one-half of the value of the farm and giving the original owner a mortgage on the balance. The usual rate of interest charged is eight per cent. State school money can sometimes be had for one-third of the value of the property, and this loans at the rate of six per cent interest. If no other means is available, the private money lender will generally advance money on mortgage security to one-half of the value of the property. The percentage of encumbered farms varies in different parts of the State. Landowners in the Willamette Valley and on the coast report that no more than 10 or 15 per cent of the farms in their counties are encumbered, while in all parts of Eastern Oregon except in a few older counties like Union county, from 50 to 75 per cent are encumbered. The proportion of mortgaged farms is very high in Klamath county owing to the method of selling employed whereby small tracts of land can be had on easy terms. From what little information has been gained of foreclosures, it appears that mortgages are paid except in very rare cases. The older sections of the State having the smaller percentage of encumbered farms tends to prove that mortgages are, in the main, an indication of development of agricultural resources.

Most of the rented farms belong to aged retired farmers or to landed capitalists, who hold the land for investment or speculation, and a few to those to whom land has reverted in default of payments of mortgages or who have received land by inheritance. It was largely a guess for the landowners to answer this question, but they for the most part agree throughout the State that the first two classes include nearly all who rent land.

Tenant farming is said by the majority of landowners to be on land more fertile and productive than the average land. They say that tenants will always choose the best place to rent available, because, as is evident, the more the yield for a given amount of work and expense, the larger the profit.

Tenants want land that is sure to yield a crop, for they have not much money as a rule and must be certain that what they spend will bring returns. More logical arguments are that farmers who own the most productive land secure a competency sooner and retire from active work when they either rent their farms or sell; and another class of renters are the old settlers, too old to work or wishing to retire for other reasons; these came to the country first and had the choice of the best land in the State. One report from the coast claims that renters are found mostly on tide-water lands, which is the most productive but requires the most work for operating. Many landowners say that land must be fairly productive before it will give enough returns for both owner and tenant, and tenants can not handle the poor land because the profit is too small. On the other hand, reports from Union, Benton and Josephine, say that renters generally occupy poorer lands than owners because owners farm their best places and sell and rent poorer tracts that are not so valuable, and renting tends to depreciate the land, so rented farms necessarily lose much fertility in time. The other counties, however, give the stronger arguments and have the majority of answers.

It is agreed by most of the landowners in nearly all parts of the State that renting is detrimental to the soil, yet the coast counties hold that it is not detrimental. Long-term leases are offered by some as a remedy for better farming, but most of them see no way out of the difficulty. Opinion is equally divided as to the question of citizenship, progressiveness and thrift of tenants. Many claim that they are "like the rolling stone that gathers no moss," that they have little interest in the upbuilding and improvement of the community; while others say tenants are progressive, being actuated by the desire of becoming owners. Some reports claim that tenants are of two classes, good and bad, which view is probably nearly correct. It appears reasonable that those who are trying to acquire homes of their own and are making progress in that direction are as progressive and well-meaning citizens

as owners, but those who rent and do not accumulate money for themselves or secure good returns for their lessors are hardly worthy of the responsibility which they hold. Yet we must not lose sight of the fact that tenancy, in a large and ever increasing proportion, is not a desirable condition of tenure. The farmer who owns his farm is the most satisfied, stable, independent and among the best citizens of our commonwealth.

Prevailing opinion indicates that the majority of tenants are from the eastern states; mainly Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska and other states of the Middle West. The coast counties report a large number of foreigners, consisting of Scandinavians, Norwegians and Finns, who are attracted to that section by the fishing industry. Swedes, Germans, Irish and other nationalities are also represented on the coast and throughout the State. Not a very large per cent of tenants are natives of Oregon. Landowners say that both easterners and foreigners are as good and conscientious farmers as Oregonians who rent, and the fact that renters come largely from outside the State only indicates that those who rent are, for the most part, newcomers.

As a large and ever increasing percentage of tenant farming is not desirable for our country, the question of placing a check on this tendency deserves the earnest consideration of every citizen who desires to better the welfare of society and of the nation. In answer to the question of how to check the ever increasing proportion of tenant farming, the landowners were generally agreed that large tracts of land should be cut up into smaller farms and farming made more intensive. They say that ownership on small tracts produces more efficient and economical results and more independent, progressive and satisfied citizens than tenancy on large tracts. Many claim this might be brought about by longer terms of leasing, but more certainly, by allowing the farmer an agreement whereby he may pay for the farm instead of paying rent by selling at a reasonable price on moderate interest. In this way, he is in

much the same position as tenant at first; but, if he proves a good farmer, who can secure results, in a few years he will be an owner. He will have the incentive of ownership to encourage him, and his whole interest will be for future progressiveness. A system much on this basis is in vogue in Klamath county at the present time, and is said to work very satisfactorily. Conditions in Klamath, however, are wholly different to those in older settled communities where the problem offers greater difficulties. No solution has ever been offered for the problem except by such radical reformers as single taxers or socialists, whose theories, if put in practice, would involve far more disastrous results according to the present teachings of economics and sociology than tenancy will when increased to a much larger proportion than it holds today.



## CHAPTER VII.

## LANDLORDISM.

In the majority of cases, landowners, who rent farms, reside in the same county in which the farm is located. The census reports for 1900 show that 67 per cent of farm lessors resided in the same county in which their land was located; 19 per cent, in the same state but not in the same county; 8 per cent, outside of the state; and the remaining six per cent were not reported. These figures were not peculiar to Oregon alone, but represent conditions throughout the northern states of the Union.\* Two-thirds of the farm lessors of this State reside in the same county as their tenants, with whom they come into close contact and maintain a personal relation. In other words, the majority of owners know their tenants personally and are in contact with the work of the farm, seeing what progress is being made. This is wholly a desirable condition and obviates much of the trouble that arises in other countries where contact between landlord and tenant is more distant.

The more remote the residence of the landowner from his farm, the larger is the proportion of cash tenancy employed instead of share tenancy. Of the 4,246 farms rented and owned by residents of the same county in which the farms are located, 2,671 were rented on shares; 1,575, for cash. Of the 1,234 rented farms owned by residents of the same state but not of the same county, 687 were rented on shares; 547, for cash; of these owned by residents not of the same state, 195 were rented on shares; 280, for cash. In the first case mentioned, share tenancy had many more farms than cash tenancy; in the second, cash and share were almost equal; in the third, cash was much larger than share. As cash tenancy is increasing much faster than share tenancy, these figures seem to indi-

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\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 310-311.

cate that the close contact between owners and tenants in the United States is gradually being severed; and as tenancy increases, its inner workings become less harmonized and unsuited for the agricultural welfare of the country as a whole.

It is a question whether so-called landlordism is not increasing in the United States at the present time. Such a condition would be altogether undesirable. Free public domain is practically all taken; what land is acquired by poor or rich, from this time on, must be bought. Our cities are growing in number, size and wealth; money is collecting in the hands of great capitalists; interest is lowering; the close contact between owner and tenant is slowly but surely being severed—all of these facts augment the pressure toward landlordism. But it is pleasing to note, in 1900, this movement had not acquired a noticeable or dangerous proportion.

Eighty per cent of the owners of rented farms in the United States, in 1900, owned only one farm; in the Western Division, over 90 per cent. So a very few of the land lessors owned more than one farm. The following tables showing the percentage of the number of owners of rented farms classified by the number of farms owned by one person, and also the number of rented farms classified in the same way, will make it evident that landlordism is making slow progress in the United States.

TABLE 10.

PERCENTAGE OF THE NUMBER OF OWNERS OF RENTED FARMS CLASSIFIED BY THE NUMBER OF FARMS OWNED BY ONE PERSON. (\*)

Geographical Divisions.	1 Farm.	2 Farms.	3 and under 5 Farms.	5 and under 10 Farms.	10 and under 20 Farms.	20 farms and over.
United States.	80.8	11.4	5.4	2.3	0.7	0.2
Western Div'n	91.1	5.9	1.9	0.8	0.2	0.1
California.....	89.0	07.0	02.0	01.0	01.0	(1)
Washington...	93.0	05.0	02.0	(1)	(1)	(1)
Oregon.....	94.0	05.0	01.0	(1)	(1)	...

\*Ibid.

(1) Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

TABLE 11.

PER CENT. OF THE NUMBER OF RENTED FARMS CLASSIFIED BY THE NUMBER OF FARMS OWNED BY ONE PERSON. (\*)

Geographical Divisions.	1 Farm.	2 Farms.	3 and under 5 Farms	5 and under 10 Farms	10 and under 20 Farms	20 Farms and over.
United States.	52.0	14.8	11.6	9.7	6.0	5.9
Western Div'n	76.6	10.0	5.3	3.7	2.3	2.1
California.....	70.0	11.0	07.0	05.0	04.0	03.0
Washington....	82.0	09.0	04.0	02.0	01.0	02.0
Oregon.....	86.0	08.0	04.0	01.0	01.0	....

In Oregon, 94 per cent of the owners of rented farms owned only one farm, while 5 per cent owned two farms, leaving only one per cent who owned more than two farms. Landlordism in 1900 was practically unknown in this State. Yet, for the reasons given above, landlordism may increase in the future, and it will be interesting to note what change reports for the next decade and those immediately following will bring. The United States shows a much larger proportion of landlordism than the newer states of the Western Division; but as Prof. Taylor points out, this condition is largely, if not wholly, due to the peculiar conditions in the South, where landlordism has succeeded large slave plantations.<sup>†</sup> Landed capitalists in a country like ours is a class to be guarded against for the welfare of the commonwealth, and its increase will form a more complicated problem with tenant farming that now exists, which is not the best form of farming even when guided by the personal relation now existing between landowner and tenant.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 312-313.

†Prof. Taylor's "Agricultural Economics," pp. 259-260.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## MORTGAGES.

In 1900, 20 per cent of the farm homes in the United States were encumbered, and about the same proportion in Oregon. The percentage of mortgages on farms increased a little over one per cent both in the United States and in Oregon during the decade from 1890 to 1900. Foreclosures in every part of the United States are very rare, averaging between one and two per cent of the farm mortgages. No statistics can easily be collected at this time on the number of foreclosures in Oregon, but they are known to be very rare.

Our mortgage system, if handled in a judicious way, as it is in the great majority of cases at the present time, is the stepping stone from tenancy to ownership. It is the means that assists the energetic farmer who wishes to acquire a home of his own. It does away with paying rent and gives the farmer of limited means a spirit of independence and reward for his efforts to make money. The only agricultural credit system employed in the United States at the present time is the mortgage system. Low rates of interest and division of large farms into smaller tracts of land, which encourages intensive farming, are the two principal aids to assist tenants to become owners through the mortgage system, the carrying out of which would bring a desirable result both from the standpoint of the kinds of farming engaged in and of the class of farmers forming the rural population.

National banks can not loan money directly on farm security, but nearly all other banks do loan up to one-half of the value of the land at eight per cent interest. State school money is loaned on one-third of the value of the land at six per cent interest. Private money lenders and loan associations will generally advance money to one-half the value of



the land at eight per cent. Of all of these forms of loaning money on farm mortgage security, the most prevalent method employed throughout the State is for the man who sells the property to receive from one-fourth to one-half of the value of the land cash in hand when the transfer is made and for him to take a mortgage on the land for the balance at the rate of six or eight per cent interest and give the buyer plenty of time to pay the balance. This facility is a great aid to the landless farmer. It can be made better if owners can be induced or compelled to sell small tracts of their farms to different individuals at a reasonable price and at a low rate of interest. The two principal classes who sell farm land are those who are getting too old for active work and those who wish to move to town and retire or change their occupation; and, secondly, those who hold land for speculation, who are called landed capitalists. If public opinion is not strong enough to bring great pressure to bear on these classes and on others who wish to sell land, to dispose of their farms in such a way that they may become more beneficial to society, the government should have a right to interfere and direct any and all transfers of farm land so that the community as a whole will be benefited rather than injured. Society must meet new problems that arise as civilization becomes more complex; among these, one which is by no means of small importance is the system of land tenure. The District Credit Associations of Germany\* might not be practicable in the United States, but it at least gives us an idea towards reforming our present system.

The percentage of encumbered farms belonging to farmers classed according to ages and of hired farms classed in the same way, shows at what ages mortgages are greatest and at what ages tenancy is mostly employed.

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\*Prof. Taylor's "Agricultural Economics," pp. 226-233.

TABLE 12.

PERCENTAGE OF ENCUMBERED AND OF HIRED HOMES IN THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED  
ACCORDING TO THE AGES OF OWNERS AND TENANTS. (\*)

Age.	Encumbered Homes.	Hired Homes.
Under 25 years.....	7.2	72.2
25 to 34 years.....	15.9	54.7
35 to 44 years.....	20.4	35.6
45 to 54 years.....	21.8	29.3
55 years and over.....	18.6	18.6

Encumbrances increased from youth to middle age and decreased at old age. Tenancy is greatest for those under 25 years of age and steadily decreases with the age of the farmer. This tends to show that the next step after tenancy is encumbrance, which declines last. The problem is to lower the percentage of tenancy at all ages and facilitate ownership.

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\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. II, p. CCXI.

## CHAPTER IX.

## OREGON'S FARMS IN 1900.

In order to get a view of the agricultural conditions of Oregon, the nature and extent of farming in this state will be considered. Our study will deal first with the number and average area of farms, total and improved acreage of farm land, total and average value of farms.

The total number of farms in Oregon in 1900 was 35,578, the average area per farm, 283.1 acres, making a total number of 10,071,328 acres, or 15,736.45 square miles of farm land, which is approximately one-sixth of the total area of the state. The improved portion of farm land was 3,328,308 acres, or one-third of the total area of farm land. The total value of the farm land in the state was \$172,761,287, being an average value per farm of \$4821, a value equal to \$17.15 for each and every acre of farm land.

A clearer conception of the data on these points may be had by comparing Oregon to each of the four geographical divisions: United States, Western Division, California and Washington.

TABLE 13.

NUMBER, TOTAL AND IMPROVED (WITH PER CENT. IMPROVED) ACREAGE; TOTAL AND AVERAGE VALUE OF FARMS, AND AVERAGE VALUE PER ACRE OF FARM LAND IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, IN 1900. (\*)

Items.	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
Total number of farms.....	5,705,695	238,641	71,451	32,945	35,578
Average area per farm.....	147.4	393.5	403.5	258.0	283.1
Total area of farm land....	841,201,546	93,796,860	28,828,951	8,499,297	10,071,328
Improved area of farm land.	414,793,191	27,155,681	11,958,832	3,465,960	3,328,308
Per cent. of area improved	49.3	29.0	41.5	40.8	33.0
Total value of farm land....	\$20,514,001,838	\$1,714,593,969	\$796,527,955	\$144,040,547	\$172,761,287
Average value per farm.....	\$3,574	\$7,059	\$10,980	\$4,338	\$4,821
Average value per acre.....	\$24.39	\$18.28	\$27.63	\$16.95	\$17.15

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 688-689 and 692-695.

Oregon had a greater number of farms than Washington, but only half as many as California. Oregon's farms were also larger than Washington's; on the other hand, they were smaller on an average of 120 acres than California's. The total area of farm land in Oregon was, in round numbers, 1,500,000 acres greater than in Washington, but scarcely more than one-third of that in California. Washington and California both had a larger per cent of their farm land improved than Oregon, Washington's improved area being slightly greater than Oregon's, and California's nearly four times as great. The average value per acre of farm land in Oregon and Washington was nearly equal, while in California it was more than ten dollars higher than in these states. To find the relative status of agricultural conditions in Oregon to that in Washington and California, the total value of farm land in each state may be taken as the most exact basis of comparison. By this criterion, Washington's farm wealth was 0.84, and California's 4.6 times that of Oregon.

A more exact idea of the relative size of the figures for Oregon in the items of the above table may be had if the figures for this state are taken as a unit in comparison with the numbers for the other four divisions.

TABLE 14.

NUMBER OF TIMES EACH OF THE FOUR DIVISIONS—UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, AND WASHINGTON—IS GREATER OR LESS THAN OREGON IN THE ITEMS OF TABLE 13.

Items.	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
Total number of farms.....	160.37	6.71	2.01	0.93	1.00
Average area per farm....	0.53	1.42	1.45	0.91	1.00
Total area of farm land...	83.52	9.29	2.86	0.84	1.00
Improved area of farm land	124.63	8.01	3.59	1.04	1.00
Per cent of area improved..	1.49	0.88	1.26	1.23	1.00
Total value of farm land...	119.15	9.92	4.60	0.84	1.00
Average value per farm....	0.74	1.48	2.28	0.89	1.00
Average value per farm...	0.74	1.48	2.28	0.89	1.00
Average value per acre....	1.41	1.07	1.61	0.99	1.00



Table 14 shows that in 1900 the United States had 160 times as many farms as Oregon, 83 times the total area of farm land, a much larger per cent of which was improved than in Oregon, a higher average value per acre, and 119 times the total value of farm land. Oregon appears rather insignificant when compared to the United States; but when compared to the Western Division it is seen to have had in 1900 greater agricultural wealth than the average of these eleven states. The average area of the farms in the Western Division was much larger than the average size farm in Oregon; the per cent of improved farm land less; the average value per acre slightly more. Oregon had approximately one-tenth of the total value of the farm land of the eleven states of the Western Division. If the total value of farm land is taken as the basis of comparison, it may be said that the agricultural wealth of the United States was 119.15 times that of Oregon; the Western Division, 9.92; California, 4.6; Washington, 0.84.

The next point considered is the principal sources of income of Oregon's farms. A study will be made of the nine largest classes of produce; hay and grain, live stock, vegetables, fruits, dairy produce, sugar, flowers and plants, nursery products, and miscellaneous. Everything is included in the last class that is not in the other eight. The items selected for the elucidation of this subject are the total value of each class of products in Oregon in 1900, and the number of farms, total acreage, improved acreage, and total value of farm property, classified according to their principal source of income.

Oregon derived its principal source of income in 1900 from live stock; hay and grain ranked second; miscellaneous third; dairy produce fourth; vegetables fifth; fruits sixth; nursery products seventh; flowers and plants eighth; sugar, ninth. These items maintained the same rank when classified according to the number of farms and the total acreage of farm land from which each item was derived as a principal source of income. The raising of hay and grain requires more improved and more valuable land than the raising of live stock, and a

larger improved area and a greater value of farm property derived its principal source of income from hay and grain than from live stock.

TABLE 15.

TOTAL VALUE OF THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF INCOME, AND THE NUMBER OF FARMS, TOTAL AND IMPROVED AREA OF FARM LAND (WITH PER CENT IMPROVED), AND THE TOTAL VALUE OF FARM LAND CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF INCOME IN OREGON IN 1900.(\*)

Items.	Value of Farm Products	Number of Farms	Total Acreage	Improved Acreage	Per Cent Improved	Total Value of Farm Land
Live Stock.....	\$14,907,210	10,218	4,644,659	856,070	18.4	\$ 59,627,943
Hay and Grain	\$11,960,059	9,712	3,137,205	1,877,026	59.8	\$ 61,892,811
Dairy Produce	\$ 2,793,920	3,751	660,991	161,633	24.5	\$ 14,176,453
Vegetables....	\$ 1,191,990	1,676	162,849	48,498	29.8	\$ 5,011,107
Fruits.....	\$ 1,026,970	1,072	119,068	38,193	32.1	\$ 4,863,662
Nursery Products....	\$ 154,530	33	1,847	1,631	88.3	\$ 220,870
Flowers and Plants.....	\$ 90,850	38	94	85	90.4	\$ 199,230
Sugar.....	\$ 34,080	11	3,070	2,088	68.0	\$ 125,507
Miscellaneous..	\$ 5,931,360	9,326	1,341,545	343,084	25.6	\$ 26,643,704
Total.....	\$38,090,969	35,578	10,571,328	3,328,308	33.0	\$ 172,761,287

The total farm income derived from live stock in Oregon in 1900 was \$14,907,210; hay and grain yielded approximately four-fifths of this value; miscellaneous, two-fifths; dairy produce, one-fifth, and vegetables and fruits, over a million dollars each. Nearly as large a number of farms derived their principal source of income from hay and grain and from miscellaneous products respectively as from live stock. It may be noted that only 18.4 per cent of the land used mainly for the raising of live stock was improved, while in the production of hay and grain the per cent improved was 59.8. About one-fourth of the land was improved that derived its principal source of income from either miscellaneous or dairy produce.

A comparison of the valuations of the principal sources of income in Oregon in 1900 with those in each of the four divis-

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V. pp. 222-223.

ions; United States, Western Division, California and Washington, will show the relation of the produce of Oregon's farms to that of other sections of the country and also the lines of production in which Oregon was most favored.

TABLE 16.

VALUATION OF THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF INCOME OF THE FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, IN 1900. (\*)

Items.	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
Live Stock.....	\$1,654,135,912	\$ 130,045,047	\$ 26,009,040	\$ 7,407,880	\$ 14,907,210
Hay and Grain...	\$1,240,978,449	\$ 103,092,172	\$ 45,375,905	\$ 16,574,775	\$ 11,960,059
Dairy Produce...	\$ 384,953,680	\$ 26,900,822	\$ 12,841,980	\$ 3,761,830	\$ 2,793,920
Vegetables.....	\$ 118,225,243	\$ 11,753,929	\$ 5,038,140	\$ 1,075,430	\$ 1,191,990
Fruits.....	\$ 81,994,100	\$ 35,802,735	\$ 32,066,175	\$ 934,940	\$ 1,026,970
Nursery Products.....	\$ 10,279,135	\$ 954,537	\$ 533,038	\$ 27,228	\$ 154,530
Flowers and Plants,.....	\$ 18,505,881	\$ 1,012,941	\$ 595,392	\$ 52,900	\$ 90,850
Sugar.....	\$ 40,804,284	\$ 1,861,960	\$ 1,454,400	\$ 41,340	\$ 34,080
Miscellaneous....	\$ 589,163,235	\$ 25,219,314	\$ 7,774,050	\$ 4,951,092	\$ 5,931,360

By taking the figures for Oregon in these items as units, the relative status of this state in the different lines of production will be more easily seen.

TABLE 17.

NUMBER OF TIMES THE VALUE OF THE DIFFERENT SOURCES OF FARM INCOME IN EACH OF THE FOUR DIVISIONS, UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, WAS GREATER OR LESS THAN IT WAS IN OREGON, IN 1900.

Items.	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
Live Stock.....	110.96	8.73	1.76	0.50	1.00
Hay and Grain.....	103.84	8.61	3.79	1.39	1.00
Dairy Produce.....	137.78	9.63	4.60	1.35	1.00
Vegetables.....	99.18	9.86	4.203	0.90	1.00
Fruits..	79.84	34.86	31.22	0.91	1.00
Nursery Products.....	66.52	6.17	3.45	0.18	1.00
Flowers and Plants.....	203.69	10.05	6.05	0.58	1.00
Sugar.....	1,197.34	54.63	42.68	1.21	1.00
Miscellaneous.....	99.33	4.25	1.32	0.84	1.00

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V. pp. 222-223.

The highest proportional source of farm income in Oregon in 1900 was derived from nursery products; fruits ranked second; vegetables third; miscellaneous fourth; hay and grain fifth; live stock sixth; dairy produce seventh; flowers and plants eighth; sugar ninth. The income from live stock in the United States was 110.96 times that in Oregon; hay and grain, miscellaneous and vegetables each about 100; fruits, 79.84; dairy produce, 137.78. Oregon's farms raised a large amount of fruit, but received a small proportionate income from dairy produce.

The production of fruit in the Western Division (especially in California), was very large, the income from this source being 34.86 times that in Oregon. Sugar yielded, in the Western Division, 54.63 times Oregon's value of this product, but Oregon produced very little sugar. In the other main sources of farm income the eleven states of the Western Division were approximately on an equal ratio to Oregon. California's farm income from sugar was 42.68 times as great as Oregon's; from fruits, 31.22. On the other hand, her farm income from live stock was only 1.76, and miscellaneous products 1.32 times that of Oregon. In Washington the farm income from hay and grain was 1.39, and from dairy produce 1.35 times what it was in Oregon. On the contrary, Washington's farm income from live stock was only 50 per cent of Oregon's. It may also be noted that Washington raised a very small relative amount of nursery products as compared with Oregon's yield.

Now that a general outline has been given of the principal sources of income of Oregon's farms, a more detailed study will be made of the value of the different kinds of live stock raised and of cereals produced on farms in this state. All live stock are considered under the name of domestic animals and are divided into seven classes: Neat cattle, horses, mules, asses and burros, sheep, swine and goats. Cereals are divided into eight classes: Corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, rice and kafir corn. The value of the different classes of live



stock in Oregon and in the four divisions, United States, Western Division, California, Washington, will first be given, and the figures for Oregon will be compared, taken as a unit, with those of the other divisions in order that the relative status of the state under consideration may be more evident.

TABLE 18.

TOTAL VALUE OF ALL DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND OF EACH CLASS, AND VALUE RECEIVED IN 1899 FROM SALE OF LIVE ANIMALS, IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, IN 1900.\*

Classes.	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
All domestic animals.....	\$2,981,722,945	\$ 361,453,453	\$ 65,000,738	\$ 21,437,528	\$ 33,172,342
Neat Cattle.....	\$1,476,499,714	\$ 190,709,487	\$ 32,655,146	\$ 9,440,038	\$ 15,164,897
Horses.....	\$ 896,955,343	\$ 66,883,447	\$ 17,844,993	\$ 8,550,034	\$ 8,651,060
Mules.....	\$ 196,812,560	\$ 6,068,904	\$ 4,610,909	\$ 138,185	\$ 318,449
Asses and Burros..	\$ 5,820,539	\$ 435,520	\$ 146,697	\$ 16,418	\$ 42,423
Sheep.....	\$ 170,337,002	\$ 90,519,411	\$ 7,003,231	\$ 2,450,929	\$ 7,563,447
Swine.....	\$ 232,027,707	\$ 6,218,187	\$ 2,476,781	\$ 830,704	\$ 1,057,037
Goats.....	\$ 3,226,080	\$ 1,418,503	\$ 262,981	\$ 10,757	\$ 375,229
Received from sale of live animals.....	\$ 722,913,114	\$ 60,262,686	\$ 13,305,165	\$ 3,517,053	\$ 6,598,325

TABLE 19.

FIGURES IN TABLE 18 COMPARED BY TAKING THE FIGURES FOR OREGON AS A UNIT.

Classes.	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
All domestic animals.....	86.8	10.9	1.9	0.6	1.0
Neat Cattle.....	96.7	12.6	2.2	0.6	1.0
Horses.....	103.7	7.6	2.1	1.0	1.0
Mules.....	618.0	19.1	14.5	0.4	1.0
Asses and Burros.....	137.3	10.3	3.5	0.4	1.0
Sheep.....	22.5	11.9	0.9	0.3	1.0
Swine.....	219.5	5.9	2.3	0.8	1.0
Goats.....	8.7	3.7	0.7	(1)	1.0
Received from sale of live animals.....	109.6	9.1	2.0	0.5	1.0

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 326-327.

The valuation of sheep in the United States in 1900 was only 22.5 times that in Oregon; cattle, 96.7; goats, 8.7. On the other hand, the proportional valuation of swine and mules was far greater in the United States than in Oregon. The Western Division received 9.1 times as much as Oregon from the sale of all live animals; California, 2.0; Washington, 0.5. The Western Division had a noticeably large valuation of mules as compared with Oregon, but was weak in swine and goats; California was strong in the raising of mules but weak in sheep and goats; Washington was strong in horses and swine, weak in sheep, and raised scarcely any goats. On the whole Oregon was a large producer of sheep and goats, and was well represented in the raising of live stock; she was a small producer of mules and swine.

Let us now examine Oregon's relative importance in the production of the eight classes of cereals; corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, rice and kafir corn. The total value of cereals produced in Oregon and in each of the four divisions, United States, Western Division, California and Washington, and the figures for these divisions compared with those for Oregon taken as a unit will give a basis for comparison.

TABLE 20.

VALUE OF CEREALS RAISED IN 1899 IN THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN DIVISION, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND OREGON, AND COMPARISON. (\*)

Items.	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
Value of Cereals..	\$1,484,231,038	\$ 71,357,916	\$ 33,674,733	\$ 12,191,397	\$ 9,271,500
Comparison.....	160.1	7.7	3.8	1.3	1.0

Oregon was in 1900 not a large producer of cereals. The United States produced 160.1 times as much as Oregon; Western Division, 7.7; California, 3.8; Washington, 1.3. The Western Division had a small relative production of cereals as compared with Oregon, but Washington's yield was greater than Oregon's, and California's was nearly four times as great.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, pp. 62-63.

The amount of each class of cereals produced in each of the four divisions may be more easily seen by examining the per cent of the value of each class in comparison with the value of all cereals in each division.

TABLE 21.

PERCENTAGE OF THE VALUE OF THE CLASSES OF CEREALS TO THE TOTAL VALUE OF CEREALS IN EACH DIVISION. (\*)

	United States	Western Division	California	Washington	Oregon
Corn.....	55.8	3.2	2.1	0.9	1.7
Wheat.....	24.9	62.0	59.9	74.0	68.6
Oats.....	14.6	14.4	5.1	14.5	22.4
Barley.....	2.8	19.5	31.6	10.4	6.5
Rye.....	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.7
Buckwheat.....	0.4	(1)	(1)	(1)	0.1
Rice.....	0.6	...	...	...	...
Kafir Corn .....	0.1	0.3	0.6	...	(1)

Oregon, Western Division, California, Washington, all produced a large relative amount of wheat when compared with the United States. Nearly seven-tenths of Oregon's yield of cereals was wheat, and even a larger percentage of Washington's, whereas only one-fourth of the value of the cereals produced in the United States came from wheat. Oregon was a large producer of oats, appearing to be quite exceptional in this line of production. As is well known, the Western States produce very little corn. The Western Division was exceptional in the raising of barley, and California even more so, but Oregon was scarcely above normal in the production of this grain when compared with the United States.

To sum up, Oregon's farm land had in 1900 a greater total value than the average of the eleven states of the Western Division, greater than Washington's, but less than two-ninths of California's. The total value of farm produce in Oregon was greater than that in the average of the eleven states of

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, pp. 68-69.

the Western Division; two-sevenths of California's, and greater than Washington's. Oregon was a relatively large producer of hay, miscellaneous products, live stock and fruits as compared with the United States. Among live stock, sheep, goats and cattle were her favorites. This state was an exceptionally large producer of oats, and her principal cereals were wheat and oats.



## CHAPTER X.

## GROWTH FROM 1850 TO 1900.

Now that a general idea has been given of Oregon's farms as they were in 1900, let us next study the growth of agriculture in this state since 1850, noticing particularly the peculiar tendencies of Oregon as compared with other geographical divisions. If the number of farms and the area of farm land (especially improved land) have increased rapidly, it will show that the exploitation of Oregon territory is recent and that the state is new, so to speak. If the farms are becoming smaller and at the same time more valuable to the acre, farming is becoming more intensive. If the income derived from any class of produce has made rapid strides, Oregon, as a whole, is particularly adapted to the raising of that commodity. To compare the figures for Oregon to those for the four geographical divisions: United States, Western Division, California and Washington, would make our tables and discussions so complex as to lead only to confusion; so our governing principle shall be to concentrate attention on Oregon and make comparisons to other sections only where they are of unique significance.

A comprehensive view of the number, size and value of Oregon's farms may be given by the figures for the end of each decade from 1850 to 1900. A second table is given to show the percentage of increase by decades from 1850 to 1900:

TABLE 22.

TOTAL NUMBER OF FARMS, AVERAGE AREA PER FARM, TOTAL AND IMPROVED ACREAGE, PER CENT. IMPROVED, TOTAL VALUE, AVERAGE VALUE PER FARM, AND AVERAGE VALUE PER ACRE OF FARM LAND, IN OREGON, CLASSIFIED BY DECADES, FROM 1850 TO 1900.(\*)

Items	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Total No. of farms...	1,164	5,806	7,587	16,217	25,530	35,578
Average area per farm...	371.8	354.9	314.9	259.9	270.7	283.1
Total area of farm land..	432,808	2,060,539	2,389,252	4,214,712	6,909,888	10,071,328
Improved area of farm land.	132,875	896,414	1,116,290	2,198,643	3,516,000	3,328,308
Per cent. of area improved....	30.7	43.5	46.7	52.2	50.9	33.0
Total value of farm land.....	\$4,908,782	22,099,161	30,475,387	76,975,140	143,024,800	172,761,287
Av. value per farm...	\$ 4,217	3,806	4,017	4,747	5,602	4,821
Av. value per acre...	\$ 11.34	10.72	12.76	18.26	20.70	17.15

TABLE 23.

PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE BY DECADES OF NUMBER OF FARMS, ACRES OF FARM LAND, AND VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY, IN OREGON, FROM 1850 TO 1900.(†)

Items.	1850 to 1860	1860 to 1870	1870 to 1880	1880 to 1890	1890 to 1900
Number of farms.....	398.8	30.7	113.7	57.4	40.4
Acres of farm land.....	376.1	16.0	76.4	63.9	45.8
Value of farm property....	350.2	37.9	152.6	85.8	20.8

The value of farm property, which is, doubtless, the best general criterion of agricultural growth, increased very rapidly during the decade from 1850 to 1860. This is characteristic of all the states of the Western Division at this time except Washington, for which the figures are not given, but there was scarcely any farming in Washington before 1860.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 688-689 and 692-695.

†Ibid. pp. 702-703.

During the next decade, farming grew very slowly, and this condition is applicable to each and every part of the United States from 1860 to 1870. The check was, without doubt, the result of the Civil War. The ten years from 1870 to 1880 marks a larger percentage of growth in Oregon than either of the two following decades. In the Western Division, California and Washington, the period from 1880 to 1890 had the largest growth. It is peculiar to see how the percentage of growth has decreased in the Western Division, California, Washington and Oregon in the last decade, being in each case except Washington lower than that of the United States. California's was only 2.5 per cent, while the increase of the United States was 27.6. It would appear from this general lull in the rate of agricultural growth of the Western States during the last decade that the choice lands of this territory had already been exploited before 1900, but the figures are misleading, as the census reports were taken on a different basis.

As percentages of growth by decades are, in appearance at least, somewhat deceiving, a more accurate idea of the real increase in agricultural wealth may be obtained by examining the figures in table 22. The total value of farm land in Oregon increased from 1850 to 1860 approximately \$17,000,000; from 1860 to 1870, \$8,000,000; from 1870 to 1880, \$47,000,000; from 1880 to 1890, \$66,000,000; from 1890 to 1900, \$30,000,000. The two largest decades of growth were from 1870 to 1890, and that of the ten years following 1890 was less than half of the amount for the preceding decade. But this difference in the last decade was due largely to a difference in the standard of valuation used in taking the census.

Since 1870 the number of farms in Oregon has steadily increased at the rate of nine or ten thousand a decade, and the area of farm land also shows a constant increase. Up till 1890 the per cent of improved land was high, the average value per farm and per acre of farm land was on the rise, and the average area per farm was decreasing. This would tend to show that farming was becoming more intensive, and that

much attention was given to the raising of cereals, fruits, vegetables and miscellaneous products. But the figures for 1900 mark a direct departure from these tendencies during the last decade. During this time the area of improved land has actually become less, the per cent of improved land has fallen 16 per cent, the average value per farm and average value per acre of farm land is much less, while the average area per farm is greater. The census reports, however, are not comparable on these points, because the last were made according to a different rule from those in the former decades; nevertheless, they are more marked for Oregon than for the other Western States, and show a tendency peculiar to Oregon.

A census of all the different classes of production was not taken before 1900, and our historical study will be confined to live stock and cereals. The figures for the total value of live stock on farms and the number of cattle, horses, sheep, and swine on farms and ranges at the end of each decade from 1850 to 1900 will give some idea of the increase in live stock during this period.

TABLE 24.

TOTAL VALUE OF ALL LIVE STOCK AND NUMBER OF CATTLE, HORSES, SHEEP, AND SWINE, ON FARMS AND RANGES IN OREGON, BY DECADES, FROM 1850 TO 1900. (\*)

Items.	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Total value of all live stock ..	\$1,876,189	5,946,255	6,828,675	13,808,392	22,648,830	33,917,048
No. of cattle.....	41,729	154,131	120,197	598,015	520,648	531,980
No. of horses.....	8,046	36,772	51,702	124,107	224,962	261,794
No. of sheep.....	15,382	86,052	318,123	1,368,162	1,780,312	1,961,355
No. of swine.....	30,235	81,615	119,455	179,195	208,259	281,406

The total value of all live stock on farms in Oregon in 1850 was approximately \$2,000,000. The increase from 1850 to 1860 was nearly \$4,000,000; from 1860 to 1870, \$1,000,000; from 1870 to 1880, \$7,000,000; from 1880 to 1890, \$9,000,000; from 1890 to 1900, \$11,000,000. The growth has been

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 704-705.



steady and has increased about \$2,000,000 every decade except during the ten years from 1860 to 1870. The figures for the number of cattle are so confusing as to make an accurate estimate impossible; but it appears that cattle have not increased as rapidly as horses, sheep, or swine.

The increase in the production of cereals since 1880 may be indicated by the total number of bushels produced at the end of each decade, the number of acres used in raising cereals, and the percentage of this acreage producing each class of cereals.

TABLE 25.

TOTAL NUMBER OF BUSHELS OF CEREALS, ACREAGE IN CEREALS, AND PER CENT. OF ACREAGE USED FOR THE PRODUCTION OF EACH CLASS OF CEREALS, IN OREGON, BY DECADES, FROM 1880 TO 1900. (\*)

Items	1880	1890	1900
Number of bushels.....	12,933,019	16,423,768	23,225,515
Number of acres.....	632,871	828,706	1,222,648
Percentage of wheat.....	70.3	66.7	71.4
Percentage of oats.....	24.0	26.4	21.4
Percentage of barley.....	4.6	4.6	5.0
Percentage of rye.....	0.1	0.8	0.8
Percentage of corn.....	0.9	1.5	1.4

The cereal production from 1880 to 1900 was not relatively as great as that in the raising of live stock; in the latter decade, however, it was almost as marked. The percentage of land used in the production of wheat decreased during the ten years from 1880 to 1890, but increased in the next decade; thus, showing that less attention was given to the production of wheat in the Willamette Valley in 1890 than in 1880, and that wheat farming was developed in the eastern part of the State during the next decade. The percentage of oat ground increased from 1880 to 1890 and decreased by 1900. The percentage of barley acreage has remained almost stationary, and none of the other cereal crops has been large at any time.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, pp. 68-69.

## CHAPTER XI.

## FARMS AND FARM OUTPUT IN COUNTIES OF OREGON.

Some of the principal conditions of farming in Oregon as a whole have been outlined and their growth considered. Let us examine conditions in the different counties and sections of the State and discover what localities are the largest or smallest producers of certain crops. The questions relative to the largest farms, the number of farms, the valuation of farm lands, and the output of farms will be taken up.

A comprehensive view of the number and average size of farms, total and improved acreage, and total value of farm lands may be given by the following tables:

TABLE 26.

NUMBER OF FARMS, AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS, TOTAL AND IMPROVED ACREAGE IN FARMS,  
AND TOTAL VALUE OF FARM LANDS, IN COUNTIES, AND RANK OF COUNTIES,  
IN OREGON IN 1900. (\*)

Counties.	Number of Farms	Rank.	Counties.	Average Size of Farms.	Rank
State.....	35,578	.....	State.....	283.1	.....
Marion.....	2,754	1	Crook.....	1,360.2	1
Clackamas.....	2,568	2	Morrow.....	870.2	2
Linn.....	2,417	3	Harney.....	784.1	3
Lane.....	2,370	4	Gilliam.....	772.0	4
Washington.....	2,302	5	Wheeler.....	719.9	5
Douglas.....	1,641	6	Lake.....	697.9	6
Yamhill.....	1,595	7	Sherman.....	555.0	7
Umatilla.....	1,593	8	Klamath.....	489.1	8
Union.....	1,481	9	Grant.....	453.9	9
Jackson.....	1,356	10	Umatilla.....	441.8	10
Wasco.....	1,351	11	Malheur.....	379.1	11
Multnomah.....	1,276	12	Curry.....	356.0	12
Polk.....	1,192	13	Douglas.....	337.1	13
Benton.....	865	14	Wasco.....	319.5	14
Coos.....	863	15	Benton.....	272.4	15
Wallowa.....	803	16	Union.....	264.2	16
Columbia.....	801	17	Baker.....	243.4	17
Baker.....	725	18	Wallowa.....	241.7	18
Grant.....	697	19	Jackson.....	216.9	19
Tillamook.....	631	20	Polk.....	215.5	20
Morrow.....	586	21	Lane.....	212.4	21
Malheur.....	583	22	Linn.....	203.3	22
Crook.....	576	23	Coos.....	199.7	23
Josephine.....	557	24	Lincoln.....	183.4	24
Sherman.....	545	25	Columbia.....	178.4	25
Lincoln.....	489	26	Yamhill.....	178.3	26
Klamath.....	453	27	Josephine.....	172.4	27
Gilliam.....	441	28	Clatsop.....	167.5	28
Clatsop.....	433	29	Tillamook.....	161.5	29
Lake.....	397	30	Marion.....	143.8	30
Wheeler.....	390	31	Clackamas.....	116.2	31
Harney.....	348	32	Washington.....	109.3	32
Curry.....	290	33	Multnomah.....	80.7	33

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, p. 294.

TABLE 26—Continued.

Counties.	Total Acreage in Farms.	Rank	Counties.	Improved Acreage in Farms	Rank
State.....	10,071,328	.....	State.....	3,328,308	.....
Crook.....	783,485	1	Umatilla.....	382,763	1
Umatilla.....	703,852	2	Linn.....	216,582	2
Douglas.....	553,168	3	Marion.....	199,254	3
Morrow.....	509,858	4	Sherman.....	198,285	4
Lane.....	503,405	5	Union.....	162,495	5
Linn.....	491,439	6	Morrow.....	144,457	6
Wasco.....	431,600	7	Lane.....	140,513	7
Marion.....	396,091	8	Gilliam.....	136,258	8
Union.....	391,299	9	Yamhill.....	134,832	9
Gilliam.....	340,460	10	Polk.....	127,072	10
Grant.....	316,346	11	Harney.....	125,549	11
Sherman.....	302,432	12	Douglas.....	122,997	12
Clackamas.....	298,491	13	Wasco.....	115,059	13
Jackson.....	294,163	14	Lake.....	195,824	14
Yamhill.....	284,385	15	Washington.....	92,512	15
Wheeler.....	280,754	16	Jackson.....	92,103	16
Harney.....	272,877	17	Malheur.....	91,250	17
Polk.....	256,847	18	Clackamas.....	90,061	18
Washington.....	251,568	19	Benton.....	85,823	19
Lake.....	249,288	20	Baker.....	78,389	20
Benton.....	235,652	21	Klamath.....	72,239	21
Klamath.....	221,554	22	Crook.....	55,134	22
Malheur.....	221,043	23	Wallowa.....	55,131	23
Wallowa.....	193,255	24	Grant.....	41,222	24
Baker.....	176,455	25	Coos.....	37,622	25
Coos.....	172,336	26	Multnomah.....	34,196	26
Columbia.....	142,906	27	Tillamook.....	26,940	27
Curry.....	103,236	28	Curry.....	23,149	28
Multnomah.....	102,926	29	Josephine.....	22,139	29
Tillamook.....	101,912	30	Wheeler.....	22,056	30
Josephine.....	96,019	31	Columbia.....	18,045	31
Lincoln.....	89,665	32	Clatsop.....	14,694	32
Clatsop.....	72,515	33	Lincoln.....	8,823	33



TABLE 26—Continued.

Counties.	Total Value of Farm Land	Rank	Counties.	Total Value of Farm Land	Rank
State.....	\$ 172,761,287	.....	Union.....	\$ 5,884,100	7
Marion.....	10,186,780	1	Lane.....	5,815,290	8
Umatilla.....	9,301,870	2	Washington.....	4,993,820	9
Linn'.....	7,516,860	3	Polk.....	4,977,240	10
Clackamas.....	6,664,350	4	Douglas.....	4,764,020	11
Multnomah.....	6,642,490	5	Jackson.....	3,614,660	12
Yamhill.....	5,989,550	6	Benton.....	3,381,460	13
Wasco.....	3,019,650	14	Gilliam.....	1,438,470	24
Crook.....	2,846,440	15	Tillamook.....	1,339,680	25
Sherman.....	2,458,750	16	Lake.....	1,324,840	26
Baker.....	2,190,425	17	Wallowa.....	1,283,305	27
Malheur.....	2,142,850	18	Grant.....	1,220,870	28
Coos.....	2,117,570	19	Curry.....	999,300	29
Morrow.....	1,982,331	20	Wheeler.....	993,506	30
Clatsop.....	1,559,170	21	Josephine.....	958,200	31
Columbia.....	1,465,660	22	Klamath.....	807,780	32
Harney.....	1,457,920	23	Lincoln.....	546,910	33

The total value of farm land, which more nearly than any other one set of figures, represents the agricultural wealth of a place, may be taken as the first basis of comparison. Marion County in 1900 held first rank in this respect, having a valuation of over \$10,000,000. The five counties lying south of the Columbia River and immediately west of the Cascade Mountains, Multnomah, Clackamas, Marion, Linn, and Lane, each had a valuation of farm property of over \$5,000,000; while Washington, Yamhill, and Polk, lying on the west side of the Willamette River, were of almost equal rank. It is to be noted, however, that Umatilla County, situated in the great wheat belt in the northeastern part of the State, ranked second; and on its east, Union was seventh. Douglas and Jackson, in southern Oregon, were eleventh and twelfth. The counties that had the lowest valuation of farm property were Lincoln, on the coast; Wheeler and Klamath, both in the

interior east of the mountains and away from railroads, and Curry and Josephine, in the southwestern corner of the State. These five each had less than \$1,000,000 valuation. Of the others, Benton and Wasco had over \$3,000,000; Crook, Sherman, Baker, Malheur, and Coos, each between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000; Morrow, Gilliam, Grant, Clatsop, Columbia, Tillamook, Harney, Lake, and Wallowa, each between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000.

The number of farms is only another criterion of the agricultural magnitude of the counties, yet less exact than the total valuation. It is well to note, however, that the relative status of counties according to the number of farms was in general much the same as that according to valuation. There were two or three rather marked variations to this rule.

The classification according to the average size of farms in each county is valuable to indicate the kinds of farming that is carried on. The more thickly settled districts, and, other things being equal, the more fertile or highly cultivated lands where farms are cut up into smaller tracts, as the result of intensive farming, are conditions indicated by small farms. In general, it may be said that the farms of the counties east of the mountains were in 1900 larger than those west of the mountains. Crook County had the largest average in the size of farms, reaching the enormous area of 1,360.2 acres to the farm. Morrow, Harney, Gilliam, Wheeler, Lake, and Sherman, all of which are in eastern Oregon, each had farms with an average size of over 500 acres. Three more eastern counties, Klamath, Grant, and Umatilla, each averaged between 400 and 500 acres to the farm; and Malheur, the large southeastern county, only slightly less than 400 acres. The average acreage in Curry, Douglas, and Wasco was over 300 acres. The average size of Multnomah's farms, which is the smallest county in the State, was 80.7 acres. Marion, Clackamas, and Washington each averaged less than 150 acres to the farm. The counties averaging between 100 and 200 acres to the farm were Benton, Polk, Lane, Linn, Union, Baker,

Wallowa, and Jackson; those between 150 and 200 acres were Josephine, Coos, Lincoln, Tillamook, Clatsop, Columbia, and Yamhill.

A study of the total and improved areas in farms will show the relative amount of land in actual cultivation and in waste or pasture in each county; and a further comparison of the improved areas with the total valuation will give a more exact idea of the fertility of the soil. In 1900 one-third of the farm land in the State was improved. It will be remembered that, with few exceptions, the counties of the Willamette Valley had the highest valuation of farm land. Of these, Multnomah was almost at the bottom of the list in rank of total area of farm lands and had about one-third of this area improved, which was the average for the State, showing a normal amount of waste or pasture land in this county, a very high fertility of soil of the improved land, and the raising of valuable crops. Multnomah, however, is favored by Portland, the metropolis of the State, which offers an advantageous market and other superior conditions. Clackamas ranked thirteenth in total area and had less than one-third of its farm lands improved; Marion, eighth in total area, but half of its farm lands were improved. There was not so much uncultivated farm land in Marion County as in Multnomah or Clackamas, but its cultivated areas did not produce crops as valuable as those of Multnomah or Clackamas; however, Portland is the great market center of Oregon, and the farther distant a place is from this metropolis, the greater disadvantage it must face in marketing its produce.

Linn ranked sixth in total area of farm lands; Lane, fifth; the two being nearly equal. The former had two-fifths of this area improved; Lane had considerably less than one-third improved. Lane, therefore, had more waste land, but its cultivated farms were more valuable. Washington ranked nineteenth; Yamhill, fifteenth; Polk, eighteenth; Benton, twenty-first. Washington had more than one-third improved; Yamhill, almost one-half; Polk, the same; Benton, one-third.

Of the two eastern counties with a high valuation, Umatilla and Union, the former ranked second in total acreage of farm lands and had nearly four-sevenths improved; Union was ninth, with two-fifths improved. In southern Oregon, Douglas ranked third; Jackson, fourteenth; Douglas having slightly more than one-fifth improved; Jackson, one-third.

The other counties may be reviewed by sections. In the southwestern corner of the State, Coos ranked twenty-sixth in total farm area, having one-fifth improved; Curry, twenty-eight, less than one-fourth improved; Josephine, thirty-first, less than one-fourth improved. In the northwest, Columbia was twenty-seventh, having one-eighth improved; Clatsop, thirty-third, one-fifth improved; Tillamook, thirtieth, one-fourth improved; Lincoln, thirty-second, one-tenth improved. East of the mountains in southern Oregon, Klamath was twenty-second, having one-third improved; Lake, twentieth, two-fifths improved; Harney, seventeenth, one-half improved; Malheur, twenty-third, two-fifths improved. In central Oregon, Crook ranked first, having one-fourteenth improved; Wheeler, sixteenth, one-thirteenth improved; Grant, eleventh, one-eighth improved. Along the Columbia River, Wasco ranked seventh, having one-fourth improved; Sherman, twelfth, two-thirds improved; Gilliam, tenth, two-fifths improved; Morrow, fourth, two-fifths improved. In the northeastern part of the State, Wallowa ranked twenty-fourth, having one-fourth improved; Baker, twenty-fifth, two-fifths improved.

The counties along the Columbia River east of the mountains had a comparatively large per cent of their farm lands improved, and were not low in rank of the total acreage of farm lands; but these counties did not show a high valuation. Their cultivated lands, therefore, were of relatively small value to the acre as compared to the State as a whole. It was seen also that their farms were large. These facts all coincide to show that this was not primarily a stock country nor a thickly settled community of intensive farming, but a section of large wheat farms not overly productive, where one man can handle a large tract of land. Wallowa and Baker had a



smaller total area of farm lands than the counties along the Columbia River, and their farm lands, Baker's especially, were more valuable to the acre and evidently given more to diversified farming. The counties of central Oregon had a very small per cent of their farm lands improved and were of low valuation, showing that the principal industry was stock-raising. It is well known that the four large southern counties, Klamath, Lake, Harney, and Malheur, were devoted almost wholly to the raising of stock, and, consequently, we should expect to find a small per cent of their farm lands improved; but the figures show the contrary. This apparent inconsistency can be reconciled, perhaps, by the fact that in 1900 all of these counties were too far away from railroads and rainfall was too scant to entice grain farmers to this section. The stock men did not extend their fences to secure grazing lands for their herds, but relied on the range. The farm land itself was used mainly for the raising of hay for feed during the winter months. The total area of farm lands being small in these counties is a fact that bears out this idea.

Columbia, Clatsop, Tillamook, and Lincoln, the four counties in the northwestern part of the State, were among the smallest in total area of farm lands, and the per cent improved was low. Several counties were lower in valuation than Columbia, Clatsop, and Tillamook. In the southwest, Coos presented much the same appearance as the three in the northwest; but Curry and Josephine showed a lower valuation, and may be classed with Lincoln.

Our study of the farms in relation to their value, number, size, and total and improved area, gives a general knowledge of farming conditions in the different sections and counties of the State. This, however, should be substantiated and made more plain, definite, and exact by a consideration of the production of some of the staple commodities. Live stock, cereals, dairy produce, orchard products, and poultry will be taken up in this connection.

A table showing the figures and relative rank of the counties for the value of all domestic animals on farms and ranges, and the number of cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and goats, in 1900, will make a basis for the study of live stock.

TABLE 27.

TOTAL VALUE OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS ON FARMS AND RANGES, AMOUNT RECEIVED FROM SALE OF LIVE ANIMALS, NUMBER OF CATTLE, HORSES, SHEEP, SWINE AND GOATS, ON FARMS IN OREGON, IN 1900, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTIES, AND RANK OF COUNTIES. (\*)

Counties.	Value of Domestic Animals.	Rank	Counties.	Rec'd from Sale of Animals.	Rank
State.....	\$33,917,048	.....	State.....	\$ 6,598,325	.....
Malheur.....	2,817,691	1	Lake.....	514,068	1
Harney.....	1,926,512	2	Crook.....	440,103	2
Umatilla.....	1,882,712	3	Grant.....	432,711	3
Lake.....	1,762,304	4	Harney.....	410,049	4
Crook.....	1,639,931	5	Malheur.....	374,049	5
Union.....	1,431,914	6	Umatilla.....	322,325	6
Grant.....	1,401,484	7	Union.....	311,753	7
Baker.....	1,382,955	8	Baker.....	290,760	8
Linn.....	1,368,080	9	Klamath.....	285,917	9
Morrow.....	1,308,645	10	Linn.....	258,025	10
Marion.....	1,250,944	11	Wheeler.....	254,954	11
Lane.....	1,175,898	12	Morrow.....	251,793	12
Douglas.....	1,129,210	13	Wallowa.....	250,845	13
Wasco.....	1,100,797	14	Douglas.....	244,191	14
Wallowa.....	1,052,860	15	Lane.....	228,993	15
Clackamas.....	886,283	16	Gilliam.....	177,207	16
Gilliam.....	841,993	17	Jackson.....	171,561	17
Wheeler.....	840,558	18	Marion.....	168,399	18
Klamath.....	839,984	19	Wasco.....	157,207	19
Yamhill.....	803,040	20	Clackamas.....	132,806	20
Washington.....	794,249	21	Yamhill.....	130,762	21
Jackson.....	763,252	22	Benton.....	113,375	22
Polk.....	713,731	23	Coos.....	99,345	23
Benton.....	628,288	24	Polk.....	91,683	24
Coos.....	548,754	25	Washington.....	86,836	25
Multnomah.....	529,335	26	Tillamook.....	73,369	26
Sherman.....	522,663	27	Columbia.....	55,525	27
Tillamook.....	370,390	28	Curry.....	53,045	28
Columbia.....	320,757	29	Multnomah.....	48,811	29
Curry.....	283,064	30	Sherman.....	50,780	30
Josephine.....	236,859	31	Josephine.....	34,211	31
Clatsop.....	205,167	32	Lincoln.....	30,014	32
Lincoln.....	179,630	33	Clatsop.....	22,450	33

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. V, pp. 470-473.

TABLE 27—Continued.

Counties.	Number of Cattle	Rank	Counties.	Number of Horses	Rank
State.....	531,980	.....	State.....	261,794	.....
Malheur.....	81,203	1	Malheur.....	34,905	1
Harney.....	71,260	2	Crook.....	23,040	2
Lake.....	43,365	3	Umatilla.....	16,827	3
Douglas.....	32,535	4	Harney.....	15,390	4
Baker.....	32,461	5	Union.....	14,825	5
Grant.....	31,509	6	Baker.....	12,557	6
Crook.....	31,431	7	Grant.....	12,387	7
Lane.....	28,429	8	Lake.....	12,234	8
Linn.....	27,853	9	Linn.....	10,319	9
Union.....	26,418	10	Wasco.....	9,462	10
Klamath.....	25,694	11	Marion.....	9,402	11
Marion.....	19,755	12	Wallowa.....	9,359	12
Umatilla.....	19,571	13	Gilliam.....	8,957	13
Jackson.....	19,404	14	Wheeler.....	7,997	14
Coos.....	19,321	15	Morrow.....	7,949	15
Clackamas.....	18,907	16	Lane.....	7,909	16
Wallowa.....	16,475	17	Klamath.....	7,558	17
Wheeler.....	14,450	18	Sherman.....	7,027	18
Washington.....	14,076	19	Clackamas.....	6,496	19
Tillamook.....	13,217	20	Washington.....	6,084	20
Wasco.....	11,424	21	Douglas.....	6,062	21
Multnomah.....	10,941	23	Yamhill.....	5,807	22
Yamhill.....	10,665	23	Jackson.....	5,786	23
Benton.....	10,270	24	Polk.....	5,119	24
Polk.....	9,083	25	Benton.....	3,817	25
Morrow.....	8,550	26	Multnomah.....	3,186	26
Curry.....	8,192	27	Coos.....	2,283	27
Columbia.....	8,024	28	Josephine.....	1,810	28
Gilliam.....	7,800	29	Columbia.....	1,630	29
Josephine.....	7,532	30	Tillamook.....	1,356	30
Clatsop.....	6,509	31	Curry.....	976	31
Lincoln.....	5,235	32	Clatsop.....	822	32
Sherman.....	3,832	33	Lincoln.....	765	33

TABLE 27—Continued.

Counties.	Number of Sheep	Rank	Counties.	Number of Swine	Rank
State.....	1,961,355	.....	State.....	287,406	.....
Morrow.....	322,650	1	Jackson.....	22,588	1
Malheur.....	294,898	2	Marion.....	20,644	2
Crook.....	256,288	3	Linn.....	20,201	3
Lake.....	251,722	4	Douglas.....	20,072	4
Grant.....	241,290	5	Wallowa.....	17,783	5
Umatilla.....	222,907	6	Clackamas.....	17,616	6
Wasco.....	200,620	7	Lane.....	16,927	7
Gilliam.....	176,016	8	Union.....	16,046	8
Wheeler.....	147,311	9	Yamhill.....	13,576	9
Baker.....	140,759	10	Washington.....	12,866	10
Wallowa.....	131,890	11	Polk.....	10,749	11
Harney.....	130,448	12	Wasco.....	10,633	12
Union.....	65,020	13	Umatilla.....	10,027	13
Linn.....	53,558	14	Benton.....	8,075	14
Marion.....	49,846	15	Coos.....	6,995	15
Polk.....	43,950	16	Baker.....	5,794	16
Benton.....	42,963	17	Josephine.....	5,648	17
Douglas.....	41,812	18	Multnomah.....	4,608	18
Sherman.....	41,610	19	Curry.....	3,883	19
Lane.....	36,204	20	Wheeler.....	3,627	20
Curry.....	33,475	21	Gilliam.....	3,502	21
Yamhill.....	30,930	22	Sherman.....	3,460	22
Clackamas.....	17,965	23	Grant.....	3,339	23
Coos.....	17,638	24	Columbia.....	3,232	24
Jackson.....	13,387	25	Morrow.....	3,087	25
Washington.....	13,237	26	Tillamook.....	2,337	26
Klamath.....	7,773	27	Klamath.....	2,245	27
Lincoln.....	7,061	28	Crook.....	1,964	28
Multnomah.....	2,606	29	Malheur.....	1,902	29
Columbia.....	2,521	30	Clatsop.....	1,898	30
Tillamook.....	1,928	31	Lake.....	1,741	31
Clatsop.....	1,409	32	Lincoln.....	1,491	32
Josephine.....	384	33	Harney.....	951	33



TABLE 27—Continued.

Counties.	Number of Goats	Rank	Counties.	Number of Goats	Rank
State.....	109,661	.....	Polk.....	19,066	1
Yamhill.....	14,109	2	Multnomah.....	333	18
Benton.....	11,939	3	Columbia.....	267	19
Linn.....	11,639	4	Klamath.....	109	20
Lane.....	9,866	5	Morrow.....	100	21
Marion.....	9,202	6	Grant.....	75	22
Douglas.....	8,247	7	Wasco.....	58	23
Baker.....	6,054	8	Union.....	39	24
Washington.....	5,134	9	Malheur.....	36	25
Clackamas.....	5,002	10	Clatsop.....	20	26
Lincoln.....	3,598	11	Wheeler.....	12	27
Jackson.....	2,073	12	Umatilla.....	8	28
Lake.....	1,147	13	Wallowa.....	8	29
Tillamook.....	432	14	Crook.....	6	30
Josephine.....	383	15	Gilliam.....	6	30
Curry.....	339	16	Harney.....	.....	32
Coos.....	336	17	Sherman.....	.....	33

Malheur County had a valuation of live stock nearly fifty per cent greater than any other county in the State. Malheur, Harney, Lake, Crook, Grant, Baker, Umatilla, and Union each raised more live stock in 1900 than any county west of the mountains. Malheur's valuation was \$2,817,691; Harney's, which ranked second, \$1,926,512; Baker, eighth, \$1,382,955; Marion, Linn, Lane, and Douglas each had over \$1,000,000 valuation of live stock; also, Wasco, Morrow, and Wallowa. Clackamas, Yamhill, Gilliam, Wheeler, and Klamath reported between \$800,000 and \$900,000 each. The counties having the smallest valuation of live stock were Lincoln, Tillamook, Clatsop, Columbia, Curry, and Josephine, each reporting less than \$400,000. The figures for the amount received for the sale of live animals coincided, in general, notwithstanding a few exceptions, with those for the total valuation of live stock.

Malheur, which was the banner stock county of the State, ranked first in cattle and sheep, and had fifty per cent more horses than any other county. Malheur and Harney each raised twice as many cattle as any other county. Lake ranked third, reporting over 40,000 head; Douglas, Baker, Grant, and Crook had over 30,000 each; Lane, Linn, Union, and Klamath, between 20,000 and 30,000; Polk, Morrow, Gilliam, and Sherman; Columbia, Clatsop, and Lincoln; Curry and Josephine, were among the smallest, each reporting less than 10,000. Southern Oregon east of the mountains was by far the greatest cattle producing part of the State, and central Oregon ranked next. The counties raising the smallest number were those along the Columbia River, except Umatilla, three on the coast, and Columbia and Josephine. The northeastern corner of the State and the Willamette Valley were about of equal rank.

The raising of horses may be classed in almost the same way. In general, the counties of eastern Oregon raised the most horses, those of the Willamette Valley ranked next, southern Oregon west of the mountains, next, and the coast last. Eastern Oregon raised by far the most sheep, all but two counties, Sherman and Klamath, in this part of the State reporting more than any county west of the mountains. Morrow ranked first with 322,650; Malheur, Crook, Lake, Grant, Umatilla, and Wasco each had between 200,000 and 300,000. The counties of the Willamette Valley may be classed next to eastern Oregon; but Douglas, Jackson, and Coos had, county for county, nearly as large a number. The coast reported the lowest rank. Jackson County ranked first in the number of swine, reporting 22,588. Marion, Linn, and Douglas each had over 20,000. The counties of the Willamette Valley and Jackson and Douglas reported the largest number of hogs; eastern Oregon and the coast, the smallest. The Willamette Valley ranked first in the number of goats, Polk County being an easy leader. None of the eastern Oregon counties reported many goats except Baker. Douglas and Jackson were ahead of most of the coast counties.

No one set of figures has been obtained that represents the production of all classes of cereals. Seven-tenths of the land raising cereals, however, was producing wheat in 1900; one-fifth, oats; and five per cent, barley. Very little corn or rye was produced. Wheat, therefore, was in 1900 the main cereal crop of Oregon, and the production of oats was quite large. The figures showing the number of bushels of each of the five cereal crops, wheat, oats, barley, corn, and rye, raised in the different counties of the State, will give an outline for this discussion.

TABLE 28.

NUMBER OF BUSHELS OF WHEAT, OATS, BARLEY, CORN, AND RYE, RAISED IN OREGON, IN 1900, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTIES. (\*)

Counties.	BusheIs of Wheat	Rank	Counties.	BusheIs of Oats	Rank
State.....	14,508,636	.....	State.....	6,725,828	.....
Umatilla.....	3,212,120	1	Marion.....	1,059,220	1
Linn.....	1,252,620	2	Linn.....	853,010	2
Marion.....	1,094,150	3	Yamhill.....	659,220	3
Yamhill.....	1,072,740	4	Washington.....	651,650	4
Sherman.....	1,050,400	5	Polk.....	561,820	5
Polk.....	958,920	6	Lane.....	552,650	6
Union.....	767,000	7	Clackamas.....	511,790	7
Lane.....	635,590	8	Douglas.....	408,430	8
Benton.....	548,390	9	Benton.....	392,390	9
Washington.....	523,320	10	Union.....	299,350	10
Wasco.....	504,980	11	Baker.....	161,690	11
Jackson.....	463,090	12	Multnomah.....	110,230	12
Gilliam.....	406,480	13	Wallowa.....	64,650	13
Clackamas.....	395,260	14	Umatilla.....	50,980	14
Douglas.....	387,420	15	Wasco.....	49,280	15
Morrow.....	381,350	16	Jackson.....	45,740	16
Baker.....	151,183	17	Sherman.....	34,120	17
Wallowa.....	150,170	18	Crook.....	33,030	18
Crook.....	42,880	19	Columbia.....	29,510	19
Klamath.....	38,380	20	Josephine.....	24,600	20
Multnomah.....	37,490	21	Coos.....	24,060	21
Grant.....	31,800	22	Klamath.....	14,850	22
Malheur.....	27,340	23	Malheur.....	14,090	23
Josephine.....	21,670	24	Grant.....	13,430	24
Wheeler.....	15,720	25	Tillamook.....	13,200	25
Lake.....	12,150	26	Clatsop.....	10,150	26
Coos.....	11,920	27	Morrow.....	9,720	27
Columbia.....	10,800	28	Curry.....	9,458	28
Harney.....	3,730	29	Gilliam.....	6,420	29
Clatsop.....	3,300	30	Lincoln.....	6,050	30
Curry.....	1,813	31	Harney.....	5,730	31
Lincoln.....	520	32	Wheeler.....	5,090	32
Tillamook.....	80	33	Lake.....	2,310	33

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, p. 180.



TABLE 28—Continued.

Counties.	Barley	Rank	Counties.	Corn	Rank
State.....	1,515,150	.....	State.....	359,523	.....
Umatilla.....	380,340	1	Jackson.....	109,000	1
Union.....	215,640	2	Douglas.....	63,300	2
Baker.....	109,773	3	Lane.....	32,930	3
Wallowa.....	97,710	4	Marion.....	19,780	4
Morrow.....	76,650	5	Coos.....	19,010	5
Wasco.....	75,700	6	Josephine.....	14,720	6
Jackson.....	57,360	7	Wasco.....	14,150	7
Gilliam.....	43,870	8	Linn.....	9,980	8
Douglas.....	42,440	9	Yamhill.....	8,500	9
Sherman.....	42,230	10	Benton.....	8,290	10
Malheur.....	31,660	11	Clackamas.....	8,100	11
Coos.....	29,180	12	Polk.....	7,950	12
Lane.....	27,520	13	Umatilla.....	7,780	13
Marion.....	24,910	14	Malheur.....	5,470	14
Lake.....	23,360	15	Wallowa.....	4,150	15
Yamhill.....	21,960	16	Union.....	3,880	16
Grant.....	21,830	17	Multnomah.....	3,330	17
Polk.....	20,910	18	Sherman.....	2,650	18
Harney.....	19,800	19	Curry.....	2,606	19
Washington.....	19,140	20	Washington.....	2,580	20
Wheeler.....	17,810	21	Baker.....	1,489	21
Clackamas.....	11,790	22	Grant.....	1,130	22
Crook.....	10,710	23	Crook.....	830	23
Klamath.....	9,830	24	Columbia.....	450	24
Multnomah.....	9,220	25	Gilliam.....	420	25
Linn.....	8,250	26	Morrow.....	340	26
Josephine.....	4,920	27	Clatsop.....	220	27
Curry.....	4,607	28	Lake.....	188	28
Columbia.....	3,140	29	Klamath.....	160	29
Benton.....	2,700	30	Wheeler.....	80	30
Tillamook.....	490	31	Harney.....	.....	31
Lincoln.....	90	32	Lincoln.....	.....	32
Clatsop.....	20	33	Tillamook.....	.....	33

TABLE 28—Continued.

Counties	Rye.	Rank	Counties.	Rye.	Rank
State.....	109,234	.....	Wheeler.....	5,240	7
Klamath.....	23,190	1	Gilliam.....	4,900	8
Crook.....	18,030	2	Wallowa.....	3,710	9
Morrow.....	11,070	3	Lake.....	3,300	10
Union.....	10,830	4	Baker.....	2,998	11
Lane.....	6,300	5	Clackamas.....	2,960	12
Umatilla.....	5,840	6	Marion.....	2,380	13
Lincoln.....	2,200	14	Sherman.....	680	24
Malheur.....	1,840	15	Jackson.....	620	25
Yamhill.....	1,660	16	Multnomah.....	460	26
Washington.....	1,430	17	Douglas.....	420	27
Harney.....	1,200	18	Benton.....	400	28
Josephine.....	1,100	19	Tillamook.....	180	29
Grant.....	970	20	Clatsop.....	110	30
Linn.....	810	21	Coos.....	50	31
Polk.....	780	22	Columbia.....	40	32
Wasco.....	750	23	Curry.....	36	33

Umatilla in 1900 produced 3,212,120 bushels of wheat, or two and one-half times as much as any other county in the State. Linn, Marion, Yamhill, and Sherman each raised over 1,000,000 bushels; Polk, 958,920; Union, 767,000. Lane, Benton, Washington, and Clackamas; Wasco, Gilliam, and Morrow; Jackson and Douglas, each between 380,000 and 636,000 bushels. Tillamook, which was at the bottom of the list, produced only 80; Lincoln, 520. Harney, Clatsop, and Curry each reported between 4,000 and 1,800 bushels; Josephine and Coos; Wheeler, Lake, and Columbia, between 22,000 and 10,000. On the whole, the Willamette Valley counties, those along the Columbia River, and those in the northeastern part of the State, made the largest yield; Jackson and Douglas, however, each ranked ahead of Baker or Wallowa. Central and southern Oregon east of the mountains had a larger output than the coast counties.

By far the largest production of oats was made in the Willamette Valley. The northeastern part of the State ranked next with the exception of Douglas. The output of the coast counties was, in general, larger than that of the remaining ones in eastern Oregon. Marion county, which raised 1,059,220 bushels of oats, produced nearly twice as much of this grain as any other county. Linn, Yamhill, Washington, Polk, Lane, and Clackamas each produced between 660,000 and 500,000 bushels.

The counties in the northeastern corner of the State took the lead in the production of barley. Umatilla ranked first with 380,340 bushels, or nearly twice as much as any other county, excelling almost as noticeably as in the production of wheat. The Columbia River counties, together with Jackson and Douglas, were next to Umatilla, Union, Baker, and Wallowa. Some of the coast counties were the smallest producers. Most of the corn was raised in southwestern Oregon and the Willamette Valley. Eastern Oregon excelled in the production of rye; the Willamette Valley ranked second; the southwestern and coast counties were at the bottom of the list.

Conditions of farming in Oregon may be further explained by an examination of the value of dairy produce, orchard products, and poultry, in the different counties of the State.

TABLE 29.

VALUE OF DAIRY PRODUCE IN OREGON IN 1900, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTIES.(\*)

Counties.	Value.	Rank	Counties.	Value	Rank
State.....	\$ 3,550,953	.....	Morrow.....	\$ 57,923	17
Multnomah.....	346,781	1	Curry.....	57,417	18
Marion.....	227,050	2	Josephine.....	46,714	19
Washington.....	220,023	3	Sherman.....	46,246	20
Lane.....	210,869	4	Wallowa.....	43,771	21
Linn.....	197,770	5	Malheur.....	41,706	22
Coos.....	197,436	6	Benton.....	41,121	23
Umatilla.....	183,770	7	Lincoln.....	39,357	24
Tillamook.....	162,309	8	Baker.....	37,418	25
Union.....	151,023	9	Columbia.....	37,208	26
Yamhill.....	126,637	10	Crook.....	37,017	27
Douglas.....	113,099	11	Klamath.....	31,597	28
Clackamas.....	112,747	12	Gilliam.....	28,689	29
Wasco.....	90,827	13	Harney.....	26,090	30
Grant.....	85,545	14	Wheeler.....	25,555	31
Jackson.....	83,465	15	Lake.....	22,999	32
Polk.....	75,971	16	Clatsop.....	20,229	33

Most of the dairy produce came from the Willamette Valley, and the least from eastern Oregon and some of the coast counties. Multnomah took the lead, having an output of \$346,781, which was fifty per cent more than that of any other county. Marion, Washington, and Lane each had an output valued at more than \$200,000; Linn, Coos, Umatilla, Tillamook, and Union, over \$150,000 each; Yamhill, Douglas, and Clackamas, over \$100,000 each; Wasco, Grant, Jackson, Polk, Morrow, and Curry, over \$50,000 each. Counties in the Willamette Valley were, for the most part, the greatest producers. Some coast counties ranked high; others, low. Coos was sixth; Tillamook, eighth; Curry, eighteenth; Lincoln, twenty-fourth; Clatsop, thirty-third. In northeastern Oregon, Umatilla was seventh; Union, ninth; Wallowa, twenty-first; Baker, twenty-fifth. Douglas was eleventh; Jackson, fifteenth; Jose-

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, p. 44.



phine, nineteenth. Along the Columbia River, Wasco was thirteenth; Morrow, seventeenth; Sherman, twentieth; Gilliam, twenty-eighth. None of these districts, therefore, was especially favored, but all had exceptional counties.

TABLE 30.

VALUE OF ORCHARD PRODUCTS ON FARMS IN OREGON IN 1900, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTIES. (\*)

Counties.	Value	Rank	Counties.	Value	Rank
State.....	\$ 906,015	.....	Benton.....	18,583	17
Jackson.....	169,718	1	Columbia.....	14,421	18
Douglas.....	149,194	2	Grant.....	14,110	19
Yamhill.....	49,596	3	Sherman.....	10,793	20
Multnomah.....	47,101	4	Gilliam.....	8,165	21
Union.....	44,366	5	Wheeler.....	7,571	22
Josephine.....	37,487	6	Curry.....	6,751	23
Coos.....	37,239	7	Wallowa.....	6,459	24
Wasco.....	36,748	8	Morrow.....	5,824	25
Lane.....	34,918	9	Malheur.....	4,983	26
Marion.....	32,682	10	Lincoln.....	4,767	27
Linn.....	31,208	11	Clatsop.....	3,566	28
Baker.....	26,161	12	Crook.....	2,801	29
Clackamas.....	25,593	13	Lake.....	2,520	30
Washington.....	24,605	14	Tillamook.....	2,182	31
Umatilla.....	24,471	15	Klamath.....	1,116	32
Polk.....	18,964	16	Harney.....	.....	33

Southwestern Oregon yielded by far the greatest relative amount of fruit. Jackson ranked first; Douglas, second; Josephine, sixth; but Curry, twenty-third. Jackson and Douglas each yielded more than three times as much as any other county. Next to the southwestern district, the Willamette Valley and the northeastern counties were most productive in fruit raising. The greater part of eastern Oregon and some of the coast counties made the smallest output. Wasco ranked thirteenth in 1900.

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, p. 674.

# LAND TENURE IN OREGON.

III

TABLE 31.

VALUE OF POULTRY IN OREGON IN 1900, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTIES. (\*)

Counties.	Value.	Rank	Counties.	Value	Rank
State.....	\$ 582,524	.....	Coos.....	\$ 8,663	17
Linn.....	59,535	1	Columbia.....	8,624	18
Marion.....	49,612	2	Sherman.....	8,472	19
Clackamas.....	46,551	3	Malheur.....	8,196	20
Lane.....	41,057	4	Morrow.....	6,082	21
Douglas.....	41,002	5	Grant.....	6,045	22
Washington.....	34,773	6	Gilliam.....	5,865	23
Umatilla.....	31,435	7	Crook.....	5,395	24
Yamhill.....	29,965	8	Clatsop.....	4,793	25
Union.....	28,205	9	Josephine.....	4,597	26
Polk.....	22,727	10	Klamath.....	4,590	27
Multnomah.....	22,433	11	Tillamook.....	4,182	28
Jackson.....	20,599	12	Wheeler.....	3,738	29
Wasco.....	19,244	13	Lincoln.....	3,485	30
Benton.....	18,024	14	Lake.....	2,663	31
Baker.....	12,951	15	Harney.....	2,442	32
Wallowa.....	9,956	16	Curry.....	2,420	33

\*U. S. Census Reports for 1900, Twelfth Census, Vol. VI, p. 47.

## APPENDIX.

## LEASES EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE STATE.

*Share Lease for Grain and Hay Employed by the Eastern Oregon Land Company in Sherman County.*

THIS INDENTURE, made this first day of October, in the year 1904, BETWEEN the EASTERN OREGON LAND COMPANY, a corporation duly incorporated under the laws of the State of California, and having its principal office in the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, the Party of the first part, and Robert Urquhart, Moro, Sherman County, Oregon, the Party of the second part,

WITNESSETH, That the said party of the first part, for and in consideration of the rents, covenants, and agreements hereinafter mentioned, reserved, and contained, on the part of the said party of the second part, to be paid, kept and performed, does by THESE PRESENTS, demise, lease and farm-let unto the said party of the second part, all of those certain lots, pieces or parcels of land situated, lying and being within the County of Sherman, State of Oregon, bounded and described as follows, to-wit: .....  
 .....  
 containing about 320 acres, upon the terms, covenants, and conditions hereinafter contained.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same, with the appurtenances, for the term of two years commencing on the first day of October, 1904, and ending on the first day of October, 1906. And the said party of the second part covenants and agrees to give peaceable possession of said property in good order and condition to said party of the first part, on said first day of October, 1906, without further notice from said party of the first part; said party of the second part agrees to pay therefor unto the said party of the first part, its assigns or

successors, as rent for said premises one-third (1-3) of any and all crops that may hereafter be raised on said land, during the term of this lease, the same to be delivered annually, free of any expense to the said party of the first part, in warehouse at the nearest railway station, in good order and condition, within twenty days after the same is threshed and sacked, if grain, or as soon as the same is baled, if hay. Should the party of the second part fail or refuse to deliver said first party's share of the crop within the time above specified, the party of the first part may, if it so elect, have the same delivered, and the expense of such delivery to be borne by said party of the second part. Party of the first part hereby agrees to furnish sacks for its share of grain.

And it is hereby agreed that if said crop shall be harvested for grain, then the same shall be properly threshed and sacked in new sacks, free of expense to said party of the first part; if said crop is harvested for hay, then the same shall be properly baled, free of expense to the said party of the first part; provided, however, that no hay shall be cut from the ground seeded to grain without the written consent of the said party of the first part.

And it is hereby agreed that the party of the first part, its assigns, or successors, shall be allowed to enter the premises at any and all times; and as soon as the crop is sacked or baled, they will be allowed to mark their share, and no grain or hay to be removed from land until company's share is marked.

And it is hereby agreed that the party of the second part shall protect and care for said grain or hay belonging to the party of the first part, and will hold himself responsible to the party of the first part for the same against damage or theft during all the time that said grain or hay is in the field, and until such time as the same is delivered in warehouse as aforesaid.

And it is hereby agreed that the title of all crops raised on the premises herein described be and remain in the said party



of the first part, until said party of the second part shall perform all the covenants and agreements herein contained.

It is hereby agreed that the party of the second part shall farm the land, in a good and husbandman-like manner, every year during the term of this lease, and that he will summer-fallow the land every alternate year, plow the same six or eight inches deep and harrow the plowing promptly thereafter; that he will find and furnish all seeds necessary to be sown, and will seed all summer-fallowed land not later than October 15th of each year, unless permission is granted in writing by the party of the first part to do otherwise.

And it is hereby agreed by the party of the second part that he will plow the land to be summer-fallowed, as soon as the same is in proper condition after the frost leaves the ground in the spring, and have it completed not later than May 1st each year, and cultivate and till the soil during the spring and summer, sufficiently to retain the moisture and keep the same free from weeds. And it is hereby agreed that the party of the second part shall pay to said party of the first part the CASH RENTAL of One Dollar per acre for all tillable land described in this lease which he may neglect or fail to farm according to the terms thereof, and \$.10 per acre for all non-tillable land described in this lease.

It being hereby mutually understood and agreed by and between the said parties of the first and second parts, that the lands described in this lease,.....(estimated) acres are tillable, and.....(estimated) acres are non-tillable land.

The party of the second part covenants with the party of the first part that he will not commit, or suffer, any waste of the said premises, or permit any trespasser to enter upon, or hold possession of, said land or any part thereof.

And it is hereby further understood and agreed that the said party of the second part shall not at any time during the term of this lease, assign, set over, transfer, under-lease or underlet said premises, or any part thereof, or in any other

manner part with the possession or occupation of the same, without the special consent, in writing, of the said party of the first part.

It is hereby mutually understood and agreed that none of the land covered by this lease shall be volunteered without the special written consent of the party of the first part.

Party of the second part hereby agrees to keep the within described tracts free from the weeds known as the "Russian Thistle" and the "Chinese Thistle"; that he will extirpate said thistles before any thereof has shed its bloom or commenced to form the seed. Furthermore, should said second party fail to destroy the said Russian thistle or Chinese thistle in proper time, and the party of the first part has reason to believe that said thistles would be liable to go to seed before said second party could possibly remove and destroy the same, then the said first party may employ sufficient help and proceed to eradicate the said thistles, the expenses incurred for such work to be borne by the party of the second part.

Party of the second part further agrees that if the crop is harvested by a combine machine that he will immediately haul and pile the grain in a convenient place on the land, no wheat to be removed until Company's share is marked, and that he will cover the grain with straw promptly thereafter; also that he will harvest Company's grain before going outside to assist others.

Party of the second part further agrees that should he cut hay for feed, when harvesting with a combine, that he will stack the same before using any portion thereof.

Party of the second part hereby agrees that he will not pasture nor permit to be pastured any of the land leased from the party of the first part after the same has been seeded to grain; a violation of this clause will be deemed sufficient cause for cancellation of this lease without further notice.

Party of the second part agrees that he will not seed to oats, barley, or rye any of the land described in this lease without the written consent of the party of the first part.

It is further mutually agreed between the parties hereto that in case the party of the second part shall fail to fulfill any of the covenants or shall fail to perform any of the agreements herein contained, then the party of the first part may immediately without notice re-enter upon said premises, remove all persons therefrom and repossess and enjoy all its first and former estate therein and proceed to cultivate said land, harvest and market any and all growing crops thereon, sell and dispose of the same and out of the proceeds of that portion of said crop which would, after division, belong to the party of the second part, pay all expenses of such cultivation, harvesting and marketing.

And the said party of the second part agrees upon default or failure, to vacate said premises without notice, and if it becomes necessary to bring action at law to recover possession thereof, to pay a reasonable attorney's fee therefor.

It is further understood and agreed that as soon as the crops of grain are harvested, the party of the second part will stack the straw in proper shape so that the same will not be destroyed by stock or rain, such straw to be for the use of the occupant the following season.

It is further understood and agreed that at the termination of this lease the party of the second part, at the option of the party of the first part, shall either be allowed to seed any summer-fallowed land that then may be on the premises and harvest the same at the rate of \$1.25 per acre, for one plowing, and cultivating of said land.

It is further understood and agreed, that the sale of the lands described herein, or any portion thereof, shall cause this lease to immediately cease and terminate with respect to such of said lands as may be sold, provided, that said party of the second part may retain undisturbed possession of such portion of said premises as have been seeded for the next crop, subject to the terms of this lease, until the then growing crops, if any, have been harvested.

It is further understood and agreed between the aforesaid

parties, that the party of the first part reserves the privilege to give right of way through the aforesaid lands for railroads, ditches, etc., at any time during the term of this lease.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The said party of the first part has caused these presents to be signed in its corporate name by its President and Secretary, and its corporate seal to be hereunto affixed, and the said party of the second part has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered	EASTERN OREGON
in the presence of	LAND COMPANY,
.....	By.....(Seal)
	President.
.....	.....(Seal)
	Secretary.
	.....(Seal)

*Share Lease for Grain Employed by the Bank of Ione in  
Morrow County.*

This indenture, made this 13th day of February, in the year nineteen hundred and five, between the Bank of Ione, a corporation under the laws of the State of Oregon, and having its office in the City of Ione, Morrow County, State of Oregon, the party of the first part, and G. A. Miller and J. H. Miller of Cecil, Morrow County, State of Oregon, parties of the second part.

Witnesseth, That the said party of the first part, for and in consideration of the rents, covenants and agreements hereinafter mentioned, reserved and contained, on the part of the party of the second part, to be paid, kept and performed, does, by these premises, demise, lease and farmlet unto the said parties of the second part, all the following described land, lying and being in the County of Morrow and State of Oregon, to-wit: ..... containing three hundred and



twenty acres, more or less, according to the U. S. government survey thereof. To have and to hold the same, with the appurtenances, for the years of 1905 and 1906, commencing the 13th day of February, 1905, and ending the first day of October, 1906, providing, that if the parties of the second part plant or sow any grain during the spring of 1905, then this lease on such land so sown or planted shall expire on the first day of October, 1905. And the said parties of the second part agree to give immediate and peaceable possession of the said property in good order and condition to the said party of the first part, on the first day of October, 1905, if sown and planted as above stated, and if no crop is sown thereon during the spring of 1905, the said parties of the second part agree to give immediate and peaceable possession to the said party of the first part, on the first day of October, 1906, subject to the provisions of this lease. The said parties of the second part do agree to pay unto the said party of the first, their successors or assigns as for the said premises, one-fourth ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) of all and any crops that may hereafter be raised on said land, during the term of this lease, the same to be delivered free of any expense to the said party of the first part, in such warehouse at Ione, Douglas or Cecil, as the said first party shall direct, in good order and condition in sacks within twenty days after the same is threshed and sacked, the parties of the first part to furnish sacks for their share at Ione, Oregon. Should the parties of the second part refuse or fail to deliver said first party's share of the crops as above specified, the parties of the first part may, if they select, have the same delivered, the expense of delivery to be borne by the party of the second part, and to be deducted from his share of the crop as herein specified.

It is further understood and agreed that the sale of the lands herein described, shall cause this lease to immediately cease and terminate with respect to the lands sold, provided, that the said party of the second part may retain undisturbed possession of any such portion of the said premises as have

been seeded for the next crop, subject to the terms of this lease until the said growing crops, if any, have been harvested. But should the said party of the second part have lands that are plowed or summer fallowed and the same be not seeded, then the parties of the first part, if they so elect, may pay for the same at the rate of \$1.00 per acre for land so plowed, and at the rate of \$1.25 per acre for each harrowing, if any there be, and the said parties of the second part agree to give to full and immediate possession of the premises herein described when so paid. It is agreed that there should be no plowing or summer fallowing, as herein specified, that the parties of the second part shall give full, immediate and peaceable possession of the said premises in case of sale, upon written notice thereof.

It is further understood and agreed that the parties of the second part are to fence all the land described herein as the parties of the first part may direct, in a good and sufficient manner, the parties of the first part to furnish the material for said fence at Ione, Oregon.

It is further understood that the title to the crops raised on the premises herein described be and remain in the said parties of the first part, until the parties of the second part shall perform all the covenants and agreements herein contained. And the parties of the first part reserve the right to enter upon said premises and mark their share of the crops after the same have been threshed.

It is hereby agreed that the parties shall farm all the land herein described, in a good and husbandlike manner during the life of this lease. That he will find and furnish all seeds necessary to be sown, and that they will seed all the summer fallow not later than October 15th, unless permission is granted in writing by the parties of the first part to do otherwise. That they will plow at least three inches deep, and that they will immediately harrow the lands so plowed to keep the same from drying out, and that they will also harrow the same during the summer months sufficiently to retain the moisture and prevent the growth of weeds. And that they will complete all

plowing before the first day of May. And that they will commence plowing as soon as the ground is in proper condition after the frost leaves it.

And it is further understood and agreed that the party of the second part will not at any time during the life of this lease, assign, set over, underlease or underlet said premises or any part thereof, or in any way part with the possession or occupation of the same, without the written consent of the parties of the first part. Nor will they permit any one to enter upon, or in any way to trespass on the said premises as herein described.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The said parties of the first part have caused these presents to be signed by its cashier, in its corporate name, and the said parties of the second part have hereunto set their hands and seals the date and day first above written.

*Grain Share Lease Employed in Klamath County.*

This indenture, made this 21st day of February, A. D. 1908, by and between the Lakeside Company, a corporation, and Joseph Cox and John Cox, copartners, of Merrill, Oregon.

Witnesseth, That in consideration of the covenants herein contained on the part of the said Joseph Cox and John Cox to be kept and performed by them, the said Lakeside Company does hereby lease, demise and let unto the said Joseph Cox and John Cox the following described premises, to-wit:  
..... To have and to hold the same to the lessee for the term of one year from the date hereof, the said lessee paying therefor the rental of one-third of the crops grown thereon, payable when threshed and to be delivered on said premises.

And the said lessee, or their executors and administrators, do hereby covenant to and with the said lessor and his assigns, to pay the said rent as provided herein, and that they will make no unlawful, improper or offensive use of the premises;

that at the expiration of the said term or upon any sooner termination of this lease they will quit and deliver up the premises and all future erections and additions to or upon the same, to the said lessor, or those having its estate therein peaceably, quietly, in as good order and condition (reasonable and wearing thereof, fire and other unavoidable casualties excepted) as the same now are or may be put in by the lessor or those having its estate in the premises; that will not suffer nor permit any strip or waste thereof, nor make, nor suffer to be made, any alterations or additions to or upon the same, nor assign this lease, nor underlet, or permit any person or persons to occupy the same, without the consent of the said lessor or those having its estate to the premises, being first obtained in writing, and also that it shall be lawful for the said lessor and those having its estate in the premises, at reasonable time, to enter into and upon the same to examine the condition thereof.

It is agreed that the lessees shall keep up all fences around said fields as they shall use and shall keep the same in good repair, and it is agreed that the lessor shall pay for all water used by lessees for the irrigation of crops growing on said premises.

Provided always, and these presents are upon this condition, that if the said rent shall be in arrears for the space of ....., or if the lessee or their representatives or assigns shall neglect or fail to perform, and observe any or either of the covenants hereinbefore contained, which on their part are to be performed, then any of the said cases, the said lessor, or those having its estate in the said premises lawfully made, immediately or at any time thereafter, and while said neglect or default continues, and without further notice or demand, enter into and upon the said premises, or any part thereof, in the name of the whole and repossess the same, of its former estate, and expel the said lessees, and those claiming under them, and remove their effects, without being taken or deemed guilty in any manner of trespass, and without



prejudice to any remedies which might otherwise be used for arrears of rent, or preceding breach of covenant.

In testimony whereof, the said parties have set their hands and seals, on the day and year first above written to this, and another instrument of the same tenor and date.

*Share Lease for Grain Employed in Benton County.*

Know all men by these presents, that I, Robert Richardson, the lessor, in consideration of the rents, covenants and agreements herein mentioned, reserved, and contained on the part and behalf of Zierolf Brothers, a partnership consisting of ....., the lessees, have leased and by these presents do lease and let unto said Zierolf Brothers, all of the following described property, to-wit: .....  
....., all in Benton County, State of Oregon, for the term of one year from the first day of October, 1904, until the first day of October, 1905. To have and to hold the above described premises unto the said lessees for the term aforesaid.

In consideration whereof the said lessees hereby covenant and agree that they will occupy, till and in all respects cultivate the premises above described, during the term aforesaid, in a good, farmerlike manner and according to the usual course of farming practiced in the neighborhood; that they will not commit any waste nor suffer any to be done; that they will plow, seed to grain, all of the tillable land on said leased premises, being all the land that has heretofore been in crop; that they will keep the fences up in reasonably good condition.

That they will at their own cost, harvest and thresh all grain grown on said leased premises, and when so threshed that they will haul and deliver to said lessor at mill in Monroe or Finley's warehouse (at option of lessor) an equal one-third part of grain grown on said premises, which said one-third shall be equal both as to quantity and quality; and when so stored to deliver receipts therefor to said lessor; the division of

the grain to be made according to warehouse weights, and grain retained by said lessees and not stored to be estimated on the basis of warehouse weights of similar grain.

It is understood that this lease shall expire absolutely on the first day of October, 1905; and that no holding over shall be considered as a renewal thereof; and the said lessees hereby waive all statutory notice to quit.

In Witness Whereof, The parties hereto have unto set their hands and seals, in duplicate, this first day of October, 1904.

*Share Lease for Grain and Hay Employed in Crook County.*

This agreement, made and entered into on this 27th day of October, 1906, by and between Morrow and Kennan, parties of the first part, and E. D. Holms, party of the second part:

Witnesseth:—That the parties of the first part, in consideration of the covenants and agreements to be kept and performed by the party of the second part and hereinafter set forth, do hereby lease, demise and let unto the said party of the second part for the term of five years from the 15th day of September, 1906, to the 15th day of September, 1911, the following described lands in Crook County, Oregon, to-wit: ..... but with the reservations herein set forth, and upon the terms and conditions herein contained. The party of the second part hereby agrees and binds himself to cultivate and sow to grain 400 acres of said land, during each of said years, and to plow and summer fallow 400 acres, during the first year, and sow the same to grain, along with the other lands during this lease. It is understood and agreed that as a rental for said land, the parties of the first part shall receive one-third of all crops raised upon said land during the term of this lease, said share of one-third of entire crop to be delivered to said parties of the first part on said premises as soon as the same is harvested, and it is agreed and understood that the said parties of the first part shall have the option of having said crops cut for hay or

threshed, they to notify the said party of the second part within a reasonable time before harvest for either hay or grain, and the party of the second part is to abide by such notice. The parties of the first part reserve all rights to pasture upon said lands after harvest, the said party of the second part having no right to use said lands for grazing or pasture at any time or at all during this lease. The said party of the second part agrees to grub and clear all of said land and to remove all brush and all surface rock therefrom, the said rock to be piled in separate heaps at convenient places upon said land off the tillable land, the grubbing and clearing applying only to plow lands that are suitable for cultivation. All summer fallow is to be plowed by June 1st of each year and harrowed and worked down by July 1st of each year, and harrowed as often as necessary to keep down weeds and vegetation from July 1st to September 15th of each year of summer fallow when fall plowing shall commence. All summer fallow is to be kept clear of vegetation and harrowed each month if necessary to keep weeds and vegetation down. All fences are to be put in good repair by the parties of the first part at the commencement of this lease, and the same are to be so maintained by the party of the second part during this lease, and all stock are to be kept off such lands at all times except the stock belonging to the parties of the first part. All summer fallow is to be prepared and worked as herein described at the end of this lease and upon which no crops have been raised for the year in which lease expires shall be measured and paid for at the rate of \$2.00 per acre by the parties of the first part to the parties of the second part. All new land broken and put to crops \$2.00 per acre also.

All hay and straw is to be properly stacked and taken care of, and all crops handled in the best approved methods. All wheat and barley is to be vitrioled before sowing and only clean seed sowed, and all seeding to be done by April 1st of crop year. Two crops are to be raised in succession on new land before summer fallowing, and thereafter summer fallowed

every other year. Second crop on new land is to be disked or plowed as the party of the second part may deem best.

The said parties of the first part shall have and hold a lien upon all crops raised upon said premises for their interest, for interest for money advanced for seed, sowing, harvesting or caring for said crops, and for any damages or failure of the said party of the second part to carry out the terms of this lease on his or their part to be kept or performed, and said parties of the first part are hereby authorized and directed to take immediate possession of said premises, crops and produce raised thereon, upon any breach of this lease, without notice to the said party of the second part, and to hold and dispose of the crops raised thereon, paying themselves for the expenses, costs in attending to the crops, harvesting and caring for the same, all money advanced for seed or otherwise, and damages, and pay the overplus, if any, over to the said party of the second part.

That this lease is not to be assigned, sub-let or transferred without the written consent of the parties of the first part, and said parties of the first part may at any time upon breach of the terms of this lease by the party of the second part declare this lease at an end and take immediate and entire control of the premises, and the party of the second part agrees to give up such possession quietly and peaceably. That no crops raised upon said premises before the division thereof shall be mortgaged, sold or assigned or transferred in any way. That said premises at the end of this lease shall be surrendered in as good order and condition as the same are now in or may be put into, reasonable wear and tear thereof, and damages by the elements and fire excepted as to both parties thereof.

In Witness Whereof, The parties hereunto set their hands and seals to this agreement in duplicate this 27th day of October, 1906.



*Cash Lease for Pasture Land in Grant County.*

This indenture, made this 23rd day of October, in the year nineteen hundred and five, between the Eastern Oregon Land Company, a corporation duly incorporated under the laws of the State of California, and having its principal office at the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, the party of the first part, and Kenneth M. McRae, Dayville, Grant County, Oregon, the party of the second part.

Witnesseth, that the said party of the first part, for and in consideration of the rents, covenants and agreements hereinafter mentioned, reserved and contained on the part and behalf of the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns, to be paid, kept and performed, does by these presents demise, lease and let unto the said party of the second part, his executors, administrators and assigns, all those certain lots, pieces or parcels of land, situate, lying and being within the County of Grant, State of Oregon, bounded and described as follows, to-wit: ....., containing about 9927.53 acres, upon the terms, covenants and conditions hereinafter contained. To have and to hold the same, with the appurtenances, for the term of one year, commencing on the first day of October, 1905, and ending on the first day of October, 1906.

And the said party of the second part covenants and agrees to give peaceable possession to the party of the first part, on said first day of October, 1906, without further notice to the said party of the first part; said party of the second part paying therefor unto the said party of the first part, its assigns or successors, the annual rent, or sum of \$860, payable according to the terms of one promissory note hereinafter described.

And it is hereby agreed that if any rent shall be due and unpaid, or if default shall be made in any of the covenants herein contained, then it shall be lawful for the said party of the first part, its assigns or successors, to re-enter the said premises, and to remove all persons therefrom, and to repossess

and enjoy all its first and former estate therein, anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And the said party of the second part does hereby covenant, promise and agree to pay to the said party of the first part the said rents in the manner hereinabove specified.

And that after the expiration of the said term or any sooner determination of this lease, the said party of the second part will quit and surrender the premises hereby demised in good order and condition.

It is understood and agreed, that in the event of a sale being made by the party of the first part, of the whole or any portion of the premises herein demised, then the said party of the second part shall, upon notice of thirty days being given him in person, or by letter mailed to his postoffice address, quit and surrender unto the party of the first part, all that portion the said premises of which sale have been made, and in case of sale of part of the demised premises, the party of the second part shall be entitled to a prorata abatement of the rent for the remainder of the term.

In case the party of the second part shall be ejected by any person or party claiming title superior to the title of the party of the first part, then the said party of the first part shall not be liable to any damage by reason thereof.

The party of the second part covenants with the party of the first part that he will not commit, or suffer any waste of said premises, or permit any trespassing to enter upon or hold possession of said lands or any part thereof.

And it is hereby agreed that the party of the second part, his or their executors, administrators or assigns, or any or either of them, shall not at any time during said term, assign, set over, transfer, underlease or underlet said premises or any part thereof, or in any other manner part with the possession or occupation of the same without the special consent in writing of the said party of the first part.

In Witness Whereof, The said party of the first part has caused these presents to be signed by its corporate name by

its President and Secretary, and its corporate seal to be hereunto affixed, and the said party of the second part has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written.

*Cash Lease Employed for Cattle in Gilliam County.*

This contract, made this 23rd day of December, 1897, between W. W. Steiwer of Fossil, Oregon, party of the first part, and J. P. Perin and Wm. L. Metteer of Pine Creek, Gilliam County, Oregon, parties of the second part:

Witnesseth, That said party of the first part has leased to the said parties of the second part the entire S. T. brand of cattle, numbering about 300 head, more or less, for a period of five years, running from November 1st, 1897.

The parties of the second part hereby agree to brand and otherwise care for said cattle during the entire time of this lease, to prepare feed sufficient to feed them in winter when necessary, to gather them at all times when necessary, and to bear all the expenses in connection with running and caring for said cattle, except that each of the two parties to this lease are to pay one-half of all taxes. The party of the first part hereby agrees to furnish the use of the Jones Ranch on Pine Creek without charge to the parties of the second part, or in the event of it being considered best to dispense with the use of the Jones Ranch, or if the party of the first part can not rent said ranch at an annual rental not exceeding \$100, then the party of the first part agrees to furnish an amount equal to the rent now being paid for said ranch, viz., \$100 per year and the taxes on the same ranch, toward the maintenance and running of said cattle. And it is further hereby agreed that the cost price or present appraised value of said band of cattle, viz., \$4000, shall be paid to the party of the first part from the total sales of cattle until it is all paid, except that each of the two parties to this lease are to have \$100 from any sales of cattle each year. When said cost price as above stated

shall have been all paid to the party of the first part, then any other sales of cattle the proceeds shall be equally divided between the two parties of this lease, and at the expiration of this lease and after said cash price has been all paid to the party of the first part, the remaining cattle shall be all gathered and equally divided between the two parties of this lease. All sales of cattle shall be made by the party of the first part. The parties of the second part agree also to be at all expense running the Jones Ranch and keeping the same in reasonable repair, or any other ranch that may be used in connection with the running of said cattle during this lease.

*Dairy Lease Employed in Clatsop County.*

This agreement, made and entered into this.....day of 1907, between O. I. Peterson, party of the first part, and Alpheus C. Miller, party of the second part:

Witnesseth, That whereas, the party of the first part is the owner of 90 acres of land, more or less .....  
..... in Clatsop County, Oregon, and generally known as the Sunflower Dairy and referred to as the Sunflower Dairy.

And whereas, the party of the second part is desirous of operating and of farming said Sunflower Dairy as tenant to the party of the first part, and whereas, the party of the first part has agreed to accept him as tenant on the terms in this agreement hereinafter set forth.

Therefore, in consideration of the covenants and agreement of the party of the second part to be observed and performed by him, the party of the first part does hereby lease, demise and let unto the party of the second part said Sunflower Dairy with all the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances belonging thereto or in any wise appertaining, and all stock, cattle, horses, brood sows, hogs, tools, farming and dairy implements, and apparatus now being thereon or hereafter to be put thereon, all of which are more particularly a part of this



agreement for the term of twelve months from the first day of May, 1907, to the first day of May, 1908, the lessee yielding and paying to the lessor the yearly rent of \$1000 in monthly installments of \$83 per month, payable on the last of each and every month during said term, the first installment to be payable on the last day of May, 1907, and the lessee covenants to pay the said rent in manner and at times aforesaid, and that he will farm and cultivate the said Sunflower Dairy during said term in a good farmlike, dairyman and husbandlike manner and according to the usual custom of dairying and farming in the neighborhood, that he will properly care for, feed, milk and treat all stock on said place, and especially give the best of care to the registered Dutch Belted cattle put on said place this spring by the party of the first part, and will test the milk from each cow thereon once at least in every three months or quarter during said term, and will also weigh the milk from each cow on the first, tenth and twentieth days of each month both morning and night, and within five days thereafter report in writing to the lessor the results of each test and weighing, and that he will keep a faithful record of the breeding time of each cow and hog thereon, and report the same in writing to said lessor at the end or sooner determination of said term; that he will at all times keep all stock and hogs clear and away from all dykes on said land; that at the end or sooner termination of said term he will turn over and deliver up to the lessor all stock described in said schedule except such of said stock as shall be sold or dead, and all such he shall replace with animals of a similar quality to the satisfaction of the lessor; that he will keep up and swarm in season all hives or stands of bees now on said place; that he will keep all shrubbery and fruit trees and garden bushes in good order and condition; that he will dig a reasonable amount of open ditches, as agreed upon by both parties; that he will level a reasonable amount of small ditches on said farm, and will put in during said year about 25 rods of underdraining; that he will keep down and destroy all wire grass, weeds and thistles

on said place, all wire grass to be cut and removed by the end of the summer as near as practical; that he will perform and do a certain amount of clearing land, consisting of hauling off logs and trees and brush, and burn the same on a piece of land commonly called railroad land, as agreed upon by both parties; that he will cut off all brush on the old hot water dyke and destroy the same; that he will seed down all meadows on said farm sufficiently to keep the same in good condition and cultivation, and will at least once in the year haul all manure produced on said place and spread it on the meadows and root fields thereon; that he will keep all slips, barns and driveways clear and clean, and will coal tar the silo inside and outside at least once during the year, the lessor to furnish coal tar at Astoria; that he will keep in good order and repair and condition all buildings, fences, cutters, bridges, dykes, sluice-boxes, aprons, roadway leading to high land, and the boat landing, and will at all times keep the boom sticks around said landing so tied or chained as to protect the same from damage; that when the materials are provided by the lessor at Astoria therefor the lessee will haul all necessary lumber for repairing of fences and buildings; that he will keep clean and in good order, repair and condition all machinery, implements, tools and dairy utensils, and especially the manure spreader, and will oil and clean all the harvest implements before putting them away for winter, and will once a year at least, wash and oil all working harness on said farm; that he will, as soon after harvest as practicable, cut down and burn all weeds and small brush which has grown up and around the trees and stumps and along the banks of sloughs in all meadows on said farm, and that he will cut out and burn or haul all wire grass in small meadow commonly called Weathers Meadow as soon after haying as practical; that he will clear out and keep open all ditches now on said farm; that he will keep down and destroy all wire grass and thistles on a piece of land commonly called railroad land; that he will haul some planks from old county road providing same is improved, said planks to be

used on said farm for road and slips or bridges; that in case line fence has to be constructed between Mrs. I. S. Keeny and O. I. Peterson place, party of the second part will build O. I. Peterson's part of the fence, party of the first part to furnish material at Astoria, Oregon; that he will, if weather permits, burn up all weeds on dykes on said farm once a year at least; that he will allow the lessor and his family to visit and stay on said farm at and for such time as they shall see fit, and shall allow the lessor to keep his horse thereon and put the same in stable with the other horses on the farm at any time.

It is further understood and agreed upon by both parties that if any of the mares now on farm is bred, each of the parties is to pay half of the stud fee, and the offspring is to be owned by both parties, each own half interest of the offspring of said mares.

It is further understood and agreed upon by both parties that party of the second part will take extra good care in feeding and stabling all the registered Dutch Belted cattle now on said Sunflower Dairy, or may hereafter be installed on said place, and the party of the second part will fit them for the show ring on exhibition at the Oregon State Fair, both parties to stand the expenses, share and share alike, of transporting them to the fair grounds and back home again, and also while on exhibition at the fair grounds.

And it is further understood by both parties that any prizes in money secured by exhibition of said cattle at said fair is to be divided share and share alike by both parties.

And it is further understood and agreed by both parties that any offspring as a result of breeding the registered Dutch Belted cattle, party of the first part is to own half interest of such offspring, that the party of the second part will quit and deliver up to the lessor at the end of or sooner termination of said term the said premises with the buildings and stock specified in said schedule in as good order, repair and condition, reasonable wear and tear and damage to the buildings only excepted, provided, always, that these presents are upon

this condition, that if the lessee shall fail, neglect or refuse to perform any part of the covenants herein contained on his part to be observed and performed, or if the above rent shall be in arrears and unpaid for the space of ten days after the same or any part thereof shall become due, upon the breach on nonperformance of any of the covenants herein contained on his part to be observed and performed, the lessor may immediately or at any time thereafter while such default or breach shall continue, and without further notice or demand, enter into and upon said premises or any part thereof in the name of the whole and repossess the same as of his former estate, and expel the said lessee or those claiming under him, forcibly, if necessary, without being taken or deemed guilty of trespass, in any manner and without prejudice to any remedies which might otherwise be used for arrears of rent or preceding breach of covenant.

It is also agreed and understood upon by the party of the second part that this lease is not transferable to any one without the consent of the party of the first part.

In testimony whereof the parties hereto have unto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

*Lease and Land Sale Agreement Employed in Klamath County.*

This agreement, made and entered into on this, the sixth day of April, 1907, between J. Frank Adams, party of the first part, and H. F. Tolle, party of the second part.

Witnesseth, That the party of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of \$100 to him in hand paid, receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, and the covenants and agreements of the party of the second part herein contained, agrees to and with the party of the second part to let him into the immediate possession and allow him the exclusive use of occupation of the following described premises, to-wit: in Klamath



County, Oregon, containing 20 acres of land, more or less, for the full term of five years from January 1st, 1907.

And the party of the second part, in consideration of the aforesaid agreement, hereby agrees to and with the party of the first part that he will enter upon, occupy and use said premises for and during said period, and that he will pay or cause to be paid to the party of the first part, his agents or assigns, on or before the 31st day of January of each and every year of said term the full sum of sixty dollars (\$60.00) lawful money of the United States, and that he will keep up all necessary fences and other improvements now existing or hereafter put upon said premises in proper repair, and that he will neither permit nor commit any waste or strip thereof and will neither make or permit any unlawful or improper use thereof; and he further agrees that in case of neglect or failure on his part to do or perform all or any of the agreements herein specified to be by him performed, he will immediately, upon notice and demand therefor, peaceably and quietly quit and surrender the possession of said premises, and of the whole thereof, to said party of the first part, his agents or assigns, and the said party of the first part shall at any and all times during said term have the free right to enter thereon to view and inspect said premises.

And the party of the first part agrees that he will pay or cause to be paid all taxes levied upon said premises when due, and that upon performance of the agreements and conditions above mentioned and the annual payments therein specified, the party of the second part shall and may peaceably use and have said premises and the whole thereof during the full period above stated, and also further agrees that on the payment of the party of the second part to him of the further sum of \$600 lawful money of the United States on or before the expiration of said term (with rent as then due), he will and his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns shall make or cause to be made, executed and delivered to said party of the second part, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns

a good and sufficient deed to the whole of said premises conveying the same in fee simple, with the appurtenances thereto, free and clear of all encumbrances except county roads and existing or resultant obligations to the Klamath Water Users' Association and the United States of America.

The party of the second part agrees to pay all water rates assessments or charges during the time he holds said premises under this agreement levied either by the Klamath Water Users' Association or the United States under agreements made by the party of the first part.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals interchangeably in duplicate on this the day and year of this agreement first above mentioned.

## NOTES.

The semi-centennial of the admission of Oregon into the Union was observed with fitting exercises at the State House on Monday, February 15th. The Legislature joined with the Oregon Historical Society, which had provided the programme. The main address was given by the Hon. Frederick N. Judson, of the St. Louis bar. Mr. Judson took as his theme the interrelations between the national affairs during the first half of the century and the exploration and settlement of the Oregon country. Judge George H. Williams, who was one of the leading members of the constitutional convention, being chairman of the committee on judiciary, also made an address of remarkable interest, on phases of life in the early Oregon community. The opening address was made by the Hon. Frederick V. Holman, President of the Historical Society.

During the last few months some noteworthy writings on Northwestern history have appeared. Prof. Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, is the author of the first comprehensive account of the history of that state from the first explorations down to the present time. It is published by the Macmillan Company, and it is being received with much favor as a work of fine scholarship and dramatic interest. An exhaustive work of high merit, giving the story of the state of Washington in four volumes, comes from the pen of Clinton A. Snowden of Tacoma. The people of Washington are to be congratulated on having such capable and conscientious activity devoted to its annals. Mr. Snowden's book is brought out by the Century History Company of New York.

In Prof. W. D. Lyman, of Whitman College, the Columbia River (Putnam's) found a sympathetic, enthusiastic and worthy historian. Professor Lyman's book does not, however, center upon a systematic account of the exploration and set-

tlement of the Columbia River basin by the white man. He is concerned, rather, with presenting a picture of the Columbia River country and how it has molded the thought and activities of its indwellers from earliest mythical eras down to the present day when the river figures as the great inland waterway-to-be of an empire. The work throughout has unity and exceeding charm.

As evidence that historians of note are among our newcomers we have *The Settlement of Illinois* (Chicago Historical Society), by Professor Arthur Clinton Boggess, of Pacific University, and *Beginnings of Texas* (University of Texas), by Professor Robert Carlton Clark, of the University of Oregon. These are both works of exhaustive research in their respective fields.



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THE QUARTERLY  
OF THE  
Oregon Historical Society.

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Volume X

SEPTEMBER, 1909

Number 3

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[The Quarterly disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.]

DE SMET IN THE OREGON COUNTRY.

BY EDWIN V. O'HARA.

In the present article the writer intends to present a narrative of the missionary activities of Father DeSmet in the Oregon Country. A recital of the story of this modern "Apostle of the Nations" can scarcely fail to be of interest at a time like the present, when the memories of early frontier life are growing dim and the very names of the pioneers seem to be borne to us from a distant heroic age. The "Oregon Country" is selected as the theater of the events we are to recount both because DeSmet's most effective and permanent work was accomplished here, and because of the historical and geographical unity of the territory lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, bounded on the south by the Mexican Possessions and extending as far north as latitude fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, a territory known in DeSmet's day as the "Oregon Country."

The first tidings of the Catholic faith reached the Oregon Indians through the trappers of the various fur-trading companies who had learned their religion from the pioneer missionaries of Quebec and Montreal. Large numbers of Canadian *voyageurs* accompanied the expeditions of Lewis and Clark in 1805 and of John Jacob Astor in 1811. This latter expedition especially—which resulted in establishing at the mouth of the



Columbia the first white settlement in Oregon, the present flourishing city of Astoria—was accompanied by a number of Catholic Canadians, who became the first settlers in the Willamette valley. The piety of these *voyageurs* may be seen in the rather unusual fact that the early missionaries on their arrival found a church already erected.

Another agency instrumental in bringing the faith to the far west was the Iroquois Indians. These Indians, among whose tribe the seeds of faith had been sown at an early date by Father Jogues, were in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company at its various forts. The trappers and Iroquois told the tribes of Oregon of the religion of the Black-robcs, taught them the simple prayers they remembered, inculcated the observance of Sunday and aroused among them a great desire to receive the ministrations of the Black-robcs. An Iroquois named Ignace became a veritable apostle to the Flatheads. Such was the effect of his teaching and example that the Flatheads, together with their neighbors, the Nez Percés, sent a deputation to St. Louis in 1831 to ask for priests.

It was to St. Louis rather than to Montreal that the Indians turned for assistance, for since the days of the great travelers, Lewis and Clark, the traders had renewed their relations annually with that city. The deputation consisted of four Indians. They found Clark still living in St. Louis. Two of the company took sick and died after receiving baptism and the last sacraments. The return of the remaining members of the deputation is uncertain. They had repeated the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." The Catholic missionary forces were too weak to respond at once to the appeal. But the presence of Indians in St. Louis from far distant Oregon on such a mission was the occasion of a movement with far-reaching results. The incident was given publicity in the Protestant religious press, and aroused wonderful enthusiasm and set on foot perhaps the most remarkable missionary campaign in the history of this country; a campaign which was fraught with important consequences for Oregon. The Method-

ists came in 1834 under the leadership of Jason and Daniel Lee, and Dr. Whitman with Spalding and Gray, of the American Board Mission, arrived at Vancouver in 1836.

But to return to our Flatheads. In 1835 the Flathead chief Insula went to the Green River rendezvous to meet those whom he was informed were the Black-gowns. Much to his disappointment he met, not the priests, but Dr. Whitman and Rev. Mr. Parker, of the American Board. On reporting his ill-success it was determined that the old Iroquois Ignace and his two sons should go in search of missionaries. They met Bishop Rosati at St. Louis, but were unsuccessful in their quest. Nothing daunted, they renewed the attempt, and a deputation under young Ignace again reached St. Louis in 1839. It was on this occasion that DeSmet comes into view for the first time. Young Ignace and his companions paused at Council Bluffs to visit the priests at St. Joseph Mission, where Father DeSmet was stationed. DeSmet gives us the following record of the meeting:

"On the 18th of last September two Catholic Iroquois came to visit us. They had been for twenty-three years among the nations called the Flatheads and Pierced Noses about a thousand Flemish leagues from where we are. I have never seen any savages so fervent in religion. By their instructions and example they have given all that nation a great desire to have themselves baptized. All that tribe strictly observe Sunday and assemble several times a week to pray and sing canticles. The sole object of these good Iroquois was to obtain a priest to come and finish what they had so happily commenced. We gave them letters of recommendation for our Reverend Father Superior at St. Louis." Father DeSmet could scarcely have hoped that it should be his privilege to receive these children of the forest, who so greatly interested him, into the fold of Christ.

Meanwhile certain other events transpired that affected the Oregon Indians. In 1833 the second Provincial Council of Baltimore petitioned that the Indian missions of the United

States be confided to the care of the Society of Jesus. In July of the following year the Holy See acceded to the request. Hence, when the deputation of Indians visited St. Louis and obtained from Bishop Rosati the promise of missionaries, it was to the Jesuit Fathers that the Bishop turned for volunteers. In a letter to the Father General of the Society in Rome, under date of October 20, 1839, Bishop Rosati relates in detail the story of the various journeys of the Indians in search of the Black-robcs and gives us the following interesting account of young Ignace and his companion, Pierre Gaucher:

"At last, a third deputation of Indians arrived at St. Louis after a long voyage of three months. It is composed of two Christian Iroquois. These Indians who talk French have edified us by their truly exemplary conduct and interested us by their discourse. The Fathers of the college have heard their confessions, and today they approached the holy table at my Mass in the Cathedral church. Afterwards I administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation; and in an allocution delivered after the ceremony, I rejoiced with them in their happiness and gave them the hope of soon having a priest."

Father DeSmet, deeply impressed by the visit of young Ignace, offered to devote himself to the Indian missions. The offer was gratefully accepted by his Superior and by the Bishop, and DeSmet set out on his first trip to the Oregon country late in March, 1840. Past Westport (now Kansas City), he journeyed along the Platte River, through herds of antelope and buffalo, across the country of the Pawnees and Cheyennes to the South Pass across Continental Divide. Here, on the 25th of June, he passed from the waters tributary to the Missouri to those of the Colorado. "On the 30th (of June)", says Father DeSmet, "I came to the rendezvous where a band of Flatheads, who had been notified of my coming, were already waiting for me. This happened on the Green River, a tributary of the Colorado, it is the place whither the beaver hunters and the savages of different nations betake themselves every year

to sell their peltries and procure such things as they need." On the following Sunday, Father DeSmet assembled the Indians and trappers for divine worship. In a letter dated February 4, 1841, he writes: "On Sunday, the 5th of July, I had the consolation of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of Mass *sub dio*. The altar was placed on an elevation, and surrounded with boughs and garlands of flowers; I addressed the congregation in French and in English and spoke also by an interpreter to the Flatheads and Snake Indians. It was a spectacle truly moving for the heart of a missionary, to behold an assembly composed of so many different nations, who all assisted at our holy mysteries with great satisfaction. The Canadians sang hymns in French and Latin, and the Indians in their native tongue. It was truly a Catholic worship. This place has been called since that time, by the French Canadians, *la prairie de la Messe*."

DeSmet was now in the land of the Shoshones or Snake Indians. Three hundred of their warriors came into camp at full gallop. DeSmet was invited to a council of some thirty of the principal chiefs. "I explained to them," he writes, "the Christian doctrine in a compendious manner. They were all very attentive; they then deliberated among themselves for about half an hour and one of the chiefs, addressing me in the name of the others, said: 'Black-gown, the words of thy mouth have found their way to our hearts; they will never be forgotten.' I advised them to select among themselves a wise and prudent man, who every morning and evening, should assemble them to offer to Almighty God their prayers and supplications. The meeting was held the very same evening, and the great chief promulgated a law that for the future the one who would be guilty of theft, or of other disorderly act, should receive a public castigation." This was the only occasion on which Father DeSmet met the Snake Indians. His subsequent trips to Oregon were, with one exception, by a different route.

After spending a week at the Green River rendezvous,



Father DeSmet and his Flathead guides, together with a dozen Canadians, started northward across the mountains which separate the headwaters of the Colorado from those of the Columbia. They crossed the historic Teton's Pass and came to the beautiful valley at the foot of the three Tetons, of which Father DeSmet has left a striking description. In this valley they found the camp of the Flatheads and of their neighbors, the Pend d'Oreilles, numbering about 1,600 persons. DeSmet describes the affecting scene of his meeting with these children of the wilderness: "The poles were already up for my lodge, and at my approach, men, women, and children came all together to meet me, and shake hands and bid me welcome. The elders wept with joy, while the young men expressed their satisfaction by leaps and shouts of happiness. These good savages led me to the lodge of the old chief, called in his language, 'Big Face.' He had a truly patriarchal aspect and received me in the midst of his whole council with the liveliest cordiality. Then I had a long talk on religion with these honest folk. I set a schedule of spiritual exercises for them, particularly for the morning and evening prayers in common and for hours of instruction."

"One of the chiefs at once brought me a bell to give the signals, and on the first evening I gathered all the people about my lodge; I said the evening prayers, and finally they sang together, in a harmony which surprised me very much, several songs of their own composition on the praise of God. This zeal for prayer and instruction (and I preached to them regularly four times a day) instead of declining, increased up to the time of my departure."

DeSmet was wholly astonished at their fervor and regularity at religious exercises. In speaking of this subject on another occasion he exclaims: "Who would not think that this could only be found in a well-ordered and religious community, and yet it is among the Indians in the defiles and valleys of the Rocky Mountains." He was likewise astonished at the innocence of their lives and he has left pages of writing in

which he extols their virtues, and their docility. It would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of Christian missions for this rapid and permanent transformation of a savage tribe into a Christian community with morning and evening prayers in common.

The camp gradually moved up the Henry Fork of the Snake River to Lake Henry, one of the sources of the Columbia River. Here DeSmet climbed the mountain of the Continental Divide, whence he was able to see Red Rock Lake, the ultimate source of the Missouri. "The two lakes," he writes, "are scarce eight miles apart. I started for the summit of a high mountain for the better examination of the two fountains that gave birth to these two great rivers; I saw them falling in cascades from an immense height; hurling themselves with uproar from rock to rock; even at their source they formed two mighty torrents, scarcely more than a hundred paces apart. The fathers of the Company who are in missionary service on the banks of the Mississippi, from Council Bluffs, to the Gulf of Mexico, came to my mind." And his heart went out to the nations on the banks of the Columbia to whom the faith of Christ was yet to be preached. There he engraved on a soft stone, this inscription: *Sanctus Ignatius, Patronus Montium, Die Julii 23, 1840.* ,

After two months among the Flatheads, DeSmet determined to return to St. Louis for assistance. He appointed a chief to take his place, to preside over the devotions and to baptize the children. He was accompanied by thirty warriors, among whom was the famous chief, Insula, whose futile trip to the rendezvous on the Green River in 1835, we have already mentioned. Father DeSmet reached the St. Louis University on the last day of the year, 1840. His first missionary journey to the nations of the Oregon Country had been accomplished and, like another Paul, he returned rehearsing all the things that God had done with him, and how he had opened a door of faith to the Nations.

On the feast of the Assumption, 1841, Father DeSmet had

again penetrated the Oregon Country as far as Fort Hall, on the Snake River. Fort Hall occupied a large place in early Oregon history. It was built by Nathaniel Wyeth, in 1834. Wyeth sold it to the Hudson's Bay Company two years later, and consequently at the time of DeSmet's visit, it was under the direction of Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. The local agent, Ermatinger, was prominent in the service of the Company, and his courtesy and generosity to DeSmet were only typical of the treatment accorded to the Catholic missionaries by the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company, at all of their forts during the McLoughlin regime. DeSmet speaks of Ermatinger in the following terms: "Although a Protestant by birth, this noble Englishman gave us a most friendly reception. Not only did he repeatedly invite us to his table, and sell us at first cost, or at one-third of its value, in a country so remote, whatever we required; but he also added as pure gifts, many articles which he believed would be particularly acceptable—he assured us that he would second our ministry among the populous nation of the Snakes, with whom he had frequent intercourse."

When Father DeSmet met the Flatheads at Fort Hall on this occasion, he was better prepared to minister to their needs than on his former journey. He was accompanied by two priests and three brothers. The priests are well known in the early annals of Oregon. They were Fathers Nicholas Point and Gregory Mengarini. We shall meet them again in the course of our narrative. DeSmet had been successful, too, in securing financial aid for his missions. The Bishops and clergy of the dioceses of Philadelphia and New Orleans had responded very generously to his appeal. On reaching the Bitter Root Valley, the home of the Flathead tribe, DeSmet was thus enabled to lay the foundations of a permanent mission. He chose a location on the banks of the Bitter Root River, about twenty-eight miles above its mouth, between the site of old Fort Owen and the present town of Stevens-

ville. St. Mary's Mission has had an eventful history. In 1850 it was closed temporarily, the improvements being leased to Major John Owen. Not until September, 1866, was the mission re-opened in charge of the venerated Father Ravalli. It is today a point of interest for the sight-seer in the Bitter Root Valley.

While the work of establishing the mission was in progress, Father DeSmet received a delegation from the Coeur d'Alene nation. They had heard of his arrival among the Flatheads, and came to request his services. "Father," said one of them to him, "we are truly deserving of your pity. We wish to serve the Great Spirit, but we know not how. We want some one to teach us. For this reason we make application to you." Their wish was granted, and the little tribe received the Christian religion with the same zeal and devotion that the Flatheads had displayed. The Pend d'Oreilles, too, a numerous tribe who dwelt in what is now northern Idaho, welcomed the missionaries, as also did the Nez Percés. Father DeSmet had little hope of converting the Blackfeet. They are the only Indians, he writes, of whose salvation we would have reason to despair if the ways of God were the same as those of men, for they are murderers, thieves, traitors, and all that is wicked. Father Point established a mission among them, but the Blackfeet are pagans even to this day.

In establishing the Rocky Mountain Missions, Father DeSmet and his companions had constant recourse to the experience of the Jesuit missionaries among the Indians of Paraguay. He expressly states that he made a *Vade Mecum* of the Narrative of Muratori, the historian of the Paraguay missions. The field west of the Rocky Mountains suggested to him many similarities with that among the native races of South America. The only obstacle to conversion in the one case as in the other, was the introduction of the vices of the whites. That alone stood in the way of the ultimate civilization of the natives. DeSmet refers to his missions as "reductions," a name borrowed from the South American system



where it refers to the settlements which the missionaries induced their nomadic neophytes to adopt. He directed Father Point to draw up plans for the mission stations in conformity with the plans formerly adopted in the missions of Paraguay and described in detail by Muratori.<sup>1</sup>

One of the problems that DeSmet had to meet at the outset, was that of Indian marriages. He acted on the principle that there were no valid marriages among the savages, and he alleges the following reason: "We have not found one, even among the best disposed, who after marriage has been contracted in their own fashion, did not believe himself justified in sending away his first wife whenever he thought fit and taking another. Many even have several wives at the same time. We are then agreed on this principle, that among them, even to the present time, there has been no marriage, because they have never known well in what its essence and obligation consisted."<sup>2</sup> Consequently, immediately after the ceremony of baptism, the marriage ceremony was performed, after the necessary instruction had been given. This procedure gave rise to various interesting situations. "Many who had two wives, have retained her whose children were the most numerous, and with all possible respect dismissed the other." Father DeSmet tells of one savage who followed his advice and dismissed his youngest wife, giving her what he would have wished another to give to his sister, if in the same situation, and was re-united to his first wife whom he had forsaken.

During the closing months of 1841, DeSmet undertook a journey from the Bitter Root Valley to Fort Colville on the Columbia. On All Saints Bay he met two encampments of the Kalispel nation, who were to be a great consolation to the missionary. The chief of the first camp was the famous Chalax. Although they had never seen a priest before, they knew all the prayers DeSmet had taught the Flatheads. This is a striking illustration of the religious sentiment among

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<sup>1</sup> See a letter dated St. Mary's, Rocky Mts., 26th Oct., 1841.

<sup>2</sup> Letter dated Dec. 30, 1841.

the Oregon Indians of the interior. Their knowledge of these prayers is thus explained by DeSmet: "They had deputed an intelligent young man, who was gifted with a good memory, to meet me. Having learned the prayers and canticles and such points as were most essential for salvation, he repeated to the village all that he had heard and seen. It was, as you can easily imagine, a great consolation for me to see the sign of the cross and hear prayers addressed to the great God and His praises sung in a desert of about three hundred miles extent, where a Catholic priest had never been before."

The Kalispels had been visited during the summer by ministers who had attempted to disaffect the minds of the savages towards the Catholic missionaries. The Indians' natural and instinctive reverence for the Black-robe, however, soon overcame the prejudice instilled by the hostile ministers. Interesting light is thrown on the missionary situation at this time by a private letter of the wife of the leader of the American Board mission. Mrs. Whitman, writing in 1842, and faithfully reflecting the sentiments of her husband, considered that the interests of the Oregon country hung in the balance with the "prosperity of the cause of Christ on the one hand and the extension of the powers and dominion of Romanism on the other." She continues: "Romanism stalks abroad on our right hand and on our left, and with daring effrontery, boasts that she is to prevail and possess the land. I ask, must it be so? The zeal and energy of her priests are without a parallel, and many, both white men and Indians, wander after the beasts. Two are in the country below us and two far above in the mountains."<sup>1</sup> The priests below at Vancouver were Fathers Blanchet and Demers; those above were DeSmet and Point. Narcissa Whitman bears striking testimony to their zeal and energy. With this letter before us we shall not be surprised to learn that when Dr. Whitman and his wife were massacred by the Indians in 1847, his co-workers were in a

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<sup>1</sup> From a letter dated Waiilatpu, August 23, 1842.

temper to lay the blame for the outrage at the door of the Catholic missionaries.

Father DeSmet's journey to Fort Colville led him past the beautiful Lake Pend d'Oreille and the magnificent forest at its head. He was an ardent lover of nature and the record he has left of his impressions on beholding this splendid scene is typical of his many descriptions of nature. "At the head of Lake Pend d'Oreille," he writes, "we traversed a forest which is certainly a wonder of its kind; there is probably nothing similar to it in America. The birch, elm and beech, generally small elsewhere, like the toad of La Fontaine that aimed at being as large as the ox, swell out here to twice their size. They would fain rival the cedar, the Goliath of the forest, who, however, looking down with contempt upon his pitiful companions,

"Eleve aux cieux  
Son front Audacieux."

The birch and the beech at its side, resemble large candelabra around a massive column. Cedars of four and five fathoms in circumference are here very common. The delicate branches of these noble trees entwine themselves above the beech and elm; their fine, dense and evergreen foliage forming an arch through which the sun's rays never penetrate; and this lofty arch, supported by thousands of columns, brought to the mind's eye the idea of an immense temple reared by the hand of nature to the glory of its author."

He reached Fort Colville about the middle of November, and received a very hearty welcome from the commandant, Archibald Macdonald. Fort Colville was one of the Hudson's Bay Company's stations. Macdonald had been in the employ of the company for many years, having founded Fort Nisqually, until recently the nominal seat of the present Catholic diocese of Seattle. The reception given to DeSmet at Fort Hall was repeated at Fort Colville, and our missionary voices the general sentiment of his co-workers when he takes occasion of

Macdonald's hospitality to write, "Whenever one finds the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company, one is sure of a good reception. They do not stop with demonstrations of politeness and affability; they anticipate your wishes in order to be of service to you." Any adequate history of the Catholic missions in Oregon will contain an important chapter dealing with their relations to the Hudson's Bay Company. The record is the same at Forts Vancouver and Hall, Colville and Nisqually, Okanogan and Walla Walla, and the rest. No doubt the influence of Dr. McLoughlin was the determining factor in the attitude of the Company.

Returning to his mission in the Bitter Root Valley, in December, 1841, with the provisions and implements secured at Fort Colville, Father DeSmet spent the winter among his Flathead neophytes. In April, of the following year, he set out on his first visit to Fort Vancouver and the Willamette Valley, a journey of a thousand miles. In the course of his travel on this occasion he evangelized whole villages of Kootenais, Kalispels, Coeur d'Alenes, Spokans, and Okanogans, establishing, in almost every case, the practice of morning and evening prayers in each village. He found the Coeur d'Alene camp at the outlet of the great lake which bears their name. The entire camp turned out to welcome him. An extract from one of his letters will show how eagerly they listened to his words: "I spoke to them for two hours on salvation and the end of man's creation, and not one person stirred from his place during the whole time of instruction. As it was almost sunset, I recited the prayers I had translated into their language a few days before. At their own request I then continued instructing the chiefs and their people until the night was far advanced. About every half hour I paused, and then the pipes would pass round to refresh the listeners and give time for reflection." Never did DeSmet experience so much satisfaction among the Indians as on this occasion, and nowhere were his efforts crowned with greater and more permanent success. The Coeur d'Alenes have still the reputation of being



the best and most industrious Indians in the Rocky Mountains.

The journey from Fort Colville to Fort Vancouver was marred by an unfortunate accident. At one of the rapids of the Columbia, the barge containing DeSmet's effects, capsized, and all the crew, save three, were drowned. Providentially, Father DeSmet had gone ashore, intending to walk along the bank while the bargemen directed the boat through the rapids.

After brief visits at Forts Okanogan and Walla Walla, he hastened on to Vancouver, where he received a most affecting welcome from the pioneer Catholic missionaries of the Oregon Country, Blanchet and Demers. The latter has related how Blanchet and DeSmet ran to meet each other, both prostrating themselves, each begging the other's blessing. It was a meeting fraught with important consequences for the Catholic Church in Oregon.

In his *Historical Sketches*, Archbishop Blanchet gives us a few details in addition to those mentioned in DeSmet's *Letters*, from which it appears that Father Demers met the Jesuit missionary at Fort Vancouver, and conducted him to the residence of the Vicar-General at St. Paul. "Rev. M. Demers brought him to St. Paul," says the Archbishop; "he spent eight days with the Vicar-General, sung High Mass on Sunday, addressed words of exhortation to the congregation. Of the Catholic *Ladder* he said: 'That plan will be adopted by the missions of the whole world.' DeSmet returned to Vancouver with Father Demers, followed a few days later by Father Blanchet, 'to deliberate on the interests of the great mission of the Pacific Coast.'" At the conference, it was decided that Father Demers should proceed to open a mission in New Caledonia (now British Columbia), leaving the Vicar-General at St. Paul, while DeSmet should start for St. Louis and Belgium in quest of more workers and material assistance for the missions of Oregon. Dr. McLoughlin, though not yet a Catholic, strongly encouraged Father DeSmet to make every effort to increase the number of Catholic missionaries. On June 30, 1842, DeSmet bade farewell to his new friends

at Fort Vancouver, and set out for the East, to secure recruits and supplies for the Oregon missions.

Twenty-five months elapsed before Father DeSmet returned again to Fort Vancouver. After visiting many of the chief cities of Europe, he set sail from Antwerp on the brig *Infatigable*, early in January, 1844, accompanied by four Fathers and a lay brother of the society, and six Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. The *Infatigable* rounded Cape Horn on the 20th of March, 1844, and came in sight of the Oregon coast on the 28th of July. After a terrifying experience, they crossed the Columbia bar in safety on the 31st of July, the feast of St. Ignatius. Father DeSmet frequently refers to the "divine pilotage," which brought them unharmed through the shallow passage and the treacherous breakers. From Astoria, DeSmet set out for Fort Vancouver in a canoe, leaving his companions to follow when a favorable wind would permit. He was received with open arms by Dr. McLoughlin, and by Father Demers, who was planning to leave shortly for Canada to secure Sisters to open a school. From Father Demers he received the good news that the missionaries in the Rocky Mountains had received a strong re-inforcement from St. Louis during his absence. The Vicar-General, Father Blanchet, was at St. Paul when informed of DeSmet's arrival. He immediately set out for Vancouver, bringing a number of his parishioners with him and traveling all night by canoe.

On the eve of the feast of the Assumption, the newly arrived recruits for the mission, left Fort Vancouver for St. Paul. "Our little squadron," says Father DeSmet, "consisted of four canoes manned by the parishioners of Fr. Blanchet, and our own sloop. We sailed up the river and soon entered the Willamette. As night approached, we moored our vessels and encamped upon the shore. (This must have been within the limits of the present city of Portland.) The morning's dawn found us on foot. It was the festival of the glorious Assumption of the Mother of God. Aided by the nuns, I erected a small altar. Father Blanchet offered the Holy Sacrifice, at

which all communicated. Finally, the 17th, about eleven o'clock, we came in sight of our dear mission of Willamette. A cart was procured to conduct the nuns to their dwelling, which is about five miles from the river. In two hours we were all assembled in the chapel of Willamette, to adore and thank our Divine Saviour by the solemn chanting of the *Te Deum*."

On arriving at St. Paul, DeSmet's first care was to seek a convenient location for what was intended to be the base of missionary activities in Oregon. The Methodists offered to sell him their Academy, which they had decided to close. Ten years had passed since Jason and Daniel Lee founded the Methodist mission in the Willamette Valley; a large sum of money had been expended in the enterprise, but as an Indian mission it was confessedly a failure. Hence it was decided to suppress it and sell all the property in 1844. Father DeSmet, however, secured a more advantageous location, where he laid the foundations of the St. Francis Xavier Mission on the Willamette.

When winter came on, Father DeSmet was again among his Indians in the mountains. He re-visited the Sacred Heart mission, founded among the Coeur d'Alenes by Father Point in 1842. Leaving the Pointed Hearts, he set out for St. Mary's mission in the Bitter Root Valley, but was twice foiled in the attempt by the heavy snows and swollen mountain torrents. He was thus compelled to pass Christmas, 1844, among the Kalispels. He gives us an interesting description of the manner in which the day was passed. He writes: "The great festival of Christmas, the day on which the little band (of 144 adults) was to be added to the number of the true children of God, will never be effaced from the memory of our good Indians. The manner in which we celebrated midnight Mass may give you an idea of our festival. The signal for rising, which was to be given a few minutes before midnight, was to be the firing of a pistol, announcing to the Indians that the House of Prayer would soon be open. This was followed

by a general discharge of guns in honor of the infant Saviour, and three hundred voices rose spontaneously from the midst of the forest and intoned in the language of the Pend d'Oreilles, the beautiful canticle, 'Du Dieu puissant tout annonce la gloire.' A grand banquet, according to the Indian custom, followed the first Mass. The union, the contentment, the joy, and the charity which pervaded the whole assembly might well be compared to the *agape* of the primitive Christians." On the same Christmas morning, the entire tribes of Flatheads and Coeur d'Alenes received Holy Communion in a body at their respective missions. "The Christmas of 1844, was therefore," concludes Father DeSmet, "a great and glorious day in the Rocky Mountains."

The paschal time, 1845, Father DeSmet spent among the Flatheads at St. Mary's mission in the Bitter Root. As the snow began to disappear with the coming of spring, he set out for Vancouver, and the mission of St. Francis Xavier, on the Willamette. He went by canoe down the impetuous Clark's River, to Father Hoeken's mission of St. Ignatius, among the Kalispels. After selecting a site for a new establishment of St. Ignatius, "in the neighborhood of the cavern of New Manresa and its quarries, and a fall of water more than two hundred feet, presenting every advantage for the erection of mills," he hastened to Walla Walla, where he embarked in a small boat and descended the Columbia as far as Fort Vancouver.

At Vancouver he found Father Nobili, who ministered during the absence of Father Demers to the Catholic employees of the Fort and to the neighboring Indians. Of his visit to the Willamette settlement, DeSmet writes: "Father Nobili accompanied me in a Chinook canoe up the beautiful river of Multnomah, or Willamette, a distance of about sixty miles, as far as the village of Champoege, three miles from our residence of St. Francis Xavier. On our arrival, all the Fathers came to meet us, and great was our delight on being again reunited after a long winter season. The Italian Fathers



had applied themselves chiefly to the study of languages; Father Ravalli, being skilled in medicine, rendered considerable services to the inhabitants of St. Paul's mission; Father Vercruysse, at the request of Right Reverend Bishop Blanchet, opened a mission among the Canadians who were distant from St. Paul's. Father DeVos is the only one of our Fathers of Willamette who speaks English. He devotes his whole attention to the Americans, whose number already exceeded 4,000. There are several Catholic families and our dissenting brethren seem well disposed." It was De Vos, who received into the church a year later, at Oregon City, one of the most distinguished of the Oregon pioneers, Chief Justice Peter H. Burnett, afterwards first Governor of California.

Father DeSmet went overland from St. Paul to Walla Walla, past the foot of Mt. Hood. The trail to The Dalles was strewn with whitened bones of oxen and horses, which appealed to our traveler as melancholy testimonies to the hardships which had been faced by the American immigrants during the three preceding years. He becomes enthusiastic about Hood, "with its snowy crest towering majestically upward, and losing itself in the clouds." Leaving Fort Walla Walla, Father DeSmet traversed the fertile lands of the Nez Percés and Cayuse Indians, the richest tribes in Oregon. It was among these Indians that Dr. Marcus Whitman had established a mission for the American Board, and it was here that the savage and brutal massacre of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, in 1847, made the name of the Cayuse Indians ever infamous in Oregon annals.

Our missionary spent the feast of St. Ignatius, 1845, at Kettle Falls, in the vicinity of Fort Colville, on the Columbia, where nearly a thousand savages of the Kalispel nation were engaged in salmon fishing. He had a little chapel of boughs constructed on an eminence in the midst of the Indian huts, and there he gave three instructions each day. The Indians attended faithfully at his spiritual exercises and he spent the 31st of July (St. Ignatius' Day) baptizing the savages. He

recalls that it is just a year since he crossed the Columbia bar "as if borne on angels' wings," and reviews the work of the Catholic missions in Oregon during that period with deep appreciation of the kindly Providence which gave the increase in the field which he had planted.

An interesting incident early in August, 1845, brings Father DeSmet's views of public affairs to our attention. The "Oregon Question" was then the all-absorbing theme. While DeSmet was ascending the Clark River, he had an unexpected interview on this subject. As he was approaching the forest on the shore of Lake Pend d'Oreille, several horsemen issued from its depths, and the foremost among them saluted him by name. On nearer approach, Father DeSmet recognized Peter Skeen Ogden, one of the leading representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ogden was accompanied by two English officers, Warre and Vavasour. DeSmet was alarmed by the information he obtained from the travelers regarding the Oregon question. He writes: "They were invested with orders from their government to take possession of Cape Disappointment, to hoist the English standard, and to erect a fortress for the purpose of securing the entrance of the river in case of war. In the Oregon question, John Bull, without much talk, attains his end and secures the most important part of the country; whereas Uncle Sam loses himself in words, inveighs and storms! Many years have passed in debates and useless contention without one single practical *effort* to secure his real or pretended rights."

Some writers have gathered from those expressions that Father DeSmet was hostile to the claims of our country, and would have preferred to see the Oregon Country fall under British sovereignty. This view was given wide circulation by the Protestant missionaries. For example, Dr. Whitman writes from Waiilatpu, under date of Nov. 5, 1846: "The Jesuit Papists would have been in quiet possession of this, the only spot in the western horizon of America, not before their own. It would have been but a small work for them

and the friends of the English interests, which they had also fully avowed, to have routed us, and then the country might have slept in their hands forever."<sup>1</sup> The truth is, of course, quite the contrary to these representations. What Father DeSmet feared was that Oregon might be lost to the United States, at least temporarily, by indecision on the part of our government.

In a letter to Senator Benton, written in 1849, DeSmet recounts a conversation which he had with several British officers on the brig *Modeste*, before Fort Vancouver, in 1846, in which his attitude towards the Oregon question is made clear. The party was discussing the possibility of the English taking possession, not merely of Oregon, but of California as well. Father DeSmet ventured the opinion that such a conquest was a dream not easily realized, and went on to remark that should the English take possession of Oregon for the moment, it would be an easy matter for the Americans to cross the mountains and wrest the entire country from them almost without a blow. On hearing these sentiments, the captain asked DeSmet somewhat warmly: "Are you a Yankee?" "Not a born one, Captain," was my reply, "but I have the good luck of being a naturalized American for these many years past; and in these matters all my good wishes are for the side of my adopted country."

Father DeSmet pushed on from Lake Pend d'Oreille, through dense forests, to the Kootenai River, where he encountered a branch of the Kutenai (Kootenai) tribe, which he calls the Flat-bows. He found them well disposed and already instructed in the principal doctrines of the Catholic faith by a Canadian employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. On the feast of the Assumption (1845), he celebrated Mass among them and erected a cross, at the foot of which the Indians renounced their practices of jugglery and superstition. The Kutenai tribe furnished another illustration of the marvelous dispositions for faith which Providence had planted in

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<sup>1</sup> Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1893, page 200.

the hearts of the Oregon Indians. They remain Catholics to this day.

In June, 1846, DeSmet was back again at Fort Colville, and was there joined by Father Nobili, who had just returned from a missionary journey to Fort St. James, the capital of New Caledonia, situated on Stuart Lake. The end of June saw him at St. Francis Xavier mission on the Willamette. A few weeks later he was making his way up the Columbia in an Indian canoe with two blankets unfurled by way of sails. At Walla Walla he experienced the hospitality of Mr. McBean, the superintendent of the Fort. Taking farewell of Mr. McBean, Father DeSmet visited the Nez Percés, Kalispels, and Coeur d'Alenes, among whom were stationed Fathers Hoeken, Joset, and Point. On the feast of the Assumption, he was again among the Flatheads in the Bitter Root Valley. St. Mary's mission had prospered, both materially and spiritually. He found the little log church which had been erected five years before, about to be replaced by a large and handsome structure. Another agreeable surprise awaited him. The mechanical skill of Father Ravalli had erected a flour mill and a saw mill. "The flour mill," writes Father DeSmet, "grinds ten or twelve bushels a day and the saw mill furnished an abundant supply of planks, posts, etc., for the public and private building of the nation settled here."

On August 16th, 1846, Father DeSmet left St. Mary's mission in the Bitter Root and reached the University of St. Louis, December 10. His missionary work in Oregon was at an end. His biographers, summing up this period of his career, write as follows: "The results of his labors from a missionary point of view, were highly successful. The whole Columbia valley had been dotted with infant establishments, some of which had taken on the promise of permanent growth. He had, indeed, laid the foundation well for a spiritual empire throughout that region, and but for the approach of emigration, his plans would have brought forth



the full fruition that he expected. But most important of all, from a public point of view, was the fact that he had become a great power among the Indian tribes. All now knew him, many personally, the rest by reputation. He was the one white man in whom they had implicit faith. The government was beginning to look to him for assistance. The Mormon, the Forty-niner, the Oregon emigrant, came to him for information and advice. His writings already known on two continents and his name was a familiar one, at least in the religious world."<sup>1</sup>

Father DeSmet paid two subsequent visits to the scenes of his missionary labors in Oregon. The first of these visits was occasioned by the Indian outbreak in 1858, known as the Yakima war. The savages, viewing with alarm the encroachments of the whites upon their lands, formed a league to repel the invaders. Even the peaceful Flatheads and Coeur d'Alenes joined the coalition. The United States Government sent General Harney, who had won distinction in several Indian wars, to take charge of the situation. At the personal request of General Harney, Father DeSmet was selected to accompany the expedition in the capacity of chaplain. Their party reached Vancouver late in October, 1858. The news of the cessation of hostilities and the submission of the Indians had already reached the fort. But the Indians, though subdued, were still unfriendly, and there was constant danger of a fresh outbreak. The work of pacification was still to be effected. Upon this mission, DeSmet left Vancouver, under orders of the commanding general, to visit the mountain tribes some 800 miles distant.

He visited the Catholic soldiers at Fort Walla Walla, and there met Father Congiato, superior of the missions, from whom he received favorable information concerning the dispositions of the tribes in the mountains. By the middle of April, 1859, Father DeSmet had revisited practically all the tribes among whom he had labored as a missionary. On April

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<sup>1</sup> Chittenden and Richardson, Vol. 1, page 57.

16, he left the mission of St. Ignatius, among the Pend d'Oreilles to return to Fort Vancouver. He was accompanied, at his own request, by the chiefs of the different mountain tribes, with the view of renewing the treaty of peace with the General, and with the Superintendent of Indian affairs. The successful issue of Father DeSmet's mission is seen from a letter of General Harney, dated Fort Vancouver, June 1, 1859. He writes: "I have the honor to report, for the information of the General-in-chief, the arrival at this place of a deputation of Indian chiefs, on a visit suggested by myself through the kind offices of the Reverend Father DeSmet, who has been with these tribes the past winter. These chiefs have all declared to me the friendly desires which now animate them towards our people. Two of these chiefs—one of the upper Pend d'Oreilles, and the other of the Flatheads—report that the proudest boast of their respective tribes, is the fact that no white man's blood has ever been shed by any one of either nation. This statement is substantiated by Father DeSmet. It gives me pleasure to commend to the General-in-Chief, the able and efficient services the Reverend Father DeSmet has rendered." Having fulfilled his mission, DeSmet secured his release from the post of chaplain and returned to St. Louis, visiting a score of Indian tribes on the way. It is typical of him that he should have planned, despite his three score years, to cover the entire distance from Vancouver to St. Louis on horseback—a project which he was regretfully compelled to abandon because of the unfitness of his horses for so long a journey.

Once more, in 1863, DeSmet traversed the "Oregon Country," renewing his acquaintances with the various missions and enjoying the hospitality of the three pioneer bishops of the province, at Portland, Vancouver, and Victoria.

DeSmet's missionary labors in Oregon had come to a close before the arrival of Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet in the Pacific Northwest. But Archbishop Blanchet and Bishop Demers were co-apostles with him in this new corner of the Lord's

vineyard, and with him had borne the burden of the pioneer work. Now, however, the pioneer days were over, and DeSmet as he set sail from Portland on the 13th day of October, 1863, could bear witness to the altered aspect of the country. But with all the signs of progress about him, there was one undeniable feature of the situation which brought sadness to his heart. The Indian tribes for whom he had labored with such apostolic zeal, the children of the forest, whose wonderful dispositions for Christian faith and Christian virtue had been his consolation and his glory, were doomed. The seed of the Gospel, which he had sown, had taken root and sprung up and was blossoming forth with the promise of an abundant harvest when the blight came. The white man was in the land. The Indian envied his strength and imitated his vices and fell before both. "May heaven preserve them from the dangerous contact of the whites!" was DeSmet's last prayer for his neophytes as he bade farewell to the "Oregon Country."

# THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OREGON<sup>1</sup>

*Acknowledgment is made of assistance received from the Carnegie Institution of Washington in preparation of this study.*

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## PART ONE.

### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

On the first Monday in June, 1857, the people of Oregon Territory by a vote of nearly five to one decided to have a constitutional convention. Congress had passed no enabling act but this Oregon community of some 45,000 people, in the far-outlying and then isolated Pacific Northwest, had at divers times been under the necessity of acting independently and without express leave granted at Washington. The people of this territory had shown considerable facility in community achievement of a political character and some disposition to have their own way<sup>2</sup>. Congress, on the other hand, was at

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the "Finances of the Provisional Government" of Oregon see *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, volume vii, pp. 360-432; volume viii, pp. 129-190, contains an article on "The Finances of the Territory of Oregon".

<sup>2</sup> The original nucleus of this settlement had in 1843 quite independently organized its "provisional government," the first American political organization west of the Rocky Mountains. This it reorganized and elaborated in 1845 and maintained in a good state of efficiency until superseded by a territorial government in 1849. In the fall and winter of 1847 it had been under the necessity of conducting a campaign against the tribes of Indians who were harboring the perpetrators of the "Whitman Massacre." (For an account of the financial management of this war, see *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, volume vii, pp. 418-432). In 1855-6 the territory with but slight aid from the troops of the national government had waged successful war against a powerful combination of the tribes of the Pacific Northwest.



this time embroiled with the issue of the restriction or extension of slave territory and had its hands pretty well tied when it came to the task of passing enabling acts.

On this matter, however, of moving for admission as a state the people of Oregon had never manifested any enthusiasm. The politicians among them had not failed to start the agitation of the question at the earliest possible moment and to keep persistently at it. The question of the formation of a state government was brought up in the first session of the legislative assembly of the territory in 1849. The subject was discussed at each succeeding session thereafter and in 1854 the promoters of the movement succeeded in getting the proposition submitted to a vote of the people. Then a vote was had regularly each year until a majority in favor of a convention was secured in 1857.<sup>1</sup>

*The Anticipated Financial Burden of the Support of a State Government the Main Cause of the Reluctance of the People to Support the Movement for the Formation of a Constitution.*

Under the provisional government of the forties the older settlers had had sufficient experience in supporting the machinery of a commonwealth government to serve as a basis for suggesting to them the additional burdens involved in the exchange of the territorial for a state government. Under their territorial government they were receiving some \$32,000 a year for the salaries of their officials. Special appropriations for public buildings and the territorial library made the average annual receipts of funds from Washington nearly double this sum.<sup>2</sup> The flow of this stream of wealth to Oregon would be arrested as soon as they passed out of the status of a territory into that of a commonwealth, and another vol-

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<sup>1</sup> House Journal, First Session, p. 13, July 13, 1849; General Laws, Third Session, 1851-2, Jan. 20, 1852, pp. 62-3; House Journal 14th Session, 1853, Jan. 15, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Quarterly Oregon Historical Society, "Finances of the Territorial Period, 1849-59," pp. 141-154.

ume of funds—one of ever growing proportions—must then originate from their own pockets. They alone would be responsible for the pay of their state officials and the maintenances of their state institutions.

The desires and activities of the few who aspired to official position were clearly back of the sustained movement for statehood, while the evident reluctance of the people to assume the financial burdens involved in the support of the machinery of a state government is as evident in their repeated rejections of the proposal to hold a constitutional convention. However, after eight years of virtually continuous agitation and three refusals to take the initial step towards statehood, the people yielded to the importunities of the politicians.<sup>1</sup>

There, too, were compensations to be hoped for under statehood. With administrative and judicial officers of their own choosing their common purposes might be more readily realized. But a more substantial interest in statehood had just been created through the accumulation of claims to the extent of some two millions they had against the national government because of services and supplies furnished in carrying on the Indian war of 1855-6. A full state delegation of three members at Washington in place of one territorial delegate could naturally be more effective in securing the recognition of this claim as well as avail for securing the benefit of the regular internal improvement land grants as also additional grants to stimulate railway building, such as the states of the Mississippi valley were at this time receiving.

It can hardly be said that the Oregon people in pushing towards statehood evinced a clearly defined purpose which they proposed to realize through this more independent organization. The natural desire for the larger degree of autonomy it would secure was reason enough of course. Aside from that the proposed transition had suggestions of a trade in it:

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<sup>1</sup> "Really the people were worn out by the incessant importunities of the self-seeking politicians and obtained an easement by giving 5593 majority in favor of a constitutional state government."—T. W. Davenport in *Ore. Hist. Quart.*, vol. ix., p. 243.

The easy conditions but narrow outlook of a territorial status were exchanged for some immediately expected substantial perquisites of statehood—the heavier taxes to follow were yet below the horizon.

The Oregon community that thus resolved for a constitutional convention lived comfortably, if frugally, on the returns from agriculture and grazing. Their few outlying mining camps and the great mining center in the neighboring state of California, with which they had extensive and profitable trade relations, supplied them with a fair market and an abundant medium of exchange. Still the conditions among a handful of people so isolated from the rest of the world were necessarily primitive. Development through immigration would be slow. Profitable commerce would be restricted to a few staples. Under these circumstances wisdom would suggest utmost simplicity in political organization, the closest restriction of the scope of governmental activities and the limitation of expenditure in any direction to very modest sums.

Furthermore, the exodus to Oregon from the then young states of the Mississippi valley had followed close on the disastrous venture of those states in public canal and railway building. That set-back for these states had in a measure been the cause impelling the more restless spirits to move on across the plains. Many before leaving for the Pacific slope had no doubt at one time or another been touched by the evils attending the use of state and private banks of issue when those evils were most unchecked. In their new home even they had experienced a cycle of prosperity and stagnation. They were thus fully sobered. There was little in prospect to stimulate them to discount the future. The future was secure enough but it would be slow. We must expect them in framing and adopting a constitution to exhibit the full force of the reaction against the assumption by the state of the work of providing internal improvements and conducting state banking institutions. Even the power accorded the legislature over their purse strings would be carefully guarded.

## CHAPTER II.

## FINANCES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—ATTITUDE AND IDEAS EXPRESSED IN THE DEBATES ON FINANCIAL MATTERS.

The constitutional convention was composed of representative men of the territory. It was efficiently officered, developed no serious factional spirit and maintained a deliberative procedure throughout its sessions so that its discussions and the document it submitted to the people for their ratification may be taken as fairly reflecting the public will on matters financial.

The regulation of the finances of the future state figured in the discussions of the convention in a decidedly one-sided way. There was at all times the keenest anticipation of the burden involved in supporting the proposed commonwealth organization, with but little or no realization of the possibility of lightening this load either by better adjustment in improved systems of taxation and treasury administration, or by increasing the financial strength to carry the load that the right use of a state organization might afford.

The regular list of standing committees of the convention contained none on Finance. The convention seemed "to fight shy" of the subject as a wholly unpleasant one, and it was quite oblivious of the resources in rightly ordered financial arrangements. No committee on finance was provided for until more than three-fourths of the term of the convention had expired. This committee on finance reported its article within three days after its membership had been announced. Its report elicited no discussion and was adopted without even having been taken up in the committee of the whole.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The motion for the appointment of such a committee was first made on September 9, its membership was announced on September 10 and reported on September 13. The convention convened on August 17 and adjourned on September 18.



There were provisions pertaining to finance incorporated in other articles of the constitution, notably in that containing the bill of rights and in one on corporations and internal improvements. All these taken together determined the nature of the financial system the state must of necessity develop. The general character of that system will be sketched presently.

The records of the deliberations of the convention clearly indicate that a consciousness of the necessity of closest economy was present in the minds of the great majority to a degree as to make it of the nature of an obsession. The support of a political establishment comprising all the features of an American state by less than fifty thousand widely scattered people was a pretentious undertaking. The disposition to simplify for economy's sake, to consolidate offices that older states had kept distinct and that should be so held, to reduce salaries to a minimum, so dominated the attitude taken by the great majority on every proposition as to draw from the president of the convention about the middle of its work the following querulous remark:

"Every question which comes up here is first discussed on the ground of its expense—as though a government could be devised without expense."

The suggested consolidations of offices seriously considered by the convention included the making of the governor also the treasurer, and the county judge also county treasurer. Some would have limited the county board to the county judge and others urged the elimination of the grand jury through the substitution of examinations before a magistrate for presentment by grand jury. Among the consolidations effected were the making of the governor superintendent of public instruction, the circuit judges justices of the supreme court and the county clerk also clerk of the circuit court.

Other manifestations of this ever present consciousness of the necessity of the strictest limitation of the cost of the proposed state government are seen in the recurrent and protracted discussions of the salary schedule. It went without

saying that there should be a hard and fast constitutional limitation of all salaries. To the legislature was entrusted the naming of the salaries only of the county officials and of those connected with offices that might later be created.<sup>1</sup>

The concern for keeping the burden of the support of the state government light is evident in the proposal to definitely defer the time before which the erection of a state house should not begin. The date for the utilization of the University fund was placed ten years in the future. The proposal to divert this fund to common school purposes and thus avoid the line of public expenditure for higher education had strong championship. Participation in activities for internal improvement either by the state or local governments was rigidly denied and the use of public credit by either the state or local governments was closely limited. The employment of a convention stenographer to keep an official record of the debates was dispensed with on account of the expense it would have involved. The "pay as you go" and "hard cash" rule of business practice was enjoined in the prohibition of all banking activities for the circulation of instruments of credit. The strongest consideration with them against the unlimited liability of stockholders in corporations was the fear that such discouragement of corporate enterprise would lead in the end as it had in Missouri and other states to an irresistible demand to guarantee the loans of transportation companies by the state and local governments.

The spirit of the convention as evidenced by its discussions as well as by the document submitted to the people was entirely of the safe and sane order. It was profiting from the disastrous experience of the states of the Middle West during the generation preceding in their state canal and railway building and wildcat banking excesses. There was a strong dispo-

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<sup>1</sup> "The salaries were fixed at a very low figure for the time in the constitution because the leading men in the convention were over-anxious to commend the constitution to their parsimonious constituents and thereby secure its adoption. But for special efforts of a few, the salaries would have been fixed twenty-five per cent below what they are."—Daily Oregonian, Oct. 8, 1870.

sition to limit the debt contracting power of municipalities even to an amount equal to their revenue for one year. It was recognized, however, that they must normally have recourse to credit in the construction of public works and so the "pay as you go" maxim was departed from with reference to them to the extent of requiring legislatures in granting municipal charters to restrict their powers of taxation and of contracting debts. There was only one suggestion to make an exception to the policy of withholding state credit from enterprises for internal improvement and that was a proposal to aid a railway connecting Oregon with California. It was summarily rejected.

## CHAPTER III.

SALIENT FEATURES OF OREGON'S SYSTEM OF FINANCE AS  
CONDITIONED BY THE FINANCIAL PROVISIONS OF HER STATE  
CONSTITUTION AND BY THE SPIRIT WITH WHICH THESE  
HAVE BEEN USED.

The temper of the constitutional convention was for closely restricting the power of the legislature in financial matters. There was little or no apprehension of the danger in this rigid prescription. Specifically, fixed salaries, absolute limitations of the use of credit except for public defense, and rigidly determined methods of taxation were among the financial features embodied in the constitution.

The members of the convention were clear on what not to do and on what not to have in a financial system; but the absence of all discussion of financial topics, except those of the salaries and of the use of public credit, seems to indicate a pretty complete lack of constructive ideas pertaining to finance. Nevertheless, with the starting of the machinery of state government taxation and public expenditure must begin. To live the state government had to have support. Some financial system had to be evolved having conformity to the constitutional restrictions. And as the financial provisions of the constitution were retained unchanged for nearly fifty years it is worth while to get in mind the salient features of the system these determined.<sup>1</sup>

The phraseology though specific of this enduring constitution does not, however, alone suffice as the cue for ascertaining the characteristics of Oregon's financial system. The genius of the people needs also to be taken into account as it exhibits itself in progressive legislative enactment, in adminis-

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<sup>1</sup> Through initiative enactment cities and towns were given exclusive power to enact and amend their charters June 4, 1906.



trative devices and in the decisions of her supreme court as they do or do not yield in their constructions to the changing demands of social welfare. The financial methods and activities of Oregon have for half a century thus had their development within a restraining mold constituted by an unchanged set of constitutional provisions, except as through legislative enactment elaboration may have resulted and as judicial interpretation may have here and there permitted modification.

Just how then has this constitution affected the development of Oregon's financial code and practice in some of the more vital matters?

*Taxation*—The constitution required "a uniform and equal rate of assessment and taxation" and "a just valuation for taxation of all property," excepting such only for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes as may be specifically exempted by law. These provisions tied the hands of the legislature so that, aside from such systems of licensing as might be elaborated, only the general property tax was available for any and all revenues for state and local needs.<sup>1</sup>

All the property of each taxing jurisdiction must under these provisions bear the levies for all the different public needs in that jurisdiction. State, county, municipal, school and road taxes are imposed in a cumulative levy upon each and all of the different forms of property of each jurisdiction. The state has had distinct sources of revenue (but mainly of recent development) in the inheritance tax, insurance licenses and tax on net premiums, general corporation fees and licenses and minor miscellaneous sources. But these have sufficed to supply only a small, though increasing, fraction of its needs.

The valuations made by the county assessors have thus, except during the brief period recently while an expenditure basis of apportionment of state taxes was used, determined the quotas of the respective counties in their contributions to the state treasury. The county assessor and his deputies felt

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<sup>1</sup> Governor's message, 1907, p. 6.

the full force of the motive to relieve through low assessments his county from its fair share of the burden of state taxes.

The evils connected with the under-valuation incident to the use of the general property tax for state and local revenues Oregon has had in common with other states. A climax was reached in 1901. Then recourse was had to an expenditure basis of apportionment of state taxes. The dispensing with the valuation basis was followed with most salutary results. Approximation to a full cash value assessment was not attained immediately, nor did some counties do as well as others. After the use of a modified form of the expenditure basis of apportionment some six years its constitutionality was called into question. The language of the constitution was held to forestall the use of it.

But the worst iniquities perpetrated through taxation in Oregon must not be laid at the door of the constitution. A vain effort to avoid double taxation and to shield the debtor was long persisted in. The latter years during which the law for the exemption for indebtedness was in force witnessed most heinous procedures in tax-dodging. The language of the constitution did not impose upon the legislature the enactment of exemption laws and yet avoidance of double taxation and exemption for indebtedness were aims wholly in harmony with the constitutional injunction to tax all property at a uniform and equal rate. Both are impracticable and have led to results essentially vicious.

Because of a lack of legislative initiative the general property tax was retained in its most primitive form. Local assessment of all forms of property of general situs was the exclusive rule until but a few years ago. In 1906 a gross earnings tax on car, express, telegraph and telephone companies was substituted for a locally assessed property tax. The legislative assembly of 1909 finally provided for a state tax commission to assess other transportation companies.

No attempt has ever been made to classify the different forms of property for the purpose of applying different rates

or using a different species of tax. This was forestalled either by an implicit faith in the salutariness of the uniformity rule or a slavish deference to the letter of the constitution. An attempt to commute taxes from railway companies, for services they might be called upon to render in carrying troops and munitions of war, was balked by an adverse decision. The measure was held to violate "the equality and uniformity" requirement.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand attempts to use the constitutional provisions as a means to block special assessments for the securing of public improvements were not sustained by the courts. So long as the assessments did not exceed the benefits accruing to the property and were in proportion to the benefits derived, the court held the uniformity and equality requirement not traversed.<sup>2</sup> The supreme court of the state has had to pass, too, upon the question as to whether varying total levies for all purposes in different taxing jurisdictions were not in violation of the constitutional restrictions requiring an equal rate.<sup>3</sup>

*Exemptions*—The attitude toward the constitutional provisions pertaining to the matter of exemptions has striking illustration. The constitution provides that property "only for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes" \* \* \* "may be specially exempted by law." notwithstanding the fact that the legislature was subject to these explicit constitutional restrictions and had no warrant for relieving a certain minimum amount of property of each tax-payer, yet such exemption was provided for by law during the whole period of statehood down to 1900, when the constitutionality of the law was called into question and the practice ceased only to be resumed under another statute.<sup>4</sup>

*Salaries*—While the taxation clauses of the constitution have held the main features of Oregon's system of taxation

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<sup>1</sup> Hogg v. Mackay, 23 Ore. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Kadderly v. Portland, 44 Ore. 118.

<sup>3</sup> East Portland v. Multnomah Co., 6 Ore. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Laws Special Session 1903, p. 29.

as in a vise the salary clauses have from the beginning been quite completely ignored. The intent of the makers of the constitution in specifically naming the sum to be received by each of the different state officials whose offices were created by the constitution, with no authority granted to the legislature to change, is clear. Furthermore, these officials "shall receive no fees or perquisites whatever for the performance of any duties connected with their respective offices."<sup>1</sup> These constitutional provisions pertaining to salaries were flouted. Twice the regular procedure was followed in attempting to increase these salaries each time the amendments proposing the increase were lost at the polls.<sup>2</sup> Nothing daunted, the legislatures added special compensations when additional administrative duties were developed and allowed the collection and retention of fees galore; but finally in 1905 a "flat salary" law was passed naming a sum "in lieu of all salaries, fees, commissions and emoluments" then received.<sup>3</sup> What the fate of this law will be if tested in the courts is uncertain. In this connection I am concerned only with the influence of the constitution upon the salaries. The economy (or rather lack of economy) of the fee system long maintained in connection with the state offices will be discussed when the salient characteristics of Oregon's system as a whole are examined.

*Internal Improvements*—Public corporate participation in internal improvement was tabooed. Enterprise by private corporations even was strongly deprecated by not a few of the leaders in the convention. The ideal of the convention was ultra-individualistic. The document it framed gave no license for participation by the state government, or by any municipality that might be created under it, in any industrial or commercial activity. The contracting of public indebtedness,

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<sup>1</sup> Article XIII.

<sup>2</sup> The proposed amendment of 1864 provided for granting to the Legislature authority "to alter or modify" salaries; that of 1872 provided for specific "flat" salaries. Memorials and Resolutions, 1864, p. 15, and Session Laws 1872, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Session Laws, 1905, p. 133.



loaning of credit or investment in corporate securities by public corporations was either absolutely denied or so narrowly and securely limited as to amount to absolute prohibition.<sup>1</sup> The lessons taught by the results of the rash public participation in internal improvements by many of the states and municipalities of the Middle West in the preceding decades were still fresh in the minds of those who emigrated to the Pacific coast. The simple life of the frontier, too, had become habitual and almost endeared to most. It had been the condition of their fathers and of their fathers' fathers as they had made up the van from the first of the westward movement. They looked askant at the disturbing innovations produced by canals, railways, banks and large scale manufactures. Indicative of this position are the following expressions made on the floor of the convention while the motion to make the stockholders of all corporations "individually liable for all debts and liabilities of such corporations" was under consideration:

Mr. Boise, chairman of the standing committee on legislation, said, "I heard it once remarked by the man who is known as 'the learned blacksmith' (Elihu Burritt), who came up to the place where I was residing in Massachusetts, in the midst of these corporations (and with them I am familiar—and heard their bells morning, noon, and night, from year to year), he said to me he had visited England, and he said he believed that these corporations were the ruin of humanity in Europe. He had taken a great deal of interest in the common schools, and in the intellectual growth of the country, and had paid attention to these subjects, he said that he believed that in this country the corporations—these stimulants to wealth—were to be the bane and curse of the country. That the people of Massachusetts and the people of New England had fallen from the ancient dignity which they once had; that there was not now in Massachusetts that intellectual power

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<sup>1</sup> Article XI, sections 5-10.

and strength of mind and moral force, that there was in it before the corporations had drawn off from the healthful pursuits of the country life, the young women of the country. And I believe, Mr. Chairman, that he was right."

Mr. Deady, president of the convention and mover of the motion under discussion, said, "A great deal has been said about bringing capital into the country and encouraging enterprise. How much better will we be off then than now? Contrast your own condition with the countries that have manufactories scattered over them. They have millions of wealth, and millions of poor human beings degraded into the condition of mere servants of machinery, overtasked and overworked, and seething in misery and crime from the age of puberty to the grave. Enter in imagination if you will one of those giant factories, so common in old England or in New England. See that hive of human beings with scarcely room to breathe, keeping time to the revolutions of the never ceasing unwearied machinery, and notice the sunken eye, and the collapsed chest, and the mournful sense of servitude legible on every limb. Contrast their condition with the condition of your people, breathing the pure air, with the canopy of heaven for ventilator, and then tell me with whom is the preference? Every one must admit that the preference is with us. And why? It is with us simply for the reason that we yet retain our individual independence, and have not become absorbed by these institutions which dwarf the energies of the body and the soul. I am not in favor of encouraging a fungus growth of improvement in this country."

While provisions for the unlimited liability of the individual stockholder was not incorporated in the constitution a very strong array of inhibitions to prevent the use of public funds for corporations for internal improvement was put in. And yet new conditions developed a new attitude, and led to a different policy though the old constitutional provisions remain. In 1870, state bonds were voted for a canal and locks company. Anticipated proceeds from the internal improvement

land grant were pledged to the payment of the principal and interest of these bonds, so that the measure was not counted as a violation of the provision forbidding the loaning of the credit of the state. The legislature (1909) registered the widest departure from the constitutional and traditional policy. Several municipalities were created for harbor improvement purposes, authorized to contract indebtedness if sanctioned by popular vote. This legislature also submitted to the people an amendment providing that the "state, or any county, municipality or railroad district, may pledge its credit," to create a fund for the purchase, or construction, or operation of railroads or other highway within the state.<sup>1</sup>

*Financial Legislation and Treasury Administration*—The almost complete silence on matters pertaining to financial legislation and treasury administration in the convention should prepare us for careless policies and practices along these lines. During two bienniums, the machinery of the state government and its institutions had to make shift to run without the passage of appropriation bills.<sup>2</sup> Not until 1905 was any attention given to the matter of loaning the surplus state funds;<sup>3</sup> and not until the last session of the legislature were the steps taken to develop a budgetary procedure for adequate preparation and early introduction of appropriation bills.<sup>4</sup>

The annals of Oregon legislation betray the all-too-common dominance, to a blighting degree, of partisan interests in which the hope of spoils or purely personal allegiance was the controlling motive. It was the recurrence of this to a sickening frequency that impelled the people to the extreme of most radical methods of direct legislation. Subjected time and again to witnessing the spectacle of seeing the members of their legislative assemblies converted into coteries for the advancement of the interests of this or that candidate for the

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<sup>1</sup> Session Laws, 1909, pp. 484-5.

<sup>2</sup> 1868 and 1897-99.

<sup>3</sup> Session Laws, 1907, pp. 248-254.

<sup>4</sup> Session Laws, 1909, pp. 484 and 491-2.

United States Senate, while financial legislation was either ignored or made the pawn of personal politics, it was not unnatural that they should turn to the device of the popular election of their representatives in the upper house of Congress.

*Public Domain*—Oregon received liberal grants of public lands. The constitutional provisions pertaining to the disposition of them were in entire accord with those controlling the matter of internal improvements. Here too a let-alone policy toward the work of internal improvements was provided for. The proceeds of the 500,000 acre grant, as well as the payments of five per cent of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands in Oregon by the national government, were to be diverted to the common school fund, if Congress would consent. This fine spirit for the up-building of the youth of the state was not sustained so as to bring full consummation for this purpose. To be sure Congress was slow in granting permission, but I fear its tardiness was due mainly to the fact that the matter was not followed up. Only the more recent remnants of these funds reached the common school fund. The commercial motive overcame the educational in the early seventies.

In entrusting the selection and sale of the lands of the state, and the care of the funds from them, to a board consisting of the governor, secretary of state, and state treasurer, the makers of the constitution no doubt believed that they had executed a fine stroke. It gave these officials some substantial work to do during the infancy of the state. On that score, the constitutional arrangement was justified, but on other grounds it was to cost dearly, and prove a penny-wise-pound-foolish arrangement. It assigned specialized work to political officials elected with reference to fitness for quite different duties. Nor has the vital interest embodied in the different state lands, until quite recently, been placed more permanently in the care of specialists. As the state developed and their distinctive duties engrossed the attention and ener-



gies of the state officials, the state's land business was turned over with but slight supervision to irresponsible clerks.

One looks in vain in the constitutional debates and during the whole course of legislation on the public domain for some recognition of far reaching commonwealth interests centered in it. Conversion into private ownership, mainly at nominal prices, was the governing motive. "The actual settler," and small holdings were encouraged, but never effectually. It must be said that during the first three decades of Oregon's statehood the problem of conserving the patrimony of the Oregon people in their public lands was an exceedingly difficult one. But just when, in the later eighties, it became very clear what the situation called for, the bars were let down and the looting began.

## PART TWO

# OREGON'S SYSTEM OF STATE REVENUES.

### CHAPTER I.

#### TAXATION.

State governmental activities in Oregon have been supported through revenues derived from the following sources:

1. Taxation, including license charges imposed upon insurance companies, and more recently upon corporations in general.
2. Sales of public lands and from loan of proceeds.
3. State loans.
4. Minor miscellaneous activities.

Taxation has uniformly been the main source and, as the public domain of the state has been almost all disposed of without sufficing to accumulate funds sufficient to yield an income representing any considerable fraction of the growing needs of the state treasury, taxes must continue to be the almost exclusive reliance for state and local revenues.

As already noted, the constitutional provisions pertaining to taxation have up to this time, made the general property tax virtually the exclusive form of taxation possible. There have been, however, subsequent to the first few years, minor sources yielding revenues for the state treasury. The proceeds of a poll tax were used by the state government from 1864 to 1877; a special license tax upon Chinamen yielded some state as well as local revenue in southern mining counties during the sixties; an inheritance tax has produced returns since 1904; insurance company licenses with stamp and later net premium taxes have been collected since 1872; and a general corporation license tax has been a revenue producer of considerable importance since 1904. These auxiliary sources of state rev-

enues will be first reviewed and then the history of the general property tax in Oregon will be sketched.

*A Poll Tax for Commonwealth Purposes* was traditional in Oregon at the time of the admission of the state into the Union. During the period of the provisional government, a poll tax of fifty cents had been collected.<sup>1</sup> The territorial legislature revived this poll tax for territorial purposes in 1854.<sup>2</sup> The state legislature, in 1862, again had recourse to it for revenue, "to defray current expenses of the state."<sup>3</sup> The amount was fixed at one dollar. The receipts from the poll tax from September 9, 1862, to September 4, 1864, were only \$7,093.25. A census of the voting population gave the number 14,755. Thus not more than one-third of those from whom the tax was due had paid during the biennial period. The secretary of state, on the basis of this showing argued that if the tax could not be generally enforced, it should be abolished.<sup>4</sup> However, by requiring its collection by the assessor at the time of assessing it; first, of all persons whose real and personal property did not aggregate \$500, and later, of all persons liable to it, the difficulty with it was remedied.<sup>5</sup> The receipts for the second period were \$24,057.16, and there was a regular increase until the last period of its use for state expenditures.

The exemption of firemen began in 1870.<sup>6</sup> Militiamen were also later relieved. In 1876 it was enacted that this poll tax should be retained by the counties.<sup>7</sup> It was still levied under state law and continued to be until 1907. County authorities that decided upon a money tax for road purposes were in 1893, required to levy a \$2 poll tax in addition to the old \$1

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1 Oregon Spectator, Feb. 19, 1846, vol. i, No. 3.

2 Session Laws, 1854, p. 43.

3 General Laws, 1862, p. 89.

4 Report of Secretary of State, 1864, Appendix House Journal, p. 82.

5 General Laws, 1862; General Laws, 1866, p. 37.

6 General Laws, 1870, p. 20.

7 General Laws, 1876, p. 69.

state poll tax. In 1903, the county poll tax was raised to \$3. The old state poll tax no longer collected by the assessor had degenerated so that the tax commission of 1905 estimated that "probably not one tenth of the persons in the state who are subject to its payment ever meet the tax."<sup>1</sup>

Akin to this state poll tax, for general state purposes, was a tax of \$2 upon every person liable for military duty, enacted in 1862. The county court was to levy, and the sums collected were to be paid to the state treasurer and placed by him in a separate fund, known as "the military fund." This tax was abolished in 1865.<sup>2</sup> It had been collected of those liable for military duty and not members of "some independent company." Members of these companies received two dollars a day for the time they were required to drill. The military fund was drawn upon for such payments.<sup>3</sup>

*The Chinese Tax*—Oregon's tax upon Chinamen belonged to that class of taxation in which revenue is incidental. Beginning in 1857, through enactment by the territorial legislature, Oregon indulged in discriminatory legislation against the Chinamen within her borders. Under the first law, Chinamen alone were mulcted, but in 1859, "Kanakas" (Hawaiian Islanders) and in 1862, Negroes and Mulattoes also were included in the class thus touched. The earlier acts imposing this tax were uniformly entitled "to tax and protect Chinamen mining in Oregon," and the tax was designated a license. The payments required were more commonly, \$2 a month, but in 1858, the amount was raised to \$4. For the privilege of trade and barter among themselves, \$50 a month was to be collected.<sup>4</sup> From 15 to 20 per cent of the proceeds were to go to the state treasury. A liberal commission, generally 20 per cent, was paid for collection, and the remainder was retained by the county. In the biennium, from 1868-70, \$7,-

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Board of Commissioners, 1906, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> General Laws, 1862, p. 6; General Laws, 1865, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Governor's Message (Appendix to House Journal), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> General Laws, 1857, p. 213; 1858, pp. 42-3; 1860, pp. 49-52; 1862, pp. 76-7.



667.70 were received from this source by the state. This was more than three times as large as reported for any other two year period. The "equal protection of the laws" that must not, under the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, be denied by any state put an end to such taxation in Oregon.

*Insurance Company Licenses and Stamp and net Premium Taxes.*—The business of fire, marine and life and accident insurance were under the primitive conditions of early Oregon, quite exclusively in the hands of companies having their homes in the eastern states and abroad. Even to this day, the departure from such a situation has advanced but a slight degree. The transaction of the business of assuming risks and of paying losses does not demand the use and ownership by these foreign concerns of local property. The profits secured through these different forms of the insurance business would thus, under a state revenue system, made up of a bare general property tax, wholly escape taxation. The problem of securing tribute from these foreign corporations for the people of Oregon was early taken up by the officials whose duty it was to recommend improvements in financial system of the state. They soon discovered how a system of lucrative fees could be developed in connection with the special taxation of the insurance companies. Their meagre constitutional salaries could be supplemented through license charges exacted of these concerns for the privilege of writing policies in Oregon.

First in 1864, there was a futile effort to obtain revenue from fire and marine companies through local taxes imposed upon a bond deposit required of them as surety for their meeting their losses.<sup>1</sup> In 1870, the bond deposit of fire and marine companies was ordered placed with the state treasurer and a license charge was imposed upon the agents of life insurance companies. It was in connection with the re-

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<sup>1</sup> Deposits were to be in United States bonds or Oregon state bonds. The U. S. bonds were non-taxable and the state bonds were not available.

ceiving and the administering of these deposits by the state treasurer that a vigorous branch of the fee system was sprouted. It was provided that the state treasurer should receive \$10 for filing each certificate of deposit and for keeping the bonds and returning the coupons to the depositors; he was to have one-eighth per cent per annum on all amounts in his charge. The secretary of state received a still better deal. He was to receive \$10 annually for issuing licenses to agents or solicitors of life insurance companies; also \$25 for issuing and recording each certificate of deposit of bonds; and five per cent of the proceeds of the sale of stamps that fire and marine insurance companies were required to affix to their policies in amounts determined by the size of the premiums. This stamp tax was in 1889 changed to a one per cent net premium tax. The annual license payment of \$100 at first required of fire and marine companies, of which the secretary received \$10, was in 1887 changed to a charge of \$50. Life and accident companies were now for the first time brought under this tax, and the sum placed at \$100. The secretary of state was at this time made "insurance commissioner," with extensive powers of control over the insurance business within the state. His compensation for various examinations and certifications was effected by a system of fees which he was allowed to retain. Forty per cent of all annual license moneys collected by him were also his.

In 1895, the net premium tax was extended to include along with fire and marine companies, life, accident, plate glass, and steam boiler companies, and the rate was raised from one to two per cent. Surety companies also came in for both annual license payments and net premium taxes. The secretary and treasurer continued to receive their respective quotas of fees and percentages until 1907, when a "flat" salary law went into effect. The significance of these fees as a feature of the state salary system will be discussed in another connection. The annual license charge, stamp tax on premiums and percentage tax on the net premiums of the different

forms of the insurance business are referred to here to indicate the development of the features of the system of taxation in Oregon, that were supplementary to the general property tax. The treasury receipts from these sources were an almost negligible quantity until the beginning of the last decade. More recently they are netting the state substantial sums.

*The General Corporation Organization and License Fees.*—A further step in the direction of supplementing the general property tax was taken in 1903, when organization fees were required of all domestic corporations and an annual license fee of all foreign and domestic corporations. This corporation license charge has from its first introduction yielded a sum equal to about ten per cent of the revenues for the state government.

*The Annual License of Gross Earnings upon Car, Express, Telegraph and Telephone Companies.*—As transportation facilities developed, it became particularly notorious that the businesses conducted within the state by the car, express, telegraph and telephone companies were not being reached under the processes of the general property tax. An annual license upon the gross earnings of these concerns was in 1906 enacted through the initiative procedure. The constitutionality of this law has been attacked by a telephone company on the ground that the initiative procedure in lawmaking is in conflict with the provision of a republican form of government which the national government is to guarantee each state. The case is still pending before the Supreme Court of the United States.

*An Inheritance Tax.*—An inheritance tax law was enacted in 1903. This was creditable as the first venture of the state in inheritance taxation, but it embodies only in a weak way the desirable traits of an inheritance tax.

The foregoing comprise the supplementary features of Oregon's system of taxation. It must be conceded that these annual license charges and net premium tax from insurance

companies, the organization fees and annual license charge from corporations in general, and the annual license upon gross earnings of the minor transportation agencies do in a rough way tend to even up the tax burden where the inadequacies of the general property tax are most patent.<sup>1</sup>

*The General Property Tax in Oregon.*—Having passed in review the different auxiliary features of Oregon's system of taxation, we are now ready to examine the experience of the state with its main reliance for revenue, state and local. It will be found that the methods used with the general property tax and the results obtained from it have varied little during the period of statehood. The closely restrictive constitutional provisions precluded any progressive development of it by the successive legislatures. The system set up and maintained with but minor variations exhibits the characteristic problems of the general property tax wherever used. The discussion of the salient features developed in Oregon is probably best arranged under the three following heads:

1. Assessment and apportionment of state taxes among the counties.

2. Exemptions for indebtedness and taxation of credits, including mortgage taxation.

3. Specially designated levies and rates for general and special purposes.

1. Assessment and apportionment of state taxes among the counties.

Oregon has all along experienced the usual measure of trouble in the form of general under-valuation, but with the degrees of it varying from county to county. She has had to face regularly the failure to reach invisible forms of property and even a large proportion of all personalty. Under-assessment has its main motive in the desire on the part of counties to shift their respective quotas of state taxes. Where the township is the primal fiscal unit the race in under-valuation

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<sup>1</sup> Governor's Message, 1907, p. 6.



begins among the township assessors. Oregon, not having the township organization, and using the county assessing district, has not had both township and county agencies pulling for lower assessments.

The valuations reported by the different county assessors constituted the basis for the apportionment of the state taxes among the counties from the beginning of statehood down to 1901.<sup>1</sup> Complaint against under-assessment and the consequent unequal taxation resulting therefrom was expressed by almost every governor the state has had. Nevertheless, during more than three decades, from the beginning of statehood down to 1892, there was no supervising authority whatever for equalizing the valuations reported from the different counties.<sup>2</sup> It was a sort of honor system among the counties; or, more likely, they severally were so keenly sensitive about vesting power in any outside body to add to the state taxes for which they would be liable, each county preferred to take its chances in a state of anarchy. A state board of equalization was provided for by an act of the legislature of 1891, the first members of the board being elected by popular vote in June, 1892.<sup>3</sup> The board was made up of one member from each judicial district and exercised what authority it had until 1898. It was during just this period that under-valuations were carried to their limit in Oregon. In 1893, when the board began its work the total valuations of the state amounted to \$168,000,000. In 1901, they had sunk to \$118,000,000. The board had come to an ignominious end in 1898 when the act of abolishing it provided that "inasmuch as there will be a great saving to the state by the immediate passage of this act, an emergency is declared to exist, and the act shall be

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<sup>1</sup> A decision of the Supreme Court of the state in 1909 pronounced unconstitutional the law of 1901 making county expenditures the basis of apportionment. This compels a return to the valuation basis.

<sup>2</sup> An act providing for a state board of equalization was passed in 1872. A board was appointed, but as its work was affected by a judicial decision, its acts were not enforced. The law was repealed in 1874.

<sup>3</sup> General Laws, 1891, pp. 182-4.

in full force on and after its approval by the governor."<sup>1</sup> It was not at all strange that its efforts so far as correcting under valuations was concerned had been utterly futile, for the act creating it had provided, "but said board shall not reduce, nor shall it increase the aggregate valuations, except in such amount as may be reasonably necessary to a just equalization." It had no authority whatever over the earlier stages of assessment. The legislature of the succeeding year attempted the enactment of a law constituting the governor, secretary of state and state treasurer, a board of equalization, but with no adequate authority, and without such adjustment as would have made it possible for these state officials to have attended to such additional duties. It was wisely vetoed by Governor Geer, who, in his message of 1901, recommended a plan, involving the assessment against each county, for state purposes, an amount in proportion to its wealth or population providing that the first taxes collected shall be paid on the state tax.<sup>2</sup> The legislature of 1901, responded to Governor Geer's suggestion with the first enactment of an expenditure or local revenue basis of apportionment of the state taxes. Reports were to be made to the secretary of state, of the county expenditures each year, excepting at first those for roads, and later those also for the erection of court houses, those on account of pestilence or epidemics and those for payments of interest and the principal of county indebtedness. The ratio that the average of such expenditures for five years for each county bears to the average of the total of these expenditures for all the counties shall determine the ratio of the state taxes that such each county respectively shall pay. However, a provisional set of ratios based upon preceding county assessments was to be used until the data for expenditures covering a period of five years had been accumulated. The law of 1901, named 1905 as the first year when

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<sup>1</sup> General Laws, 1898, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Governor's Message, 1901, pp. 1-17.

the expenditure basis should be used, but manifestly' reports for only four years of county expenditures would be available for an average, by that time, so the legislature of 1903 set 1910 as the date for beginning the use of the expenditure basis, continuing in the meantime the set of arbitrary ratios. In 1907 there was another postponement, this time to 1912, before expenditure ratios were to be used. In each case the state officials were to be spared the trouble of making a computation of the averages oftener than once in five years.

Under this departure from the valuation basis of apportionment there was a salutary reaction throughout the state from the low assessments of previous years. In some counties there was soon an approximation to a cash value assessment. The law elicited most favorable comment far and wide.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that if the principle had been actually applied and if there had been a readjustment of ratios from year to year no county would have contested the validity of the plan.

As it was one of the counties of the state felt that it was getting the worst of it under the arbitrary set of ratios that had been continued down from 1901, and its official was enjoined from paying over to the state the amount that its percentage in the list called for. By the decision rendered in 1909, it was held that the expenditure plan was unconstitutional. The valuation basis is again enacted. Were it not for the fact that a tax commission was provided for with some supervising authority over assessments, and the further fact that constitutional amendments of the taxation clauses were submitted, a repetition of the same mad scramble for under assessment might be, would almost certainly be, repeated.

The constitutional amendments, affecting the power of taxation, now pending would empower the legislature to make reasonable and equitable rules governing the matter of apportionment; they would also authorize it to separate the sources of state and local revenues. If these amendments are ratified, the legislature will have a choice of methods for

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<sup>1</sup> State and Local Taxation, First National Conference, pp. 58, 501-2, 528-9.

obviating the motives to under assessment. With the effecting of a natural segregation of the sources of revenue and the reservation of property of general situs for state taxes and property of local situs to local governments, the Gordian knot of difficulty arising from apportionment will be cut.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of partial assessment has always been in evidence in Oregon along with that of under assessments. The fact of the incompleteness of the returns of their property made by the tax-payers to the assessors had become so notorious in the very first years of statehood that the second governor (1864) proposed a schedule for listing personal property in order that more of it might be discovered for the assessors' rolls.<sup>2</sup> That one-third of the property was omitted from the assessment roll in 1866, is the estimate of a good authority.<sup>3</sup> Intangible personalty had at this time but little development in Oregon. Conditions would grow worse with larger use of credit in business unless effective means were interposed. The way out of this injustice incident to such partial assessment, through exemption of money and credits and reliance on the compensating force of competition, was barred by the constitutional requirement of the uniform taxation of all property. Legislative effort was made to secure full returns of recorded instruments and bank deposits. The practical effect of this legislation is inextricably interwoven with Oregon's long continued policy of exemption of indebtedness. It is to the wiles of the tax-dodger that this policy fostered, to the shifting of the tax-burden to the humble producer and to the embarrassment of the state official handling such a system, that we now turn.

From earliest territorial days, Oregon has persistently attempted to tax credits as personal property. Only during a period of eleven years, from 1882 to 1893, were mortgages treated as real property and taxed to the owner of the mort-

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<sup>1</sup> General Laws, 1909, pp. 483, 485-6.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix House Journal, 1864, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> San Francisco Bulletin, January 31, 1867.



gage at the situs of the land mortgaged. As already stated, the inclusion of money and credits among the subjects of taxation was controlled by the constitution. Under these circumstances, the exemption of indebtedness represented the purpose of shielding the debtor from double taxation.

As early as 1856, during the territorial era, a deduction of indebtedness within the territory was allowed to the amount of solvent claims returned by each taxpayer to the assessor.<sup>1</sup> This was continued as the law under the state government until 1863. In 1865, the policy of exemption on account of indebtedness was revived, but differing from the earlier practice in that the whole amount "of indebtedness within this state," was to be deducted from the assessable property of the taxpayer.<sup>2</sup> Under this law the grossest iniquities in taxation were soon engendered. As property was generally assessed at about one-third its real value and every dollar of indebtedness offset a dollar on the assessment roll, it was only necessary for the tax-payer to borrow a sum equal to one-third of the value of his property to escape all taxation.<sup>3</sup>

And yet the law providing for deduction on account of indebtedness was retained. In 1874, however, the sum deducted for the indebtedness of any tax-payer was limited to one thousand dollars.<sup>4</sup> In 1880, it was required that the liability

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<sup>1</sup> Session Laws, 1855-6, pp. 77-8.

<sup>2</sup> General Laws (Special Session), 1865, pp. 26-7.

<sup>3</sup> "There is another defect in our taxing system, which works, perhaps, a greater inequality and injustice than those named (inequality in the assessments of the several counties). In assessing property, under the present law, the party assessed is permitted to deduct his indebtedness from the valuation of his property. In counties where property is assessed at one-third its real value, as is the case in most counties, a person being in debt one thousand dollars would pay no tax; for his property, worth three thousand dollars, would be valued at one thousand by the assessor, which would be balanced by his indebtedness of one thousand dollars. But a prudent neighbor, worth the two thousand dollars or any other sum, and not in debt, would be required to pay taxes on the full amount of his assessment. It will thus be seen, that every dollar of indebtedness, under our present mode of assessment, may balance real value of property to the amount of three dollars. And if the indebtedness of our citizens, taken collectively, amounts to ten million dollars, the amount of property untaxed, on this account, is thirty millions."—*Bienial Message of Governor L. F. Grover, 1872, pp. 8-9.*

<sup>4</sup> Session Laws, 1874, pp. 117-8.

must be actual and not merely contingent due to a surety pledge and that deduction could be allowed only to the amount of the proportional liability in any joint debt.<sup>1</sup> The enactment of such legislation is evidence complete as to the practice rife.

In 1893, the whole policy of deduction for indebtedness was thrown overboard.<sup>2</sup> Under the law providing for the deduction of indebtedness the amount of indebtedness deducted had each year been greater than the whole amount of moneys and credits assessed. This disparity became larger and larger. By 1885, the amount deducted for indebtedness was more than twice as great as the sum of moneys and credits taxed.<sup>3</sup> Debts were largely created for the purpose of being used in avoiding taxation, and yet the law had been retained some three decades. A special committee of the state senate on assessment and taxation as late as 1891, was not able to secure a unanimous report recommending its repeal. The minority report of this committee contains a plausible argument for the retention of the law in a modified form.<sup>4</sup> Under the constitution of Oregon, as interpreted by the supreme court of the state and the United States circuit court, credits must be made taxable and any law exempting them from taxation would be void. By virtue of such liability to taxation creditors secured higher rates of interest whether they paid the tax on credits or not. The return of assessable credits had been increased in cases cited through the law allowing deduction of indebtedness upon the debtors giving the name of the creditor. So the situation was that the creditors had to be taxed and the law allowing deduction for indebtedness could be made to serve in the detection of tax-dodging creditors. Therefore, the wise policy would allow the debtor to deduct his debt to the amount of the assessable value of the credit within

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<sup>1</sup> Session Laws, 1880, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Session Laws, 1893, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Report of Board of Commissioners on Assessment and Taxation, 1886, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Report of Special Senate Committee, 1891, pp. 1-10.

the state to which he can point the assessor. But this argument did not save or secure the amendment of the law.

It is probable that the overthrow of the policy of deduction for indebtedness was hastened through the fact that attention was called by the governor in 1891 to the part the national banks were free to take in aiding the fraudulent practices of tax-dodging under this law. The notes and accounts owned by these institutions could not be assessed. To deduct claimed indebtedness to such banks would leave the door wide open for fraud. With under assessment, and no scaling of the debts, an exchange of notes between two taxpayers was all that was necessary to avoid taxation—unless the assessor always was pointed to a taxable credit within the state equal to the indebtedness deducted. And the fiscal statistics of Oregon during these years do not show that any progress was being made in this direction. The plea for lenience to the debtor through deduction of indebtedness, for a policy purporting to shield him from double taxation, must have sounded well to the rank and file of the Oregon population to blind it to the abominations practiced for more than a generation under the Oregon law for the deduction of indebtedness. This failure to discern a common and public interest is illustrated in about the same form in the situation in which enormous incomes are allowed the state officials while the people hug to their bosoms the constitutional provisions limiting the salaries of these officials to meagre sums. The same civic blindness and obliquity is shown, and the selling out of the public good accomplished by the shrewd and sly efforts of the unscrupulous few, in the state's policy for a period with her public domain. Misled by the supposed economy in compelling the intending purchaser of lieu lands to find his own basis lands, he was given, for \$1.25, land worth at the time four or five times that sum and easily seen to be worth fifty times that sum to the state in the very near future.

To sum up. A distinctively primitive form of the general

property tax has characterized Oregon's revenue system down to date. Rigid constitutional prescriptions have called for the uniform and equal assessment and taxation of all property except certain enumerated properties applied to public uses. In the matter of exemption alone, the legislature has consistently stretched its scant measure of freedom. It provided exemptions of a certain minimum to householders. It also attempted to eliminate the double taxation incident to the taxation of credits, and, from the nature of things, failed. A striking innovation in the apportionment of state taxes failed also. But this latter failure came through the invoking of the restrictive authority of the constitution over tax legislation. Two special state tax commissions, one in 1885, and the other in 1905, to investigate and report changes needed in Oregon's tax code, failed to have their main recommendations adopted. They were hampered in each case by constitutional obstructions that barred the way to salutary revision. The last legislature (1909), in submitting the needed constitutional amendments and in centralizing authority in assessment, and in providing a permanent state commission to constitute the assessing board for the property of general situs, took a long stride forward toward modernizing an archaic system.

With a competent commission studying the situation and free, under an amended constitution, to advocate needed changes in the grouping of properties, and the segregation of sources to different taxing jurisdictions, as well as bring up to date the inheritance tax, Oregon would secure a fairly satisfactory system in the near future.

*(To be continued.)*



## JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK

April 30th to May 31st, 1830.

Edited by T. C. Elliott.

Editor's Introduction

John Work, the writer of this journal, was one of the tireless and forceful "gentlemen" in the Hudson's Bay Company's employ west of the Rocky Mountains, and more particularly along the Columbia River and its tributaries, beginning with the year 1823.

In the course of serving his time as a clerk, he was sent from York Factory on Hudson's Bay in July, 1823, with the annual express, in charge of Peter Skene Ogden, to Fort George (Astoria). This was one year prior to the coming of Dr. John McLoughlin to assume charge of the business of the Company west of the mountains.

From 1823 to 1830, John Work's field of employment was principally at the Posts or Forts of the upper Columbia; Spokane House, Colvile, Flathead and Kootenai, and it was he who superintended the building of Fort Colvile, just above Chaudiere or Kettle Falls (Ilth-Koy-Ape, according to David Thompson) in 1825-6, and the abandonment of Spokane House in 1826. In 1830, he was promoted to Chief Trader and appointed to succeed Mr. Ogden in charge of the Snake River Brigade, leaving in the fall of that year.

We very little appreciate or understand at the present day the constant and extensive demand for horses in the fur trade, primarily as beasts of burden, but very often as necessary articles of food; and the difficulty of obtaining them.

Among the descendants of John Work are his grandchildren, comprising the family of the honored Dr. Wm. Fraser Tolmie, deceased, once a member of the legislature of the Provisional Government of Oregon and a scholar as well as a gentleman and man of affairs. The original journal is in

the possession of these grandchildren and through the courtesy of Mr. R. E. Gosnell, Archivist for the Province of British Columbia, has been copied for this, its first publication.

To definitely designate the route from day to day is not possible, but the more important stopping places will be readily recognized. The party followed from Fort Colville at Kettle Falls the more direct Indian trail up the valley of Colville (as now spelled), or Mill River to its source and then across the divide to the wide ridges along Tsimakane (or Chimakine) creek, flowing into the Spokane River, crossing that river considerably below the site of Spokane House, and thence south to the Snake River at the mouth of the Palouse. This afterward became the regular wagon road between Colville and Walla Walla, and is very clearly shown on the map published with John Mullan's Military Road Report. Governor Stevens followed this route very closely in the fall of 1853.

By the Hudson's Bay men, Snake River as far up as the Clearwater was often called the Nez Percés River, and Fort Walla Walla was commonly designated as Fort Nez Percés. It would appear from the journal that at that point the party crossed the Columbia to the west or north side, but at John Day River they are clearly on the south bank again and from there to The Dalles. The usual crossing place afterward was ten miles below at Lyle, the mouth of the Klickitat River, but they recrossed above The Dalles and from there to Vancouver kept to the higher trails along the ridges and prairies back from the Columbia through a very rugged country of course, as the time consumed plainly indicates.

Mountains Hood, St. Helens, Rainier and Baker are all familiar names to Mr. Work, indicating that a set of "Vancouver's Voyages" was then in the library at Fort Vancouver, and whether the first or second edition does not matter.

FRIDAY, APRIL 30th, 1830.

Left Colville near 6 o'clock in the evening, accompanied by five men—F. Payette, A. Baidijain, J. Pierre, Edward Besland, and C. Quesnelle, with 35 horses for Walla Walla, and then to Fort Vancouver. Encamped a few miles from the Fort. The whole day was occupied getting the horses collected and separated, which was the cause of our being so late in starting. I would have been off some days sooner, but a considerable number of the horses were lately traded, and being very lean, required some time to recruit before taking the journey; some of them will have enough to do to perform it yet.

Saturday, May 1st.

Heavy rain nearly all day.

Started at an early hour, and encamped near sunset at the swampy plain.<sup>1</sup> We stopped an hour and a half to breakfast. The small rivers are very deep, and the road in many places soft and miry. The horses had to swim across two of the rivers, and the luggage to be taken across a temporary bridge of trees thrown across them. All hands were soaked with wet, and both men and horses much fatigued in the evening.

Sunday, May 2d.

Heavy rain part of the day. Proceeded on our journey a little past sunrise, and reached Spokane River in the afternoon. It was near sunset by the time the horses and baggage were got across the river, though the Indians lent us a canoe to cross with. We put up here for the night. The road today was in several places deep and miry, but much better than yesterday, nevertheless, the horses were a good deal jaded. The Indians came and smoked with us in the

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<sup>1</sup> Chewelah?

evening. The people are always glad to see whites coming among them.

Monday, May 3rd.

Fair weather.

The men were on the move by daylight collecting the horses. One of them were missing and, although all hands were employed seeking him till 11 o'clock, he could not be found, and was supposed to be gone off on the N. P.<sup>1</sup> road, and so far off from the distance he was followed that it would have taken all day to come up with him, even were we sure he had gone that way, and as by waiting in the same encampment we were likely to lose more we moved on, and left word with the Spokane chief to seek the horse and bring him back to Colville, which he promised to do. Camped in the evening at a place called the Fortress, on the edge of a plain. The road this day was pretty good.

Tuesday, May 4th.

Stormy during the day, heavy rain towards the evening.

Four of the horses had strayed in the morning and, although all hands were in pursuit of them, they were not found till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when it was considered too late to move, besides I wish to stop and send for the horse lost at Spokane, which, I hear from an Indian lad that was passing, is found by the Indians. We had no thought any of the horses would stray off so far.

Wednesday, May 5th.

Very heavy rain in the night, fair weather during the day.

Sent two men back for the stray horse that remained at

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<sup>1</sup> Nez Percés.



Spokane, which they found, and came up with us at noon. Landed to wait for the men who were late in starting, and again stopped a good while at breakfast. We encamped in the evening at 5 o'clock, having marched seven hours during the day, which, though little, is enough for some of the horses. Set a guard on the horses last night, which is intended to be continued during the journey to prevent the horses from straying or being stolen by the Indians.

Thursday, May 6th.

Showers of rain towards evening.

Continued our route at an early hour, and fell upon the Nez Percés<sup>1</sup> River, near 6 o'clock in the evening, where we put up for the night. Allowed the horses 3 hours to feed and repose in the middle of the day, and marched altogether 8 hours. Part of the road was very stony and bad for the horses' feet.

Friday, May 7th.

Heavy rain in the night and the greater part of the day, particularly in the afternoon.

Proceed on our journey, and after passing Grand Point<sup>2</sup> again fell upon the river opposite an Indian lodge, and crossed our baggage. The horses were allowed to rest before crossing there; from the bad weather they were so afraid of taking the water that all the men's efforts assisted by the Indians could not put more than 16 of them across, the others were obliged to be left on the opposite shore for the night. The men were completely drenched with wet and benumbed with cold in consequence of which, and the continued rain, keeping guard will be dispensed with tonight.

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<sup>1</sup> Snake.

<sup>2</sup> Fish-hook Bend.

Saturday, May 8th.

Incessant rain all day.

Another attempt, without success, was made to cross the remaining horses in the morning, but towards evening they were all got across but one, which ran off and could not be caught; the most of them had to be crossed by the cord. One was missing in the morning and cannot be found; we cannot tell whether he strayed or attempted to cross the river in the night, and was drowned; it is not likely that he was stolen. The men were again soaked with wet and cold. The poor Indian rendered us all the assistance in his power.

Sunday, May 9th.

Sent across the river for the horse that could not be found yesterday and to seek for the one that is missing; no marks of the latter could be found. We then loaded the horses, when two men were again sent off in quest of the stray horse, and the others moved on to Nez Perces,<sup>1</sup> where we arrived about 1 o'clock. The other two men arrived towards evening without seeing any trace of the horse.

Monday, May 10th.

Heavy rain in the night and forepart of the day, and stormy.

We intended to have crossed the horses to the opposite side of the river this evening and have started tomorrow, but the wind raised such a swell in the river that swimming the horses across was impracticable without a great risk of drowning them.

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<sup>1</sup> Fort Walla Walla at mouth of Walla Walla River.

Tuesday, May 11th.

Fair weather, but blowing strong all day.

On account of the roughness of the weather and the swell in the river, crossing the horses could not be attempted, which has delayed us another day. This I regret as this cool weather is favorable for marching, and not so fatiguing for the horses as when the heat is great.

Wednesday, May 12th.

Stormy in the morning, but calm, fine weather afternoon.

After the weather moderated, received 16 horses from Mr. Black,<sup>1</sup> making our whole number 50, and got them across the river safe. It was late by the time the baggage and everything was across the river.<sup>2</sup> I received another man, J. Baker, here and changed one of my men, Pierre, for J. Guy, to accompany us as guide. We also received 15 quarts of corn, 35 pieces of salmon and a little horse meat in addition to our provisions, also some ammunition and tobacco to procure an Indian guide below. Baker is a man from Vancouver, and has been waiting here for us since the express passed.

Tuesday, May 13th.

Some heavy showers during the day.

The men were on the river by daylight collecting the horses, one of them was missing, and although all hands were seeking him in every direction till four o'clock, no marks of him could be discovered. We then gave up hopes of finding him, and started with the rest, but some time after, met an Indian who had also been seeking him. It was said that he had been got from an Indian below, and was going back to where

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Black, afterward murdered at Kamloops, but then at Fort Walla Walla.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Walla Walla River, then in flood.

his master usually resided. From the distance he went I suspect he was taken the lend of by some Indian who prefers riding to walking. On account of the delay, we made but a short day's journey, only across the point where the road falls on the river, and it was late when we reached the plain. But indifferent feeding for the horses.

Wednesday, May 14th.

Some heavy showers in the night and during the day.

Kept guard over the horses during the night, and got under way by 6 o'clock. Came on at a brisk rate and encamped in the evening a good piece below Big Island,<sup>1</sup> stopped in the middle of the day to feed and repose. The road was generally good. Passed some lodges of Indians from whom we received a little salmon. There are not many Indians on the river, and what little fish they get is barely sufficient for themselves. From their miserably lean appearance it may be supposed they have not known what a plentitude of food is for some time past.

Thursday, May 15th.

Heavy showers in the night, fair weather during the day.

Continued our journey before 6 o'clock, and encamped before 5 in the evening at a little lake on the hill, a little above Day's River. We stopped thus early on account of it being a good feeding place for the horses; and that probably another such is not to be found before we would be obliged to camp where the road we mean to follow strikes into the country from the river. Some of the horses were also a good deal fatigued, and need a little repose. The road during this day's journey was frequently, but indifferent, being in many places stony and again sandy, which made the marching heavy and fatiguing for the horses.

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<sup>1</sup> Near Castle Rock.



Passed several lodges of Indians, from whom we obtained enough of salmon for breakfast. Stopped 3 1-2 hours in the middle of the day to rest and feed the horses.

Friday, May 16th.

Very warm, sultry weather.

Resumed our journey past 5 o'clock. Left the river and struck into the country, and again fell on the Columbia at the little river<sup>1</sup> below the Dalles at 6 o'clock in the evening, where we encamped. The object of taking this route was to avoid the Dalles and chutes, where numbers of Indians are collected at this season, and likewise for a better road, as that along the river is very hilly and stony.<sup>2</sup> The road we took was very hilly and stony in places on leaving the river. Afterwards the road lay through a plain, and is good till nearly falling on the river, where it is for a considerable distance woody and some very steep hills. On account of the heat, the horses are a good deal jaded.

Saturday, May 17th.

Weather warm and sultry.

The Columbia is so high it is impracticable to cross the horses at the entrance of the little river, the usual crossing place; we had, therefore, to seek another place which we found a few miles up the river, and, with a good deal of trouble got the horses across by 11 o'clock, when we moved on about 3 hours, when we encamped in consequence of engaging a guide to take us by another road, as that on the banks of the river, on account of the height of the water, is considered very difficult, if not impassable in places. The road we were to pursue by the interior is said not to occupy

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<sup>1</sup> Mill Creek.

<sup>2</sup> The immigrants did the same in later years.

more than four days. This, however, I much doubt, but if we get done in six days it will be very well. The road is said to be good enough except a mountain that is to cross and where there is likely to be some snow yet. Our interpreter, J. Guy, does not fully understand the Indians. I have heard it said that formerly some freemen came from Vancouver to opposite The Dalles on horse by this route in three days. This used to be a grand war road of the Kyauses and Nez Perces to go down to Kersinous village. We delayed the aft part of the day till our guide would get ready to accompany us, however.

Sunday, May 18th.

Clear, very warm weather.

Our Indian guide was not ready to accompany us till 7 o'clock, when we proceeded on our journey, and encamped at past 6 o'clock in the evening at a place at the foot of Mt. St. Helens,<sup>1</sup> which is north of us, on the great Kyauses road which we are to pursue across the mountains. On leaving the river, we ascended hills of considerable height, and, but thinly wooded, but on reaching the summit we found the country thickly wooded, which mostly continued so to our encampment. The road lay over hills, some of them very steep, and steep valleys. We crossed some small rivers, but the water is not high, having recently fallen a great deal, which lead us to infer that there is but little snow on the mountains—a great deal of snow to obstruct our passage gave us some concern. Though we marched all day, except about 3 hours we stopped for the horses to feed; we have not made a long day's journey; owing to the hilliness of the roads, sometimes we had an Indian road, and sometimes we had none. We were in expectation every hill we ascended of seeing the fine plain the Indians said the road lay through, but there was none

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<sup>1</sup> Mt. Adams.

till the one we are now at. Had we had a guide, we might have come in a much shorter time from Walla Walla to this place through the plains, or in fact from any part of the Columbia above the chutes. The road that way must be good, as it lies through the plains with little wood and few hills. Though we were told we would be only three nights of getting to the Fort, our guide now tells us that we will be 8 or 10, and represents the road as being difficult, independent of the snow. As we are now close to the mountain, which is the worst part of it, it is determined to try it, and should it be found impassable to turn back and gain the Columbia again. Our guide's brother also accompanied him in order to be with him coming back. Another lad also started to accompany us on foot, so that there are three of them with us. We did not expect to see an Indian here yet they made their appearance shortly after we encamped.

Monday, May 19th.

Fine, warm weather forepart of the day, but towards evening it became stormy with a great deal of thunder and very heavy rain.

Continued our journey before 6 o'clock, and encamped at 4 o'clock at a little plain. We had gone a little farther into the woods to gain the foot of the mountains which we were to pass, but we intend to return to this place that the horses might have some feeding. The road today was good; it lies through rather clear woods not often thicketty and but few hills. In the morning we crossed the river<sup>1</sup> that empties itself into the Columbia, between The Dalles and Cascades. It runs its waters to the northwest of Mt. St. Helen,<sup>2</sup> where we forded, it is a considerable stream and the current very strong, but the waters appear to have fallen greatly lately. During the forepart of the day the ground among the trees

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<sup>1</sup> The White Salmon.

<sup>2</sup> Mt. Adams.

was clothed with verdure and flowers, but afterwards several patches of snow was seen in the woods, and the rest of the ground seemed to be freed of it, not long since, and vegetation has yet made but small progress. From where we are encamped, there are two roads to cross the mountains; that to the right is represented to be the best road, but at the same time likely to have more snow in it than the other. Our guide has decided, therefore, to take the latter. Payette, accompanied by the Indian, went a good piece into the wood with the intention of proceeding to foot of the mountain to examine it, but the Indian got tired and returned. So far as they went, the road is not bad, and the snow, which is only in patches, not deep. The Indian says it is all the same way to the mountains, and that though the snow is deeper that in a day he expects he will get over the whole of it.

Tuesday, May 20th.

Stormy. Showers in the morning, and drizzling rain the most of the day.

In order to allow the horses to feed and have their bellies full, lest we might be a night on the mountains without food, we did not move camp today; the grass is not good, but the horses got a little.

Wednesday, May 21st.

Fine, fair weather.

At an early hour we were on the move and crossed the dreaded mountains<sup>1</sup> by midday, but one of the horses stepping off the road in a thicket of woods was left and had to be sent back for, which prevented us from proceeding in the afternoon. We are here on the side of a nearly bare hill, which yields tolerable good feeding for the horses. The road across the mountains is not bad nor is the mountain itself

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<sup>1</sup> Wind River Mts.



very high. In some spots the snow is pretty deep, but not as much so as to retard our progress. From the top of the hill where we are now encamped there is an extensive view and nothing to be seen but mountains and deep valleys as far as the eye can reach, Mt. St. Helen<sup>1</sup> is but a short distance to the northeast, and Mt. Rainier<sup>2</sup> bears north, at still a shorter distance. Mt. Baker,<sup>3</sup> I suppose, is seen at a great distance between the two. We are still but a short way from the Columbia, immediately beyond it is seen Mt. Hood, and further off another high, snowy mountain, Mt. Jefferson. Several of the lower mountains are thickly covered with snow and many patches extending low in the valleys. None of these mountains seem to be continued ridges, but scattered about in every direction. The country through which we have to pass tomorrow has a bad appearance, all burnt woods.

Thursday, May 22nd.

Fine, warm weather.

Recommenced our journey at past 5 o'clock, and by noon fell upon the road which we left on the other side of the mountain. The country we passed through this forenoon is dreadfully bad, a considerable portion of it burnt woods, immense trees fallen in every direction, and several deep ravines to cross, very steep for the horses to ascend and descend. Besides the woods are thicketty, and large fallen trees are so numerous that we could scarcely get any way found through it. There is no way through this space. The road by which we crossed the mountain went in another direction and was lost. In the afternoon the road lay also through burnt woods, but being.....was pretty good except frequently barred with large fallen trees. We encamped at 5 o'clock in a place where there is scarcely a mouthful of grass for the horses, and,

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1 Mt. Adams.

2 St. Helens.

3 Mt. Rainier.

what is worse, we will be two nights more without anything for them to eat. This was an exceedingly harassing day, both for men and horses; the latter on account of the heat of the day, and the difficulty of the road, particularly jumping over the large trees and ascending the steep hills, are completely jaded; one of them stopped on the road, but was got up to the camp in the evening. The ridge, our road lay in this afternoon, is divided from the foot of Mt. Rainier,<sup>1</sup> by a deep valley and river along which our road lay.

Friday, May 23rd.

Proceeded on our journey about 5 o'clock, and in less than 3 hours descended a steep hill and fell upon the river. During this distance, the road was the same, and through the same sort of country as yesterday. There is a pretty broad and very rapid river, its banks covered with thick woods, at this place burnt. Here a river falls in from the southward, which has now but little water. The main river seems to run towards the W. N. W. Our road here lies on the north shore of it. After some search, we found a fordable place, and with some trouble, got across a little past noon, and continued our journey. The woods were burnt and the road barred with immense large fallen trees through which we made our way with a great deal of difficulty, and much labor, both to men and horses, particularly the latter; indeed, it is surprising they don't break their legs. We encamped at past 6 o'clock. No grass for the horses.

Saturday, May 24th.

Fine weather till towards evening, when there was some heavy rain.

Continued our journey before 6 o'clock, and had proceeded but a short distance till we came to where the road used to

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<sup>1</sup> Mt. St. Helens.

pass along some beaches in the river, but the water is now so high that it is impassable; the luggage we had had to be carried along the side of a steep hill by the men, where they were in danger of tumbling into the river, and the horses taken up by the hill, a very steep and difficult road which fatigued them greatly; indeed, both men and horses were exhausted in the evening, though the distance we made is not more than 5 or 6 miles. To avoid losing the horses we used to guard them in the night, but, as there is not grass and only leaves for them to eat, we let them loose tonight so that they may pick up what they can, as it is to be apprehended they will get so weak with hunger that they will not be able to march. Two Indians came to us in the evening, and have agreed to accompany us to the crossing place, and point out the best road to us as they are better acquainted with the country than our guide.

Sunday, May 25th.

Rained constantly almost all day.

Started early, and with our new guide got on pretty well. The road through thick woods and over several steep hills; the road less difficult than these days past. One of our horses gave up, and we could not delay to let him rest; and as he would have been lost, he was killed and the meat, bad as it is, brought in to serve us till we got to the Fort. Our provisions are getting short. All hands were wet to the skin. The horses have very little grass among the bushes this evening.

Monday, May 26th.

Fair weather, but the bushes still hang with wet.

Continued our journey early and arrived at a small plain not far from the crossing place at 5 o'clock, where we encamped. The road lay through thick woods and over some steep hills. Found a small plain at noon where we stopped to

let the horses feed 3 hours. Where we are encamped is a good feeding place, and much need they have of it. One of the horses, so jaded that he stopped and could not be got on with the others. Sent a man and an Indian to bring him on after he rests a little. We mean to remain here tomorrow to allow the horses to repose and feed, of which they are in much need.

Thursday, May 27th.

Fine weather till towards evening, when it rained a little.

Did not move camp today, but remained to allow the horses to feed and repose.

Friday, May 28th.

Fair weather in the morning, heavy rain towards evening.

We moved camp at an early hour, reached the river<sup>1</sup> at 10 o'clock and got across it with all the luggage, horses, etc., by noon, and by 5 in the evening encamped at a plain where there is good feeding for the horses for the night. Our road to the traverse was as difficult as usual, and after crossing the river, we had a very steep hill to mount, which took us nearly 3 hours to ascend, and was very fatiguing, both for horses and men, though the road is pretty good. The road afterward was better than usual. There are some Indians encamped not far from us, but they fled to the hills on our appearance, supposing we were enemies.

Saturday, May 29th.

Heavy rain all day.

Proceeded on our journey at 6 o'clock, and encamped in a swamp at 5, which is the only place we saw to stop at during the day. Part of the road today was pretty good, being through clean pine woods, but a great deal of it was very

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<sup>1</sup> Washougal.



difficult. Crossed a pretty broad river, which was a branch of the one we left yesterday, and on leaving it had a long hill to ascend with a bad road. Several more of our horses getting very weak, notwithstanding the slow rate at which we march. The Indians tell us that we will be only another night in getting to the Fort, and that the road is better. This we have been frequently told, and found it not to be so.

Sunday, May 30th.

Rained part of the day, fair towards evening.

Continued our journey at 6 o'clock, and encamped in another swamp, the only stopping place we saw during the day, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on account of some of the weak horses not being able to come up. We had few hills today; the road was, nevertheless, full as difficult. As usual, a great deal of burnt fallen wood which was very ill to get through as it repeatedly barred up the road; there was also several boggy places which were very hard upon the weak horses. Our custom has been to keep the weak horses behind, so that they might have the advantage of a little road after the others all passing through the bad places of fallen woods, thickets, etc. Hamdijna was behind today with four, one of which, a very weak one, stuck in a bog and he was not able to get him out. He came up with us, and Payette and a man went back to aid him and get the horse out of the bog, but he was so weak that he could not rise, and it is expected he will be dead before morning. During that time another of the weak ones, a white mare, strayed and could not be found. The old man became confused in his difficulties and cannot tell exactly about where they lost him, but he is confident he had him at another bog, a little farther off where he had some difficulty getting another of the horses out. I marched ahead with the guide, myself and \* \* \* brings up the rear, but today he came on with one of the middle brigades or probably none of the horses would have been mis-

sing, as he is an excellent hand with the horses in the woods.

The men were completely drenched with rain all day yesterday and most of today, for though it did not rain today, the bushes are so charged with wet that a continual shower was falling as we passed through them. The road, exceedingly harassing all day, and men and horses much fatigued. It was past sunset when the men arrived, that were seeking the stray mare, and taking the horses out of the bog. Had it not been for the delay caused by their misfortunes, we meant to have gone on a little further to a fine plain which our guides represent to be ahead a little way.

Monday, May 31st.

The horse which was dragged out of the bog yesterday evening was dead this morning. The other that was missing and another which had also strayed were not found till 11 o'clock, when we started, and arrived at Fort Vancouver at 7 o'clock in the evening with 48 of our 50 horses, several of them nearly worn out \* \* \* The road for some distance in the morning was as bad as usual until we got into a pretty boggy place which is so overflowed with water at this season that it may be called a swamp, where, though the road is soft, it is infinitely superior to the thickets we have been passing for some time back. After passing this plain we had another part of woods, through which the road is good, then a fine dry plain, and another part of woods where the road is good, when we fell upon the plain on which the Fort stands, all the low parts of which is now under water, the Columbia being unusually high at this season. We are glad our difficult and troublesome journey is finished.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF JOHN BROWN'S RAID  
UPON HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA,  
OCTOBER 17-18, 1859<sup>1</sup>

[The semi-centennial anniversary in the month of October of John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry makes a reprint of the Secretary of War's report of the affair to Congress apropos. The editor of the Quarterly is indebted to Hon. Thomas W. Prosch, of Seattle for the suggestion and the text of this report.]

The recent conspiracy and effort at insurrection and plunder attempted at Harper's Ferry constitutes altogether one of the most surprising and startling episodes in the history of our country. A fanatical man, stimulated to recklessness and desperation by the constant teachings and intemperate appeals of wild and treasonable enthusiasts, unrestrained by the Constitution and laws of the land, by the precepts of religion, by the appeals of humanity or of mercy, formed a conspiracy to make a sudden descent upon the people of Harper's Ferry, to rob the arsenal, plunder the public property, and stir up servile insurrection. The plan devised and the mode of executing it were such as to promise every hope of success. The conspirators rented a farm in the State of Maryland, within a few miles of Harper's Ferry, where they remained for some months, apparently following peaceful, probably useful pursuits; during which time they took effectual means to conciliate the kind feelings of the people of the adjacent country, and particularly those of the village of Harper's Ferry. They became perfectly familiar with all the localities of the place,

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<sup>1</sup> Part of the Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-sixth Congress.

streets, houses, arsenals and workshops, so that its contemplated seizure might be effected at any hour of the night without confusion or any usual movement calculated to attract attention or arouse suspicion. They knew, perfectly, the universal and unsuspecting security of the entire population. Up to the night of that attack there never was a man, within the Commonwealth of Virginia, who went to his bed with the slightest apprehension of danger from attack by citizens of the United States in any numbers, from any region, or for any purpose whatever. The sense of profound security was perfect and absolute. Having also no apprehension whatever of the slave population (and this assurance was fully justified by the event), nothing could be more favorable for the consummation of the diabolical designs of the conspirators. Having cut the telegraphic wires, they entered, under the cover of night, unmolested and unobserved, into the village, seized upon the solitary watchman placed at the arsenal as protection against fire only, and possessed themselves speedily of all the buildings containing arms or suitable for defense. The next movement was to seize the principal men of the place, with whom their long residence near there had made them acquainted, and confine them securely under their own control. These arrests were made singly, and, in every instance, by several perfectly armed men, who conveyed their prisoners to the place of confinement. This process was carried on throughout the night, and extended not only to the village, but to the country around.

When the morning came, and the state of things was partially discovered, the people of the village gathered to the scene of confusion about the arsenal. The conspirators now commenced to fire upon the citizens. Then, for the first time, did the atrocious designs of these men fully appear, and, strange as it may seem, it was only then discovered that the citizens of the place were almost wholly without arms and ammunition of any sort. Presently, however, some arms and ammunition not in possession of the plunderers were found, when the men of the village, and those who had assembled



from the neighborhood, arming themselves, immediately returned the fire of the assailants with such effect that in the course of a few hours they were driven from their positions, and all either killed or wounded, with the exception of the leader and half a dozen others of his party, who were driven into an engine-house, whither they fled for security. They carried along with them ten or twelve of the prisoners they had taken the night before, who were to be used as hostages, as the robbers alleged, to prevent the fire of the citizens outside from being directed towards themselves in the house where they had taken shelter.

Throughout the whole day on Monday, from twelve o'clock, at which time intelligence of the outbreak reached this city, the most exaggerated accounts were received of the state of things at Harper's Ferry, and the number of persons engaged in it. Prompt measures, however, were taken, and Brevet Colonel Robert E. Lee, of the First Cavalry, was at once summoned to take command of a detachment of marines and two companies of volunteers from Frederick, Maryland, who had promptly offered their services. The troops left this city by the afternoon train, and, taking up the volunteers on the way, reached the scene of action during the night.

The next morning, at an early hour, Colonel Lee gave orders to the marines to attack and carry the house where the conspirators were strongly barricaded, which was very promptly and gallantly done, with the loss of one man killed, another wounded. Colonel Lee's report of his proceedings is herewith communicated, which gives all other information on the subject thought to be of interest.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN B. FLOYD,

*Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT.

PAPERS ACCOMPANYING THE REPORT OF  
THE SECRETARY OF WAR

DISTURBANCES AT HARPER'S FERRY.

*Colonel Lea to the Adjutant General.*

HEADQUARTERS HARPER'S FERRY,

October 19, 1859.

Colonel: I have the honor to report, for the information of the Secretary of War, that on arriving here on the night of the 17th instant, in obedience to Special Orders No. 194 of that date from your office, I learned that a party of insurgents, about 11 p. m. on the 16th, had seized the watchman stationed at the armory, arsenal, rifle factory, and bridge across the Potomac, and taken possession of those points. They then dispatched six men, under one of their party, called Captain Aaron C. Stevens, to arrest the principal citizens in the neighborhood and incite the negroes to join in the insurrection. The party took Colonel L. W. Washington from his bed about 1:30 a. m. on the 17th, and brought him, with four of his servants, to this place. Mr. J. H. Allstadt and six of his servants were in the same manner seized about 3 a. m., and arms placed in the hands of the negroes. Upon their return here, John E. Cooke, one of the party sent to Mr. Washington's, was dispatched to Maryland, with Mr. Washington's wagon, two of his servants, and three of Mr. Allstadt's, for arms and ammunition, etc. As day advanced, and the citizens of Harper's Ferry commenced their usual avocations, they were separately captured, to the number of forty, as well as I could learn, and confined in one room of the fire-engine house of the armory, which seems early to have been selected as a point of defense. About 11 a. m. the volunteer companies from Virginia began to arrive, and the Jefferson Guards and volunteers from

Charlestown, under Captain J. W. Rowen, I understood, were first on the grounds. The Hamtrack Guards, Captain V. M. Butler; the Shepherdstown troop, Captain Jacob Reinhart; and Captain Alburtis' company from Martinsburg arrived in the afternoon. These companies, under the direction of Colonels R. W. Baylor and John T. Gibson, forced the insurgents to abandon their positions at the bridge and in the village, and to withdraw within the armory inclosure, where they fortified themselves in the fire-engine house, and carried ten of their prisoners for the purpose of insuring their safety and facilitating their escape, whom they termed hostages, and whose names are Colonel L. W. Washington, of Jefferson County, Virginia; Mr. J. H. Allstadt, of Jefferson County, Virginia; Mr. Israel Russell, Justice of the Peace, Harper's Ferry; Mr. John Donahue, clerk of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; Mr. Terence Byrne, of Maryland; Mr. George D. Shope, of Frederick, Maryland; Mr. Benjamin Mills, master armorer, Harper's Ferry arsenal; Mr. A. M. Ball, master machinist, Harper's Ferry arsenal; Mr. J. E. P. Dangerfield, paymaster's clerk, Harper's Ferry arsenal; Mr. J. Burd, armorer, Harper's Ferry arsenal. After sunset more troops arrived. Captain B. B. Washington's Company, from Winchester, and three companies from Fredericktown, Maryland, under Colonel Shriver. Later in the evening the companies from Baltimore, under General Charles C. Edgerton, second light brigade, and a detachment of marines, commanded by Lieutenant J. Green, accompanied by Major Russell, of that corps, reached Sandy Hook, about one and a half miles east of Harper's Ferry. At this point I came up with these last-named troops, and leaving General Edgerton and his command on the Maryland side of the river for the night, caused the marines to proceed to Harper's Ferry, and placed them within the armory grounds to prevent the possibility of the escape of the insurgents. Having taken measures to halt, in Baltimore, the artillery companies ordered from Fort Monroe, I made preparations to attack the insurgents at daylight. But for the fear of sacrific-

ing the lives of some of the gentlemen held by them as prisoners in a midnight assault, I should have ordered the attack at once.

Their safety was the subject of painful consideration, and to prevent, if possible, jeopardizing their lives, I determined to summon the insurgents to surrender. As soon after daylight as the arrangements were made, Lieutenant J. E. B. Stewart, 1st cavalry, who had accompanied me from Washington as staff officer, was dispatched, under a flag, with a written summons (a copy of which is hereto annexed, marked A). Knowing the character of the leader of the insurgents, I did not expect it would be accepted. I had therefore directed that the volunteer troops, under their respective commanders, should be paraded on the lines assigned them outside the army, and had prepared a storming party of twelve marines, under their commander, Lieutenant Green, and had placed them close to the engine-house, and secure from its fire. Three marines were furnished with sledge-hammers to break in the doors, and the men were instructed how to distinguish our citizens from the insurgents; to attack with the bayonet, and not to injure the blacks detained in custody unless they resisted. Lieutenant Stewart was also directed not to receive from the insurgents any counter propositions. If they accepted the terms offered, they must immediately deliver up their arms and release their prisoners. If they did not, he must, on leaving the engine-house, give me the signal. My object was, with a view of saving our citizens, to have as short an interval as possible between the summons and attack. The summons, as I had anticipated, was rejected. At the concerted signal the storming party moved quickly to the door and commenced the attack. The fire-engines within the house had been placed by the besieged close to the doors. The doors were fastened by ropes, the spring of which prevented their being broken by the blows of the hammers. The men were, therefore, ordered to drop the hammers, and, with a portion of the reserve, to use as a battering-ram a heavy ladder, with which they dashed in a part of



the door and gave admittance to the storming party. The fire of the insurgents up to this time had been harmless. At the threshold one marine fell mortally wounded. The rest, led by Lieutenant Green and Major Russell, quickly ended the contest. The insurgents that resisted were bayoneted. Their leader, John Brown, was cut down by the sword of Lieutenant Green, and our citizens were protected by both officers and men. The whole was over in a few minutes.

After our citizens were liberated and the wounded cared for, Lieutenant Colonel S. S. Mills, of the 53d Maryland regiment, with the Baltimore Independent Greys, Lieutenant B. F. Simpson commanding, was sent on the Maryland side of the river to search for John E. Cooke, and to bring in the arms, &c., belonging to the insurgent party, which were said to be deposited in a school-house two and a half miles distant. Subsequently Lieutenant J. E. B. Stewart, with a party of marines, was dispatched to the Kennedy farm, situated in Maryland, about four and a half miles from Harper's Ferry, which had been rented by John Brown, and used as the depot for his men and munitions. Colonel Mills saw nothing of Cooke, but found the boxes of arms (Sharp's carbines and belt revolvers), and recovered Mr. Washington's wagon and horses. Lieutenant Stewart found also at the Kennedy farm a number of sword pikes, blankets, shoes, tents, and all the necessaries for a campaign. These articles have been deposited in the government storehouse at the armory.

From the information derived from the papers found upon the persons and among the baggage of the insurgents, and the statement of those now in custody, it appears that the party consisted of 19 men—14 white, and 5 black. That they were headed by John Brown, of some notoriety in Kansas, who in June last located himself in Maryland, at the Kennedy farm, where he has been engaged in preparing to capture the United States works at Harper's Ferry. He avows that his object was the liberation of the slaves of Virginia, and of the whole South; and acknowledges that he has been disappointed in his

expectations of aid from the black as well as white population, both in the southern and northern States. The blacks whom he forced from their homes in this neighborhood, as far as I could learn, gave him no voluntary assistance. The servants of Messrs. Washington and Allstadt, retained at the armory, took no part in the conflict, and those carried to Maryland returned to their homes as soon as released. The result proves that the plan was the attempt of a fanatic or madman, which could only end in failure; and its temporary success was owing to the panic and confusion he succeeded in creating by magnifying his numbers. I append a list of the insurgents (marked B.) Cooke is the only man known to have escaped. The other survivors of the expedition, viz.: John Brown, A. C. Stevens, Edwin Coppee, and Green Shields (*alias* S. Emperor), I have delivered into the hands of the marshal of the western district of Virginia and the sheriff of Jefferson county. They were escorted to Charlestown by a detachment of marines, under Lieutenant Green. About 9 o'clock this evening I received a report from Mr. Moore, from Pleasant Valley, Maryland, that a body of men had, about sunset, descended from the mountains, attacked the house of Mr. Genett, and from the cries of murder and the screams of the women and children, he believed the residents of the valley were being massacred. The alarm and excitement in the village of Harper's Ferry was increased by the arrival of families from Sandy Hook fleeing for safety. The report was, however, so improbable that I could give no credence to it, yet I thought it possible that some atrocity might have been committed, and I started with twenty-five marines, under Lieutenant Green, accompanied by Lieutenant Stewart, for the scene of the alleged outrage, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant. I was happy to find it a false alarm. The inhabitants of Pleasant Valley were quiet and unharmed, and Mr. Genett and his family safe and asleep.

I will now, in obedience to your dispatch of this date, direct the detachment of marines to return to the navy yard at Washington, in the train that passes here at  $1\frac{1}{4}$  a. m. tonight, and

will myself take advantage of the same train to report to you in person at the War Department. I must also ask to express my thanks to Lieutenant Stewart, Major Russell, and Lieutenant Green, for the aid they afforded me, and my entire commendation of the conduct of the detachment of marines, who were at all times ready and prompt in the execution of any duty.

The promptness with which the volunteer troops repaired to the scene of disturbance, and the alacrity they displayed to suppress the gross outrage against law and order, I know will elicit your hearty approbation. Equal zeal was shown by the president and officers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in their transportation of the troops, and in their readiness to furnish the facilities of their well-ordered road.

A list of the killed and wounded, as far as came to my knowledge, is herewith annexed (marked C); and I inclose a copy of the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," of which there were a large number prepared for issue by the insurgents.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, *Colonel Commanding.*

Colonel S. COOPER,

*Adjutant General U. S. Army, Washington City, D. C.*

A.

HEADQUARTERS HARPER'S FERRY,

October 18, 1859.

Colonel Lee, United States army, commanding the troops sent by the president of the United States to suppress the insurrection at this place, demands the surrender of the persons in the armory buildings.

If they will peaceably surrender themselves and restore the pillaged property, they shall be kept in safety to await the orders of the President. Colonel Lee represents to them, in all

frankness, that it is impossible for them to escape; that the armory is surrounded on all sides by troops; and that if he is compelled to take them by force he cannot answer for their safety.

R. E. LEE,  
*Colonel Commanding United States Troops.*

## B.

*List of Insurgents.—14.*

John Brown, of New York, commander-in-chief, badly wounded; prisoner.

Aaron C. Stevens, Connecticut, captain, badly wounded; prisoner.

Edward Coppee, Iowa, lieutenant, unhurt; prisoner.

Oliver Brown, New York, captain; killed.

Watson Brown, New York, captain; killed.

Albert Hazlett, Pennsylvania, lieutenant; killed.

William Leman, Maine, lieutenant; killed.

Stuart Taylor, Canada, private; killed.

Charles P. Tidd, Maine, private; killed.

William Thompson, New York, private; killed.

Adolph Thompson, New York, private; killed.

John Kagi, Ohio, private; killed.

Jeremiah Anderson, Indiana, private; killed.

John E. Cooke, Connecticut, captain; escaped.

*Negroes.—5.*

Dangerfield, Newly, Ohio; killed.

Louis Leary, Oberlin, Ohio; killed.

Green Shields, (alias Emperor,) New York, unhurt; prisoner.

Copeland, Oberlin, Ohio; prisoner.

O. P. Anderson, Pennsylvania, unaccounted for.



## C.

*List of the killed and wounded by the Insurgents.—14.*

Fontaine Beckham, railroad agent and mayor of Harper's Ferry; killed.

G. W. Turner, Jefferson county, Virginia; killed.

Thomas Boerly, Harper's Ferry; killed.

Heywood Shepherd, negro, railroad porter; killed.

Private Quinn, marine corps; killed.

Mr. Murphy; wounded.

Mr. Young; wounded.

Mr. Richardson; wounded.

Mr. Hammond; wounded.

Mr. McCabe; wounded.

Mr. Dorsey; wounded.

Mr. Hooper; wounded.

Mr. Woollet; wounded.

Private Rupert, marine corps; wounded.

*Colonel Lee to the Secretary of War.*

HARPER'S FERRY ARSENAL,

October 18, 1859.

SIR: Upon a more deliberate examination of the wounds of O. Brown, they are believed not to be mortal. He has three wounds, but they are not considered by the surgeon as bad as first reported. Please direct me what to do with him and the other white prisoners.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE,

*Colonel Commanding.*

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR,  
*Washington, D. C.*

## A HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE

Editorial Notes by T. C. Elliott.

The marriage certificate, herewith reproduced in facsimile, is interesting to students of Oregon history as an illustration of the procedure provided by the rules of the Hudson's Bay Company for the marriage of their officers and employes in the Fur Country under conditions of residence where a ceremony and certificate by a representative of the church or a magistrate were usually impossible. In addition to the issuance of such a certificate as this by the Chief Factor or Chief Trader or Chief Clerk in charge at any fort or post, a record was ordered to be made on the journal kept at that particular fort, and this record became a part of the annual report to the Deputy Governor and Council at York Factory or Norway House. In this manner the Deputy Governor was kept informed of any alliances entered into, and was, when necessary, able to exert a moral influence through the power of the Council to withhold promotions and regulate appointments to this and that district; and all officers were under personal bond to the Company.

It may be truthfully said that the character of the factors, traders and clerks of the company was, as a rule, so high that the marriage relation, although with women of Indian blood, was held in high respect. While for actual protection of life, as well as furtherance of trade in remote districts or during dangerous expeditions, marriage of a temporary nature with Indian women was under exceptional instances indulged in, children by any such marriage appear to have been educated and provided for by the father. At Fort Vancouver, in June, 1840, it would have been possible to have arranged a ceremony by a priest of the Catholic faith or a Protestant minister, but

the company method was preferred. It may be added that this form of common law marriage, so called, will stand in almost any court of England or the United States today.

The certificate is also interesting because of the autographs it contains—that of Dr. John McLoughlin, the “Father of Oregon”; that of Archibald McDonald, one of the most competent and trusted chief traders of the Company, who from 1830 to 1833 commanded at Fort Langley on the Fraser River, and who was for so many years in charge of Fort Colvile on the upper Columbia, the chief fort of the interior; whose annual letters, whether addressed to Edward Ermatinger in Upper Canada or to John MacLeod at Norway House, reveal so much of the personnel and events of the Columbia district; that of Alex. C. Anderson, another prominent clerk and chief trader, for many years stationed at Fort Vancouver, and whose manuscripts are in the Bancroft collection at Berkeley; also those of Archibald McKinlay and his wife, who resided near Oregon City and Champoege from 1846 until Mr. McKinlay, in common with so many others, was ruined financially by the floods of December, 1860, and in 1861 or 1862 removed with his family to Lac La Hache in British Columbia. There they resided for more than twenty years; but their last years were spent at the hospitable home of their own daughter, Sarah (wife of the kind and courteous Mr. A. B. Ferguson), at Savona’s Ferry at the end of Lake Kamloops. Their graves are in the little cemetery on the hill across the Thompson River from Savona’s, indistinctly seen from passing trains on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Sarah Julia Ogden was the favorite daughter of Peter Skene Ogden, named Sarah after that of his own mother, who was from an aristocratic family of Livingston Manor near New York City, and Julia after that of his wife, who was a woman of no uncommon attainments from the Spokane tribe of Indians. Sarah Julia Ogden was born, according to the family record, on January 1st, 1826, so that in June, 1840, she was in her fifteenth year; and Archibald McKinlay was fifteen years

her senior. Her father had been since 1835 stationed at Fort St. James on Lake Stuart (British Columbia) in charge of the New Caledonia district, and his family resided with him there, and Mr. McKinlay was a clerk in the same district. It is probable that the daughter was educated for the most part at home, but, perhaps, had been at Fort Vancouver attending school previous to her marriage. In 1841 Mr. McKinlay was placed in charge of Fort Walla Walla and remained there until 1846, when he was promoted to be chief trader and went to Oregon City to take charge of the company's business there. Some time after the treaty of 1846 he succeeded to the business as member of the firm of Allan, McKinlay & Co. He became an American citizen and took title to a donation land claim on the outskirts of Oregon City and the house he built and occupied on that claim is still standing. Afterward he was engaged in raising stock on a farm on the west side of the Willamette opposite Champoeg.

If the story be true, Sarah Julia Ogden, during her infancy, was an innocent participant in an exciting episode among the mountains or on the plains of Southern Idaho. The story goes that during one of the trapping expeditions of her father, at a time when there was strenuous rivalry with the American trappers, the camp of Mr. Ogden was raided one morning and the horses stampeded, and that one of the horses with a baby strapped to its board and tied to the saddle ran into the camp of the Americans, but that the mother of the child, Mrs. Ogden, followed right into the camp, caught and mounted the horse and made off, and on the way caught and led away a packhorse loaded with furs; while the American trappers shouted and threatened with their rifles but were too gallant to shoot. Joseph L. Meek gave this story to Mrs. Victor and it appears in "The River of the West," but Mr. Meek had not come to the mountains until 1829, after Mr. Ogden had made his last trip to the Snake country. Miss Laut in her "Conquest of the Great Northwest," published in 1908, gives the same



incident as of the year 1825; but this is a trifle early for Miss Sarah to have been present.

Doubtless some such incident occurred during some Indian raid and became a common tale among the trappers, and Joseph L. Meek easily attached the Ogden name and American gallantry to it. It is fairly certain that the rival trapping parties did not raid each others' camps. The writer is in possession of a copy of the journals of Peter Skene Ogden during the period of his command of the Snake Country Brigades, and these make no mention of any such incident, or of his family accompanying him; and probably they did not.











THE QUARTERLY  
OF THE  
**Oregon Historical Society.**

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Volume X

DECEMBER, 1909

Number 4

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[The Quarterly disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.]

**THE PETER SKENE OGDEN JOURNALS**

EDITORIAL NOTES BY T. C. ELLIOTT.

The publication of the Ogden Journals, four in number, is made possible by the courtesy of Miss Agnes C. Laut, who for a very nominal consideration indeed consented to dispose of her copy of these Journals to the writer of these notes. Miss Laut is deserving of great credit for her success in obtaining this copy from the originals in London, England.

The Journal reproduced in this number of the Quarterly covers the period of Mr. Ogden's second expedition to the Snake country. As yet no Journal has been found of the first expedition, and the reader will appreciate such brief mention of that expedition as is at this time possible from original Hudson's Bay Company sources; particularly as some new light will be thrown upon a certain oft mentioned occurrence of the fur trade involving the trapping parties of the H. B. Co. from the Columbia river and of the Americans from St. Louis. (See entry of April 10, 1826 *ultra*.)

Let it be briefly stated here that Peter Skene Ogden, then in the thirtieth year of his age and already a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the 27th of October, 1824, at the mouth of the Spokane river met (Deputy) Governor George Simpson of that Company (Gov. Simpson passed down the Columbia that Fall in company with Dr. John McLoughlin

and party to spend the Winter at Ft. George) and on the 31st Inst. following received his instructions to proceed at once to Flathead House and meet there Mr. Alexander Ross, who was returning from the Snake Country, and there refit the Snake Country party and conduct it back to the hunting grounds. These facts are taken from a Journal of John Work, now in the possession of his descendants at Victoria, B. C.

Of Mr. Ogden's party and his start toward the Snake Country at the beginning of Winter, 1824, Mr. Ross gives us some glimpse in the "Fur Hunters of the Far West," and doubtless the experiences were not much less strenuous than those of Mr. Ross the year previous; but travel across the mountains and plains in the Winter season was not then regarded as a very unusual thing. Mr. Ross in his book argues very strongly against the use of Spokane or Flathead House as a base for the Snake Country operations and doubtless emphasized this with Mr. Ogden as well as with Gov. Simpson; for the instructions were to return the party to Ft. Nez Perces (Walla Walla). From various hints here and there it is certain that during the Winter and early Spring Mr. Ogden's party trapped along the various streams forming the headwaters of Snake river and in all probability (it is not possible yet to say with certainty) then penetrated to the northerly borders of Great Salt Lake and the river and valley afterward named in his honor. The entry on June 6, 1826 (*ultra*), suggests this and he is so credited by Amer. authorities (See Bancroft Hist. Utah, pp. 21 and 22 note). The chapter entitled "The Red Feather" in that rare book, "Traits of American Indian Life and Character," may be considered a source as to the whereabouts of this party that Spring, in the opinion of the writer. Perhaps because of finding the American trappers already upon the waters flowing into the Pacific, Mr. Ogden became ambitious to cross to the waters of the Missouri; for there he was in the month of July, as shown by the Journal of Mr. Work, already mentioned, from which the following quotations are drawn.

At Ft. Okanogan on the Columbia, 1825, "Tuesday, July 26.

A little past noon an Indian arrived from Spokane with a note from Mr. Birnie and a packet which had recently reached that place from Mr. Ogden, dated East branch of the Missouri, 10th July. \* \* I deemed it my duty to open the dispatch, which I am sorry to find contains intelligence of a disagreeable nature. A series of misfortunes have attended the party from shortly after their departure, and on the 24th of May they fell in with a party of Americans, when 23 of the former deserted. Two of this party were killed, one by the Indians, and one by accident, and the remainder of the party are now coming out by the Flat Heads."

Again when on Pend d'Oreille river en route to Flat-Head House, "Monday 15th (Aug.). Embarked at 4 o'clock and reached the Indian camp at the Chutes at 11 o'clock, where I found Mr. Kittson and two men from Mr. Ogden's party with 38 packs;" and "Wed. 17th, Joachim Hubert accompanied the Indians with the horses that brought the Snake furs and a small supply of articles for Mr. Ogden, to whom I wrote and forwarded a number of letters and dispatches addressed to him. The package was put in charge of Gros-pied, on[e] of the F. Head chiefs, as being more safe. It was not till I was perfectly satisfied by Mr. Kittson that there was no danger of these documents falling into improper hands that I would trust them. The chiefs are directed to give them to no one but Mr. Ogden, and in case of any accident having befallen him to bring them back. It was Mr. Ogden's directions to Mr. Kittson that only one man should be sent back to him." And again at Flat-Head House on Thurs. 25th: "I found two of Mr. Dease's men who had arrived with dispatches from the sea a few hours before. Now it is uncertain whether Mr. Ogden may equip his men at the Flat Heads or take them to Nez Perces." And "Sat. 27th. A young Indian was engaged to carry the dispatches to Mr. Ogden in the Snake country. He is to have a horse for his trip and promises to make the most expedition he can." Monday, 5th Sept. "Three of the freemen belonging to Mr. Ogden's party arrived here \* \* \* Mr. Ogden's notes are dated on



the 15th of August, when all the freemen but six had parted from him, his party then being only 15 strong, and he was going through a dangerous country." And at Spokane House again on Monday, Sept. 26. "Late last night Faneant, one of Mr. Ogden's men, arrived from the Missouri with letters dated on the 11th inst. Mr. Ogden is now on his way with 20 men to Walla Walla by the Snake country and has sent orders here for the part of his outfit that is at this place. He expects to reach that place about the 20th October. He also requires Mr. Dears to be sent to meet him with horses." And writing from Ft. Nez Perces (Walla Walla) to John McLeod on Nov. 9, 1825, Dr. John McLoughlin, who was there impatiently waiting, says: "I have this moment been called off to receive Mr. Ogden; his men are to be here in two days. His horses are so knocked up that we cannot send you any until he is supplied."

From these sources and references in the Journals it is known that Mr. Ogden was absent upon his first Snake Country expedition almost a year and met with reverses (not by any stampede or physical encounter, but) by the desertion to the Americans of nearly all his free trappers (French-Canadians) with their furs and outfits, and that he returned along the trails previously used by an equally corpulent and resourceful predecessor, Mr. Donald McKenzie of the Northwest Company, across Southern Idaho and by the valleys of Burnt River, Powder River and the Grand Ronde to the Valley of the Walla Walla, a route afterward followed by the first wagons ever brought to the Columbia (by Robt. Newell, Francis Ermatinger and others) and later by the various migrations and still later by the steel rails. Reaching Ft. Walla Walla he found his old companion Samuel Black just succeeding Mr. John Dease to the command there, and his chief factor, Dr. McLoughlin; and while spending the twelve days of his brief vacation before starting on the second expedition that "strange occurrence" took place which is related in Chapter III. (entitled The Burial of the Dead and the Living) of the book "Traits," etc., already mentioned.

From the entry on Nov. 25th (ultra), it is seen that Dr. McLoughlin had selected in advance the route for the second expedition and had sent ahead toward the headwaters of the Des Chutes a party under Finan McDonald and Thos. McKay. This Finan McDonald had been in the Flathead and Spokane country as early as 1809-10 with David Thompson, and Thos. McKay had arrived at Astoria with his father, Alex. McKay, in March, 1811, both of the Astoria party on the Tonquin.

According to the entry of April 10th (ultra), by some advantage held over them (the full nature of which is not yet understood) the deserters of the previous year were compelled to pay their debts to the H. B. Co. by turning in over four hundred dollars' worth of beaver (not eight thousand one hundred and twelve beaver skins). There are later references to this incident under which it will be more appropriate to discuss it. It will be noted that whenever Mr. Ogden could start for the Columbia with more than three thousand beaver skins in the packs he was a happy man.

Readers of these Journals will be interested in reading in comparison Chapter XXXI. of Miss Laut's "Conquest of the Great Northwest," and a sketch of the life of Mr. Ogden soon to appear in this Quarterly.

JOURNAL OF PETER SKENE OGDEN; SNAKE EXPEDITION,  
1825-1826.

(AS COPIED BY MISS AGNES C. LAUT IN 1905 FROM ORIGINAL IN HUDSON'S BAY  
COMPANY HOUSE, LONDON, ENGLAND.)

Monday, November 21, 1825. Having sent off all hands yesterday in company with Mr. Dears<sup>1</sup> I took my departure from Ft. Nez Percés<sup>2</sup> and about 10 o'clock I overtook my party who were waiting my arrival. Tho 6 horses were missing I gave orders to raise camp. We followed the banks of the Co-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dears, a clerk; not to be confounded with Mr. Dease, who was a chief trader.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Walla Walla.

lumbia, course S. W., and encamped near the Grand Rapid, distance 9 miles—the road hilly and sandy.

Tuesday, 22d. Altho many of our horses were not to be found this morning, I gave orders to raise camp, leaving 6 men to go in quest of them. Several of the fort Indians followed us, more with a view of giving us trouble. We reached the Uta<sup>1</sup> River and encamped. Here we found a large camp of Indians from within. We traded some salmon and firewood; distance 8 miles; course west; road hilly; we have great trouble with our wild horses; weather hazy and foggy.

Wednesday, 23d. The party I sent off yesterday in quest of our horses did not return, and 4 more being missing this morning, I sent Mr. Dears with two men in quest of them, but provisions being so scarce, I was obliged to raise camp—in fact the sooner we can get rid of the Indians the safer our horses will be. We came this day only 6 miles and encamped late in the evening. All hands with the exception of one man arrived with all our lost horses excepting one, which the Indians had killed for food; road fine; weather fine.

Thursday, 24th. I this morning received a note from Mr. Black<sup>2</sup> informing me that he had recovered four of our six horses missing on the 21. The absent man also made his appearance. He informed me that 4 Indians had pillaged all his ammunition, but I doubt the truth of this. Altho we commence at the dawn of day to collect our horses, we are never ready to start before 10 o'clock. We had a fine road this day and encamped at the long island distant 10 miles; weather very mild; grass in abundance for horses.

Friday, 25th. Rain all night. Altho weather was bad we raised camp and continued marching until evening our route along the banks of the river. We met with two of the Cayuse

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps intended for Utalla in Original Journal; the Umatilla River.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Samuel Black, then in charge at Fort Walla Walla, but murdered at Kamloops in 1841.

chiefs who proposed to me to follow their route; that the road was shorter to Mr. McDonald's<sup>1</sup> camp. But my guide being of a different opinion, I gave way to him, however anxious I feel to join Mr. McDonald, and provisions being scarce, I must comply. Course S. W., 15 miles; rainy.

Saturday, 26th. Rain all night. Some Indians came to our camp this morning and traded a horse. It was mid-day before we found all our horses. The road this day very hilly and sandy; very fatiguing for our horses; two of them could scarcely crawl when we reached the encampment; it is distressing to undertake a long journey with such miserable creatures, and I seriously apprehend if the Winter is severe 2-3 will die; distance 8 miles S. W.; cloudy.

Sunday, 27th. Started early, camped at sunset; 20 Indians came to our camp; all very quiet; our route along the banks of the Columbia; distance 12 miles; course S.; cold and hazy.

Monday, 28th. Rain prevented starting. We were so lucky as to trade 3 horses; 40 salmon fish caught.

Tuesday, 29th. As we were starting an Indian arrived and brought the goods back for one of the horses we traded, which was returned to him, although it was fair trade. I did not think it prudent to comply with his request. One of the men's horses missing this morning. Altho search was made it was vain. We reached John Day's River and found our old Walla Walla chief waiting our arrival; 10 miles; course west.

Wednesday, 30th. A great many Indians collected about our camp this morning. In the night 2 traps were stolen from the men. We traded 2 horses at an extravagant rate, but were too much in need, and well do the natives know this, and act accordingly. We raised camp late, altho it was rainy, but I am not only anxious to reach Mr. McDonald, but to get rid of the natives, who are troublesome; distance 4 miles; course south. This day I forwarded dispatches to Ft. Vancouver.

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<sup>1</sup> Finan McDonald. See introduction.



Thursday, December 1. Again horses missing; no doubt stolen. It was late ere we started and we reached the River of the Falls<sup>1</sup> early and camped. We found upwards of 100 Indians. The 2 traps stolen were recovered. Many horses offered for sale, but too extravagant in demands. Toward night one Indian stole some ammunition out of the free men's tents. The Walla Walla chief started in pursuit of the thief and returned in the night with the stolen property; road stony and hilly; course S. W.; distance 6 miles.

Friday, 2d. Three of the men's horses wanting, also some belonging to the natives. This did not prevent raising camp, as by remaining here we should lose more than gain, but tomorrow shall send party back in quest of our horses. We had some difficulty in crossing over the river, its banks being overflowed owing to the mild weather and late rains. Having crossed, we bade farewell to the Columbia River and took S. E. direction and camped on a small river<sup>2</sup> which discharges into Columbia below Grand Dalles; distance 6 miles; commenced keeping watch as I fear now the Indians know of our leaving them they may attempt to take a band of our horses. Soil firm and well wooded; few oak trees; no signs of beaver.

Saturday, 3d. It was late ere we started; number of Indians that followed us yesterday traded 30 salmon and bade us farewell. I engaged a chief to return with 3 men in quest of our stolen horses. On starting we left the river, crossed over a point of land 9 miles, then followed the river about a mile. It being dark, we camped. It is scarcely credible, altho we are yet so short a distance from the Columbia what a difference there is; soil rich; oak of a large size, abundant; grass green, weather warm; route hilly; high hills at a distance covered with snow; distance 10 miles; course S. S. W.; men constantly employed about our horses.

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<sup>1</sup> Des Chutes River.

<sup>2</sup> Fifteen Mile Creek.

Sunday, 4th. Started at 10 o'clock. Change in weather since yesterday; cold and cloudy. We commenced ascending and descending high hills; came 10 miles. Finding a small brook, camped; course south. The 3 men and Indians in quest of stolen horses returned with all; they found them on north side of Columbia and to get them were obliged to pay 30 balls of powder—no doubt the thief himself restored them, a common practice with the Columbia Indians. Shortly after we camped an Indian arrived who told us he left Mr. McDonald's party 8 days since, all well but starving, having taken few beaver; prospects bright; fine oaks, but wood scarce; soil good.

Monday, 5th. Started at 8 A. M. Our guide informed us there were some small deer to be seen. I despatched 3 hunters; about 12 o'clock came to the end of the hills—a grand and noble sight—Mount Hood bearing due west, Mt. St. Helens and Mt. Nesqually<sup>1</sup> Northwest, covered with eternal snow, and in a southern direction other lofty mountains in form and shape of sugar loaves. At the foot of all these mountains were lofty pines, which added greatly to the grandeur of the prospect. Could anything make it more so? After descending the last hill, which occupied nearly 2 hours, we reached a fine plain; sandy soil covered with wormwood. We crossed over to this place, a large fork of the River of the Falls; another fork of the same was also seen near, taking its course S. E., and the latter S. W. Both forks were wooded and formerly stocked with beaver, but the Nez Perces Indians have destroyed all; both appear to take their rise from a mountain not far, and covered with snow. The mild weather must account for the high water and muddy colour—in fact so thick we could scarcely swallow it. My hunters had no success. An Indian who killed an antelope gave me a share; a most acceptable present; the first meat since we left the fort. Some petrifications of the fir tree were collected. Course S. E.; distance 15 miles.

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<sup>1</sup> Mt. Adams, from near Tygh Valley.

Tuesday, 6th. Hunters off in quest of deer; 2 horses missing, one of the Company's. Remained in camp till 11, hoping to find him, but in vain. Before leaving sent an Indian and one man in quest of him. Crossed over the S. E. with some difficulty over route hilly; country very stony. We reached the foot of the mountains. Our guide killed a deer. The Walla Walla chief departed from us; traded a horse from him; distance 12 miles S. S. E. Man and Indian returned without horse.

Wednesday, 7th. Broke camp an early hour; began ascending; continued so for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours. However great the ascent, the descent was not great. By the time we reached level ground our horses were greatly fatigued, and tho early, we encamped; road very stony; country covered with rocks and stones; deer abundant; upwards of 100 seen; travel too swift to be overtaken; hunters killed 3; distance 10 miles.

Thursday, 8th. Rain all night. We started at 10 o'clock—passed over a rugged country, stony and hilly; horses sinking knee deep in the mire; late ere we found a small brook to camp; course south; distance 10 miles; hunters killed 2 deer and a mountain sheep. Shortly after camping, were joined by Mr. McKay<sup>1</sup> and 4 men. He informed me Mr. McDonald was at a short distance, anxiously waiting my arrival. Their success had not been great, only 460 beaver, but this is solely owing to the poverty of the country and not to want of effort. Their wait has recruited their horses, which mine greatly require. Anxious to find beaver ere I make a halt; weather cloudy and cold.

Friday, 9th. Started early. Route, as usual, over a hilly country for 8 miles, when we reached Mr. McDonald's camp on the bank of the Falls River; fine large stream. Both parties pleased to meet. Many of the hills we crossed are of blood

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas McKay, a sure shot at Indians; son of Alexander McKay, of the Astor party.

red color, very rich from grass on them. In this quarter are 3 boiling fountains<sup>1</sup> which I did not see, but am told are sulphur. The country since the 4th has been bare, only a few fir trees—flint stones in abundance; animals scarce; all the rivers being discharged into the Columbia. From the chief factor, McLoughlin, I expected to have found Mr. McDonald provided with guides, but it is the reverse and places me in an unpleasant situation. I must find an Indian who knows the country. If not, must make the attempt without; this will cause loss of time, it being such a mountainous country; course south.

Saturday, 10th. Remained in camp. As we cannot ford the river with our horses we have a canoe made. Indians who had accompanied Mr. McDonald from Ft. Vancouver took their departure for this quarter and I forwarded letters by them to the Columbia; also sent 4 men invalided to Vancouver; were not benefit here. Paid our guide from Nez Perce, though from his conduct he was not entitled to any payment. The anxiety and trouble Indian guides give is known only to those at their mercy. An Indian promised to go for his family and accompany me on my voyage, but the evening has come without his appearance. Four of our horses missing—had the rest sent across. The current strong, but not a horse drowned. More fortunate than I expected. An Indian brought the two horses missing on the 6th. So far lucky.

Sunday, 11th. Very foggy. Horses missing yesterday found today; the rest crossed also part of the property with men to guard the horses. Made Charley Nez Perce a present for past services, also as a bait to induce some Indian to accompany us. Of many here, two only are acquainted with the country I wish to reach. A Snake Indian, who has lived for many years with the Cayuse Indians, consented to come. A more fit person could not have been selected. If he does not desert us we may consider ourselves fortunate.

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<sup>1</sup> In neighborhood of Warm Springs Indian Agency.



Monday, 12th. At daylight began crossing over the river the rest of the property, but it was near night ere all was transferred. Having remained on this side with Mr. McKay to watch the motions of our new guide, I was not a little surprised to learn of the death of a slave who belonged to Mr. McDonald's party. The particulars are: Joseph Despard and deceased were employed taking the goods to the top of the hill when words took place between them, but no blows. Despard loaded himself to ascend and when nearly at the top of the bank, the deceased came up to him and struck him on the back. D— then threw down his load and a battle took place, continuing for about 5 minutes, when deceased went to his camp. During the night he threw up blood, and this day at 2 P. M., expired, prior to death suffering greatly. On examining the body, I could not observe any marks of violence or blows, except a hard swelling on the abdomen. A report having circulated that D— kicked the deceased, I made enquiry, but found it incorrect. I had a grave made and the body interred. It is not in my power to send D— to Vancouver. I have allowed the affair for the present to remain quiet until we return to headquarters. The poor man is miserable and unhappy. Weather mild.

Tuesday, 13th. Rainy and stormy, which prevented starting. I delivered to Mr. McDonald's men each 1 horse, also 1 lb. tobacco, also took account of furs on hand and gave traps to some of the party who were in want. We learned from Indian report that a party of Cayuse are off to warn the Snake Indians that we are coming to pay them a visit, but I am not of opinion it is the case; if so, it is with a view of taking beaver on the borders of this territory before we reach it.

Wednesday, 14th. The rain continued all night, but clear this day. We collected our horses and raised camp. Ground hilly and stony. Many of our horses lame. We reached a small creek and encamped; distance 10 miles; 20 traps out, but no great hopes of success. Saw a fine herd of sheep, but too swift for us. Course S. E.

Thursday, 15th. Raised traps and started; only 2 beaver. Hunters off in quest of food. Route is stony. In the mountains snow is to be seen—the hills covered with wormwood; rivers scarce; poor prospect of beaver; found a small creek and camped; distance 9 miles. Course S. S. E.; 3 sheep killed this day.

Friday, 16th. Started early with camp. Our hunters off before daylight over route; for 4 miles a fine valley, then S. E. over hills; encamped on same brook as last night. Hunters came in with 3 deer. One saw an Indian scampering off. This must be a Snake. Consequently had our horses well guarded during the night within call of camp.

Saturday, 17th. Started early. Horses safe this day. S. E. for 4 miles across a high mountain covered with firs; descended to a large plain, crossed due S. and fell on another fork of the River of the Falls and camped; nearly 100 traps set out; in crossing the mountains we saw 40 huts of Indians not more than 10 days abandoned, resembling in form and shape those I saw last Fall in the lower Snake country; concluded they must be Snake Indians. Of course we shall soon see them. This day 8 miles.

Sunday, 18th. Had remainder of our traps set, as I want to give the river a chance and rest our horses. Being on the border of the Snake Land we require to watch by day and night and regulate our march accordingly in case Winter should be severe. Winter mild; no cause to complain. God grant it may remain so; 14 beaver this day.

Monday, 19th. Cloudy, with showers of rain; fine weather for hunting beaver. We did not raise camp. This day took 38 beaver.

Tuesday, 20th. Really warm. One-third of traps are in the rear. I did not raise camp. If this river had not been visited by the Nez Perces it would have yielded 400 to 500 beaver. This day 21 beaver. Many of the trappers have ob-

tained permission to sleep out of camp and have not come in. One caught a raccoon the size of our Indian dog. I presume this fellow was also in quest of beaver. Indeed beaver are a prey to man and beast.

Wednesday, 21st. Rain all night. Three-fourths of trappers are in advance with their traps. I ascended main fork 3 miles and encamped. Course east. Soil rich. Grass 7 feet high, making it difficult to set traps. We must now change our course; 39 beaver, 2 otter.

Thursday, 22d. Froze last night, 2 inches thick; not in our favor. If we do not soon find animals we shall surely starve. My Indian guide threatens to leave us and it was with trouble I persuaded him to remain. Few can form any idea of the anxiety an Indian guide gives. The fellow knows we are dependent on him. If we can but reach the Snake waters, he may go to the devil. We raised camp. Ascended a small fork; a fine valley; fine hills; 16 miles due east. All the trappers set their traps with little hope of success, they are so crowded. Today 15 beaver, 3 otter. Did not see the trace of an animal and as the cold increases, I feel very uneasy regarding food. As the beavers do not lay up a stock of provisions for the winter, as is the case in cold countries, I hope the cold spell will soon pass; otherwise how can they exist, as we well know without food we cannot.

Friday, 23d. Very cold. About mid-day 2 Nez Perces arrived, having 2 traps, to accompany us for beaver. They left the fort some time after I did and are ignorant of the country; 23 beaver and 1 otter; many of the traps fast in the ice; 2 lost by chains breaking. I sent 2 men to examine the source of this fork. They report no appearance of beaver. Mr. McKay and 6 men started to follow the large fork we left on the 22d. We shall follow. Juniper and fir here.

Saturday, 24th. Cold increasing fast. It is far from pleasant in cold weather to ride at snail's pace, but it must be so or

starve. We ascended a light stony hill. The frozen ground made it difficult for horses to reach the top. We crossed a sky line 10 miles, descended gradually, reached the fork we left on 22d and camped. Course S. S. E. River here wide and lined with willows. Mr. McKay and party joined us. They have not found beaver, and their traps are all fast in the ice. Saw another old camp of Snake Indians about 10 days old. I wish from my heart I could see them. It would free us of our present guide; 15 beaver this day; a feast tomorrow.

Sunday, 25th. This being Christmas, all hands remained in camp. Prayers were made. Cold increases; prospects gloomy; not 20 lbs. of food remain in camp, and nearly all our traps out of water.

Monday, 26th. Cold. Raised camp and ascended river now fast with ice, our route over hilly country, being obliged from the cut rocks to cross over the river 3 different times; had some difficulty; two bales of goods and some skins got wet; our hunters are in search of deer; encamped early; distance 5 miles east. Toward evening the weather became overcast and the water rising fast, the trappers set out with their traps. Hunters brought in 4 small deer, miserably poor.

Tuesday, 27th. Weather very cold. On collecting horses, we found one-third limping and many of them could not stand; were found lying on the plain. Some of the trappers started trenches, the rest visited the traps, returned at night with no success, their traps fast in ice, and no beaver from the trenches. The river is so wide we cannot get beaver with the ice chisel. The hunters came in with 5 small deer. If this cold does not soon pass my situation with so many men will not be pleasant, but last year I met with so many reverses, men grumbling and discontented, that I am in a manner prepared, but can afford them no relief. If we escape starvation it will depend on the hunters. God preserve us. Today 4 beaver.

Wednesday, 28th. Early this A. M. Mr. McKay and 7 men set off in quest of deer; trappers off with their ice chisels,



much against their will. The cold is greater than I ever before experienced on the Columbia; 2 beaver this day. Ice chisels produced nothing, nor will in this river, tho no scarcity of beaver.

Thursday, 29th. I intended raising camp, but stormy weather and non-arrival of McKay prevented.

Friday, 30th. Cold increases. My guide refuses to proceed; says there are no animals in the Snake Country, nor any beaver, and our horses will die; that we cannot cross the mountains. This is discouraging, but we must make a trial. On promising him a gun at Fort Nez Perces he consented to go. Followed the river S. E. for 5 miles; 6 small deer, 57 beaver.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday, 31st. Great severity of weather. No beaver to be expected. One of the freemen, being 3 days without food, killed one of his horses. This example will soon be followed by others. The only chance we have is of finding red deer, but from our guide we can learn nothing. He appears unwilling to give any information. Two hunters returned, but with no success. The deer very wild; 1 beaver today. Gave the men half rations for tomorrow, which will be devoured tonight, as three-fourths of the party have been two days without food.

Sunday, Jan. 1, 1826. Remained in camp. Gave all hands a dram. There was more fasting than feasting. The first New Year's day since I came to the Indian country when my men were without food; 4 beaver today.

Monday, 2d. Altho 6 men are absent since 30th, I ordered camp raised. Followed up the stream 6 miles S. E. Altho bank is well lined with willows, only a few trees to be seen on the hills of the juniper species. Trappers report favorable beaver signs, but ice prevents taking any; 3 beaver today. The absent men still out.

Tuesday, the 3d. Cold has decreased, but still severe for Columbia. Followed stream S. E. 12 miles and camped at an

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<sup>1</sup> On headwaters of eastern branch of Des Chutes River.

Indian barrier made last Summer for taking salmon (weir). I wish I could discover some of these Indians. One man reported he had seen 12 beaver houses. I must steer my course this way on my return. Another horse killed for food. Except for 7 beaver the men without food this day.

Wednesday, the 4th. Proceeded 3 miles, when we came to a fork from south, but our guide did not follow it. Continued 4 miles and camped. The river free of ice. All hands out with traps. Our course this day 3 miles N; E. 4 miles. The mountains<sup>1</sup> appeared about 30 miles distant, covered with snow and trees. They gave hope of red deer. A small red deer killed this day was divided, making 3 oz. of meat per man. Absent men have not yet come; 4 beaver today.

Thursday, the 5th. Snow at night. Mr. McKay with 3 men started for the mountains seen yesterday in quest of deer, also the trappers in quest of beaver. Wind veered S. W. with rain. I wish it might continue for 40 days and nights. We require it. One of the absent men arrived at night with a small deer—this will make a meal for all hands; 11 beaver today.

Friday, 6th. Sent 3 men for mountains. Mild this A. M. Many of the horses can scarcely crawl for want of grass, owing to frozen ground. March they must or we starve. We proceeded about 5 miles, encamped on a small fork lined with aspen. We are now on very high land and expect soon to see another river from the long range of mountains visible. From our guide is no information, tho I am confident the country is well known to him. In the evening Mr. McKay and party arrived without seeing the track of an animal, reporting 4 ft. of snow in mountains, so this blasts my hopes of finding deer. What will become of us? Nine beaver this day and 2 otter. All our traps set, but very crowded, in ice and rain.

Saturday, 7th. Rain and snow all day, with appearance of cold. So many are starving in the camp that they start before

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<sup>1</sup> Blue Mountain Range.

day to steal beaver out of their neighbors' traps if they find nothing in their own. Altho strong suspicions against the men, we could not prove them guilty. Our traps gave us 10 beaver.

Sunday, 8th. Snow today. Absent men arrived with 2 small deer; divided it fairly amongst all. Had the pleasure of seeing a raven this day. Some wolves were also seen by the trappers; 12 beavers and 1 otter.

Monday, 9th. Our horses assembled, we started early N. N. E. for 4 miles and crossed over a fine fork, then ascended some high hills, very stony. A violent storm obliged us to encamp. General course N. N. E. and E. 8 miles. Two Nez Perces intimated they would leave us to morrow. Starving does not agree with them; 2 beaver this day.

Tuesday, 10th. Wrote the gentlemen of Columbia, gave the Indians presents for the trouble of carrying the letters. Came only short distance, when wind obliged us to encamp; 9 beaver; 2 horses killed for food. Seeing our horses killed makes me wretched, for I know full well in the Spring we will require them all. Two of the hunters arrived starving. They had been gone three days and did not see the track of a thing.

Wednesday, 11th. Started early; weather mild. About dusk we reached the sources of the Day's River, which discharges in the Columbia, 9 miles from main falls. Here we camped; 15 miles; 3 beaver.

Thursday, 12th. Nearly two-thirds of horses too lame to move, but require food, and followed down stream 3 miles on a horrid road, one continued rock and stone, ascended a high hill, descended to a fork of the river and camped—course N. N. W. 3 miles, E. 4; 1 beaver; 12 colts killed for food.

Friday, 13th. Five men absent since the 10th. I am obliged to wait, altho we are starving. A mountain must be crossed ahead and it is necessary our horses should rest. We have taken in all 265 beavers and 9 otters. This day 2 beavers.

Saturday, 14th. At daybreak Mr. Dears and a man started in quest of the 5 absent men. Rain all night. I apprehend they will not be able to find the tracks of the lost. Our course W. by N. 2 miles, then N. 6 miles along the main branch of Day's River, a fine large stream nearly as wide again as it is at the Columbia. From appearances this river takes its source the same quarter as the River of the Falls and Utakka \* \* \* We found Snake huts not long abandoned. I sent 20 men with traps ahead of us. It was night ere we camped. The horses sink knee deep in mire all day. The road cannot be surpassed in badness in so short a distance. Here the grass is green, no snow, the frogs croaking as merrily as in May; 2 beaver this day.

Sunday, 15th. I intend to try luck here and await Mr. Dears. Set all the trappers off well loaded with traps. Tracks of small deer were seen and 2 killed. One of my men saw 2 Snake Indians. He conversed by signs with them, but they could not be persuaded to come to camp. As soon as he parted from them they disappeared, no doubt to hide and watch an opportunity to steal horses and traps; 12 beaver, 1 otter this day.

Monday, 16th. Rain all night. The river rises 2 feet, so no hope from traps. Our horses all safe, but some of the traps gone; 6 beaver and 2 otter.

Tuesday, 17th. Rain again. No word of Mr. Dears and the absent men. Gave orders to raise camp, but sent a young man to raise a fire in the mountains so if the party have lost our track the fire will direct them. Our course N. by E. for five miles to large fork bearing east and camped. The horses sank knee deep in the mud. Mr. McKay, who was in quest of deer, found a Snake Indian; hid in the rocks, secured him and brought him to the camp, treated him kindly and in the evening he informed us that this fork will conduct us nearly to Snake River. The road fine, no snow and a few beaver; 25 beaver today and 2 otter. Our guide killed a small deer.



Wednesday, the 18th. This A. M. sent out 6 men well loaded with traps. The Snake Indian left us this morning. I sent my guide with him, as he said he had 10 beaver skins, to induce him to return to trade. About mid-day Mr. Dears with the absent men arrived. He found them in the mountains we crossed on the 11th. They were in quest of us and from the route they were taking would probably never have found us. They have 15 beaver and 1 otter. Well I sent for them. At night my guide returned and informed me the Snake Indian on reaching his hut, found all abandoned; his family and followers had fled, but the Snake had gone in pursuit and would bring them to my camp; 4 beaver and 2 otter this day, making in all 19 beaver, 2 otter; 4 traps lost, owing to high water. Mr. McKay came back with one small deer.

Thursday, 19th. Early 5 Snake Indians paid us a visit and traded 6 large and 2 small beaver for knives and beads and 10 beavers with my guide for a horse. I treated them kindly and made a trifling present to an old man with them whom they appeared to respect. They were fine, tall men, well dressed, and for so barren a country in good condition. None of my trappers returned. From this I conclude they are doing well.

Friday, 20th. Ascended fork 8 miles, our course due east, our route over Barren Hills, but a lofty range of mountains visible on both sides of the river, well wooded with Norway pines; today 27 beaver and 4 otter.

Saturday, 21st. Seventeen beaver and 2 otter today; nearly sufficient to supply us with food.

Sunday, 22d. Cold increasing. Ice will soon form again. This day 26 beaver.

Monday, 23d. Severe cold. Two horses missing. Course west; distance 9 miles; beaver 7.

Tuesday, 24th. Floating in the river 2 horses supposed to be stolen by Snake hunters; killed an antelope; 27 beaver and 2 otter.

Wednesday, 25th. Continued ascending river easterly 6 miles, then N. E. 6 miles. From the starving state we are in I cannot wait for the men in the rear; 6 beaver and one otter.

Thursday, 26th. Ice forming on river; course east by north 8 miles over a lofty range of hills bare of wood N. E. Here we leave the waters of Day's River. Since joining Mr. McDonald, allowing we had one hundred hunters, had we not our traps we must have starved to death. Where the Indians of this part resort in winter I cannot (tell); have no doubt concealed in the mountains; 6 horses to and work to reach camp last night 12 beaver and my Snake hunter killed one antelope.

Friday, 27th. My guide refuses to proceed; says road is bad and horses require day's rest. I was obliged to comply. Thank God, when we get across the mountains I trust I shall soon reach Snake River or south branch of the Columbia; 9 beaver and 1 otter.

Saturday, 28th. Our guide says there are 6 ft. of snow in mountains; impossible to pass in this direction; must try another. Many in the camp are starving. For the last ten days only one meal every two days. Still the company's horses must not fall a sacrifice. We hope when we are across the mountains to fare better; today 4 beaver.

Sunday, 29th. Three inches of snow; raised camp for S. E. 6 miles; our guide says he intends to return. A horse this day killed; on examining his feet, the hoof entirely worn away and only raw stump.<sup>1</sup>

February 2. We are now on the waters of the south branch of the Columbia.

February 3. This surely is the Snake Country; as far as the eye can reach, nothing but lofty mountains. A more gloomy country I never yet saw; too (?) horses killed for food today.

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<sup>1</sup> Next three days evidently crossing the divide from head of John Day River to head of Burnt River.

Saturday, Feb. 4th. We have taken 85 beaver and 16 otter on Day's River; my Snake guide brought in 4 sheep (Ibex). He says this is Burnt River.

Feb. 5th. Course E. N. E. Crossed river three times and found the ice sufficiently strong to bear our horses. One of the men detected this day stealing a beaver out of another man's trap; as starvation was the cause of this, he was pardoned on condition of promising not to do it again.

10 Feb. Followed the banks of Burnt River S. S. E. 10 miles. One horse killed. Nearly every bone in his body broken. Two of the men could not advance from weakness. We have been on short allowance almost too long and resemble so many skeletons; one trap this day gave us 14 beaver.

11 Feb. Crossed Burnt River within 3 miles of its discharge into Snake River on south branch of Columbia. It has given us 54 beaver and 6 otter.

Sunday, Feb. 12. Following the banks of the river<sup>1</sup> we discovered a fire on the opposite side of the river; two Indians came down to the beach. I signed them to follow us; but on a rocky point of land we lost sight of them.

February 13. Two Snake Indians came to camp. They had nothing to trade; encamped on same spot as last Fall. Found a camp of Snake Indians, 3 tents, 5 men, women and children. It is not long since they left the buffalo country. They appeared in good condition, but have nothing to trade. Two trappers came in with nothing, starving for the last 3 days, but they have no encouragement here, so off again tomorrow; 3 beaver today.

Tuesday, 14th. Started early; sent my two Snake hunters out with 6 traps each and 2 horses to north side of river. I also gave them 2 scalping knives, 1½ dozen rings, 1½ dozen buttons, to trade, and 20 balls to hunt. I have now all my trappers in

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<sup>1</sup> Snake River, east of Huntington.

motion. We encamped on River au Malheur (unfortunate river) so called on account of goods and furs hid here' discovered and stolen by the natives. Gervaise killed 2 small deer; 3 beaver.

Tuesday, 16th. Cold last night; very severe; rain froze; our prospects gloomy; we must continue to starve; now all are reduced to skin and bones; more beggarly looking beings I defy the world to produce. Still I have no cause to complain of the men; day after day they labor in quest of food and beaver without a shoe to their feet; the frozen ground is hardly comfortable; but it is an evil without remedy. The Snake Indians paid us a visit empty handed; they, too, complain of starvation. Were our horses in good condition, in 10 days we could make the buffalo ground. In their present weak state we cannot go in less than 25; 1 small deer and not one beaver.

Friday, 17th. About 10 o'clock we started our course S. and E., distance 15 miles, and camped South Branch on leaving Riviere a Malheur. This day saw a large fork on north; it was in this region called Payettes River, that in 1819, 3 Sandwich<sup>1</sup> Indians were killed by the Snake Indians; cold is intense; what little beaver there is we cannot take; while this weather continues starve we must.

Saturday, 18th. Severe cold. It was late ere we started; our horses, many of them, could scarcely stand this morning. Grass scarce in this quarter; our course south 4 miles, when we reached Sandwich Island River, so called, owing to 2 of them murdered by Snake Indians in 1819. This is a fine large river; on the north side opposite this fork is Reed's River, who was also with all his party, to the number of 11, murdered by the Snakes and their establishment destroyed. This party was in the employ of the Pacific Fur Company. Subsequent to this Mr. D. McKenzie made a post at the entrance to the river, but it was abandoned from want of food and hostility of natives; fortu-

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1 Sandwich Islanders; Owyhee River named after them.



nate they did<sup>1</sup> for 2 Canadians were killed only 3 days after, it is gloomy to reflect the number of lives that have been lost in this quarter and without the death of one being revenged, not from want of will, but circumstances which prevented it. Hunt this day 2 beaver, altho 50 traps were out; such a tardy Spring.

Sunday, 19th. Two horses killed this day for food.

Tuesday, 21. From the weak state of our horses and want of food I this day decided to send back 2 parties with the weakest horses to trap the country we have traveled. Jean Baptiste Gervaise<sup>2</sup> with 7 men, to await our arrival about July 15, and Antoine Sylvaile with 5 men to trap Sandwich Island and Unfortunate River until they receive tidings from me. By this means, in regard to food, we shall be 14 less, and the horses will recruit.

Wednesday, 22. At an early hour I started the rear party and have only to add I wish them success and that we may all meet again. Until we do, I shall feel uneasy from the number of accidents we have met with in this cursed country; but there is no other alternative.

Sunday, 26 February. On our travels this day we saw a Snake Indian. His hut being near the road, curiosity induced me to enter. I had often heard these wretches subsisted on ants, locusts and small fish, not larger than minnies, and I wanted to find out if it was not an exaggeration of late travelers, but to my surprise, I found it was the case; for in one of their dishes, not of small size, was filled with ants. They collected them in the morning early before the thaw commences. The locusts they collect in Summer and store up for their Winter; in eating they give the preference to the former, being oily; the latter not, on this food these poor wretches drag out

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<sup>1</sup> Fort Boise of Hudson's Bay Company, afterwards in the same vicinity.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards a settler on French Prairie, between Aurora and Salem, Marion County.

an existence for nearly 4 months of the year; they live contented and happy; this is all they require. It appeared strange, and the only reason I can give for it is the poverty of this country and food, that few or no children are to be seen among them. We have seen upwards of 30 families and only 3 children among them. Before many years, not many will be living; ants and locusts will again increase.

Thursday, March 2nd. This day took an account of beaver and otter taken during the last month, in all 174, had the weather been mild, we should have had from this country at least 3000 beaver and not one horse would have fallen for the kettle.

Friday, 3d. Reached River Malade, Sickly River,<sup>1</sup> and encamped on this river, a fine large stream; derives its name from the beaver living on a poisonous root. Formerly, in 1819, all who ate of the beaver taken here were seriously ill. Beaver here must subsist on roots. Saw incredible number of deer, black-tail and white, miserably poor, skin and bone but most exceptible[sic] to us all.

Saturday, March 11. My men four days without food.

Sunday, March 12. We are now encamped within 100 yards where the Pacific Fur Company traders lost a man by the upsetting of one of their canoes. We cannot be far from the place where the Blackfeet killed one of my party last spring. If the Americans have not visited this place since I left, we surely shall find beaver and buffalo.

Monday, March 13. Hunters arrived with 13 elk; never did men eat with better appetite; many did not stop to go to bed till midnight.

Friday, March 17th. A Snake Indian of the plains informed us buffalo were near. I gave the call to start in pursuit and with the assistance of Indian horses, two buffalo were killed; our horses being too poor for buffalo running. Mr. McKay killed four elk.

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<sup>1</sup> On north side of Snake River.

Sunday, March 18th. The Snake Indian who arrived yesterday left today. The villain in going off discovered a woman belonging to our camp near at hand collecting wood. He forcibly threw her on the ground and pillaged her of some beads and other ornaments she had on her leather dress. This fellow we shall not see again.

Monday, March 20th. I sent two men with traps to examine Raft River.<sup>1</sup> About 30 Indians paid us a visit. They report that a party of Americans and Iroquois are not three days' march from us; near the spot one of my party was killed last spring. If this be the case, I have no doubt our hunts are damned, and we may prepare to return empty handed. With my discontented party I dread meeting the Americans. That some will attempt desertion I have not the least doubt, after the sufferings they have endured. This stream is lined with Snake Indians preparing to descend to avoid the Blackfeet Indians. They left us promising to return to trade; but appeared independent of our goods; well armed and well stocked in ammunition, knives and iron; not a beaver skin among them all.

Wednesday, March 22d. We have upwards of 100 traps set. The Snake camp began to move about sunrise and continued passing till night; not less than 400 heads, nearly double that number of horses, with buffalo meat. This camp is bound to Sickly River for roots and salmon. In the fall they will return to winter in the Buffalo plain. This is the life they lead. The Blackfeet are fast diminishing their numbers and before many years all will be killed. Two of the chiefs paid us a visit; they are well dressed, and comport themselves decently. I made each a present of a knife and an awl. They are to meet the Nez Perces Indians at the entrance of Burnt River to trade. We are now in a country of danger and guard at night. Nine beaver today.

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<sup>1</sup> On south side of Snake River.

Friday, March 24th. Retraced back our steps to the entrance of Raft River. Saw another Snake camp of 200 who wintered with the Americans and carry an American flag. They had 60 guns and ammunition not scarce. It was this camp that destroyed Mr. Reid and party, on Sandwich Islands, 10 Americans and pillaged free men two years since. They informed me the American camp of 25 tents were on Bear's River and it is a month since they left. This day 36 beaver and one otter.

Saturday, March 25th. The Snakes continued to move. I had no idea the Snakes were so numerous. The Plains Snakes, said to be 1000 men, annually go to the Spanish settlements to trade and steal horses. The Lower Snakes are not less than 1500 men, independent of women and children. The Blackfeet steal great numbers of horses from them; they retaliate in kind; they have 150 guns. Our horses are well guarded, day and night. No less than 13 traps stolen by the natives. Forty-five beaver this day.

Tuesday, March 28th. Course northeast. We reach the Falls, commonly known as the American Falls; not high, about 10 feet; tracks of Indians, supposed to be Blackfeet, as we are now in their territory. Forty-two beaver today.

Wednesday, March 29th. At the break of day, the morning watch called us to arms; "Blackfeet," resounded from one end of camp to the other; horses were scarcely secured when they were in sight and advanced slowly singing, but not with bad intention; bows unstrung, cases on their guns, we advanced to receive them, when the chief came forward and presented his hand. I was surprised to recognize an old acquaintance of mine in this chief. They were soon seated and requested to speak. They informed me they left the Saskatchewan in December last and were in quest of the Snakes to steal horses; they discovered our men last night and did not venture to come to the camp; the truth is, they found our horses too



weak and well guarded. We were now fully convinced we were in a country of danger. This party consists of 80 men and as usual with them their reserve amounts to 20 and cannot be far distant; they are poorly armed, only 15 guns; scarcely any ammunition; bows and arrows scarce among them. If rascals deserve reward, they do for the distance they came in quest of horses and scalps. Well may the Snakes dread. They remained about camp all day. Many of our traps were not visited and those near at hand were all brought into camp late at night; the reserve camp of Piegans made their appearance, ten men and two women; every precaution taken with our horses for the night to keep them snug. Ten beaver.

Thursday, March 30th. It was 12 oclock before the Piegans set out in quest of the Snakes. They left in our camp one sick man and two women. Our course, north north east.

Friday, March 31st. Counted 40 horses dead in Snake winter camp; 27 beaver today, which makes our first thousand, and leaves two to begin the second thousand. I hope to reach Vancouver with 3,000.

Saturday, April 1st. A stormy night, at daylight a call from the guard "to arms." We were soon out and seven men came to our camp. Fort Nez Perces Indians, who passed the winter with the Flatheads and left them 40 days since. These fellows are in quest of Snakes to steal horses and seemed disappointed to find the Piegans before them.

Sunday, April 2d. Course north nor'east. Camped Port-neuf Fork; a finer country for beaver never seen; if the war tribes do not oblige me to change quarters, we shall do well. Today 27 beaver.

Monday, April 3d. We are not more than two miles from Benoit's grave,<sup>1</sup> who was killed this season last year. Large head of buffalo seen near camp.

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<sup>1</sup> Indicated on map as south side of Snake River.

Tuesday, April 4th. Blackfeet seen near camp, but secreted themselves. These villains appear determined to watch every opportunity to steal our horses. Forty beaver today.

Friday, April 7th. Mr. McKay and man who went buffalo hunting arrived safe about 10 o'clock; had a narrow escape; saw the enemy at a distance and had full time to conceal themselves. So far well. Shortly after four of the party in pursuit of the Snakes arrived; starvation obliged them to return; they have seen the track of a war party; we are surrounded on all sides by enemies; if we escape, we shall be lucky; little done towards progress home; obliged to keep on our guard. One beaver.

Saturday, April 8th. Early this morning upwards of 100 Indians came; many strange faces. We did not allow them to come too near our camp; many are well armed, but not stocked with ammunition; one of the trappers was again pursued by the Blackfeet; these rascals will not allow us to remain quiet till an example be made of some of them. Some meat dried today for the journey home.

Sunday, April 9th. Forty Blackfeet seen near camp; we did not allow them to enter; traded horse slings from them. About 10 a. m. we were surprised by the arrival of a party of Americans and some of our deserters of last year, 28 in all. If we were surprised they were more so from an idea that the threats of last year would have prevented us from returning to this quarter, but they find themselves mistaken; they camped a short distance away; all quiet. With the glass we could observe Blackfeet scattered about the hills watching our motions. Five beaver.

Monday, April 10th. The second watch gave us a start from our beds, Mr. McKay having fired on an Indian detected in the act of stealing a horse. This fellow will not make another attempt. The strangers paid me a visit and I had a busy day settling with them, and more to my satisfaction and the

company's than last year. We traded from them 93 large and small beaver and two otter seasoned skins at a reasonable rate and received 81.12<sup>1</sup> beavers in part payment of their debts due the company, also two notes of hand from Mr. Monton (Mountain) for his balance, Patrick Prudhomme and Pierre Sinanitogans.<sup>2</sup> We secured all the skins they had. Our deserters are already tired of their new masters and from their manner will soon return to us. They promised to reach the Flatheads this fall. I cannot imagine how the Americans can afford to sell their beaver to reap profit when they pay \$3 per pound for coarse or fine, but such is the case.

Tuesday, April 11th. Separated from the Americans. They ascended the stream; we descended. Goddin's son, having requested to join his father, and being a worthless scamp, I gave him his liberty, the Americans having advanced three beaver to make up his debt. Young Findlay has joined our camp, a Canadian by name Lounge has joined with traps and horses. Not one of our party appeared the least inclined to desert; so much to their credit.

Thursday, April 15th. The Piegan chief will leave us tomorrow; he tells us we cannot be too much on our guard; that we are surrounded by war parties.

Saturday, April 15th. Weather mild, wind strong. The Piegans have set fire to the plains to destroy us or collect war parties to surround us.

Saturday, April 22d. Guard informs us three halfbreeds are bent on desertion. I secured their horses, arms and blankets. They do not relish the idea of a journey on foot and followed us; one of them, for his impudence, received a drubbing from me. We camped within two miles of the American Falls.

Saturday, April 29th. Twelve buffalo killed for provisions back.

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<sup>1</sup> Eighty-one pounds, twelve shillings.

<sup>2</sup> Tinanitogans.

Saturday, May 6th. Over hilly, stony country, bare of wood to Raft River; began to snow and continued the greater part of the night. Many of the trappers came in, almost froze, naked as the greater part are, and destitute of shoes, it is surprising not a murmur or complaint do I hear; such men are worthy of following Franklin. Two-thirds without a blanket or any shelter, and have been so for the last six months. Thirty-four beaver today.

Tuesday, May 9th. Half the camp ill from meat of beaver fat from eating hemlock.

Sunday, May 21st. The Snakes inform us a party of Americans, about 30 in number, has descended this stream on their return from Salt Lake, without beaver; this agrees with the account of Mr. Montain.

Tuesday, May 23d. We saw the corpse of an Indian lying on the plains. The Snakes have a mode of burying their dead different from all other natives; where he falls he is allowed to remain, without a grave or covering; a feast for the wolves and crows; nor is any ceremony observed or grief of long duration; how pleasant to part with friends without regretting them. The Snakes have one advantage over us; I envy them.

Friday, June 2d. Proceeded but a short distance when we met with a Snake; this Indian I saw last year on Bear's River;<sup>1</sup> it was this rascal who headed the party who pillaged us two years ago. He also headed the party who murdered nine Americans and pillaged all their property, and last year again pillaged the Americans of all they had.

Saturday, June 3d. Mr. Dears started from Indian tent in the hope of trade, but without success. In fact, with the Snakes, you must take them by surprise; take their property ere they have time to secure it, and recompense them for it. By any other means, you cannot obtain anything from them,

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the date of Mr. Ogden's first trip to Great Salt Lake.



so averse are they to trade provisions, nor do I blame them in such a wretched country; nor would they remain in this quarter, but the dread of losing their scalps. They are surrounded on all sides by enemies; are at peace with Flatheads and Nez Percés, but have the Crows, the Utas, the Saskatchewan tribes to guard against.

Friday, June 8th. Had a visit from the Snakes. Within the last 10 months they have plundered 180 traps from the Americans and guns, knives and other articles. This, with 13 men murdered in 1825, is sufficient to make them independent of trade. The Americans swear to make an example of them; I do hope from my soul they may.

Saturday, June 10th. We started at an early hour; one of the trappers reports that yesterday he saw a party of Indians, 30 in number, who, on seeing him, went off at full speed and took to the mountains. Some are of the opinion they have killed our men left here, or suspect us to be Americans. I feel most anxious about the six men we were to find in this quarter; so far no tidings of them; this gives me hope they are safe; by the route we are taking we cannot be long without hearing from them; I only hope we shall find them alive and well loaded with beaver; we require all to make up our three thousand.<sup>1</sup> Saw a family of Indians on the move; they had no horses and are well loaded—men, women and children with roots; they endeavored to escape from us. They were allowed to pass without molestation. This is the season of roots in this quarter the bitter and another a good substitute for flour, if it were dried. The seed of the sunflower they also collect for food, but it does not appear to be common here. Six beaver from 50 traps today; course, northwest north, 14 miles.

Sunday, June 11. We have every cause to apprehend some treachery from suspicious manner of the Indians. At this season beaver are not easily taken. The bait of castoreum is no

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<sup>1</sup> Confirms note on entry of April 10th.

inducement as they discharge this castoreum, abandon the female to the young and will live on grass till the sap of the trees ceases flowing and flowers from blooming, when they commence preparing their winter habitation; they are at present very shy. Our last party were to have ascended Sandwich Island River and to have trapped it; and I am surprised not to see them. I rewarded our guide to the amount of eight skins, Indian tariff, and he was highly pleased. Mr. McKay discovered some Snake Indians concealed in the hills, no doubt to steal our horses. This day 44 beaver, which enables us once more to feast. The discontent was dispelled. Gaiety reigns in camp.

Monday, June 12th. Last night we were alarmed by the guide calling out "Thieves." An Indian was seen near the horses, but made his escape; had he delayed two hours longer, when all the camp would have been asleep, he would have succeeded; it will have a good effect on the men. Canadians in general require an alarm every few days to keep on guard. Some of our traps were stolen last night; suspect men (?) the camp's. This day we finished our second thousand beaver. If our absent men are safe I trust them to add a thousand more.

Wednesday, June 14th. We trust to chance now as we have no guide and all are equally ignorant of this country. Two Snake Indians, well-mounted, came boldly to camp; they gave us some idea of the road, and no tidings of our absent men. God grant no accident has befallen them.

Thursday, June 15th. All along our route this day the plains were covered with women digging roots; at least 10 bushels were traded by our party; the men (Indians) all gone to join the Fort Nez Percés Indians. Reached a fork of Owyhee River. Still no account of our men.

Sunday, June 18th. The stones are as sharp as flints; our tracks could be followed by the blood from our horses' feet.

Monday, June 26th. Very evident our absent men have

passed here; Burnt River, but how long since we could not from the tracks discover. Tomorrow I shall separate from my party leaving Messrs. McDonald, McKay and Dears to proceed to Nez Perces and then go to Fort Vancouver in boats with the furs. The appointment to meet Gervais on July 15th is the cause of my going. Our horses are in a low state to undertake it, but I cannot abandon my men and must see if they be dead or alive.

Thursday, June 29th. Separated<sup>1</sup> this morning for my camp of February 3d. Saw tracks and hopes of our men, but found a bit of Spanish blanket which makes me conclude this must be the path of Snakes.

Tuesday, July 1st. Reached the waters of Day's River; a bad road from trees lying crosswise.

Saturday, July 8th. Encamped on waters of Willamette.

Sunday, July 16th. Arrived at Willamette River at 2 p. m., where we found a freeman encamped. The man can accommodate us with a canoe. I was happy to learn our friends on the Columbia are safe and well, and Sylvaile and party safely arrived, but no word of Gervais and party.

Monday, July 17th. Embarked; arrived at falls at 10; exchanged our two canoes for a large one. I should suppose the height of the falls to be about 45 feet. We reached Ft. Vancouver a little after sunset; received by Dr. McLoughlin with every mark of attention. Distance from where I started this morning to Ft. Vancouver is 56 miles. With the exception of the falls not a ripple to be seen; a finer stream than the Willamette is not to be found; soil good; wood of all kinds in abundance; roots, elk, deer, salmon and sturgeon abundant; man could reside here and with but little industry enjoy every

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ogden himself with small party proceeds west across Blue Mountain Range and Central Oregon and the Cascade Range to Willamette River by some route. He evidently had never before seen the Willamette as far south as that. His men and furs proceed direct to Ft. Walla Walla by way of Powder River and Grand Ronde Valley, as usual.

comfort. The distance from the ocean is 90 miles. No doubt ere many years a colony will be formed on the stream, and I am of opinion it will, with little care, flourish, and settlers, by having a seaport so near them, with industry, might add greatly to their comforts and to their happiness. Thus ends my second trip and I am thankful for the many dangers I have escaped with all my party in safety. Had we not been obliged to kill our horses for food, the success of our expedition would have yielded handsome profits as it is fortunately no loss will be sustained.

#### FINAL EDITORIAL NOTE.

We are fortunate in having a statement of the exact returns of this expedition, as made up after the arrival at Ft. Vancouver of both Mr. Ogden by way of the Willamette and his furs by way of the Columbia. It is given in a letter written by Dr. John McLoughlin to John McLeod, the original of which is now in the Dominion Archives of Canada at Ottawa, as follows: "Fort Vancouver 8th August, 1826. Enclosed is a copy of the Snake Expedition A/C current;.....2740 Large Beaver W't 4285 lbs. 837 small Beaver w't 551 lbs. 114 Large Otter 9 small Otter 3 Misquash 12 Beav'r Coating apparent gain £2,533-18.

(Sgd) John McLoughlin. "



## SECOND PAPER.

# THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OREGON

## CHAPTER II.

### OREGON'S PUBLIC DOMAIN.

As with the other Western States, excepting Texas, the title to the lands lying within the borders of Oregon was originally vested in the national government. The early American settlers in Oregon had, however, become entitled to more than an average measure of liberality on the part of Congress in its disposition of these lands. These Oregon pioneers by their long, hazardous and wearisome journey across the plains and occupation of this remote region, had largely won the Pacific slope to the Union. The Donation Act of 1850, securing to each man and wife a tract of 640 acres, was but a fair acknowledgment of this national service of the early Oregon pioneer.

But these liberal grants to individuals affected the finances of the territory and state only in that they brought large tracts privately owned under taxation. More directly do the grants to the state collectively, for education and internal improvements, and to corporations for providing transportation facilities within its borders, figure in the public finances.

From the Oregon lands received from the national government the state treasury secured income of two quite distinct kinds. The proceeds of some of these grants, the educational, went into irreducible funds, only the interest incomes from which could be used for public educational purposes. Of the

proceeds from the other class of grants the principal itself was available for public expenditures. Along with this latter treasury resource from the sales of internal improvement lands by the state was a money payment of five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands within the state by the national government. Closely allied with this last are the more recent payments of percentages of the sales of timber from the forest reservations within the state.

In addition to the grants of lands that were made over to the state to have and to hold, or to dispose of for the purposes for which they were accepted, there were land grants to railroads and wagon roads in connection with which the state acted merely as an intermediary. The proceeds from these did not figure in the treasury statements.

The public domain has figured in Oregon's finances in the following ways and items:

I. Through grants for common and higher education: a, the common school grant first made in the act organizing the territory, August 14, 1848, of sections 16 and 36 of each township; b, a grant for the use and support of a state university first made in the donation act, September 27, 1850, of two townships and the "Oregon City Claim"; c, the grant under the Morrill Act, July 2, 1862, for the support of a college for the cultivation of agricultural and mechanical science and art, of 30,000 acres for each of the three members of Congress Oregon then was entitled to.

II. Through grants for internal improvements, public buildings and other uses of the state: a, a grant of 500,000 acres to which Oregon was entitled under the act of September 4, 1841, for internal improvements; b, a grant of 10 sections for public buildings made at the time of admission into the Union, February 14, 1859; c, a grant of not exceeding 12 salt springs with six sections of lands as contiguous as may be to each, at the time of the admission into the Union (but this grant lapsed because of neglect); d, swamp lands for reclaiming, under act of September 28, 1850, and extension to Ore-

gon through act of March 12, 1860; e, tide lands through sovereignty of state; f, five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands within the state by the national government. At first 10 and now 25 per cent of the receipts from sales of timber from reservations within the state.

The measure of wealth that the people of Oregon have in common today for the support of the public activities absolutely essential to a democracy has been determined by the policy they permitted in the disposition of the grants of land made to them by the national government. The social conditions involved in the distribution of land ownership are to a certain extent resultants of the same policy. That policy either supported or opposed the forces making for wide and uniform distribution, or for uneven and massed holdings. Even the speculative mania was fostered or starved. Oregon's administration of its various grants reflects the ideas and spirit of the people during the first 50 years of statehood.

For what transpired in connection with the grants made by Congress of public lands lying within the borders of Oregon to railroads and wagon road companies this state has not been largely responsible. In connection with these the most that devolved upon the state legislature, aside from memorializing Congress for the different grants, was to designate the corporation that should be the beneficiary of the grant, or upon the executive to pass upon the construction work as to whether or not it fulfilled the conditions under which the title to the lands was to pass to the corporation.

The disposition of the lands of which the state did become the owner will be traced mainly for the purpose of illustrating the results of the presence or the absence of the requisite civic spirit and foresight to conserve the common weal of the present and coming generations. Considering the fact that only a mere remnant of the lands are still held, and the bad taste left from the transactions of a decade or so ago, the matter may appeal to some as merely a "spilled milk" episode. It is, however, of transcendent importance that the lesson it teaches

should be learned by the Oregon people. These lands were a tangible public interest and the outcome with them should make clear the attitude to be taken and the course followed with the more intangible resources the public is ever developing. So the real significance for this generation of Oregon's public land policy lies not in what "might have been" done with this particular resource, that for the public has been so largely squandered, but rather in the suggestion it gives of the need of the public spirit and intelligence that arouses the imagination to take hold of the problem of conserving the common and collective good latent at every stage of social evolution. Every day brings a turn of events in which the genuinely loyal and competent citizenship will find opportunity. The present day stock of public resources in timber, water power, and public utilities generally, should challenge enlightened thought and patriotic purpose. The whole status of property rights in its relation to the welfare of democracy should be clearly comprehended.

It goes without question that it was most salutary that the valley lands and the arable uplands of Oregon should have passed as rapidly as possible into the hands of the actual cultivator. Little valid objection can be raised even to the giving away of vacant lands under conditions that bring them into use by the independent husbandman. What the national homestead act contemplated was sound public economy. It was particularly so if the farming it gave opportunity for was not characterized by soil butchery and soil wastage. But the disposition of vacant lands for the nominal sum of \$1.25 per acre under conditions which resulted in their being massed into larger holdings, in their being largely exempt from taxation, and in bringing communities under the blighting disadvantage of sparse settlement and long continued isolation, while the land speculator was amassing a fortune through unearned increments—such a policy of quick sale of public domain has none of the redeeming features of the normal working of the homestead law.



The story of the endowment of the State of Oregon with its lands is probably best made clear through a reference to the successive stages in Oregon's development to statehood and in the creation of titles to lands within its borders. There was first the period of the provisional government from 1843 to 1849. Under this organization of the settlers a land law provided for the establishment of and definition of claims to tracts of not more than 640 acres in extent. No provision existed for collective commonwealth holdings. Through the act of Congress of August 14, 1848, by which the laws of the United States were first extended to the Oregon country and the territory created, all legislation of the provisional government affecting titles to lands was "declared to be null and void." This organic act creating the territory did not, however, provide any law in place of that set aside. What legal rights private individuals had to their claims were thus dissolved or at least held in abeyance. Commonwealth interests fared better. Bountiful provision was made for its common schools in reserving, as they were surveyed, sections 16 and 36 of each township for the schools.

The settlers were left in suspense as to their claims for some two years. By the Donation Act of September 27, 1850, each family settled in Oregon was entitled to a section and each unmarried man to a half-section. The reservation of sections 16 and 36 for schools was reaffirmed, and these public lands of the people of the territory were supplemented by a grant of two townships, and the unsold remnant of the "Oregon City claim," to aid in the establishment of a university. The special liberality to Oregon settlers was continued down to 1855.

On the passage of the act for the admission of Oregon, February 14, 1859, and the acceptance of certain specified conditions affecting the grants it made, by the Legislature of Oregon, June 2, of the same year, this state was vested with complete rights not only to the common school and university grants previously received, but also became possessed of the following additional grants:

The internal improvement grant, 500,000 acres; the public buildings grant, 6,400 acres; the salt springs grant, 46,080 acres; the tide lands within the borders of the state; five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales made by the national government within the state.<sup>1</sup>

By act of Congress of March 12, 1860, the swamp lands were secured to the state in order that it might through the means they would provide have funds for reclaiming them by levees and drains; and on July 2, 1862, 90,000 acres were added to the state's endowment, as its quota for the support of an agricultural college.

It will be noticed that the common school lands have their location specifically described, while to secure title to specific tracts under the other grants required that a selection be made. Even in the case of the common school lands, the settlement prior to survey of sections 16 or 36 necessitated selection of lieu lands as also did a mineral character of the school sections.

#### I. THE SELECTION OF OREGON LANDS.

The selection, and the securing of the approval of such selections by national authorities, was the first step of administration necessary on the part of the state in availing itself of the congressional grants of lands other than the school lands. Even in the case of the common school grant sections 16 and 36 were found occupied in the valleys of Western Oregon when the surveys were made—as the settlement of this part of the territory had been in progress for some ten years before the survey was begun. The law respected the rights of these prior claimants. The selection of lieu school lands was thus necessary to make up for the loss sustained in the valleys of the Willamette, Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Furthermore, lands of a mineral character were excepted from the common school grant, and the state's quota of school lands was cut down in the creation of Indian reservations and more recently through

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<sup>1</sup> General Laws of Oregon, 1843-1872, pp. 101-104.

the setting apart large tracts covering water sheds for national forest reserves. The state was entitled to indemnity school lands for all these losses. It was in connection with the securing of lands in lieu of these losses that the most grievous blunders were made.

The conduct of the work of selection throughout creates an impression of dilatoriness and lack of intelligent procedure. The salt springs' grant of 46,080 acres was wholly forfeited through neglect.<sup>1</sup> The state would have fared likewise with other grants had not extensions of the periods within which selections were to be made been allowed by congress. It must be admitted that there was little to suggest to the early Oregonians that the lands away from the centers of the valleys would ever be worth securing. An unlimited timbered wilderness and beyond that to the east a continental stretch of semi-arid plains hedged about the small settled areas in the valleys.<sup>2</sup> These were mitigating circumstances that excuse the early dilatoriness, but they in no way exonerate the state from blame for

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1 It is a question whether Oregon had the kind of springs or the conditions that originally inspired the custom of a salt springs grant. Yet there is no evidence that the state officials were deterred on that score from attempting selections.

2 The first governor in his first message spoke of the difficulty of making selections of value. He says: "Although this grant [Oregon's aggregate endowment in 1860] appears liberal and generous, yet, it may be difficult to find lands in any of the valleys west of the Cascade range of mountains of a desirable quality, unoccupied, subject to be located under the provisions of this bill."—House Journal, First Session, 1859, p. 27.

The following also indicates somewhat the ideas entertained concerning the resources in the public lands: The "Memorials and Resolutions" of the session of 1864 contain the copy of a memorial praying for favorable action on a bill the legislature proposed to have presented by the Oregon senators and representatives, asking for the granting to the State of Oregon all the unsurveyed lands within her boundaries. The ground on which they made this request was that "the great body of lands now unsurveyed within the boundaries of Oregon is of little value; and that scattered through it are many small tracts of comparatively small extent, that the expense to the government to extend the surveys to include these small isolated sections of good lands and to bring them into the market, can never be repaid by their sale; that, therefore, while being to the government of no value, they may be by economical systems of surveys under state authority be of much value to the state, and might be applied to create a fund for internal improvements to great advantage to Oregon."—Special Laws, 1864, under "Memorials and Resolutions," pp. 11-12.

the policy most persevere later pursued in making indemnity school land selections. Instead of proceeding in a business-like way by inspecting the areas available from which selections could be made, and conserving the interests of the people as a whole by making a selection of the best, the state assumed a passive attitude that played into the hands of the speculative exploiter. Under such a policy the hard-working creator of wealth doing a real service to the community was placed at a great disadvantage, and the speculative schemer with parasitic inclinations was given every opportunity. The inevitable outcome was to make the state the harbor of a goodly number of notorious land thieves. Yet the national land legislation must share with that of the state the ignominy in the looting of the public domain in Oregon. The national land laws were not made with Oregon conditions in view and were not adapted to them, but lent themselves to practices that meant the sacrifice of the public good.

To take up the story of the Oregon grants in detail. The selection of the lieu or indemnity school lands was first to be undertaken and has been in constant progress, as the surveys have been extended, and always of major importance; yet since the complications and the abuses in connection with these selections were quite recent, a decade or two ago, the account of them is best reserved until last.

*University Lands.* The selection of the areas of the undefined grants began with the university lands. It will be remembered that this two-township grant was made by Congress in 1850 in the Donation Act. The first selections of university lands were made in 1853. About \$9000 worth of the selected lands were sold at public sales in 1855 and 1856. Selections sufficient to make up the two townships granted were located, but as will appear later the procedure necessary to perfect the title of the state to these lands was not carried out. A \$4 per acre minimum price put on them brought activity in selling to a close. For some ten years nothing more appears on the records concerning these university lands except that they



were to be found among the river bottom lands along the Willamette and its tributaries and in the foothills and that they were being despoiled of their timber and the trespassing was resistless.<sup>1</sup> The board of commissioners for the sale of school and university lands say in 1868 as to the university lands that "there appears on the record to have been selected and approved 7,494.35 acres (an excess of 1,414.35 acres.)"<sup>2</sup> Governor Grover, however, in his biennial message of 1872 makes the astounding statement "Efforts at locating these lands began as early as 1853, but owing to irregularities of the work, and misapprehension of its conditions, the locations remained totally unrecognized by the United States, and consequently open for pre-emption or homestead settlement. From these facts, many of the lands first selected under this grant have been lost to the state, and others of necessarily a poorer quality, had to be located to fill the grant."<sup>3</sup>

Of the selection of its university land, then, it must be said that the territorial authorities in the first instance were not dilatory, but having secured an inchoate title to the lands, they suffered them to be despoiled and in part taken from the state's possession so that lands of a poorer quality had to substituted.

*The Agricultural College Lands.* Through the conditions of the Morrill Act of July 2, 1862, Oregon became entitled to 90,000 acres for the support of an agricultural college. The selection of these lands under the act of the Legislature of October 15, 1862, providing generally for the selection of state lands, devolved upon the Governor of the state. Two years later in reporting progress with this matter Governor Gibbs in

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1 University Land Commissioner's Report, 1858.

2 Report Commissioners for Sale School and University Lands, 1868, pp. 40-41.

3 Governor's Message, 1872, pp. 10-11.

A feature of the original grant for university purposes in addition to the two townships was the "Oregon City Claim." This involved cruel injustice to Dr. John McLoughlin, to whom the land of right belonged. Naturally there was resistance to the State in taking possession. The tract comprised the site of Oregon City. After selling a few lots, the State made over its rights to the heirs of Dr. McLoughlin in 1862 for \$1000.—General Laws, 1862, p. 90.

his biennial message says: "There is great difficulty in finding lands subject to location in this state. I have considered it of paramount importance to first select lands for the benefit of the common schools. Enough of that class has not yet been found to make up the amount to which the state is entitled, therefore no lands have yet been selected for the benefit of the agricultural college."<sup>1</sup>

As these lands had not yet been selected in 1868 and as the state's extension of time in which to erect the college would have nearly elapsed by the time of the next session of the Legislature, the Legislature of 1868 appointed a special commission to select the agricultural college lands and to prepare plans for the college. This committee reported in 1870 that it had selected all such lands to which the state was entitled excepting some 92 acres. These selections were made in a block in the Klamath Lake country. This was then a region remote from settlement. The lands were located there because no considerable body of surveyed lands subject to private entry near settled districts was available. The Klamath lands, however, were not technically subject to private entry as the terms of the act of Congress required they should be to make them available for selection by the state for agricultural college lands.<sup>2</sup>

It required an act of Congress to legalize this selection by the state. This was secured in the session of 1871-2, and the administrative ratification of the selection soon followed. The lands of the agricultural college grant were thus fully vested in the state after a lapse of some ten years from the time the act making the grant was passed.

*The Internal Improvement Grant.* An act of Congress of September 4, 1841, provided that 500,000 acres of public lands shall be granted "to each state that shall hereafter be admitted into the Union," for internal improvements. This act was in

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix to House Journal, 1864, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Governor's Message, 1872, pp. 12-13.

force at the time of the admission of Oregon. The dilatoriness that characterized the state's action in making selections of university and agricultural college lands did not obtain with this grant. It was rather a form of precipitancy in the legislation affecting these lands that caused considerable of a tangle and some loss. By an act of the Legislature of October 19, 1860, it was intended to secure to individuals the right to pre-empt lands that should later be selected as part of this grant.<sup>1</sup> The transaction arranged for under this statute clearly constituted a case of contracting to sell property to which the state as yet had no claim. The lands thus pre-empted under state law were still national property and were liable to be sold or taken as homesteads without regard to the interests of those who had made payments to the state treasury as pre-emptors. The state had no control over any public lands until these had under some grant been selected and approved.<sup>2</sup> By an act of October 15, 1862, the act of the preceding session essaying to provide "possessory and pre-emptory rights" was formally repealed and the claims taken under it, and held, whether amounting to 320 acres or not, were so accounted by the state to the national government in order to make their selection valid.<sup>3</sup>

The Governor by this act of 1862 was authorized to employ temporarily an agent acquainted with the locality where it was proposed to select lands. By 1868 some 300,000 acres of this 500,000-acre grant had been selected, the greater portion being in Union, Baker and Umatilla Counties.<sup>4</sup> By 1870 the amount approved to the state had reached 431,516 acres.<sup>5</sup> Nearly 457,000 acres had been approved by 1872, the selection of the remainder was certain to be ratified in a short time.<sup>6</sup> So this

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1 General Laws, 1860, pp. 55-57.

2 Governor's Message—Appendix to House Journal, 1862, pp. 26-27.

3 General Laws, 1862, pp. 105-7.

4 Report of the Commissioners for the Sale of School and University Lands, 1868, pp. 44-46.

5 Report of the Commissioners for the Sale of School and University Lands, 1870, p. 18.

6 Governor's Message, 1872, p. 14.

internal improvement grant after which the state started precipitantly in 1860 was fully vested in the state after a period of some fourteen years.<sup>1</sup>

*The Public Buildings Grant.* As this grant to Oregon amounted to only ten sections (6,400 acres) it was not strange that it should have been overlooked for some time.<sup>2</sup> However, Governor Grover, during his first term, 1870 to 1874, made the securing of title by the state to all public lands granted to it the leading object of his administration and was able to report in 1874 concerning this grant that the lands had been selected during the last preceding biennium, the selections approved at the local land offices and were awaiting final approval by the Department of the Interior.<sup>3</sup>

*The Salt Springs Grant.* Oregon on its admission as a state became entitled to all the salt springs within its borders, "not exceeding twelve in number, with the six sections of land adjoining or as contiguous as may be to each. . . . the same to be selected by the Governor thereof within one year after the admission of the state." No selection of these springs or lands was ever made. It was not, however, the fault of the first Governor, John Whiteaker. He made three successive applications to the Commissioner of the General Land Office for instructions in accordance with which the selections might be made. He was not enlightened.<sup>4</sup> Congress extended the time for selection for three years from December 17, 1860, and this period expired without selections having been made.

Governor Grover in 1874 claimed that there were "several salt springs of superior character and great future value already known," and thought others would be discovered. He requested that Congress be memorialized to extend again the time for selecting salt springs and contiguous lands. The

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1 Governor's Message, 1874, p. 10.

2 Governor's Message, 1872, p. 10.

3 Governor's Message, 1874, pp. 13-14.

4 Governor's Message, 1862, p. 5.



Legislature, however, did not respond, and a possible addition of 46,080 acres of lands for the state was not secured.

Probably it was just as well that the right of Oregon to the salt springs grant was forfeited. Oregon's excellent mineral springs are not of the character or type of the salt springs of the Ohio valley in connection with which and similar springs this grant to states became customary. Nor have the Oregon springs had a similar function in the early economic conditions of the state. It was not strange that Governor Whiteaker under the peculiar circumstances existing in Oregon should have anxiously sought instructions before making selections. And it may be possible that Governor Grover's zeal in finding a basis for Oregon's right to the salt springs grant was due more to his laudable ambition to get a full share of the public lands for the state rather than to carry out the purpose for the public welfare under which the custom of the grant originated.<sup>1</sup>

*The Swamp Land Grant.* The application of the customary swamp land grant to conditions existing in Oregon was attended by an even nearer approach to chicanery than the realization on the salt springs grant would have been. Oregon has very little surface area that approximates in character to the lands bordering on the Mississippi River in the States of Louisiana and Arkansas, to which the swamp land grant was first applied. Moreover, it has but a small extent of surface like that of the lake and marsh districts of glacial origin to be found in Minnesota, the state with which Oregon was linked, in the extension of the swamp land grant. Under these circumstances we expect to find Governor Whiteaker, upon whom the selection of the Oregon swamp lands devolved, again in trouble when he took up his task of the selection of them.

The act of Congress of March 12, 1860, extending the provisions of the swamp land grant act to Oregon and Minnesota further prescribed that the selection of the swamp lands," from lands already surveyed, at the time of the passage of the act

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1 Governor's Message, 1874, p. 15.

must be made within two years after the adjournment of the Legislature of each state at its session next after the date of the act, and as to all lands thereafter surveyed, within two years from such adjournment at the next session, after notice by the Secretary of the Interior to the Governor of the state that the surveys have been completed and confirmed."<sup>1</sup> It was the rule of the Department of the Interior to allow the different states the option (1) of taking the field notes of the survey designating the lands swampy in character which would pass to them under the grant; or (2) of selecting the lands by the state's own agents and report the same to the United States surveyor-general with proof of swampy character of the same. The Governor accordingly submitted the matter to the Legislative Assembly of 1860 in September and again called its attention to the matter of expressing its option the following month. But that body did not choose to take any action in the premises. Again in 1862 Governor Whiteaker reminded the Legislature that if there should be no exception made in favor of Oregon its swamp lands would be forfeited and that they were passing into private ownership through sale and pre-emption along with the general body of public lands so offered.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding these repeated warnings there was utter neglect of the swamp land grant on the part of the Oregon Legislative Assemblies until 1870. Neither did the Department of the Interior have the deputy surveyors in Oregon designate in their notes the land of swampy character; nor did it give notice to the Governors of the state when surveys were completed, with intimation that the state should select from among them lands claimed as swamp lands. However, in 1870 the Oregon Legislature woke up to a realization of commonwealth interests centered in the state's getting its swamp lands. It proceeded summarily and boldly to appropriate the swamp lands of the state without so much as asking "by your leave" of Congress. The

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<sup>1</sup> Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 703.

<sup>2</sup> *Governor's Message*, 1862, (Appendix to House Journal), p. 5.

board of school land commissioners were ordered to appoint an agent to select and to offer for sale at one dollar an acre the lands selected as swamp lands without asking the approval of such selections by the national authorities.<sup>1</sup> A list of their selections, amounting to 174,219 acres in 1872, was filed at the local public land offices, but there the same lands were being offered to homestead and pre-emption settlement. Governor Grover had during the preceding year taken up the matter with the Department of the Interior charging that the general land office of the United States had been neglectful in the execution of the laws of Congress making this grant in so far as it related to Oregon. Special apprehension was expressed concerning the fact that the large railway land grants, which were being located at this time, would infringe upon the swamp land areas.<sup>2</sup> This most unsatisfactory situation was continued another two years. The agents of the state extended their selections and had filed lists amounting to 266,600 acres by the time of the meeting of the Legislature in 1874. The Secretary of the Interior, however, had no attention paid to these selections as he held that in the act of 1870 the state had not complied with the regulations of the department as to indication of mode of selection it had chosen, nor did that act provide for proof of swampy character of lands selected. That headway might be made toward securing a clear title to the lands chosen Governor Grover counselled the Legislature to pass a resolution specifically electing to select the swamp and overflowed lands by agents of the state and to instruct the board of school land commissioners to furnish such evidence, and in such manner to the Department of the Interior of the character of these lands as it should prescribe. The Legislature complied and passed<sup>3</sup> an act requisite for securing the selection of swamp lands in accordance with rules of the Department of the Interior.

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<sup>1</sup> General Laws, 1870, pp. 54-57.

<sup>2</sup> Governor's Message, 1872, pp. 14-20.

<sup>3</sup> General Laws, 1874, p. 24.

The handling of the Oregon's swamp land grant during the seventies and eighties was wholly discreditable to the state. To say that it exhibits the extreme of credulity and supineness on the part of the Legislatures and Governors of these decades is placing the most charitable interpretation possible upon the policy pursued. It was not an orgy of land looting in which any considerable number of Oregon people participated but rather a neatly executed scheme on the part of foreign capitalists who got a half a million acres of valuable lands for a song. A few private citizens served as tools and Legislatures and state officials were duped into acquiescence.

The Legislature of 1870 was befoozled into passing the act, already referred to, under which a single individual could become purchaser of an unlimited area of such lands as amenable state agents could be induced to designate as swamp lands. A payment of 20 cents an acre secured possession of these lands from the state and if three crops of hay were cut within ten years they were accounted "reclaimed"; a further payment of 80 cents an acre secured full title to the lands so far as the state could give it.

The sale of the swamp lands was so bound up with the selection of them that it is exceedingly difficult to discuss these transactions separately. In fact, we shall see that the great body of the lands were construed as sold some years before they were selected. But to return to the progress in selection. The first fruits of the perverse handling of the matter of selection appear in the statement of the board of school land commissioners of 1876. By that time the selections by the state agents in the aggregate amounted to some 324,000 acres; yet only 1,336 acres had been approved to the state by the national authorities. Several purchasers who had made first payments to the state, on the basis of its right to these lands under the procedure of the act of 1870, were withdrawing their money as their lands were being taken away from them by pre-emptors under national law.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Report of Commissioners for Sale of School and University Lands, 1876, p. 14.



The nature of the influences that dominated the situation is revealed through the report for 1878 of this same state land board: "There has been selected and listed 237,864 acres [during the last two years] making in all 562,083.97 acres. There are on file in the office at the present time applications for a large lot of lands that have not been listed or selected; also there are applications on file for about one million acres that are yet unsurveyed. . . . Some lists have been approved by him [the surveyor-general] and forwarded to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and are awaiting his action. He has, however, approved to the state about 2,000 acres in all." This report, however, fails to divulge the fact which would have been a very pertinent one for it to have made known, namely, that this prodigious filing had nearly all been done by one party. As it was it made it quite evident that there was a wide disparity between the views of state officials and swamp land purchasers on the one hand and the national approving officials on the other as to what were swamp lands.

The mistaken notion, acted upon under the law of 1870, as to the summary power of the state in determining what belonged to it as swamp lands, arose in a measure from the fact that the courts, both national and state, had declared the grant as *in praesenti*, vesting the right to the swamp lands in the state whether it had title to specific tracts or not. In the eighties it receded from its presumption and proceeded in co-operation with the authorities of the national government to make selections.

In the early eighties the national government sent out "special agents" to investigate character of swamp lands listed. With these state agents conferred in making selections. The Legislature had in 1878 attempted to balk the wholesale grabbing of the swamp lands under the act of 1870 by raising the price to \$2.50 an acre on all lands applied for under this act. Furthermore, the applicant under act of 1870 must now under the law of 1878 take all he applied for at \$2.50 instead of \$1 an acre, or be limited to 320 acres as were all

purchasers under the act of 1878. But alas, the Legislature of 1870 had been too pliant. It had legitimized the application by any purchaser of an unlimited amount of swamp lands at a price of one dollar an acre. Notwithstanding the repeal of the law of 1870 by the act of 1878 before the state had approved lists of swamp lands above a few thousand acres, the enormous areas applied for by one or two parties under the conditions of the act of 1870 had to be delivered. So ruled the state land board of two successive administrations of the eighties. This was the most preposterous part of the whole swamp land transactions. A single party—the tool of foreign capitalists—received a deed to at least 350,000 acres on the ground that filings had been made for that amount before the law of 1870 had been repealed. These filings were for lands which the state at the time did not own and on which not a cent had been paid before the law under which they were made was repealed. Yet the administrative officials held that they had the force of contracts which neither the Legislature nor the Governor could set aside. A pretty result we have in this of the status and strength of private property rights as against the power and general welfare of the people.

The purpose for which the swamp land grants by the national government to the states was initiated received only nominal recognition in the first Oregon legislation pertaining to the grant. In all subsequent acts this purpose was completely ignored. The morale exhibited throughout in connection with the handling of Oregon's swamp land grant was about as follows: After an ineffectual effort by the first Governor to develop the state's claims to its swamp lands the matter lay in abeyance some ten years. Then, beginning with 1870, Governor Grover makes the realization by the state on its different land grants his leading activity. His attitude, however, suggests strongly that he felt that all the public domain of right should have belonged to the state unconditionally, though he outlines no large purposes that might thus have been served. The several Legislatures, with their attention directed to these resources of the state, seemed mainly susceptible to

suggestions that promised traffic in lands and money in the treasury. Legislators with purposes pitched on such a low plane naturally became the victims of ingenious schemers who were on hand with plausible objects, in the shape of wagon road projects, to solicit appropriations anticipating the receipts from swamp land sales. With no adequate administrative supervision these wagon road appropriations became what they were planned to be—means for relieving the treasury of expected surplus funds. In this account of the selection of the swamp lands the sale of them and the disposition of the proceeds from them have been anticipated, as all these transactions were bound up together. In fact, binding contracts for the sale of these lands and appropriations of anticipated proceeds were practically all made before the selection of any had been completed. In it all there was not the least service by the state government to the people. Only syndicates of land-grabbers, on the one side, and, to all appearances, sets of treasury swindlers, on the other, profited.

In a state in which the extension of the government survey has been so gradual and not yet completed, the swamp land selection must go on apace. Oregon's geological formations do not include those giving rise to any considerable areas of swamp lands, except in its southeastern counties. The swampy areas of that section were exploited in the seventies and eighties. Even there large areas were, through the connivance of state and national agents, adjudged swamp lands simply because they were overflowed during brief periods at certain seasons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Selections of lands under the robbers' act of 1870 have been made with the view of cutting off access to the water. All the lands bordering on lakes and streams are taken. Every acre where hay can be cut. As no one can find means to live away from the water, the surrounding country for some miles becomes a cattle range for the land grabber. Up to the highest high water mark and above it the land surrounding lakes or lying along streams is called swamp land, even in places where water could not be had by digging to the depth of 30 feet. . . . Agents of the general government and of the state paid to protect the public interests, have connived at the scheme of spoliation; or, even worse, have taken the money of the spoilers to aid them in consummation of the outrages upon the country."—*Daily Oregonian*, February 29, 1884.

(To be continued.)

## DEDICATION OF THE M'LOUGHLIN HOME

Sunday, September 5, 1909, the McLoughlin Home was dedicated at Oregon City. Dr. John McLoughlin, the head of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific Coast from 1824 to 1846, and the founder of Oregon City, built this house in 1845-46, and occupied it until his death on September 3, 1857. For a number of years past it has been the desire of a number of the best citizens of that place that the old home of the "good old doctor," as he was affectionately known by the pioneers of early days, should be restored and preserved. An effort with this end in view was begun about two years ago, but was delayed by a number of unexpected obstacles. Early in 1909, the lot upon which it was originally built having changed hands, the time seemed opportune to the friends of the enterprise to begin anew an effort to save the building, particularly as the new owner of the lot upon which it stood needed the ground for other purposes, and offered the building without cost to the friends who had been endeavoring to save it. Accordingly the "McLoughlin Memorial Association" was organized for the purpose of initiating a movement to remove and restore the building. Friends of the effort in Oregon City, pioneers, members of the Oregon Historical Society, and others, generously aided by pioneers, members of the Oregon Historical Society in Portland, and other friends favoring the effort, raised something over \$1,000, and caused the structure to be removed from its original site to a new and slightly location upon the bluff in a park block which was given to Oregon City by the doctor years before his death. Then the building was repaired, painted, and a new roof put on, and in general restored to original condition so far as its outward appearance is concerned. Unfortunately there was a little local prejudice against the restoration and removal of the building, and the intervention of the courts was sought to prevent it; but the



McLoughlin Memorial Association won the day at every turn. The last effort to stop the movement for saving the home occurred on December 6, 1909, when the opposition invoked the referendum against it, but that effort was defeated on the date mentioned by a decisive vote on the part of the people of Oregon City. Obstructive tactics are now at an end.

The dedication ceremonies on the day first above alluded to were as follows: Overture, The Concert Band; introductory remarks, Dr. W. E. Carll, Mayor; address, Frederick V. Holman, President of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland; selection, The Concert Band; remarks, Rev. Thomas Sherman, son of the late General William T. Sherman; address, P. H. D'Arcy, Vice-President of the Oregon Pioneer Association; selection, The Concert Band. Several hundred persons were present, among them a goodly number of pioneers who had had frequent personal intercourse with Dr. McLoughlin. Among these was Hon. Francois Xavier Matthieu, whose acquaintance with the doctor began in 1842.

The officers of the McLoughlin Memorial Association, now incorporated under the laws of the state, are as follows: E. G. Caufield, President; George A. Harding, Vice-President; Charles H. Caufield, Treasurer; Edward E. Brodie, Secretary; Directors, Rev. A. Hillebrand, Joseph E. Hedges, Judge J. U. Campbell, C. D. Latourette, William Sheahan, Charles H. Dye, Dr. W. E. Carll.

ADDRESS OF FREDERICK V. HOLMAN AT THE HOME OF DR.  
JOHN McLOUGHLIN SEPTEMBER 5, 1909.

Mr. Mayor, Oregon Pioneers, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with great pleasure and in due appreciation of the honor conferred upon me that I speak on this occasion of the dedication, or, rather, the re-dedication, of this house so long the home of Dr. John McLoughlin here in Oregon City.

Its dedication was when he made this his final home in the Oregon Country. It was during the time of the joint-occu-

pancy of the Oregon Country by the United States and Great Britain. It was built after his resignation, and after he had ceased to be the head of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific Coast, which was the direct result of his philanthropy and humanity to the early pioneers. He built this house to be his permanent abiding place in the Oregon Country. In selecting Oregon City for his permanent home, he anticipated that it would be a part of the United States when the boundary treaty should be made and the dispute as to the ownership of Oregon should be determined between the United States and Great Britain. He had determined to change his allegiance and become an American citizen as soon as he could do so. This he carried out. Although born and brought up a British subject, Dr. McLoughlin's feelings and principles were for rule by the people under a republican form of government. Through his whole life he was ever the friend of the distressed and the champion of the oppressed. He made this house his home in pleasant anticipation of a happy and prosperous old age—to be with his wife and his children, and his children's children; to be one of those to make Oregon into a prosperous community, guided by his experience and his helping hand; to continue that aid by precept and example, by being of them as well as with them. These ideas he carried out to the best of his ability. I shall not dwell on what he did in assisting in the upbuilding of Oregon, and his aids and assistance to the early pioneers. It is a part of the folklore of Oregon.

It was here that the newly-come immigrants, discouraged by their long and arduous trips across the plains, were made hopeful by his kindly words and encouraged by his timely aid and assistance. It was here to the last that hospitality reigned supreme. His darkest days were never too dark to give a welcome to his friends and to the strangers within his gates. It was a place of culture, of refinement, the one attractive place in Oregon, where the log cabin was the rule, and the struggle for existence and to gain a foothold was the lot of most of the early pioneers.

Happy as was the original dedication of this house, with its clustering, charming memories of today, it was in it that Dr. McLoughlin suffered from despoiling hands, from the rapacity of some of those he had befriended, and some of those whose greed of gain outweighed all other considerations, even religious pretensions. It was here he saw his fortune disappear, his hopes frustrated, his life wrecked, and where finally his great heart broke. It was here he suffered martyrdom. It was here he died. I shall not go into these details. They are matters of history. He was deprived of the ownership of this house by the United States Government under the Oregon donation land law, through the machinations of conspirators, men, some of whom, enjoyed a little prosperity and public prominence, whose memories survive mostly through their unworthy actions toward him. That it was restored to his heirs by the State of Oregon, is a matter of state pride to every true Oregonian. It was an act which appeals to the right feeling of every lover of justice and humanity. It was an official acknowledgment of the injustice done to Dr. McLoughlin, and a recognition of his services in succoring the early immigrants and of what he had done for Oregon and what Oregon owed to him. It is to be regretted that the dark days of his last years were not brightened by this act of justice. His memory has now come into its own.

It is proper that this house should stand here in perpetual memory of its original builder and owner—a man who stands supreme as the first, the greatest, of Oregon's citizens. It is the one house in Oregon which typifies the old and binds together the old and the new—the days of heroic Oregon and the days of the greater Oregon of today. Its preservation and its removal to the present site represents something of earnest and heartfelt endeavors, something of romantic interest, something of patriotism, something of higher feelings in the appreciation and determination that the house of Oregon's great humanitarian should be preserved and protected, not only for those of today but for those of the past, whom he

befriended, and by whom he was beloved, and also for those of the future, who will respect and venerate his memory. To those who were instrumental in the accomplishment of this act be all honor and praise. It is a noble act of generous and grateful people. It shows them to be men and women who possess the qualities of gratitude and of affection, and are respecters of favors received by their ancestors, and appreciators of noble qualities in others.

This house has its fitting resting place in this park, which Dr. McLoughlin generously gave to this city. It is only one of his numerous benefactions to the public. Let it be a shrine to him who loved his fellowmen. As long as it exists, this house will be a monument to him and of what he was and is to the people of Oregon. May it rest here forever. It will stand for courage and right and humanity as against a company's selfish policy; for straightforwardness and honesty as against crookedness and dishonesty; for loving kindness as against malice; for a people's gratitude as against conspirators' rascality and ingratitude; and for a triumphant memory as against the calumnies and aspersions of contemptible contemporaries.

Here will come the stranger to show his appreciation of this great and good man; here will come the pioneers of Oregon, and their descendants to the remotest generations to do honor and reverence to the father of Oregon, whose loving kindness and humanity can never be forgotten. This house will be consecrated by their prayers, their tears, and their love.



## DOCUMENTS.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.  
Washington, D. C.

Department of Historical Research.

J. Franklin Jameson, Director.

The Editor of the "Oregon Historical Quarterly,"

Dear Sir: I lately found among the papers of my uncle, who died four years ago, the letter of which I inclose a careful copy. The writer was his elder brother, my father, John Jameson of Massachusetts. I have thought that its list of wholesale prices in Oregon in 1852 might be of some interest to students of economic conditions in that early period.

My father, who was born in 1828, went out in 1851 to Oregon, going in a sailing vessel to San Francisco and thence by steamer to Portland. After a brief stay there he went to Buteville. I see that in this letter he spells it "Buteville," but I had always understood from him that it was properly spelled *Butteville*. I do not find the name in the *Postal Guide*, but the village was in existence some years ago. Indeed, I think you printed nine or ten years ago the reminiscences of an ancient French-Canadian who had lived there some sixty years and whom my father, to whom I showed the article in your *Quarterly*, remembered very well.<sup>1</sup>

These few months in Buteville were the only part of my father's life that was spent in commercial pursuits. He came back to Massachusetts in 1852, studied for the bar, taught for several years, and then practiced law. He died in 1905. The brother, ten years younger, to whom the letter is addressed, was subsequently Dr. R. Edwin Jameson of Boston.

Very respectfully yours,

J. F. JAMESON.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington,

November 27, 1909.

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<sup>1</sup> F. X. Matthieu is no doubt the man to whom Dr. Jameson refers. See *Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 73-104.—Ed. *Quarterly*.

Buteville, Marion Co. Tues. Aug. 17, '52

Dear Brother Edwin,

I must commence with asking you to ask father to be sure to send me the Boston *semi weekly Atlas* from the receipt of this till the middle of November *or until all the election returns are in* EXCEPT California. Some time ago father asked me to send you a price current. I will transcribe from my Invoice Book the *wholesale* prices which I paid for my goods. The retail price (my selling price) is from 25 to 100 per cent above this. Freight from Portland here is about \$20.00 per ton some by weight & some by measurement. So you see if *I only sell enough* I shall make a very good profit. I cannot stop to arrange them in the proper order.

Womens shoes pgd.....	.83—1.00
Kit boots pr.....	2.66
Grain " ".....	2.50
Cowhide ".....	3.00
Youths brogans ".....	.75
cut tumblers p doz.....	1.75—2.00
Linen check.....	.20— .26
Gingham.....	.18— .25
delaine.....	.27— .47
Lawn.....	.13½— .25
Prints.....	.10— .20
Irish linen.....	.37½— .54
Diaper & towelling.....	.16 2-3
Linen thread pr lb.....	1.00—1.50
wh spool cotton pr doz.....	.65— .75
Sad Irons " lb.....	.08
Essences (oz) pr doz.....	.37— .75
Saleratus.....	.09
Sugar Manilla.....	.09
" China.....	.10
" B Havanna.....	.13
" White.....	.14
white flannel.....	.45

Sheeting .....	.11—	.16
table cloths, col'd.....		1.25
Bl'k Satinett .....		.75
Kentuck Jean .....		.38
Pins pr doz.....	.65—	.75
white wove drawers.....		1.33
red flannel " .....		1.33
white shirts .....		1.33
fancy " .....		.62
Hudson Bay" .....		1.25
Tobacco .....	.25—	.50
Chintz .....		.10
Coffee .....	.13—	.15
Bed spreads .....		2.00
white linen table cloths.....		1.25
Coarse Sack coats.....		3.00
common " " .....		6.00
Fine " " .....		8.00
Misses hose (worsted).....		.37½
Ladies cotton " .....		.18¾
white hats (fine fur).....		3.12½
" " common.....		1.08
Blk brush hats.....		1.50
Mens cloth caps.....		1.00
" oil " " .....		.50
Soap brown pr lb.....	.10—	.12½
" toilet " " .....		.25
Butcher knives .....	.25—	.50
dining knives & forks pr doz.....		5.00
Powder pr lb.....		1.00
Soup tureens .....		2.00
Rice .....	.06—	.10
Blk glazed cambric.....		.09
Fig'd Alpacca .....		.55
red flannel .....		.35
Shirt buttons pr gro.....		.75

Hickory shirting .....	.13
writing paper pr ream.....	4.00
Sewing Silk pr lb.....	8.00
Starch .....	.10
Tea .....	.45— 62½
Allspice .....	.50
Ginger .....	.10
Hooks & eyes pr gro.....	.37½
Camphor pr lb.....	.75
Percussion Caps pr 1000.....	1.25
Mould Candles .....	.20
Adamantine " .....	.50
Sperm " .....	.62½
Needles pr M.....	3.00
dried apples .....	.12— .14
raisins (cask) pr lb.....	.10— .12
Salt Liverpool " " .....	.03½
Pork Mess pr bbl.....	30.00
" Oregon " " .....	35.00
Cigars Havana pr M.....	25.00—40.00
English Walnuts pr lb.....	.20
Candy Stuarts " " .....	.50
tweed .....	.72
Lead (for bullets).....	.14
tin pans pr doz.....	2.00—6.00
" wash bowls.....	.42
Blankets pr pair.....	4.75
tacks pr doz papers.....	1.00
Screws pr gro.....	.75
Nails cut.....	.10
Nutmegs pr lb.....	1.00
common brass candlesticks.....	.50
Syrup (Sugar House) gall.....	.50
Vinegar pr gall.....	.25
Pepper Sauce pr doz.....	4.50
Mustard " " .....	4.50



Grindstones .....	5.00
tobacco pipes pr gro.....	2.00
wooden pails .....	.45
Hoes & handles.....	.75
Brooms pr doz.....	3.00
Fry pans .....	.62½
Grain Sacks .....	.50
Collins axes pr doz.....	20.00
Shingling hatchets pr doz.....	9.00
Axe           "       "       " .....	9.00
Bench         "       "       " .....	24.00
Augers pr qr in.....	.20
Claw hammers per doz.....	6.00—15.00
Iron table spoons per doz.....	1.00
"   tea       "       "       " .....	.35
Padlocks .....	.42
Door latches .....	.16 2-3
Iron wedges pr lb.....	.12
Beetle rings   "       " .....	.12
Log Chains    "       " .....	.12½
Wrapping twine"       " .....	1.00
Matches       "   gro.....	2.50
Castor Oil pr bottles.....	.62½
Shovels round point.....	2.00
Chocolate pr lb.....	.25
Common bowls doz.....	2.00
Small         "       " .....	1.50
Large yellow bowls doz.....	6.00
white bowls doz.....	3.33
deep dishes   " .....	3.50—7.50
blue edge pudding dish doz.....	4.50
white           "       "       " .....	6.00
blue edge platters         " .....	7.50
white           "         " .....	9.00
Creamers white             " .....	4.00
"           colored         " .....	3.00

Pitchers yellow	"	.....	4.50
Pitchers white	pr doz	.....	9.00
cover'd chambers	" "	.....	5.50
Blk tea pots	" "	.....	6.00
White "	" "	.....	9.00
" Sugar bowls	" "	.....	7.50
Yellow "	" " "	.....	6.00
Soup plates	pr doz	.....	2.00
dining "	" " "	.....	1.75
Breakfast "	" " "	.....	1.50
Tea "	" " "	.....	1.25
Preserve "	" " "	.....	1.00

I have omitted many articles I keep but I guess your list is long enough. My sales at present are very small as all the farmers are harvesting. I take in & pay in goods or cash, chickens (alive) at .75 to 1.00 a piece; Eggs at 50 cts doz; butter at 40c; wheat at 1.75 bus & Oats at 75c. And now my dear brother I must close with a little good advice. Be not an eye servant but do just the same when Mr. Davis is out as when he is in; Obey your dear parents & obey them *cheerfully* & with *alacrity*. I hope to hear of your going to sch[ool] again soon for you are losing the most precious days of your life. If you ever think of coming out here, study French. It is a very great disadvantage to me not understanding it. And now My dear Ed, good bye & may God Almighty bless you & may you try & serve him better & better as you grow older.

Yours truly

John Jameson

Write soon.



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