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THE
QUARTERLY

OF THE



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Edited by

FREDERIC GEORGE YOUNG

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OLD FORT OKANOCHAN AND THE OKANOCHAN
TRAIL*

By JUDGE WILLIAM C. BROWN

The first attempt by citizens of the United States to locate on the northwest coast as permanent residents, occurred in 1811. That was the year in which the first actual American occupancy was effected within the boundaries of "Old Oregon." To be sure Lewis and Clark had wintered at the mouth of the Columbia six years before, but the object and purpose of that remarkable expedition was to explore, not to occupy, and nothing was attempted in the way of permanent occupancy. It cannot be said that any of the sea-faring traders from the eastern seaboard of the United States, that were constantly visiting the coast for so many years prior to 1811, ever established a settler or maintained a permanent trader in the land until that year. They were purely maritime merchants and they trafficked with the Indians along the coast only, and did it entirely from their ships. They sailed away over seas when each venture was completed, with no fixed or definite idea when they would return again, if at all. Perhaps some exception might be taken to this last statement, in view of the very creditable and well-nigh successful attempt of the Winships of Boston to erect in 1810, a trading station inside the mouth of the Columbia for use in connection with their ships, but that effort was abandoned before it was carried to an accom-

*Annual address delivered before the meeting of the members of the Oregon Historical Society, December 20, 1913.

plished fact. In short all the Americans that had been in the region before 1811, were only temporarily in the country, either as explorers, adventurers or transient Indian traders, or all three combined.

The organization of the Pacific Fur Company through the efforts and influence of John Jacob Astor of New York and the sending out of the expeditions which gave the Pacific Northwest its first American occupancy is a theme that looms large in the annals of Oregon. At two points in Old Oregon establishments were founded the first year, the one being "Astoria," the head post of the company at the mouth of the Columbia, the other its first inland post, which was located at the mouth of the Okanogan river and called Fort Okanogan. The former place is where the city of the same name now stands, but the latter has been deserted and abandoned for fifty years and is today, a lonely, unfrequented spot on an Indian reservation.

Except a few depressions that indicate the old cellars, and some remnants of masonry scattered here and there, every vestige of the structures of old Fort Okanogan have disappeared. Except a small Indian ranch house and a cluster of log stables and corrals that stand near by, no buildings of any description exist in that vicinity. The ground has reverted to a virgin waste and the immediate locality is as tenantless, if not more so, than it was when the whites first set eyes upon it.

It is the purpose of this address to piece together into a connected narrative, a condensed history of Fort Okanogan from the beginning to the end, and make the same as complete as the necessary brevity of this paper will permit.

The name of John Jacob Astor of New York must necessarily be written large when recounting any of the earlier beginnings of American occupancy in old Oregon. He was the creator and prime mover in the great enterprise of the Pacific Fur Company. The plan was his and the backing of his great wealth and the prestige of his name alone made it possible. The articles of agreement organizing the concern were signed in New York, June 23rd, 1810. The avowed

objects of the company were two; one was commercial conquest and profit for itself, the other was territorial expansion for the United States. Opinions appear to differ somewhat as to how much veneration and esteem we Americans of today should accord Mr. Astor for his efforts, but it seems to us that the evidence and proofs before the bar of history clearly entitle him to an unqualified verdict that the Pacific Fur Company substantially fulfilled all its pretensions, and that it is no more than just to say, that it was an organization created and maintained by American capital, enterprise and patriotism for the purpose of securing to the United States, the trade and the possession of the vast region we now call the Pacific Northwest, the title to all which was then, and for many years afterwards in dispute between this country and Great Britain.

As is well known the initial move in the great undertaking was to send out two expeditions. One came overland from St. Louis and attempted to follow the trail traveled by Lewis and Clark a few years before; the other started from New York in one of Astor's ships, the "Tonquin," and came around Cape Horn. The expedition by sea had a prosperous voyage and reached its destination at the mouth of the Columbia in March, 1811, and the proprietors forthwith proceeded to establish their head post which was called "Astoria." The overland expedition came near being a complete failure and did not arrive at the mouth of the Columbia till nearly a year after the "Tonquin" and then came straggling in by fragments.

As soon as the Astor project was actually launched it became an open secret in Montreal, and it is commonly accepted history that the Northwest Company immediately determined to put forth strenuous efforts to forestall, if possible, the American enterprise on the Columbia. But a careful examination into the subject reveals the fact that the Northwesters had already for several years been putting forth about all the energies they could spare from other quarters, in striving to extend their operations westward to the Pacific ocean. Before Astor ever started to organize his big scheme of Oregon occupation by a great American commercial company, men of the North-

west Company had already penetrated the passes of the Rockies and were trading and exploring both on the Fraser and the upper Columbia, and a line of trading connections down to tide-water was their coveted goal. The Astorians at the mouth of the Columbia knew when they came out that the Northwesters were operating on the west side of the continental divide, and had been for a number of years, but apparently they knew this only in a general and indefinite way. They had no exact information as to the extent of the Northwest trading operations west of the Rockies, nor how far to the westward of those mountains that company's men had penetrated, but they were soon to learn. The first direct intimation that the Northwesters were close at hand came to the Astorians about two months after they had landed, and while they were just getting well started with the construction of the buildings at "Astoria," when two strange Indians from the interior appeared. They bore a letter addressed to "Mr. John Stuart, Fort Estekadadene, New Caledonia." They explained that they had been sent by Mr. Finnan M'Donald, a clerk in the service of the Northwest Company, who was in charge of a post recently built on the Spokane, and were commissioned to deliver the letter to Mr. Stuart on the Fraser. That while en route they had heard from the Indians up the Columbia, that there were white men at the mouth, and thinking that Mr. Stuart would probably be found among them, they had come to deliver the letter. The Astorians derived much information from these Indians in regard to the interior and also in regard to the operations of the Northwesters, and it was decided to send an expedition into the interior under the command of the partner, David Stuart, to establish a competing post, and July 15th was fixed upon as the date when it was to start. The above is Franchere's version as to when and how it was first determined to send a trading party into the interior. Alexander Ross, however, makes it appear that it was not decided to send out such expedition till after July 15th. Anyhow about noon on July 15th, 1811, the Astorians were considerably surprised by the unexpected arrival of a canoe flying the British

flag, manned by five French-Canadians and two Iroquois Indians, and bearing Mr. David Thompson, a partner in the Northwest Company.

This famous termination of Thompson's "dash" or "race" down the Columbia from its headwaters in the interests of his company, has been the theme of much historical mention, and we have quite generally been led to believe, that ever since the previous autumn, when he left the Saskatchewan for the Columbia, he had been striving and straining every nerve within him for the sole object and purpose of getting through to the mouth of the great river in advance of the Astorians. History appears to have accepted it as a fact, that Thompson came racing down the Columbia bent on the sole and exclusive purpose of forestalling the Astorians in the mouth, and arrived there only to find himself beaten in the attempt and the purpose of his efforts thwarted by the American company's previous arrival. But a careful reading and consideration of his journals now available, together with other contemporaneous writings, has lately caused students of Thompsonian history to doubt if there is anything to substantiate or justify any such positive statements. The frequent stops to confer with Indians, examine the country along the way, take observations, repair boats, recruit the men, catch fish, etc., make it appear to the reader of his original journal that the most of the time he was not hurrying along at all, but had more in mind, the gathering of all possible information about the country and the tribes occupying it.

The record that Thompson wrote on the ground from day to day in 1811, makes it very clearly appear that he was seeking to open out a trade route to the sea at the mouth of the Columbia, and the amount of time he spent in stopping to visit and get acquainted with the Indians along the way, and also to inquire about the fur and food producing possibilities of the various sections, shows that the establishment of trade relations with the tribes occupied an important position in his mind, and that he certainly was not sacrificing it in order to rush down the Columbia to seize a strategic point in advance

of the Astorians. To be sure he was traveling with great vigor, when he did travel, but that was the way of the North-westers. Taking his original journal for our guidance, it begins to look as if it would be more proper to say that his arrival at Astoria was merely the culmination of a plan that he had been for several years endeavoring to carry forward, as fast as his opportunities and the means supplied him would permit, viz.: To open out as soon as possible for the Northwest Company, a trade route and chain of posts on Columbian waters to the sea. The work of exploring, and at the same time occupying with self sustaining trading stations, that vast and rugged country filled with unknown tribes of Indians whose confidence and friendship had to be won, was a task that took a great deal of time, hence the four years and over that elapsed from the time when he first reached Columbian waters, till he was finally able to push through to the mouth.

It is not necessary to discuss here what happened during the seven days that Thompson remained at Astoria more than to say that considerable sparring in the way of fur trade diplomacy was indulged in by both sides, each endeavoring to represent its strength to the best advantage, and likewise to find out as much as possible from the other, without disclosing too much to the other, but on the whole it appears that both parties were fairly frank in most respects, and very courteous. The Astorians being determined to send an expedition up the Columbia to establish an inland post, it was agreed between them and Thompson that the brigade made up for that purpose should start out with the Thompson party on its return up the Columbia for mutual assistance and protection, as the Indians along the river in the vicinity of the Cascades were a plundering, predatory lot of miscreants. Accordingly on the 22nd day of July, 1811, the two parties started up the Columbia from Astoria. Old David Stuart was in charge of the Astor party, with him were the clerks, Ovide de Montigny, Francis Pillette, Donald McLennan and Alexander Ross, two or three Canadian voyageurs whose names are not specified in any of the accounts and two Sandwich Islanders. It should be under-

stood that when the "Tonquin" stopped at the Hawaiian Islands on the way out, quite a number of the natives from those islands were employed and brought along on the ship. These proved very efficient boatmen and packers, especially during hot weather. Alexander Ross in his "Adventures" gives us a very full and complete account of the trip up the river, of the establishment of the post at the mouth of the Okanogan, and the course of events there during the first two years of its existence; and in a subsequent book entitled "Fur Hunters of the Far West," he gives us a history quite complete of Fort Okanogan and surrounding country up till about 1816, for Ross was in charge of the post off and on pretty much all the time between 1811 and 1816, when he was transferred, first down to Fort George as staff clerk, afterwards to Kamloops and still later to the establishment on the Walla Walla. For our narrative of the first trip of the Astorians up the Columbia in July and August, 1811, we will very briefly follow the chronicle left by Ross in his "Adventures."

The joint parties of Stuart and Thompson did not continue far together. The Thompson party was traveling light. Their canoe was not loaded with any merchandise for trade. On the other hand Stuart and his men were not only laden, but they did not have canoes suitable for up-river work. They had merely obtained from the Indians at the mouth of the Columbia, two ordinary big dug-outs, such as were commonly used by the natives of that quarter. Ross says that the Stuart party traveled in "two clumsy chinook canoes, each laden with fifteen or twenty packages of goods of ninety pounds weight." By July 24th the combined parties had reached the mouth of the Willamette. On the 28th they reached and passed the cascades of the Columbia. On the 31st, Mr. Thompson's party finding themselves able to travel faster than the canoes of Mr. Stuart, proceeded on by themselves. On August 6, Thompson reached the mouth of the Snake river (he called it Chapaton river). From this point he dispatched a letter to the Spokane establishment, directing that horses be sent to meet him, as he proposed to return across country instead of going around up the Columbia on his way back.

He then proceeded up the Snake to the mouth of the Palouse river, where he obtained horses from some Indians, and went overland to Spokane House, arriving there August 13th, missing the horses sent to meet him. A few days later he went on to Kettle Falls and shortly afterwards, another dash took him up through the Arrow Lakes, and thus during the spring and summer of 1811, Thompson traveled every mile of the Columbia river from its sources to the sea. As he and his party on the way down the Columbia were the first white men to reach the mouth of the Okanogan, and were several weeks in advance of the Astorians amongst those scenes along the Columbia in the vicinity of the place where it was shortly to transpire that old Fort Okanogan was to be established, we will drop for the time being, the narrative of the progress of the Stuart party, toiling up the river and briefly mention a few of the interesting details recorded by Thompson as he was passing through this section on his way down. He left Kettle Falls July 3rd, 1811, at 6:30 A. M., in a canoe built there especially for the purpose. It was manned by seven men besides himself, five of whom were French-Canadians and two Iroquois Indians. They also had two San Poil Indians with them as interpreters and guides. These are the opening entries for the trip as the same appear in his journals:

"July 3rd, 1811. Voyage to the mouth of the Columbia, By the Grace of God, By D. Thompson and 7 men on the part of the N. W. Company.

Wednesday. After arranging several small affairs, we in number 8 men with 2 Simpoil Indians, set off on a voyage down the Columbia River to explore this river in order to open out a passage for the interior trade with the Pacific Ocean. My men are Michel Beaudreau, Pierre Panet (or Pariel), Joseph Cote, Michel Boullard, Francois Gregorie, with Charles and Ignace."

With a small assortment of goods to buy in provisions, etc., our course down the river from the Ilthokayape Falls at 6½ A. M. course S. 15 degrees W. 2-3 mile. S. 8 degrees E. ½ a mile.—¼ of a mile. The brook of our late portage on the left about 30 yards wide. Course plus 1 mile &c &c."

The latter part of the above quotation will give an idea of what a great part of Thompson's journals are like, filled as they are with courses and distances, together with observations as to latitude and longitude and other such like data to be used in map making.

The canoe reached the mouth of the San Poil river late in the afternoon where they found a considerable fishing camp of San Poil Indians and camped with them that night. They got away about noon the next day and had considerable trouble in the various rapids that afternoon and put up at seven o'clock at some place probably a little below the mouth of the Nespelem. On Friday, the 5th of July, they got away at 6:30 A. M. and immediately began encountering more bad water, and shortly met on the bank a Nespelem chief and sixty men with their women and children. They spent the day with these Indians. Where these Indians were met and visited with, is hard to say from the journal entries, but it seems probable that it was some distance below where the Wild Goose Bill ferry, or Condon's Ferry as it is also called, is now located, but the entries would indicate that the start next morning was made from just below the Box Canyon or "Whirlpool Rapids" as it appears on the map. They got started at 6:30 the next morning (Saturday, July 6th). The record of this day is interesting to us. After reading a considerable number of notations as to courses and distances covered in the first hour or two of travel, we find this entry:

"Last course fine view and see the high woody mountains of the Oachenawawgan River. S. 70 W. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. 65 W. 1 M., S. 55 W. 1 M. This course is over flat when the water is low. ————— Fine current. ————— Inepaclis is the name of the tribe we left this morning, and the home of those we now arrive at is Smeethowe to whence we came at 10 A. M. We put ashore. On our approaching they gave several long thankful OYs. I sent my Sempoil to invite them to smoke. The Chief received the message thankfully and they began to collect a small present, having done which I again invited them and they came forward and sat down in a ring and began smoking without any ceremony. The women then advanced all ornamented with fillets and small feathers, dancing in a body

to a tune of a mild song which they sang. When close to the men an old man directed them to sit down all around the men on the outside, with the children etc. Then in place they smoked with the men.—— Having smoked awhile I explained to the chief by means of the Sempoil my intention on going to the sea to open a road to bring merchandise to trade with them, which they thankfully received and wished a good voyage. They said the river was tolerably free hence to another (branch of) this tribe and that they would inform me of some distance beyond again, as their knowledge reached no further. Having accepted of the presents they brought, 3 roasted salmon and about half a bushel of arrowroot berries, I made them a present of two feet of tobacco, 6 rings, 6 hawks bells and two awls and 4 in. (tobacco) to the chief. At noon we left these friendly people and went down S. 46 E. 2 M. $\frac{1}{2}$ M. Put ashore on the right. The Indians brought us horses and the chief with four young men came with them and brought part of our goods to the foot of the rapids, the rest was run down in the canoe on the right for 1 M. The rapid is very strong but good in the middle to near the end, then on the right. Gave chief 2 feet of tobacco, and each of the young men 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ feet for their trouble and they thankfully left us. At 1:10 P. M. embarked canoe. (Here follows several lines of courses and distances as they proceed down stream, then journal continues.) At 2:30 P. M. saw the first sheep, Michel went after it, but the wind had started it. At 2:52 P. M. a cliff. Killed two rattle snakes. Co. 1 M. S. 20 W. 1 M. S. 56 W. 1 M. End of course S. R. (strong rapids) and islands, good between the isle on the left. Course S. 65 W. 1 M. S. 55 W. 2 M. The country is now very rude and mountainous but bare of wood, except on some of the heights. N. 75 W. 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ M. A very strong head wind most of the day. (More courses and distances, then journal continues.) We saw mountains before us whose tops have much snow in places, S. 33 W. 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ M. S. 5 W. 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ M. $\frac{1}{2}$ M. of Co. gone. Put up at 6 P. M. on the left among high rude lands. Steep to the right. The early part of the day was strong rapids, walked part of the way up a high bank etc. Part fine current, latter part again very strong R. current and strong whirlpools. Observed for latitude, longitude, etc.”

This is the record of Saturday, July 6th, 1811, left us by Thompson as he noted it down that day. It shows that they were making excellent time, almost steamboat time of today.

They started at 6:40 A. M. considerable distance above where Bridgeport now is and camped that evening at a point that appears to have been almost down to the present site of Wenatchee, for the record of the next day shows that they passed early what appears to be Rock Island Rapids. As near as we can calculate from the journal entries, it is likely that he passed the mouth of the Okanogan about 9 in the forenoon, for he came to the Smeethowe Indians, as he says, at 10 o'clock. It seems strange that he does not mention observing the mouth of the Okanogan as he passed, and this is especially so after having mentioned the fact that they were approaching it and caught the fine view of "the high woody mountains of the Oachenawawgan river," as he writes it. Furthermore, his journal of the day before also shows a mention of the river. The record indicates that he passed through across Columbia bar by the way of the channels that exist there in high water, but which are dry in low water. His guides must have told him of this, for he mentions it in his journal as will be observed. As the Columbia was very high at the time, possibly he failed to distinguish the mouth of the Okanogan from the many sloughs and water courses that exist there in high water. It is also apparent that the Indians were gathered at the mouth of the Methow (Thompson's Smeethowe) as it was the salmon fishing season and the mouth of that stream was of old a great Indian fishery, so for that place Thompson headed and did not stop at the mouth of the Okanogan. He leaves the Indian camp at the mouth of the Methow at noon and after traveling two and a half miles encounters the difficulties of the Methow rapids. Although Thompson and his party were undoubtedly the first to reach this part of the Columbia, nevertheless it is apparent from the journal entries of this day and the days immediately preceding and following, that these Indians along here had already become quite well acquainted with white men and also knew the value of having traders establish regular relations with them. Possibly some of them had visited the Flathead posts of the Northwest Company, for the Flatheads are of a kindred

stock and speak very much the same language as the Okanogans, Chelans, San Poils, etc., and these tribes were all mutually friendly with each other. We also know that the Okanogans and their neighboring tribes used to frequently visit the coast in the vicinity of the mouth of the Fraser, going thence sometimes by the Methow route and sometimes by the Similkameen route. On the coast they would come in contact with the trading ships, or at least with Indians familiar with the white traders from the ships. Thompson does not, however, mention that they had any guns or other articles of civilized manufacture amongst them, and his silence in that regard indicates that they had none.

Now to return to the Stuart party, which we left on July 31st, a short distance below the Dalles or the long narrows as they called the place at that time. On August 5th, they finally got safely over them, but in making the portage, had some trouble with the Indians gathered there. Day by day Ross chronicles the progress of the canoes of the Stuart party up the Columbia. We will not attempt to follow the itinerary of the party day by day. At "Priest Rapids" they picked up an Indian who was a medicine man and he continued with them to the mouth of the Okanogan in charge of their horses, of which they purchased a goodly number at the various Indian camps they encountered along the river. This Indian, Ross constantly refers to as the priest, and says they named the rapids where they got him "Priest Rapids." On the 24th of August, they reached the mouth of the Piskowish river, the Wah-na-a-cha of the Lewis & Clark map, the Wenatshapam of the Yakima language or the Wenatchee of today. The name is Piskowish on Thompson's map and appears as Piscows on the map of Ross. Here they met Indians in great numbers and the chief, Sopa, made them a present of two horses and they purchased four more, giving for each one yard of print and two yards of red gartering which was so highly prized by the Indians, that horses from all quarters were brought to them, but they declined to buy more. On August 25th, they passed the mouth of the Intyclook, the Entiat of

today. They camped that night on the wooded point above the mouth of the Entiat. On the 26th, they reached Whitehill rapids, a place that is hard to identify satisfactorily, but it is either the Indian Rapids or the Chelan Rapids of the present time. Here they saw big horn, white goats and deer on the bluffs. On the 29th, they reached the foot of the Methow rapids, and making a portage past them, camped that night at the mouth of the Methow river. Here the Indians assembled in great numbers and offered them many horses for sale, and in all respects were exceedingly kind. These were the same Indians that Thompson had smoked and conferred with as we have seen a few weeks before. They invited Stuart to stay and trade through the winter asserting that their country abounded in beaver and that there was plenty of game for food. The Astorians remained at the mouth of the Methow over the 30th. We will now copy verbatim what Mr. Ross has to say in his book.

"On the 31st we parted from our friendly visitors, and shaping our course in an easterly direction along the bend of the river, we pushed on for about nine miles till we reached the mouth of a smooth stream called Oakinacken, which we ascended for about two miles, leaving the main Columbia for the first time, and then pitched our tents for the night. A great concourse of Indians followed us all day, and encamped with us. After acquainting them with the object of our visit to their country, they strongly urged us to settle among them. For some time, however, Mr. Stuart resisted their pressing solicitations, chiefly with the view of trying their sincerity; but, at last consenting, the chiefs immediately held a council, and then pledged themselves to be always our friends, to kill us plenty of beavers, to furnish us at all times with provisions and to insure our protection and safety."

"On the 1st of September, 1811, we embarked and descended the Oakinacken again, landed on a level spot within half a mile of its mouth. There we unloaded, took our canoes out of the water, and pitched our tents—which operation concluded our long and irksome voyage of forty-two days."

"The source of the Oakinacken is 280 miles due north, and in its course south the stream runs through three lakes to its junction with the Columbia; it is hemmed in on the east by a

sloping range of high rocky hills at the foot of which the two rivers meet. On the south bank of the Oakinacken, half a mile from its mouth, was the site pitched upon for the new establishment."

It is clear from this that the Stuart party camped in the evening of August 31st, 1811, on the banks of the Okanogan river just about where Mary Carden's ranch is now located, and that the site of the post which they located next day was almost exactly where Long Jim's stables and corrals are now situated. To be absolutely definite, it was in the extreme northwest corner of lot 2, section 17, Township 30 north Range 25 East. The Stuart party built but one building when they founded the establishment, but others were added from time to time during the five years that the post was maintained on that site by the Pacific Fur Company and their successors, the Northwesters. In the summer of 1816 a new fort was built by the latter something over a mile away—this latter post is the one that lasted for so many years and is the one usually referred to when "Ft. Okanogan" is mentioned. Several large and distinct depressions still exist on the site of the original Astor post, plainly showing where the old cellars were, and many fragments of masonry are scattered about, but none of it in place. This was the first actual permanent settlement and occupancy under the American flag in what is now the State of Washington. At the centennial celebration held in commemoration of that event in 1911 a flag pole was erected on the site of the old ruins.

But to return to the doings of the Stuart party. As soon as they got their building well started, Pillette and M'Lennon with two of the men were dispatched back to Astoria in one of the canoes, and as soon as they had the building complete, Mr. Stuart, with Montigny and the two remaining men (one of which was Michel Boullard) came up the Okanogan river, traveling with pack and saddle horses. These were the first white men that ever traveled through the Okanogan valley. They continued on far to the north, passed along by Okanogan Lake and proceeded over the height of land on to the Thomp-

son river into the country of the Shu-swap Indians, near where the city of Kamloops now stands, and they did not return for a period of one hundred and eighty-eight days. While Mr. Stuart was on the Thompson river he made arrangements to establish a trading post there the ensuing winter. He arrived back at Okanogan March 22nd, 1812. During the six months and over that he was absent, during the winter of 1811 and 1812 Ross was in charge at Fort Okanogan, and he has this to say in his book in regard to what he did there in the way of trade that winter:

"During Mr. Stuart's absence of 188 days I had procured 1550 beavers, besides other peltries, worth in the Canton (China) market 2,250 pounds sterling, and which on an average stood the concern in but 5½ pence apiece, valuing the merchandise at sterling cost, or in round numbers 35 pounds sterling; a specimen of our trade among the Indians."

Ross devotes considerable space in his "Adventures" to his experiences during that first winter at Fort Okanogan.

On March 22nd, 1812, another party consisting of seventeen men was made up at Astoria and placed under command of Robert Stuart, a nephew of David. A portion of this brigade was to proceed overland to St. Louis, with dispatches for Mr. Astor at New York, and another portion carried supplies to Ft. Okanogan and was to bring back the results of the winter trade. After many vicissitudes and Indian fights on the lower river, this party arrived at Okanogan April 24, 1812, and after remaining five days left for Astoria again, carrying approximately 2,500 beaver skins. Mr. David Stuart accompanied this party and left Ross at Okanogan for the summer. Mr. Ross left Donald M'Gillis in charge and started with Boullard and an Indian with sixteen pack and saddle horses on a trading excursion up the Okanogan river to the country of the Shu-swaps, following very closely Mr. Stuart's route of the winter before. They had a very successful trading trip and arrived back at Okanogan July 12, 1812. David Stuart got back from Astoria with a stock of goods, August 12, 1812, and on August 25th he and his men left Fort Okanogan to winter among the Shu-swaps at Kamloops. Ross was again left in charge at

Fort Okanogan for the winter of 1812 and 1813. He escorted Mr. Stuart as far as Osoyoos Lake and then returned to prepare his post for the winter operations. After spending the fall of 1812 in various trading excursions to nearby points, he left Fort Okanogan, December 2nd, to pay a visit to Mr. John Clarke, at Fort Spokane, which was a post that had just been established by the Astor Company along side of "Spokane House," which was the name of the post as we have heretofore seen, that was established and maintained by the Northwest Company.

Ross got back to his post from Spokane, December 14th, 1812, but nearly lost his own life and the lives of all his men and horses in a big snow storm that they encountered in the Big Bend country. On December 20th, he set out to visit Mr. Stuart at the Kamloops post. Ross calls it "Cumcloups." He arrived there on the last day of the year 1812. Here we find the enterprise and energy of the Northwesters again in evidence. They had established a post alongside Mr. Stuart's establishment. Mr. Ross has this to say of the conditions prevailing at Kamloops:

"There was opposition there as well as at Mr. Clarke's place, but without the trickery and maneuvering, M. LaRocque, the Northwest clerk in charge, and Mr. Stuart, were open and candid, and on friendly terms. The field before them was wide enough for both parties, and, what is more, they thought so; consequently they followed a fair and straightforward course of trade; with Mr. Stuart I remained five days, and in coming home I took a near and unknown route, in order to explore a part of the country I had not seen before."

Mr. Ross evidently returned from Kamloops through by Nicola Lake and struck the Similkameen some place near where Princeton now stands. He came down that river and struck the Okanogan river at the "forks," as he says, and got to Fort Okanogan, January 24th, 1813. On May 13th, 1813, Mr. Stuart arrived at Fort Okanogan from the Kamloops country with a rich catch of fur. They remained at Okanogan ten days, packing, pressing and loading the furs, and then Ross and Stuart with a crew of men set out with the canoes

for the rendezvous at the mouth of the Walla Walla. Ross goes into a world of details in regard to all of these happenings, he traveled up and down the Okanogan country from the mouth of the river to the head of Okanogan Lake time and again. He made one exploring trip into the Methow country and evidently crossed the main range of the Cascades, and got well down on the Skagit, but did not reach tide water. He took unto himself, at Fort Okanogan, an Indian girl of the Okanogan tribe, and when he returned to Winnipeg, about 1825, he took her and his half-breed children with him, and the Pacific Northwest knew them no more. Ross became prominent in Manitoba and Assiniboia. His third book which appeared in 1856, the year of his death, referred entirely to the Winnipeg country, and is entitled "The Red River Settlement."

Stuart and Ross reached the rendezvous at the mouth of the Walla Walla May 30th, 1813, and a few days afterward the brigades began arriving from up the Snake river and overland from Spokane. By this time the tidings of the breaking out of the war between United States and Great Britain had reached the Columbia. Upon arrival of the consolidated brigades at Astoria, June 14th, 1813, a council of the partners was held. There was found to be dissension amongst the partners and a feeling of discouragement and dismay pervaded the meeting on account of the news of the war and their wholly unprotected situation from an attack by a British war ship or privateer. There was also great dissatisfaction among some in regard to Mr. Astor's management of the company, and to crown it all, the opposition of the Northwest Company was getting stronger. It was decided, however, after much discussion, to attempt to continue the enterprise for another year in spite of the hazards and difficulties, and preparations were at once made to send out the wintering parties again. The outward bound brigades left Astoria in a body on July 5th, 1813, Stuart and Ross for the Okanogan and Kamloops country, Clarke for the Spokane country and McKenzie for the Willamette country. Resolutions were also passed authorizing McDougal,

the head factor at Astoria to sell out everything to the Northwest Company at any time if the situation became desperate and that company could be induced to buy.

On August 15, 1913, the brigades reached Fort Okanogan. Here Ross was left in charge again for the winter. Clarke and his men proceeded with their goods to Spokane and David Stuart took the now well known pack train route up this river to winter again at Kamloops, among the Shu-swaps.

We have now reached the beginning of the end of the Astor Company. Events were fast culminating that operated to change the course of things for many years to come, for the Northwesters were quick to see the opportunity offered them by the war and the defenseless condition of the Astor establishments on the Columbia, and they took advantage of the situation with great vigor. Without going into details, Duncan McDougal, the partner in charge at Astoria, sold out the whole Astorian enterprise on the Pacific to the Northwest Company in November, of the same year (1813). The American flag was hauled down and the British Jack was run up in its stead. The name of the place was changed from Astoria to Fort George.

All of the inland posts including Fort Okanogan, of course, now passed to the Northwest Company. Fort Okanogan was turned over December 15th, 1813. Ross entered the service of the Northwest Company and was placed in charge for the new management. His second book starts with his service under the new regime, and as before stated, it is entitled "Fur Hunters of the Far West." It opens with an account of a trip from Fort Okanogan overland to the Yakima country for the purpose of acquiring horses. Many horses were maintained at Fort Okanogan as long as the fur from the north continued to come down the trail along this river. They grazed these extensive horse bands on what is now the southwestern portion of the South Half. There were many wolves in this country in the early days and both Ross and Cox in their books made frequent mention of the depredations of these fierce animals upon the horse bands grazing in the vicinity of the fort. They

also mention the existence of elk and antelope in the country in those days. Ross continued in charge at Fort Okanogan until the spring of 1816. He was succeeded by Ross Cox, who was a very bright and highly educated young Irishman. To him was entrusted the rebuilding and remodeling of the fort. He goes into the matter in detail and has left us a very fair map of the immediate vicinity around the mouth of the Okanogan. We will copy only the following excerpts from his work in regard to the fort which he rebuilt as above stated in the summer of 1816:

"By the month of September we had erected a new dwelling house for the person in charge, containing four excellent rooms and a large dining hall, two good houses for the men and a spacious store for the furs and merchandise to which was attached a shop for trading with the natives. The whole was surrounded by strong palisades fifteen feet high and flanked by two bastions. Each bastion had in its lower story a light brass four-pounder, and the upper loop-holes were left for the use of musketry."

The new establishment was built about a mile and a quarter southeast of the original post, and was situated on the bank of the Columbia so as to command the same. A few depressions where the old cellars were, constitute the only traces visible on the surface today. But some excavating would probably reveal much that would be interesting in the way of relics. Some of the buildings of the establishment were standing as late as the early sixties and a few old timers, both Indians and whites still living, are able to remember it. The ground where it stood is now included in Lot 7, Section 21, Township 30, N. Range 25, E. W. M.

By the time the new post had been built (1816) the place had become important as the gate-way to the New Caledonia country. It was here that the goods for the posts of that region were taken from the boats and transferred to the pack trains that were to carry the same over the Okanogan trail to Kamloops thence on to Fort Alexandria, where the transfer was made to boats or canoes again, the ultimate destination being Fort George, Fort St. James and the other trading stations of

the vast New Caledonia region. And again it was at Fort Okanogan that the fur from New Caledonia was transferred from the horse brigades in the spring en route for the mouth of the Columbia. It was also a regular stopping place for all the overland and upper Columbia brigades and likewise a meeting place where the Colville, the New Caledonia and other brigades waited to join each other on the down river trip. As a primary trading post, it was not a place of much importance after the first few years of its existence, at no time after the amalgamation of the companies was any considerable amount of fur obtained there. But as a stopping place, storage station, meeting point and particularly as the New Caledonia gateway, it was an important place for a long period of years, and this statement is substantially true of the place from the time of its very beginning under the Astor Company in 1811, till about 1847, and in some respects for ten years after that. Fort Okanogan was likewise a great horse rendezvous for both the Northwesters and the H. B. Company, and at times considerable herds of cattle were kept there also. Owing to its peculiar line of usefulness no officer of the company was regularly stationed there after the amalgamation in 1821, but some trusted employe of long service was left in control. It is impossible to make out who these men were at all times. The two most often mentioned in the reports, journals and historical writings of those times, are La Pratt and Joachin LeFleur. The former is often mentioned in the journals of Todd, Work and Douglas. Lieut. Johnson of the Wilkes expedition also says he was there in charge when he visited the place in 1841. This La Pratt, or La Prade, or La Prate, as name is variously spelled, is often mentioned as being in charge of Fort Okanogan, but I can find no place where he is specifically designated by his first name also as being in charge there. But on the whole it seems conclusive that he was Alexis La Prate or La Prade whose name is often mentioned and appears in several lists. He was put in charge some time in the thirties and remained in charge a number of years—he certainly was there in 1841 and 1842. His successor

or predecessor, I cannot make out for certain which, was Jean Gingras (or Grango) who afterwards went to the Willamette Valley and settled. This Gingras is said to have voted at Champoege in May, 1843, with the other French settlers against the organization of the provisional government. Then came Joachim La Fleur, a very competent and reliable employee who was in charge off and on from about 1843 till about 1853. By this time the necessity for longer maintaining the fort had ceased as far as the business of the Hudson Bay Company was concerned, and they would have been willing to abandon it but feared to do so until their claims for indemnity from the United States under the treaty of 1846 had been settled. About this time, a step-son of Joachim La Fleur was placed in charge and he was the last. This man was a French half-breed named Francois Duchouquette, very likely a son of that person of the same name mentioned and listed by Alexander Henry in his journals. His mother was an Okanogan woman whose baptismal name was "Margaret" but whom the French called "La Petit" on account of her small size. According to her descendants living in this vicinity, her father's name was Siahko-ken, and she was a sister of La-pa-cheen, a prominent Okanogan chief of those days. This Francois Duchouquette has been mentioned a number of times in writings appertaining to the gold rush of 1858-9 and 60 over the Okanogan trail to the Fraser and elsewhere in that direction, but always by his first name only, and that invariably misspelled in every instance that I have encountered. Sometimes it is spelled "Franswa" and sometimes it appears as "Frenchway." In one place he is termed "old Frenchway." But why he should be termed "old" is strange and conveys a mistaken idea, for the local information available in regard to him clearly proves that he was not over forty years of age in 1860 and some who surely ought to know say he was not over thirty at that time. Francois was in charge at the old fort from about 1853 or 1854 till June, 1860. Under orders from the company he moved all the goods and property from the fort by pack train on or about June 18th or 19th, 1860, and took the same to a point on the Simil-

kameen river about two miles below the present town of Keremeos and established a new trading station there. Francois died at Keremeos a few years afterwards. He is said to have been a very intelligent person and a good business man, but much addicted to Hudson's Bay rum. I quote the following from a recent article by Mr. Robert Stevenson, of Princeton, B. C., entitled "The Story of a Trip Through the Okanogan Valley in the Summer of 1860." Mr. Stevenson, then a young man, was with a party of gold seekers headed for the placer mines of Rock Creek in British Columbia.

"—we pushed on crossing the Wenatchee, Chelan, Antiatka, so called by the Indians at that time—the Methow, and reached the Okanogan river on the evening of the 16th (June, 1860).

On the morning of the 17th Capt. Collins called for volunteers to go to Fort Okanogan to get a boat in which to cross the Okanogan river. An Indian guide had informed us that we were then four miles from the fort. Five other men and myself volunteered for the duty, and crossing the river on a sort of a raft went to the fort. Fort Okanogan was a station owned by the Hudson Bay company, and was in charge of a chief factor by the name of Franswa, a half breed French and Indian. At the time of our visit all the Indians in that part of the country were congregated at the fort assisting the factor in packing up the goods preparatory to moving the post to Keremeos in British Columbia. The goods were packed in Hudson Bay "parflushes" made of raw hide, and loads were arranged for 150 horses. The post was to be abandoned the following day, and no goods were on sale that day.

To clear up a seeming misunderstanding as to the exact location of Fort Okanogan I will at this point state that when I visited the fort on June 17 1860, it was located on the west or north bank of the Columbia river, about two miles above the mouth of the Okanogan. The location is so clearly fixed in my mind because of the necessity of descending the Columbia in a boat from the fort before we could enter the Okanogan, up which our camp was located. The fort consisted of a stockade built of fir trees, 14 to 20 inches in diameter and twenty feet long, standing on end with the lower end firmly planted in the ground. Entrance to this stockade was by means of a strong gate. A space of 60 to 80 feet square was enclosed and all buildings opened to the center, and the walls of the stockade were firmly braced on the inside.

Franswa informed me that he would not hire me a boat, but would lend one. The boat was a two ton affair and was the same one that had been used by the McLaughlin party in crossing the Okanogan higher up in 1858 at the time of the big Indian fight. The factor pointed out nine bullet holes in the stern of the boat, relics of the Indian attack. We six manned the boat and started for camp. The current was very strong in the Columbia, but the Okanogan was placid as a lake. On arrival at camp we found five Indians there trying to buy whiskey—"

We get a cross check on the above reference to the boat for James McLaughlin in an interview published in the Spokesman Review, a number of years ago, is quoted as saying: "We had reached a point four miles above the mouth of the Okanogan, where we found the Indians reinforced . . . and tried to prevent our crossing. Old Frenchway, as he was called, allowed us to take his canoes, and I crossed in the evening with twenty-one men—"

The following extracts are quoted from letters recently written by Mr. Stevenson to me in reference to the last days of Fort Okanogan:

"Franswa was not old at all. He was a short, stout French half breed, and not any more than thirty years of age in 1860 when I first saw him at old Fort Okanogan. He came to Keremeos in June 1860 and died there in 1863 and is buried on "Shuttelworth" creek about one mile north of the present town of Keremeos. Yes, he was educated some. Could read and write and was a pretty good bookkeeper.

"The first building put up by Franswa is still standing on the old Cawston ranch 2 & ½ miles below Keremeos and I saw it last only two years ago. I know it well for I was in the store many times in 1861 when I was Custom House Officer at Osoyoos Lake under Sir James Douglas when British Columbia was a Crown Colony, and Franswa was in charge there. (Keremeos)"

In May, 1912, old Joseph La Fleur, through the joint efforts of the Indian Department and the Washington State Historical Society, was brought to the site of old Fort Okanogan to identify places there, for the information of the government in creating an historical park. I quote the following items from his statement taken down at that time, viz:

"My father was succeeded at Fort Okanogan by my half-brother, who was much older than me. His name was Francois. He was not called La Fleur. He was called Francois Deswauchette. Francois remained in charge till the last. I think that was about six years after my father left. The Hudson Bay company then moved away everything.

Question. They moved it to Kamloops, didn't they?

Answer. No, to the Similkameen.

Question. Can you tell us where on the Similkameen?

Answer. No, I did not go with them there and I don't know.

Question. Do you know the name of the place?

Answer. No, I don't know the name, except that the Indians called it Keremeos. The Hudson Bay company kept a store there for quite a long time and Francois stayed there till he died I am told. That place was on the Similkameen trail which the Hudson Bay people used in going over to Fort Hope on the Fraser.

Question. Did you know a Frenchman at Ft. Okanogan named La Pratt? Answer. Yes I knew La Pratt. He was there in charge when I was about ten years old I think. Sometimes one man was in charge, sometimes another. They were always travelling up and down. Sometimes they went to Vancouver, sometimes to Colville, sometimes to Kamloops and sometimes to other places, but La Pratt was there in charge for awhile.

Question. Did you know Mr. Anderson? Answer. Yes he was there at Okanogan many times.

Question. Did you ever know of Samuel Black? Answer. Oh, yes I knew of Black. He was killed at Kamloops by an Indian. My father was there at the time and I was there too. I was a very young boy then but I was old enough to know that Black was killed. It was a man by the name of William Peon that went out and got the Indian, afterwards the Indian was killed.

I came down from Kamloops with a big pack train once when my father was in charge. I made several trips with pack trains between Okanogan and Kamloops. My father most always took all the family when he went to Kamloops, and sometimes we stayed at Kamloops several years at a time. Those big pack trains that carried the furs down in the summer and carried the goods up in the fall travelled about fifteen miles a day. When we left Okanogan the train usually got a late start and we did not go far the first day, probably about six or seven miles above the mouth of the

river. The next night we usually got about to where Salmon Creek comes into the Okanogan. The Indians called that creek Con-con-ulps, the second night after that we would get probably to Bonaparte creek and the next night to Osoyoos Lake. From there we kept on up the Okanogan valley past the lakes to Penticton and around the east side of Okanogan Lake, and on through to Kamloops. When the Hudson Bay people used to come into Okanogan from the other places there was often many people there."

Joe's father, Old Joachim La Fleur, left Okanogan about 1853, and went to the Colville valley, and is said to have started a little store of his own near where Marcus now is. He was murdered some time along in the sixties near Walla Walla, where he had gone to buy a supply of goods. Descendants of the Gingras, La Fleur and Duchouquette families are living now on the Colville and Spokane reservations. Many of the old folks amongst them were born at or near old Fort Okanogan, and are capable of relating reminiscences of the olden times. Peter Skene Ogden is well remembered. But not by that name. He is referred to as "Pete Og-den," with accent strong on the last syllable. They also frequently mention a personage whom they designate as "Old Pete." This, I take to be none other than the great Peter Skene Ogden himself. One of Gingras clan recently recited to me in French, a fragment of a ditty about the famous old trader that must date back three-quarters of a century. It is not quite suitable for print, however. One of the most interesting relics of the fur trading days that is still with us is old Joe La Fleur, above mentioned. He is about 80 years of age, but still retains all his faculties substantially unimpaired and speaks English fairly well. He is a son of the well known Joachim La Fleur, hereinbefore mentioned, and a half brother of Francois Duchouquette. He was born at Fort Okanogan in 1834, and was baptised by Father Demears there in 1838, on the first trip of that missionary down the Columbia. Joe's boyhood and early manhood was spent with his family between Okanogan and Kamloops and he remembers Todd, Work, Douglas, Anderson and all the others of that time; he even recalls the

murder of Chief Factor Black at Kamloops in 1841, he being a boy of some 6 or 7, and was there at the time. John Todd's journal also shows that the La Fleur family was at Kamloops then.

The history of Fort Okanogan could be written almost year by year if all available sources of information were drawn upon. The works of Ross covers the years from 1811 to 1816 and to some extent later. Cox covers 1813 to 1816. Franchere's "Narrative" indirectly relates to Okanogan more or less from 1811 to 1814. The journals of John Work commence in the early twenties and cover many years. He was much at Okanogan and he is the most valuable original source as to the place in the twenties and thirties, as he gives us a wealth of the every day occurrences there, mostly the comings and goings incident to the trade. For the period about 1841 the journal of John Todd, written while in charge at Kamloops, tells us a very great deal about what was going on at Okanogan during that time. For Okanogan and Kamloops were next door neighbors in those days and there was much intercourse between the two places. Another very valuable source of original information in regard to Fort Okanogan and the other Hudson Bay Company posts in old Oregon, is the testimony given in the matter of the adjustment of the claims of the Hudson Bay Company against the United States for the payment of indemnity on account of the giving up of their posts and lands. The record of these proceedings, including a transcript of the testimony, was printed by government authority, and the same fills a set of books comprising many volumes. It is said that there is only one library in the United States possessing a complete set, and that is in the Congressional Library at Washington, but there is a partial set in the library of the State University at Seattle. The testimony was taken mostly by deposition at various places along in the middle sixties. Many officers and ex-officers of the Hudson Bay Company testified as to the use the company had made of the old fort, and also how they had for a great many years utilized for grazing purposes a wide extent of range adjacent thereto.

The most interesting witness for the company is Mr. Alexander Caulfield Anderson, who had been in charge of the post for a number of years in the late forties and early fifties as a dependency of Colville. He described the buildings in detail and testified to the value of the whole establishment. Among other things he said the stretch of country used for a horse range was in the shape of a triangle, each side of which was about 25 or 30 miles long. That it was bounded as follows, commencing at the mouth of the Okanogan river, thence up the Columbia to The Dalles (Box canyon of the present time), thence along the range of hills to the "montee" on the Okanogan river, thence down the Okanogan to the mouth. Now where was the "montee"? No one now living knows as far as can be learned. The testimony of the witnesses for the United States tends to show that Fort Okanogan had become a very dilapidated, run down and worthless establishment years before its final abandonment, and had for all practical purposes been abandoned in the middle fifties. On the other hand, the witnesses for the Hudson Bay Company say it was, up till about 1847, a very important post of the company, and that it was still valuable. The company's witnesses attempted to carry the idea that the post was not even abandoned as late as 1864, but admitted that all the goods and people had been removed some years before that, and that a local Indian living there was all that had been left in charge, but none of their witnesses pretended to know if the said Indian was still there or not when they were giving their testimony, in 1865, or thereabouts. It is very apparent, indeed, that the witnesses for the claimant did not care to disclose just when the company ceased to maintain Fort Okanogan as a trading post, and attempted by indirection, to stretch the time a few years so as to make their claim for damages as strong as possible. A careful consideration of all the sources of information that I have been able to find as to the probable date of the abandonment of Fort Okanogan by the Hudson Bay Company, has confirmed me in the opinion that my information is correct upon which I base the statement that

Fort Okanogan was virtually and for all practical purposes abandoned when Francois and his men moved the property and furnishings away on or about June 18 or 19, 1860, and took the same to Keremeos, where a new post was erected.

We will not attempt a detailed narrative of the occurrences at Fort Okanogan in the twenties, thirties and forties. Perhaps a few entries from such journals as those of Work, Anderson or Todd, might be profitably copied, for the same would give, to a certain degree, a very good idea of the general run of the happenings, and reflect a faithful picture as to what manner of place Fort Okanogan really was in those times, but those matters can be so much better obtained from the journals themselves that we will offer no second-hand recital of any fragments here. The reader of such journals as those above mentioned will find the names of about all the prominent figures in the fur trade, identified with the history of the place. One year Connolly comes down with the new Caledonia fur, always a big brigade of several hundred horses. He is accompanied by young Douglas, afterwards the great Sir James. At Okanogan they find that the Spokane brigade has been waiting for them nearly a week. A day or so is spent in repacking furs and transferring them to the boats, and the consolidated outfits proceed down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver, leaving the horses to recruit themselves during the summer on the broad bunch grass ranges abounding along the Okanogan. Oftentimes the waiting brigades would be indulged by the officers in a regale, and the place in consequence be the scene of great festivity. Traditions in regard to these regales, some of which appear to have been famous affairs, in which drinking, feasting, gambling, dancing and horse racing were the leading features, are about the principal thing remembered by the half breed descendants of the old voyagers. In November, 1824, Governor Simpson (afterwards Sir George) stopped over for a day or two at Okanogan on his famous trip across the continent. With him was Doctor McLoughlin coming to take charge of the entire business of the company on this

Coast, and destined to win undying fame. Another year Dease has charge of the brigades gathering at Okanogan. Again and again it is Ogden who comes down with the big brigade from the north and goes back with the goods in the fall. Once or twice it was Francis Ermatinger, and so on. Throughout the year Okanogan was the scene of constant comings and goings.

The last New Caledonia brigade came over the old trail from Kamloops to Okanogan in 1847. On account of the treaty of 1846, fixing the boundary on the 49th parallel, and further, on account of the breaking out of the war between the Americans and the Cayuse Indians, rendering the Columbia route unsafe for brigades carrying furs and property aggregating great value, orders were sent out early in 1848 by express from Vancouver to the officers in charge of the interior posts to break their way through with the brigades of that year, over the Cascades to the mouth of the Fraser. After many a reconnoissance and much expense, a trail was opened by which pack trains could manage to travel, and the course of the same was pretty much the same as that along which the Victoria, Vancouver & Eastern Railway is now building, that is, up the Similkameen and over the divide to the head of the Coquihalla and down that stream to Fort Hope on the Fraser, thence to the mouth of that river. This continued to be the route used by the Hudson Bay Company between the coast and the inland posts of Colville, Okanogan, Thompson river, etc., for the next ensuing ten years or more. This is what was known in fur trading parlance as the "Fort Hope Trail." The year 1848 saw no brigade come to Fort Okanogan, bound either up or down. The old Okanogan trail was to see them no more—they were gone forever. Fort Okanogan from that time forward was of small importance, but the company continued it as we have seen for something like twelve years more before finally discontinuing it. Gen. McClellan passed through by it in 1853, and in his report calls it a "ruinous establishment." The place came into some passing prominence in 1858, when the Fraser river gold rush was

on, for quite a few parties went in over the old Okanogan and Fort Hope trails. One of these parties encountered in September of that year the well known fight with the Indians in McLoughlin canyon and another sharp scrimmage occurred a day or two later near where Oroville now stands. Joel Palmer was the first to bring wagons up through the Okanogan valley. His pioneer trip is said to have been made in July, 1858. The train consisted of nine wagons with three or four yoke of oxen to each. They came from Wallula to Okanogan, where the wagons were unloaded and they crossed them and the merchandise over the Columbia in boats obtained at the old fort. The cattle were made to swim. The outfit then worked its way up the Okanogan valley to Okanogan Lake, where it was found necessary to build rafts to pass the wagons and the merchandise. The stock was driven around through the hills on the old pack trail. The train ultimately reached Kamloops. Palmer made a second trip in 1859, in about the same way. From 1859 on, there was considerable travel in one way and another from Walla Walla, The Dalles and other Columbia river points, to the British Columbia mines, which went up over the Okanogan trail. Some of these old-time gold hunters and freighters stopped off and settled in the Okanogan country, and they became what has come to be commonly accepted as the "first settlers" of the Okanogan. Such was "Okanogan Smith" and his contemporaries.

We know but little of the Okanogan Indians back of the time the whites first reached this section. They have almost no traditional history of their past, their migrations or their wars, that is of any historical value that I have been able to learn. We can, however, in a measure, pierce the past for a few decades back of 1800, and discern what manner of people they were, it being substantially the same as it was after the traders located amongst them, except insofar as articles of civilized manufacture altered their mode of life, which was not to any very great degree. The Okanogans are of the Salish stock, and belong to the same family of

tribes as the Chelans, Wenatchees (properly Wenatshapam or Pisuowsh), Nespelems, San Poils, Similkameens, Thompson River Okanogans, and likewise the Flatheads of Northwestern Montana belong to the same linguistic group, as do also certain Indians living on the lower Fraser, even down to its mouth. The Okanogans and their immediate and closely related neighbors of the same stock occupied a country from about Priest Rapids, on the south, to some distance above and beyond Thompson river on the north. The Yakimas, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, etc., joined them on the south, and the Denes on the north. Alexander Ross is the greatest authority in regard to them at the time when the whites first arrived. The original meaning of the name "Okanogan," or "Oak-kay-nock-kin," or "O-kin-nah-kein," as the Indians pronounce it (as near as I can reproduce it in English spelling), is unknown now. The derivation appears to be irretrievably lost. The same is true of nearly all Indian geographical names in this section. Some of their ideas and stories of the remote past are valuable in that they throw side lights on known historical facts and assist us in drawing conclusions. For instance, the old Indians think the Okanogans always had horses. This indicates that they have been in possession of these animals for many generations. My investigations have led me to believe that horses had reached the Indians of the Columbian plains at least 150 years before the time of Lewis and Clark, and this is not strange, for the horse and mule population in Mexico was immense by the year 1600, and the animals could have been moved northward from tribe to tribe with comparative facility. Another interesting story that is persistently told by the old folks among the Okanogans is that a few buffaloes at one time existed in their country. I have heard this so much and from such varied sources that I have come to think there must be something in it. They generally fix the vicinity of Moses Lake as the locality where they ranged and where they were killed by their forefathers. When Lewis and Clark came through, the buffalo herds were to be found on the west side of the Rockies, in

the region of the upper Snake river. Fremont also discusses the western limit of the buffalo range, and puts it well west into Idaho. From that section there are no natural barriers which would have prevented the species from spreading to any and all parts of old Oregon east of the Cascade range, and my theory is that the buffaloes were in the process of so doing and had found their way, at least in small numbers, as far as the Big Bend country of Eastern Washington, when the Indians began acquiring horses which enabled them to efficiently hunt the few and meager herds, with the result that the buffaloes were exterminated along the Columbia before they had reached sufficient numbers to maintain themselves against the numerous mounted Indians that began to set upon them. Had fate denied the Columbian Indian horses for another century, it is possible that the great buffalo range would have extended over the bunch grass plains of this latitude between the Cascades and the Rockies, quite the same as it did east of those mountains. This, of course, goes far into the realm of speculation, but there is much in Indian fable and tradition to support it, and it is not inconsistent with known historical facts.

The Indians must have been telling the same story in the days of Ross Cox, for he says this in his book: "The Indians allege that buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains, and assert that remains of these animals are still found" (page 228). The "plains" referred to being the Palouse, Big Bend and Spokane countries.

The geographical nomenclature of the old days is interesting. "Okanogan Point" was the big flat at the junction of the Okanogan with the Columbia. A fine view of this flat is now to be had close at hand from the Great Northern trains, and the place where the original Astor post was built, and also the place where the later Ft. Okanogan stood so long can be plainly seen. "Okanogan Forks" was the junction of the Similkameen with the Okanogan. It is where Oroville now stands. Aeneas valley, Aeneas creek, Aeneas mountains, etc., of the present day government maps and quad-

ranges, is the old-time Ignace creek, Ignace valley, etc. The French pronunciation of the same being "En-yass." The government map makers in the field heard the name and took it to be an attempt to say "Aeneas," hence the original French "Ignace" has evolved into the Greek "Aeneas" on the official maps of the government. The local pronunciation, however, remains the same as of yore, that is "En-yass." As to the "montee" mentioned by Anderson in his testimony, I am at a loss to figure out where that place could have been. The term in fur trade lingo is explained by the able editor of the Henry journals and there was a "montee" up on Fraser lake spoken of by Father Morice. Whatever it was on the Okanogan it must have been some place in the vicinity of the present towns of Okanogan and Omak. Okanogan has been spelled a dozen or more different ways since Thompson's time. The official spelling has now settled down to "Okanogan" and "Okanagan," the former American, the latter Canadian.

The course of the "Old Okanogan Trail" was up the east side of the river. It started at the old fort and kept down along the river all the way till the point of rocks at McLoughlin's canyon was reached, then the trail climbed up into the gorge known as McLoughlin's canyon, passed through the same and came out on the benches beyond and reached the river bottom again just below the mouth of Bonaparte creek, near where the town of Tonasket is now. Up till about six or eight years ago the old trail was as plain as ever in many places; now there are but few spots where it may be found. I am informed that the trail went along through the hills on the west side of Okanogan Lake to the head thereof, and then struck off through by Grand Prairie to Kamloops, pretty much the same way as the wagon road now goes from Vernon to Kamloops. The popular automobile route of today up through the Okanogan Valley and on north to Kamloops and elsewhere up that way follows very closely the general course of the old trail from the mouth of the Okanogan to Kamloops. "The Okanogan Trail"

is, however, a somewhat indefinite term, for the fur company men did not by any means travel the same path in going over the old route. They traveled up and down on both sides of the river and the lake, and by the Similkameen road as well, according to how fancy or convenience moved them. But the big heavy laden brigades followed the lines first above stated almost invariably. A four-columned article appeared in the Oregon Statesman of February 14, 1860, written by Joel Palmer, wherein he describes his trips over the Okanogan trail in 1858 and 1859. After recounting the arrival of the wagon train at Fort Okanogan he has this to say:

"Passing Okinakane some five miles the trail forks; with our wagons we followed the Okinakane river trail, which is a very good one, with the exception of about one mile over drifting sand hills. The other trail cuts a bend in the river and though several miles shorter, would be difficult to travel with wagons. It is probably about fifteen miles to where they unite on the bank of the river. It then follows up, passing several difficult points to near McLaughlin battle canyon, where we crossed the river. With the exception of one stony point, it is a good road onward to the mouth of the Similkameen, distant from Okinakane about sixty-five miles. Pack trains need not cross the river, but may continue on to the forks. Good camping grounds are found all along the river. I am not advised as to the particular location of the newly discovered mines, but suppose them to be within twelve or fifteen miles of the forks of the Similkameen and Okinakane. From this point there are several trails which have been used in reaching the mines on Frazer and Quenelle river. The one which we took in July 1858 with our wagons, leads northward up the valley of Okinakane to the Great Lake and along the western shore to its head; sometimes passing through gaps in the mountain ranges both in the river and lake sections; it then turns eastward (?) (westward) and strikes a stream called Salmon river, the southern fork of Thompson river, where it again diverges to the north and intersects Thompson river about twenty miles above Ft. Thompson, bearing nearly due west. Another trail—and the one I travelled going out last spring with a pack train, follows up the Okinakane valley eleven or twelve miles, where it crosses a ridge and falls upon the Similkameen, follows up

this valley some eighty miles, where it again forks, one, and the nearest turns to the right and leads through a gap in the mountains striking the Hudson's Bay Brigade trail from Fort Hope to Ft. Thompson and New Caledonia, probably eighty or ninety miles south of Ft. Thompson and following this trail to Alexander. The other fork, which is the Colville and Fort Hope trail, keeps up the Similkameen a short distance and then leads over the mountains uniting with the brigade trail about 30 miles to the southward of the other fork."

The question is often asked how it happened that the buildings of old Ft. Okanogan have so completely disappeared. There are much plainer signs and remaining traces of the former buildings at the site of the old Astor post, than on the site of the later post that was still in existence, and comprised a considerable number of buildings as late as the early sixties. Of course the great length of time since the original Ft. Okanogan of the Pacific Fur Company was abandoned (about 97 years) easily accounts for the complete disappearance of everything there except the cellars and the chimney stones, but the substantial buildings of log and adobe that were in the old Ft. Okanogan of the Hudson Bay Company in 1860, ought, under ordinary circumstances, to be to some extent still in existence. On the contrary the signs of former habitation are much dimmer there than on the site of the older post. This condition may be accounted for through the action of various agencies. The Indians say that placer diggers (both white and Chinese), working on the bars of the Columbia, used up much of the timber in their operations, and very likely the structures were raided by both whites and reds for any and all passing needs. At any rate it seems that all the buildings had disappeared before 1880. The final stroke of obliteration was given the place by the big flood of 1894, which was probably the highest water in the Okanogan and Columbia for at least a century, and perhaps several centuries. At that time the waters of the Columbia swept entirely over the place and carried away much of the bank of earth and gravel that the old-timers say existed along the shore of the river there, leaving the wide stony

beach which has ever since existed between high and low water mark at that point. The site of the old Astor post was much less affected by that flood. It was probably inundated, but there was little or no current there.

A bill is now pending before congress to grant to the Washington State Historical Society the right to acquire ground covering the sites of both old posts as and for an historical park, and the government has also just recently platted a townsite of several hundred acres on the upper end of "Okanogan Point," which townsite we are told is to be called "Astor." So, perhaps, the predictions of Ross Cox, written a hundred years ago, that a great city would some day arise in the immediate vicinity of the site of Ft. Okanogan, may yet be vindicated.

Believing that the foregoing narrative contains some facts and details that have been learned from original sources on the ground, and now appear for the first time on the printed page, and trusting that this effort may help to preserve to the future a little better chance to know the history of the past in this section, this address is respectfully submitted.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OKANOGAN

Books

"Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River," "Fur Hunters of the Far West," "The Red River Settlement," all by Alexander Ross.

"Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America," by Gabriel Franchere.

"Adventures on the Columbia," by Ross Cox.

"The Henry and Thompson Journals," by Dr. Elliott Coues.

"Harmon's Journal," by Daniel Williams Harmon.

"History of the Northwest Coast" and "History of British Columbia" and "Native Races," by Hubert Howe Bancroft. These works probably contain more general historical infor-

mation about the Okanogan country, both American and Canadian, than any other publications, and they cite a great list of authorities.

"History of North Central British Columbia," by Rev. A. G. Morice.

"Upper Columbia River," by Lieut. Symons. This is a very accurate and scholarly work, but he undertakes to give names to places that had names attached to them long before, and his geographical names are not accepted locally in many instances.

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Manuscripts

Journals of David Thompson covering his travels west of the Rocky Mountains.

"History of the Northwest Coast," by A. C. Anderson.

Journals of John Todd.

Journals of John Work. There are also several other journals kept by officers of the N. W. Co. and H. B. Co. that refer more or less to Okanogan.

"Palmer's Wagon Trains" and article in Oregon Statesman, February 14, 1860, by Joel Palmer. The course of the old trail as followed in 1858 is quite minutely described in the above mentioned article.

"The Story of a Trip Through the Okanogan Valley in the Summer of 1860," by Robert Stevenson. Same appearing in the Christmas number of the Oroville Gazette (1910), tells of final abandonment of Ft. Okanogan.

Interview of James McLoughlin, appearing in Spokesman-Review, 1891. Refers to McLoughlin Canyon fight and mentions Francois at Okanogan, but name appears in article as "Frenchway."

JOURNAL OF DAVID THOMPSON

Editorial Introduction by T.C.ELLIOTT

The writer of these notes, in common with other readers of books and manuscripts that pertain to the discovery and exploration of the Columbia river, has waited for many years for access to the exact record left by the remarkable man who discovered the source of the river and first traversed its waters from source to mouth, the latter achievement being in the year 1811. The existence of that record and its depository has been very generally known since the publication by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, of Toronto, in 1888, of his paper read before the Canadian Institute on March 3 of that year, and later from the "Henry-Thompson Journals," published by Francis P. Harper in 1897 and edited by the late Dr. Elliott Coues. But the publication of the original manuscript being commercially impossible, and no bibliophile society having yet undertaken to preserve it in printed form, only from brief typewritten transcripts have disconnected portions of it been published. It is largely for this reason that only after one hundred years have the life and deeds of this remarkable man begun to be even known to the people residing in the Columbia River basin; also that by the writer and others some erroneous conclusions have been drawn. The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, the field of which includes all of the old Oregon country, now has the honor of publishing the exact record left by David Thompson of his advent upon the waters of the main Columbia river below the international boundary at the 49th parallel of north latitude.

On June 23, 1911, the Pioneer Association of Stevens County, Washington, held its annual meeting on the romantic rocky ledge overlooking the Kettle Falls of the Columbia river, one of the most scenic and entrancing spots along the entire river, and the writer of these notes was invited to contribute a few remarks commemorative of the presence there one hundred years before of David Thompson, designated as

The Pathfinder; and those remarks afterward took printed form in the Oregon Historical Quarterly for September, 1911 (Vol. 12, No. 3). In that address, for the sake of local color, quotations were made from what purported to be a copy of a portion of the original journal of Mr. Thompson. Soon afterward Professor O. B. Sperlin, of the Stadium High School of Tacoma, a most enthusiastic and conscientious reader of the history of the Pacific Northwest, at his own expense obtained one of these same transcripts and in the Quarterly of the Washington University State Historical Society (Seattle) for January, 1913 (Vol. 4, No. 1), contributed an article containing excerpts from the same. On account of apparent contradictions in the text of these transcripts the writer of these notes then undertook, with the hearty consent of Mr. Sperlin, to have those fragmentary copies completed to cover the entire journey of David Thompson in 1811 from Kettle Falls to Astoria and return. This has been done and comparison of the completed copy with the original manuscript in the archives department of the Province of Ontario, at Toronto, has been very kindly made by Mr. Tyrrell personally, from which it appears that the former transcripts were evidently typewritten from dictation and contained both omissions and errors of the text. In the study of this journal use has been made of the "Report of An Examination of the Upper Columbia River in September and October, 1881," by Lieut. Thos. W. Symons, published as a government document (Washington, 1882). This report contains maps and tables of distances which render the journey of Mr. Thompson as far as the mouth of Snake river very intelligible. Below the Snake river charts and surveys in the office of the Chief Engineer of the Department of the Columbia have been consulted. Valuable assistance has been obtained from Mr. Jacob A. Meyers, a very careful reader of Columbiana, who has resided near Kettle Falls for many years, and from W. C. Brown, Esq., of Okanogan.

In explanation of the distances recorded by Mr. Thompson it may be said that he used the marine and not the statute

mile, that his instruments were limited in number and in size, and were not in accurate adjustment at times, and that it was very difficult to estimate distances during the extreme high water stage of the river in July, 1811. Taking the first day's travel as an example, he records sixty-four miles between the foot of Kettle Falls and the mouth of the Sans Poil river, while Lieut. Symons found it to be eighty-eight miles, but at a much lower stage of the water. On shorter distances, such as from Tongue Point to Astoria, Mr. Thompson's distances are nearly correct. His observations of latitude are also generally correct.

As to the text of the journal, Mr. Tyrrell states that "David Thompson's manuscript is written almost without stops and without capitals except at the beginning of important nouns, so that it is often difficult to say where his sentences end." For example, the journal may read thus: Co S 30 W $\frac{1}{2}$ m S 40 W 1 m S 5 E $1\frac{1}{3}$ m -|- 1 m. It may be understood, therefore, that all punctuations, capitalization and signs have been added by the writer of these notes for the purpose of interpretation. It has also seemed wise to omit many of the tables giving astronomical calculations, only a part of which are inserted in the copy and the other part being unintelligible if possible to produce in print; also to note doubtful words and expressions with brackets.

Mr. Thompson's use of the word "gone" is peculiar; for instance: "S. R. $\frac{1}{3}$ gone the Spokane river falls in on the left about 60 yards wide," means that he passed the mouth of the Spokane river at one-third of the course. S. R. means "strong rapids"; V. S. C. would mean "very strong current." Fm. means "fathom" and Gartg. means "gartering," which was an article of trade. This manuscript must be the complete journal written from an original notebook, and not the notebook itself; the text indicates this in several places.

A sketch of David Thompson's career appears in the earlier number of the Quarterly already cited, but for the sake of continuity as to his movements during the year 1811, it may be stated here that after three months' enforced encampment

at the extreme northerly bend of the Columbia river, where the trail from the Athabaska Pass across the Rocky Mountains reaches the river (consult the Henry-Thompson Journals, page 669, for this), on the 17th of April, 1811 (which would be five days after the Pacific Fur Company actually began the construction of Fort Astoria), Mr. Thompson embarked with one canoe and ascended the Columbia to its source; then carried his canoe across to the Kootenay river and descended that river as far as the mouth of Fisher creek, near the town of Jennings, in Northwestern Montana. There he laid up the canoe and, procuring horses, crossed the mountains south to the Flathead river, at some point above Thompson Falls, where another canoe was built, in which he descended his Flathead, our Clark Fork, river, and on down the Pend d'Oreille river to where he again laid up his canoe and proceeded on horseback to his trading post, known as Spokane House, about ten miles northwest of the City of Spokane. After a few days there (his first personal visit at this post, by the way), he proceeded north across the hills and prairies and down the Colville river valley in Stevens county, Washington, to Kettle Falls, arriving about the 19th of June. Two weeks' time were required to find suitable cedar timber and build the large canoe in which he starts down the river on July 3.

The first half of the journal is given in this issue of the Quarterly; the record of the days spent at Astoria and of the return journey in company with David Stuart's party of Astorians will follow later; and in that connection mention will be made of Mr. Thompson's further journey up the Columbia from Kettle Falls to Canoe river.

JOURNAL OF DAVID THOMPSON.

(AS COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, CANADA.)

July 3rd, 1811.

Voyage to the mouth of the Columbia, By the Grace of God,
By D. Thompson and seven men on the part of the N. W.
Company.

Wednesday¹. After arranging several small affairs we, in number eight men, with two Simpoil Indians, set off on a voyage down the Columbia River to explore this river in order to open out a passage for the interior trade with the Pacific Ocean. My men are Michael Beaurdeau, Pierre Pareil, Joe Cote, Michel Boulard, Francois Gregoire, with Charles and Ignace, 2 Iroquois, with a small assortment of goods to buy in provisions, etc. Our course down the river from the Ilthkoyape² Falls at 6½ A. M. Co. S. 15° W. 2/3 m, S. 8° E. 1½ m, S. 10° W. ½ mile, gone the brook³ of our late portage on the left about 30 yards wide. Course + 1 m + ½ m do., last ½ m very strong dangerous Rapid⁴, run it close on the right. Co. S. 30° W. ½ m, S. 40° W. 1 m, S. 5° E. 1¾ m, S. 25° W. 1½ m, S. 5° E. ½ m, S. 30° E. 2/3 m, S. 5° E. 1¾ m, S. 30° E. ¾ m, S. 22° E. 1½ m, S. 12° E. 1 m, + ½ m, S. 35° E. ½ m, S. 40° E. ½ m, R., S. 10° E. 1 m, + ¼ m. R., (?) S. 25° E. ¾ m, S. 7° E. ½ m, S. 5° W. 2/3 m, S. 25° W. 1/3 m, S. W. 1½ m, + ½ m, S. 1 m. End of Co. S. R. good on the left. Co. S. 1 m, S. 10° E. 1¼ m, S. 25° W. ½ m, S. 40° W. ¼ m, S. 68° W. 2 m, S. 30° W. ½ m, S. 1/3 m, S. 15° E. 1 m, S. 8° E. 1¼ m, S. 20° W. 1 m, S. 30° W. 1 m, S. W. 1½ m, S. 68° W. 2/3 m, S. 80° W. 1 m, N. 70° W. 1½ m, S. 56° W. 1½ m, S. ½ m, S. 35° E. ½ m, S. 65° E. 1 m, S. 35° E. 2/3 m, S. 70° E. 1 m, S. 10° W. 1¾ m, + ½ m, S. 25° E. 1/3 m, S. 30° E. 1 m, S. 25° E. ½ m, S. R. S 1½ m, S. R. 1/3 of gone the Spokane

¹ Mr. Thompson's canoe was probably launched from what is now known as Bushnell Flat ½ mile below Kettle Falls; he descends the Columbia today as far as the Sans Poil river, a distance of about 90 miles. But at this extreme high water he would cut across the flats and low points. Lieut. Symons followed the channel in making measurements in September, 1881.

² Mr. Thompson applied this name to these falls even before he arrived there and evidently had it from some one, but he is the only person whose journal, letter or narrative makes mention of it. However, the Indians occupying the Colville Reservation (Washington) now (1914) make use of the name in speaking of the Kettle River and Falls. It is of Salish derivation, from the word Ilth-Kape, meaning kettle, and the word Hoy-Ape, meaning net (see Salish vocabulary in Henry Thompson Journals, pp. 715-16), these being the rapids or falls where many tribes of the Salishan family gathered to fish with their net-kettles, i. e., baskets made of closely woven osiers or grasses; and the number of fish reported as taken in this manner is almost fabulous.

³ Mouth of the Colville River.

⁴ These rapids, designated as Thompson Rapids on the Arrowsmith (London) maps as late as 1846, but known to the fur traders usually as Grand Rapids; now locally known and mapped as Rickey Rapids, after Mr. John Rickey, who settled there.

River (which) falls in on the left, about 60 yards wide. S. 15° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 60° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 75° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 70° W. 1 m, + $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 35° W. $\frac{2}{3}$ m, N. 5° W. 1 m, N. 65° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 75° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 85° W. 1 m, N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 1 m, N. 25° W. 1 m, N. 68° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, N. 75° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, high rocks on the right and for several courses passed high rocks on the left as by lofty steps in perpendicular descents. S. 70° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, N. 85° W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, all Strong Rapid⁵. Carried full $\frac{1}{2}$ of this the major part of the cargo, run the canoe with the rest close on the left, from 3:5 P. M. to 4:5 P. M. S. 85° W. 1 m, N. 80° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, turned and went up a brook from the right to the camp of the Simpoil⁶ Indians North $\frac{1}{2}$ m and put ashore at 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ P. M., but finding the place dirty we went about $\frac{1}{4}$ m further to a good campment. The courses are not so correct as I could wish. The strength of the current caused many eddys and small whirlpools which continually loose the canoe from side to side so that the compass was always vibrating. I hope by the mercy of Heaven to take them much better on my return. The country always wears a pleasing romantic view, the early part of the day hills and valleys, etc., with partly wooded thinly, and partly meadow, the latter most predominant. From about 11 A. M. to the Simpoil Camp the river presented much steep rocks often in steps like stairs of 20 to 30 feet perpend of black grayish rock, reddened in places. The current of the river is everywhere strong, with a few rapids, but the water is exceedingly high. When it lowers I make no doubt but canoes can very well make their way up it.

On our arrival at the Simpoil camp we pitched our tents. No one approached us till we sent for them to come and smoke. The Chief then made a speech and then the men all followed him in file and sat down around the tent bringing a present of 2 half dried salmon with about $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of various roots and berries for food. The Chief again made a speech in a more singing, loud, smart tone. Smoking with

⁵ Hell Gate, four miles above the Sans Poil River.

⁶ Mr. Thompson describes this tribe as "poor and needy Indians," hence the name.

4 pipes (?) till the tobacco I had given for this purpose was done, during the last pipes being smoked one of the Simpoil Indians who had come with me related in a low voice all the news he had heard and seen, which the Chief in his speech told again to his people. At the end of every 3 or 4 sentences he made a stop, which was answered by all the people calling in a loud, drawling voice, Oy. The smoking being done and the news being all told I then told the Chief what I had to say of my voyage to the sea, etc., etc. Each 6 or 7 sentences I also made a stop which the chief in his relation to his people punctually followed and they also regularly answered as before. I took notice that good and bad news, life and death, were always pronounced in the same manner, and that the answer was also the same. A few pipes more were now lighted and they were told this was enough for the present. They gave a long thankful oy and went away. A few minutes after a man came asking permission for the women to come and see us, and make us a small present. To this we consented, provided they brought us no Ectooway, as we found those roots bring on the colic. They came accompanied by all the men and altogether formed a circle around us, the women placing themselves directly opposite us—one-half of them being on the right and left of a man painted as if for war with black and red, and his head highly ornamented with feathers. The rest of the men extended from us to the women on either hand. The men brought their presents and placed them before me which consisted wholly of the bitter, the white and Ectooway roots, with a few arrow wood berries. The women had all painted themselves, and though there were a few tolerable faces among them, yet from the paint etc., not one could be pronounced bearable. The men are all of a mid size, well made, moderately muscular, well limbed and of a tolerable good mien. The women we thought were all of a rather small stature, clean made, and none of them seemed to labor under any bodily defect. Having smoked a few pipes, we said the visit is long enough. This was received as usual with a thankful oy,

and they all withdrew except a few old men, who stayed a few minutes longer and also went away. As the Chief was going my men wished to see them dance, I told the Chief, who was highly pleased with the request. He instantly made a short speech to them, and all of them, young and old men, women and children, began a dance to the sound of their own voices only, having no instruments of any kind whatever. The song was a mild simple music, the cadence measured, but the figure of the dance quite wild and irregular. On one side stood all the old people of both sexes. These formed groups of 4 to 10 who danced in time, hardly stirring out of the same spot. All the young and active formed a large group on the other side, men, women and children mixed dancing, first up as far as the line of old people extended, then turning around and dancing down to the same extent, each of this large group touching each other with closeness. This continued for about eight minutes, when, the song being finished, each person sat directly down on the ground in the spot he happened to be when the song was done. The Chief made a speech of about 1 or 2 minutes long. As soon as this was ended the song directly began and each person starting up fell to dancing the same figure as before. They observed no order in their places, but mingled as chance brought them together. We remarked a young active woman who always danced out of the crowd and kept in line close along us, and always left the others far behind. This was noticed by the Chief, who at length called her to order, and either to dance with the others or to take a partner. She chose both but still kept close to us with her partner leading up the dance. Having danced twice this way the Chief told them to dance a third time for that we might be preserved on the Strong Rapids we had to run down on our way to the sea. This they seemingly performed with great good will. Having danced about an hour they finished. We retired much sooner, as the dust of their feet often fairly obscured the dancers though we stood only about 4 feet from them as they danced on a piece of dusty ground in the open air. Their

huts are of slight poles tied together, covered with mats of slight rushes, a sufficient defence in this season, and they were considered altogether as moderately cleanly, although very poorly clothed, especially the men, as animals are very scarce and they are too poorly armed to obtain any spoil of worth from the chase. They have a good weir in the brook of about 15 yards, but only small salmon come up to it, some very poor, others tolerably good. Cloudy night.

July 4th⁷. Thursday, a fair day. The Indians brought us 5 poor salmon, paid them. We stayed enquiring of the state of the country etc. about us till near noon, when I tried to get an observation by the natural horizon, as my watch is little worth to take one by 2 altitudes, the river presenting a tolerable horizon of about $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a sea mile dist. The rock on which I was obliged to stand to overlook the willows was about 40 feet high (sun?) meridian altitude $65^{\circ} 22'$ but I think the (sun?) was past the meridian. We then set off, our course to the river S. $\frac{1}{3}$ m. Course down the Columbia S. 30° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. 1 m, + 1 m, V. S. C., S. 65° W. 1 m, N. 75° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 80° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, Fine low lots. N. 60° W. 1 m, N. 22° W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 70° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 85° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 55° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, + $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 85° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 5° W. 1 m, N. 30° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 5° E. 1 m, N. 12° E. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, N. 22° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 55° W. 1 m, N. 65° W. 1 m, N. 75° W. 1 m, N. 15° W. 1 m—pass of the black tailed Deer—+ $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 22° W. 2 m, N. 60° W. 1 m, N. 70° W. 1 m, S. 75° W. 1 m, N. 75° W. 1 m, W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 50° W. 1 m, S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m. Very fine meadows before us on the southd. S. 75° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 75° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. R., S. W. $\frac{1}{3}$ m, S. R., S. 30° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. R. S. 50° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. R., S. 85° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 75° W. 1 m, S. 70° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. W. $\frac{1}{3}$ m, S. W. $\frac{2}{3}$ m, S. 2 m, S. 60° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 82° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. 65° W. 1 m, N. 75° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. R., run on the right. N. 70° W. $\frac{1}{2}$

⁷ The journey is from the Sans Poil River to a rocky camping place in the Nespillem canyon or gorge just above the Kalichen or Whirlpool Rapids, a distance of about fifty miles. At this extreme high water Mr. Thompson is certainly "going some" this afternoon; he passes the Nespillem River, the mouth of the Grand Coulee and Wild Goose Bill's ferry without a word about them. No Indians to smoke with, but he finds some just below, the next day.

m, N. 60° W. 1½ m, walked, we then went down the rest of it to another Strong Rapid on the right, the left good, its course S. 72° W. ¾ m. We put the goods ashore and carried them about 200 yards, very bad with wet ground and branches to an embarrass of wood. The canoe was run down hereto, but in doing this they ran too close to a drift tree on a rock which tore part of the upper lath away and struck Ignace out of the stern of the canoe, although he had never swam in his life he swam so as to keep himself above the waves till they turned the canoe around to take him up. We then looked out for a better campment as the place was only rude stones, but found none, the banks coming down steep to the river, and put up at 7 P. M., having lost about one hour in gathering wood today and looking for a camp etc., visiting the rapids etc. I bled Ignace. All this day the current has been very strong with many rapids and whirlpools. The first part of the land always fine though high and many fine prospects. Latterly this country, though still meadows, showed much rock, and the last few courses much isolated rocks and large stones near the water's edge, and the banks steep of loose earth and stones, dangerous as the least thing loosens them and they roll with impetuosity to the river. There are no woods but a chance tree, and then of straggling fir. The whole may be said to be a vast low mountain of meadow showing much rock, irrigated into valleys that come down to the river, the bold lands of the mountain forming as it were so many promontories that drive the river now to the southd., now to the northd. and westd., but always confining it within a deep narrow channel, whose waters thus contracted dash from side to side with the violence of the current, as the water is very high, having lowered only about 18 in as yet or 2 feet, yet from the trees say about 3 years ago the water must then have been fully ten feet higher than now, if not more. We split out wood for two paddles as we have already broke two. Killed one old and one young goose.

July 5th. Friday⁸. A rainy morning; having made two paddles, at 6½ A. M. we set off and went S. 50° W. ¾ m, S. 80° W. 1 m, run part of the first course and carried the goods on horses but by the Indians the rest of it and part of the second course, being all very strong rapids and full of waves and whirlpools. Here we were met by a chief and about 60 men with their women and children who made us a present of 5 horses 5 good roasted salmon, about a bushel of arrow wood berries, and about 2 bushels of bitter, white, etc roots. Some of them I had never seen before. We declined the Ectoway, also of 4 small dried fat animals which I take to be the marmot. Heavy rain came on and we were obliged to send off the Indians, having paid them for the presents they brought us with three feet of tobacco, 10 com and 4 stone rings, 18 hawks bells, 1 fm. of beads, 1½ fm. of gartg, 4 papers of paint, 4 awls and six buttons. Aft 2½ P. M. the Indians returned singing us a song of a mild air as the women had welcomed us with one also, having smoked a few pipes and discoursed of the country which they discribed as a hilly meadow with a very few trees of fir from hence to the Cachenawga River. Of course there can be no beaver, they have bears and rats with a few sheep and black tailed deer. Horses they have many and the country appears good for them. We discoursed of the river and people below us, after which they offered to dance for our good voyage and preservation to the sea and back again. We accepted their offer. They all, both men, women and children, formed a line in an ellipsis, they danced with the sun in a mingled manner. An old man who did not dance set the song, and the others danced as it were a person running but passing over a very small space of ground, their arms also keeping time but hardly stirring from their sides. Some few danced apart but these were all old women and seemed to dance much better than the others. Having danced three sets, each

⁸ The day is rainy, and after carrying the goods around the rapids, is spent in camp with the Nespillem Indians; note mention the following day of this tribe under name Inspaelis. Ross Cox mentions these rapids as "La Rapide d'Ignace," indicating that the accident to the Iroquois became tradition along the river. This part of the river is now known merely as the Box Canyon.

beginning with a speech from the Chief alone and ending with a kind of prayer for our safety, all turning their faces up the river and quickly lifting their hands high and striking their palms together then letting them fall quickly and bringing them to the same action till the kind of prayer was done, which lasted about $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes or two. The men are slightly ornamented with shells etc. but the women more profusely especially about their hair and their faces daubed with paint. Some few of them have copper ornaments hanging either to their girdle or the upper part of their petticoat. The women appeared of all sizes, but none corpulent, none handsome but one young woman, the men though many quite ordinary, yet several were well looking men and almost all well made, though not one lusty. We gave them a few pipes to smoke and they went to their tents, having brought us a good salmon for which I paid them about six In. of tobacco, with what I have given, and they have smoked the amount is five feet of it. They tell me they now intend to pull up a little of their own tobacco for smoking, though not yet ripe. The land to us appears to be very poor white grey earth of a kind of impalpable powder mixed with stones, bearing grass in tufts of a round hard kind and two kinds of strong scented shrubs whose white leaves proceed directly either from the stem or the branch. I may here remark that all their dances are a kind of religious prayer for some end. They in their dance never assume a gay, joyous countenance, but always one of a serious turn, with often a trait of enthusiasm. The step is almost always the semblance of running, as of people pursuing and being pursued. Though a dialect of the Saleesh my interpreter could not understand them, though they understood him. My Simpoil who spoke both dialects here was of service, these at the end of each sentence of the Chief's speech always called Oy if possible louder than the Simpoils. The women were tolerably well clothed, the men rather slightly, their blankets of bear, muskrat and black tailed deer skins, their ornaments of shells, whether in bracelets, arm bands, often their hair, on their garments or

in fillets around the head always appears to advantage from their brilliant white; about 60 men and women and children in proportion.

July 6th, Saturday⁹. A cloudy, rainy morning. Could not embark until 6½ A. M. Our hosts found us early and notwithstanding the rain smoked several pipes. We then set off, after giving to the Chief a bag of bitter roots, one of white ditto, and one of Estooway to take care of for us, our Course N. 80° W. ½ m, R., S. 35° W. 1 m, S. 5° E. 2/3 m, S. 10° W. ½ m, S. 30° W. ¾ m, 50° W. ½ m, S. 30° W. ¾ m, S. 20° W. 1 m, S. 30° W. 1 m, + 1 m, all S. R. current. S. 1 m, S. W. ¾, S. 30° W. 1 m, all S. R. Course N. 75° W. ¼ m, N. 65° W. 1 m, + ½ m, N. 50° W. ½ m, N. 35° W. ¼ m, N. 10° W. 1/5 m, N. 5° E. 1 m, + 1 m, N. 35° W. 2/3 m, these 2 last courses fine view and see the high woody mountains of the Cochenawga River.¹⁰ S. 70° W. 1½ m, N. 65° W. 1 m, S. 55° W. 1 m. This course is over flats where the water is low, we suppose to be about + ¼ m, S. 70° W. 2 m. Fine current. S. 50° W. 1 m, S. W. ¼ m, S. 40° W. 1½ m. Inspaelis is the name of the tribe we left this morning, and the name of those we now arrive at is Smeethowe, to whom we came at 10 A. M. We put ashore. As we approached they gave several long thankful oys. I sent my Simpoil to invite them to smoke. The Chief received the message thankfully, and they began to collect a small present, having done which I again invited them and they came forward and sat down in a ring and began smoking without any ceremony. The women then advanced all ornamented with fillets and small feathers, dancing in a body to the tune of a mild song which they sang. When close to the men an old man directed them to sit down all round the men on the outside, with the children etc. Thus placed they smoked

⁹ Starting from the foot of Box Canyon and spending two hours with the Indians at the mouth of the Methow River, Mr. Thompson follows the turn of the river to the south to a camping place on the east or Douglas County, Washington, shore not far above Wenatchee; distance traveled about 75 miles.

¹⁰ The Okanogan river; he passes by it without mention because he crosses the Columbia flats almost a mile opposite the mouth of the river, and owing to misty weather probably does not notice it. Lieut. Symons' sectional maps makes these courses very clear.

with the men, only the women were permitted a single whiff of the calumet, whilst the men took from three to six whiffs. Having smoked awhile I explained to the Chief by means of the Simpoil my intention of going to the sea to open out a road to bring merchandise etc. to trade with them, which they thankfully received and wished a good voyage. They said the river was tolerable from hence to another tribe and that these would inform me of some distance beyond that again, as their knowledge reached no farther. Having accepted part of the presents they brought, 3 roasted salmon and about half a bushel of arrow wood berries, I made them a present of two feet of tobacco, 6 rings, 1 fm of gartg, 6 hawks bells and 2 awls and 4 In. to the Chief. At noon we left these friendly people and went down S. 46° E. 2 m, $\frac{1}{2}$ m, put ashore on the right. The Indians lent us horses and the Chief with four young men came with them and brought part of our goods to the foot of the rapids¹¹, the rest was run down in the canoe on the right for 1 m. The rapid is very strong but good in the mid to near the end, then on the right, gave the Chief 2 in of tobacco and each of the young men $1\frac{1}{2}$ in for their trouble and they thankfully left us. At 1-10 P. M. embarked Course+ $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 20° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m+ $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 5° W. 1 m, S. E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. $\frac{3}{4}$, S. 30° W. 2 m, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 25° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 15° W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 55° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 5° E. $1\frac{3}{4}$ m, At 2-30 P. M. saw the first sheep, Michel went after it, but the wind had started it. At 2:52 P. M. a cliff¹². Killed two rattlesnakes. Course S. 1 m, S. 20° W. 1 m, S. 56° W. 1 m, End of course S. R. and islands¹³, good between the isle and the left. Course S. 65° W. 1 m, S. 55° W. 2 m, the country is now very rude and mountainous but bare of wood, except on some of the heights. N. 75° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, A very strong head wind most of the day, S. W. 2 m, S. 26° W. 1 m, S. 1 m, S. 15° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 40° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 18° E. $\frac{2}{3}$ m, S. 12° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, + 1 m, S. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. 15° E. 1 m, + 1 m, S. 1 m, S. 10° W. 1 m, At S. 1 m Co. we saw mountains before us whose tops

¹¹ Methow Rapids.

¹² Probably the Rocky Point of Lieut. Symons.

¹³ Probably the Downing Rapids below the Chelan River.

have much snow in places. S. 33° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 5° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, ($\frac{1}{2}$ m of Co. gone) put up at 6 P. M. on the left among high rude lands, Steep on the right, the early part of the day was strong rapids. Walked part of the way, up a high bank etc. Part fine current, latter part again very strong R current and strong whirlpools. Observed for latitude, longitude, etc.

July 7th¹⁴, Sunday. A fine day but cloudy morning. At 7 A. M. set off. Co. S. 5° E. 1 m + 1 m, S. 28° E. 2 m, + $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Beginning of Co. to the So-d see high rocky mountains¹⁵ bending to the south-d. Saw band of horsemen from a brook going downwards. S. 35° E. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. 78° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 80° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, R. C. N. 82° E. 1 m, do rude rock¹⁶ in one end. East 1 m, S. R. C., walked, embarked and (crossed?) to two horsemen, stayed about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour smoking, then Co. S. 65° E. 1 m to the rapid, S. 50° E. 1 m. At middle of course S. 65° E. 1 m we came to a large band of Indians at $10\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. and stayed with them till $13\frac{1}{4}$ P. M. They received us all dancing in their huts, one of which was about 80 yards long and the other 20 yards do. there were about 120 families. I invited them to smoke and the 5 most respectable men advanced and smoked a few pipes. We asked them to invite the others which they readily did but it was 20' before we could get them to all sit down. They put down their little presents of berries, roots, etc., and then continually kept blessing us and wishing us all manner of good visiting them, with clapping their hands and extending them to the skies. When any of us approached their ranks they expressed their good will and thanks with outstretched arms and words, followed by a strong whistling aspiration of breath. I discoursed awhile

¹⁴ During this day he descends a dangerous part of the river a distance of about 65 miles and camps for the night near the mouth of Crab Creek, where the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul R. R. now crosses the river. He takes on a guide of the Shahaptin family as the tribes of the Salishan stock do not reside further down the Columbia and presumably his Sans Poil Indians (husband and wife probably) return home. This new guide stays with him until he passed Celilo, where the tribes of the Chinookan stock are found.

¹⁵ The Wenatchee mountains, the same seen the night before; the brook next mentioned is the Wenatchee river.

¹⁶ Bishop's Rock above Rock Island Rapids; he walks around these rapids, then crosses to the other side for another "smoke" and at 1:45 P. M. walks around Cabinet Rapids below and embarks.

with them and they seemed thankful for the good I offered them of trading their superfluities for articles they stood much in need of. A very respectable old man sat down by me thankful to see us and smoke of our tobacco before he died, he often felt my shoes and legs gently as if to know whether I was like themselves. A chief of the countries below offered to accompany me. He understood the language of the people below, which I gladly accepted, and we embarked him, his wife and baggage. I paid them for the present they made us of two salmon, a few berries and roots. We took only part being sufficient for our wants. We had much trouble to get away, as they very much wished to detain us all night, and when we went they all stretched out their hands to heaven, wishing us a good voyage and a safe return. At 1¼ P. M. I walked down the rapid, the canoe ran it close on the left with everything. Many of these people, like the others, have shells in their noses. Their burying grounds are all of the same fashion. They say the South lands are bare of animals but the North side have Chevrail, sheep, goats etc. of the latter of which they make good blankets. Though poor in provisions they were all hearty in health and tolerably well clothed for the country, a few buffalo robes etc. The country is wholly meadow with a few rocks showing themselves along the river side and in the high lands. Course S. 50° E. 1 m, Course S. 10° E. 1½ m + 2 m, S. 10° E. ½ m, S. 56° E. ½ m, Steep fluted rocks¹⁷ on the left. Course N. 68° E. 1¼ m. See a vast wall of rock bounding the river on the right, also much of the same on the left. At 3:5 P. M. put ashore to boil salmon and at 4½ P. M. set off. Saw one of their winter huts, the ground is hollowed away for about 1 ft deep. Co. S. 70° E. ½ m, S. 5° E. 2 m, S. 30° E. 1 m, S. 10° E. 1 m, S. 20° W. 1½ m, S. 8° W. 1 m. All steep rock and fine low meadows. It is curious to see fine meadow as it were springing out of the feet of steep rocks, and spreading along the river, at times fine knolls of sand. S. 40° E. 1¼ m, + ½ m, S. 22° E. 1½

¹⁷ Probably the mouth of Moses Coulee; and the Lodgestick Bluffs on right just below.

m, A very long reach. Plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m plus 2 m, S. 10° E. 2 m, S. 35° E. 1 m, S. 10° W. 1 m, S. 55° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 15° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m at end of course at $7\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. put up. I went up a hill and remarked that the compass showed the last Co. S. 55° E. and the other next above S. 12° W, On my return, please Heaven, I hope to take the courses more exact as the whirlpools keep the compass continually agitated. Co. for the morrow is S. 20° W.

July 6th,¹⁸ Observed for latitude, longitude and time. Latitude $47^{\circ} 32' 42''$ N. Longitude $120^{\circ} 57'$ W. (Other observations not intelligible.)

July 8th,¹⁹ Monday. Passed a bad night with mosquitoes and a high wind. To the Co. of yesterday add— S. 15° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ M. to the campment—prepared a mast, sail, etc., and at 6:5 A. M. done, set off, Co. S. 22° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m; from our campment and for a very long way upwards we have no occasion to cross. S. 8° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 8° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, all S. R. C., S. 22° E. $\frac{1}{3}$ m, S. 33° E. 1 m, + 1 m, S. R. C. High waves at end of course the left, near the middle, S. E. 1 m, came to 62 men and their families, thank Heaven we were as usual well received. They made us a present of 4 salmon, much berries, etc., of which we took only part, also of 2 very small salmon like those of the Cochenawga. Here the chief came to visit us on horseback, then returned with word to the camp, as the current drove us down half a mile below them. He returned with another and with them an old white headed man with the handle of a tea-kettle for an ornament about his head. He showed no signs of age except his hair and a few wrinkles in his face, he was quite naked and ran nearly as fast as the horses. We could not but admire him. I invited the horsemen to invite all their people to smoke, which they set off to do in a round gallop, and the old man on foot ran after them and did not lose much ground. They all came and

¹⁸ This entry appears out of regular order in original Ms. The observation is that taken when camped above Wenatchee the evening of July 6th.

¹⁹ Today he runs Priest Rapids and passes the White or Marl Bluffs and camps at evening on the site of present city of Pasco, Washington; distance about 90 miles. At foot of the rapids he has an interesting "smoke" with the first of the Shahaptin tribes and it is quite possible that the white-haired man mentioned is the priest or medicine man after whom Alex. Ross says the rapids were named.

sat down and smoked and discoursed as usual. What I said the chief repeated to his people and another so repeated after him, both very loud. The women then advanced, singing and dancing in their best dress, with all of them shells in their noses, two of them naked but no way abashed, they advanced all the time the men smoked and like the rest something of a religious nature. When done I paid them for their present of which I took only part, but the pounded roots were made in neat cakes and they have very few Chevrail. They are of the Shawpatin nation and speak that tongue. Here my last guide showed his service interpreting with an audible voice, and seemed a sensible, respectable man. The name of the Indians of yesterday is Sin-Kowarsin;²⁰ those we now leave Skummooim; Skaemena of those close below us. Co. N. 85° E. 1 m, N. 75° E. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, N. 68° 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 52° E. 1- $\frac{2}{3}$ m, N. 35° E. 1- $\frac{1}{3}$ m. These two last courses by the watch, which is for the future to be my guide there, as the low points are so distant that I cannot determine the distance by them. N. 50° E. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 22° E. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. E. 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 78° E. 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 70° E. 1 m, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 70° E. $\frac{2}{3}$ m, S. E. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 58° E. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 52° E. 4- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 40° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, Sand knolls on the right. S. 25° E. 2 m, S. 12° E. no distance, (?) 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, (?), S. 20° E. 2 m, plus 2- $\frac{3}{4}$ m, Co. S. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, Co. S. 30° E. 1 m, S. 68° E. 1- $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. 80° E. 3- $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Sight the Shawpatin Mountains²¹ seemingly low, yet many patches of snow on them. S. 78° E. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, put ashore at 5:30 P. M. and camped. Seeing a very large camp close before us four horsemen came ahead, they smoked and I sent them to invite all the Indians to come and smoke also, which they did, bringing a present of four salmon. They might be about 150 men with their families. We discoursed much, three chiefs repeating after each other what I said. They say that the snow falls only about 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep and soon again goes off. There are plenty of Chevrail

²⁰ The Indian name for Rock Island Rapids is Squah-ah-she and the natives along the river as far as Priest Rapids are known as Squah-ah-she-nooks, or a name of very similar spelling. Mr. Thompson's Skummooim is Lewis and Clark's Kimooenim, and his Skaemena is probably Alex. Ross' Eyakema or our Yakima tribe. The camp at night is with the Sokulks of Lewis and Clark.

²¹ The Blue Mountain Range.

and two species of other small deer, with small trout and another small fish in the winter, which, with the dried salmon form their winter livelihood. They have no berries, etc., whatever, nor did we see any roots. Salmon is plenty with them in the seine, etc. The salmon of this morning and now are fat a little, they give a little oil in the kettle, the very first that have done so and have a trout-like taste. When done smoking they gave us a dance after the fashion of the others. The women and men were tolerably well clothed but had not so much shell ornament as the others. They have not the sea look but much of the Plain features. They did not appear to make so much use of the nose ornament as the others. The whole lasted till 9 P. M. and they went away. Obsd. for Latitude, Longitude and time but on the 9th I found my instrument had got shaken quite out of adjustment to the left, which makes me doubt the use of either this, or the others of Antares, as I do not know when the Sextant got this shake. Promised them a house here.

July 9th, Tuesday.²² A stormy night and morning. Wind northwesterly. At 6:10 A. M. set off Co. S. 80° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m to the junction of the Shawpatin River with this, the Columbia. Here I erected a small pole with a half sheet of paper well tied about it, with these words on it: "Know hereby that this country is claimed by Great Britain as part of its territories, and that the N. W. Company of Merchants from Canada, finding the factory for this people inconvenient for them, do hereby intend to erect a factory in this place for the commerce of the country around. D. Thompson. Junction of the Shawpatin River with the Columbia. July 9th, 1811." The Shawpatin River may be about 500 yards wide, troubled waters and a strong current. Indians say when the water is low it is full of rapids and bad. Co. from it below S. E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. Say passed 20 families. Co. S. 37° E. 1 m + $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. At 8:5

²² From Pasco, after stopping to post his formal notice, Mr. Thompson descends the Columbia about 60 miles and camps in vicinity of either Castle Rock on the Oregon side or Carley on the Washington side. He spends four hours of the morning talking with Chief Yellepit of the Walla Walla tribe of Shahaptins, the same who entertained Lewis and Clark so sumptuously in 1805-6 as narrated in their journals. On the turn to the southwestward just above Blalock Island Mt. Hood is sighted ahead of them.

A. M. put ashore and at 1/4 P. M. set off. Here I met the principal chief of all the tribes of Shawpatin Indians. He had an American medal of 1801, Thomas Jefferson, and a small flag of that nation. He was a stately good looking man of about 40 years and well dressed. His band was small as he had separated himself for fishing, but he had cousins all around, and they all collected. He had his soldiers, who, when two old respectable chiefs approached went and met them about 100 yards from where we were smoking. I found him intelligent, he was also very friendly, and we discoursed a long time and settled upon the Junction of the Shawpatin River for a House, etc. When he had smoked awhile with the others, he ordered all the women to dance, which they did as usual. He gave me two salmon and I made him a present of 2 feet of tobacco, having smoked and given away with last night full 2-1/4 fms. Co. S. 5° W. 1 m, S. 30° W. 2 m, S. 33° W. 1 m, S. W. 3 m, say 3-1/2 m (Columbia 860—4757 Shawpatin), S. 67° W. 1 m. The course of S. W. 3 m may be lengthened to full 3-1/2 m. Co. S. 82° W. 3 m, S. 65° W. 4 m, plus 1 m, S. 82° W. 1-1/2 m, N. 85° W. 1-3/4 m, S. 60° W. 1-3/4 m, S. 60° W. 2 m, plus 1 m. See conical mountain right ahead alone and very high, seemingly a mass of snow. Co. + 1/2 m, Co. S. 70° W. 1-1/2 m. A very strong head wind all day, camped at 6-1/4 P. M. The men could not advance without great fatigue. The country is still a vast plain and getting more and more sandy. The Indians inform us that from the Shawpatin River²³ they go with horses in a day to the foot of the mountain, which is now low and distant, the next day to the other side of the mountain, and the third day among the buffalo, but they fear the Straw Tent Snake Indians with whom they are at war. The course they point out is about east by south. Obs. Merid. Altds of Antares 36° 27-1/2' Saturn 44° 37' G. Passed in all about 80 families in small straggling camps. Lat. 45° 51' 33" N. Antares Latde. 45° 50' 45" N. Saturn 45° 51' 33" N.

²³ Which being interpreted means that it was one day's travel from the Snake River to the foot of the Blue Mountains, and then one day more across those mountains to the Grande Ronde Valley, and then one day more to where buffalo used to range in Eastern Oregon, in verification of which it may be said that the bones of that animal have been found in the Wallowa and Powder River regions.

July 10th, Wednesday.²⁴ A fine morning, wind as usual, a gale ahead. At 5:33 A. M. set off. Co. S. 62° W. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. + $2\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m + $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 32° W. 1 m end of course. Put ashore and observation for longitude and time. (Observations not intelligible.)

July 10th continued. We set off Co. S. 60° W. $\frac{2}{3}$ m, Co. S. 70° W. 2 m. At 10:4 A. M. set off having been with Indians who behaved well. Co. S. 15° W. $2\frac{1}{4}$ m. There were 82 men with their families—measured a canoe of 36 ft. long and 36 inches wide—noticed also their seines with large poles and dipping nets in long hoops for the salmon. Co. S. 40° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 60° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. Put ashore at 11 A. M. and boiled salmon and at 11:44 A. M. set off. Co. S. 60° W. 2 m, plus $3\frac{1}{2}$ m to Indians. Set off at 55 P. M. to 80 men and families. At 3 P. M. set off—3 salmon 2 ft. of tobacco. Co. S 38° W. 2 m, S. 75° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 75° W. $2\frac{1}{4}$ m, W. $\frac{1}{3}$ m, S. 75° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m, Co. S. 35° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. Beginning of course put ashore at 2 men with a seine and bought 2 salmon at 5:26 P. M. At 5:50 P. M. put up with a very storm of wind. We had a strong head gale all day, but in the evening it increased to a storm, the water was swept away like snow. Course for the morrow about S. 40° W. In the last band of men one of them had his nipple cauterized. I saw no others. They danced in a regular manner and by much the best I have seen, all the young in both sexes in two curved lines, backwards and forwards, the old formed the ranks behind, they made much use of their arms and hands. The dance, song and step were measured by an old chief, some times they sat down at the end of 3', sometimes at the end of 10', but never reposed more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a minute, they gently sank down as it were and rose up as regularly, the whole as usual in a grand style. Obs. Merid. Alt. of Saturn $44^{\circ} 50\text{--}\frac{1}{4}'$. Heard news of the American ship's arrival. Lat. $45^{\circ} 44' 54''$ N.

²⁴ A short day's run of about 40 miles, but much time spent in smoking with the Indians at their fishing camps, and he learns of the arrival of the Tonquin at Astoria with the Astor or Pacific Fur Company traders. The camp for the night is below Squally Hook, probably near John Day river.

July 11th, Thursday.²⁵ A fine morning, wind a breeze ahead as usual. At 5 A. M. set off. Co. S. 40° W. 1 m, S. 22° W. $2/3$ m, S. 50° W. 1 m. At 5:55 A. M. put ashore at 63 men; stayed till 6:40 A. M. then set off. Co. S. 50° W. $1-2/3$ m, S. 40° W. 1 m. Put ashore at 7- $1/2$ A. M. and observed for longitude and time. (Several observations omitted.) At 8- $1/2$ A. M. embarked. Co. S. 40° W. $1-1/4$ m, to Indians. Set off at 9:25 A. M. S. 68° W. $3/4$ m. Run part of a rapid. The ignorance of our guide nearly occasioned the loss of our canoe in the rocks. Went down in the left about 10 yards with the line, but all this is good, out in the mid. and left S. R. C., very many large crickets. S. W. $1/2$ m, S. 50° W. $1/2$ m, S. 68° W. $1-1/2$ m. At $1/2$ past noon again left another large band. Co. S. 56° W. $2/3$ m to a strong rapid. S. 60° W. $1/4$ m, S. 78° W. 1 m, S. 15° W. 2 m to a series of strong rapids. At 2 P. M. put ashore and carried about 200 yards, then camped with about 300 families, who gave us as usual a rude dance, but the respectable men among them had much trouble to reduce them to order, and they were the least regular in their way of behavior of any we have yet seen. At night they cleared off with difficulty and left us to go to sleep. A gale as usual, saw nothing of the reported bad Indians.²⁶

July 12th, Friday.²⁷ A fine morning, but windy early, got up and waited the promised horses to be lent us to carry the things over the portage, but not coming we carried a full mile to a small bay. Co. S. 12° W. 1 m, the Co. S. 15° W. 1 m. Here we saw many gray colored seals. At 8 A. M. set off and went about $1/2$ m, part paddle, part line. Fired a few shots without effect at the seals. At middle of last course put ashore

²⁵ Continuous and dangerous rapids and visits with the Indians permit a run of only about 30 miles today. The afternoon's camping place is a trifle uncertain, but Celilo Falls being entirely submerged that year he probably ran down to the head of the Upper Dalles or Ten Mile Rapids, then carried a short distance and camped between there and the Lower Dalles or Five Mile Rapids with the Echeloot Indians of Lewis and Clark. These are the Short and Long Narrows through which Lewis and Clark ran their pirogues to the great astonishment of these Indians, but at a different stage of the water.

²⁶ This remark indicates a knowledge of Lewis and Clark, from copy of Patrick Gass' journal, which Mr. Thompson carried.

²⁷ Both portages are short because of high water; the seals are seen in Big Eddy and the short "carry" is at Three Mile Rapids and the canoe is "gummed" just above The Dalles. The camp at evening is on Oregon side a little above the Cascade Locks. Distance traveled is about 55 miles.

and carried about 100 yards goods to an island on the left side of channel, boiled fish, gummed the canoe and observed for Latitude, Longitude, etc. (Observations not intelligible.) At 10 A. M. set off, Co. S. 68° W. 2 m, S. 70° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m, W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 78° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 60° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 22° W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 30° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 55° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, W. $2\frac{1}{4}$. At 11:19 we put ashore to gum. At noon set off, Co. + 1 m, Co. S. 80° W. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. In this course saw the first ash, etc., S. 56° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, S. 75° W. 2 m, N. 88° W. $2\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 70° W. $2\frac{3}{4}$ m. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. gone a snow mount rather ahead, say 30 miles, another on right, rather behind, say 25 miles.²⁸ The country is now hilly and at end of Co. the hills high, rude with patches of snow on the summit. Much large willow with spots of ash, etc. Co. S. 60° W. 2 m, plus 3 m, all course well wooded with red fir, smooth poplar, willows and a few ash etc. and cedar but full of branches. S. 82° W. $3\frac{1}{3}$ m, S. 65° W. 1 m, S. 55° W. 2 m, S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, at end of course. At 5:50 P. M. we stopped for a canoe of two men who came and smoked with us, we made signs for them to take a bit of tobacco to their people and tell them we were coming to smoke a pipe with them. We went about 100 yards through poplars, stopped at 5 P. M. and camped for the night at the desire of the Chief, traded two good salmon; he jabbered a few words of broken English he had learnt from the ships. Obs'd Saturn for Lat'de $45^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$. These people took us in to their houses which were well arranged, very full of salmon, and so close as to be intolerably warm, stayed there about one hour, when I came to my people. They speak a language quite different from the others, are of a squat, fat, brawny make, dark brown hair, the children light colored do, the women fat, brawny and naked, as are also the men, not so dirty as those at the Falls. Latitude $45^{\circ} 39' 47''$ N.

July 13th, Saturday.²⁹ A fine day, the people on the right side, or north side are called Wan-Thlas-lar, on the south side

²⁸ The only point on the middle river where both Mt. Hood to the south and Mt. Adams to the north are visible is just opposite present city of Hood River.

²⁹ Owing to delay in starting and the portage around the Cascades, the day's run is only about 25 miles and the camp at evening near or opposite Rooster Rock. Point Vancouver, which is nearly opposite to Corbett, Oregon, just below, he seems familiar with, through the records in Vancouver's Voyages probably.

Woe-yark-Eek³⁰. Thloos, good, Kummertacks—I understand or know it, Knick-me-week-no-se-ye, far off. Pesheek, bad.³¹ After much delay we were obliged to set off. At 9:5 A. M. get across to the north side with Woe-Yark-Eek, course say northwest $\frac{2}{3}$ miles, then carried S. W. 1 m, S. 70° W. 1 m. Embarked S. 30° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. R. a small channel. W $\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 68° W. $\frac{1}{6}$, S. 5° W. $\frac{1}{6}$, S. 22° W. $\frac{1}{6}$, S. 56° W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 60° W. $\frac{1}{6}$, S. 15° W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 5° W. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. 22° W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 43° W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 60° W. $\frac{3}{4}$, S. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. W. 1 m at end of course, put ashore and boiled salmon. Here an Indian followed us and gave us a salmon. At 6- $\frac{3}{4}$ P. M. set off. We had before stopped about half an hour to trade salmon at two houses—S. 40° W. 5 m, S. $\frac{2}{3}$ m. This course crossed the river. Camped at 8:5 P. M. a little above Point Vancouver.

July 14th, Sunday.³² A very fine morning. At 3- $\frac{1}{4}$ A. M. set off, Co. S. 80° W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 80° W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 60° W. 1- $\frac{2}{3}$ m, S. 60° W. 1 m, S. 85° W. 1 m, plus 1 m, plus 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, plus 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, plus 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 85° W. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, plus 2 m, N. 80° W. 1 m, plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. W. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 33° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 15° W. 1- $\frac{1}{6}$ m, N. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 30° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, plus 1 m, plus 1- $\frac{3}{4}$ m. We landed about at their houses and traded a few half dried salmon. At 10- $\frac{1}{4}$ A. M. put ashore to boil salmon. At 11:35 A. M. set off Co. N. 40° W. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m. A simple conical mountain at end of course bore N. 15° E. 30 m buried under snow. Co. N. 50° W. 1 m, plus 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 56° W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, plus 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Co. N. 60° W. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, N. 56° 2- $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 60° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m, N. 70° W. 2- $\frac{3}{4}$ m, plus 1 m, S. 85° W. 1- $\frac{1}{4}$ m, S. 80° W. 1- $\frac{3}{4}$ m, to Indians, N. 50° W. $\frac{3}{4}$, S. 36° W. 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$, S. 56° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 60° W. $\frac{3}{4}$, S. 80° W. 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 55° W. $\frac{1}{3}$ m, S. 70° W. $\frac{1}{6}$ m, W. $\frac{1}{6}$ N. 60° W. 2 m. Put up on an ugly place of rocks and an old campment, left the canoe in the water. Obs'd Saturn for Lat'de 44 just V. G.—Tide fell about 2 ft. in the night. Lat. $46^\circ 10' 5''$ N.

³⁰ Compare with names given by Lewis and Clark to these Indians.

³¹ Very good Chinook; compare with any Chinook dictionary.

³² Mr. Thompson travels about 85 miles today, and his camp at night is under the rocky cliffs some distance above Cathlamet on the Washington shore. He stops to boil salmon on Sauvies' Island, and Mt. St. Helens is sighted from about where the city of that name now stands.

July 15th, Monday.³³ A very fine day, somewhat cloudy. Stayed till 6:25 A. M. shaving and arranging ourselves, when we set off Co. N. 33° W. 1 m, N. 65° W. 2 m, N. 78° W. 1 m, S. 70° W. 1 m, S. 60° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. The fog all along prevents me seeing well. S. 34° W. 2 m, S. 22° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S. 50° W. $\frac{1}{5}$, W. $\frac{1}{6}$, S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{2}{3}$ m, S. 50° W. 2 m, plus 1 m, N. 68° W. 1 m, plus $1-\frac{1}{2}$ m to Pt. Tongue but as the wind was blowing from sea very hard we made a portage of about 200 yards over this Tongue and again embarked Co. to the Ho. S. 50° W. $1-\frac{1}{2}$ m. At 1 P. M. thank God for our safe arrival, we came to the House of Mr. Astor's Company, Messrs. McDougal, Stuart & Stuart, who received me in the most polite manner, and here we hope to stay a few days to refresh ourselves.

³³ The islands and low marshes along the south shore of the Columbia are all inundated, but Mr. Thompson crosses over and follows that shore to Tongue Point and portages across where Capt. Clark carved his name on a tree December 3, 1805, but does not mention the tree. For contemporary accounts of his arrival at Astoria compare Franchere's *Narrative*, pp. 121-2, and Alex. Ross' *Oregon Settlers*, pp. 85-6, and Irving's "Astoria."

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT DEDICATION OF
GRAND RONDE MILITARY BLOCK
HOUSE AT DAYTON CITY PARK,
OREGON, AUG. 23, 1912

By M. C. GEORGE

Grand Army Veterans and Pioneers and Fellow Citizens:

This is an age of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, wireless messages, sky scrapers and airships, in short, progress and advancement o'er land and sea and under and over it all. Yet, within our recollection, this was an uncivilized Indian country, and exposed pioneers were working day and night to insure and upbuild American civilization. In the winter of '55 and '56 the settlers of this valley, apprehensive of the spread of the Yakima outbreak among the Indians that were gathered at the Grand Ronde Reserve, assisted probably by Lieut. Hazen's soldiers, began the building on the hill on the rim of that Reserve this old Block House as a Fort, and surrounded it with a stout stockade for refuge and defense. Afterwards it was moved to the Agency about three miles distant on the Reserve, and used as a jail for unruly Indians. Today, on its removal to this beautiful park, through the efforts of your public-spirited citizens, and the consent of our Government, with the aid of our Representatives, you have assembled to dedicate it as a monument in the memory of Gen. Joel Palmer, the founder of Dayton, and the donor of this ground, and as a museum of Indian and Pioneer relics.

Gen. Palmer was our first Supt. of Indian affairs, and he it was that assembled the various tribes of Indians on the Reserve, and largely through his influence this old Block House was erected, afterwards known as Fort Yamhill. Gen. Palmer, fearing trouble, deemed it necessary for a force of U. S. troops to be there stationed to maintain order and insure safety. Gen. Phil. Sheridan in his Memoirs says that Gen. Wool assigned him from Fort Vancouver to the Grand Ronde early in '56 and that sometime prior to his arrival at Grand Ronde the

government had sent the first troops to this station under command of Lieut. Wm. B. Hazen, afterwards Gen. Hazen of the Signal Corps. Sheridan says that he, along with a detachment of Dragoons, came to relieve Lieut. Hazen. Sheridan came to Oregon in October, 1855, and had actively participated in the Yakima War of '55 and '56. With a detachment of troops from Fort Vancouver in March, 1856, he aided in the rescue of 47 men, women and children besieged in the Middle Block House at the Cascades, and in the repulse there of the Yakimas and Klickitats, and also in the final capture of old Chief Chenoweth and others who afterwards were tried by a military commission and hanged for the massacre of whites at The Cascades Portage. Sheridan arrived at Hazen's camp April 25, '56. It appears that Hazen and Sheridan each aided in the completion of this Block House on the hills beyond the present townsite of Sheridan. Gen. Sheridan says that Hazen had begun the erection of post buildings and that he continued the work.

It may be of interest to you Dayton citizens to note that Phil. Sheridan in his Memoirs says that the Reserve is about 25 miles south west of Dayton, Oregon. He evidently regarded Dayton as the center of the Universe, and measured things from it. He probably had noted, as doubtless have each of you, that the Heavens appear to come down in even distances all around Dayton as a center. In July, 1856, Lieut. Sheridan was superseded by Capt. David A. Russell and soon after was transferred from Grand Ronde over to the Siletz, where he aided in building Fort Hoskins and also in starting a Block House on the Yaquina. Wm. M. Hilleary, who served in Capt. A. W. Waters' Co. F, 1st Oregon Inft. Vol. informs me that old Fort Hoskins, where Hilleary was stationed about '61 or '62, was located on the Little Luckiamute at the head of King's Valley in Benton County. He visited the site several years ago and says no vestige remains of the old fort except the eternal hills on which it stood.

Gen. Sheridan writes that he spent many happy days at Fort Hoskins. After remaining there nearly a year he was again

transferred to this old Fort Yamhill in May, '57, and here was stationed with Capt. Russell still in command, until after the firing on Sumpter. In 1861 they each were ordered from Grand Ronde to the East for service in the great Civil War—Sheridan, however, remaining in charge until September, 1861, when he was relieved by Capt. Owen and then went East as Capt. Phil Sheridan. The subsequent record of Sheridan and Russell is a part of the history of our nation. Gen. Russell was killed at the Battle of Winchester. Major Jno. F. Reynolds, afterwards Gen. Reynolds, who was killed at Gettysburg, and Gen. Ord, who took part in the capture of Vicksburg, Gen. Augur and Gen. Rufus Ingalls and Capt. Dent, brother-in-law of Gen. Grant, and some claim Grant himself, each visited this fort and here spent some time in special duties for the government. However, as Capt. U. S. Grant came to Oregon in 1852 and left in September, '53, while this Reserve was not created until '55, there seems to be a question as to personal visitation by Grant. Thus, as has been said by Mr. J. G. Lewis, to whom great credit is due for this auspicious occasion and gathering, "Around the walls of this old wooden Block House have gathered brave soldiers and noted army officers whose names are written on pinnacles of fame and glory; and the written pages of the history the modern world have immortalized them whose valiant deeds shall echo down the ages yet to come."

Incident after incident marks the record of this old Block House on the tablets of National as well as State history, all rich in historic material. It has been published that in September, 1856, Capt. A. J. Smith was placed in command having under him Lieut. Jos. Wheeler, later known as Gen. Joseph Wheeler, the famous Confederate Cavalry officer, who was wounded three times, and had sixteen horses shot from under him, and afterwards one of our Generals at the battle of Santiago in the late war with Spain. There is some error in this. Gen. Wheeler did not graduate from West Point until '59, where he previously must have been four years, while his own biography as a member of Congress says he later served as

a Lieut. in Kansas and New Mexico before he joined the Confederacy in '61. I knew him and served with him in Congress, but never heard him say anything about service in Oregon. Neither does Gen. Sheridan mention any Grand Ronde service by Wheeler in his Memoirs. If such a well known man served at Grand Ronde during Sheridan's time it would seem that Sheridan who knew him well and fought and fought hard with Wheeler's Cavalry at Missionary Ridge, would in all probability have mentioned it in his Memoirs.

Associated with Grand Ronde is also a long line of prominent civilians and Oregonians, among whom I readily recall your honored Joel Palmer, Hon. R. P. Earhart, Col. Christopher Taylor, Dr. E. R. Geary—a strong pulpit orator, Capt. Chas. Lafollett, who taught me my beautiful penmanship, Ex-Sen. Nesmith, Gen. Ben Simpson, Berryman Jennings, Jno. F. Miller, A. B. Meacham, D. P. Thompson, Father Waller, Rev. J. L. Parrish, and many others. I deem myself especially fortunate in personal acquaintance with all I have mentioned, also with Gen. Hazen, U. S. Chief Signal Officer, Gen. Ingalls, Gen. Sheridan, Gen. Wheeler and Gen. U. S. Grant. When I was in Washington City Sheridan had become the Lieut. General at the head of the Army, but his memory was still alert to the scenes of his Oregon experiences. He was especially fond of burnishing up his old Chinook, and took delight in carrying on our frequent conversations in the old Indian dialect. When he saw me passing in the corridor before his open office door he would hail me something like this: "Klahowya tilakum, mika hyak chaho copa nika house. Spouse nesika skookum klosk wa-wa. Nika hyiu cumtux, ancuttu mika Grand Ronde illihee." Around us might have been sitting senators or judges or generals, but no matter. Sheridan would talk in classic Chinook, and I in rusty jargon—all to the consternation of those assembled, who cudgeled their brains over the strange language to which they were forced but interested listeners, wondering whether it was learned Greek or possibly ancient Sanskrit.

Speaking of Chinook, I believe it was Gov. Salomon who, on visiting from the East an Indian Reserve on the Sound, had all the Indian bucks gathered in a park for a speech. The Governor unfortunately never got further than his opening address. In his rich round tones he eloquently saluted them "Children of the Forest." This was poetical and apparently appropriate, but trouble ensued when the interpreter undertook to translate the beautiful thought into Siwash Chinook. "Tenas man kopa stick," was the way the interpreter expounded the Governor's flowery opening. Literally, "Little boys in the brush." This was too much for the assembled braves, for with grunts of disgust they arose, and drawing their blankets about them, stoically marched off, and efforts to appease their offended dignity were temporarily abandoned.

About thirty years ago when Agent P. B. Sinnott was in charge and when Father Croquet and Father Conrada, since in control of the Hawaiian Leper Colony, and now in charge of the Leper Colony at Canton, China, were the spiritual advisers of the Indians, it was my privilege, as a Washington Tyee, to pow wow the gathered Santiams, Umpquas, Calapooyas, and Rogue River Indians at this Agency; and mindful of the Governor's fate, I did my talking direct in Chinook, with frequent reference to them as "skookum tillicums," and vehement assurances of my "klosh-tum-tum" and a good deal of gesturing and a little soft-soap and some "te-he", I managed to pull through safely, with grunts of satisfaction from the braves present.

You doubtless recall Sen. Nesmith's experience during the war. Some officer in the Army of the Potomac sent up a telegram in jargon to the Senator, which, however, fell into Sec. Stanton's hands as a suspicious document. Stanton readjusted his spectacles and took a good look at it, and then called in several advisers; but no one could figure it out. It appeared to be a diabolical plot and probably treasonable. Things looked serious until by chance it was handed to Gen. Rufus Ingalls, who readily saw that it was a mere invitation in Chinook to come down to the seat of war and bring a bottle of the best brand of whisky—presumably for medical purposes.

The old Indian jargon is disappearing. Gen. Sheridan, who spoke it fluently, calls it "the Court language of the Coast tribes." It would be of historical importance to preserve in this Museum record translations of this old common tongue of Hudson's Bay Indian times. Though mainly a trader's language it was made up of many words in common use by the Indians. Through it the Indian by well known accents and gestures could express, often even eloquently, their heart emotions; and all along the coast they took to it quite naturally. A. B. Meacham, in his "Wigwam and Warpath," gives a number of occasions when the rude, untutored eloquence of Indian character found vent in the Chinook language. One of the most striking instances of Indian heart-felt jargon was given me by Mr. Van Trump, who, with Gen. Hazard Stevens, made the first ascent of Old Mt. Rainier (then called by certain tribes Takoma,) who were guided to the snow-line by old Sluikin, who there in pathetic Chinook speech fervently implored his friends not to climb the snow and ice to the summit, because up there on the snowy heights was the throne of the Great Spirit himself,—the Saghale Tyhe, who was sure to punish—possibly through storm and avalanche, such sacrilege,

Block Houses are symbols of the Pioneer past. They were scattered far and near in Oregon and Washington. They were the outposts of civilization. How thought prolific is inspired as we look on these time scarred walls brought down from the past. When a babe in my mother's arms in 1851 I was carried from an old French bateaux on the portage landing—the site of the old Block House at the upper Cascades destroyed by the elements and the flood of '76. It stood for years where now is the iron track of the Great North Bank Railroad, built at a cost of forty-eight million dollars along the Columbia River—along where rolled "the Oregon and heard no sound save its own dashing." Note the epochs. Bryant and Thanatopsis; Lieut. Phil Sheridan and the Block House. Gen. Sheridan and the famous ride to Winchester. A Union saved under a Sheridan and a Grant and a Lincoln. One Flag and one Country, and Oregon the western gem of the Nation. Indian

barbarity and danger extinct. Civilization triumphant and progressing. A great people, all inspired by the thought of Webster that when our eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, that we may ever behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic spread all over in characters of living light; Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.

I congratulate you, my fellow citizens of Dayton, on this day. I congratulate our State that the old wooden military Block House—Old Fort Yamhill, finds its final foundation resting place in this beautiful park, beside the placid waters of the old River of Yamhill. Here the old soldiers of our country, and here the Indians of Grand Ronde—now citizens of our common land, may come and dream of the days of long ago, when the war clouds hung low, and here Pioneers may recall the times of their early hardships and their struggles to build themselves a home on the soil of Oregon.

May the old historic Fort here stand till the worms of time crumble it into the dust from whence it came, and may the Old Flag ever float above it.



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MEMORIAL ADDRESS

COMMEMORATING LIFE, CHARACTER AND SERVICES OF FRANCIS
XAVIER MATTHIEU*

BY CHARLES B. MOORES.

One year ago today upon these grounds, there appeared for the last time the sole survivor of a group of 102 men who, 70 years before, had laid here the foundation of a new State. Burdened with the weight of 95 years he was yet a keenly alive, and a happy, and a thoroughly interested participant. For years it had been his wont to celebrate with us each recurring anniversary of this occasion. Today his chair is vacant, and never again will we be cheered with the genial presence of the kindly old man to whom we delighted to pay the respectful homage that was his due. A tribute to his memory can be but little more than the repetition of a story that is familiar to every student of Oregon pioneer history.

Francis Xavier Matthieu was born at Terrebonne, near Montreal, Canada, on the second day of April, 1818. He died at his home near Butteville, Oregon, on February 4th, 1914, lacking less than two months of being 96 years of age. His father and mother were both of pure French descent. His father was a native of Normandy, his mother of Brittany. Both branches early migrated to Canada. When a mere slip of a boy he became a clerk in a mercantile house of Montreal.

*Delivered at the fourteenth annual commemoration services held at Champoe, May 2, 1914.

It was at that critical time in the history of Canada when Louis J. Papineau, a statesman and orator of wonderful eloquence, was stirring the French population to resist the aggressions of their British rulers. Under the spell of Papineau's eloquence, and moved by a keen sense of the wrongs of the French, Matthieu, boy that he was, soon found himself enrolled as a member, and an officer, of the "Sons of Liberty," organized for resistance to the constituted authorities.

The incipient rebellion was short-lived. Matthieu's brief career in Canada ended in 1838 when, with the assistance of Dr. Fraser, an uncle of Dr. John McLoughlin, he was enabled to cross the border and enter the United States under a forged passport. Reaching Albany, N. Y., he found employment as a clerk. Later he went to Milwaukee, and thence to St. Louis, where he found service with the American Fur Company. His employment carried him as a trader among the Sioux and the Dakotas. Returning to St. Louis he outfitted as a free trapper and in 1840 went to the Arkansas at Bent's Fort, where he encountered Kit Carson and George Bent, the trapper captain.

The following Winter and Spring were spent trapping in the Black Hills. This life, however, did not appeal to him, and early in the Summer of 1842, at Fort Laramie, the opportunity offered to join Captain Hastings' Company of over 100 emigrants bound for Oregon, among whom were Dr. Elijah White, A. L. Lovejoy, Medorem Crawford, Sidney W. Moss and others who were afterwards prominent in Oregon pioneer history. Mr. Matthieu's familiarity with the language and the peculiarities of the Sioux made him an invaluable member of this company. After varied experiences, the farm of Dr. Whitman at Waiilatpu was reached and 15 days were there pleasantly spent in his companionship. The trip over the Cascades, after this visit, was the most trying and difficult of the entire journey. Oregon City was reached about the 25th day of September, 1842.

Learning there that there was a settlement of French Canadians about 15 miles up the Willamette Valley, near Champoege, Mr. Matthieu continued his journey to this his-

toric point, and here he made his home almost continuously, for the ensuing 72 years of his life. Here he met and secured employment from Etienne Lucier, who was to share with him, in the following year, the honor of settling for all time the question of American sovereignty in the Northwest. Here was a location that had been selected by Dr. John McLoughlin in 1830 as a strategic trading point for the Hudson Bay Company. Lucier had settled in this locality about 30 years prior to Matthieu's arrival. He was one of the old trappers who had come in Hunt's party, the overland exploration party of the Astor Expedition. Having reached the age of 60 years he had the Hudson Bay Company trapper's suspicions of the tyrannous exactions of American laws and customs, suspicions that were generally entertained by the French-Canadians of the Valley.

The leaven of unrest, however, was already working among the people of the Willamette Valley. Their necessities called for some kind of an organization. Opinion was divided. Some desired American control, some British control, and some were insistent upon an entirely independent government. The immediate formation of a provisional government did not appeal to either Jason Lee or to Abernethy, who was later Provisional Governor, and it had the open opposition of the Canadian-French who held preliminary meetings in opposition at Vancouver, at Oregon City, and on the French Prairie. The subject of a provisional government was diplomatically approached at two meetings held in February and March, 1843, ostensibly called for the adoption of some measures to protect their flocks and herds from wild animals. These were known as "Wolf meetings." Mr. Matthieu attended neither of them. Their culmination, and at least a partial consummation, of their real object, a provisional government, was reached at the historic meeting of May 2, 1843.

The story of that meeting has become an Oregon classic. Champoege means as much to the history of Oregon as does the story of Plymouth Rock to the history of New England. It is a singular, and rather significant, fact that McLoughlin and

Lee, the two chief figures of the time in the Northwest, were both absent, and it seems to be an open question as to whether they were absent by accident or design. That was the one crucial and pregnant occasion of our early day history. There are some reasons to believe that Dr. McLoughlin, in spite of his relationship to the Hudson Bay Company, desired an independent government, and that Jason Lee regarded the movement as premature, while really favoring the American contention. There was no lack, however, of the presence of men bearing names that are familiar to the pages of the pioneer history of the state.

It seems a far cry, back to that beautiful May morning in 1843, when that rugged and motley band of frontiersmen gathered here at this romantic spot, on the banks of the Willamette, of whose varied beauties Sam L. Simpson has so sweetly sung. Little conception had they of the import and vast possibilities involved in the action to be taken by them on that day, and it is even yet difficult to estimate how much their decision has affected the historical currents of the world.

The scene was one to challenge the highest talent of the historical painter and the story is one worthy the loftiest periods of an epic poet. These men were the vanguard of the millions who have since followed in their footsteps, and of the multiplied millions who are yet to come. Here was the frontier, thousands of miles from the western borderland of civilization—the northwest corner of a new and an undiscovered continent. The richest half of what we know as the American continent was theirs. In all that vast empire, stretching from the Mississippi to the Pacific, now teeming with its millions of souls, and its billions of wealth, there was hardly a home, or a school, or a church, or an orchard, or a grain field, or a solitary mile of railroad. No richer prize ever tempted the greed of man. No greater empire ever asked the taking. They stood at the very dawn of two generations of time whose marvelous achievements had never been matched in any preceding thousand years.

It was their high good fortune to face an opportunity that is seldom offered in the history of any nation. It was a call, not so much for men of talent, as men of purpose, fitted for taking the raw material that frontier conditions provide and moulding it into form. The black frock coats of Gray and Parrish, of Griffin and Beers, of Willson, Babcock and Hines, contrasted no less strangely with the buckskin suits of Meek and Newell and Ebbert, than did their habits, their ideals, and their life purposes. But they were as one in their impulses, and their conceptions of the orderly forms, that were needed to promote the common good. Political opinions, considered in the narrow party sense, did not divide them.

Such differences as existed were based upon various social and moral conditions, and their respective national, religious and commercial affiliations. Any ordinary public hall would have housed the whole American population then living in the western half of the continent. The American population at the beginning of 1842 was 137, including women and children, although this number was almost doubled by the end of the year. Of the 102 men who voted at the meeting of May 2, 1843, the 50 who voted against organization were all of the Catholic faith, and of French or French-Canadian descent, whose relations to Dr. McLoughlin and the Hudson Bay Company were such as to make it almost a duty to take the stand they did.

For their course there can be no reasonable word of censure. The sincerity of their motives is not open to question. Of the 52 men who took the American side when Joe Meek dramatically called for a divide, five including Matthieu and Lucier, were of the Catholic faith, four were Baptists, six Congregationalists, six Episcopalians, eight Presbyterians and fourteen Methodists, while the affiliation of nine are unknown. Five were natives of England, two of Scotland, one of Ireland, two, Matthieu and Lucier, of Canada, one each of Alabama, North Carolina and the District of Columbia, three each of Ohio and New Hampshire, four each of Connecticut, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, ten of New York, and six unknown.

With possibly three exceptions, Matthieu was the youngest man of the group. His was not a chance, or accidental vote. It was the vote of a man of decision and of character. He was but 25 years of age, but a mature man in experience. His vote was the vote of one who was at once a French fugitive, and a British alien. He carried with him, boy that he was, the vote of his friend, Etienne Lucier, a mature man of 60 years, and he carried it in the face of his friendship for his ideal, Dr. McLoughlin, and against the judgment of the majority of his friends of the Catholic faith, and his French-Canadian countrymen. In that vote there was some indication of the character of the man.

For a full 71 years he went in and out among his fellow men in this community, where in early manhood he cast his fortunes, and during all those years he measured up to the requirements of that standard of citizenship which is the very foundation of an ideal commonwealth. Although without political ambition, he was a man of public spirit, and, although a member of the minority party, served his fellow citizens of this county as commissioner, and as a member of the Oregon House of Representatives at the sessions of 1874 and 1878. He was one of the founders, and the first president, of the Oregon State Pioneer Association, chosen at a time when the pioneer element was the dominant element of the state, and the best blood of the Association was subject to call. In 1846 he secured the donation claim that for the remaining 62 years of his life was his continuous home. He was married April 15, 1846, to Rose Osant, whose father, Louis Osant, had been a Hudson Bay Company employe and trapper, and who was one of the 50 arrayed against him at the meeting of May 2, 1843. His relationship to that meeting, and conditions that later existed, have given to F. X. Matthieu a peculiar distinction. It was a close vote, and a chance friendship, that gave to him, and to Lucier, the opportunity to forever fix the political status of a great state—a group of states—to change the currents of the world's history, the destiny of a nation, and the individual destinies of millions of men. Had the vote and

the influence of these two men been cast, on that crucial day, in favor of British domination, the Oregon Country would have been lost to the flag.

What then of the map, and of the history of the Pacific Coast, and the Middle West? Who would now be harvesting the rich treasures of Alaska, and who would now be building the great waterway that is to divide the continent? Not only did the participants have little appreciation of all that was involved in that meeting, but its full significance apparently did not dawn upon the people of this state until after the lapse of nearly two generations. Fifty-eight years had gone by when, on May 2, 1901, a monument was erected and dedicated, upon these grounds, to the memory of the 51 dead, and as a suggestion to the sole survivor, that in the part he took in that event he had the good fortune to permanently link his name with one of the really important events of American history.

As that monument arose what must have been the emotions of the man, all of whose 51 companions had gone over the Divide, and into the great undiscovered country of the dead? It has been said that the three red letter days of his life were his birthday, Christmas, and the second day of May. Who would have denied to him the satisfaction, that was his in the closing years of his life, of knowing that his services were finally appreciated, and that his name was for all time to have a conspicuous place upon Oregon's roll of pioneers? Trivial events have changed the face of history, and moulded the fate of nations. A single vote has made a President. A single vote has elected governors. A single vote in our highest courts has settled questions of even international importance, but seldom in history has a single vote involved results of greater importance than did the deciding vote of Francis Xavier Matthieu on the second day of May, 1843. It was but the well-considered vote of a normal man, with the average poise and balance and temperament of a good citizen. Good citizenship has been the one insistent requirement of all times. The crying need of the distracted republic upon our southern border, is not a leader, but an intelligent and law-abiding electorate.

Latent talent for leadership always exists in abundant supply. It is always in evidence, and subject to call, in every crisis, but it is powerless without the support of that quality of citizenship that is the distinguishing mark of American civilization. We honor our departed friend not as a statesman, or a soldier, or a diplomat—not as a scholar or a sage, but as a splendid type of such a citizenship as is needed to insure the quality and the permanence of what we call the state.

No higher tribute can we pay to the memory of Francis Xavier Matthieu than to say that in his death the state of Oregon lost a splendid citizen. For two full generations he has commanded the universal confidence and respect of the people of his adopted state.

For full 40 years he has been a welcome guest at all of the meetings of the Oregon State Pioneer Association, and it is a matter of record that he never missed an annual meeting of the association. As the sole survivor of the historic group that gathered here 71 years ago today, he has ever been the central figure, and the one conspicuous guest, at our annual reunions upon these grounds. Today his chair is vacant. He has fallen into line with the vanguard that started years ago. He has gone to resume the companionships of his pioneer days, upon the other side. Today, for the first time, he responds to the completed roll call in a reunion beyond the divide, where his quaint humor and genial presence is to lighten up and sweeten the long interrupted fellowships of the old romantic days of his early manhood. The memories of his genuine and homely qualities will linger with us as an inspiration, and thoughts of his kindly nature and tolerant spirit will remain as a constant benediction. It is fitting that his worn and broken body has been laid away within hailing distance of the marble shaft that marks the scene of the most notable act of his life.

May the sod rest lightly, and may the storms beat gently o'er his grave. May the warmth of Oregon's affections temper the chill of the narrow bed in which he lies. May we who remain, as faithfully discharge the responsibilities of life, and when the final summons comes, meet it with the same serene complacency, and leave behind us the record of as good a name.

FIRST THINGS PERTAINING TO PRESBYTERIANISM ON THE PACIFIC COAST

ROBERT H. BLOSSOM.

The history of Oregon is replete with tragic events, the important actors being in many instances the early Protestant missionaries.

The history of the establishment and growth of Presbyterianism in the "Oregon Country" is romantic and soul-stirring. What was known as the "Oregon Country" was much larger in area than the Oregon of today; it comprised the present states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and parts of Montana and Wyoming—an empire of latent resources.

In 1832 four Nez Perce Indian chiefs left their wigwams in the Oregon Country, on the Columbia River, their objective point being St. Louis. They wished to secure the "White Man's Book of Heaven," of which they had heard, and to know more of its teachings. Two of them were old and venerable, the others young and active. The older chiefs died and were buried in St. Louis. The names of the younger chiefs were "Hee-oh-ks-te-kin" (the rabbit skin leggings) and "H'co-a-h-co-ah-cotes-min" (no horns on his head). The last mentioned one died while on his way home near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. The other one reached his friends in safety but bringing the sad news of the deaths of all the rest of the party. This remarkable quest was soon published in the newspapers of the land and was read with intense interest by thousands. To some it was a matter of no consequence, but to the missionary organizations it was a call from God, the "Great Spirit" of all. Jason Lee and a party of Methodists answered the "call" first, reaching the land of opportunity in September, 1834. They were followed by missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1835-36.

Note.—For facts, in compilation of this sketch, the writer is indebted to the following authorities:

1. Well authenticated Oregon history.
2. Certified copy of records of the First Presbyterian Church in the Oregon Territory.
3. The original "Church Record of First Congregational Church O. T." and kindly loaned by George H. Himes, of the Oregon Historical Society.
4. Interviews with Mrs. W. P. Abrams, Dr. George F. Whitworth, John C. Carson and Seth L. Pope.
5. Letters from Dr. George F. Whitworth, J. A. Hanna and Seth L. Pope.
6. Church records of the First Presbyterian Church of Portland, Oregon.

DR. WHITMAN A PRESBYTERIAN.

Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Whitman were appointed by the American board to explore the country and report as to the feasibility of establishing missions among the Indians. Dr. Whitman was a member and ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church at Wheeler, New York. In April, 1835, these men started on their long overland journey from St. Louis, Mo. On the 12th of August they and their caravan reached the rendezvous beyond the mountains on the Green River, a branch of the Colorado. They had now crossed the Divide and were beyond the main range of the Rocky Mountains. Here the party remained ten days, during which time Parker and Whitman conferred with the chiefs of the Nez Perces and Flat-heads, explaining to them the object of their journey. The Indians replied that they were anxious to have the missionaries among them. Because of this favorable reply Dr. Whitman suggested that he return with the caravan to the "States" and "obtain associates to come out with him the next year, with the then returning caravan, and establish a mission among these people, and by so doing, save at least a year in bringing the gospel among them."*

On August 22, 1835, Dr. Whitman began his return journey to the "States" and Dr. Parker continued his exploring tour with an Indian escort. Dr. Parker returned home after an absence of two years and two months, having journeyed 28,000 miles.

Dr. Whitman took with him to the East two Nez Perce boys. Their names were Tuetkas and Ites. The first one he called Richard, the other one John. Dr. Whitman reached his home in Rushville, New York, late Saturday evening. He stopped with his brother and no one else of the village knew of his arrival. The next morning he entered the church, followed by his two Indians. His appearance was like that of an apparition. His mother leaped to her feet, shouting, "Why, there is Marcus!"

*Parker's Exploring Tour, page 78.

Rev. H. H. Spalding and his wife (nee Eliza Hart, married to H. H. Spalding, October, 1833) were persuaded to join the Oregon mission, although they had previously planned to go as missionaries to the Osage Indians. Mr. Spalding was a great-great-uncle of Miss Minnie Spaulding, (*) a member of the First Presbyterian Church, Portland. The difference in spelling is explained in this manner: One branch of the family dropped the letter "u." W. H. Gray was Whitman's secular manager. Mr. Gray became prominent in Oregon history and was the author of "A History of Oregon, 1792-1849." Mr. Gray was the father of Mrs. Jacob Kamm (nee Caroline Gray), at present a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Portland, Oregon. Whitman was a bridegroom, having just married Miss Narcissa Prentiss, and now the wedding journey from New York to the Columbia River was begun, one of the most remarkable ever recorded. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding were the *first* white women to cross the plains and over the Rocky Mountains to the great "River of the West," the Columbia. Other members of this notable party were two teamsters, whose names are not known, and the two Indian lads, Richard and John, who witnessed Dr. Whitman's marriage to Miss Prentiss, in February, 1836, in the Presbyterian church at Angelica, New York. Mrs. Whitman had a charming soprano voice, and prior to her marriage led the church choir at Angelica. At twelve years of age she united with the Presbyterian church of Plattsburg, New York. This brave little band of nine persons had left civilization on our western frontiers, May 2, 1836, and arrived at the Hudson's Bay Company post at Walla Walla on September 2d, after a hard overland journey of more than two thousand miles.

W. H. Gray writes concerning their arrival at the old fort as follows: "Their reception must have been witnessed to be fully realized. The gates of the fort were thrown open, the ladies assisted from their horses, and every demonstration of joy and respect manifested." (Gray's History of Oregon, page 142.)

*Miss Spaulding died here in Portland, July 5, 1913.

In a few days the mission party left for Vancouver, arriving there on September 12, 1836. Gray also writes of their kindly reception at Vancouver, at the boat landing, by "one whose hair was then nearly white," (Dr. John McLoughlin) who stepped forward and gave his arm to Mrs. Whitman.

*In a letter from Mrs. Whitman to her mother, dated Walla Walla, Dec. 5, 1836, she says: "We left Vancouver Thursday noon, Nov. 3rd, in two boats," stations having been selected and houses built. Mrs. Whitman informed Dr. McLoughlin that Mr. Gray was their associate and secular agent, and there is evidence to show of his usefulness in this capacity.

GRAY RETURNS EAST FOR REINFORCEMENTS.

Mr. Gray rendered invaluable service in settling the Whitmans at Waiilatpu and the Spaldings at Lapwai. On December 28, 1836, he returned East for reinforcements, arriving in Utica, N. Y., October 15, 1837. Mr. Gray was married to Miss Mary A. Dix at Ithaca, N. Y., on February 27, 1838. The A. B. C. F. M. appointed him Assistant Missionary, under date of March 13, 1838. This interesting document, making Gray's appointment, is now in the archives of the Oregon Historical Society.

The A. B. C. F. M. commissioned Rev. Cushing Eels, Rev. Elkanah Walker, Rev. A. B. Smith, and their wives, and Mr. Cornelius Rogers as the reinforcements for the Oregon Mission, and in the summer of 1838 Mr. Gray, with his wife, conducted the party safely to Oregon.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION.

By request of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholics sent their missionaries, Fathers F. N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, from Montreal, Canada, and they arrived in Vancouver (now in Washington) November 24, 1837, after an overland journey of over four thousand miles.

*Transactions of the 19th Annual Reunion, Oregon Pioneer Association for 1891, page 87.

THE WHITMAN AND SPALDING MISSIONS

The Mission, during these early days, was financed and encouraged by the American Board of Foreign Missions, the board at that time being under the joint control of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches.

Dr. Whitman was a physician and a very energetic and capable man. His station was known as the Waiilatpu Mission, located on the Walla Walla River, six miles from the present site of Walla Walla, among the Cayuse Indians, of which he had personal charge. A station at Lapwai, on the Clearwater, among the Nez Perces, was in charge of Mr. Spalding. Missionary work among the Nez Perces was more successful than with the Cayuses, due, no doubt, to the superior character of the Nez Perces.

The services of Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding were invaluable as teachers in the native schools which were soon established. The Indians were furnished farming utensils and taught the art of agriculture. The squaws were given lessons in knitting, sewing, carding, spinning, weaving, etc. This method of treatment cured many of the habit of roving. The bucks would jestingly remark that they were being made a nation of women. Formerly the squaws did all the manual labor; the bucks hunted and fished and for a diversion engaged in warfare.

The needs of impoverished emigrants entering the new country when passing the mission were promptly met by Dr. Whitman, who sent them on their way rejoicing.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

On August 18, 1838, the *first* Presbyterian Church in North America west of the Rocky Mountains and on the Pacific Coast was organized at the house of Dr. Whitman, at the Waiilatpu Mission station, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, Wash. Rev. H. H. Spalding was elected pastor and Dr. Marcus Whitman, ruling elder. Mr. Spalding was a member of the Bath Presbytery, New York, *and this first church was attached to the Bath Presbytery.*

These gentlemen together with their wives, Mrs. Eliza A. Spalding, Mrs. Narcissa Whitman, Joseph Maki and Maria Keawe Maki, his wife, were the charter members of the first church organized in "Old Oregon." This membership, a total of five, was all by letter, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Maki and his wife were from the native church in Honolulu, Oahu, Rev. Hiram Bingham, pastor. The old record of this *first* church says: "Brought from the darkness of heathenism into the glorious light of the gospel of peace."

The following resolution was adopted at the time of the organization:

"Resolved, That this Church be governed on the Congregational plan, but attached to the Bath Presbytery, New York, and adopt its form of confession of faith and covenant as ours."

There has been some doubt as to whether this organization was a Presbyterian Church. To remove such doubt the writer has made excerpts from the records of this old church. He has also obtained the written opinion of Rev. William Sylvester Holt, D. D., an able Presbyterian minister, formerly connected with the Oregon Presbytery, but now residing in Philadelphia, Pa., and occupying the position of Associate Secretary on the Ministerial Relief and Sustentation Board. His letter follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., December 18, 1913.

Mr. R. H. Blossom, Chamber of Commerce, Portland, Ore.

Dear Mr. Blossom: Answering yours of December 6, I will say that personally I have never had any question as to the fact that the Church organized at Wailatu by Spalding and Whitman was a Presbyterian Church, and I based it on these facts: First, Spalding was a Presbyterian minister. Second, Whitman was an elder in the Presbyterian Church in the State of New York when he went out to Oregon. Third, as to adopting the Congregational form, it certainly was due to the fact that there was no Presbytery in Oregon, and that is the reason they were attached to the Presbytery of Bath, New York, and so no possibility of any form of government except their own. However, members were received by the session and not by the congregation so far as I can recall, and every-

thing was done according to Presbyterian politics, so that I do not see and never have seen any reason why we are not justified in calling it a Presbyterian Church. Their own records also call it a Presbyterian Church.

However, I agree that the resolution in their own records that "this Church be governed on the Congregational plan, but attached to the Bath Presbytery," a thing which would be impossible if they were not a Presbyterian Church, "and adopt its form of confession of faith and covenant as ours," shows that the intent of the man who organized the Church was to organize it as a Presbyterian Church. Furthermore, all those records are in the possession of the Synod of Washington, as they should be, which is solely and always has been a Presbyterian body. The Presbytery of Oregon was not organized until much later, and the church on Clatsop Plains was organized before there was any Presbytery, just as the one was out in Eastern Washington, but there has never been any objection to calling Clatsop Plains a Presbyterian Church, and I never heard of any objection before to calling Waiilatpu a Presbyterian Church. We have always claimed it and I think we are justified in the claim with the facts I have given you above. Respectfully yours,

(Signed) W. S. HOLT.

Mrs. Spalding became a member of the Presbyterian Church in Holland Patent, Oneida County, N. Y., in the Summer of 1826. Transferred her membership to the Presbyterian Church in Lane Seminary, Walnut Hills, Hamilton County, Ohio, and from this latter church to the Waiilatpu.

Mrs. Whitman became a member of the Presbyterian Church in Plattsburgh, Steuben County, N. Y.; was transferred to the Presbyterian Church, Angelica, Alleghany County, N. Y., and from thence to the Waiilatpu.

Mr. Spalding united with the Presbyterian Church in Plattsburgh, Steuben County, N. Y., in the Summer of 1825. Graduated from the Western Reserve College, Hudson, Portage County, Ohio, in the Fall of 1833. Finished his theological course at Lane Seminary, Walnut Hills, Ohio, ordained to the Gospel Ministry by the Bath Presbytery in 1835, and was appointed the same year by the A. B. C. F. M. as missionary. He was one of the organizers of the Waiilatpu Church.

Dr. Whitman was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church in Wheeler, Steuben County, N. Y. He was appointed missionary in 1835 by the A. B. C. F. M. Mr. Whitman was one of the organizers of the Waiilatpu Church. This information pertaining to the organizers of the Waiilatpu Church was taken from the old Waiilatpu Church record.

The following excerpts are made from this interesting old record: "On the same day, viz., 18 Aug., Charles Compo, formerly a Catholic, baptized by that church, declaring his disbelief in that faith and expressing a wish to unite with us, was examined and giving satisfactory evidence of being lately born into the Kingdom of Christ, was propounded for admission to the church at some future time. Mr. Pembrem (Pambrun), of Fort Walla Walla, a Catholic present, advised Compo to consider the matter well before he left his own religion to join another."

"19 Aug., 1838, Sabbath. Charles Compo married to a Nez Perces woman with whom he had lived for several years, after which assenting to our confession of faith and covenant, was baptized and admitted to our little flock as the first fruit of our missionary labor in this country."

Sabbath, Sept. 2, 1838. The following persons presenting letters were admitted: Wm. H. Gray and Cornelius Rogers.

The following persons, missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M., not having letters, presented as a substitute their appointment from the board were received, viz.: Mrs. Mary Augusta Gray (maiden name Dix), Rev. A. B. Smith, Mrs. A. B. Smith, Rev. Elkanah Walker, Mrs. Mary R. Walker, Rev. Cushing Eells, Mrs. Myra F. Eells.

Nov. 17, 1839, on profession "the following persons were admitted to the First Presby. Church in Oregon Territory, having been examined as to the grounds of their hopes some six months before, viz., Joseph Tuitakas, the principal Nez Perces chief, some thirty-seven years old. Timothy Timosa, a native of considerable influence, some thirty-seven years old."

May 14, 1843, nine persons (Indians) were admitted to "the First Presbyterian Church in Oregon" * * * "The Lord be thanked. To him be all the praise for these trophies of his victorious grace. Truly this is a glorious day for the powers of light. May these lambs be kept from every temptation and every sin and be nurtured up by the rich grace of God and become perfect men and women in Christ Jesus. The Lord's Supper was administered. Rev. Mr. Hines, of the Methodist Mission, was present and assisted the pastor. Present also, Rev. Mr. Perkins, of the Methodist Mission; also Elijah White, M.D., sub-agent of Indian A. W. R. M., and Mr. Littlejohn and wife and Mrs. Spalding."

June 23, 1844, Sabbath. Ten persons (Indians) "were admitted to the First Presbyterian Church in Oregon," making twenty-two native members in good and regular standing.

* * * * *

"Dr. Whitman visited Compo in Summer of 47. He appears well, has withstood the efforts of the Catholics to draw him back again, refused to give up his Bible to the priest who wished to burn it."

* * * * *

Because of Indian troubles the church was without a pastor for several years.

Nov. 12, 1871. A total of forty-five, mostly Indians, were admitted to the church and baptized by the pastor, H. H. Spalding. Among this number was Lawyer, head chief of the Nez Perces, and his son, Archie. * * * "This is a glorious day, bless the Lord, oh my soul! That I am permitted to return after so long expulsion in my old age but once to witness the wonderful work of God upon the hearts of this people."

"Chief Lawyer, the noblest man in the Nez Perce tribe, died Jan. 6, 1876. He was an old man and ripe for glory."

A total of ninety-eight were added to the church in November, 1871; all of whom were Indians but one.

Many Indian converts were added to the church during the years 1872 and 1873.

* * * * *

"Labored through the Winter till Feb. 20, 1873. Preached every Sabbath to a crowded house, congregation averaging 320. Three hours a day translating book of Acts, two hours a day with native helpers, three hours a day in school with Bro. Cowley, both languages, Bible the text book."

* * * * *

Whole No. received into First Presbyterian Church, Oregon, from 1838 to April, 1874—961.

Whole No. infants baptized—293.

Various reports were made to the board and Presbytery, showing membership and other statistics. The membership, with few exceptions, was composed of the native population.

INDIANS BAPTIZED.

"May 11, 1874. Today the deeply interesting event occurred of the baptism by Bro. Spalding, apparently on his death bed, of the Umatilla Chief, Umhawalish, who came all the way from his country, 210 miles, for Protestant baptism. He was one of the early pupils of the Martyr Whitman, and the name of Marcus Whitman was given to him in his new relation as a member of the household of faith." After this ceremony the assembly adjourned from the house to the church and Umhawalish's wife was baptized, receiving the name of Dr. Whitman's wife, Narcissa Whitman.

This old record shows that the membership was not confined to Indians at Waiilatpu alone, but they were "gathered in" at Kamiah, Lapwai, Halapawawi, Forks Clear Water, Ashoteen, Salmon River, Umatilla, Spokane, Wild Horse, Simcoe and Lewiston.

Dr. George F. Whitworth in a letter to the writer dated Seattle, Washington, December 29, 1903, says: "I have the original records of 'The First Presbyterian Church in the Territory of Oregon,' organized at the house of Dr. Whitman at the Waiilatpu Mission station, August 18, 1838."

FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN OREGON.

In 1839 the mission received a donation from Rev. H. Bingham's church at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, of a small print-

ing press, with types, etc., to the value of \$450. The *first book printed* west of the Rocky Mountains, so far as known, was issued that Fall in the Nez Perces language and also in that of the Spokane. (Page 225, "The Conquerors.") This interesting relic, with several booklets in the Nez Perce language, can be seen in the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

The Protestant missionaries, Jason Lee, Dr. Parker, Marcus Whitman and others, together with laymen like W. H. Gray, were important factors in winning Oregon to the United States. At this early period (1834-1843) it was problematical as to just how the question of sovereignty would be settled. England and America were contending, each with valid claims, for the great Northwest. Jason Lee was a colonizer—the greatest this country and state has ever produced—through his efforts, mainly, the American population was largely increased. The question was practically settled in favor of the United States when, at a public meeting, on May 2, 1843, held at Champoege, then the seat of principal settlement on the Willamette River, it was decided to organize a Provisional Government. The adherents of Great Britain voting fifty against and the Americans fifty-two in favor of the resolution.

WHITMAN'S RIDE.

On October 3, 1842, Dr. Whitman left Waiilatpu with a single companion, Amos Lawrence Lovejoy, a young man from Boston, and the guide, destined for the "States." Each member of the party had a horse; mules were used to carry the supplies. Other remarkable rides have occurred in America's history. The story of the ride of Paul Revere, immortalized by Longfellow in his famous poem; Sheridan's ride during our Civil War. These rides, however, were of short duration—a few hours or a single night at the most.

Whitman's ride was the heroic deed of one man with a single companion, covering a distance of 3000 miles, occupying between four and five months. Many snow storms and blizzards were encountered; frozen streams were crossed; wild beasts

and Indians to be guarded against. Hezekiah Butterworth is the author of a beautiful poem upon this famous ride, entitled, "Whitman's Ride for Oregon." There are those who claim this memorable ride was to save Oregon to the United States. Whilst others stoutly maintain it was made in behalf of his mission. In this connection there are two facts which can never be disputed:

1. That Whitman made the ride during the Winter months.
2. That the ride was one of unparalleled bravery and for a cause which must have been uppermost in Whitman's mind.

There is evidence to show that he called upon President Tyler and other prominent men at Washington, D. C.* That while in the "States" he urged the necessity of early American emigration to Oregon and that measures should be taken to protect them while en route. That he interviewed the officers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Boston, explaining the condition of affairs at the mission and making suggestions as to its needs. His wishes were granted. His terrible privations had greatly changed his appearance; then, too, his garb of buckskin trousers, a waistcoat and a blue English duffle coat over which he wore a buffalo overcoat, a few inches shorter than the duffle, was such as might cause comment in the ordinary drawing-room. Dr. Whitman remarked that it was "rather fantastic for a missionary, a buffalo coat with a blue border."

PIONEERS COME.

In the Fall of 1843 it is estimated that nearly 200 wagons, with over 1000 Americans arrived upon the plains of the Columbia. Ox teams were mostly used, averaging about six yoke to the team. Several thousand loose horses and cattle were brought along. The feat of crossing the Blue Mountains with wagons was accomplished and which the commandant of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall said was an impossibility.

*He did confer with the Secretary of War. Compare with Marshall's "Acquisition of Oregon," Vol. I, p. 248.—Editor Quarterly.

Dr. Marcus Whitman, who was returning to Oregon after his famous Winter ride, rendered efficient service as guide, physician and friend for this first great immigration to the Oregon country.

Jesse Applegate, a pioneer of 1843, writes of Dr. Whitman: * "I would fain now and here pay a passing tribute to that noble and devoted man, Doctor Whitman. I will obtrude no other name upon the reader, nor would I his, were he of our party or even living, but his stay with us was transient, though the good he did was permanent and he has long since died at his post. From the time he joined us on the Platte until he left us at Fort Hall, his great experience and indomitable energy were of priceless value to the migrating column. His constant advice, which we knew was based upon a knowledge of the road before us, was: 'Travel, Travel, Travel.' Nothing else will take you to the end of your journey; nothing is wise that does not help you along; nothing is good for you that causes a moment's delay. His great authority as a physician saved us many prolonged and perhaps ruinous delays, and it is no disparagement to others to say that to no other individual are the emigrants of 1843 so much indebted for the successful conclusion of their journey as to Dr. Marcus Whitman."

Upon Dr. Whitman's return to his mission at Waiilatpu he found his flour mill, with a quantity of grain, had been burned by disaffected Indians.

FIRST WHITE WOMEN IN OREGON.

On November 1, 1843, Dr. Whitman wrote from Fort Walla Walla to the A. B. C. F. M.: "If I never do more than to have been one of the first to take white women across the mountains and prevent the disaster and reaction which would have occurred by the breaking up of the present emigration, and establishing the first wagon road across to the border of the Columbia River, I am satisfied." * * * "I am determined to exert

*A Day With the Cow Column in 1843, Vol. 1, page 371, Oregon Historical Society Quarterly.

myself for my country and to procure such regulations and laws as will best secure both the Indians and white men in their transit and settlement intercourse."

THE WHITMAN MASSACRE.

The first few years of missionary work was very encouraging. It was not long, however, before a spirit of hatred for the whites manifested itself. On November 29, 1847, occurred the horrible massacre of Dr. Whitman, his wife and twelve other persons. Mrs. Whitman was the only woman killed. Fifty-three women and children were held in captivity two weeks by the savages; among them being Eliza, the ten-year-old daughter of Mr. Spalding. Mr. Peter Skene Ogden, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, secured their freedom by paying a ransom in shirts, blankets, guns, ammunition and tobacco to the value of about \$500. Mr. Spalding says that too much praise cannot be awarded Mr. Ogden for his prompt and judicious management of the captives' deliverance.

The leaders in this massacre were the Cayuse Indians, for whose welfare the Doctor and his wife had labored. The uprising is ascribed to the advent of the white man, whose numbers were rapidly increasing through immigration. The Indians said, "If the Americans come to take away their lands and make slaves of them, they would fight so long as they had a drop of blood to shed." They also had a superstitious dread that poison would be given them by the Americans. The massacre was a prelude to the Cayuse War which followed in 1847-48.

CLATSOP PLAINS CHURCH.

The church of Clatsop Plains was organized on September 19, 1846, by Rev. Lewis Thompson and hence *could not* be the *first* Presbyterian church organized on the Pacific Coast, as has been claimed. It must take second honors. "Honor to whom honor is due."

TRIALS OF A PIONEER PREACHER

The following is an extract from an interesting letter to the writer, which gives one some idea of the trials and tribulations of a country preacher during the church's formative period in early Oregon:

(From J. A. Hanna, dated Los Angeles, California, March 18, 1904.)

"I married a young and handsome lady in Pittsburg, Pa., in February, 1852, at 6 o'clock A. M., and started west at 7 o'clock of the same day. In the absence of railroads we came by steamboat on the Ohio and Missouri rivers to St. Joseph, Mo. Here we convened as a Presbyterian colony and purchased our outfit for crossing the continent with ox teams and wagons. Our company consisted of about sixty persons and eighteen wagons. We endured the usual privations and hardships incident to such a journey—had some Indian scares, but nothing serious. After five months we arrived in Oregon City, where we received our first mail from home. Here I learned that the Presbytery of Oregon erected November 19, 1851, stood adjourned to meet with the First Church of Clatsop Plains on the first Thursday in October, 1852. After a few days rest I went by steamboat to Astoria. Accompanied by Elder T. P. Powers and others we proceeded to Clatsop Plains where we found Rev. Lewis Thompson and his congregation assembled at the church. But Rev. E. R. Geary and Rev. Robert Robe were not present and by invitation I preached—and for want of a quorum we adjourned till Friday, when Rev. Lewis Thompson preached. When again we adjourned till Saturday when I preached preparatory to the communion on the Sabbath, and again we adjourned 'sine die.' In those pioneer days Presbytery always met on Thursday and remained over Sabbath and united with the church in celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. On Sunday I preached and assisted the pastor administer the sacrament. It was a precious and comforting season. We afterwards learned why Bros. Geary and Robe failed to get to Presbytery. They had arranged to come to Clatsop Plains by way of an Indian trail over the Coast range of mountains. But Rev. R. Robe's horse became lame and he returned to the river and came by boat. He was too late for Presbytery, but just in time to take the steamer to San Francisco to join the brethren there in constituting the Synod of the Pacific. Had he failed in this there would have been a

failure in constituting the Synod. Brother Geary, after wandering a few days in the mountains in an unsuccessful attempt to get through, returned to his home. I returned by boat to Portland—a town of 400 or 500 inhabitants—and we resumed our journey up the Willamette Valley and settled in Benton County, and on the 24th day of September, 1853, organized the First Presbyterian Church of Corvallis, the majority of whom were members of the colony in crossing the plains.

PRESBYTERY MEETS IN PORTLAND.

“My next attempt to meet with the brethren in Presbytery was in Portland, October 1, 1853; and in doing so I traveled on foot sixty miles from Corvallis to Champoeg, thence by boat to Portland, and returned in like manner. This was the first meeting of the Oregon Presbytery since its erection in September, 1851. The members were Rev. Lewis Thompson, Rev. E. R. Geary, Rev. Robert Robe, and Alva Condit, elder from the Clatsop Church. Rev. J. L. Yantis, D. D., and Rev. J. A. Hanna presented their letters and were received and enrolled. I then reported the organization of the First Presbyterian Church of Corvallis, which was received and enrolled.

“In answer to a request from interested persons in Portland for church services Rev. J. L. Yantis, D. D., was appointed to preach in Portland as often as convenient and to organize a church as soon as the way appeared clear. And he, with the assistance of Rev. Geo. F. Whitworth, did organize the First Church of Portland, January 1, 1854. Well do I remember seeing Dr. Yantis plodding through mud and water on his little gray pony on his way to Portland, a distance of eighty miles. It was during this meeting of Presbytery that I became acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Abrams. They were charter members of the church and were very efficient in its life and progress, and yet they remained warm friends of the Congregational Church—though loyal to the Presbyterian Church in all of its interests.

“But I must relate another meeting of Presbytery under difficulties. Presbytery stood adjourned to meet in Oregon

City, September 28, 1854. Messrs. Thompson, Hanna and Elder Alva Condit were present. Also Rev. Philip Condit, with his letter, seeking membership. Rev. Thompson preached Thursday night in the M. E. Church. There being no quorum we adjourned to Friday. Rev. Hanna preached that night, and still no quorum. We adjourned to meet at the residence of Rev. E. R. Geary at his 'Sherwood' farm in Yamhill County, thirty miles distant. We traveled by steamboat as far as Champoege and then journeyed afoot ten miles across the country to Dr. Geary's, where we held a delightful session of Presbytery and worshipped on the Sabbath in Lafayette.

"We all labored under great difficulties in meeting our appointments; had bad roads and no bridges—traveled on horseback through mud and water and swimming swollen streams.

"During the early pioneer years I was immersed twelve times—each time having a good horse under me. I will illustrate by giving one instance. It occurred on January 1, 1858, in going to preach at Pleasant Grove, thirty-two miles distant. I encountered a swollen stream—swam over, but failed to make a landing, owing to high banks—swam back again and pressed the water from my clothes—went up stream two miles—crossed and continued my journey twenty-two miles—preached that night in my wet clothes—also preached twice on Sabbath, returned home on Monday, and, if my memory serves me right my clothes were dry when I reached home. Other ministers had similar trials—but we lived through it all. I wish to say for those early pioneer ministers (with the exception of Dr. Yantis) that they all gave their lives to the work on this coast. They lived, labored and died on the field. Brother Robe and myself only live to tell of their good works. They are held in blessed memory. Laid broad and deep the foundations and builded better than they knew."

Note.—Messrs. Robe and Hanna have since died.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT
PORTLAND, OREGON.

Previous to the organization of the First Presbyterian Church, on January 1, 1854, Presbyterians upon their arrival in Portland found here no church home. The Congregational brethren had preceded them and established a house of worship. The two denominations are not so wide apart in their belief. It is therefore not surprising that Presbyterians affiliated with the Congregational Church in Portland's early days.

We find, however, that Presbyterians assisted in the organization of *this First Congregational Church*. Hence a word concerning this will be eminently proper. The *original* records of the Congregational Church are preserved and are now in the archives of the Oregon Historical Society. This book, called (Record No. 1), "Church Record of First Congregational Church, O. T.," is yellow with age. Its leaves are becoming loosened from their binding and they are much worn by the "tooth of time."

It was with a feeling akin to reverence that we turned its pages and gazed upon the record of a work so faithfully performed by the pioneer missionaries and preachers—by the pioneer fathers and mothers—many of whom have gone to their heavenly home.

On folio 1 of this ancient "Record" it is stated, that on Sunday, June 15, 1851, the organization of the First Congregational Church was effected by choosing Rev. H. Lyman as pastor; and among others, who "manifested by rising, their willingness to become members and form the church" are found the names of Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Abrams and D. K. Abrams. W. P. Abrams was chosen clerk pro tem and the minutes are signed by him. At a meeting of the "male members," Saturday evening, July 5, 1851, W. P. Abrams and N. C. Sturtevant were chosen deacons. These being the first deacons of the First Congregational Church.

And now, in this old "Record" (folios 29 and 30), appear these minutes bearing directly upon the organization of the First Presbyterian Church, viz.:

Portland, January 1, 1854.

"This being the regular Sabbath for a season of communion, and a preparatory lecture having been given last evening, the ordinance was this morning celebrated according to arrangement. The number present was fewer than usual, owing to the absence of some, who were this day dismissed, according to their own request, to aid in forming an Old School Presbyterian Church today in this city. The members dismissed were Brothers James McKeown, Deacon W. P. Abrams and Mrs. Sarah L. Abrams. It was unanimously voted that they should receive letters, showing their good and regular standing in this church, and also recommending them to the watch and fellowship of any evangelical church with which they may become connected. The season, though saddened by the departure and absence of esteemed members, was yet one of much interest.

"H. LYMAN, Pastor."

PRESBYTERIANS IN PORTLAND.

A meeting of the Presbytery of Oregon was held October 1, 1853, in the hall at the Canton House, in this city, then a thriving village of 400 or 500 inhabitants. The following members of the Presbytery were present, viz.: Rev. J. L. Yantis, D.D.; Rev. Ed. R. Geary, D.D.; Rev. Lewis Thompson, Rev. Robert Robe, Rev. J. A. Hanna and Elder Alva Condit. On Sabbath morning, October 3, 1853, Rev. J. L. Yantis preached in the First Congregational Church, northwest corner of Second and Jefferson streets, and Rev. J. A. Hanna occupied the pulpit of the First Methodist Church, then on Taylor street, between Second and Third streets.

In the afternoon of the same day (October 3, 1853), those interested met at the home of William P. Abrams, northwest corner of First and Jefferson streets, and a petition to the Presbytery was prepared asking authority to organize a church. The request was granted and Dr. J. L. Yantis appointed to **carry** the same into effect. A few weeks later Rev. Geo. F. Whitworth and family arrived in the Territory and Dr. Whitworth was invited to assist Dr. Yantis in the work.

FIRST CHURCH ORGANIZED.

Previous to the organization of the church Dr. Whitworth preached for several weeks in the hall of the old Canton House. And in the same building on the morning of January 1, 1854, Dr. Yantis preached from Luke 12:32 ("Fear not little flock"), and in the afternoon of *this* day a preliminary meeting was held at the residence of W. P. Abrams, First and Jefferson streets, and steps were taken to organize the church. Messrs. Wm. P. Abrams and James McKeown were elected elders. The following entry was made by Dr. Whitworth in his diary at the time: "In the afternoon met at Mr. Abrams' and organized church with ten members. At night preached from Heb. 2:4, after which Dr. Yantis ordained the elders elect."

The installation of the elders and the organization of the church was completed on Sunday evening, January 1, 1854, in this old historic structure, i. e., the hall of the Canton House. At this meeting there were no other ministers present but Dr. Yantis and Dr. Whitworth.

According to Dr. Whitworth's diary, entries made at the time, he supplied the church until the middle of February, 1854; to be specific, he preached every Sabbath in January after the first but one, the 22d, when "he was unable by reason of tooth and face-ache, but preached on the 29th and on the 5th and 12th of February," when on the 13th he left for Puget Sound.

The Canton House, a wooden structure, was owned jointly by William P. Abrams and Captain Stephen Coffin and was situated on the northeast corner of Front and Washington streets. This old building has played a large part in the history of Portland. When originally built it was occupied on the grade floor by two stores, the second story by rooms and offices and in the third was the hall, in which the meetings just referred to were held. This hall was a large one and was used as an assembly hall for various occasions. The society people of Portland would have dancing parties and it was here that such functions were held. It was also used by the Sons of Temperance, and at a later date by Samaritan Lodge, I. O. O. F.



FRONT STREET, SOUTH FROM STARK, 1852.

Fourth building on the left is the Canton House, Front and Washington Streets, afterwards the American Exchange.

First Presbyterian Church organized in the third story of this building on January 1, 1854, by Rev. J. L. Yantis, D. D., assisted by Rev. Geo. F. Whitworth.

The above picture is a reproduction of a daguerreotype taken by L. H. Wakefield, a pioneer artist of Portland.



This building had many names. It was first called the Canton House, then "Pioneer Hotel," then "Lincoln House," and finally the American Exchange. For many years it was used as a hotel and under its last name (American Exchange) was one of Portland's best resorts. It was moved, some years ago, to the northeast corner of Front and Jefferson streets, where it now stands in a remodeled condition. It is a peculiar coincidence that this old structure now covers the identical spot on which Wm. P. Abrams and Stephen Coffin, in the Winter of 1850, constructed and operated the first steam sawmill in the Northwest, i. e., Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

ORIGINAL MEMBERS.

Many are curious to know who these first ten members were (all joining by letter). There is no accessible record giving this information, but Mrs. W. P. Abrams and Dr. Whitworth have recalled the names of eight, viz.: Mrs. Sarah H. Thomson, Mrs. Mary Eliza Whitworth (Dr. Whitworth's wife), Miss Sarah Jane Thomson, Miss Mary Joanna Thomson (now Mrs. Mary J. Beatty), W. P. Abrams, Mrs. W. P. Abrams, James McKeown and Archibald H. Bell. Mrs. Sarah H. Thomson was the mother of Mrs. Whitworth and the Misses Thomson were the granddaughters of Mrs. Sarah H. Thomson. Mr. and Mrs. Abrams were the parents of Mrs. H. A. Hogue (nee Sarah L. Abrams), and grandparents of Harry W. Hogue and Chester J. Hogue, present members of the church.

And did they have a choir for the church in 1854? Yes, indeed! and excellent music was furnished. The following are known to have assisted in the singing: Dr. J. G. Glenn, John C. Carson, D. R. Carson, Captain W. S. Powell and Mrs. Caroline E. Corbett. At times the choir was led by D. R. Carson, a brother of John C. Carson. Of these early singers Captain W. S. Powell is the only survivor.

In these early days the Red Man of the forest was much in evidence. There were several good camping places along the Willamette's bank. On the east side of the river, in the vicinity of Water street, between Washington, Stark and Burnside streets, the bank was low and flat, extending some distance

out before the water was reached. Willows and other trees grew on these "flats" and here, in large numbers, the Indians pitched their tents.

Another excellent camping place was at the foot of Jefferson street, on the west bank, near Abrams' and Coffin's mill—as many as 150 Indians being in camp at one time. Mrs. Abrams says that the Indians were inveterate gamblers and that when she resided on First and Jefferson streets they often kept her awake nights with their incessant noise, which they always made when indulging in their favorite game.

FIRST CHURCH REORGANIZED.

The First Church was reorganized August 4, 1860.

The first pastor was Rev. P. S. Caffrey.

The first members received (all by letter) at this organization were: S. M. Hensill, Israel Mitchell, Mrs. Mary Robertson, Mrs. Margaret Smith, Mrs. Eliza Ainsworth, Mrs. M. Jane Hensill, Mrs. Frances Sophia Law, Mrs. Sarah J. Mead, Miss Leonora Blossom, James McKeown, Mrs. Elizabeth L. Blossom, A. H. Bell, Mrs. Jerusha Hedges, Mrs. Caroline Couch, Mrs. C. A. Ladd, Mrs. Polona Clark and Mrs. Agnes Grooms—a total charter membership of seventeen.

The first elders of the reorganized church were: James McKeown, Israel Mitchell and Smith M. Hensill.

The first deacon of the church was A. H. Bell.

The first board of trustees were: W. S. Ladd, J. C. Ainsworth, H. A. Hogue, J. M. Blossom and B. F. Smith.

Some of the first singers were: Mrs. J. W. J. Pearson, Mrs. W. B. Mead, Miss Frances Holman, Miss A. Chamberlain (now Mrs. E. G. Randall), J. B. Wyatt, Capt. H. L. Hoyt, W. B. Mead, and P. C. Schuyler.

All of the friends whom the writer interviewed and corresponded with have since died.

As we bring this sketch to a close, we are reminded that the pioneer preachers and the pioneer church members are passing away. Their work was a noble one and their life, as many of us know, was one of sublime patience and courage.

Should we forget these early Oregon Presbyterian Church fathers? Whitman, the medical missionary and martyr, and his wife, Narcissa Whitman, the only woman martyr; Spalding, the zealous worker; Gray, the secular manager and assistant missionary, author of Oregon's first history, and one of the leading organizers of Oregon's Provisional Government in 1843.

We cannot refrain from again naming Jason Lee, the great Methodist missionary, a man whose early activities in behalf of Oregon should never be forgotten. There are others whose names appear on the roll of honor, known in our day as "Fathers of Oregon,"—all enshrined in the hearts of liberty-loving and law-abiding people.

We shall never forget the dramatic story of the heroes and heroines in the planting of the cross and the establishment of civil government in Old Oregon!

JOURNAL OF DAVID THOMPSON

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION BY T. C. ELLIOTT.

The first part of this journal was published in No. 1, Vol. 15, of this Quarterly and the introduction there given should be read in connection with this part.

The reader will feel disappointment because nothing of importance is revealed by Mr. Thompson as to the physical or commercial conditions existing at Astoria three months after the landing of the officers and men of the Pacific Fur Company from the Tonquin in April, 1811, and the beginning of the erection of the trading post. In explanation it may be remarked that Mr. Thompson was a guest of rival fur traders and felt restrained by courtesy from making such a record; also that in all of his journals he is very reticent as to the personnel or movements of rivals or associates. However, in later years, about 1847-8, he wrote a narrative of this journey down the Columbia in which he stated that Astoria upon his arrival there consisted of "four low log huts," as well as considerable other information of a general character. This narrative or autobiography is mentioned by Dr. Elliott Coues in the Editor's Preface to the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) and is at the present time in process of publication by The Champlain Society of Canada under the able editorship of Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, of Toronto.

The reader will find it of interest to read in connection with this text the references by Franchere, Ross, Irving and Ross Cox to Mr. Thompson's visit at Astoria; also Mr. Ross' account of the journey up the Columbia in company with Mr. Thompson. The comparison will throw some light upon Mr. Ross' literary method and accuracy of statement.

Mention is again made of Mr. Thompson's peculiar use of the word "gone" when stating that he had *passed* a certain object or place. He also often uses the parenthetical marks to designate the right or left side of the river or road. His courses are all in terms of the magnetic needle, and while his

distances are often quite inexplicable the platting of the courses usually gives a very close idea of the meanderings of the stream during the day's travel.

Since editing the first part of this journal the writer has been privileged to examine the original journals at Toronto, and his feeling of satisfaction with the general correctness of this copy is only equalled by his charity for the copyist and understanding of a few apparent contradictions in the text.

See further note at close of the journal.

JOURNAL OF DAVID THOMPSON

(AS COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, CANADA.)

July 16th (1811), Tuesday.³⁴ A fine day. Observed for Lat'de, Long. and Time. Lat. 46° 13' 56" Long. 123° 48 & ¼' W.

July 17th, Wednesday. A very fine day, if we except an appearance of rain with a few drops of do., a steady gale from the sea as usual.

July 18th, Thursday.³⁵ A very hot calm day. I went across to the Indian Village with Mr. Stuart and my men. After visiting the Houses, we went up a green hill where we gratified ourselves with an extension (ve) view of the Ocean and the Coast South'd. From hence I set the Lands of Cape Disappointment S. 80° W. 4 m., Pt. Adams S. 25° W. 1-½ m. or 2 m., Co. or Obs. Pt.³⁶ S. 5° E. 10 or 12 m., a bay³⁷ of 1-½ m. deep to the east'd which is almost met by a cut³⁷ of fresh water and inundated marshes etc., the cut of water bears S. 17° E. 3 m. A Flat³⁸ at Pt. Adams about ¾ m. distant bears toward Cape Disappointment, from that Pt. the Flat about 300 yards long. Lewis³⁹ is River opposite Pt. George³⁹, bears S. 30° E. running from the S. W., Bay above M. M. the Pt. and Bay.

³⁴ Astoria is now charted as in Lat. 46° 11' 20" and Long. 123° 50' W.

³⁵ Today Mr. Thompson crosses the Columbia river to the Chinook Indian village about 1 mile east of the present McGowan's Station, where Chief Comcomly resided. He then climbs upon the "green hill," later charted as Scarborough Head, upon which the fortifications of Fort Columbia have since been built; and then returns to "the House," i. e., Fort Astoria.

³⁶ Tillamook Head, which was the "Clark's Point of View" of Lewis and Clark.

³⁷ Young's Bay and Skeppernawin (Skipanon) creek with marshes adjoining.

³⁸ Clatsop Spit.

³⁹ Lewis and Clark river and Smith Point.

From the House set Cape Disappointment, bears N. 78° W. 7 m.; the Point⁴⁰ above from whence I set the above Courses N. 62° W. 3½ m., the nearest land across⁴⁰ bears N. W. 2½ m. and then forms a Bay.⁴⁰ The little Pt.⁴¹ close to the House lies nearly on the same line with the Cape Disappointment, distant 1-5 m.

July 19th, Friday. A fine hot day. Obs'd for Lat. by 2 Alt.

July 20th and 21st, Saturday and Sunday. Fine weather.

July 22nd, Monday.⁴² A fine day. Arranged for setting off for the Interior in company with Mr. David Stuart and 8 of his men in 3 canoes. I pray Kind Providence to send us a good journey to my family and friends. At 1-24 P. M. set off in company with Mr. David Stuart and 8 of his men. They are to build a Factory somewhere below the Falls of the Columbia, at the Lower Tribe of the Shawpatin Nation. Course from the House to Tongue Pt. N. 35° E. 2 m. + ¼, a sail wind and very high waves. Course not very certain (N. 58° E., S. 80° E. distant Pt.). Course S. 10° E. ¼ m., S. 2° W. 1-3, S. 55° W. 1-5. We stopped at the Isthmus for Mr. Stuart's canoes who carried all their goods &c. here. The course from Tongue Pt. to the Great Pt.⁴³ on the right is N. 58° E. 6 m. but having gone into the bay the Co. from end of S. 55° W. 1-5 m. Co. is N. 84° E. 3 m., sailing we ran about 3 m. and then turned N. 48° E. to the Great Pt. Say Co. N. E. 2 m. + 1 m. + 2 m. N. 20° E. 1¼ m. N. 77° E. ½ m. + ¼ m. At 6.40 P. M. put up in a very awkward place for the night. 2 Indians came to us, we sent them for Salmon, of which they brought us a little.

⁴⁰ Scarborough Head, and Point Ellice, and Grays Bay.

⁴¹ Shark's Point, where the Parker Hotel stands in the City of Astoria.

⁴² Read in this connection Alex. Ross' account in "Oregon Settlers," pp. 103, et seq. Mr. Thompson sails around and beyond Tongue Point, but is compelled to turn back to the isthmus to wait for the Stuart party; they then proceed together along the south side of the river as far as Cathlamet Point, near where they camp for the night.

⁴³ Cathlamet Head or Point, which is not to be confused with the town of Cathlamet on north side of the river.

July 23, Tuesday.⁴⁴ A fine cloudy morning. At 4.21 A. M. set off, Co. N. 75° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. End of Co. 7 Hos. on the I.⁴⁵ N. 80° E. 1-3 m. S. 80° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. The Nation on Pt. Adams is named the Klats up or Klats ap; the other on the north side the Chinook. Co. S. 70° E. 1 m. plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. 68° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. 72° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. 65° E. 1-6 m. S. 42° E. 1 m. S. 80° E. 1-6 m. At 7 A. M. put ashore to boil meat and at 8.40 A. M. set off, Co. S. 70° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. [78° E.]. Saw the place⁴⁶ where I obs'd and camped going to the Sea, then Co. S. 70° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$, S. 80° E. 2-3, N. 78° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. 73° E. 1 m. From beginning of course the white conical mountain bears N. 70° E., No. 1, N. 72° E. 1 m. N. 58° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. End of course, an opening on the I.⁴⁷ bears S. 65° E., from which a river comes, perhaps the one passed a few miles below. Co. N. 58° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. 18° E. $2\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. 26° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. 30° E. $\frac{3}{4}$ plus 1-6, N. E. 1-5, N. 55° E. 1-6, passed 2 houses. Co. to Pt. of Island⁴⁸ N. 60° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. We go on the outer side of the Island to avoid the large village of about 20 Houses. Co. N. 75° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. 88° E. 1 m. plus 1 m, S. 85° E. $\frac{3}{4}$, E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. 72° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 65° E. $\frac{3}{4}$, S. 57° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. E. 1-3 m. S. 35° E. $\frac{1}{4}$. At 7 P. M. at the end of a line of steep Rocks, on a very steep shore, we put up, with difficulty we could place the Goods, and all slept as I may say standing, as all the lower lands are overflowed and no campment can be found.

July 24th, Wednesday.⁴⁹ A cloudy musketoe morning. The white mount'n⁵⁰ bears about N. 65° E. Our course is N. 88° E. 1 m. at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ A. M., E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. 80° E. 2-3 plus $\frac{3}{4}$ m.

⁴⁴ Continuing along the south bank Mr. Thompson stops for breakfast near Clifton, Oregon, sights Mt. St. Helens just as they round the upper end of Puget's Island, avoids Indians on Grim's Island, and camps at night on the rocky bank about 8 miles below Rainier, Oregon. By error Mr. Ross' account places the first night's camp here.

⁴⁵ Tenas-Illichee Island.

⁴⁶ Note 32 placed this camping place on the north side of the river. Further study shows it to have been on the south side, above Clifton.

⁴⁷ Upper end of Wallace's Island and the channel south of it.

⁴⁸ Meaning Grim's Island; right along here was Oak Point where the Winships began to build a trading post in 1810.

⁴⁹ The parties cross the river and follow the north side as far as Deer Island and then recross to the Oregon side. After passing Willamette Slough and Warrior Point the wind forced them to cross over the inundated lands on Wapato or Sauvie's Island to the slough for a camping place. The well known Indian camp of Chief Casinov is near.

⁵⁰ Mt. St. Helens.

plus $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. At $6\frac{3}{4}$ A. M. put ashore to gum and boil salmon. At $8\frac{3}{4}$ A. M. set off Co. S. 80° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 75° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 60° E. 1-6, S. 50° E. $\frac{1}{2}$, S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$, S. 50° E. 1 m., S. 10° E. 1-6, S. 36° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. (3 m. on the Co.) S. 30° E. 1-6, S. 40° E. $\frac{1}{2}$. At end of this Co. we crossed S. 20° E. $\frac{3}{4}$, but on straight Co. to the I. Pt. is S. 48° E. $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. which we take. S. 40° E. 1-6, S. 25° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ plus 1 m. At end of this mile a gap on the (which seems to send out a large Brook.⁵¹ A Mount⁵² bears S. 86° E.—plus $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. At end of Co. set the first conical Mountain N. 42° E., another N. 56° E., the third S. 84° E. Perhaps the distances are too long here, as the sail is up and I go by the watch, plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 25° E. 1 m., S. 40° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. Passed in the woods 60 yds. & Co. West $\frac{1}{4}$ m. to the Wilarbet River,⁵³ as it blows too hard, then Co. S. 15° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. as (?) which is best; take the Co. from entrance of the River, which we see S. 8° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. and lessen the S. 40° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. Co. + $\frac{1}{4}$ m. At end of the Co. put up at $6\frac{1}{4}$ P. M. A few Indians came to us, their village is about 1 m. below and is seemingly a fine place, say 12 houses. Obsd. for Lat., Merid., Altde. of Saturn $44^{\circ} 42\frac{1}{2}'$ Lat. $45^{\circ} 49' 38''$ N.

July 25th, Thursday.⁵⁴ A cloudy morning. At 5.7 A. M. set off up the Wilarbet River. Co. S. 7° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. 5° E. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. 15° E. 1-6, S. 30° E. 1-6, S. 40° E. 1-6, S. 52° E. 1-6, S. 65° E. 1-5, E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 85° E. 1-6, S. 60° E. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. 46° E. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. 20° E. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. 5° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ plus 1-6. All along the river on both sides the country is inundated. S. 5° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 10° E. 1-3. At end of Co. the River continuing to come from the Island at S. SW'd we returned the last Co. to paddle across the inundated lands for the Columbia, S. 70° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. E. 1-6, N. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. E. $\frac{1}{8}$, S. 35° E. 2-3, when we carried about 60 yds. into the Columbia River again. Co. in it 28° E. 1 m. which

⁵¹ Martin's Slough, on Washington side.

⁵² Mt. Hood. The next mountains seen are St. Helens, Adams and Hood in the order named.

⁵³ Willamette Slough.

⁵⁴ The parties follow the meanderings of the Willamette Slough for some distance and then turn into Sturgeon Lake on Wapato Island and from the lake portage cross into the Columbia again somewhere below Reeder's Landing; their camp at evening is at present town of Washougal. The Willamette river is not noted at all, but Mt. Adams is sighted from near its mouth.

may also be the Co. downwards for $\frac{3}{4}$ m. Co. 1 m., in this Co. put ashore at 10 Houses, this is the place we traded Salmon and afterwards boiled do. as we went to the Sea. S. 27° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., $\frac{1}{4}$ m. gone to 5 Houses, boiled Salmon and dried a few things of Mr. Stuart's. S. 28° E. 1 m., Co. S. 5° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Beginning of Course set the Mountain⁵⁴ No. 2 N. 24° E. 25m. S. 30° E. 1 m., we crossed the river in this Course and cannot as yet perceive any Channel going to the Wilarbet River, but the ground is all overflowed. On looking back we see part of this side an Island⁵⁵ as drawn at M. M. where we left this River yesterday even. A bold channel in the Island on the Co. appears about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. above where we turned to the Wilarbet River. I did not draw it. Co. S. 10° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 30° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Passed 8 canoes seining of Salmon, of which they killed 10 at a haul. Their seine is about 30 fm. long, exclusive of 10 fm of cord at each end, but they are as inhospitable as most of the others of this Nation, not a Salmon to be got from them, although they have plenty. S. 40° E. 1 m., S. E. 1-6, S. 70° E. 1-6, S. 80° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 72° E. 1 m., S. 80° E. $\frac{3}{4}$, middle of Course turned N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. to a good campment at 7 P. M., fine meadow land below Pt. Vancouver. Michel went a hunting and wounded a chevreil, of which the Tracks are plenty here. We traded much split salmon at a very dear rate for Rings, Bells, Buttons and Tobacco. A large snowy mountain⁵⁶ bears S. 88° E. 40 m. distant from campment. Measured the Chevrul. Observed Merid. Altd. of Saturn. (Observations omitted.)

July 26th, Friday.⁵⁷ A fine cloudy morning. Michel killed a good fleshy Chevrul, but not fat. Dimensions as follows: Length 5.5 In plus 14 inches for the tail, height of the fore leg 3.3 & $\frac{1}{2}$, hind do. 3.6, just (girt) at the breast 3 ft. 4 In., a fawn color, throat, breast and belly white, legs a fawn colour ;

⁵⁵ Perhaps Bachelor's Island and Slough.

⁵⁶ Mt. Hood.

⁵⁷ Starting late the party enter just above Washougal a natural slough which in high water becomes a lake, but portage back into the river and then pass around Pt. Vancouver; the camp is on the north bank below Cape Horn, a very short day's journey, which is explained in Mr. Ross' account. Mt. Hood is very accurately placed from two separate locations.

upper part of the tail fawn, lower part white but not such fine long hair on the tail as the Upper Country Chevrul. Length of the horns 19 inches, 3 branches and 8 inches between tip and tip. Made 2 oars and arranged a canoe of Mr. Stuart's. At 7.55 set off, Co. 88° E. 1 m. Fine Meadow land. At end of course found ourselves shut in and obliged to carry about 40 yds to the River, plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m., S. 86° E. 1 m. plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 86° E. 2 m., beginning of Course the Snow Mount right ahead. S. 85° E. 1 m. plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 88° E. 1 m. plus $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.,⁵⁸ N. 86° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 60° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 50° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 68° E. 1-6, E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 80° E. 1 m, plus 1 m., plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m., plus 1-6. At end of Course. Put up at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. On the left a few oaks and much of it all day, but only in a thin ledge. Course for the morrow S. 86° E. 3 m. Traded a few berries. Our salmon is almost all spoilt. The Mountain bears S. 81° E. 20 m. (Observations omitted.)

July 27th, Saturday.⁶⁰ A fine but foggy morning. At 5.47 a. m. Set off, Co. S. 86° E. 3 m. plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 73° E. 1 m., from $\frac{3}{4}$ m. of Co. on the opposite side of the river about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. below us there is a remarkable isolated rock⁶¹ like a Windmill of about 90 feet height; a little above, about 300 yds., a rock covered with sod resembling a House of one story with a door in the middle.⁶¹ From this place our campment bears of going to the Sea 82° E. 1 m., Course N. 73° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 50° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 48° E. $2\frac{1}{4}$ m. Course N. 48° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. Opposite end of course a brook⁶² falls about 120 feet. Course N. 55° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. (This last Course from end of Course on looking back appears S. 55° W. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m.) Co. plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m., Co. N. 35° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Beginning of Course a brook⁶³ falls 40 feet; on the island at end of Course put ashore at the same place

⁵⁸ Point Vancouver at end of this course.

⁶⁰ They travel today against a very strong current only about 18 miles and Mr. Thompson camps below Garrison Rapids at Bonneville on the Oregon side. Mr. Ross' account does not coincide with Mr. Thompson's entries. It is impossible to identify the islands noted because at extreme high water, then prevailing, parts of the main land became islands.

⁶¹ Rooster Rock and two of the Pillars of Hercules. When viewed under similar conditions these appear very true to the description today.

⁶² Multnomah Falls, actually about 620 feet high; probably Mr. Thompson's sail and the growth of timber obstructed his view.

⁶³ Oneonta, also called Horsetail Falls.

where we boiled Salmon going down. At 1.20 P. M. set off, having cooked Salmon etc. and arranged our Arms. Course N. 46° E. 1 m., Co. plus N. 46° E. 1-3 m., N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. 5° W. $\frac{1}{8}$, for these Courses cannot see anything, but they are put down to bring up a Chart of the Isles. Co. N. 45° E. 1-6, N. 55° E. $\frac{3}{4}$. I must here give over as I cannot see for the sail. At the mouth of the little Channel took in sail and I took the Courses, but from whence I left off to this place may be about N. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ or so with an Island, on). Co. N. E. 1-3 m., N. 30° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. 25° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. 10° E. $\frac{1}{2}$. R., N. 60° E. 1-3, N. 18° E. $\frac{1}{2}$. At end of Course put up at $5\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. as we are close to the Great Rapid⁶⁴ and the houses, pray Good Providence send me well up it. A canoe with a blind good old Chief came to us and smoked, also 2 canoes that passed and went to the Village. We requested them to bring us some Salmon, which they promised, but not coming at all made us suspect some treachery and I had the canoes loaded, ready for any occasion.

July 28th, Sunday.⁶⁵ A fine blowy morning. At 5.5 A. M. set off. Co. S. 55° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. R. plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m. R. Here we met 4 men with 7 Salmon, we put ashore and boiled do. They, as well as the others, enquired about the Smallpox, of which a report had been raised, that it was coming with the white men and that also 2 men of enormous size to overturn the Ground etc.; we assured them the whole was false, at which they were highly pleased, but had not Kootanaes⁶⁶ been under our immediate care, she would have been killed for the lies she told on her way to the Sea. At $7\frac{3}{4}$ A. M. set off, Co. N. 78° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. C.⁶⁷ We kept on by the line and paddle, sev-

⁶⁴ The Cascades.

⁶⁵ The day is spent in lining up as far as the portage (which began just below Sheridan's Point) and carrying their goods and canoe around the Cascades, a distance of 1450 yards according to Mr. Ross. Both portage and camp at night are on the Washington side. For excellent map of the Cascades and this portage consult Capt. Clark's sketch map opposite page 172, Vol. 3 of L. & C. Journals, Dodd-Mead, 1905 edition.

⁶⁶ These are the two female Indians disguised as men who had appeared at Astoria bearing a letter from Finan McDonald to Mr. Stuart and described by Franchere, Irving and Mr. Ross. Mr. Thompson makes no other mention of them in these notes, but in his "narrative" of later date he describes them at length, and one as of loose character who took on the guise of a sorceress.

⁶⁷ Garrison Rapids.

eral bad places. One of the wood canoes nearly filled. The Indians assisting with good will. Co. to the portage N. 70° E. 1 m. by 9:50 A. M. Here we waited Mr. Stuart's Canoes till noon and then set off, Mr. Stuart employing a number of Indians to aid in carrying the Goods, Canoes etc. We carried 20' and then put down, when all was got forward to this place we set off again and carried about 400 yards farther. The Co. may be N. 1 m. By 2¼ P. M., when Mr. Stuart was to pay the Indians, they could not be known who had carried from those who had not, and much Tobacco was given, yet the Indians were highly discontented; they all appeared with their 2 pointed Dags, and surrounded us on the land side, their appearance very menacing; Mr. Stuart set off with a few to get his Canoes brought, which they refused to do till better paid. When gone, I spoke to the Chiefs of the hard usage they gave Mr. Stuart and reasoning with them, they sent off all the young men. We loaded and went up 3 strong points with the Line and paddle. Co. N. 52° W. ½ m. and put up close to end of Co. Here we went back and brought up Mr. Stuart's canoes, and, Thank Heaven, put up all together though late. These people are a mixture of kindness and treachery. They render any service required, but demand high payment, and ready to enforce their demands, Dag in hand. They steal all they can lay their hands on, and from every appearance only our number and Arms prevented them from cutting us all off. This was their plan as we were afterwards informed, though not agreed to by all, and they perhaps only wait a better opportunity.

July 29th, Monday.⁶⁸ A fine morning. Went and fetched a light canoe of Mr. Stuart's and at 6.5 A. M. set off. Co. 80° W. 1-3 m., N. W. 1-6, N. ¼, N. 42° E. 1-5, N. 15° E. 1-7 (?), N. E. 1-5, N. 1-3, S. 35° E. ¾, N. 35° E. ¼, N. 42° E. 1 m., N. 25° E. 1-3, N. E. ½. ¼ m. short of Course crossed the River, as the appearance of 2 canoes that followed us was hostile, with their always shouting to show where we were,

⁶⁸ They proceed today about 24 miles, crossing the river twice, to a camp at evening near the mouth of the Little White Salmon on north side. The Point of Pine is probably just below the mouth of Wind river.

which was answered by a number on shore. As the land was inundated they could not approach us, but we were drawing near a Pt. of Pine where the land was dry and good for an ambush. We accordingly crossed North $\frac{3}{4}$ m. and put ashore to boil salmon etc. at 10.40 A. M. From hence the E. pt of the Rapid bears S. 22° W., and the place where we slept S. 26° W. $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. Co. at $1\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. N. 70° E. 1-6, N. 62° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. 58° E. 1-5, N. 78° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 82° E. 1 m. Plus 1 m., N. 86° E. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. 78° E. 1 m. plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 62° E. 1 m. plus $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., plus $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. or to the other side Co. N. 67° E. A little of Co. gone put up at $6\frac{1}{2}$ P. M., late 4 Indians in a canoe came and camped with us, they are going to buy horses.

July 30, Tuesday.⁶⁹ A fine morning, head wind. At $5\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. set off, Co. N. 67° E. 3 m., N. 70° E. 1 m. End of Co. at 8.5 A. M. put ashore and boiled Salmon. Plenty of Oak but like all we have seen, stunted. Set off and crossed the River N. 3° W. 1 m. to a brook⁷⁰ at $10\frac{1}{4}$ A. M. where we smoked with a few Chawpatins. We sight a Mountain⁷¹ at the head of the Brook, Narmeneet, and from the mouth of this Brook set a Mountain,⁷² bears S. 3° W. 30 m. At 10.40 A. M. set off, Co. S. 72° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. 82° E. $\frac{1}{2}$, N. 85° E. 1 m. plus 1.4 m., N. 84° E. 1 m., N. 70° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 72° E. 5-6. At middle of Course camped at $6\frac{3}{4}$ P. M. to split out oars, paddles etc. etc. but found the wood bad etc.

July 31st, Wednesday.⁷³ At 5.2 A. M. set off, ended Course, then Co. N. 72° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. Beg. of Course steep fluted Rocks like Pillars with quite perpend. Strata, some Pillars are loosened and broke and stand like stumps,⁷⁴ no horizontal strata. The rock is of a grey black. Co. S. 86° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., East $1\frac{1}{4}$ m.

⁶⁹ Another day of slow progress. The camp at night seems to have been on Eighteen-Mile Island, near the Oregon side and below Memaloose Isle.

⁷⁰ White Salmon river.

⁷¹ Mt. Adams.

⁷² Mt. Hood.

⁷³ Mr. Thompson now leaves the Stuart party and travels rapidly. The Dalles portage is on the Oregon side from Big Eddy to upper end of Ten-Mile Rapid. The camp at evening is at upper end of this portage. Mr. Stuart personally accompanies the party to inspect the portage but returns; and the two Kootenacs remain with his people.

⁷⁴ Just below Memaloose Island and on the Washington bank many of these stone stumps were blasted away in the construction of the North Bank railroad, but some remain.

S. C. N. 85° E. 2-3 m. All these Courses are high steep perpend. Rocks. S. 85° E. 1 m. These Courses are well taken but the distances are not quite so, as the Ground is on fire and very smoky. S. 75° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 72° E. 1 m. At 7.25 A. M. at beginning of Co. where we gummed going to the Sea. S. 43° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m., S. 24° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. at end of Course at $8\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. to the Portage Road,⁷⁵ the Course continues $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. I sent our interpreter Indian for Horses, he brought them, with salmon, we boiled do., and set off at $1\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. By $3\frac{1}{4}$ P. M. got all across, we walked smartly, the distance is full $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. Here we had scarcely set down the things etc. than word was brought that one of the Chiefs was gathering his Band to seize all our Arms from us. This brought on some sharp words, which, thank Providence, ended well for us. I asked for Salmon which they brought to 13, major part for Mr. Stuart. We passed a very bad night with a storm of wind, drifting sand and rogues walking about us all night to steal, they cut our line, though fastened to the Ponies, and got off with about $2\frac{1}{2}$ fm of do.

Aug. 1st, Thursday.⁷⁶ A fine morning. Had a little trouble to get our Indian Interpreter to come with us. At 5 A. M. set off, Co. N. 18° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m, N. 58° E. 1 m. Passed an Isle⁷⁷ with Houses for the Dead. S. 75° E. 1-3 to a Village of about 15 men. Smoked with them. Co. S. 76° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. part line. S. 88° E. 2 m., S. C. to a Village of 20 men. Boiled Salmon. N. 72° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m.— $\frac{1}{2}$ m., gone a strong Rapid, the line and handed, on to the Indians. The name of the great River⁷⁸ in the great Bay, or possibly the great Isle, is Ween vow we. Near end of Course stopped 1 hour with about 120 men, then finished Course S. C. Co. N. 78° E. 2-3 m., N. 68° E. 1-6, N. 55° E. 1-5, N. 48° E. 5-6. The Rocks here (?) to have still the same perpend. Pillar-like strata, but many much

⁷⁵ Big Eddy.

⁷⁶ Mr. Thompson ascends the Celilo Rapids, then inundated, at best advantage, on the north side and follows that side of the river until he crossed to a camping place between Rufus and Grants on the Oregon side. No attempt is made to designate the numerous rapids along the upper river.

⁷⁷ Miller's Island above Celilo.

⁷⁸ The Deschutes river.

cracked horizontally. N. 85° E. 1-3. At end of Course carried about 10 yds., then Co. N. 67° E. 1 m. to a Village of 15 men, here we smoked with them, then Co. N. 58° E. 1¼ S. C. Co. + 1¼ m. always steep rocky banks. N. 56° E. 1-5 m., N. 54° E. 1½ m. plus ½ m. Water has fallen about 10 feet perpend. since we passed. Co. N. 55° E. 1 m. + ¼ m. Note—this Co. is almost rubbed out and is perhaps N. 55° E. 45° E. to the camp of the Malada. Stopped ¾ hours, then Co. N. 53° E. 1½ m., N. 62° E. 2-3 when we crossed S. 15° E. ½ m. and in aft. put up at 6¾ P. M. A Gale (?), the sand drifting, little wood, but very quiet (?) Where we crossed the Current, though moderate on the North side, was very strong in the Middle, with shoal rocks and swift on the shore we are. All the land very sandy, without any mixture of earth, and the woods so scarce that all the bits we could gather was barely sufficient to boil a salmon. Everything is full of sand.

August 2nd, Friday.⁷⁹ A fine blowy morning, at 5:05 A. M. set off after having gummed. Course N. 25° E. 1 1-6 m. S. C. Muscle Rapid. Very many of those shells. At end of Co. a Ho. of six men etc. on an island close below about 50 men in a small village, opposite above about 20 men in a small village. We lined up end of Co., then N. 30° E. 1¼ m., ½ m. of Course gone opposite where we camped going to the sea, and a river of 80 yards wide on this side named Forks Pass.⁸⁰ Course N. 55° E. ½ m., S. R. N. 65° E. 1 m., S. R. lined up, measured a salmon of 4 feet 4 inches long and 2.4 inches circumference. He is a fine large fish, rather above the common size. Still along the steep rocky strata with rocky grassy hills rising above and going off in vast plains, though very unequal the first strata may be 100 feet high of the different rocks, the other about 800 feet. Boiled fish. We then set off, two men crossed among the rocky rapids, which is always been since morning of the middle of channel. They seemed hurt that we did not stop at their villages and give them the

⁷⁹ Mr. Thompson travels about 25 miles today, passing many rapids and small islands, to a camping place near or opposite to Blalock Station, Oregon. He seems to have crossed to the north side again.

⁸⁰ John Day river.

news of our voyage, of which they are all very fond. Course rubbed out, N. 85° E. distant $\frac{1}{2}$ m. plus $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., East 1-6 m., S. 88° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., Course rubbed out. N. 40° E. 2-3 m., S. 52° E. 2 m., S. 56° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Smoked at a village of 20 men and then held in Course S. 56° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. Course S. 65° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. End of course a river⁸¹ of about 60 yards named Now-wow-ee. Course N. 82° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Passed five Hos. on an Island etc. Course N. 75° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m.—drawn to the south'd instead of the north'd— + $\frac{3}{4}$ m. plus 1 m., N. 70° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. End of course, Village of thirty men, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. Course N. 65° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. No naked women in this last dance, they were tolerably clothed. To a village of fifteen men, stayed about an hour. Course plus 1 m, plus 1 m, plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Course N. 70° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. End of Course put up at 6:40 P. M. with about 12 horsemen in company, average number of their winter habitation. Observation for latitude and time, Latitude by account 45° 42' 52" N.

It may be remarked here that all the observations made going to the sea was with a com. watch that went very badly losing time. On my return also with a com. watch that went tolerably well. The wind always blowing a gale.

August 3rd, Saturday.⁸² A fine morning. At 4-24 A. M. set off. Course as yesterday, N. 65° E. 1 m., N. 70° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 76° E. 1 m. plus 1 m., N. 50° E. 1-6 m., N. 32° E 1 m., N. 18° E. 2 m., N. 64° E. 1 m, (+) $\frac{1}{2}$ m A village of about 100 men at 7:20 A. M. At 9:27 A. M. embarked, Course plus 1 m., plus 2 m., plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 50° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. Put ashore one hour to gum. Course at 11:45 A. M. N. 55° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 50° E. 1-3 plus 2 m. Before this last course the last 4 m. only a line of rock with large pts. etc.⁸³ The hills have retired especially on the south side. The last 2 miles low meadow banks and shores bold in places but retiring. $\frac{3}{4}$ m. of the 2 m. gone a river opposite named A-hoaks-pa.⁸⁴ Course + 1 m.,

⁸¹ Probably a stream on north side called Rock Creek near railroad station named Fountain.

⁸² Mr. Thompson travels nearly forty miles today and his camp at evening is probably near Coyote station in Oregon.

⁸³ Above Arlington, Oregon.

⁸⁴ Willow creek in Oregon.

+ 1 m., N. 80° E. 1 m., N. 75° E. 1-3 m., N. 62° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 63° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m., + 1 m., N. E. $1\frac{3}{4}$ m., N. 70° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m., to a village of 12 men, stopped forty minutes. Course + 1 m., to our old campment going down. Course plus 1 m., N. 65° E. 1-3 m., N. 55° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., (something rubbed out here), N. E. 2-3 m., N. 50° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 40° E. 1-5 m., N. 30° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., plus 1-6 m. Course N. 28° E. 2-3 m., N. 27° E. 1 m. At end of course camped at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. Strong sail wind in the evening. Many Indians in company with the last villages and gave us a dance.

August 4th, Sunday.⁸⁵ A fine morning, gummed. At 5.5 A. M. set off, Course N. 23° E. 1 m., N. 42° E. 1 m. plus 1 m., North 58° E. 1 m. Here I end the Course for the present as it blows very hard, and I cannot see on account of the sail. We turned along the land about S. 70° E. 1 m., an island near on the) shore, then along the point, about S. 80° E. 2 m., east say 1 m.; here the wind became more fair and I again took the course N. 82° E. 2-3 m., N. 56° E. 2 m., N. 75° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 70° E. 1-5 m., N. 68° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 60° E. 2-3 m., N. 50° E. 2-3 m., plus 1-3, N. 68° E. 1 m., beginning of Course at house of 5 men. End of course a rapid, lined up 200 yards, steep rocks and many rattle-snakes. Course N. 80° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. The lands now heightened especially on the (, level on the). End of course strong rapids, lined up 200 yards, then N. 60° E. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. From end of this course the point of Rattlesnake Rock bears S. 55° W. $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. distant, at middle of course the line fairly clears the point on the) side and this ought to be the real course, the others are not correct as the two courses ought to form a deep, regular bay. Course S. 85° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 80° E. 1 m., N. 75° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 72° E. 1 m. Beginning of course a rapid and a remarkable table rock⁸⁶ isolated on the), also a village of 30 men on the island,⁸⁷ smoked with

⁸⁵ About 35 miles' travel today including Devil's Bend Rapids and Umatilla Rapids, alongside which were found the same rattlesnakes that had troubled Lewis and Clark in 1806. No mention made of Umatilla river. The camp at evening is on north side opposite Juniper Canyon.

⁸⁶ A well known landmark known as Mill Rock or Hat Rock. Consult map and journal of Lewis and Clark for mention of this same rock.

⁸⁷ Probably Switzler's Island.

a few who crossed to us, plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Course N. 65° E. 1-5 m., N. 60° E. 2-3 m., plus 1 m., N. 52° E. 2 m. At 6:40 P. M. put up near end of course. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ M. gone Observation for longitude and time. Latitude by account $45^{\circ} 54\frac{1}{4}'$ N.

August 5th, Monday.⁸⁸ A fine morning, again gummed. At 5:15 A. M. set off. All our gum quite expended and no woods whatever so that we must go without that most necessary article and our canoe is very leaky. Finished course, then + 1 m., N. 43° E. 1-3 m., N. 42° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 30° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 33° E. 1-3 m., N. 28° E. $2\frac{3}{4}$ m., beginning of course boiled salmon and shaved. Course N. 42° E. 1 m. We now see no agate along shore as below. These lands are wholly composed of strata of rock from 10 to 30 feet thick, and there are the upper strata of about 20 feet of pillar like rock, this is often like the flutes of an organ at a distance, its strata seems perpendicular and is often split in pieces. The pillars are split also in various directions as if broken or cracked by a violent blow. This rests in a strata of black rude rock as per specimens of both. These two different kinds of rock lie alternately one on another to the bed of the river which is mostly of the black rock, though sometimes of the pillar rock. The black rock appears always to have the thickest bed, the last 100 feet is covered with splinters of the upper rocks sometimes to a good depth. The surface of the upper rocks forms what is called the plains. This is covered with pure sand through which the rocks appear everywhere and bears scanty grass round, hard and in tufts, with a few shrubs and thistles of 1 to 5 feet high. Course N. 5° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 5° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m. The whole is about 350 to 400 feet high. On the) these rocks finish with this course and are all of deep strata as per the 2 specimens. The rock is rude black rock, often shows from 2 to 3 lines (?) in the strata or bed, the same strata almost always inclining to the west'd and sometimes descending in a curve and then assuming a horizontal line. This strata sometimes 40 feet deep

⁸⁸ Mr. Thompson passes north through Wallula Gap and reaches the Indian camp at the mouth of Snake river, where he had planted his formal notice on the 9th of July, on his way down the river. Mr. Ross says that on the morning of August 14th they found this notice attached to a pole which flew the British flag in the midst of this Indian camp.

and many pieces stand isolated like tables and pillars etc. The pillar like rock has always its chasms perpendicular and split in pieces as by accident, in every horizontal direction. It appears to be one compact bed having no lines in it that are not perpendicular and the depth of its bed is as far as 30 feet. One must say that the finger of the Deity has opened by immediate operation the passage of this river through such solid materials as must forever have resisted its action. The tops have mouldered away and the fragments form the beach etc.; there is no appearance of any earth but in a few places where water springs up and the grass etc. have formed a vegetable mould of no depth, and even this is rarely found. Course N. 12° W. 1 m. Course N. 5° W. 1 1-16 m. end of course. A village on the) of 25 men. We have besides passed 3 do. each of about the same number of men. Course N. 12° W. 2-5 m., N. 22° W. 1-5 m., N. 35° W. 1-3 m., N. 25° W. 1 m., N. 10° W. 1-5 m., N. 18° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 35° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 28° W. 2-3 m., beginning a course a village of 12 men in this. N. W. 1-6 m., N. 52° W. $\frac{1}{8}$ m., N. 60° W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 55° W. 1-6 m., N. 50° W. 1-6 m., N. 18° W. 1 m., N. 36° W. 1 m., N. 33° W. $\frac{3}{4}$ m., N. 25° W. 1-6 m., N. 32° W. 1-5 m., N. 38° W. 1-5 m., plus 1 m., N. 56° W. 1 m., N. 60° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 70° E. 1 m. Middle of course and at the point of the tents N. 20° E. 2-3 m., to which we camped at 6-40 P. M. with about 200 men at least, who gave us a dance and behaved very well. Thank Heaven for the favors we find among these numerous people.

August 6th, Tuesday.⁸⁹ A fine cloudy night and morning. Traded a horse for our guide. Paid him as per agreement. Wrote a letter to Joco Finlay to send and meet us with horses etc. At $7\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. embarked, Course up the Shawpatin River N. 15° E. 1 m. plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 32° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 35° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 37° E. $1\frac{3}{4}$ m., N. 40° E. 1-3 m., N. 55° E. 1-6 m., N. 60° E. $4\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. E. 1-6 m., N. 32° E. 1-6 m., N. 23° E. 1 m. plus 1-3 m. All very strong current from the Columbia. N. 50°

⁸⁹ Mr. Thompson decides to hasten on overland instead of by the tortuous and slower river route. He writes to his clerk, Jacques Finlay, then in charge of Spokane House, and himself proceeds up Snake river to reach the regular Indian trail northward.

E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 32° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. End of course on island,⁹⁰ and village of 15 men; have also passed 4 Houses of each 6 men, traded salmon. N. 75° E. 1 m., N. 85° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 62° E. 1-6 m., N. 55° E. 1-6 m., N. 40° E. 1-5 m., N. 25° E. 1-5 m., N. 81° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 12° W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 35° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 5° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Near end of course put up at $6\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. with about 22 men who gave us a dance. The river has been regularly about 300 yards wide with strong, steady current. The water is very high, the tops of the willows just appearing. When low I should think full of rapids. The land very rude with rock and ravines, grass very scanty and the men in passing the ravines broke the surface of the soil, the dust and sand rushed down as free to the look (?) as water, pouring down for a considerable time and raising a dusty smoke not to be seen through. The road lies close along the river and ascends and descends continually, very rocky, by no means such a country as the Columbia above. The salmon small and very fine.

August 7th, Wednesday. A fine clear morning, a little distant thunder. At 4:50 A. M. set off. Course N. 5° E. 1 m., N. 13° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m., plus $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 75° E. 1 m. plus 2-3 m. End of Course. Stopped about 2 hours at a village of 15 men, gummed and boiled salmon. Course N. E. 1-6 m., N. 35° E. 1-5 m., N. 25° E. $\frac{1}{8}$ m., N. 12° E. $\frac{1}{8}$ m., N. 15° W. 1-6 m., N. 15° E. 1-6 m., N. 6° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 35° E. 1-3 m., N. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ m., N. 5° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 12° E. 1-6 m., N. 25° E. 1 m., N. 10° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Middle of course Observation for latitude $119^\circ 47\frac{1}{2}'$ vg. Variation 18 degrees E. vg. N. 22° W. 2-3 m., N. 10° E. 1 m., E. 1 1-16 (doubtful) N. 12° W. $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. A House Nobody. Course N. 10° W. 1-6 m., N. 10° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., N. 5° E. 1 m., All R. N. 18° E. 1 m., part R., plus $\frac{1}{4}$ m., N. 25° E. 1-6 m., N. 33° E. 4-5 m., S. E. 1-5 Course N. 8° E. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m., including one crossing the river. We put up at end of course in company with 8 horsemen. Course for the morrow is N. 50° E. 1 m., Obs. for Long. and time.

⁹⁰ Probably Squaw Island, nine miles from the Columbia.

Aldebaran	Aquillae.	Jupiter etc.
118 11½ W.		52. 28. 45
	119. 13 W.	118. 20¾ W.
Lat. by Obs. at noon	46° 25' 23"	
Acct. from Obs.	46° 33¾	

August 8th, Thursday. A very fine morning, at 5.5 A. M. set off. Course N. 50° E. 1 m., plus 1 m., N. 55° E. 1-5 m., N. 30° E. ¾ m., N. 50° E. ½ m., N. 5° W. ½ m., N. 12° E. 1-5 m., N. 25° E. 1-6 m., N. 50° E. 1-5 m., plus 1-6 m., N. 70° E. 1-5 m., N. 75° E. ⅛ m., N. 85° E. 1-6 m., S. 76° E. 2 m., S. 85° E. 1-5 m., E. ⅛ m., N. 84° E. ¾ m., N. 76° E. 1-6 m., N. 55° E. ⅛ m., N. 42° E. 1 m. plus 1 m., N. 62° E. 1½ m., S. 63° E. 1 m. (+) ¾ m. Observed for Latitude and cooked salmon. Meridian altitude 118 51¾ vg. Var. 19° E. vg. Course plus ½ m., S. 70° E. 1-5 m., S. 82° E. 1-5 m., N. 85° E. 1-5 m., N. 66° E. ⅛ m., N. 47° E. 1 m., S. 75° E. 2-3 m. Beginning of course see the Blue Mountains,⁹¹ between the Shawpatin and the Snake Indians bearing S. 60° E. 40 m. Course S. 72° E. 1-3 m., S. 85° E. ¼ m. At end of course, put ashore at the mouth of a small brook⁹² and camped, as this is the road to my first Post on the Spokane lands. Here is a village of 50 men, they had danced till they were fairly tired and the Chiefs had bawled themselves hoarse. They forced a present of 8 horses on me, with a war garment.

Obs. for Long. and time etc. Lat. at noon 46° 36' 26".

Sun 16° 15' 13" vg. 7.50.

Aquillae	Fomalhaut.	Aldebaran
15° 21' 51"	15° 30' 5"	15° 41' 24"
118° 22¼' W	119° 21¼' W. ¹	118° 50½' W.
Lat. by Obs. 46° 36'		

⁹¹ Apparently the first record of this name Blue as applied to these mountains.
⁹² After three days' travel up the monotonous Snake river Mr. Thompson arrives at the mouth of the Palouse river (Lewis and Clark's Drewyer's river). This was an established Indian crossing and camping place, and later became the crossing of the famous "Mullan Road," surveyed by Capt. John Mullan, U. S. A., afterward Lyons Ferry, and now the site of a steel railroad bridge. Here John Clarke of the Pacific Fur Company, in the summer of 1812, introduced corporal punishment in "Old Oregon," by hanging an Indian who had committed the crime of petit larceny. Consult "Adventures," etc., by Ross Cox.

August 9th, Friday.⁹³ A fine day, wind, a gale South'd. Observed for Long., Time and Lat. (Observations omitted.) It was late before the horses could be collected and I left one they could not find. They said the Chief below knew how to talk but not how to act. They declared they did not wish for any return for the present of Horses, but that they knew the nature of a present. I gave each of them Notes for the Horses; to be paid when the canoes arrive. At 5 P. M. set off and held up on the Brook, cutting off the great Pt. till 11½ P. M. when we camped. Co. N. 5° E. 1½ m., Brook at 1 m. crossed, end of Co. went up the banks. Course N. 20° E. 14 m., last 1 m. along the Brook. The land very rocky and full of rocky hills cut Perpend. wherever the rocks show themselves, and exactly of the same kind of rocks as along the Columbia, with much fragments in splinters etc. Very bad for the horses and the soil a sandy fine impassable powder which suffocated us with dust and no water to drink to where we camped.

August 10th, Saturday.⁹⁴ A fine, cloudy, blowy day. At 7¼ A. M. set off and held on at N. 10° E. 5 m., then crossed a shoal Brook of 6 yds. wide from the East. Held on Course + 2½ m. and baited at 11½ A. M. At 1 P. M. set off and held on say 2¼ m. A Brook came in from the N. E., held on up the left Brook and put up at 6 P. M., say Co. N. 8 m. The appearance of the country is much the same, though somewhat less rude, and there is often a few Aspîns, Alders, with a very rare Fir along the Brook, much wild cherry and three sorts of currants, one sweet and red, the other yellow, acid; red light acid.

August 11th, Sunday.⁹⁵ A very fine day mostly cloudy. At 7¼ A. M. set off Course up the Brook N. 10° E. 2½ m., where we crossed a Rill from the N. W'd. We kept on along

⁹³ The established Indian trail of later years coincides exactly with Mr. Thompson's description. It followed the Palouse river for a mile, then crossed and ascended the steep ridge and cut across the bend of the river. The camp that night was near the mouth of Cow creek.

⁹⁴ It is a little uncertain whether Mr. Thompson followed up Cow creek or Rock creek (in Whitman county, Washington), but his camp at evening was southeast of the town of Sprague, Lincoln county. In the summer of 1812 Ross Cox lost his way on this trail, for which consult his "Adventures."

⁹⁵ Following closely what afterward became the wagon road from Walla Walla to Colville Mr. Thompson reaches the timber belt south of Cheney, Washington, and camps some distance southwest of that city.

a Rill of water in the Spring, now dry, North $9\frac{1}{2}$ m. to a little water among some poplars and willows. It is a long time since we saw any here; we baited from $\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. to 2:20 P. M. We then went off North 1 m. N. 20° W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. to a kind of lead of wet ground. Hereabouts are Willow Bushes and see woods before us. Held on Co. N. 15° E. $6\frac{1}{2}$ m. For the last 2 m. we had a kind of Brook or Ravine on our left. Camped at a Pond at $6\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. Killed a Duck, our provisions being fairly done and fasting all day. Not seeing the people who were to have met us with provisions and horses we were obliged to kill a mare for food, as our Guide told us we had yet 3 days journey to go. The Country till 10 A. M. like the past, very Rocky and barren, since which it has much mended, and only stoney when on wet low ground, the rest is tolerably well for grass, and the soil appears good, though parched for wanting rain, which rarely or never falls during the summer months. At the Campment the Firs are thinly scattered along the kind of Ravine, all the rest is all wide plain without a tree. A few Chevrul Tracks and dung.

August 12th, Monday.⁹⁶ A fine day. At 6:20 A. M. set off. Held on along a line of woods on our Co. about N. 1 m., to a pond of some size, then N. 50° E. 4 m., N. 30° E. 5 m. and stopped at $11\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. to bait the horses, among a few ponds and good grassy lands with thin woods. At 1 P. M. set off and camped at a Rill at $6\frac{3}{4}$ P. M., say Co. N. 30° E. 1 m., N. 10° E. 7 m., across a large plain without water to the woods of a Brook. We descended the Banks, which are high, and crossed it about N. 10° W. 1 m., then along the Brook of 6 Yds,) N. 10° W. 1 m. Here it sank ⁹⁷ in the ground and we went North $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. and camped at a Rill to which we were guided by a Spokane we met, from whom we got a little dried salmon.

⁹⁶ Passing through the Four Lakes country between Cheney and Medical Lake, in Spokane county, Washington, Mr. Thompson crosses Deep creek and camps on Coulee creek, only an hour's ride from his destination had he been aware of it.

⁹⁷ Deep creek sinks on Sec. 3, Township 25 N., Range 41 E., W. M.

August 13th, Tuesday.⁹⁸ A very fine day. At 5½ A. M. set off and at 6½ A. M. arrived at the House. Thank God for His mercy to us on this journey. Found all safe but Joco was with the horses sent to meet us. Late in the evening he arrived. Our course was about northwest 3 miles. We came faster but our road was always down hill.

112 degrees 17 minutes 30 seconds. N. Lat. 47 degrees 47 minutes 2 seconds.

EDITOR'S FURTHER NOTE.

Our transcript of the journal ends with the entry of August 13th, 1811. After spending four days at Spokane House Mr. Thompson continued on overland to Ilthkoyape or Kettle Falls where he proceeded to build another canoe of cedar boards. It may be remarked that when at Spokane House in June, 1811, he had given instructions to his clerk Finan McDonald to explore the Columbia from Ilthkoyape north during the summer, which Mr. McDonald did as far up as Death Rapids (Dalles des Mort), i. e., to forty or fifty miles above Revelstoke, B. C., and then returned. Mr. Thompson was under appointment to meet about Oct. 1st the party sent across the mountains with trading goods from Fort William on Lake Superior. He therefore again embarked at Kettle Falls early in Sept. and ascended the river through the Arrow Lakes and the various rapids to the mouth of Canoe river, where he had camped the previous winter, thus completing the exploration and survey of the entire length of the Columbia river from source to mouth between April and October, 1811. The transmountain party were delayed in arriving and did not bring all the goods for the trade, so he started one canoe down the river and himself crossed the Athabasca Pass for the remainder, returned and hurried down the Columbia and from Kettle Falls portaged over to the Pend d'Oreille river and then traveled up that river and our Clark Fork river to his Saleesh House among the Flathead Indians, arriving there about the 20th of November. This completed his activities during the year 1811.

⁹⁸ Mr. Thompson arrives today at Spokane House, which was located nine miles northwest of present city of Spokane and had been erected there the previous summer, 1810, presumably by Jacques Finlay who is in charge. Mr. Thompson remains here several days to rest.

This journal disproves entirely any previous conclusions that David Thompson was instructed to anticipate the arrival of the Astor or Pacific Fur Company at the mouth of the Columbia and establish a trading post there. He carried no goods for that purpose and was not planning to meet any vessel there with goods, and during this spring of 1811 he did not "hurry."

It also throws some additional light upon the interesting question of who built the trading post known as "Spokane House." Examination of previous portions of the journal indicates that Jacques Finlay may have been the man.

A TRAGEDY ON THE STICKEEN IN '42

By C. O. ERMATINGER.*

In looking over a bundle of letters left among his papers by my late father, who was in the Hudson's Bay Company's service in the early part of the present century, I came upon one from which the following account of a tragedy, which took place on the Stickeen in April, 1842, is taken. The letter bears date 1st February, 1843, and was written by John McLoughlin, then in charge of the Company's post at Fort Vancouver (on the Columbia) to my father, then living at St. Thomas, Upper Canada.

As public attention has lately been directed to the Stickeen (Prince Rupert), this tragic tale, though fifty-six years old, may be of interest, not only on account of the *locus in quo*, but as illustrative of the difficulties, dangers, mode of life and occasional mode of death of those in the company's service in those days. Were I a Gilbert Parker I might clothe the story in new and more thrilling language than that employed by the writer, who was almost a year after the event, writing not for effect, yet under whose cool reasoning and at times involved sentences, a depth of sorrowful, sometimes passionate, feeling is apparent. As it is, I have concluded to present it to the public, word for word, as the father of the murdered man has narrated the facts, omitting the full names of the chief culprits, out of consideration for possible descendants, and a few words either undecipherable or unfit for publication.

After a page and a half on other matters, Mr. McLoughlin says:

"But, my dear sir, I have had a severe loss since I last wrote you. My son John, whom I think you saw at La Chine, has been murdered by the company's servants at the post of Stikine,

*Judge Ermatinger, who kindly furnishes this paper, is the son of Edward Ermatinger, who was a clerk at Fort Vancouver under Dr. John McLoughlin during the years 1826-27; also the nephew of Francis Ermatinger, who was an officer in the H. B. Co. employ in the Columbia District for about twenty years, and well known by early Oregon pioneers, and who after retiring from the service purchased a tract of land near St. Thomas, Ontario, which he named "Multnomah," and there spent his remaining years. This paper contains source material not before printed explaining differences that lead to the retirement of Dr. McLoughlin from the Hudson's Bay Company's service.—T. C. Elliott.

in the Russian Territory (and which we rent from them and of which he had charge), on the night 20/21 April. He had twenty-two men and was the only officer there, in consequence of Sir George Simpson's very improperly taking away his assistant—as no place on this coast where liquor is issued ought to have less than two officers. (But since the murder the Russians have agreed to desist selling or giving spirits to Indians and as we only issued liquor where we came in contact with them, by this agreement a stop is entirely put to issuing liquor to Indians in this department). But to return to my poor son—he being alone with twenty-two men, all of which were new hands not yet broke in to the discipline necessary for such service, as it was a new place and where they could get rum, had a good many difficulties with them, as is always customary in such cases, to make them do their duty—as you well know they will always attempt to impose on their master.

“Sir George Simpson arrived four days after this fatal event and, instead of examining every man at the place, and that minutely, he only examined six, say, two whites, two half breeds and two Owwhyhees. The two whites, and half breeds, without specifying particulars, complain of my son's ill using the men, flogging and beating them most unmercifully—that he drank a great deal, and that the night of the murder he gave the men a gallon and a half of spirits. Sir George believed all this and in his letter blames my son, and, though one of the Owwhyhees swore he saw the murderer fire and saw something fall heavily, which he supposes was my son, and the other swears that on hearing the shot he looked out and saw my son lying on the ground, weltering in his gore, and the man whom the other saw fire, with his foot on my son's throat—yet Sir George took no person to bear evidence against the murderer and sent one of the men who fired three shots at one of the men, thinking he was my son, to this place to be sent out of the country. But, as I felt dissatisfied with Sir George's examination and was certain the circumstances were not as he represented, I kept this man to be sent

back to Stikine, to be examined with the rest; and, in the meantime, for fear of his deserting, kept him on board the *Cadboro*, and on a trip to Vancouver Island, where he saw Douglas—(I would not see him at this place, nor would I allow him put his foot in the Fort)—to whom at once he confessed that there had been a plot formed and an agreement signed, among all the people of the place, to murder the deceased—that this agreement had been drawn out by ———, who acted temporarily as assistant to the deceased—that he had never seen him drink—and in every material point contradicted the depositions taken by Sir George.

"I then determined to send Manson, with a complete new complement of men, to examine all the men, and, if this man's deposition was well founded, to put the men against whom there were charges, in prison and transfer them to the Russians, who alone can try them criminally—and on examination the men say, the agreement to which the man alludes was not to murder my son, but a complaint against my son which they intended to present to Sir George who was momentarily expected. It is proved they never presented this complaint, and they say they destroyed it, because it was too dirty to be presented to Sir George Simpson; but on examining their complaints—according to their own statement—he flogged one man for sleeping on his watch in the night, and which he deserved, for it might have led to the murder of the whole establishment—one man for fighting and not being willing to cease fighting when ordered—one man for giving his property to Indian women which disabled him from doing his duty, unless re-equipped—and four for stealing. And the man who made the declaration to Mr. Douglas, and the murderer, are accused of having proposed repeatedly to the others to murder my son—of which I do not know that any informed him, though it seems he knew it, as he is said to have said, "You want to murder me, but if you do, you will murder a man!"; and one of the men confesses that he was told by Ant Kawanasse, an Iroquois, that the murderer told him the deceased was to be murdered that

night; and the woman he kept says he told her "H. (the murderer) wants to kill me." The deceased told the Owhyhees to arm themselves—that the whites wanted to murder him—that he took one of those he accused of being leaders in the plot and put him in irons, and that in searching for the two others of the leaders, as he was going round the corner of a house, one of them shot him in the breast, when he fell, and the murderer rushed on him and put his foot on his neck, as I already mentioned—and this M., who acted as his assistant, is now found to have committed several thefts on the store for which my son punished him and turned him out among the men—but took him back again, as perhaps he found he could not do without an assistant, and perhaps he had promised to behave better; and he took him back on account of my having recommended him to the deceased on account of M.'s father, who is an old servant—and it is now proved that this M. stole spirits the night of the murder and gave a ——— or bottle of pure spirits to every white man or Iroquois in the place—that while Mr. Dodd was in charge (whom Sir George left there) M. crept twice at night into Mr. Dodd's bedroom, when he was asleep, stole the key of the Fort, which was on a table between two pistols, within reach of Mr. Dodd's hand, opened the gate of the Fort, stole the key of the Indian trader's packet, while asleep, opened the Indian shop, and stole goods. If he could do this while there were two officers at the place, after what had just happened, what may he not have done when there was only one officer at the place, and he (M.) in league with the men as to the ill treatment of which they complain? Why, by their own confession, he was perfectly justified in punishing them and did no more than what an officer of spirit would do to any under him who in such a situation as they were would act as these men did.

"Another whom Sir George examined, a son of J. H., is accused of having watched part of the night to murder the deceased because he flogged M. for stealing.

"Another of those Sir George examined is a Canadian to whom the deceased had given a kicking for stealing rum.

"The fourth is a Scotchman who acted in the store with M. and must have known his misconduct and said nothing of it—and such a coward that, though he admits the deceased was most kind to him, still, though he saw the murderer level his gun sometime before to murder the deceased, he never informed him!

"As to his drinking, Mr. Finlayson, his assistant, says he never saw him take more than a glass of wine—or a glass of spirits, or water, in the course of the day, though M. had the villainy to swear to Sir George that he and my son used to drink grog continually, and as he, M., could not join them in drinking grog, they allowed him wine—which is false. The deceased's private store or allowance of liquors is almost in the same state as when he, Finlayson, left the deceased. The Indian woman he kept, a woman of the place, similar to our Chinooks, declares she never saw him drink—and I believe what she says, as these Indians do not consider drunkenness any way improper. Mr. Work and Dr. Kennedy, who had charge of posts on each side of him and several times saw Indians from the deceased, never heard a whisper of the deceased drinking, from the Indians (and they soon find out), though Mr. Work writes he heard from Indians of the attempt to shoot him. The men admit he was most vigilant and watchful, up night and day—visiting the watchmen often several times in the night. His journal is posted up to the day of his death, his accounts and documents in order—and certainly these are not the marks of a drunkard. And if you add to this his letters to Mr. Work are full of the misconduct of his assistants, M. and S.—the Scotchman, a laborer, whom Sir George left when he took Finlayson away—and in fact Sir George Simpson was the cause, though unintentionally, of the murder of my son, by taking Finlayson and leaving this man S. in his place. And Work is greatly to blame, who did not send me those letters my son wrote him, wherein he complains so much of the misconduct of S. and M.—especially as he saw these fellows had so imposed on Sir George as to make him believe they were such valuable men

as to induce him to promise them an increase of wages, while my son complained of them so much that he said, as his time was out, unless he had abler assistants, he would leave the service. The short and the long of the affair is this—these fellows wanted to impose on my son, to which he would not submit. They, finding they could not make him bend, conspired and murdered him.

“My son John was intelligent, active—had the faults of youth, was inconsiderate and thoughtless—at least had been so, but this was wearing away. At the same time he had the good qualities and virtues of youth—though I say it. He was frank, open, firm—but kind and generous——.”

The father here breaks off from his painful subject, to refer to a pleasanter topic. I infer that all that the Russians did in consequence of the affair was to prohibit the selling or giving spirits to Indians. One can hardly read the father's letter without feeling that his conclusions were probably just and accurate; yet, at this day when flogging has gone so very much out of fashion, some will no doubt be disposed to think that poor John the younger's mode of enforcing necessary discipline contributed largely to bring about his tragic end. All will, however, join in the hope that murder and other crime will not hereafter go unpunished on the Stickeen or the regions round about, now being fast flooded with all sorts of characters from all quarters of the earth.

A letter from another officer of the H. B. Co.

Mr. Jno. Todd, dated 1 Sept., '42, touches upon this same tragedy:

“I was lately appointed in consequence of Manson's removal to Stickeen on the coast, where I regret to say a most tragical event occurred in April last, the particulars of which will no doubt eventually reach you thru' the public press. In the affidavits taken on the occasion it is stated that on the night of the 21st of that month Mr. John McLoughlin (eldest son of the Big Doctor), was shot at by the whole of his men, including a young clerk, and a ball taking effect in his body he fell mortally wounded and died shortly after.

The knight, Sir George, arriving there in the steamer immediately after, thought proper to carry the ring leader of the affair along with him to Russia for the purpose of sending him thence a prisoner to England without even a single witness or document relative to the occurrence. He wrote also to the Doctor requesting him to say as little about the matter as possible, which so incensed the latter that he instantly dispatched a vessel to Stickeen for the express purpose of carrying the whole establishment prisoners to England in order to be brought to trial. He has also written a thundering epistle to their honours at home, concerning Sir George, ripping up old grievances and exposing the knight's conduct throughout, particularly his actions since the coalition. Yet behold how inconsistent men are. This very doctor only the year before gives £50 as a contribution for plate to the same Sir George Simpson whom he is now endeavoring to prove the greatest scoundrel in the H. Bay Co.'s territories, from facts, too, with which he was previously well acquainted."

Another officer also mentions the same subject, namely, Archibald McDonald, writing from Colville March 15, 1843:

"Edward, we are all unfortunate parents. Instance, the awful shock of mind our old friend the Dr. lately experienced from the irregular and inveterate habits of his unhappy son John, after spending \$2000 on his education in foreign lands, too." . . .

"Manson is again on the Coast. Last Summer the Worshipful Bench furnished him with a commission to inquire, or rather re-inquire, into the unfortunate affair of young McLoughlin at Stikine, which it was supposed Sir George on his trip for Siberia left incomplete. Work writes me our learned deputy has made a sweeping business of it—upon very slight evidence made every white man at the establishment, 13 in number, prisoners. I fear we have got ourselves into a bobble and that it will turn out we are more *au fait* in our humble occupation of Indian traders than as the dispensary of Her Majesty's criminal law." . . .

LETTERS

The following letters were found among the correspondence of Hon. James W. Nesmith, United States Senator from Oregon from March 4, 1861, to March 3, 1867, secured by the Oregon Historical Society several years ago.—The first, from General Ingalls, gives the viewpoint of an able officer of the United States army in 1864 regarding the necessity for constructing a good wagon road up the Columbia river—an enterprise which is now well under way, the expense of construction being defrayed by the counties through which it passes:

Headquarters Dist. of Oregon.

Fort Vancouver, W. T., June 11, 1861.

My Dear General:

Before this reaches you, events of the greatest magnitude will doubtless have taken place in the Eastern states, but I trust that our national Capitol will be in repose, and that the Congress of the United States may be undisturbed in their deliberations for the welfare of the Union. I need scarcely say, that I am for the preservation of this glorious Union; it must be preserved intact; not a single star shall fall from that brilliant galaxy—I have prayed that this difficulty might be settled peacefully, but if all the efforts of true patriots North and South fail to accomplish that desirable end, it must be crushed. Let those men, both North and South, who have been instrumental in bringing about this terrible state of affairs, be driven from their country, as unworthy citizens of the Republic.

I have no sectional prejudices; I love the whole country, North, South, East and West, and will fight to preserve this Union. I have no sympathy with any man, no matter from what section he may come, who is not for the Union, now and forever, one and indivisible.

I have served nearly thirty-nine years in the army, and whether battling with the savage foes in the far West, or deadly hummocks of Florida, or contending with the hosts of Mexico on many a well-fought and always victorious field, I have always turned with affection to my native land, and offered up a heartfelt prayer for the Union—God grant that this struggle may soon cease, and that peace may be restored,

*Donated by Mrs. Harriet L. McArthur, daughter of Senator Nesmith.

and our glorious banner, with its thirty-four stars, proudly wave on every housetop from Maine to Texas, and from the Atlantic to our own loved Pacific shore.

The entire people in this country are for the Union. There may be some diversity of opinion as to the *best* mode of settling the difficulty, but all agree that it *must* be preserved.

If we, of the army, remain in this country, it is not probable that we shall be called upon for very active service. But seeing so many of their brother officers who happen to be in the East, promoted to high rank, it begins to arouse the spirit of the young military aspirants for distinction.

I was made a *Colonel* on the bloody field of Molino Sept. 8, 1847, but it was only a *Brevet* until March, 1855. But I have not rested very tranquil, under certain *Brevets* of my juniors, over me, and I shall not do so. Had I hailed from south of Mason and Dixon's line, I might have obtained a *Brevet* in 1858; but unfortunately, I was born in the frozen regions of the North. I cannot, however, now consent to be brought into active service without advancement; not that I could for a moment abandon my flag or country in this, her hour of peril, but I would prefer fighting in the ranks, to occupying a position without looking forward to preferment.

With great regard, very truly your friend,

G. WRIGHT.

Gen. Nesmith,

U. S. Senate,

Washington, D. C.

General George Wright was born in Vermont in 1803 and graduated from West Point in 1822. During the next nine years he served on the then Western frontier, largely among the Indians. In 1831 he was sent to Louisiana, remaining until 1836, when he took part in the Florida Indian war. He served with distinction in the Mexican war, and in 1852 came to the Pacific coast as a major in the Fifth infantry. He won great praise for his vigorous and effective campaign against the Indians of eastern Washington in 1858, and in 1860 succeeded General William S. Harney in the command of the Military District of Oregon. In September, 1861, he was promoted to a brigadier general, and soon afterwards was ordered to relieve General Edwin V. Sumner at San Francisco.

In 1865 he was transferred to Oregon, and on his way thither, with his wife, to assume command, was lost at sea by the wreck of the ill-fated steamer Brother Jonathan, off the southern Oregon coast on July 31, 1865.

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
Office Chief Quartermaster,
Camp near Brandy Station,

March 23, 1864.

Hon. J. W. Nesmith,

U. S. Senator, Washington.

Sir:

Having served as quartermaster on the Columbia river at (Fort) Vancouver for many years, and having had to supply the troops at the Cascades, Forts Dalles and Walla Walla, and to fit out and supply many military expeditions against the Indians east of the Cascades, I have always felt deeply impressed with the necessity of having a good wagon road from Vancouver to The Dalles, probably passing the Cascade Mountains on the Oregon side of the Columbia.

There are many cogent reasons for such a road aside from those of economy.

In 1849 and 1850 the troops east of the Cascades were supplied by means of bateaus manned by Indians. It was necessary to send provisions, forage, hospital and ordnance supplies up the river 50 miles, then to make a difficult, laborious and expensive portage of four or five miles at the Cascades, and then to reship and forward by boats to The Dalles.

These supplies had to be sent before the cold and rough weather of winter. Frequently in winter season, navigation is interrupted *below* the Cascades, when there can be no communication with the now populous and important country *east* without great risk.

I have known all communications with The Dalles to be cut off for weeks by extreme cold weather.

If a good wagon road were constructed, it would be used the year through to great advantage. I do not know what the rates of freight and passengers now are from Portland and Vancouver to The Dalles, but in 1858 and 1859 freight was \$25 per ton and passage of horse or man, \$10. When the Columbia river is closed by ice, of course there is no communication at all, as no practicable wagon road has ever

been opened. Much public money has been disbursed for the transportation of troops and supplies on boats that might have been saved had there been an *easy* land route.

So soon as I can look over my books, I will furnish you a detailed statement showing the heavy and expensive shipments by the river to The Dalles. It amounted to more than \$25,000 each quarter, and sometimes probably more than that sum in *one month*, dependent, of course, upon the season of the year and the forces east of the mountains. I refer to the amounts paid by Government for *military* purposes.

The country east of the Cascade Mountains is now quite populous and exceedingly rich in mineral and other resources. The trade by the river is now greater than at any other period, and is increasing.

The demand for a land route through the Cascade mountains becomes more serious and important every day. As a military measure, it is important to connect the lower Columbia with the great interior by a practicable wagon road. I have seen the importance of it during the Indian wars. It would be still more necessary in case of a foreign war.

Respectfully submitted,

RUFUS INGALLS,

Brig. Gen., Chf. Qr. Mr., Army Potomac.

General Ingalls was born in Denmark, Maine, in 1820. He graduated at West Point in 1843, and served through the Mexican war. He came to Oregon in May, 1849, as the quartermaster, with the rank of captain, of a company of artillery under the command of Major Hathaway, who established the U. S. military post of Fort Vancouver. During the Civil war he was the quartermaster general of the Army of the Potomac. He retired from the army July 1, 1883, and soon afterwards became a resident of Portland until his death in 1893.

GEORGE H. HIMES.

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THE "BARGAIN OF 1844" AS THE ORIGIN OF
THE WILMOT PROVISO*

By CLARK E. PERSINGER

Professor of American History in the University of Nebraska

[This paper reveals the fact that the proposed accessions of the whole of Oregon and of Texas were combined by the "Bargain of 1844" to make a Democratic party campaign issue and means of "party harmony and unity."—EDITOR QUARTERLY.]

Why did the Northern Democracy so suddenly present that "apple of discord"¹—the Wilmot proviso—to the Southern Democracy in August of 1846?

Von Holst answers this question with the rather vague assertion that the "vox populi of the North" compelled the politicians to take some action against the proposed increase of slave soil through the proposed Mexican cession.² Wilson in his "Slave Power" attributes the proviso to "several Democratic members" of Congress, who had been "cajoled into a vote for [Texan] annexation," and now, unable to retrieve the past, sought in this way "to save the future."³ Schouler makes no assertion as to its origin. Garrison in his volume of the American Nation series contents himself with the statement: "The circumstances of its origin suggest, if no more, that its introduction was simply a maneuver for political advantage in a family quarrel among the Democrats."⁴

*Read before the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December, 1911. Reprinted from the Annual Reports of that association for 1911, pp. 187-195.

¹ Calhoun to Coryell, Nov. 7, 1846. Jameson, "Corresp. of Calhoun," 710.

² Von Holst "Const. Hist. of the United States" (Lalor's transl.), II, 306.

³ Von Holst, II, 15-16.

⁴ "Westward Extension." Amer. Nation series, XVII, 255.

The explanations of both Wilson and Garrison hint at what seems to me the true reason for the proposal of the Wilmot proviso; but they merely hint at it, and do not satisfy the legitimate curiosity of the secondary student of this remarkable movement in the history of the antislavery struggle. It is the purpose of this paper to elaborate somewhat these two explanations, by showing that the Wilmot proviso owes its origin to the breaking of the "bargain of 1844" between the Northwestern and the Southern wings of the Democratic Party.

When President Tyler revived the question of Texan annexation in the spring of 1844 the Democratic Party was to all appearances homogeneous and united. In reality, however, it was composed of diverse elements, loosely bound together, needing only the Texan issue to reveal their existence and identity. These groups were three in number—the Southern, the Northeastern, and the Northwestern. The Southern gave its chief adherence to Calhoun; the Northeastern to Van Buren; the Northwestern as yet wavered between Cass, Douglas, and Allen; and one of its most brilliant and frequent spokesmen was the "impulsive and hasty" Senator Hannegan, of Indiana.¹ The Southern or Calhoun group was already aggressively and recognizedly proslavery and proslave soil; the Northern or Van Buren group was already almost fanatically antislavery and free soil, and on the verge of that union with the Liberty Party which in 1848 produced the Free Soil Party. But the Northwestern group, although antislavery and free soil, was only moderately so. It was willing to see the increase of slave soil so long as free soil kept pace with it or gained a little upon it.

It was to these three groups of Democracy that the Tyler treaty for the annexation of Texas in the spring of 1844 brought immediate puzzlement and not-distant falling out. The Southern group, in its anxiety for Texas, was more than ready to ratify the Tyler treaty, especially as its own

¹ Characterization by Cass, in conversation with Polk. Quaife, "Diary of Polk," I, 268.

leader had negotiated that treaty, and had announced during the negotiation that the chief purpose of the proposed annexation was the preservation of slavery and the extension of slave soil. The Northeastern and Northwestern groups were united in their opposition to the Tyler treaty, but differed in their reasons for opposition to it; the Northeastern group opposing it because Texas was slave soil, the Northwestern group because it was offered without compensating addition of free soil to the northward.

To meet the demands of the Northeastern Democrats Van Buren declared against immediate and unconditional annexation. To satisfy the Southern Democrats Calhoun meditated bolting the regular Baltimore convention and standing for election as a Southern candidate on a straight Southern platform. Then the Northwestern Democrats suggested that if the Southern Democracy were willing to combine Oregon, with Texas in the party platform, campaign, and subsequent congressional action, such a balancing of free and slave soil expansion would satisfy the Northwestern and some of the Northern Democrats, and bring about party harmony and victory instead of party division and defeat. So originated the "bargain of 1844"—the "Oregon and Texas" plank of the Democratic platform of 1844; not as a mere appeal to the Northern States in general, but as a definite means of party harmony and unity without the sacrifice of vital principle or interest by either the Southern or the Northwestern group of the party. The fact that such a bargain had been made was not published broadcast; in fact, it was kept most secret, but party leaders in the Northwest and Calhoun's lieutenants, if not Calhoun himself, knew of its arrangement and content.¹

The "bargain" having been made and ratified by their party convention, the Southern Democrats at once—almost before the campaign opened—pressed for the completion of their half of the bargain, and demanded the immediate ratification of the Tyler treaty of annexation.² But the Northwestern

¹ It is intended to make the "bargain" itself the subject of another paper at a later date.

² Letter from Glenville, Alabama, July, 1844. *Niles' Register*, LXVI, 314.

Democrats as yet refused to vote for Texas. Hannegan, of Indiana, later explained his action by calling upon the Senators from Missouri and Tennessee to bear witness to the fact that "up to the Baltimore convention" he had been "a decided friend to the immediate annexation of Texas." "What I saw which induced me to apprehend a breach of faith at that convention," he said, "it is unnecessary at present to detail. But my friend * * * knows that he repeatedly urged me to vote for the treaty, notwithstanding my apprehensions, and that I refused to do so, for I did apprehend that if Texas were brought in—if we annexed Texas without some definite action on Oregon—the Baltimore resolutions would be construed to mean all Texas and the half of Oregon with certain gentlemen"¹—and, looking at Colquitt, of Georgia, he repeated it, "with certain gentlemen." The Senator from Missouri testified that what Hannegan had said was "perfectly true," and the Senator from Tennessee confirmed the Hannegan explanation. Evidently Northwestern Democrats were already suspicious of Southern Democratic intentions as to Oregon and of the recently-made "bargain."

In the exciting campaign that followed, Southern Democrats concerned themselves chiefly with Texas, but did not forget to show an occasional "Texas and Oregon" banner, nor occasionally to unite the two issues in their public utterances. Northeastern Democrats for awhile considered the advisability of bolting the Democratic congressional ticket in the hope of defeating the annexation of Texas, but finally gave it up as a hopeless task, and quietly voted the regular party ticket. Northwestern Democrats emphasized the advantages of Texan annexation, pledged the party faith to the "whole of Oregon," and united the two issues at every opportunity: "Texas and Oregon; Oregon and Texas, always went together";² "everywhere they were twins; everywhere they were united."³

When the campaign of 1844 ended in Democratic victory, the Southern group once more pressed for the carrying out of

¹ Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 15, 388.

² Hannegan, of Indiana, Mar. 5, 1846, as reported in Niles' Register, LXX, 22.

³ Same, as reported in Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 15, 460.

the Texan portion of the "bargain." Texas, they said, was "an issue which had been made by the Baltimore convention * * * it had been submitted to the intelligent freemen of the United States * * * who had decided in favor of it," and now "the friends of that measure from the South called upon their representatives from the North * * * to come forward and respond." "They did," said McDowell, of Ohio, in reviewing the record of that session, "come forward and respond."¹ In doing so, it is true, some of them "conjured" the Southern Democrats "most earnestly" to "yield to the spirit of compromise, and give us a small portion of that territory," claiming it had been "held out to the North, that two of the five States to be formed out of Texas would be free";² and all demanded the carrying out of the remainder of the "bargain" by the passage of Oregon "notice" and territorial bills. But as to Texas the Southern Democracy would "yield to no division" beyond the illusive "extension" of the Missouri compromise line through it;³ and as for Oregon, so long as the Northwestern Democrats "held Texas in their hands," enough Southern Democrats voted for Oregon measures to nurse them along until Texas was out of danger, and then refused further to discuss such important questions so near the close of the session.⁴ A few of the Northwestern Democrats, interpreting this as a repudiation of their portion of the "bargain," refused to vote for Texas;⁵ but the majority, evidently hoping more from the future than they were obtaining at the moment, helped to bring Texas in.

When Congress assembled again in the winter of 1845, Northwestern Democrats were prepared to insist on the prompt and decisive carrying out of the Oregon portion of the "bargain." Following the suggestion of the President, whose election had resulted from the "bargain" campaign, they introduced a series of measures looking to the final occupation of Oregon; the most important, of course, being that

¹ Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 140.

² Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, *ibid.*, 16, app., 315.

³ Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, *ibid.*, 378.

⁴ Hannegan, of Indiana, *ibid.*, 15, 460.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15, 388.

to instruct the President to give immediate notice to Great Britain of our intention to abrogate the joint-occupancy agreement of 1828. To their apparent surprise, Calhoun led the Southern Democrats in opposition to the "notice" resolutions, insisting upon the certainty of war with Great Britain should our Government thus assert our exclusive claim to the "whole of Oregon." Hannegan, of Indiana, at once arose in the Senate and denounced the "singular course" of the Southern Democrats. "Texas and Oregon," he announced, "were born the same instant, nursed and cradled in the same cradle—the Baltimore convention—and they were at the same instant adopted by the Democracy throughout the land. There was not a moment's hesitation until Texas was admitted; but the moment she was admitted the peculiar friends of Texas turned and were doing all they could to strangle Oregon."¹ Calhoun promptly replied to the charge of Southern Democratic treachery. "If I acted boldly and promptly on that occasion," he explained, "it was because boldness and promptness were necessary to success. * * * If I am for deliberate measures on this occasion it is not because I am not a friend to Oregon. * * * If you institute a comparison between Oregon and Texas I would say that the former is as valuable to us as the latter and I would as manfully defend it. If the Senator and myself disagree, we disagree only as to the means of securing Oregon and not as to its importance."² Calhoun's reply sounds candid and convincing, but Polk's "Diary" informs us that, while asserting and reasserting his disagreement with the Northwestern Democrats "only as to the means of securing Oregon," Calhoun was secretly confiding to Polk his opinion that "the two Governments" ought to settle the Oregon question "on the basis of 49°."³ Hannegan answered Calhoun's defense of the Southern Democratic position with the assertion that he "did not intend to charge any improper motives; * * * but it appeared strange to him that when a question of territorial acquisition arises in the northwest

¹ Ibid., 15, 110.

² Ibid., 110.

³ Quaife, "Diary of Polk," I, 313.

there should be found such a backwardness on the part of southern gentlemen to give it their aid";¹ that if Calhoun were "a true mother" he would surely "not be willing to cut the child in two and give away one half."²

Two or three days later, when "Mr. Rhett, Mr. Yancey, and others of the Southern phalanx" in the House took the same ground as Calhoun in the Senate, Douglas of Illinois "at first intimated, and subsequently rather broadly charged upon the Southern members of the party, an attempt to 'play a game' treacherous to the West. He asserted distinctly that the Oregon and Texas annexation projects had their birth in the Baltimore convention. * * * There they were 'cradled together' with a distinct understanding that if the West sustained the South in securing Texas, the South would sustain the West in their claims to Oregon."³ Houston of Texas and Rhett of South Carolina entered formal denials of having had "any hand in the game;" but in milder form Douglas persisted in his charge and was supported in it by McDowell of Ohio and Smith of Indiana.⁴

Still, a few days later Wentworth of Illinois renewed the charge. "The South and West went together for Texas," he told the Southern Democrats, and now they should "go together for Oregon. The West certainly so expected. If they did not go together, there was a class of politicians who would make a great deal of capital out of it;" they were already predicting that "the South, having used the West to get Texas, would now abandon it [the West] and go against Oregon." Yancey of Alabama demanding if he meant "to intimate that there was any bargain between the South and West" to that effect. Wentworth denied that he had "said there was any such bargain," for to say so "would only implicate himself as a party to it after having voted for Texas."⁵

So, through six of the nine months of this session of Congress, ran on charge, denial, and even countercharge; most

¹ Cong. Globe, 15, 111.

² As reported by Niles' Register, LXIX, 279 (Jan. 3, 1846).

³ Ibid., 289-290 (Jan. 10, 1846).

⁴ Cong. Globe, 15, 125, 140, 143, 159.

⁵ Cong. Globe, 206, 207.

frequently in short, sharp interchange of sentiments, occasionally in the form of a lengthy colloquy. In one way and another the charge of "bargain" and "breach of faith" was reiterated by Douglas, Wentworth, and Ficklin of Illinois; Hannegan, C. B. Smith, and Cathcart of Indiana; Brinkerhoff and McDowell of Ohio. Southwestern Democrats joined in. Johnson of Tennessee asserted the binding character of the union of the two issues by the Baltimore convention;¹ Sevier of Arkansas and Atchison of Missouri admitted that Hannegan of Indiana "certainly had some grounds for his opinion" as to the "integrity" of the Southern Democrats on the Texas-Oregon bargain.² Even the Southern Democrat, Haywood of North Carolina, "cited the impossibility of getting Texas through until the two questions had been made twin sisters by the Baltimore convention," and announced himself "thankful" that North Carolina was adhering to that union of issues and repudiating "factions * * * demagogues * * * dictating to the Senate."³

Finally, by the signing and ratifying of the Oregon boundary treaty with Great Britain in June, 1846, president and senate accepted the Calhoun policy and its consequences as to the "whole of Oregon." Their action left the "Northwestern Senators * * * excited and in a bad temper;" "lashed into a passion" against all who had any part in the compromise transaction.⁴ But in less than two months after their humiliation by the Oregon treaty, opportunity for revenge seemed to be offered the Northwestern Democrats. The President asked for two millions to negotiate a peace with Mexico. The purpose of the appropriation and of the proposed negotiation was well understood to be the acquisition of Mexican territory to the south of the traditional line of 36° 30'. "All was going as merrily as marriage bells toward its consummation," reported the *National Intelligencer*.⁵ when suddenly "the friends of the administration from the

¹ *Ibid.*, 288-289.

² *Ibid.*, 388.

³ *Ibid.*, 459.

⁴ Statements of Polk, Quaife, "Diary of Polk," I, 474, 487.

⁵ Quoted in *Niles' Register*, LX, 374 (Aug. 15, 1846).

free States led off the opposition to their Southern brethren."¹ Northwestern Democrats, remembering, said the Washington correspondent of the *Baltimore American*, "the 'bad faith' of the South, as they called it, upon the Oregon question, * * * were resolved that no more slave territory should come into the Union with their consent."² This determination found expression in the Wilmot proviso, introduced, it is true, by Wilmot of Pennsylvania, a Northeastern Democrat, but its authorship claimed by the Northwestern Democrat, Brinkerhoff of Ohio. The original draft of this proviso, in Brinkerhoff's handwriting, is still, I am informed in a recent letter from Prof. R. T. Stevenson, of Ohio Wesleyan University, in the possession of Brinkerhoff's son, Mr. George Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, Ohio.

In conclusion and summary: From the original establishment of free-soil and slave-soil sections of the Union during the late or post-Revolutionary period down to as late as 1843, the traditional principle upon which the country acted in regard to the slavery question was the equal, or approximately equal, division of all new territory between free soil and slave soil. When the proposal of Texan annexation threatened preponderant southward extension, Northeastern Democrats were frightened into opposition to its annexation, but Northwestern Democrats were willing to bargain with Southern Democrats for a combination of Texas and Oregon issues that should result in the continuation of the old, traditional policy of approximately equal expansion of free soil and slave soil. This bargain was more or less definitely drawn up by a small group of Northwestern and Southern Democratic politicians and submitted to and ratified by the Democratic convention at Baltimore in May, 1844. Democratic success in the campaign of 1844 was followed by the immediate carrying out of that portion of the "bargain" relating to the annexation of Texas, for which all but a few of the Northwestern Democratic Members of Congress voted, these few asserting

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

a Southern Democratic intention of repudiating the "bargain of 1844" when the time should come to provide for the carrying out of that portion of the "bargain" relating to the re-occupation of Oregon. When the next session of Congress took up the Oregon question, the suspicions of these Northwestern men appeared to prove well founded. The Southern Democrats, under the leadership of Calhoun, opposed the claim to the "whole of Oregon;" opposed giving notice to Great Britain of our intention to abrogate the joint-occupancy treaty of 1828; and opposed attempts to establish a free-soil territorial government over the portion of Oregon which we did succeed in obtaining. Accused of a "breach of faith" in carrying out the "bargain of 1844," the Southern Democrats denied altogether the existence of any such "bargain;" or denied that they individually had had "any hand in it;" or else denied that it had applied to the "whole of Oregon." Betrayed and incensed by this "Punic faith," as they called it, of the Southern Democrats, the Northwestern Democrats in August of 1846 proposed the Wilmot proviso as the only means possible for the restoration of the traditional free-soil and slave-soil balance for protecting themselves against possible future Southern Democratic "breach of faith," and for "saving the Democratic Party of the Northern States" after its betrayal and humiliation through the miscarriage of the "bargain of 1844."

AN ALMANAC OF 1776

By J. NEILSON BARRY

It is a small volume, only three inches by five, with a worn leather cover, and pages yellow from age. The printing is old fashioned, small, having the long "s" similar to an "f." The title page gives the information that it is "Gaine's Universal Register, or American and British Kalendar for the year 1776," and that it was published by H. Gaine of New York.

It is a storehouse of information in regard to the various officials of that year, which was so momentous in the history of this country, and there are many things which throw light upon conditions in the Colonies at that period.

The book was the property of Hon. Abraham Ten Broeck, a member of the General Assembly of New York, representing the Manor of Van Rensselaer; that he was a patriot is shown by notes which he made on the blank pages of the calendar, which also contain memoranda of his business transactions of that year.

The data are given in the most matter-of-fact way, without any indication of the turmoil of excitement at that time, yet the printed explanation for the lack of information regarding the Province of Massachusetts Bay has reference to the Revolution then in progress. "The present unhappy state of this Province prevents us from being as particular in our account of it as we cou'd wish—we do not know who is in, or who are out of, office; when the melancholly differences that now subsist between the Mother Country and her Colonies, are happily terminated, we shall with Pleasure present the Public with as correct and copious Lists of the officers of Government as can be possibly obtain'd."

The calendar for July states that that month was to begin on Monday. The Fourth, which has since become so famous, was on Thursday, and the prediction for the weather was "Cloudy and it may rain about this time."

Among the manuscript notes are:

August 27th—"Battle of Long Island."

September 15th—"Regulars landed on York Island."

September 16th—"Battle of Harlem."

October "Fryday 11th—Battle on lake Champlain, Cumberland Bay, began at 11 & continued untill 5 o'cl."

November 3d—"Genl. Carlton's Army left Crown point."

November 16th—"Fort Washington taken."

December 26th—"At 8 o'clock in the morning General Washington attacked the enemy at Trenton & obtained a Complete Victory by taking 1100 Prisoners, 50 killed, 100 wounded, 8 Brass Cannon, 1 Howitzer, 4 Standards and other Trophies, with the loss of 3 men only."

The frontispiece is a map of New York, showing the city as covering only the lower end of the island, with open country beyond.

"An Estimate of the Number of Souls" made in Congress Sept. 1774, shows a total of 3,026,678 in the Colonies.

There is a list of the dates for "Quakers' General Meetings," and a number of English lists, including the Royal Family, the Nobility, and civil, military and ecclesiastical officials, also notes in regard to other European countries.

There is a list of articles which shall not be shipped from any of the Colonies of England unless a bond is given that they "shall be landed in some British Colony, or in Great Britain," and a list of duties on exports and imports.

A general description of America is given, and a list of officials headed by "General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, His Excellency the Hon. Thomas Gage."

The "Governments" for the various Colonies follow, beginning with West Florida, and containing the names of the Governors, the Council, the various Judicial officials, Public officers, civil, naval and military, and the value of coins.

The Governor of West Florida was Peter Chester, of East Florida, Patrick Toryn, and of Georgia, Sir James Wright, Baronet. This Colony was divided into twelve parishes, beginning with Christ Church, Savannah. A list is given of the duties "on goods imported from any Colony to the Northward of South Carolina," and also a list of "Dissenting Ministers." In 1750 eight vessels were cleared out of Savannah harbor, and in 1772 two hundred and seventeen.

William Campbell was the Governor of South Carolina. The duties on slaves were given: "Indians imported as slaves £50 each. Negroes or slaves 4 feet 2 inches or more high £10. Ditto, under, and above 3 feet 2 inches £5. Ditto, under and above 2 feet 2 inches (sucking children excepted) £2.10." The number of vessels cleared out of "Charlestown" was 209 in 1734 and 507 in 1773. The number of houses in "Charlestown" was 1450, and the inhabitants, white and black, 14,000. The Colony contained 65,000 white people and 100,000 slaves.

The Governor of North Carolina was Josiah Martin, and of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore. Maryland is given as a Proprietary Government with Hon. Henry Harford as the Governor. "Except the Collectors and Comptrollers of his Majesty's Customs, the Proprietor has the sole appointment of all Officers, civil and military of this Province; he has also the Presentation to every Parish of the established Church. Instead of the King's, all Proceedings of the Courts are carried on in his Name, * * * the Power of the Proprietor of Maryland is equal to that of any Sovereign Prince, who is not despotic in his Dominions."

Pennsylvania included Delaware; the Proprietors were "the Hon. Thomas and John Penn, Esqs.," the latter being the Governor. Among the Representatives in the General Assembly were Benjamin Franklin and Robert Morris. There are lists of officials for the Library, for the College and Academy of Philadelphia, for the Hospital, for "the light house" and for the "nightly watch." For the "Contributionship for Insurance of Houses from Fire," "For the Relief and Employment of the Poor," "For the Relief of Masters of Vessels, and their Widows and Children," For the "American Philosophical Society for promoting useful knowledge," and "For promoting the culture of Silk." "The chief City and Metropolis of the Province, is Philadelphia, supposed to be the largest and most regularly laid out of any in North America. It contains above 5,500 houses and 40,000 Inhabitants."

In New Jersey the Governor was Hon. William Franklin, The College of New Jersey at Princeton receives considerable space, the Rev. John Witherspoon being the President.

There is an historical note regarding New York of which His Excellency William Tryon, Esq., was the Governor, and in addition to the usual list of officials there is quite an extensive notice in regard to New York College. "The Building (which is only one-third of the intended Structure) consists of an elegant Stone Edifice, three complete stories high, with four Stair cases, twelve Appartments in each." "The Edifice is surrounded by a high Fence, which also encloses a large Court and Garden, and a Porter constantly attends at the front Gate, which is lock'd at 10 o'Clock each Evening in Summer, and at 9 in Winter." Lists of officials for the New York Hospital, for the Chamber of Commerce, and for the Marine Society, are also given, and the names of the ministers of the Episcopal, the Reformed Dutch and the Presbyterian Churches. Then follows "Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Post Master General for North America, appointed by the Hon. the Continental Congress." "Mails are made up at the Post Office in New York—For Boston every Monday and Thursday, for Albany &c every Thursday, for Philadelphia and the Southward, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday." "The Mail for England is clos'd at the Post Office in New York the first Wednesday in every Month."

An extensive note is given of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America.

The Governor of Connecticut was Hon. John Trumbull, and the president of Yale College was Rev. Naphthali Daggett.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations "by their Charter are impowered to elect their Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants, annually," the Governor being Hon. Joseph Wanton. "There are four commodious Stage Coaches, and a genteel Chariot, constantly plying from Providence to Boston. Passengers pay Two Dollars." There is an extended note of the Rhode Island College, "Tuition 12 Dollars per year, Boarding 1 Dollar per Week."

While the Governor of Massachusetts Bay is given as Hon. Thomas Gage "the unhappy State" of conditions prevented the usual list of officials from being ascertained, which was also

the probable cause for the scanty data in regard to New Hampshire, of which Hon. John Wentworth was the Governor. The officials of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, St. Johns and of Canada then follow.

There is a list of the congregations and ministers of the Presbytery of New York and of other Colonies.

A "List of the several Regiments of his Majesty's Forces now at Boston, with the names of their Commanders," "A List of Governors of the Province of New York from the year 1664 to the present Time," and similar lists of the Governors of New Jersey and of the West India Islands.

The staff of the British Army under Hon. Thomas Gage, and also the "Staff of the Army of the Thirteen United Provinces in North America, as accurately as could be obtained Octo. 10, 1775. General and Commander in Chief of all the American Forces, His Excellency the Honorable George Washington, Esq." "Major Generals, Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Israel Putnam, and Philip Schuyler, Esqrs." "Brigadier Generals, John Sullivan Green and Spencer, Esqrs.," and many other names, followed by the "State of the Four Regiments raised in the Colony of New York for the Continental service," and the names of the officers, with manuscript notes and checks, by the owner of the little volume, one of the Lieutenants being designated as a "bad character." Also similar lists for the Royal Artillery "for the Continental service" and of the Troop of Light Horse raised in the City of New York and the Independent Forces consisting of the First and the Second Battalions of New York, in which the names of the Companies are designated by such terms as Prussian Blues, Oswego Rangers, Hearts of Oak, Free Citizens and Brown Buffs.

There follows a table of New Jersey Bills reduced to New York Currency, and the little volume closes with a list of roads radiating from Boston, New York and Philadelphia, which indicate the extent of the settlement of the country, and the routes of communication. The post roads extended to Quebec in the north, to Charleston, S. C., in the south, and as far west as Pittsburgh. The wayside taverns were important

stopping places in the wearisome travel over rough roads by the heavy stage coach or "genteel chariot," they often derived their names from the sign boards which they displayed, and this custom is illustrated by the following stopping places westward from Philadelphia, Black Horse, 6 miles; Prince of Wales, 10; Buck, 11; Sorrel Horse, 12; Plough, 13; Unicorn, 16; Blue Ball, 20; Admiral Warren, 23; White Horse, 26; Dowings, 33; The Ship, 35; The Waggon, 41, which was the terminal.

The last table contains the distances from Louisburgh through Quebec, Montreal, Niagara Falls, "a store house," Fort Presque Isle (Erie), Pittsburgh, Ohio Falls, to the mouth of the Mississippi River 3045 miles.



SAMUEL ROYAL THURSTON

First Delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory. He was elected
June 6, 1849; took his seat in Thirty-first Congress,
beginning December 3, 1849.

DIARY OF SAMUEL ROYAL THURSTON

INTRODUCTION BY GEORGE H. HIMES.

(This diary was found among Mr. Thurston's effects by his wife, who was living at Oregon City at the time of his death. She gave it and numerous letters which he had received, principally from his constituents in Oregon, to her daughter, Blandina, who became the wife of Alfred W. Stowell. After his wife's death Mr. Stowell agreed to give the diary and letters to the Oregon Historical Society, in due time. Meanwhile he loaned them to Judge J. C. Moreland, Clerk of the Supreme Court of Oregon, in whose possession they were when Mr. Stowell died on January 17, 1906, leaving no directions regarding their future disposition. A few years later, after consulting with the heirs of Mr. Stowell, Judge Moreland delivered the valuable historical material to the Oregon Historical Society.

Mr. Thurston was the first delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory, and was elected on June 6, 1849, receiving 470 votes out of 943—the total vote of the territory. The other candidates received the following votes: Columbia Lancaster, 321; James W. Nesmith, 104; Joseph L. Meek, 40; Rev. John S. Griffin, 8—473. At the date of this election the "Oregon Country" embraced all of the present states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and the parts of Montana and Wyoming west of the summit of the "Rocky or Oregon Mountains," as alluded to in Robert Greenhow's map of 1844, to accompany his "History of Oregon and California." Mr. Thurston was born in Monmouth, Kennebec County, Maine, in 1816; was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1843; admitted to the bar of Maine in 1844; removed to Burlington, Iowa, in 1845; practiced law and edited a newspaper there until the spring of 1847; crossed the plains that year with his wife and one child, reaching Oregon City in October; began the practice of law at once; in 1848 removed to Washington County, and was a member of the last legislature of the Provisional Government beginning on December 5, 1848, closing February 16, 1849; was delegate in Congress (elected as above noted) and served from December 1, 1849, to March 4, 1851; died at sea off Acapulco, Mexico, April 9, 1851, and was buried at that city. On January 16, 1852, a bill was passed by the legislature of Oregon Territory appointing Adam Van Dusen, of Astoria, William M. King, of Portland, and Dr. William H. Willson, of Salem, a committee to provide for the reinterment of Mr. Thurston's remains in Oregon soil, and appropriating \$1,500 to provide for the expense. Early in February, 1853, this committee sent Mr. B. F. McLench, a brother-in-law of Mr. Thurston, to

Acapulco for the body. Returning, he arrived at Portland on March 3d, and on April 12th a formal funeral was held in the Methodist Church, Salem, Hon. Delazon Smith delivering a memorial address, after which the remains were placed in the Odd Fellows' Cemetery by the officers and members of Chemeketa Lodge No. 1, I. O. O. F.)

A BOOK CONTAINING A FAITHFUL RECORD OF MY SEVERAL EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF OREGON, FROM AND AFTER THE 21ST DAY OF NOVEMBER, A. D. 1849, MADE AT OR NEAR THE TIME THE SAME WERE MADE, THIS MEMORANDUM THEREOF BEING COMMENCED NOVEMBER 23d, 1849.

On the 21st day of November, 1849, having made a flying visit to my friends in Oxford and Kennebeck counties, I left my father's house on my way to Washington. I took the cars at Readfield, for Portland, and could have reached Boston same night, but determined to stop at Portland to see if I could enlist the press of Me. and the representative from Cumberland county in behalf of the interests of Oregon. I had an interview with the editor of the Eastern Argus, A. H. W. Clapp, and other leading politicians of Cumberland co., Me, all of whom appeared warm in our favor. I felt much gratified at my success, as the editor promised to aid to the extent of his ability, the measures which I informed him the people of Oregon wished to bring about. But by taking this course, my tavern bill, & hack hire, were four dollars more than they would have been had I come directly on. Having accomplished for Oregon what I desired, at Portland, I left that place Nov. 23d & went to Boston, and could have passed on direct to New York, on my way to Washington. But I determined to see the editors in Boston to enlist them also, if possible, in behalf of our measures. I arrived at Boston at 1-2 past 12. After dinner I visited Charles G. Green, editor of the Boston Post, and of the Massachusetts Statesman. I was successful with him, and he also, as did the editor of the Argus, entered warmly into my plan and promised the influence of his papers. On the morning of the 24th I went again to see Mr. Green whom I found anxious to be informed

as to matters in Oregon, and ready to do what he could, to enable him to do so; he requested I would forward him to Boston a brief statement of the facts. I then called on Col. Schooler, editor of the Boston Atlas. He appeared to fall into my plans, and promised to do what he could to forward the matter. Said he was in favor of donations of land, of paying off the Cayuse war debt and of reducing the postage to five cents to Oregon. I also promised to send him a similar statement to that of Green. He gave me a letter of introduction to Winthrop. So much being accomplished I left in the 4 o'clock train for N. Y. which stopped at Springfield over Sunday—so that the delay at Boston, cost me three dollars more than I should have been put to, had I not stopped at Boston for the purpose above named. At halfpast ten, Monday Nov. 26 I left Springfield for N. Y. where I arrived November 27 about the hour of 4 o'clock a. m. November 27th & 28, I spent in close communication with the Editors of New York. Greeley was gone & so was Webb, so that I had to talk with the subalterns, promising to write to the editors after I should arrive at Washington. The editors of the N. Y. Evening Post, the N. Y. Sun, and James Gordon Bennett of the Herald, were free to express their inclinations to favor our interests, and at once acknowledged the justness of our claims as soon as I named them. I have no doubt they will make their promises good. Now by making the above named efforts, I was put to an expense after I left Boston, five dollars more than I should have been, had I come direct to Washington.

Nov. 29. I left for Washington, but by reason that the cars got belated, I had to stop at Philadelphia whence I set out for Washington where I arrived November 30th, about 8 o'clock P. M. and stopped at Gadsby's Hotel. This was my first entry into Washington. I felt that much responsibility was upon me and when I recollected that the interests of all that country west of the Rocky mountains, and between the Latitudes of 42 and 49 north were intrusted to my care, I resolved stronger than ever, that no effort of mine should re-

main unmade which might be beneficial to our our noble and beloved Oregon. So having concluded this much of this memorandum I retired to rest to dream of the land of my choice where was my all—my property and my beloved wife and little ones.

December 1, 1849.

Today I visited several of the departments and at 8 P. M. called on President Taylor in company with Gov. John P. Gaines. I learned two thousand dollars of the \$5000 appropriation for books had been expended. The remaining \$3000 we had paid over by way of draft on the Independent Treasury, to Gov. Gaines who will expend the whole or nearly so in the purchase of books at N. Y. and take them to Oregon with him round the Horn.

We also had paid over to Gov. Gaines the \$5000 appropriated for public buildings. This he will take to Oregon and expend in commencing the buildings, relying upon Congress to make further appropriations.

The Government was just upon the point of paying over also to him the \$20,600 appropriated by the last Congress to meet the expenses of the first session of the Oregon legislature. I objected to this, on the ground that it would not reach Oregon until next July, and urged that draft or drafts be drawn by Gov. on the custom houses at Astoria and San Francisco for the amount, so that the members of the last legislature might receive their pay as soon as possible. I received assurances that this should be done according to my desire.

In my interview with the President he assured me he would do all in his power to favor Oregon. Gov. Gaines and myself then requested that a war vessel should be ordered to Astoria. He promised it should be done. Then as the "Supply" on board which Gov. and other officers were going, was to stop at San Francisco, we urged him to order the same to Oregon, after discharging what freight she had for S. F. He said he would either do this, or order a smaller vessel to take the government officers and the Oregon stores to Oregon.

Having learned that one St. John had been appointed to the custom house at Astoria vice John Adair, and that the time allowed him by law to file his bond had expired, I requested the President that he would take no further action in the matter till I had an interview with him. He promised that he would not. Before we went in, I had requested Gov. Gaines to intercede also. He promised he would; accordingly he requested the President not to do anything further in the matter till he could reach Oregon and report back to the President, remarking that he knew Genl. Adair, etc. The President also promised him that he would not, so that Genl. Adair will not now be removed for 6 or 8 months, anyhow. I think he will not be removed at all. In the evening, after we left the President's, I conversed with Gov. G. till 12 at night upon Oregon matters, and promised to see him today which I shall yet do. Yesterday I received various letters from persons in different parts of the States, inquiring for their friends in Oregon. I replied promptly, considering that that was also a part of my duty, because my constituents in Oregon were interested in the matter. After the interview with Gov. G. I wrote two letters to Oregon communicating a part of the information obtained by my calls and researches. Also on this day I procured a boarding place at the St. Charles, paying nine dollars per week and finding my own lights, the landlord finding everything else. I also attended the Democratic caucus this evening from 7 to 8, in which all the states were represented save S. C. and————

The President is to recommend the reduction of postage to Oregon to five cents per letter. This he promises and I hope he will perform.

December 2, 1849—This day I went to meeting at the Wesleyan Chapel, Methodist, and heard the minister discourse upon the following text, "I was glad when they said unto me, Come let us go up into the House of the Lord." In the evening, as Gov. Gaines was soon to start for Oregon, and had previously requested me to do so, I called on him to converse relative to Oregon affairs. And we agreed to go

on Monday and see the Sec. of the Treasury about forwarding the money over the Isthmus to pay off the late legislature, and to see the Sec. of the Navy to get him to order the Store Ship "Supply" to Portland to carry the government officers and stores. After this I returned home, wrote a letter to J. W. Nezsmith, and went to bed at one o'clock.

December 3, 1849—This day Gov. Gaines and I called on the 1st Comptroller of the Treasury relative to ordering the Collector at Astoria to pay off the members &c of the last Legislature. He immediately wrote a note to the Secretary recommending the course. The Secretary approved the course, and he informed us that the order would be forwarded accordingly.

We next called on the Secretary of the Navy to get him to have the Store Ship "Supply" ordered to Oregon, at Portland; he informed us that he would do so with the approbation of the President. The President had previously said to us that he would have it done, so that Gov. G. and I concluded it would be done, of course. On this day, too, I got instructions to say to Gnl. Lane and Pritchett that their dues for salaries would be paid to their order, upon their forwarding a certificate of their oath of office, and their act. to the Department to be audited. I wrote Gnl. Lane accordingly. In the evening I went to have another interview with Gov. Gaines on Oregon matters, in which we continued till twelve o'clock at night. I wrote a number of letters to constituents in Oregon, and finally went to bed at one o'clock in the morning.

December 4, 1849—In the morning and forenoon I applied myself to writing home. Went to the R. Hall at 12, and stayed till four, while the house was balloting for Speaker. There was no choice of Speaker, and the House adjourned. During this time I wrote a letter to A. L. Lovejoy relative to the Coast Survey, giving him an extract from a letter of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey to the Secretary of the Treasury. After supper, I went to see the 2nd Assistant P. M. General relative to postoffices and post roads in Oregon.

He said he would help us all he could and promised to go with me and see the P. M. Genl. next day, in the forenoon.

I then went to see Horace Greeley,* Editor of the N. Y. Tribune. Oregon has nothing to expect from him. He will oppose Govt's giving us a section of land, and in fine will be both small, mean, and stinted in all his views towards Oregon. After this I went home, and wrote a letter to the Pacific News, San Francisco, for the purpose of getting the people there petitioning Congress for the mail once in two weeks from New York. After attending to various other business, I went to bed at 12 o'clock.

December 5, 1849—In the morning, after breakfast, I called on the 2nd Assistant P. M. Genl. to learn what I could relative to the mail service in Oregon. I found that there had been reported to the Department one post-office at Astoria, John Adair, P. M., one at Portland, Thos. Smith, P. M., and one at Oregon City, Geo. L. Curry, P. M. I found the following mail routes had been established: 1 from Ft. Vancouver to Oregon City, 1 from same place to Astoria, 1 from Independence (Mo.) to Ft. Vancouver, and 1 from Oregon City up the Willamette Valley to Klamet River. Bids had been received for carrying the mail on these routes. There was also another route omitted above, from Ft. Vancouver by Ft. Nesqually to mouth of Admiralty Inlet. To carry the mail on this last route once a month there was a bid of \$3000; to carry it from Independence to Vancouver once in six months, 24,000 dollars; from Vancouver to Oregon City, 1 per month, \$429; from Ft. Vancouver to Astoria once a month, \$1500; and from Oregon City to Klamet Valley, once in 3 months, \$6000. After I had ascertained the above facts, I attended the session of the House until supper time. In the evening I visited Genl. Cass and found him, as usual, all the

*Mr. Thurston's estimate of Greeley's attitude towards Oregon proved to be correct. He opposed the admission of Oregon to the Union in 1858 and 1859; and yet—as the holder of the proxy of Leander Holmes, of Clackamas county, who was one of the three delegates elected at the Republican State Convention held in Salem, April 21, 1859—the other two being Dr. W. Warren, of Marion county, and A. G. Hovey, of Benton county—to represent Oregon in the Republican National Convention of 1860—he was an important factor in aiding to nominate Abraham Lincoln as the Republican candidate for President.

time for the West. He will go for all we ask. He says Govt. never ought to sell any land in Oregon, but should donate it to settlers.

December 6, 1849—Today I attended the session of the House, but there was no choice for Speaker. The Whigs adhered closely to Winthrop, while many of the Democrats adhered but partly to Cobb. I also wrote a letter (see copy retained) to the Postmaster Genl. making inquiry as to what mail routes, postoffices and postmasters &c there were in Oregon.

I also answered a letter written to Col. Benton by a man from Ohio, asking certain information relative to Oregon. Col. B. requested me to do so. I accordingly replied by a letter of 8 pages, and forwarded same to the Ohio Statesman for publication. In the evening I occupied my time in ascertaining what laws had ever been passed favorable to Oregon, more particularly to establish post routes, and for carrying the mail to our country, after which I retired to bed at 12 o'clock.

December 7, 1849—This day I called on the Secretary of the Navy to see if I could get him to order a Government vessel to Oregon. He informed me that he had already ordered the steamer Massachusetts to Astoria to await the use of the officers of Oregon. This being satisfactory, and in conformity to the promise of the President before made, I then brought to his notice the fact that a British vessel, in Oregon, under guarantee of Major Hathaway, U. S. A., violated, about last July, the American laws regulating the coasting trade. He requested me to communicate the fact in writing to his Dep., and he would attend to it. I then called on the Treasury Department to see if the Collector at Astoria had ever communicated the fact to the Treasury Dept. The First Comptroller tho't not, but requested I would make the inquiry in writing, when he would attend to it promptly. Accordingly, I went to my room, and did so. After this, I attended the session of the House, but no choice of Speaker was made. This was the fifth day. During the session I

wrote to Mr. Atkinson of New York, giving him information relative to Oregon, requesting him by private note to publish the same, because I tho't. the facts stated would induce emigration to Oregon. In the evening, after writing several letters, I attended the Democratic caucus. Returned home, and after writing this, went to bed, about 12 at night.

December 8, 1849—This day I attended on the session of the House. The forenoon I spent in hunting up what laws had been passed, either relative to or in favor of Oregon. Wrote several letters, during the day, and received answer from the Postmaster of New York informing me, in answer to a letter addressed to him for that purpose, as to the number of letters and papers sent to the Pacific and brought from there since the commencement of the Pacific Mail line, with the amount of postage charged on the same.

This day I also received a bundle of notes and receipts left in my [trunk] when lost. The man who forwarded the same to me informed me he had found it on the sea beach near Panama.

December 9, 1849—This day I went to the Methodist meeting, and heard Mr. Morgan preach from these words, "Happy are ye if, knowing these things, ye do them." The sermon was most able. Same day I addressed him a note requesting him to call at my house of board. Read in the evening and went to bed about 12 o'clock.

December 10, 1849—This morning Revd. Mr. Morgan called as per request of yesterday. Gave me a letter of admittance into Br. Purcell's class. Spent the balance of the forenoon in looking up Oregon matters. Then from 12 A. M. to 4 P. M. attended the session of the house. The 30th or 31st ballot was completed today and no organization. I wrote several letters home, and hunted up ¹Greenhow's map of Oregon for the purpose of drawing up a resolution upon the subject of extinguishing the Indian title to all Oregon lying west of the Cascade mountains. After supper I re-

¹ Robert Greenhaw, translator and librarian to the Department of State at Washington, D. C., and author of a memoir, historical and political, on the Northwest Coast of North America, published in 1840.

ceived a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in answer to one of inquiry written him by me, informing me that no information of the kind had been received from the Collector of Astoria or from any other source. After writing some letters to my constituents in Oregon, and looking still further for laws relative to Oregon, and making memorandums, I went to bed between ten and eleven.

December 11, 1849—This morning I called on the Secretary of the Interior, Thos. Ewing, to find out what instructions had been given to the Gov. of Oregon relative to Indian affairs. The Secretary sent me to the chief clerk of the Indian Bureau for the information.

I then brought to his notice Robt. Newell, Sub. Ind. Agent in Oregon, requesting his removal. He informed me to write him a letter on the subject and he would attend to it. I next went over to the clerk for the information above referred to, and took a brief abstract of said instructions in pencil. This took me till one P. M., as they were quite long, after which I went into the House which was then balloting for Speaker. W. J. Brown ran ahead and came to 4 votes of an election. Winthrop, the Whig candidate, withdrew. After this the House adjourned at about 4 P. M. After supper I called on Senator Douglas to consult on Oregon affairs. Found him favorable. After this I returned home and wrote to the Sec. of the Interior requesting Robt. Newell's removal as Sub Agt., and recommended as his successor Joseph [Josiah] L. Parrish of Salem, Oregon. Went to bed about 12 o'clock, M.

December 12, 1849—After perusing the papers, I went to Col. Benton's to see him upon Oregon affairs. He was not in. I then went to the House Library and ordered the Journals of the House for the last ten years. Then went to the P. O. and found among others two letters, one for information of ¹M. Crawford in Oregon from his father, and another from Daniel P. Bradford of Brooklyn, relative to moving to Oregon. I replied to both on the spot, and wrote to Mr. Craw-

¹ Medorem Crawford, who crossed the plains to Oregon in 1842.

ford enclosing his father's letter to me. By this time it was 12 M. and the House commenced to ballot for Speaker. Brown lacked two votes of an election. Here a disclosure was made that Brown had written a letter to Wilmot. This disturbed the Southerners [Southerners], who had voted for Brown. Brown read the letter, and much dissatisfaction being expressed by some southern members who had voted for Brown, whereupon Brown withdrew. Here great confusion ensued, after which the House adjourned. No Speaker. After supper I directed ten papers to so many of my constituents, and walked out; returned, and until supper held a conversation with Mr. Hamilton of Maryland relative to slavery & Wilmot Proviso &c. Mr. Hamilton said the South did not assume their present position relative to the new territories so much on act. of the privilege of having slaves in them, or the liberty to do so, but because they feared that if they stood by quietly that the Anti-Slavery question would gain ground so much in the North as to lead the North to make attempts on the abolition of slavery in the Slave States themselves. I assured him that not a single man could be found in the North who dared to support such a notion, without the consent of the slave states themselves, and that as a corresponding fear to that named by him on the part of the South, the North also feared that if they stood by and saw slavery enlarge, that one day the free states might be overpowered by it and the Union itself overthrown. And here, after considerable discussion, I asked him 1st, whether free territory did not flourish better than slave territory? 2d, whether a new territory admitted now kept free for a hundred years to come would not be a more prosperous part of the Nation, than it would if slavery existed in it? and then, whether it was not the duty of all legislators to provide for that state of things which would make their Government the most prosperous, to all of which he answered affirmatively. I then replied that in his answer we all found our duty in regard to new territories. After this I called on Col. Benton relative to Oregon. Found him affable, and wished me to call any evening. Then

went home, and the Journals of the House not being brought according to my orders, I was unable to pursue my researches on Oregon matters. So I read an address to the New Mexicans & Californians by some men of New York, in which they showed successfully, I think, that a free country prospers better than a slave country.

December 13, 1849—After reading my papers this morning and directing the same to persons in Oregon, I went to the Capitol for the purpose of hunting up some public documents to send to Oregon. The folder assured me he would furnish me with all he could spare, and to begin with he let me have some 18 maps of Oregon by Lieut. Wilkes.¹ I sent one to the county commissioners of each county in Oregon, kept two for my use, and sent the others to gentlemen in Oregon. I told the folder that he must be liberal towards Oregon and he said he would. The House next commenced its session and the whole day was spent in a most disgraceful altercation. The Southern democrats made some 15 or 20 speeches, all declaring that if the Wilmot Proviso should be applied in the dispositions of the new territories, or if Congress should abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in either case, they and the South would dissolve the Union. The North replied that they should do what they could to prevent the farther extension of slavery, but if the South outvoted them, they would not dissolve the Union for that.

From the discussion, I perceived that there were two substantial questions between the South and North: 1st, whether Congress has the constitutional right to restrict slavery from the new territories; and if so, 2d, whether under the circumstances it would be expedient or just. The South say no to both; the North in a body say yes to the first, and nearly all say yes to the second.

The South appear not to have patience to discuss these questions upon the merits to be shown in argument; but, laying it down that they are right and no mistake, fall to abusing the North because she thinks otherwise, and threaten the Union

¹ Lieut. Charles Wilkes, of the U. S. exploring expedition of 1838-1842.

if the North acts upon its own judgment, providing that action is successful. The North, on the contrary, thinks the South is wrong, but don't abuse so freely, and in no case threatens the Union, even if the South does act *successfully* even upon its own judgment. The South will vote for no man unless he is to their minds an anti Wilmot Proviso man, while the great body of the North are willing to go for any Anti-Wilmot Proviso man, providing he is moderate and a fair man. While the South would not vote for Jesus Christ in person unless they were satisfied that he was with them on the slavery question. Here then is the difference. The House had one ballot, which lasted till after 4 P. M., when it adjourned. In the evening, my journals ordered yesterday still not coming, I read, wrote, etc., and went to bed at 11 in the eve.

December 14, 1849.—This morning, after reading the papers, I went and got some charts of the battlefields in Mexico, sent one to the Territorial Library and the balance to others in Oregon. I then ordered the journals of Congress under the Confederation, as I wanted to consult the ordinance of 1787 upon an Oregon question. After this I went to the post office for my papers, and found an extract from the Boston Courier, in the New York Sun, purporting to be a letter written from Vancouver, Oregon, in which both our country, rivers, and people were slandered. I immediately wrote to the Editor of the Courier, requesting him to forward me a copy of the paper containing this letter, and requesting him to publish what I might have to say in reply. I next bought fifty copies of the Daily Globe containing an act. [account] of the disgraceful proceedings of yesterday, and franked them home. I then tended the session of the House till nearly five P. M. There were many more boisterous speeches made, and two votes for Speaker, but no choice. Lynn Boid [Boyd] had the highest of anyone. The House next adjourned. I went to supper, and after that was writing in my room, when Mr. Whitney, the celebrated railroad man, called on me and wished me to go to Gadsby's and see his plans. I did so, where we remained till after 8 P. M. I then returned home, when a letter was laid

on my table from W. Weatherford¹, of Oskaloosa, Iowa, wanting information relative to moving to Oregon. I replied to the [amount] of a whole sheet immediately, recommending him to go. After this I wrote the memorandum of this day, read the ordinance of 1787, other reading and went to bed about 12 at night.

December 15, 1849—This day I procured the journals of the House since 1837 and extracted from two volumes whatever related to Oregon, and shall complete the balance as soon as possible, and then do the same with those of the Senate. I also got fifty of the Daily Globes enveloped and directed them to my constituents at home. Attended on the session of the House till 4, and devoted the rest of the evening to reading and directing papers. The House made no choice of Speaker. Boyd of Kentucky got the highest vote.

December 16, 1849—This day I went to the Methodist meeting, and (spent) the balance of the day in writing to my wife and others, directing papers &c.

December 17, 1849—This morning, immediately after breakfast, I called on the P. M. Gen'l, who read me a part of the doings of the late P. M. Gen'l relative to our mails. It appears that Howland & Aspinwall were let off by agreeing to carry the mail by sail vessels to the mouth of Klammet river. The P. M. Gen'l requested me to call at his house on the evening of the 19th, and I agreed to do so. Next called on the Sec. of the Interior, T. Ewing, who informed me he would forward the commission of Parrish by next mail, as Sub Ind. Ag't, vice Newell.

Next called on the 1st Comptroller of the Treasury, who informed me that he had not forwarded the order to Adair to pay off the Legislature, but would do so immediately. I urged upon [him] the importance of doing so. Next, attended on the House session, which lasted till three. But during the session I went over to Capt. Wilkes to examine the charts of the mouth of the Columbia. Came back and hunted up the

¹ Dr. William Weatherford, who came to Oregon in 1852, first settling in Yamhill county, from which he removed to Portland in 1854.

number of House bills introduced relative to Oregon, and carried the same to the person in charge of the H. Documents, who said he would find them for me. I then wrote a letter to Gen'l Adair, when I was sent for by Capt. Wilkes relative to said charts, and agreed to meet him at his house at 12 o'clock A. M. on the 18th. I occupied the evening in copying from the journals of the House whatever related to Oregon, and went to bed at 11 P. M.

December 18, 1849—This day I ordered my patent reports to be sent down to my room for direction, and at 12 o'clock M., I called on Capt. Wilkes to examine his charts, and in the evening I met the Post Master Gen'l relative to mails to Oregon. He informed me that Howland & Aspinwall had obtained liberty from the late Secretary of the Navy and P. M. General, Mason and Johnson, not to run their steamers to Oregon, but in consideration that they stopped at intermediate points on the coast, they should be allowed to carry their mail no farther than the mouth of the Clammet river, and were not to be bound to carry the mail to Oregon by steamer until after they had received six months' notice so to do. Upon this I determined to call on the Secretary next morning and get him, if possible, to make the order immediately. I also hunted up some bills on this day that had been introduced into the H. R. relative to Oregon. The balance of the day I was writing a reply to a slanderous article on Oregon, which had appeared in the Boston Courier.

December 19, 1849—Immediately after breakfast I got Gov. Gaines and called on the Secretary of the Navy and requested him to make the order above referred to on Howland & Aspinwall to carry the mail to Oregon by steamer. He assured us that so soon as Congress was organized he would enforce the performance of this contract to the letter; in other words, that he would order the steamers to run to Oregon. He also said, in reply to a request that a vessel might be sent to Oregon to be at the disposal of the Gov't, that he would have one sent, that he had or would inform Com. Jones that but one vessel must remain in the harbor at San Francisco.

I next called on the Comptroller. I found he had not, as promised, made the order on Gen'l Adair to pay out of money in his hands, belonging to the Gov't, the expenses of the late Oregon legislature. He promised faithfully that he would do it on this day. At noon I went to the session, during which time I hunted up Senate documents concerning Oregon. I next directed my Patent reports, wrote several letters, and sent several papers home to Oregon. Went to Democratic caucus in the evening, came home and went to bed at 12 o'clock M.

December 20, 1849—Attended the session this day as usual. No speaker chosen. The balance of the day I was completing my reply to the slanderous article which appeared in the Boston Courier. This day I received a letter from Troy from a gentleman who wished to go to Oregon to print some paper. He was a Whig in politics. I replied to him that I was a Democrat, gave him what information he wanted, and told him I had no objections to his starting a Whig paper, as I nor any democrat had no views we were afraid to have discussed. I also copied some of the Journals of the House relative to Oregon.

December 21, 1849—Immediately after breakfast, I went to Gov. Gaines' room, from whence he and I went to see Collamer, Postmaster Gen'l, to get him to appoint a mail agent in Oregon. He requested us to put in writing what we wanted. We went home, and I wrote a letter recommending the appointment of an Oregon man. But finding out that the Department would have none appointed but a Whig, and that that was the inclination of Gov. Gaines, I recommended Mr. Lownsdale.¹ I also recommended O'Neil, Avery, Skinner, E. F., Haun, Spaulding, Burkhart, Kellogg, and Simmons for Postmasters &c. Here Gaines wished me to tell him who was Post Master at Oregon City. I did so. He asked what kind of a man he was, politics &c. I told him that I did not like the man, but that I should not recommend his removal. He asked me for the name of a man who was a Whig. I told him J. D. Holman.¹

¹ Daniel H. Lownsdale, an Oregon pioneer of 1845.

¹ Father of Frederick V. Holman, president of the Oregon Historical Society.

After this I attended on the session of the House; next hunted up some Senate Documents concerning Oregon. After supper, I carried my reply to the Vancouver letter to the Intelligencer office for publication, and then came home and went to copying the Journals of the House relative to Oregon. About half past seven I went up to the President's, as it was reception night, when everyone who pleases has access to the White House and is allowed to promenade [in] the East Room and the halls. It was quite a showy time. I next came home and copied more journals, and went to bed about 12 M.

December 22, 1849—This morning I read the papers and copied a letter which I wrote Mr. Collamer, Postmaster Gen'l, and directed some papers to my constituents. I then went to the session of the House, where I remained till about six o'clock. Today a resolution passed to ballot three times, and if no one was elected Speaker in that time, then he who had the highest number of votes on the 4th ballot was to be elected. On the 1st ballot Cobb had 95, Winthrop 90; 2nd ballot, Howell Cobb had 95 and Winthrop 96; 3rd ballot, Cobb had 97, Winthrop 97; 4th ballot, Cobb had 102 and Winthrop had 100, after which Stanley offered a resolution declaring Cobb duly elected, which prevailed, some 31 voting against it. In the evening I copied from the Journals of 1 ses. 29th Con., and went to bed at 12 o'clock.

December 23rd, 1849—This morning, being Sunday, we did not have breakfast till about 9 o'clock, immediately after which I went to class meeting and presented my letter of admittance to Br. Purcell. Next after this I went to the Wesleyan Chapel and listened to a professor of Dickinson College who preached from John, 3rd chapter, and I think first verse: "What manner of love hath he bestowed on us that we should be called the sons of God." The sermon labored to show our duty to God, illustrating by the relations of father and children on earth. By his position it would seem that until after the advent of Christ, no one of the Jews was ever in the habit of calling God his father, but that, until that time, the relation was considered more like that of servant. He also illustrated the

difference of obeying through fear or hope of reward, and that of obeying through pure filial love. Nevertheless it was not wrong to hold out inducements of happiness and heavenly reward to urge along the Christian on his way. God had done this, and these grew brighter in proportion as the pilgrim had progressed on his journey.

After the sermon, he remarked that a collection would be taken up to aid Dickinson College in her efforts to educate the young men of the Church. I gave fifty cents, and the same amount to Br. Purcell to support our minister. Here goes a dollar, and I hope that the declaration, "Honor the Lord with thy substance, then shall thy barns be filled and thy press overflow with new wine," will be realized by me. After this I wrote a letter to ¹Col. Ford, one to J. Conser and one to Wesley Shannon. Sent some papers and read. I went to bed about half past ten.

December, Monday, 24, 1849—On this day I attended the session of the House, wrote &c.

24th and 25th was at Baltimore.

26th I attended the session of the House and wrote several letters in answer to some sent me inquiring about Oregon.

27th, the House adjourned till Monday, the last day of December.

December 28, 1849—This day, after breakfast, I went up to the office of the Secretary of the Navy to get copies or extracts from the contracts and correspondence concerning the mail route from Panama to Astoria. After getting this, I was sent for by Mr. Preston, Sec'y of the Navy, relative to giving notice to Aspinwall to run the mail steamers to Oregon. He said he had power to order them to touch at two points on the coast of Oregon, and asked me where the other place should be aside from Astoria. I told him Nesqually, in my judgment, but to be safe I would see Capt. Wilkes. So I went to see Capt. Wilkes and he recommended Nesqually. I then returned to my room and wrote the Secretary to order them to discharge and take mail at Astoria and Nesqually, which I supposed he

¹ Nathaniel Ford, of Rickreall.

would do next day. I sent the letter to him by S. L. Harris, a clerk in the Department. This took me till night. In the evening I was engaged till eleven in directing Pres. messages to my constituents, writing to some of them &c.

December 29, 1849—This morning I went to see the Sec. of the Interior. He informed me that he had removed R. Newell and appointed J. L. Parrish. I next called on the 1st Comptroller of the Treasury and he informed me he had sent the order to General Adair to pay off the Legislature. I next went and drew my travel and took up Stephen Coffin's draft on me, of Oregon, for eighteen hundred dollars. I also bought 100 of Pres. message with accompanying documents for my constituents, and directed 100 papers to same. I also wrote my wife, telling her to call on said Coffin and tell him to pay her one thousand dollars in Am. gold, and deliver up to her my note due to G. Abernethy for seven hundred dollars, and that he and I would be square, as I borrowed one hundred dollars of him at San Francisco. Also wrote to Parrish informing him of his apt.; answered several letters relative to Oregon, drew up a resolution relative to extinguishing Ind. title to land in Oregon, and went to bed at 11.

December 30, 1849—This day was Sunday, and by reason of having to go to the Intelligencer office to examine the proof sheet of an article I had prepared to [answer] the slanderous letter from Vancouver, I got belated so that I did not go to meeting at all. So I wrote two or three letters home to people in Oregon, drew up a resolution to offer in the House on Monday, and did some other work and went to bed at 10 o'clock in the evening.

December 31, 1849—On this day, in the forenoon, I drew up two resolutions, one to call the attention of the Committee on Indian affairs to the extinguishment of the Indian title to land in Oregon, and one to call the Comt. on Territories and on the Judiciary to Puget Sound Ag. Com. lands & possessory rights of H. B. Company and British subjects to land in Oregon.

After attending the session, I wrote a letter and carried it to the President requesting him to declare Portland and Nes-

qually in Oregon, ports of delivery, as he is empowered to do by the organic law, and to appoint surveyors. I next went to Thos. Ewing, Sec'y of the Interior, relative to getting a law passed to extinguish the Indian title, establishing agencies and appointing agents and sub-agents, &c. It seems to be the determination that no Democrat shall be appointed to office. I then came back, between nine and ten, and there being a social party among the members of our boarding club, I had to attend for an hour or more, and when I returned to my room about ten or after, I found a letter on my table from Wm. F. Moseley of Michigan, requesting information for certain persons who wished to emigrate to Oregon. I replied in a letter of over four pages, and forwarded it to the Detroit Free Press for publication, requesting the editor to forward me a paper, and one to Mr. M. I had previously directed 100 Pres. messages with accompanying Doc.'s to the people in Oregon. I retired at half past twelve at night.

January 1, 1850—This day was New Year's, and in the morning I called on D. R. Atchison of the Senate and Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate, for the purpose of getting him to aid in getting through a bill for the extinguishment of Indian titles in Oregon, and establishing Indian agents and agencies. He promised to report a bill next week. I next went to my room and put in writing for that committee such suggestions as I thought might be of use to the Committee to enable it to frame a proper bill, and went and handed the same to Mr. Atchison.

I then drew up a resolution to instruct the Comt. on Post Offices and Post Roads to inquire into the expediency of making or establishing certain mail routes in Oregon, also a resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire as to the rights of the H. B. Co., British subjects, and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, under the treaty of June 15th, 1846; also instructing the Comt. on Territories to inquire as to the expediency of making appropriations for the purchase of the P. S. [A.] Co.'s lands. I then drew up the title to two bills, one for making appropriations of land in Oregon for improve-

ment of the navigation of the Willamette, and the other for the payment of the Cayuse war debt. I then read an hour, then wrote a letter to Sec'y of State to inquire about the consulship at Panama, and after sundry other things, went to bed at 11 o'clock.

January 2nd, 1850—There being no session on this day, I prepared a title to some bills, and drew up some resolutions, and visited members of the Senate to get them interested for the bill to extinguish title. Wrote a letter to my wife, directed some newspapers, and corrected the proof sheet of my article in the *Nat. Intelligencer* in reply to the slanderous communication of the *Boston Courier*. I also paid for the *Intelligencer* for Winston, Tompkins, and Moore¹, and took receipts for one year. Went to bed after eleven.

January 3rd, 1850—This day I attended the session of the House, wrote a long letter to New York in answer to inquiries made concerning Oregon, also another to Vermont. Paid over the money for 9 Unions for subscribers in Oregon, and in the evening visited Benton to get his aid to get the Indian bill through the Senate, and was bored all the balance of the evening with company so I could do nothing, and went to bed at 11.

January 4, 1850—This day was Friday. In the morning I called on Hobbie, by invitation, to see about advertising for proposals to carry the mail in Oregon. He requested me to call next day at 11. I then went to the *Intelligencer* office and ordered 25 [copies] of that paper to send home. I then attended the session of the House, but nothing was done, but adjourned till Monday next. I then went to the Senate and heard Cass on his Hungarian resolutions. In the morning I became alarmed about Robert Moore's gold which I had sent to the mint at Philadelphia, because I had received no receipt, so I telegraphed the office of the mint and received for answer that it had been deposited, but no specific directions given. I then wrote to hold the same, and not pay over without an order under my signature or to me in person. In the evening I

¹ James Winston, ———Tompkins and Robert Moore, residents of Clackamas county.

called on General Rusk of Texas to get him as one of the Comt. on Indian Affairs to aid in forwarding the bill for the extinguishment of Indian title to lands in Oregon. He promised me he would do all in his power. After writing several letters, and receiving several asking for information concerning Oregon, I went to bed at 11.

January 5, 1850—This morning, immediately after breakfast, I went to see the President about the ports of delivery in Oregon. He informed me that he had referred my letter to the Sec'y of the Treasury. I called at his room, but he was not in. I then went to see Hobbie and arranged with him the advertisement for proposals to carry the mail on sundry routes in Oregon. After this I called on the Sec. of the Treasury again. He was not in. I then went to my room, and wrote him a letter relative to said ports, and urged him to attend to it. I next wrote a reply to Bache, Supt. of the Coast Survey, informing him that the Methodist Institute was all the scientific or literary institution that I knew of in Oregon, but that so soon as I should be informed whether the Legislature incorporated more, I would inform him. I then wrote a long letter to Gov. Lane, et al., in Oregon, informing them what I had got done about the Pacific mail and mail steamers. I next wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, asking an interview with him relative to the troops in Oregon. I wished him to occupy said troops in building military roads. After much other work, I retired at half past eleven.

January 6, 1850—This was Sunday, so immediately after breakfast I went to class meeting, and after that to preaching, and came home at half past 12. I then wrote [until] dinner on an answer to several letters written me about Oregon. After dinner I went with Hamblin and Fuller over into Virginia to the site of Jackson City, and to the Alexandria and Georgetown Canal. This Jackson City is one of the fruits of speculation in Gen'l Jackson's administration by men who wished to make a fortune. A town was laid off here, when there never was a house built, the corner-stone of the city laid in great state, with the deeds, books, and memorandums

deposited in a niche between the nether and upper stone. The upper stone had been removed and the papers taken away. Thus arose and fell the Jackson City. The General was present at the laying of the said stone.

I returned about dark, and wrote on said answer sometime till 8 o'clock, then wrote to my wife and to L. N. Phelps of New Hampshire to get him to go to Oregon. Next read some, wrote the memorandum of this day and went to bed at 11 P. M.

January 7, 1850—Immediately after breakfast, I went up to the Treasury to see the Secretary about the ports of delivery in Oregon. He was not in. I then went and got some bills to send for papers for persons who had sent money by me. Sent money \$6.25 to the N. Y. Tribune, and 9 dolls. to the N. Y. Herald, as per charge in my book. I then bought six more Intelligencers containing my letter, to send to persons who had read the one in the Courier and who had written me about it. Sent one to Ohio Statesman and requested him to publish, and wrote him to advocate our claims to donations of land.

Next attended on the session of the House, and while they were balloting for clerk which they did not elect this day, I went to the Senate and talked with Atchison, Rusk, Benton, and Corwin about our Indian bill, and got Douglas to call up and get passed his resolution relative to Indian title in Oregon &c. I also heard J. P. Hale and Clay speak on Cass's resolution to dissolve diplomatic intercourse with Austria. Hale pretended he was favorable, but moved to include Russia, and the whole tenor of his arguments was opposed to it. Clay opposed it, and while Hale was speaking of Cass, remarks about liberty and the rights of man, I thought truly they were noble and Heaven-born sentiments, and when he spoke them, methought I heard Deity himself sitting on his throne with the listening hosts of Heaven round him, while he called one of his strongest and most vigilant guardian angels, and giving him a shield of livid fire, bid him to protect and defend those sentiments.

After supper, I went to see John Bell who had charge of the Indian bill from the Committee. After talking with him, I came home and wrote seven pages to him on the subject of

Indians west of the Cascade mountains, and carried it to the U. S. Hotel and left it for him. I then came home, and after writing some and reading, I went to bed at eleven.

January 8, 1850—This morning I went to see the Secretary of the Treasury to get him to declare Portland and Nesqually Ports of Delivery, and appoint Surveyors. He wished me to recommend names for Surveyors, when it should be done. In the evening I wrote him the letter and recommended Wm. M. King for Portland and [Michael T.] Simmons for Nesqually. I then went to the session of the House, but received a letter there from the Secretary of War requesting me, in answer to a letter I had written him, to call on him at one P. M. I immediately went and [had] an interview with him relative to employing the troops in Oregon in constructing military roads. He said he would have them so ordered. He also wished me to give him a statement in writing about Major Hathaway's chartering the British vessel and sending out the expedition to meet the troops. I then left them and went to the Post Office Department to see to having the commissions of postmasters and the Post Office agent sent by the mail of the 13th. They were done so. Next came home to dinner, and after that visited Col. Benton's, by invitation, to tea. After that came home, wrote a letter to Col. King and D. H. Lownsdale, wrote another letter to the Secretary of War to inquire whether Oregon was entitled to present a pupil to the West Point Academy, and the necessary steps to get admitted. Also wrote another letter to the Secretary of the Treasury giving an act of the British vessel carrying Government troops and stores to Nesqually from Vancouver, and requested him to order Adair to seize the vessel and have it confiscated. Also wrote a letter to Abbott L. Lovejoy about going to Oregon. At the session in the House I also gave notice of a motion for Com. to bring in three bills, one for laws in Oregon to improve the navigation of the Willamette and other rivers, one for the relief of Oregon, and one to make compensation to Jos. Lane and others for expenses in getting to Oregon. Went to bed at 12.

January 9, 1850—This morning I wrote till session time on an article in reply to contemplated Oregon emigrants, for the *Ohio Statesman*. I then attended the session of the House, during which time I wrote a letter to a Mr. Sawyer of Ellsworth, Maine, in answer to his letter of inquiry about Oregon. I then came home and wrote on my letter to the *Statesman* till eleven, when I went to bed.

January 10, 1850—This day, immediately after breakfast, H. H. Hunt¹ of Oregon called on me. After he went away, I wrote on my article to the *Ohio Statesman* until he called again, when we went to attend on the session of the House. After the session closed, I then wrote on my article. In the evening Hunt called again, and we agreed to call on the P. M. Gen'l to see if Hunt could not get the mail to carry from Astoria to Oregon City. After he went away, S. H. Blake of Bangor, Me., called. After he left, I continued and finished my article. I received a letter today from H. T. Webb of Johnsville, Md., inquiring after his brother Wm. Webb. I also received one from H. T. Blanchard, from Whitehall, N. Y., inquiring after Oregon &c.

In the evening I received one from Hon. Wm. M. Meredith, informing me that the President had this day signed a proclamation declaring Portland and Nesqually, ports of delivery, with all the privileges allowed by law to such ports. It was after twelve when I got through.

January 11, 1850—This morning, immediately after breakfast, I went with Mr. Hunt to the Post Master Gen'l's to see about getting for him the contract for carrying the mail from Astoria to Oregon City. We were informed that no contracts could be let till next May. I then went to the Secretary of the Treasury who had sent for me to come and see him about appointing surveyors of the ports of Portland and Nesqually. He asked me what King's politics were. I informed him that they were democratic. He then asked if there was no Whig there that he could appoint. I informed him that there were

¹ Henry H. Hunt, of the "Astoria Mill," who established it on the south bank of the Columbia river, a few miles east of Astoria, in 1845.

Whigs there ; but I could not recollect the names of any I could recommend, and assured him that Mr. King would give satisfaction. I perceived he did not want to appoint a Democrat, but said he would let me know what would be done tomorrow. So I went to the House Session, and after that spent the whole evening in franking papers to Oregon, and went to bed at 11.

January 12, 1850—This day I went again to see the Secretary of the Treasury about the appointments of surveyors in Oregon. Could not see him and I wrote him a letter. Attended the session of the house which balloted or voted for Sergeant-at-Arms, but without a choice. Mr. Lane was withdrawn. I wrote to Mr. Cornwall about getting his son into the West Point Academy. Got some patent reports and franked them home to Oregon, also franked some speeches of Cass.

January 13, 1850—This day was Sunday. I attended class meeting in the morning, and then went to preaching. The text was, "The Lord rains" [reigns] and the drift of the discourse was to show that all things in the moral and physical world are [under] the immediate supervision of God.

After meeting I came home and wrote a letter to the editors of the Union, the purport of which was to draw from them an answer whether they are believers in the doctrine that a state has a constitutional right to resist the laws of the Union, if such state shall be of opinion that such laws are either impolitic or unconstitutional, and to know if they would favor, or oppose, such resistance for cause that California shall be admitted into the Union as a free state with her constitution as adopted. And in an accompanying note, I said to them, if resistance is to be made on such grounds, then let the blood of him who first makes the attempt wipe out the stain of the rebellion. I say so now. I then wrote a letter to my wife, and one to Chicopee. Today I had a long talk with a Mr. Fitch of Michigan, about going to Oregon to start a Democratic paper. Went to bed between ten and eleven.

January 14, 1850—This day I drew up two bills, one appropriating land for the improvement of the navigation of the Willamette and other rivers, and the other for payment of the

Cayuse War debt. I also called on John Bell about the Indian bill. He has not yet reported it, but says he will soon. I also carried my letter to the *Intelligencer* to publish. In the evening I received a mail from Oregon, but nothing from my wife. I also wrote many letters and did not go to bed till one A. M.

January 15, 1850—Went through the usual routine.

January 16, 1850—This day was spent by the House in attempting to elect doorkeeper. Today I wrote a letter to Col. Benton in answer to his inquiring about negro's rights in Oregon. Attended the session of the House, franked 14 Pat. Repts. to Oregon, wrote several letters, and attended the Smithsonian lecture in the evening. Wrote letter to the *Oregon Spectator*, and went to bed at twelve.

January 17, 1850—This day the agents of the Pacific Mail steamers called on me about the harbors in Oregon. I wrote a letter to Robt. Moore about it. Also wrote six pages for the *Ohio Statesman* in answer to inquiries attended the session of the House, and talked with members of the House and Senate relative to what I supposed was going about the Pacific line. Was quite unwell during the day and night. Went to bed at eleven.

January 18, 1850—Wrote letters today to some two or three relative to Oregon, one to Franklin Jenkins, who asked me to assist him to Oregon. Mr. Aspinwall called on me today with Mr. Bartlett who called yesterday. We had a long talk about matters and things connected with the steamers, and he told me he thought the steamers would go to Oregon before the time set by the Sec. of the Navy. I got from them Sir Geo. Simpson's letter, and copied it, and sent the same with a short letter to Robert Moore. After various other business, being quite unwell all the time, I went to bed at 11.

January 19, 1850—This day, soon after breakfast, the following gentlemen called, Henry Chancy, Edwin Bartlett, G. G. Howland, and S. S. Howland, relative to the Pacific Mail Steamers. They assured me they would accomodate Oregon. At their request to name some person whom they could employ

to erect ice houses, I gave them the name of Col. J. Taylor.¹ They said [they] should write to him, and would enter into the ice trade from Oregon down the coast. After they left I went to see John Bell, Senator from Tennessee, about bringing in the Indian bill. Then attended a session of the House occupied in choosing a door-keeper. House postponed the order of the House to elect its officers till the first of March 1851. During the session I wrote a letter to Mr. Crane of the N. Y. Ev. Post relative to going to Oregon to start a paper, also a letter to Blain about the news of election of the House and the steamers. Today I sent two gold dollars and fifty cents in silver to the Louisville Journal for James M. Moore, and lest it might be lost, wrote a separate letter to the editor appraising him of the fact. Also wrote to the Presbyterian for Robert Moore. Sent a card to the Spectator, and the answer of the Sec. of the Navy in relation to the British vessel carrying troops from Vancouver to Nesqually in 1849, with a note accompanying same, franked 18 patent reports of 48 to Oregon. After attending to various other business I went to bed, but after I had gone to bed I received a letter by mail from E. Cranston,² Ohio, wishing information relative to Oregon. He had written me once before to which I had replied, and he had published my reply in his village paper. After this I went to sleep.

January 20, 1850—This morning attended class meeting and preaching meeting from the following text, 2nd Chapter, 5th verse of Revelations, "Remember therefore from whence thou hast fallen and repent and do thy first work over else I will come quickly and overturn thy candle-stick out of its place except thou repent." The tendency of the discourse was to prove that a person once converted to God could fall from grace again, which position was maintained by a most conclusive course of reasoning. After meeting I wrote a letter to my much loved wife in which I told her about my dream

¹ Col. James Taylor, residing at Astoria.

² Ephraim Cranston, who came to Oregon in 1851, settling with his family in Marion county. He was the father of Mrs. A. H. Breyman, now living in Portland.

concerning Henry Bouy; how I loved him, and how anxious I felt for him. After this I wrote eight pages to Mr. E. Cranston whose letter I received last night. At his request I gave him liberty to publish it. This took me till about 9 in the evening.

January 21, 1850—This day the House determined to postpone the further election of its officers till the first day of March, 1851. I attended the session. After session I visited Atchison about the Indian bill. He informed me that the Comt. had instructed Bell to bring in a bill. I then went to see Bell, but he had gone to a party, so I did not see him. I then came home and wrote a long letter to Thomas M. Cooley¹ of Adrian, Michigan, in answer to a letter he wrote me about Oregon, and went to bed at 11.

January 22nd, 1850—Today I went to see Bell about bringing in the Indian bill. He said he would bring it in this week, but wished to see the Commissioner on Indian Affairs and have an interview with me. Attended the session of the House &c. Wrote some in the evening &c.

January 23, 1850—This day I went to see Douglas to get him to push up Mr. Bell to bring in the Indian bill. He said he would do it. I occupied the most of the forenoon in drawing up resolutions to bring the subject of land donations in Oregon before the Committee on Territories. Attended the session of the House, and occupied the evening in drawing up other resolutions to bring the defects of our organic laws before the Committee on Territories, and a resolution instructing the Committee on Public Lands to inquire into the propriety of establishing a land office in Oregon. Also franked some Documents home.

January 24, 1850—This day I went to the Treasury Department to see about the pension of Aaron Payne, got a draft on the Sub Treasury at New York for 144 dolls. and a letter

¹ A native of Attica, N. Y., born in 1824, who became a citizen of Michigan in 1843, was admitted to the bar in 1846, and later on became a national authority on constitutional law, and in 1887 was chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

authorizing the agent at Springfield, Ill., to pay the balance due from Sept. 4, 1848, to March 4, 1849, on my receipt to him. This letter with my receipt I sent to the agent at Springfield. Wrote to Robt. Moore to pay over the 144 dolls. to Mr. Payne, and I would lay out that sum for him for paper. I wrote a note to the Spectator to notify Mr. Payne of the fact. I also received a letter from Wm. H. Wilson of Hebron, Ind., telling me to send the 20 dolls sent by Blain by mail, and making inquiries about the mails to Oregon and the cost and time of getting there. I replied according to facts and told him I would send the money in a day or two, as I had no paper now. I also went to see Bell again about the Indian bill. Attended the session of the House and endeavored to offer some resolutions, but could not under the rule, as objections were made. I attended the Smithsonian lecture in the evening, and franked papers to Oregon, and went to bed at 12.

January 25, 1850—This day the House was not in session. We adjourned yesterday over till Monday. Today I have worked hard all day till now, ten o'clock P. M., writing letters to persons who have writtten for information about Oregon, and in preparing resolutions, looking up matters &c. I have just finished a letter to Phillip Painter, Avon Post Office, St. Genevieve Co., Mo., relative to money &c, &c. I had some time ago written and informed him that there was on deposit for him 553 dolls. at the Mint, and other matters, but it seems when he wrote to me January 8th, he had not received my letter. I am now very much fatigued, and am going to bed.

January 26, 1850—This day the House was not in session. I devoted the whole day to writing. Went to see the Secretary about the appointment of surveyors. Did not see him, but learned none were yet appointed.

January 27, 1850—Today was Sunday. Did not attend Class meeting. Attended preaching and with some interruption, spent the rest of the day in writing a long letter to J. H. Watson of Ohio in answer to inquiry about Oregon.

January 28, 1850—Today the House was in session. Occupied the forenoon in finishing the letter commenced on yesterday. The House did not get through with the States in the call for petitions, so I got no chance to offer anything for Oregon. In the evening finished the above letter, went to see Bell about the Indian bill, and went to bed, after franking documents, about 11 o'clock.

January 29, 1850—This day went to see Bell again. He said he had the bill ready and would report it next day. Went to see the Secretary about the appointment of the surveyors of Portland and Nesqually. He said Porter would be appointed, but gave me to understand King would not. I had recommended these men, one from each party, so that King might be appointed. Meredith said if he appointed King, the Whigs of Oregon would find fault. I replied that half was fair, and that if all Whigs were appointed, it would arouse party feeling in Oregon. I insisted King was a good man, lived at Portland, and ought to be appointed. I told him Mr. Hunt would recommend King. He then wanted I should wait till Hunt came.

I went home and in the evening wrote him a private letter to the same effect and stated to him that the effect would be, if he should refuse to appoint any Democrat in Oregon, to raise a party excitement which the Whigs themselves in Oregon professed not to want. I then wrote a confidential letter to King on the subject—confidential because I did not wish to hurry party excitement in Oregon. This day I received a letter from S. Coffin, dated Oct. 31, stating he had written twice to Lownsdale, Portland, to pay up the Abernethy \$700 note (seven hundred) &c. and that if I paid his draft as I have he would owe me one thousand besides the redemption of the note. Attended the session of the House and the Smithsonian Lecture in the evening. Saw Atchison about the Indian bill.

January 30, 1850—Attended session of the House. Went to see Douglas in the morning about the Oregon Indian bill. Went to see Corwin about the same after the House adjourned,

and Benton. After supper went to the Senate printer to get the bill printed and have it laid on the table in the morning. Wrote letters in the evening, and corrected proof sheet of a long letter to sundry individuals inquiring about Oregon, and went to bed at 11 P. M.

January 31, 1850—Today I went to the Intelligencer office to see the proof sheet of my letter corrected. Attended session of the House which adjourned on the announcement of the death of a member from Ohio. Saw Dodge to get him to introduce a resolution about Geological Survey of Oregon. Saw Dickinson and Whitcomb to get them to help on my Indian bill. Came down to my room and wrote a long letter to Capt. Geo. Kimball of "The California Packet" now lying at Boston with a load of emigrants bound to form an agricultural town. I endeavored to persuade him that his company should go to Oregon. I had previously written to Green, editor of the Boston Post, for information about the company and to get him to suggest the propriety of the company's going to Oregon. Then wrote a letter to W. Blain¹ to get him to correspond with the N. Y. Herald in order to have our country represented in the columns of that paper. Having heard Douglas was about to report a bill for the admission of California, into the Union, with the southern boundary extending only to where the coast mountains meet the spur of the Sierra Nevada, I went to see him and entreated him not to let slavery touch the Pacific. Told him that no project would do which did not give to California at least to the Sierra Nevada and so following on the dividing ridge between the waters flowing into the Pacific from those flowing into the great basin and the Colorado, and extending to the southern line of California. He assured me he was in favor of admitting California anyhow, rather than that she should not be admitted. He appeared to approve my idea, and I don't believe he will vote for any project to allow any territory to embrace any part of California west of said dividing ridge. We next had a

¹ Wilson Blain, editor of the Spectator, Oregon City, and a pioneer of 1848.

conversation about the railroad, and he favors the northern pass and the terminus Puget Sound.

I then went to the printing office and got the Oregon Indian bill, and sent a copy to the Spectator, accompanied by a letter. Next attended the Smithsonian lecture. Next wrote a letter to the Boston Cultivator, to see on what terms the paper could be sent to Oregon to subscribers. Franked some documents and went to bed at 11.

February 1, 1850—This day I got a resolution passed bringing our Indian affairs before the committee. Spoke to sundry individuals about the bill reported in the Senate. Got the Intelligencer containing my long letter, and sent to sundry papers requesting them to publish.

February 2, 1850—This day the House did not sit. Wrote a letter to Albert Small of Cedarville, Ohio, relative to Oregon, in answer to inquiry made by him, also wrote to Seth May same, attended Smithsonian lecture on agriculture, sent to Oregon two notes from Post Office department announcing the establishment of P. O. at Milwaukie and Tualatin Plains, with sundry other letters and things during the day, and went to bed at eleven.

February 3, 1850—Wrote a letter to my wife, one to B. Simpson, confidential, one to A. VanDusen, one to Mr. Simmons, sent with a paper, wrote a long letter to the Secretary of War explaining to him the situation of the roads by Mt. Hood and the canyon, and their importance to emigrants. Urged him to send an order to Oregon to have soldiers sent to repair those roads previous to the arrival of the emigrants. Wrote a short note to the Spectator to urge the early ascertainment of the amount of the Cayuse war debt and have the amount with the vouchers accompanied by a request from the Governor that the same might be paid. Wrote a letter to S. Burch, Jacob Conser and to E. H. Bellinger. Sent them papers and went to bed, half past ten.

February 4, 1850—This day went to see Ewing, Secy. of the Interior, to see if I could get an order on the Governor of Oregon to remove the Indians from Linn City.¹ Received

¹ The site of Linn City was on the west bank of the Willamette river, opposite Oregon City, and it was washed away by the flood of December, 1861.

a letter from Secretary of State relative to Russian ports on the Pacific, a copy of which, with a short note of my own, I sent to Spectator for publication. Also wrote a letter to Secretary of State reminding him that a previous letter of mine to him about printing U. S. laws in Oregon paper had not been answered, and desired him to let me know of his decision in the case. Attended the session of the House, but Oregon was not reached in the call for resolutions. Went to see the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs about getting through my Indian bill. Wrote a letter to Secretary of the Treasury relative to the H. B. Company's paying duties under the treaty. Got 12 Pat. Reports and franked them to Oregon. Also got ten Treasurer's Reports and franked them, and after writing sundry letters to others, went to bed at twelve.

February 5 and 6, 1850—Went to see Orlando Brown, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to get the order on Lane. He promised to give it. Went to the House which adjourned on the 5th in consequence of announcement of death of member. Heard Clay's speech. Wrote a letter to Ewing, stating to him how I wanted the order to run. On the 6th I introduced sundry resolutions in the House also two bills.

February 7th, 1850—This day filed a memorial under the rule praying for appropriation for penitentiary in Oregon. Also got the Committee to consent to report a joint resolution for the Exploring Expedition works for the Oregon Territorial Library, which I drew up for them and which Boyd is to report. Also saw members of the other committees about other measures in Oregon. Attended the Smithsonian lecture in the evening by Dr. Potter, and came home and answered three letters about Oregon and people in Oregon, and went to bed at 12. I should have said that I saw Ewing today, and he said the order should go.

February 8, 1850—This morning went to see Secretary of Navy by his request by note yesterday, relative to mail service in 2 steamers to Oregon, post offices and mail routes in same. Wished me to communicate to him by letter. I am to do so.

Received a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in answer to one of mine relative to the liabilities of the H. B. Co. and British subjects trading with the same to pay duties on goods imported into Oregon. Sent a copy of the same with a letter of mine on the same to Oregon Spectator for publication. Attended session of the House, attended Smithsonian lecture by Bishop Potter, wrote a letter to A. W. Stockwell of Chicopee, and several to others; went to bed at 12 at night.

February 9, 1850—House did not sit today. Went to see Brown, Indian Com., about removing the Indians from Linn City. Went in the evening to see Ewing about it. Did not find him at home. Wrote sundry letters today to persons inquiring about Oregon.

February 10, 1850—This day was Sunday. Did not attend meeting. Received Oregon mail in the morning which took some time to read, also Oregon papers. Wrote a long letter to Mr. Blain relative to matters and things here. Wrote sundry other letters, and went to bed about 11.

February 11, 1850—This morning went to introduce myself to the California reps. Went to see the Secretary of the Treasury about printing the laws. Went to see Ewing and Commissioner on Indian Affairs to see about getting the Indians removed from Linn City. Attended session of the House, made a short speech in Committee of the Whole. In the evening wrote a lot of letters.

February 12, 1850—This morning ordered one hundred Daily Globes and in the evening franked them home. Wrote sundry letters on matters connected with Oregon. Attended session of the House. Went before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads to get our post routes established. Had a letter from Capt. Kimball about the company bound to California, one from F. & D. Fowler inquiring after H. H. Hunt. Replied to them. Went to bed past 12 P. M.

February 13, 1850—This morning I got resolutions passed referring the matter of our improvements at the mouth of the river and Puget Sound to the Committee on Commerce. Attended the session of the House. Got the Committee on

Territories to report a joint resolution giving a copy of the narrative and scientific works of the Coast Survey to Oregon Territorial Library. Also went before the committee about increasing our appropriation for public buildings, also to get them to report a bill for appropriation for Penitentiary in Oregon. Franked a large lot of papers to Oregon. Wrote letters to Capt. Kimball of the California Packet, one to Editor Vermont Gazette, one to Ills., and others, all about Oregon. Went to bed at eleven.

February 14, 1850—Attended session of the House. Called on Mr. Gilbert and got some facts relative to movements in California. Spent the evening in preparing items for a speech on the admission of California. Wrote reply to letters about Oregon. Wrote to Captain Kimball; sent him map of Oregon. Went to bed at eleven.

February 15, 1850—Went to see Capt. Wilkes to get information about California, harbors &c. Next wrote reply to four letters, three about Oregon. Attended session of the House. Went to see Thos. Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, and carried him the Indian bill. Went to see Messrs. Wright, Howland, and Aspinwall, to get a chance for to go to Oregon. Went and carried a letter to Butler King asking him certain questions about California. In the eve, Aspinwall called to see me, and we had a talk about chartering a vessel to carry passengers to Oregon. Wrote a number of letters to Oregon. In the evening, Secretary of the Navy sent for me. Could not go because I was under previous engagement to wait for Aspinwall. Franked papers and went to bed at 12 o'clock.

February 16, 1850—Today the House did not sit. In the morning I went to see Secretary of the Navy at his request. He wished to see me about the regularity of the mails to Oregon. One Mr. Allen in California, had certified that the mails had been carried to Oregon with all desirable dispatch. I wrote him a letter on that and on P. O. and post routes, and went to see A. Dodge and Jesse Bright to get letters they had from Pratt and Bryant on the irregularity of the mail to Oregon. Sent them to the Secretary. Also wrote two long

letters out to Ohio about Oregon. Got the nomination of J. A. Cornwall's son, and sent it to his father. Sent several papers and letters to Oregon, and occupied the evening in preparing material for a speech on the admission of California. And here I will record a fact. Some time ago I learned from Jesse Bright that he had received letters from Jos. Lane. I went to him and looked him full in the eye and asked him if Lane said nothing about me. He paused a moment, and then replied he said he would show me his letters, but never has. I was fully satisfied at the time that Lane had written something about me, from the manner Bright answered. He told me a few days ago that he got another letter from Lane. I indifferently inquired what he said. B. replied that he did not write much. I appeared perfectly indifferent, and soon he handed me a letter, and said, "Here is Lane's letter." I read it. It was but a few lines, merely informing Bright that his son Nat had come after his family. Then in another section he said, "Let no man say I have not discharged my duties well as Governor and Indian Agent." I thought at the time three things: first, that this was not all the letter Lane wrote him, 2nd, that the letter and latter section was intended for me—first to make me believe that Lane had not attacked me to Bright, and second to awe me lest I might charge him with negligence—and third, that there was a conspiracy to injure me. Now, when I called on Bright today I became fully satisfied; in the course of the conversation I found Lane had written Bright another letter by the last mail, besides the one shown me. I found too that Lane had been writing Bright about Dr. McLoughlin's claim. I talked indifferently. Bright asked me if Dr. McL. was in favor of my election, or opposed me. This led me to suppose Lane had been writing to Bright to get him to secure McLoughlin's claim to McL, and that he had told him that I would oppose it because Dr. McL. had opposed me. He then asked me if Dr. McL. had an agent here. I purposely replied that I did not know who he was. Bright then said he thought he had not. I replied purposely, to ascertain his motive for asking the question, "I would like

to have you make me believe that." Bright immediately looked surprised, and inquired what I meant, and his countenance betrayed his heart fully. I replied that Dr. McL. had had an agent at Washington for ten years in my opinion. Bright then asked if I knew his name. I said, "No." He then asked me how Lane and McL. got along. I replied that I did not know; guessed well enough. He also talked round in such a way for some time, and it perfectly satisfied me that Lane had written him all about matters and had been laboring to secure the Oregon City site for Dr. Mc. Bright had before dropped the remark something about Lane's letter being 16 pages. I have recorded these while they are all distinct and fresh, lest I might forget them or be liable to mistake in case they should come in play. Went to bed at 12½ o'clock.

February 17, 1850—This day was Sunday. Wrote my wife a letter in the morning. Then went to class meeting. Next went to the Reps Hall to meeting, but it looked so gloomy that I did not stop. Came home. Fixed my scrap book, prepared some points for a speech, and then walked out. Came home, prepared more points, wrote three letters, franked some papers, and went to bed about 11.

February 18, 1850—From this up to 20th, routine as usual.

February 21, 1850—First thing in the morning, wrote a letter to B. W. Hampoon about Oregon. Next went to see Mr. Grinnell, of the Committee on Commerce, to get him to recommend appropriation for light-houses in Oregon. Next went to the House and wrote a long letter to Rev. J. P. Millar,¹ in answer to his letter to me about Oregon. He informed me that there are forty or fifty families there who wish to go to Oregon. Sent him three letters containing my letters published. Next came down to my room and worked on my speech and wrote on that till eleven in the evening. Had another letter tonight from Michigan about Oregon. I am completely exhausted, and therefore go to bed at 12.

¹ Father of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Millar Wilson, of The Dalles.

February 22nd, 1850—I have become of late very forgetful. From the 22nd I have been busy writing my speech on the admission of California. Have not forgot Oregon, however. Have attended to various of her wants. Last Monday got a set of resolutions through instructing the Committee on Territories to make sundry inquiries. Got the Committee on Indian Affairs to report Indian bill. The H. H. Hunt affair also engrossed my attention somewhat. It is now the morning of the 27th of February.

February 27th, 1850—Before breakfast wrote on my speech. Attended session of the House. Went to the Senate to get Bell to call up the Indian bill. Saw Hall of the House about the same. Came down and wrote on my speech. Got a letter from H. H. Hunt in the evening. He is sick at Wheeling, Va. Wanted me to send him 300 Dollars. Wrote the fact that I had heard from him to Blain, Lownsdale, Alta California, and to F. & D. Fowler. Went to bed at 12 at night.

February 28, 1850—This morning went to see Atchison about the Indian bill. Wrote a letter to H. H. Hunt. Attended session of the House. Went to see Bell to get him to call up the bill. Could not succeed. Sent two papers to Walker of Coshocton, Ohio. Finished my speech and commenced taking abstract of it in order to speak. Went to bed at 11.

March 1, 1850-March 14, 1850—From the 1st to the 14th I was at Springfield, Mass., and going to negotiate for a paper to be started at Oregon City. The parties are A. W. Stockwell and Henry Russell. I arrived back here today. Have attended session of the House. This evening visited G. W. Fitch to get him to report on my resolutions in favor of donating land to the Oregon emigrants. Also found that P. Painter had drawn a draft on me for twelve hundred dollars, that I shall make arrangements to pay tomorrow. Have been answering letters about Oregon for two hours. I am now going to bed at 12 o'clock.

March 15th, 1850—This morning, before breakfast, I went to see J. K. Miller [of Ohio], on the H. B. Company resolutions; prepared a resolution to call on the President for infor-

mation. After breakfast I went before the committee to get them to agree to it. They did so. Attended the session of the house, after which, till 11 o'clock I was busily engaged answering letters about Oregon. Went to bed half past 11.

March 16th, 1850—This day House did not sit. Went in the morning to see Thos. Ewing about our Indian Affairs. He requested me to call at 2 P. M. I came home and wrote busily to correspondents. Went at two. He gave me Governor Lane's report on Indians in Oregon, requested me to read the same and make such suggestions as I thought proper after reading same. I still kept writing and got my table clear late in the evening. I have also had an interview relative to H. B. Co.'s rights with Mr. Tappan, of Ohio. This Co. is intriguing as usual. I am to meet G. W. Fitch tomorrow night to draw up land bill for Oregon.

March 17th, 1850—This day was Sunday. I attended class meeting, but did not attend church. Wrote most of the day. Read two articles. Visited Fitch in the evening about the Oregon bill—not very right I admit. Came home and after going over other matters, went to bed.

March 18th, 1850—This day I went to see Land Commissioner about our laws in Oregon. Went to see Ewing about our Indian matters and Meredith about our appropriations for light houses. Attended session of the House, and got the floor when the House adjourned. Spent the evening in looking over my speech.

March 19th, 1850—This morning, at request of Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, I gave way for the present the making of my speech, attended session, got Mr. Grinnell of the Committee of Commerce to write to the Secretary of the Treasury about our lighthouses and buoy appropriations. I also wrote John Wentworth about the improvements in our rivers. I wrote Mr. Post in reply about Mr. Hunt, and a letter about Oregon. After session, franked documents, went to see Governor Fitch about our land bill. Received three letters tonight about Oregon which I shall answer in the morning. Went to bed half past eleven.

March 20th, 1850—This day and the twenty-first did the usual routine. Visited the Secretary of the Treasury to get him to make his estimate for lighthouses and buoys, prepared some remarks to offer on my amendment of the Deficiency Appropriation bill, and visited several members to get them to support same. Wrote numerous letters in reply about Oregon.

March 23rd, 1850—This morning prepared my amendment and went and attended the session of the house all day till late to get a chance to offer my amendment appropriating ten thousand for Indian service in Oregon. The Chairman ruled me out of order. I appealed from his decision, and the Committee sustained. Then modified my amendment and it carried unanimously, save one. Made a short speech and handed it written out to the reporter. In the eve had ten letters making many inquiries &c. In the evening attended on the printer, corrected the proof sheet, wrote and went to bed at 12.

March 24th, 1850—It is now the 28th. All this time I have been engaged about my speech, printing and correcting it &c. Called on Taylor tonight, and recommended A. A. Skinner to be appointed Judge vice Bryant if Bryant resigned, as I hear today he has or will. I have been directing documents this evening. It is now 9.

March 29th, 1850—This day attended the session of the House. Franked some of my speeches to different papers, wrote letters &c. Mr. Stockwell left here today. Went to bed at 11.

March 30, 1850—It is now April 6th, and I have forgotten all this time to make my record. I will try again. All this forenoon till 2 P. M. I was busy writing letters to inquiries about Oregon. I then for the balance of the day occupied myself in preparing some law for a speech in support of the Oregon Land bill. In the evening I went to the lodge and took three degrees in Odd Fellowship. Came home and found four more letters inquiring about Oregon. My Oregon mail did not reach here today. Today Dana Miller, an old chum of mine at Dartmouth College, called on me, whom I had not seen for ten years. I knew him at a glance. I am now going to bed as it is 11 o'clock.

April 7th, 1850—This day I received the mail from Oregon—not a word from my wife. Was much grieved to think of it. Wrote her three or four letters about it. Also wrote a letter to the Spectator contradicting a lying report about my pledges to Portland. Had a letter from J. M. Moore, two from Blain, two from Holderness, one from Cornwall, one from Sulger, one from Coffin, one from Lownsdale, &c., &c. I wrote all day till twelve o'clock at night, and went to bed. Also one from Johnson.

April 8th, 1850—This day I got four postmasters appointed for Oregon. Wrote three letters to Oregon Spectator, several others to Oregon, one to my wife, attended session of House, saw Col. Warren about appointing two other Postmasters in Oregon. Wrote letters in the evening and franked papers home. Had a letter from A. Post about Hunt in the evening, also one from Ernest Schueller about Oregon. Went to bed at 11.

April 9, 1850—This morning I got Harrison Wright appointed P. M., also John Lloyd. Got A. Van Dusen appointed Sub Indian Agent, and Theo. Magruder appointed Pension Agent in Oregon. Called on the Secretary of the Treasury, and he is to furnish me a copy of his correspondence about lighthouses for Oregon. Attended session of the House. Got a letter from General Adair. Went to see Pleasants in the evening. Called on the chief clerk of the Survey Department of the Land Office. He is to draw the land bill for Oregon. Wrote many letters to Oregon, two to the Spectator, &c. Went to bed at 11.

April 10, 1850—This day I went to get the Sec. of the Interior to send some money to our martial [marshal]. He refused on the ground that no bonds had even been filed. I wrote home to this effect. Then went and saw Dickinson about the \$10,000 for Indian purposes. He said he would go for it. Saw several other senators about same. Then went with Judge Potter to fix our post roads. Attended on session of the House. Received copy of Secretary of Treasury's correspondence about our lighthouses and buoys. Sent the same home

for publication, with a letter of mine. Then wrote several letters home, franked documents, &c. Also received notice of Wright's and Lloyd's appointments as postmasters. Went to bed at 11.

April 11, 1850—Attended session of the House, wrote letters to Frank, and several other persons about going to Oregon. Wrote letters to Oregon. In the evening, Mr. _____ called who is going to Oregon as head of a milling company. Two Methodist ministers called from Indiana. One of them talks of going to Oregon. Went to bed at 11.

April 12th, 1850—Today the clerk of the House died. Attended session of the House, received a letter from Capt. Raulett, saying that the Columbia Steamer would be sold. Wrote a reply. Sent R.'s letter to Port. Consulted with Grinnell about our lighthouses. Talked with members of land committee about our land bill. With members about the \$10,000 appropriation for Indians, and against being connected with California in any offices &c. Went to bed at 11.

April 13, 1850—This was Saturday. I went up to the Land Office to see that our Land bill was ready by Monday. Occupied myself in writing letters away and seeing some of the members about our land bill. Went to bed at ten.

April 14—This was Sunday. Wrote number of letters, one being [to my] wife, one to Misses Morrill, one to Miss _____ two to persons inquiring about Oregon. Went to meeting and went to bed at ten.

April 15, 1850—I have forgotten again. It is now the 18th, but all these three days I have worked with my land bill. Got a unanimous report in the Comt. on Ter. in its favor, got it introduced into the Senate and referred to Committee on public lands. Received notice meanwhile that Howland and Aspinwall had bought the Hunt steamer. Wrote to Frank three times about going to Oregon, and answered to many others. Today I wrote eight answers, all inquiring about Oregon. One answer covered 8 pages foolscap. Have also visited Senators on Land Committee, and same in the House, to get them to help my bill. These three days I have worked very hard. Now I go to bed.

April 19, 1850—It is now the 21st and Sunday. Yesterday I was writing on an address to my constituents; same today. Went to hear Morgan preach today. No letter from Stockwell yesterday. He saw H. Clarke in New York. C. told him discouraging tales about going to Oregon. Went to see Senators about my land bill, &c., &c.

April 22nd, 1850—This day paid up my washwoman entire. Mr. Dart called on me. Wrote a little on my address. Went before the committee on public lands of the Senate. Got my Indian Bill passed the senate today. Got the Land Committee of the Senate to report my land bill. Got the land bill reported to the House by Territorial committee, and referred to committee on Public Lands. Went to see James Wilson to get him to manage the west Senators and those of Rhode Island and saw some of the members about my land bill, &c. This day, by talking with Bright, came to the conclusion that Lane had been managing with him to prevent donations of land, particularly of mill sites and land sites, &c. Wrote on my address. Agent of P. M. S. Company called on me.

April 23, 1850—This morning went round to see the members of the Land Committee to get them to meet to act on my bill. The bill came up before them, and was postponed till Friday for further action. After the House went into Committee of the Whole, took Bowland & Hoagland to the Committee room to read the bill. After adjournment went and got some medicine. Franked some documents. Wrote in the evening on my address to my people.

April 25th, 1850—I forgot again from the 23rd till now. I was engaged today, being busy in franking documents. Wrote a few letters. Went to the President's. I wrote him a letter to nominate Wilson Surveyor General of Oregon. Also called on a Mr. Hobbie to see if any bids had been put in for carrying the mail from Oregon City to Astoria. I desired to have Howland and Aspinwall put in a bid if there were none. I shall know by the first of May; if none are in, they can bid. I was also busy yesterday and today getting rpts favorable to Oregon land bill. Yesterday Henry H. Sibley¹ and I got a bill

¹ Henry Hastings Sibley, delegate from Minnesota territory.

reported to elect our judges. I am intending, if I get my bill reported tomorrow morning, to leave for New York in the evening.

April 26th, 1850—From this to May 11, I was absent, seeing about a press, &c., &c. I returned on May 11, in the morning. Visited the Department of the Interior and Treasury Department, to see if the Indian appropriation could be sent. The bill had not passed the Senate. I sent the Sec'y Treas. Adams letter and requested means forwarded to Oregon to pay the legislature. It was taken into consideration, and will be sent by the Empire City. Was occupied all the day in answering letters and writing to Oregon,—the day, today, the 12th, until 11 o'clock P. M.

May 13, 1850—This day I endeavored to get up my Indian bill in the House. Did not succeed. Had an interview with General Rusk about a bill he introduced into the Senate for carrying the mail and establishing on the Pacific. Had an interview with Clayton about the Nicaragua matter, the trade with the Russian possessions, &c. He told me confidentially what the treaty was. Had an interview about our officers with Yulee. Notified the committee on Post Offices and Post Roads to meet at ten tomorrow to consider my matters. Met Grinnell in the Commerce Committee room and fixed our appropriation for lighthouses, buoys, &c. Wrote letters to Oregon and several to persons in the States. Gentry called on me relative to a judgeship in Oregon. In the evening, E. Gibbons from Delaware, called on me for information about Oregon. His two brothers are going there in June. Went to bed at half past eleven.

May 14, 1850—Today visited Butler, chm. Jud. Committee, Senate, about Holbrook's rejection. Also saw several senators about it. Added my amendments to Rusk's Pacific Post Office and Mail bill and gave the same to him. Visited P. M. Genl. and Major Hobbie about the overland mail and about having our own Auditor and Deputy, P. M. Genl., &c., to write letter to P. M. Genl. to get him to order consul at Panama to put the mails lying at that place, on the arrival of intermediate

steamers, on board. Wrote the P. M. Co. about taking the same free of charge. Visited General Wilson to get him to see John Davis about my land bill. Filed memorial to get appropriations for territorial roads in Oregon. Was visited in the evening by Mr. Taylor of Tennessee about his going to Oregon. Did sundry other things and went to bed at eleven.

May 15, 1850—This day Douglas and I went to the P. O. Dept. and War Dept. to see about the overland Oregon route. The Californians and Benton are trying to divert the route from Oregon to San Francisco. Called on John Davis, this morning, and again this evening about our land bill. Notified the committee to meet on Friday morning about same. Wrote three letters in answer to inquiries about Oregon, and after sundry other business, went to bed at 11.

May 16, 1850—It is now the 20th. During these four days, aside from my usual duties, I have been laboring most assiduously electioneering for my land bill. Judge Bryant is here, and I have set him to work upon the Indian accts. I hope to get it through.

May 21, 1850—From this time to now which is June 13th, I have neglected to make a record by reason of being perfectly overwhelmed. During the time I have got my Indian bill through and the bill appropriating \$20,000 for a penitentiary and \$20,000 for public buildings. Today I have attended session of the House, seen Indian committee of the Senate to get them to act on A. Dart's nomination to be Supt. Indian Affairs for Oregon. Franked my letters and papers to Oregon. Wrote a long letter to Aspinwall, about the steamers, &c.

June 14, 1850—This morning went up to see the Sec. of the Interior about the Indian appointments in Oregon. Did not see [him]; wrote him a letter and urged haste. Attended session of the House. Got Linn Boyd to report a bill allowing our assembly to hold its next session 90 days, and got the bill passed. Went to see Mr. Underwood of the Senate about getting the law changed for taking the census in Oregon and California. Franked my letters to Benton and Linn counties. Went to bed at eleven.

June 15, 1850—This day I attended the session and had some talk about calling up the land bill, but there being objections among its friends, I did not make the trial. Wrote Mr. Atchison, chairman Committee on Indian Affairs, requesting him to have the confirmation of the Indian officers in Oregon acted upon. Franked my printed letters home to Washington county and spent the evening in writing to my wife. Went to bed at eleven.

June 16, 1850—Yesterday and today nothing new transpired. Sunday I finished writing to my wife and did several other things, and yesterday attended session of the House, but dare not attempt to get up my bill. Directed some documents home, &c.

June 18, 1850—This the 19th, 20th and 21st, the House was engaged on the bill making donations of land to soldiers of the various wars. Meanwhile I was attending to the appointments under my Indian law, franking documents, writing letters, &c., &c. It was very warm and oppressive during these days.

June 22, 1850—This has been an extremely hot day. I bought me a pair of pants, and two thin coats, and carried my Manila hat to Todd's to be whitened, &c. Wrote a letter to A. Bush about going to Oregon, one to Mr. Curtis requesting him to call on me. Directed documents home. Have not been well today—a disturbance of the bowels, and fear a bilious attack. Read a hundred pages of Story on Contracts, and some in Seaman on the Progress of Nations. Went to bed at eleven.

June 23rd, 1850—This was Sunday. I did not go to meeting. Read 30 pages in Story on Contracts, wrote a letter to my wife, a letter to B. Jones about Oregon, and a long letter to W. Shannon. Was not right well. Went to bed at eleven, but did not sleep well.

June 24, 1850—Here it is the 27th. During these three days, have been trying to get a bill establishing mail routes in Oregon, through the Senate. Have been trying to get Elias Wampole appointed Indian agent in Oregon. Have received

a mail from Oregon but not a single letter whatever; papers down to April 18th. Have sent home some public documents, distributed the number of the Spectator sent me to western members for distribution. The chief clerk of the Dept. Interior told me this morning that Wampole would be nominated today. Called on Commissioner Indian Affairs today, and am to write him out instructions or points of instruction for Superintendent of Indian Affairs, &c. Wrote a long article today for the Ind. State Sentinel to be inserted as an editorial. Also wrote a letter to J. McBride suggesting to him the idea of circulating libraries in Oregon. Wrote to Linn City on the same subject. Wrote several letters to Oregon.

June 28, 1850—This day went to see President about nominating Wampole, to see Preston about the P. M. Steamers, to see the P. M. Genl. to get him to recommend my post route bill to press, to see Gwin and Fremont about going to see the P. M. Genl. tomorrow. Set 11 A. M. to see Douglas in the evening with Fish, Rabbit & Bernheisel about the overland mail. Wrote Aspinwall; wrote a long letter to Commissioner Indian Affairs about instructions to be given to Dart. Wrote Perrin Whitman about being interpreter. Wrote P. M. Genl. about nominating Holland P. M. at Oregon City. Wrote Porter about taking the office of Surveyor and Inspector of Nesqually. Wrote Col. King about that of Portland. Wrote F. Holland. Franked number of papers and bound documents to Oregon, and went to bed at 11 P. M.

June 29, 1850—Wrote a leader for the Oregon Spectator. Went to see Hobbie about the Pacific Mail and the 2nd Asst. P. M. Genl. about appointing Frank Holland P. M. for Oregon City. Went to see Col. Fremont, Gwin, and Gilbert about Pacific Mails. Attended session of the House. Wrote letters and directed a large amount of documents.

June 30, 1850—Washed all over. I then wrote a letter to my wife, to Col. King, Col. Ford, Alvis Kimsey, W. Blain, Col. McClure, Philip Foster, man in Michigan, General Lane, James McNary, and John Lloyd. Went to bed at 11.

July 1, 1850—This day and the 2nd I was operating to get a mail contract for parties in New York to carry the mail from Astoria to Oregon City by steamboat; succeeded. Wrote several letters home, one to Judge Bryant, one to Aspinwall, directed a large number of documents, &c. Also was attending to carrying the mail from Mo. via Salt Lake to Oregon. Did not get it done. Will try again.

July 3, 1850—This day had a letter from Wampole. Mr. McIlvaine from Ohio called on me. Is to address me a letter about education in Oregon. Wrote a letter to Mrs. Higgins. Read 20 pages law; some in the history of the Mexican War. Went to bed at 11 P. M.

July 4, 1850—Wrote a long letter to a minister in Ohio, relative to sending teachers to Oregon. Read 30 pages of law, some in the history of the Mexican War. Attended the fireworks in the evening. Wrote a letter to my wife and to Susan, and went to bed at 11.

In the night, in a dream, it seemed as though I was in the Capitol, and I thought persons were at work on one side of the Capitol knocking out the underpinning and basements of that half of it, and as they proceeded, I seemed to hear the building begin to separate in the center, by cracking and giving away little by little. It seemed as though the building was going to divide in the center and that half where they were knocking out the basements would separate from the other half still standing erect, and that it would fall over. I wondered at the folly of the movement, and was surprised that the building had been so built that it could be so separated in that way, just in the center, lengthwise, and that one-half could thus tip over and fall down leaving the other half standing. But the workmen proceeded, and by the cracking of timber and joints I perceived the progress was still more rapid, until at length the building began to divide at the top so that I could see sky through the crevice. Next, that half of the building began to careen over, the gap becoming wider, and it seemed that I was temporarily in it, but was watching an opportunity to get into the other side where I thought there was more

safety. At length the half fell over so far that the floor became like the roof of a house, so that it was dangerous to stand thereon. At length a little pause ensued, and I sprang from the side of the falling half to the other, and it seemed that others were doing the same. But as we were passing the chasm from the falling to the standing side, it seemed that some persons were leaving the standing and going to the falling side. It seemed, as I have said, that those who were undermining the half that fell over were in that half to work, and that they were continually knocking away the basement, until the half they were in fell over. As I got across into the standing side of the Capitol, I was so grieved to see the edifice thus mutilated, that I awoke amidst the greatest anxiety. And as soon as I awoke, the dream seemed to be a foreshadowing of the dissolution of the Union, and so wrought upon was I that I had no more quiet sleep for the night. May God grant that the wretches who shall attempt to knock out the basements from under this nation or from under any part of it, may be crushed with the ruins if it falls.

July 5, 1850—Time spent about as usual.

July 6, 1850—This day I found that Ewing had withdrawn the name of Elias Wampole as Indian agent and had got nominated a single man by the name of Saunders in New Jersey. This was a most mean act, for Wampole had been nominated once, and was sent home on the assurance that he would be, sold part of his property to get ready, and is now disappointed. Spent the balance of the day as usual.

July 7, 1850—This day was Sunday and I wrote quite a number of letters to Oregon and read considerable on the History of the Mexican War. Went to bed at 10 P. M.

July 28, 1850—Here all this time I have been so busy and sick that I have neglected to record. I now renew. I have learned the interpretation of my dream—it was the death of Taylor. This day wrote to wife, letters of introduction to Bush, letters to Blain, and sundry other work. Am quite unwell. Franked quite a number of papers, received a letter from Nathl. Knight and one from J. A. Bolles, Boston. Sent

them to my wife. Very hot and sultry today. Went to bed between ten and eleven.

July 29, 1850—Endeavored today to get up my land bill. Could not succeed. Spent the day as usual. Received a letter from Governor Slade about sending teachers to Oregon. Wrote him a reply, and sent his letter to Oregon for publication with a short note of mine. Franked some documents, &c.

July 30, 1850—Today I wrote a letter to Spectator. Went to see Commissioner of Indian Affairs about Oregon matters. Introduced resolution to make my land bill special order. Did not succeed. Received Cleveland Herald containing my letter to Rev. Mr. Maltby. Sent one to Mr. Moore and one to Dr. McBride. Franked some papers. Received a letter from Judge Bryant. Went to bed between ten and eleven.

July 31, 1850—Here it is August 11. I have skipped all this time but I have been to work night and day. Got my land bill through last week.

August 12, 1850—Today I wrote home to Oregon, and the most of the day was feeling about among the senators about my land bill.

August 13, 1850—I attended committee on Public Lands and labored all day among different senators about my land bill. Shields appears to be taking the same course that Bowlin did. I have no doubt myself that the agents of Dr. McLoughlin are operating against it. Received and wrote letter from and to Judge Bryant, urging him to come on to help me get the bill through.

August 14, 1850—All this day I have labored extremely hard trying to get the Land Committee to agree as to the amendments of my bill, and in writing numerous letters to different persons about Oregon. It is extremely vexing to have the Land Committee now dally along, the tendency of all of which is to prevent the passage of my bill. I will win, not despair, but will fight on while a hair remains on my head. Oregon shan't be overreached if vigilance will prevent it. H. B. Company appear to have many friends.

August 15, 1850—I have skipped again to August 22. Business presses so hard that I forget.

August 22, 1850—Today I attended a long session of the house to get a chance to move an amendment to the appropriation bill for \$25,000 for survey of the western coast. Moved it, and it was under discussion when the House adjourned. Wrote several letters to individuals about Oregon, and sat up till after twelve o'clock to read the proof sheet of my remarks.

August 23, 1850—Tried to get an appropriation for the survey of the western coast. Failed. Attended session all day. Electioneered with some senators for my bill; franked many documents. Wrote a letter to Lovejoy and others in Oregon, and went to bed tired at ten.

August 24, 1850—Attended session. Attended to my post route bill and wrote a number of letters, and franked documents home. Received a letter from Bryant from Indiana and one from A. L. Lovejoy.

August 25, 1850—Today I wrote and read all day. Expected the Pacific Mail, but it did not come. So I have to wait. Read Macaulay's History of England in the evening, and went to bed at ten.

August 26, 1850 (Sunday).

August 27, 1850—Got my mail route through the House. Wrote and went to see Sec. of War about Astoria and the military of Oregon. Wrote very hard all day and evening.

August 28, 1850—Got post routes through Senate. Was writing all day and evening and getting things ready about my land bill in the Senate.

August 29, 1850—[The last entry.]

The following note in his own handwriting was found attached to the back fly-leaf of Mr. Thurston's Diary: "If I buy the office at Chicopee, I will want to buy same heading, 'Oregon Statesman,' fifty pounds ink, hundred pounds glue, roller mould, 30 bundles paper, and ten reams common writing paper, 1.50 cts. per ream." The foregoing was material needed in connection with the establishment of the "Oregon Statesman," which was issued at Oregon City on March 21, 1851, with the late Asahel Bush, the well known banker of Salem, as editor and proprietor.

LETTER OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN¹

My Dear Sir:

Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1832.

I have now before me your kind letter of 2nd July by which I am happy to see that you are safely returned from across the Atlantic after having, I presume, the pleasure of seeing your friends. By the by, you omit mentioning whether you had an explanation about your Columbia affair and how things at present stand at home; I hope if an opportunity offered that you produced my letters to you on the subject. As to us here we go on in the old way. Ogden is at Nass. Last year though three vessels only two could go on the coast and one was only fifteen days and the other was only three months still the coasting trade will clear itself; and this year when we have nothing to interrupt our proceedings we intend to give it the first fair trial it has had and from what has been done this year we have every reason to expect it will do well.

Our other branches of business go on in the usual way; our farm yielded

1800 bushels wheat
1200 bushels barley
600 bushels pease
400 bushels Indian corn
6000 bushels potatoes

I dare say the last article would be enough for all the King's posts.

As to returns you know I cannot give you any information on that head as the accounts are not made out, though I suppose they are about the usual quantity. I suppose you heard of the fever and ague being prevailing here in 1830, and I am sorry to say that it raged with greater violence in 1831 and for a time put an entire stop to all our business. But, thanks be to God for his mercies, my family and me enjoyed good health. I cannot but shudder when I think of Harriott's poor wife. Poor fellow, it has affected him much.

¹ The original of the above letter is on file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, Can.—T. C. Elliott.

With best wishes for your welfare, believe me to be,

Yours truly,

(Sgd) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

To John McLeod, Esq.

Norway House.

JESSE APPLGATE

NEW LIGHT THROWN UPON HIS EARLY LIFE BY A LETTER
FROM J. M. PECK TO GEN. JOSEPH LANE, DELEGATE IN
CONGRESS FROM OREGON.

"Rock Spring (Shiloh P. O.), Illinois, March 19, 1852.

"Hon. Joseph Lane, Delegate from Oregon Territory,
Washington, D. C.,

"Sir:

"Apologies take up a gentleman's time and do no good. I write to make some special inquiries about one of your constituents, Jesse Applegate, esq., whose name I see in your communication to the President of December 12, 1851, as having done much to open up a new route for emigrants, explore the country, etc. My object is to learn what I can about his circumstances, his family, his habits, and his pursuits in life. The following brief sketch will explain my motives, and the reasons why I take this interest in his welfare. In 1827, 'Rock Spring Seminary' (from which subsequently originated Shurtleff College) was opened at this spot, and Mr. Applegate, then about 16 or 17 years of age, one of its first pupils. It is no disparagement to him, or any American, to state he was then a poor boy, had but a single dollar in his pocket, which he paid for entrance fee, and clothing barely sufficient for the winter. His chance for education had been poor—nothing superior to a 'back-woods' log-cabin, and a little instruction in the elements of an English common school education. He soon discovered unwearied industry, incessant application, and an inclination to learn beyond all ordinary students. One of the teachers was the late John Messenger, esq., an old surveyor, a most expert and self-taught mathematician, & a singular mechanical genius. He devoted extra attention to Applegate at night, and he made such proficiency that in the spring of 1828, the trustees made him a tutor, while he continued his lessons. On leaving the institution, after a period of some 12 or 15 months, he had paid all his expenses, procured clothing, and had some \$8.00 or \$10.00 left for pocket money. He then taught school in the interior of St. Louis county, and pursued his mathematical

studies with the late Col. Justus Post with the same untiring industry and success. After that he got a berth in the surveyor general's office in St. Louis, under the late Colonel McRae. Thus he arose step by step by the most singular industry, sobriety and good conduct. He had put on his hands and skill some of the most difficult contracts for surveying in Missouri, and I understood that before he left Missouri he was worth perhaps \$10,000. I have thus given you a mere sketch to explain why I feel no ordinary interest in the prosperity of Mr. Applegate. There are many of his associates in school who often inquire about his welfare. Will you please communicate such facts as are convenient and furnish me his post-office address. I beg leave to refer you to my friends, Col. W. H. Bissell and Gen. James Shields, from this county, for information concerning the individual who, though a stranger, presumes to address you in this manner. Respectfully yours,

J. M. PECK.

LETTER OF QUINCY ADAMS BROOKS

(Mr. Brooks was born of English ancestry in Washington County, Pa., May 22, 1826. His occupation was that of a lawyer. He started to Oregon from Pittsburg on April 2, 1851, crossing the plains, and arrived at Olympia, Oregon Territory, September 20th. He was Deputy Collector of Customs for the Puget Sound District in 1851-2; was the first Prosecuting Attorney north of the Columbia river, being appointed by Gov. John P. Gaines; was a member of the Convention at Monticello, Cowlitz county, which took the initial step towards creating the Territory of Washington, the enabling act being passed by Congress on March 2, 1853; was secretary to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon and Washington, 1856-1860; was married to Miss Lizzie Cranston, Salem, October 24, 1858; served as Assistant Quartermaster General of Oregon State troops in Modoc war of 1872-73; was Collector of Customs of Puget Sound District, 1886-89; died at Port Townsend, Washington, July 6, 1908. This letter was presented to the Oregon Historical Society by Mrs. Cornelia J. S. Greer, Dundee, Oregon, August 6, 1914.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary.)

Milwaukie, Oregon Territory, November 7, 1851.

Dear Ruter:

I suppose you were somewhat surprised at receiving such a miserable scroll of a letter as the one I sent you by the last mail. I sat down with the intention of writing letters to Mrs. Alden, Mr. Arthurs and yourself. I was disappointed as to the time the mail closed, and having commenced the other letters first, I was informed when I had nearly finished them, that the steamer was about to leave, and that I had only ten minutes to get my letters into the mail. I then determined at least to write you a note and enclose it in Mr. Arthur's letter; but when I was nearly done I remembered that that would be in violation of Post Office Laws, and concluded to give it a separate address. So much for my excuse. I presume you read my letter to Mr. Arthurs or to Mrs. Alden, and I shall not speak of any of the matters mentioned therein in this letter.

I promised to say something in my next letter about our trip across the Plains. Do not suppose that I can give anything like a satisfactory account of it in a letter; to do justice to the subject, it would require a volume. I would like above all things to see you once more in *propria persona*, spend a few quiet evenings with you as of old, and then over our cigars I could give you a more satisfactory account than I possibly can in a letter. But as I must not hope for so great a pleasure for a long time to come, I must, in the meanwhile, content myself with saying something about it, however brief, meagre, and uninteresting it may be.

We crossed the Missouri River on the 4th day of May last, and then commenced our long solitary journey through the Indian Territory. Our company consisted of 18 wagons, about 150 head of cattle, 8 women with their children, and 40 men fit for duty. In my wagon there were 4 yoke of oxen, and 1 yoke of cows. My messmates were Dr. Eggers, a lawyer from Weston, Mo., by the name of Hardin, and our Dutch driver, Shadel. Mr. Cartwright and I purchased a horse in partnership, intending to use him jointly. Soon after we had started, however, Mr. C.'s feet became sore by walking, and he wished me to part with my interest in the horse so that he might ride all the time. To accommodate Mr. C. I let him have the horse, expecting to be able to get one on the route from the Indians or traders; in this, however, I was disappointed, and was compelled to take it on foot to Green River, a distance of 1200 miles.

The first river we came to was the Big Blue; this we found so swollen that it was impossible to ford it. To work we all went, cutting down trees and digging out canoes, and in two days we got safely across, taking our wagons and provisions in two canoes lashed together, and swimming our horses and cattle.

Soon after we crossed this river we had a terrible *stampede*. A *stampede* is a sudden and unaccountable panic taken by the cattle and horses, in which they become unmanageable and run away. The 12th of May last was a delightful day on the Plains.

At noon-day we were quietly pursuing our way along the route; the prairies were clothed in a carpet of green interspersed with beautiful flowers; the face of the earth was as level as a floor; not a single tree, hill or shrub could be seen to vary the monotony of sky and grass. The wagons, jogging along leisurely, were separated some distance from each other, so that the whole line of the train was about a mile long. There was a young mare belonging to one of our company, running loose, and eating grass leisurely along by the road side, at some distance behind the train. Finding that she was getting left behind, she quit eating to catch up with the other horses, and feeling, no doubt, very happy on the occasion, thought she would try how fast she could run. After kicking up her heels and snorting, away she started *pelmell* as fast as she could run. The clattering of her hoofs, as she neared the loose cattle behind the train, startled them, and when she came a little closer away *they* started too; as they came nearer to the train the oxen in the hindmost wagon became unmanageable, and when they came up, each ox gave a frightful *bawl*, and started out, with *elongated tail*, at full speed. I shall never forget that terrific *bawl*; it spread from wagon to wagon along the whole line with the velocity of a telegraph dispatch. The ox, you know, has the reputation of being rather a slow animal, but, upon my honor, in a *stampede*, I don't think I ever saw anything run so fast. The proper way to manage oxen when they take a *stampede* in the wagon is not to attempt to manage them at all—"Let them rip." If you do not attempt to control them they will run in a straight line; but if you attempt to stop or control them, they will take a short turn, when at full speed, upset the wagon, dash everything to atoms, break their own necks, and kill the driver. I was in advance of the train when the affair occurred, and could see everything. As soon as I saw what was up, I dismounted mighty quick, and it was with great difficulty that I could hold my horse. It was indeed a strange spectacle—to see such unwieldy animals, that seemed formed by nature to move at no faster pace than a snail's gallop, travelling so rapidly—then to see the drivers endeavoring

in vain to stop them—to see men, women and children getting pitched out of the wagons—to hear them scream and the drivers shouting. I shall never forget the occurrence. One man got his shoulder dislocated and was otherwise badly bruised; several others were somewhat injured—some of the women were rather roughly handled, but no serious accident occurred. Several oxen got their necks broken. Our driver had been engaged for some time in driving for the Government on the Santa Fe route, and was somewhat acquainted with the nature of stampedes. When the affair took place, he was sitting on the tongue of the wagon smoking his pipe. As soon as he heard that terrible *bawl* he jumped, dropped his pipe and whip, and took to his heels for the “dear life,” to get out of the way. Fortunately no accident occurred to my wagon or team, and I am disposed to attribute the credit of it all to the wise and prudent management of our Dutch driver. As soon as the stampede was over (it did not last over 3 minutes) we went to work mending up things, and, in an hour afterwards, we were travelling on as usual. We had several stampedes after this, but I cannot find room or time to describe them.

When we reached Fort Kearney, we had one of the greatest storms I ever experienced. It rained almost incessantly for three days. The hail stones were as large as peaches. The whole surface of the ground was covered with water to the depth of six inches. Whilst we were in our tent, which afforded some little protection, the wind and hail beat it down with us in it. When it came down, we became entangled in its folds, and there we lay for some time, in the water, unable to extricate ourselves, all the while the wind blowing furiously, and the wet tent-sheet flopping up and down and beating us over our backs and heads with the tent pins. After this rain, we had no more rain until we got to Oregon!!

Soon after we started out I had our train christened the “Tornado Train.” Your humble servant was elevated to the honorable post of “Sergeant of the Guard.” The duty of standing guard is the most disagreeable, irksome, and fatiguing duty I had to perform on the whole trip. As might be expected,

we had some cowards in our train. It was very difficult to get these fellows to stand their regular guard at night, particularly if we happened to be in a district where the Indians were said to be troublesome; and it was amusing to listen to the miserable pretences upon which they sought to be excused. I enjoyed excellent health all the way, never sought to be excused from standing guard, and was never caught napping at my post.

After we left Fort Kearney, we followed the South Fork of the Platte River some hundred miles—from thence we crossed over Ash Hollow on the North Fork of the Platte, and traveled along its bank some 400 miles. If I had time I would like to tell you about the Platte River—the large herds of buffalo we saw along it, the elk, the antelope, deer, prairie dogs, black and white wolves, etc. Also about Chimney Rock, Castle Rock, Scott's Bluffs, Fort Laramie, Laramie Peak, Black Hills, the large lakes of pure saleratus that we saw, long deserts of sand and sage bushes that we passed, and the various tribes of Indians that we came through, but I have not time. We reached "Rock Independence" on the 23d of June. This is the point where the road enters the Rocky Mountains. We had quite a pleasant time of it through the mountains. These mountains are composed of granite and trap rock; they are not, like the Allegheny Mountains, composed of fragments of stone, but each mountain has the appearance of being one entire solid piece of rock. The surface of the mountain does not present the sharp projections of rocks, but everything is smooth and round. They are generally of a dark blue color, like soapstone, and in some places they have, at a distance, the appearance of huge mounds of that stone. In the valleys or plains, no scattered rocks and stones mark the vicinity of mountains—they spring right up out of the plain in solid rock and tower to a tremendous height, generally destitute of anything like vegetation, and so smooth that were a man on the top to slip, he would not stop until he reached the base. We were in sight of snow all the way through—the tops of the mountains being covered with it. We passed the Pacific Springs on the 26th

of June, and arrived at Green River on the 4th of July.

I have no time to write any more. I have been so busy since the last mail that I have had no time to write until today, and the mail will close in a few minutes. I intended to have sent out letters, this mail, to Mrs. Alden and Mr. Arthurs, but I have had time to write only to you. I will tell you about the balance of my trip again. Please remember me to Mr. Arthurs and give my excuse for not writing—also to Mrs. Alden and family. I have received but one letter from my friends in Pittsburg since my arrival, and that was from Mr. Arthurs. *Do not fail to write to me.* Is Miss Johnston in the city yet? As soon as I get settled and have leisure, I will write her a long letter. Remember me to Tom Mahon, tell him I am going to write to him. How is our friend Reinhart, and Fleming. At this date (Nov. 7) cucumbers and strawberries are growing here. I will not exhort any of my friends at home, who are disposed to emigrate, to come out here until I have travelled all over the country and selected the very best place in it. I may go out to Puget Sound before Spring, but it is not probable.

Remember me to your mother and family, and all my friends. Tell little Augusta I have not forgotten her yet. Do write to me as soon as you can find time.

Your old friend,

(Signed) QUINCY A. BROOKS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DAVID THOMPSON

In the year 1897 Francis P. Harper of New York published in three volumes "The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," edited by the late Dr. Elliott Coues, who had previously edited the Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition for this same publisher, 1893 edition. On page twenty-three of the Editor's Preface to the Henry and Thompson Journals, Dr. Coues refers to a manuscript written by David Thompson late in life in the form of a "summary autobiography," and which had passed into the hands of Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, of Toronto. This manuscript has since been loaned by Mr. Tyrrell to the Champlain Society, of Toronto, and is now being published by that Society. Mr. T. C. Elliott, of the Oregon Historical Society, has prepared annotations for that portion of the MSS. relating to the Columbia river and its tributaries, the Kootenay and Pend d'Oreille; and Mr. Tyrrell has prepared the preface and annotations for the greater part which deals with the rivers of Canada draining into Hudson's Bay, over many of which he has personally, traveled in the practice of his profession. He has also had access to the original survey notes of Mr. Thompson, of which a portion have been printed in the earlier numbers of this volume of this Quarterly. When issued this volume (or volumes) will be a valuable addition to the bibliography of the Columbia river, but unfortunately will be available only through the membership of the Champlain Society, which membership includes the larger libraries of the United States. The publication is delayed by the European war that now prevails. T. C. E.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF OREGON

COMPILED BY GEORGE H. HIMES.

This convention was held in Salem, the territorial capital. August 17-September 18, 1857. The following table gives the name of each delegate, the date of his birth, the state or country of his nativity, residence when starting to Oregon, date of arrival, county represented, and occupation:

Name.	Born.	Native.	Came from.	Arrived.	County.	Occupation.
Anderson, Levi	1818	Ky.	Iowa	1852	Washington	Farmer
Applegate, Jesse	1810	Ky.	Mo.	1843	Umpqua	Farmer
Bibcock, A. D.	1818	N. Y.	Ind.	1852	Polk	Lawyer
Boise, Reuben P.	1819	Mass.	Mass.	1850	Polk	Lawyer
Brattain, J. H.	1813	Tenn.	Iowa	1846	Linn	Farmer
Brattain, Paul	1801	N. C.	Iowa	1852	Lane	Farmer
Bristow, Wm. W.	1826	Ky.	Ill.	1846	Lane	Farmer
Burch, Benj. F.	1825	Mo.	Mo.	1845	Polk	Farmer
Campbell, A. J.	1828	Ind.	Ind.	1853	Lane	Mechanic
Campbell, Hector	1794	Mass.	Mass.	1849	Clackamas	Farmer
Chadwick, Stephen F.	1825	Conn.	N. Y.	1851	Douglas	Lawyer
Cox, Jesse	1821	Mo.	Mo.	1851	Lane	Farmer
Cox, Joseph	1811	Ohio	Mo.	1847	Marion	Farmer
Coyle, Reuben F.	1821	Ky.	Ill.	1847	Linn	Farmer
Crooks, John T.	1807	Va.	Ill.	1848	Linn	Farmer
Deady, Matthew P.	1824	Md.	Ohio	1849	Douglas	Lawyer
Dryer, Thomas J.	1810	N. Y.	Calif.	1850	Multnomah	Editor
Duncan, L. J. C.	1818	Tenn.	Ga.	1850	Jackson	Miner
Elkins, Luther	1805	Me.	Ohio	1852	Linn	Farmer
Fitzhugh, Solomon	1804	Ky.	Mo.	1850	Douglas	Farmer
Farrar, William H.	1826	N. H.	Mass.	1853	Multnomah	Lawyer
Grover, L. F.	1826	Me.	Pa.	1851	Marion	Lawyer
Hendershott, S. B.	1832	Ill.	Iowa	1853	Josephine	Miner
Hoult, Enoch	1820	Va.	Ill.	1853	Lane	Farmer
Kelly, James K.	1819	Pa.	Pa.	1851	Clackamas	Lawyer
Kelsay, John	1819	Ky.	Mo.	1853	Benton	Lawyer
Kinney, Robert C.	1813	Ill.	Iowa	1847	Yamhill	Farmer
Lewis, Haman C.	1810	N. Y.	Mo.	1845	Benton	Farmer
Logan, David	1826	N. C.	Ill.	1849	Multnomah	Lawyer
Lovejoy, A. L.	1811	Mass.	Mo.	1843	Clackamas	Lawyer
Marple, P. B.	1810	Va.	Mo.	1851	Coos	Lawyer
Matzger, William	1819	Hanover	Ill.	1847	Benton	Mechanic
McBride, John R.	1832	Mo.	Mo.	1846	Yamhill	Lawyer
McCormick, S. J.	1828	Ireland	N. Y.	1851	Multnomah	Printer
Meigs, Charles R.	1830	Conn.	Ohio	1855	Wasco	Lawyer
Miller, Richard	1802	Md.	Mo.	1847	Marion	Farmer
Moore, Isaac R.	1796	Ky.	Ill.	1852	Lane	Farmer
Newcomb, Daniel	1800	Va.	Ill.	1853	Jackson	Farmer
Nichols, H. B.	1821	Conn.	Iowa	1852	Benton	Farmer
Olds, Martin	1799	Mass.	Mich.	1851	Yamhill	Farmer
Olney, Cyrus	1815	N. Y.	Iowa	1851	Clatsop	Lawyer
Packwood, William H.	1832	Ill.	Ill.	1849	Curry	Miner
Peebles, J. C.	1826	Pa.	Ind.	1850	Marion	Farmer
Prim, P.	1822	Tenn.	Tenn.	1851	Jackson	Lawyer
Reed, J. H.	1824	Pa.	Mo.	1855	Jackson	Lawyer
Robbins, Nathaniel	1793	Va.	Ind.	1852	Clackamas	Farmer
Shannon, Davis	1815	Ind.	Ill.	1844	Marion	Farmer
Shattuck, Erasmus D.	1824	Vt.	Vt.	1853	Washington	Lawyer
Scott, Levi	1797	Ill.	Iowa	1844	Umpqua	Farmer
Shields, James	1811	Ky.	Mo.	1852	Linn	Farmer
Short, Robert V.	1823	Pa.	Ill.	1847	Yamhill	Surveyor
Shrum, Nicholas	1803	Tenn.	Mo.	1846	Marion	Farmer
Smith, Delazon	1816	N. Y.	Iowa	1852	Linn	Lawyer
Starkweather, W. A.	1822	Conn.	Ohio	1850	Clackamas	Farmer
Watkins, William H.	1827	N. Y.	N. Y.	1852	Josephine	Physician
Watts, John W.	1830	Mo.	Mo.	1852	Columbia	Physician
White, John S.	1828	Tenn.	Tenn.	1845	Washington	Farmer
Whitted, Thomas	1832	Pa.	Ind.	1850	Douglas	Farmer
Waymire, Fred	1807	Ohio	Mo.	1845	Polk	Mechanic
Williams, George H.	1823	N. Y.	Iowa	1853	Marion	Lawyer

SUMMARY CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Connecticut	.....Chadwick, Meigs, Nichols, Starkweather.....	4
Hanover, Germany	.....Matzger	1
Illinois	.....Hendershott, Kinney, Packwood, Scott.....	4
Indiana	.....Campbell (A. J.), Shannon.....	2
Ireland	.....McCormick	1
Kentucky	.....Anderson, Applegate, Coyle, Fitzhugh, Kelsay, Moores, Shields, Bristow	8
Maine	.....Elkins, Grover	2
Maryland	.....Deady, Miller	2
Massachusetts	.....Boise, Campbell (Hector), Lovejoy, Olds.....	4
Missouri	.....Burch, Cox (Jesse), McBride, Watts.....	4
New York	.....Babcock, Dryer, Lewis, Olney, Smith, Watkins, Williams.....	7
North Carolina	.....Brattain (Paul), Logan.....	2
Ohio	.....Cox (Joseph), Waymire.....	2
Pennsylvania	.....Kelly, Peebles, Reed, Short, Whitted.....	5
New Hampshire	.....Farrar	1
Tennessee	.....Brattain (J. H.), Duncan, Prim, Shrum, White.....	5
Vermont	.....Shattuck	1
Virginia	.....Crooks, Houlst, Marple, Newcomb, Robbins.....	5
		60

Occupations.

Editors	.....	1	Physicians	.....	2
Farmers	.....	30	Printers	.....	1
Lawyers	.....	19	Surveyors	.....	1
Mechanics	.....	3			
Miners	.....	3			
					60

Members of the convention who afterwards filled important public positions in the state and nation:

Boise, Reuben P., Associate Justice for many years; Chief Justice, 1862-1864, 1868-1870.

Chadwick, Stephen F., Secretary of State, Sept. 14, 1870-Feb. 1, 1877; Acting Governor, from latter date to September 11, 1878.

Deady, Matthew P., Associate Judge, Oregon Territory, 1853-1859; United States District Judge, District of Oregon, 1859 to date of death in 1893.

Farrar, William H., Mayor of Portland, 1862.

Grover, L. F., Governor, Sept. 14, 1870-Feb. 1, 1877; United States Senator, March 4, 1879-March 3, 1885.

Kelly, James K., United States Senator, March 4, 1871-March 3, 1877; Chief Justice, 1878-1880.

Logan, David, Mayor of Portland, 1863.

McCormick, Stephen J., Mayor of Portland, 1859.

Prim, Paige P., Chief Justice, 1879-1880.

Shattuck, Erasmus D., Associate Justice for many years; Chief Justice, 1866-1868.

Smith, Delazon, United States Senator, Feb. 14, 1859-March 3, 1859.

Williams, George H., Chief Justice, 1853-1859; United States Senator, March 4, 1865-March 3, 1871; one of the Joint High Commissioners in settling the "Alabama Claims," 1871; United States Attorney-General, 1872-1875; Mayor of Portland, 1903-1904.



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HISTORY OF ASTORIA RAILROAD

By LESLIE M. SCOTT

A railroad, speeding ahead of the drifting Columbia River to the sea, or gliding back up its toilsome currents, was a dream of nearly half a century ere it came true. The canoe of Indians, explorers and fur traders, the row-boat of pioneer settlers, were relegated in 1850 by the river steamboat. Right afterward came the railroad idea—but not the railroad for yet many a waiting year.

It seems natural enough now that the steam locomotive should follow the river to the ocean; one may wonder at the long delay. But railroads, like each other pioneer improvement in Oregon, grew slowly—from their beginnings in 1868-9; the down-Columbia line reached Goble not until 1883; and halted there fifteen years before going on to Astoria, fifty-eight miles further.

These latter years were restive ones for that city by the sea. Its efforts were persistent; its offerings to railroad builders continuous. It wished to be the seaport and railroad terminus of the Columbia River Basin—to win that place from Portland. It finally got the railroad, but has not realized the other ambition. Its success in winning this much was the result of organized self-help. As an example of self-dependence and public achievement the completion of this railroad deserves to go down in the annals of things highly praiseworthy in Oregon. The people of Astoria, knowing from repeated failures that they must help themselves, offered a land prize, and enlarged

the prize as one would-be builder succeeded another, until finally A. B. Hammond appeared, for whom the land bounty was swelled to a value—though problematical and speculative—moderately estimated at between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000. The only other sacrifice that has ever equaled this in our commonwealth was probably the \$100,000 gift from Portland citizens to Ben Holladay in 1870, for the "West Side" railroad—a tremendous public achievement for the time. Like the Portland citizens of 1870, the Astoria citizens were determined and put forth tremendous effort.

The Astoria project took many forms and suffered many vicissitudes; only brief outline can be given here; probably such outline is better because of wearisome detail otherwise. Oregon's biggest railroad men considered the project—Joseph Gaston, Ben Holladay, Henry Villard, C. P. Huntington, Wm. Reid. It may aid the memory to divide the promotion period into two parts—the one leading up to 1887, when Astoria adopted the self-help or bonus plan; the other continuing the project until the "last spike" (April 3, 1898), or the first "through train" (May 16, 1898.)

I.

Talk of the "Astoria railroad" started in 1853, at the time of the surveys then made by Governor I. I. Stevens, of Washington Territory, for the Northern Pacific. Although Governor Stevens' survey crossed the Cascade Mountains to Puget Sound, it was considered likely that the proposed road would follow the Columbia River. For many years afterward, this choice was undetermined. If the Columbia route, what more natural than a terminus at Astoria, next door to the sea, the oldest American settlement on the Pacific Coast? Why not there the great mart of the Columbia Basin? This, at least, in the thoughts of Clatsop citizens.

That Governor Stevens' survey stimulated railroad schemes in Oregon is seen in the railroad acts of the Territorial Legislature of Oregon in 1853-4. These were the beginnings of the subject in this commonwealth. Evidently the Oregon pro-

jects then initiated aimed to connect directly or indirectly with the Northern Pacific transcontinental line. The Oregon Legislature in 1853-4 incorporated four railroad companies: (1) The Willamette Valley Railroad, Portland to Corvallis, \$1,000,000 capital (special laws 1854, p. 87; (2) The Oregon & California Railroad—not that of 1870 of the same name—Eugene to a point below Oregon City, \$4,000,000 capital (*ibid* p. 81); (3) Cincinnati Railroad, Polk County, \$250,000 capital (*ibid* p. 27); (4) Clackamas Railroad, Canemah to point below Oregon City, \$400,000 capital (*ibid* p. 58.)

None of the companies materialized, nor for yet four years (1858) did Astoria and Clatsop County residents initiate a railroad project. They were thinking the matter over, however, as actively as their brethren in Portland, Oregon City, Salem and Eugene. Meanwhile they were trying to carry out wagon road plans between Clatsop County and Tualatin. The Legislatures of 1847, 1850, 1851, 1852 and 1853 appointed commissions to locate such a road. The Legislature of 1866 awarded to the Astoria and Tillamook Road Company, any grant of land that Congress would offer for a military wagon road to Astoria, but Congress never made the grant. The Legislature of 1872 appropriated \$20,000 for the wagon road, and the Legislature of 1889 appropriated \$15,000 for the same purpose. In 1855-58 Congress took up the project for a military wagon road from Salem to Astoria through the Coast Range, and appropriated \$70,000 therefor, but the highway was never finished and was not traversed its entire length, between Forest Grove and Astoria, until 1895, by Rev. William Travis (*Oregonian*, July 31, 1900). These wagon road plans suggested a route for a railroad and many projects for a line were attempted, until in 1894 Mr. Hammond adopted the other route—along the Columbia, via Goble. It is to be expected that in the future a railroad will follow the older surveys, via upper Nehalem, through the most prolific timber in America.

Various localities in Oregon obtained from the Legislature in the 50s incorporation of railroad companies; so in 1858

it came the turn of Clatsop County to urge, for a charter, the Astoria & Willamette Valley Railroad, \$5,000,000 capital, between Eugene and Astoria (special laws 1858, p. 24). The incorporators numbered 70 persons, representing Clatsop and Willamette Valley counties. It need not be added that this enterprise was premature; the Territory could not build such a road; the capitalization, however necessary, was excessive amid pioneer conditions; nothing came of the company. Next appearance of the idea occurred in 1864, when the Legislature pledged a loan of \$200,000 for 100 miles of railroad in Willamette Valley (Session Laws, p. 77). At this time a subsidy bill was in Congress to aid a railroad from a connection with the Central Pacific, then building, through California and Oregon to the Columbia River. Such a bill passed Congress in 1866 (Act of July 25, 1866); out of this act grew the Oregon Central and the Oregon & California Railroad, and, four years later, a second similar act (May 4, 1870), providing a land bounty for a railroad from Portland to McMinnville and Astoria.

In the continuity of this early railroad development of Oregon, we see the Astoria project ever present. Owing to the lethargy of the Northern Pacific (construction not begun until 1870; opened to Portland not until 1883). Oregon directed its hopes for first transcontinental connections toward the Union Pacific and Central Pacific (opened to California in 1869). In 1863 the people of Oregon were delighted to hear that surveys toward Oregon were progressing up Sacramento Valley under Simon G. Elliott, of Marysville, Cal.; George H. Belden and Charles Barry. Next year the surveys continued to Portland under Barry. In that same year the Oregon Legislature offered a \$200,000 loan for a railroad in Willamette Valley, as already noted; also a bill appeared in Congress, as a forerunner to the Act of 1866—providing a land bonus for a railroad between Marysville and Portland. This act also led to the land grant act of 1870, allowing a land subsidy, this time for a railroad from Portland to McMinnville and Astoria.

We need not narrate the long controversy between the rival

"East Side" and the "West Side" railroad companies, to each of which was assigned one of these two land grants. In this controversy Astoria citizens took active part. They hoped that the second grant would enable them to secure connections with the Central Pacific, from Winnemucca via Klamath Lakes, Pengra Pass, Eugene and McMinnville. They incorporated the Astoria & Winnemucca Railroad in 1870, to connect with the Pengra route (Oregon Branch Pacific Railroad) and began surveys (Oregonian, May 17, 1898). But they were doomed to disappointment. The East Side Company, controlled by Ben Holladay, absorbed the West Side Company (August 15, 1870), thus bottling up the West Side Astoria project; later in the year, the Astoria effort for a land grant between Eugene and Winnemucca (Oregon Branch Pacific Railroad) was foiled in Congress by Senator George H. Williams, who caused the proposed land grant route to be directed via Rogue River; whereupon the whole scheme in Congress and elsewhere collapsed. Senator Williams' reasons were two: First, the Astoria-Eugene-Winnemucca route, he thought, would damage or ruin the Holladay line, then building toward California, for which much money had been expended (finished from Portland to Salem September 28, 1870); second, he believed that, if successful, the new project would certainly halt the Holladay road at Eugene, thus depriving Umpqua and Rogue River valleys—populous areas—of railroad connections. Moreover, the Legislature in 1870, by joint resolution, called upon Congress to sustain the Rogue River routing and the "Williams Amendment" (Session Laws, p. 180.)

Much bitterness, political and personal, followed this action of Senator Williams. Joseph Gaston, leading promoter of the West Side-Astoria-Winnemucca route, insisted up to the last days of his life that, but for this action, his railroad would certainly have been built, that Oregon would have had short connections with the Union Pacific, instead of by Holladay's round-about line to Sacramento, that Astoria would have had a railroad twenty years sooner, and that Oregon would have

been stimulated to a much more rapid development. But Mr. Gaston's optimism was always somewhat exuberant; he was ever playing to "hard luck" with his railroad rivals and theirs was usually the mastery; his Oregon Central schemes were always just about to be financed when they fell through; his Astoria-Winnemucca enterprise may have been likewise ready, as he said it was, or it may not. But it should go down in history that Oregon wished this railroad and Holladay's both routed through Rogue River Valley, and wished not to imperil the Holladay road for the sake of the dubious Gaston scheme, as is evidenced by the joint resolution of the Legislature of 1870, and that Senator Williams was actuated by high-minded motives, in this matter as in others, of his distinguished and honorable career. It should be added, however, that the Winnemucca route would have afforded Oregon as a whole more direct connections, probably more satisfactory and more promotive of progress, than the Holladay line did. It would have eliminated Oregon's dependence on California, which during many years, retarded the growth of this commonwealth.

Ben Holladay, Oregon's first great builder of railroads, now had at his disposal a large land bounty for the line from Portland to Astoria. He was at the height of his power in 1870-3, in which period he built the East Side road to Roseburg and the West Side road to Yamhill River, near McMinnville. He had not the financial means, however, to build to Astoria; moreover, the time was too early for the land grant to develop much value for mortgage and bonding uses. He caused surveys to be made; that was all. His plans fell in 1874 and his active career ended.

Holladay's successor, Henry Villard, Oregon's greatest railroad builder, extended Holladay's lines to Ashland and Corvallis, built the Columbia River line of the O. R. & N. east of Portland, and finished the Northern Pacific—but neglected the Astoria road. In Villard's opinion the latter road was not essential; the Columbia River channel to Portland was cheaper for transport and shortened railroad construction mileage. It

may be added that Columbia River history thus far has vindicated his idea that ocean ships will sail as far inland as possible, regardless of seaward railroads paralleling the river channel.

Villard did more than "neglect" the Astoria railroad. His headship of the Oregon & California (Portland-Roseburg and Portland-McMinnville lines) which Holladay relinquished to him, required him to resist a Huntington project for connections with the Central Pacific at Reno or Winnemucca via Pengra Pass, Eugene, the "narrow gauge" "Scotch" road of William Reid's to Astoria—this in 1881. Villard throttled this project in May, 1881, by leasing the narrow gauge road from its owners in Dundee, Scotland, through secret negotiations carried on by J. B. Montgomery, at the very time that William Reid was trying to effect a lease with Collis P. Huntington, head of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific. At this time, Huntington had no road in Oregon, and was evidently looking for an entrance into this state. Villard held the Oregon and California Railroad—East Side and West Side lines—in alliance with the O. R. & N. and Northern Pacific. Huntington was understood to be projecting a narrow gauge road north from Reno, on the Central Pacific, to Goose Lake, in Oregon, with probable further extension, via Pengra Pass to Eugene, Portland and Astoria. Naturally, this project would unite with the narrow gauge lines which Reid was building, Portland-Airlie (West Side) and Portland-Coburg (East Side), and which were giving Villard anxiety. This narrow gauge in Oregon had been started in 1878 by Joseph Gaston, who built it between Dayton and Sheridan, with a branch to Dallas. The Astorians had in mind to connect with this Gaston road and push it forward to connect with the Central Pacific at Winnemucca, for which they incorporated, May 8, 1879, the Astoria and Winnemucca Railroad, pursuing their earlier project of 1870. The Oregon Legislature offered in 1874, for the Winnemucca-Columbia river line (via Goose Lake, Sprague River, Middle Fork of Willamette River, Springfield and Portland) free right of way through all State lands (Act of

October 24, 1874; session laws, page 15). The project was then promoted by the Oregon Central Pacific Railway Company, of Oregon, incorporated September 16, 1874. The Legislature renewed this offer in 1880, to the Astoria and Winnemucca Railway Company (session laws, page 55). These tenders lapsed. The "narrow gauge," construction of which began in 1878 under Gaston, pursued, in Willamette Valley, the Winnemucca idea of 1870 and 1874. In 1880 William Reid, representing Scotch buyers, rescued the Gaston road from bankruptcy, extended it in 1880-81 south to Airlie and north to Dundee, near Portland, and built a new line from Willamette River near Woodburn, south to Coburg (both lines Southern Pacific since 1887). The project from its beginning aimed at Central Pacific connections and Astoria hoped to be its terminus.

Villard went to the wall in 1884, and in November of that year the O. R. & N. Co. repudiated the "narrow gauge" lease. The hapless Scotch system, run down and dilapidated, reverted to its foreign owners and to William Reid. Nor could the scheme of Central Pacific connections be then renewed, for Huntington was preparing to secure control of the Oregon & California—which he effected in March, 1887.

Thus ended the twenty-year-old plan of connecting Oregon with the Central Pacific in Nevada; never since has it been revived.

Astoria did not give up, however, in 1881, when Villard killed the narrow gauge-Central Pacific project; it kept after him so persistently that near the end of his regime, in 1883, he caused surveys to be run under H. G. Hurlburt. In September, 1883, when Villard came to Portland with the "last spike" excursion of the Northern Pacific, he found his engineers had estimated the cost of the Astoria line at \$50,000 a mile—a prohibitive figure; whereupon he wrote to E. C. Holden, secretary of the Astoria Chamber of Commerce: "We must, therefore, abandon the project." (*Oregonian*, September 17, 1883). Villard was then at the end of his resources and could not build the Astoria road, however cheaply. He

had already exceeded the available funds of the Northern Pacific by \$14,000,000 and a crash was soon to break over his head. He finished the Northern Pacific from Portland to Goble—within 58 miles of Astoria, but at this time no extension to Astoria was proposed.

Then ensued a piece of folly at Astoria. Citizens of that town were incensed by the long lethargy of Holladay and Villard; they bethought them to spur action or take reprisal by repeal of the unused land grant. This they believed would bring Villard up with a round turn, and force him to build quickly. They memorialized Congress for the repeal (Oregonian, December 6, 1883), and Oregon's Representative in Congress, M. C. George, introduced the repealing measure. The Legislature of Oregon memorialized Congress in 1882, urging the repeal. The bill passed a year later, in January, 1885. Loss of this bonus delayed the Astoria railroad by a decade. Unaided thereafter by the Government, Astoria citizens had to make up a bounty out of their own pockets. Accordingly, in 1887 they offered a bonus of \$150,000. This marked the beginning of the new and finally successful period of the Astoria project.

II.

Now at last Astoria citizens resolved to do for themselves; they had leaned on Holladay and Villard and got unfulfilled promises. Portland was the meeting point of the transcontinental Northern Pacific and Union Pacific and the ocean-going ships of the Columbia River since 1883-4; now (1887) the Astoria men made up their minds they would bring that meeting point nearer the sea—to Astoria—in their view, the logical place.

They could not build the 100-mile railroad themselves; they had not the \$2,000,000 for that. But they could put up one-tenth that sum as a cash bounty, although such money meant to them big sacrifice; it was a large sum and Astoria was a small town. Furthermore, they would form their own company, give it a start and hand it over to capitalists who could carry it through.

So they formed the Astoria & South Coast Railway in August, 1888; incorporators, M. J. Kinney, W. W. Parker, J. W. Conn, E. A. Noyes, M. C. Crosby, H. B. Parker and James Taylor. Branches were to run to Tillamook, perhaps to Salem or Albeny; connections were proposed with an ambitious company known as Salem, Tillamook & Astoria Railroad, incorporated January 9, 1889, by John G. Wright, I. A. Manning, W. F. Boothby, B. S. Cook, J. W. Maxwell. Astoria pledged a bonus of \$175,000. The route was to run southward along Clatsop Beach, up Lewis and Clark River, across the mountain divide to Nehalem River, thence to Forest Grove or Hillsboro. The Astoria & South Coast drove its "first spike" at Skipanon May 11, 1889.

The Astorians were delighted, at this juncture, to receive, as their builder and financier, the man who had constructed the "narrow gauge" for the Dundee capitalists, and who had almost brought Huntington in 1881 into the Winnemucca-Astoria scheme—William Reid. They made him president of their company, forthwith, in June, 1889. By this time ten miles of roadbed was graded south of Spikanon, under Henry B. Thielsen, engineer (*Oregonian*, May 26; June 7, 1889). The road was to be finished by September 15, 1891, to a junction with the Southern Pacific, in Washington or Yamhill County (*Oregonian*, June 15, 1889). Reid selected Hillsboro as the junction point (*Oregonian*, September 6, 1889; October 11, 1889). His engineers were E. E. Cooper and R. A. Habersham. Construction began at Hillsboro in November, 1889, and at Astoria in December, 1889. Reid was supposed to have the support of Huntington, and as Reid later wrote in *The Oregonian* (June 27, 1891). Reid supposed so, too. The project was stimulated by possibility of an alliance with the Oregon Pacific (Yaquina Railroad, then building in Cascade Mountains toward Eastern Oregon, through Santiam Pass) and some transcontinental line—either Union Pacific or Northern Pacific, which were in sharp rivalry. The Astorians hoped to connect with this parent railroad of the Yaquina line. They were encouraged also by incorporation of several companies

which seemed subsidiaries of the unseen railroad that was seeking an outlet by the Yaquina route—the Albany & Astoria Railway, J. L. Cowan, president, for which surveys were carried on in the summer of 1890 under W. B. Barr (*Oregonian*, November 17, 1889), and the Salem, Astoria & Eastern Railway, headed at Salem by H. W. Cottle, E. M. Waite, Squire Farrar, William England, H. J. Minthorn, J. H. Albert, J. A. Baker, J. O. Wilson. For a Tillamook connection, the Astoria Seashore & Eastern was incorporated March 15, 1890, by W. H. Smith, Oliver Stewart, E. C. Jeffers, D. N. Stewart and George Eckler. Each of these companies had flimsy backing; the Albany and the Salem schemes came to naught; the Yaquina road soon went into bankruptcy and Reid's Astoria Company shortly fell into financial difficulties and halted. Reid had failed to bring in the "outside capital;" he could not "float" the bonds in New York, and his Scotch friends of Dundee had had enough experience in the "narrow gauge."

First of Reid's efforts was enlistment of Huntington in the enterprise. Nearly three years had elapsed since Huntington acquired the Oregon & California lines in Oregon and the Southern Pacific chief was interested in Reid's proposals and took a six months' option after May 6, 1890, to buy the Astoria & South Coast. His terms were: The Astorians to pay off the \$175,000 claims against their company and turn it over to him, together with a \$200,000 bonus, terminal facilities at Astoria and the Seaside branch line (finished by Reid in July, 1890, between Young's Bay and Seaside); Huntington was to put up a preliminary \$60,000 to complete the Seaside line. The six months were to enable him to make survey of the route and verify the Astoria estimates of cost. Huntington attended the negotiations at Astoria in May, 1890. The agreement dated May 6 (text in *Oregonian*, May 24, 1901, page 5), was signed by Huntington and by Reid, as president of the Astoria & South Coast, but was not confirmed by the directors of Reid's Company, and the deal fell through. It looked as if, before this juncture, a builder had appeared, Huntington, who would bring to Astoria what that town had

long wished; Huntington was willing to build; the \$200,000 subsidy was raised by Astoria citizens in twenty-four hours (*Oregonian*, May 8, 1890); Huntington supposed the deal consummated and put surveyors on the route in June, 1890, and promised by letter soon to begin construction. The Astorians approved the terms of Huntington, but wished to get rid of Reid, and in their pulling and hauling, lost Huntington. In commenting, eleven years later, on this fiasco, Reid wrote in *The Oregonian* (May 24, 1901): "Astoria never got its railway into the Nehalem Valley, via Hillsboro to Portland, I lost the \$155,000 I had invested in that railway and Mr. Huntington lost his pet scheme via Nehalem to Portland."

Astoria thus lost a rich opportunity in the Nehalem country. This route undoubtedly would have brought larger advantages to that city than the Columbia River route did later; besides, the river route probably would have been built soon afterward, thus affording two railroads and the opening of much tributary country. This loss will always be a source of regret; it was unnecessary; the railroad was Astoria's, but for the approval of a contract which Huntington had signed and to the terms of which Astoria had agreed. And there was no man so able to build the road as he.

Much criticism and abuse were heaped upon Reid for what was called in Astoria his "grasping" nature, or stubborn resistance to Astoria wishes. But it is fair to say in his behalf, that it was his money, and only his, that carried forward the Hillsboro-Clatsop division, up to the Huntington negotiations, the amount as he later stated it being \$170,000, some \$15,000 of which was afterward regained (*Oregonian*, June 27, 1891; May 24, 1901). Besides, Reid advanced to the Seaside division \$8,000 which was returned to him on his separation from the project in 1891. Reid's operations made a big real estate boom in Astoria, from which some of his critics "realized" handsomely, but others suffered losses in the resultant "slump." It seems at this historical distance that Reid was entitled to better treatment in exchange for his service in enlisting Huntington and in investing heavily his own funds. "Not a soul,"

he wrote (*Oregonian*, June 27, 1891), "has ever put one dollar between these points (Hillsboro and Clatsop City) excepting myself." The loss to Reid was heavy and he never fully recovered.

After Huntington withdrew, Reid went to work to get other financial backing (*Oregonian*, May 31, 1890, VI). He turned to English capitalists. It was announced October 9, 1890, at Astoria, that an English syndicate had agreed to take \$3,000,000 bonds for a subsidy of between \$275,000 and \$300,000 for payment of the first two years' interest (*Oregonian*, October 11, 1890). Their engineer, James McNaught, reported that the route presented no serious engineering difficulties (report in *Oregonian*, May 19, 1891). The plan was to build into the Willamette Valley; also to connect with the Northern Pacific. To finance the Astoria and the Willamette Valley divisions, Reid incorporated August 18, 1890, the Portland, Salem & Astoria Railway, Edward T. Johnson and J. H. Smith being the other incorporators.

The Englishmen failed to perfect the deal, however, and in January, 1891, Reid could go no farther, and dropped out. He had graded eight miles out of Hillsboro and seven and one-half miles up Lewis and Clark River (work described in *Oregonian*, January 1, 1891). Reid tried to keep the project alive by organizing a new company of his own, the Portland, Nehalem & Astoria Railroad, to which the Astoria & South Coast conveyed its right of way between Hillsboro and Clatsop City, upon which division Reid had expended his own money (*Oregonian*, June 27, 1891). It was Reid's plan to build the road independently of the Astoria interests, but he did not succeed. The Seaside division, with some \$55,000 debts, reverted to the Astorians, and was kept alive by D. K. Warren and other creditors, until early in 1892, when it was taken over by the Schofield-Goss Syndicate, to be mentioned hereafter.

Astoria now turned temporarily to the Goble route, for which was organized in July, 1891, the Columbia River & Astoria Railway, by B. Van Dusen, D. K. Warren, Walter C.

Smith, Benjamin Young, E. A. Seeley (*Oregonian*, April 23, 1891). Surveys were made in August, 1891, by W. H. Kennedy, who estimated the cost of the line at \$26,000 or \$27,000 a mile, for fifty-eight miles (*Oregonian*, December 7, 1891), to connection with the Northern Pacific at Goble. The Northern Pacific line from Portland to Goble, built by Villard, had been opened in 1883. Citizens of Astoria now made up a subsidy of 1,000 acres of land. To build the line, the Astoria Improvement & Construction Company was organized July 23, by J. H. Smith, Ezra and Walter C. Smith, D. K. Warren, Benjamin Young, H. G. Van Dusen. This scheme also collapsed; negotiations with the Northern Pacific were fruitless, and very soon the Nehalem route was revived by C. W. Schofield and George Goss, of Salt Lake, early in 1892.

These men had been in the Gould service in the building of the Rio Grande System, and it was a natural guess that Gould was aiming at Astoria for a terminus. They were received with great enthusiasm at Astoria; a subsidy was pledged, \$300,000 cash and lands for right of way and terminals to the probable additional value of \$200,000. As the Astorians had more land than cash and land was easier to get for a subsidy, the bounty raisers formed a special company to take the land pledged for the Goble project and convert it into money—The Astoria Subsidy Guarantee Company, incorporated March 10, 1892, by C. R. Thompson, George Hill, J. A. Fulton, G. W. Sanborn, James W. Welch and F. L. Parker. To the new projectors was handed over the Seaside line, which had been sold by the sheriff February 26, 1892, for its debts, \$55,550. These debts the new promoters assumed (*Oregonian*, May 4, 1892). A new company, The Astoria & Portland Railway, was incorporated at Portland, March 16, 1892, by Henry Failing, T. F. Osborn, J. Frank Watson, Charles H. Dodd, of Portland; D. K. Warren, I. W. Case, M. M. Ketchum, of Astoria; J. M. Schultz and Thomas H. Tongue, of Hillsboro. Officers of the company were: John Sheehan, the New York Tammany leader, president;

C. W. Schofield, vice-president; E. M. Watson, treasurer; George Goss, chief engineer and manager; H. Goss, superintendent.

The new project did not follow the Reid route to Clatsop City. It rounded Smith Point, at Astoria, crossed Young's River and ascended Lewis and Clark River from Stavebolt Landing (Oregonian, April 21, 1892). Some 14,000 feet of trestle was constructed round Smith Point and up Young's Bay, costing \$90,000; seventeen miles of grading was built up to Saddle Mountain ready for the rails, a tunnel was started in Saddle Mountain—all this in the summer of 1892. Between 900 and 1,100 men were employed by the contractors (work described in Oregonian, August 21, 1892; September 26, 1892). The vigor of Schofield and Goss delighted the people of Astoria; now at last the pet railroad was assured; there could be no doubt; the builders had much money, perhaps Gould's.

Suddenly, in September, 1892, construction stopped. There was no money. Goss disappeared over night, nobody knew whither. Contractors resorted to liens. To finish the road \$1,500,000 was needed. The awakening was sudden and rude. The project went to ruin. Its remains still lie bleaching in the rain and sun.

The Astorians were shocked, but not dismayed. They went to work on their subsidy again—to make it bigger than ever. They sent invitations broadcast over the land, to wouldbe railroad builders, announcing their tempting offer. In the ensuing two years "promoters," "agents," "capitalists" of many stripes and of high and low degree hied to Astoria to capture the bounty prize. Like heroes of mythology, they offered themselves as candidates for the venture and the fair reward. The Astoria custodians of the county were now wise in their generation and turned off the fortune hunters one after another—each time, however, giving a fair trial.

At this juncture a rival to Astoria sprang up—Flavel—"boomed" by S. H. Brown, Jr., L. B. Seeley, N. G. Read and E. L. Dwyer, who incorporated the Flavel Land & Development Company at Salem, September 1, 1892, to build a rail-

road from Salem to Flavel via Sheridan and Tillamook; also to sell town lots on the peninsula adjoining Fort Stevens, where the Hill roads are now building a terminal for connections with their fast new steamships soon to ply to and from San Francisco. Flavel, from that day to this, has been an ambitious rival of Astoria, without as yet, however, upbuilding itself or trenching upon Astoria. Here the townsite company laid big plans for railroad terminals and shipping. Astoria was to be but a way-station. In 1897 a fine hotel was opened there, which was attended during the summer of that year by the "society" elite of Portland.

After the Schofield-Goss fiasco, Astoria reverted to the Goble route. G. L. Blackman and W. H. Milliken appeared and then vanished; ditto a so-called Astoria & Eastern Railway, incorporated November 10, 1892, capitalization \$3,000,000.

A new pair of promoters arrived at Astoria, January 19, 1893—P. P. Dickinson and R. B. Hammond, of New York, accompanied by their attorney, Milliken. Hammond was said to be president of the New York & Long Island Railroad. On December 15, 1892, these men entered into a contract with the Subsidy Guarantee Company to begin construction of the Goble road before April 1, 1892, and to finish the fifty-eight-mile road before October 1, 1892. They were to receive a bonus of 2,000 acres of land at Astoria (*Oregonian*, January 14, 1893). The estimated cost of the line was \$1,500,000. They were also to build from Goble to Portland, the cost of which division was estimated at \$2,000,000 additional. Their supposed backers were William H. Steinway, of New York, the piano manufacturer, and John Hudson, a London capitalist. But like its predecessors, this project fell by the wayside and Astoria had to forget these promoters also.

Two months later William H. Remington and W. H. Wattis arrived at Astoria from Salt Lake (April 25, 1893) in quest of the golden fleece. Their backer was the same Hudson who had favored Dickinson and Hammond; it was even guessed that Gould had sent forth these two latest Jasons. Their scheme was to finish the old project of the Astoria and South

Coast, which had been attempted by Reid and then by Schofield and Goss. They entered into a contract with the Subsidy Company to begin construction within ninety days after July 6, 1894. But in September Remington dashed the Astoria hopes by wiring that he could not proceed (*Oregonian*, September 2, 1893.)

But next month Astoria's drooping spirits were revived by J. C. Stanton and J. S. Smith, who came to Astoria, offering to build two railroads—both the Nehalem and the Goble routes—for a subsidy of 3,000 acres of land and forty-foot right of way through the river front of Astoria. These hopeful visitors had already formed a construction company in New York to do the job, capital \$1,000,000. But they, too, soon faded away. Next came E. L. Dwyer, M. Robinson and St. John Robinson, who at Astoria, January 20-22, 1894, representing "English capital" said they could build Astoria a railroad in twelve months.

Shortly afterward a project of substantial promise developed, supported by the Union Pacific, and authorized by its Board of Directors. The general manager of the Union Pacific, Edward Dickinson, caused to be incorporated in March, 1894, to build the road, The Columbia River Railroad Company, by R. W. Baxter, general superintendent of the Pacific Division of the Union Pacific; A. J. Borie, superintendent of the Oregon Division, and E. S. Van Kuran. The capital was to be \$3,000,000. The route was from Goble to Astoria and to Tillamook and Nehalem. Work of securing right of way began at once. On March 16, 1894, Baxter asked Astoria citizens to meet him at Portland to sign the subsidy contract. Financial depression soon ended the negotiations.

Another promoter, attracted by the subsidy, was Edward Browne, a New York attorney, who came to Astoria in May, 1894, offering to put up \$300,000 to be secured by mortgage of the land subsidy and saying he had \$350,000 in hand. But in June a more substantial offer came from J. C. Stanton and J. T. Campbell, professing to have \$2,000,000 in New York for immediate construction and to be supported by large stockholders of the Union Pacific (*Oregonian*, June 22, 1894.)

Next in line came M. Lutz and E. L. Dwyer, "representing French capital," and offering the Goble line. In September, 1894, Campbell, a Detroit contractor, took an option on the subsidy, but let it lapse.

In November, 1894, came the climax of all these protracted negotiations, in an agreement with A. B. Hammond, who built the Goble road. He was preceded by two parties of promoters, the one headed by C. T. Karr of Chicago, the other by J. C. Stanton, of New York; H. I. Kimball, of Atlanta, Ga.; John H. Bryant, of New York, and J. T. Campbell, of Detroit. All three parties were at Astoria together in November and negotiated with the subsidy company at the same time. Karr offered to put up \$500,000 within fifteen days and \$500,000 more within fifteen days thereafter, and all the additional money needed to build the road, with the subsidy trustees, but he talked too big and the latter declined November 22, 1894, after advices from New York. Soon afterward Stanton withdrew his offer, in favor of Hammond.

The way was now open to accept the terms of A. B. Hammond, who, with E. L. Bonner, of Missoula, was the most satisfactory of the prospective railroad builders. Hammond had built the Bitter Root and the Drummond branches of the Northern Pacific, and had supplied the ties, lumber and bridge materials for the Rocky Mountain division of that railroad. He had come to Oregon to inspect the Yaquina Railroad, a property that had cost \$5,250,000, and which Hammond bought a month late, at sheriff's sale, December 22, 1894, for \$100,000. Pending the sale he went to Astoria out of curiosity, or for information, and soon found himself launched in the Astoria enterprise. He told the writer twenty years afterward that he had made no plans to go into this enterprise, accepted it dubiously and then, on account of "hard times" and money stringency, wished himself out of it. Whereupon he demanded more stringent terms, in the hope that the Astorians would refuse them and release him, but they yielded and held him.

The subsidy contract with Hammond, as first executed on December 1, 1894, required him to begin construction not later

than April 1, 1895, and to complete the line (to Goble) before October 30, 1896, and spend \$50,000 a month. But shortly before April 1, 1895, Hammond returned to Astoria and demanded in addition free right of way from Goble to Flavel, sixty-six miles; elimination of the \$50,000 a month requirement, and three years for construction. These new terms were granted with a readiness that surprised him. The subsidy, including 3,000 acres of land at Astoria and 1,500 acres at Flavel, was made complete by the Astorians July 23, 1895, and Hammond announced from Portland in reply that he would at once go to Astoria and begin construction. He praised the energy of Astoria citizens in these words (*Oregonian*, July 23, 1895): "The people of Astoria—every one of them—can stand up and feel that their individual work secured the road. I never saw such patriotism and energy. They deserve a railroad if any community ever did." To celebrate the completion of the subsidy a public demonstration was held at Astoria July 25, at which Hammond said (*Oregonian*, July 26-27, 1895): "We propose to give you value received when this railroad is built. It will be second to none on the Coast." A special excursion was run from Portland to Astoria on the steamer "Telephone" by U. B. Scott and L. B. Seeley.

Construction began in August. The engineers were T. H. Curtis and J. C. Jameson. In July, 1894, Hammond bought the Seashore road, which he finished to Astoria, August 3, 1896. Hammond's associates in the preliminaries—Bonner and Stanton, Kimball and J. T. Campbell—backed out, leaving him alone (*Oregonian*, December 4, 1894). Later he enlisted the aid of Thomas H. Hubbard and Collis P. Huntington. The company was called the Astoria & Columbia River Railroad. Hammond negotiated with the Northern Pacific a 99-year lease of the latter's tracks between Goble and Portland.

The "last spike" was driven April 3, 1898, near Clatskanie, and April 11, 1898, the subsidy committee rode over the line to Goble and returned to Astoria. They unanimously voted that Hammond had fulfilled his agreement and was entitled to the subsidy. Members of the committee in the party were:

Alfred C. Kinney, president; J. Q. A. Bowlby, vice-president; B. Van Dusen, secretary; John C. Dement, F. J. Taylor, C. H. Page, J. W. Welch, J. A. Fulton, W. C. Smith, John Adair, George Hill, C. W. Shively, C. R. Thompson, E. A. Seeley, D. K. Warren, H. B. Parker, Gabriel Wingate, W. G. Howell, G. W. Sanborn, S. D. Adair, P. A. Trullinger.

On August 7, 1899, Henry Villard, who had opposed Astoria's ambition twenty years before, rode over the line to that city as the guest of Hammond. In 1899 the track was extended two miles from Flavel to Fort Stevens. In September of this year a rate war was started against the road by the O. R. & N. steamboats, and the fare was cut to twenty-five cents between Portland and Astoria. The war lasted twenty-two months, until June 1, 1901.

The road gained steadily in earnings with the succeeding years and grew in value, although it did not bring to Astoria the commercial lead that the city was ambitious to win. Extension to Nehalem and Tillamook was announced by Mr. Hammond July 25, 1906, and was formally authorized by the directors of the company October 22 of that year, with a further extension to Yaquina. But before the new project was developed Hammond sold the road to James J. Hill for the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific on December 19, 1907, the purchase price being \$5,000,000. The cost of the road had been less than \$2,500,000. This sale stopped extension plans. The road was later transferred to the Spokane, Portland & Seattle (North Bank Line) which has since operated it.

The first projected railroad—through Nehalem to Astoria—is not yet built. In 1907, William Reid made an unsuccessful effort to carry through his old plans via Nehalem and Lewis and Clark river. His company at that time was the Portland, Oregon, Seacoast Railway. His twenty-five year endeavor for a railroad to Astoria ended with his recent death.



Photo. by H. Ries. Aug. 1912

The Source of the Columbia River

View looking South across the Portage to Kootenay River

See page 245

THE FUR TRADE IN THE COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN PRIOR TO 1811

By T. C. ELLIOTT*

One of the present activities of the historical societies of Oregon and Washington is the publication of source material relating to the early fur trade along the Columbia River. It has been a popular and to an extent a scientific habit to refer to the city of Astoria as the oldest trade center of the Old Oregon Country; some of our histories furnish evidence to that effect. It was on the 12th of April, 1811, that the officers and employees of the Pacific Fur Company were landed from the ship *Tonquin* and established a temporary encampment on the south side of the Columbia River, ten miles from Cape Disappointment, and immediately thereafter began the erection of the trading post named by them Fort Astoria. On the 15th of July, four months later, David Thompson, the North-West Company fur trader and astronomer, coming from the source of the river recorded in his journal: "At 1 P. M., thank God for our safe arrival, we came to the house of Mr. Astor's Company, Messrs. McDougall, Stuart and Stuart, who received me in the most polite manner." And in another connection Mr. Thompson has recorded that the establishment then consisted of "four low log huts." It is the purpose of this paper to designate *ad seriatim* the trading posts that had been built and in use west of the Rocky Mountains prior to the founding of Astoria and to briefly sketch the beginnings of the fur trade on the waters of the mighty Columbia River.

The first barter with white people by the natives residing on the Columbia River was with the masters of trading vessels along the Coast, of which little record has been left to us. When Captains Lewis and Clark, the explorers, descended the river in the fall of 1805 they found among Indians living quite a distance in the interior "sundry articles which must have been procured from the white people, such as scarlet and blue

*A paper read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at the University of Washington, Seattle, May 21st, 1914.

cloth, a sword, jacket and hat;" and in their journals also appears a list of the names of about a dozen traders who had been accustomed to frequent the Coast at the mouth of the river. When Lieut. Broughton, of the British Royal Navy, in the Chatham sailed cautiously into the Columbia River in the early afternoon of October 21, 1792, he passed at anchor behind Cape Disappointment a trading brig named the Jenny, one Captain Baker in command (after whom Baker's Bay takes its name) and Broughton records that this captain had been there earlier in the same year. The name of Captain Baker does not appear on the list of names set down by Lewis and Clark; by them this same bay was named Haley's Bay, after a trader then best known to the Chinook Indians. These brief recitals in authentic records have led some to an unanswered inquiry as to whether some itinerant trader may not have actually sailed into the Columbia River in advance of its discovery by Captain Robert Gray in May, 1792. The diplomats of Great Britain raised no such claim in connection with the dispute over the Oregon boundary line, however.

Turning now to the sources of the Columbia an interesting contrast exists between the beginning of trade there with that on the upper Missouri River, across the Rocky Mountain range. Manual Lisa is the name prominently connected with the Missouri River at that period; immediately following the return of the Lewis and Clark expedition Lisa built a trading post on the Yellowstone River at the mouth of the Big Horn and began to purchase furs for transport to St. Louis; that was during the summer of 1807. At the same time David Thompson, a partner of the North-West Company of Canada, was building an establishment at the head waters of the Columbia from which he transported furs to the Rainy Lakes, and Fort William on Lake Superior. Manual Lisa had troubles enough with snags and Indians along the Missouri and was resourceful to overcome them. David Thompson experienced even greater difficulties in crossing the Rocky Mountains and descending the long course of the Saskatchewan River to Lake Winnipeg. David Thompson is one of the most remarkable figures con-

nected with the history of the Columbia River; the record of his career written with his own hand is not only of great scientific value, but an inspiration to any earnest student of the history of this Pacific Northwest. He has been described as the greatest land geographer the English race has ever produced.

The Columbia River is estimated to be 1,300 miles in length and Kettle Falls, in the State of Washington, about forty miles below the Canadian boundary, marks very closely the half-way point on the river. It may be said rather broadly, then, that one-half of the river is in British Columbia and one-half in the United States, speaking of the main river and not of its branches. The statesmen who decided the Oregon boundary question did not have this equal division in mind, but nature has furnished this suggestion of their fairness.

As if to purposely render our history romantic the first trading post upon any of the waters of the Columbia River, including its branches, was built almost at the very source of the main river, near the outlet of the chain of small lakes which resolve themselves into the river. Tobey Creek, flowing eastward from the glaciers of Mt. Nelson, of the Selkirk Range, enters the Columbia River from the west about one mile below the outlet of Lake Windermere, in the political division of British Columbia known as the East Kootenay District. Upon an open gravelly point overlooking Tobey Creek and "a long half mile" (quoting from David Thompson's original survey notes) from the Columbia stood the stockade and buildings marking the beginning of commerce in the interior of "Old Oregon." The exact site of this house has recently become known by the unearthing of the old chimneys of the buildings, as well as by Indian tradition. An earlier location on Canterbury Point, Lake Windermere, at first selected was abandoned before any buildings were completed, because of exposure in procuring water for domestic use (compare with Lyman's History of the Columbia River, Putnam's Sons, 1911, page 282). "Kootenae House" was the name given to this trading post, and it is not to be confounded with the Fort

Kootenay of a later date and different location. Nor are we to forget that on the waters of the Fraser River Basin trading posts had been established in the year 1806 by Simon Fraser and his partners.

In this romantic locality David Thompson spent the fall, winter and spring of 1807-8 in company with his clerk, Finan McDonald, and six servants. He put out his thermometer and set down the first record of the weather in interior British Columbia. With other scientific instruments he determined the latitude and longitude of the House and of the lakes. He bestowed the name upon Mt. Nelson (now locally known as Mt. Hammond), which looms up so grandly to the westward of Lake Windermere, and determined its altitude. He found bands of wild horses roaming over the hills and caught some of them; he observed and made record of the habits of the salmon spawning in the river. He gathered in trade one hundred skins of the wild mountain goat, which brought a guinea apiece in the London market. He was besieged for some weeks by a band of Piegan Indians who crossed the Rocky Mountains with instructions to kill him, because the prairie Indians did not wish to have the Kootenae supplied with firearms, powder and ball. In March, 1808, Mr. James McMillan visited him from Rocky Mt. House, on the Saskatchewan, with dog teams and sleds, bringing more trading goods and carrying back as many packs of furs. His trade was with the Kootenae of the vicinity, and from as far south as Northwestern Montana, of the United States. In April, 1808, he made an exploring trip down the Kootenay River as far as Kootenay Lake, and in June recrossed the Rocky Mountains with his furs and carried them to Rainy Lake House before again returning to Kootenae House for another winter. The government of British Columbia could well afford to permanently mark the site of Kootenae House in honor of this remarkable trader, astronomer and pathfinder.

At the beginning of the second winter at Kootenae House, Mr. Thompson felt sufficiently acquainted with the country and the Indians to begin to push the trade further to the south.

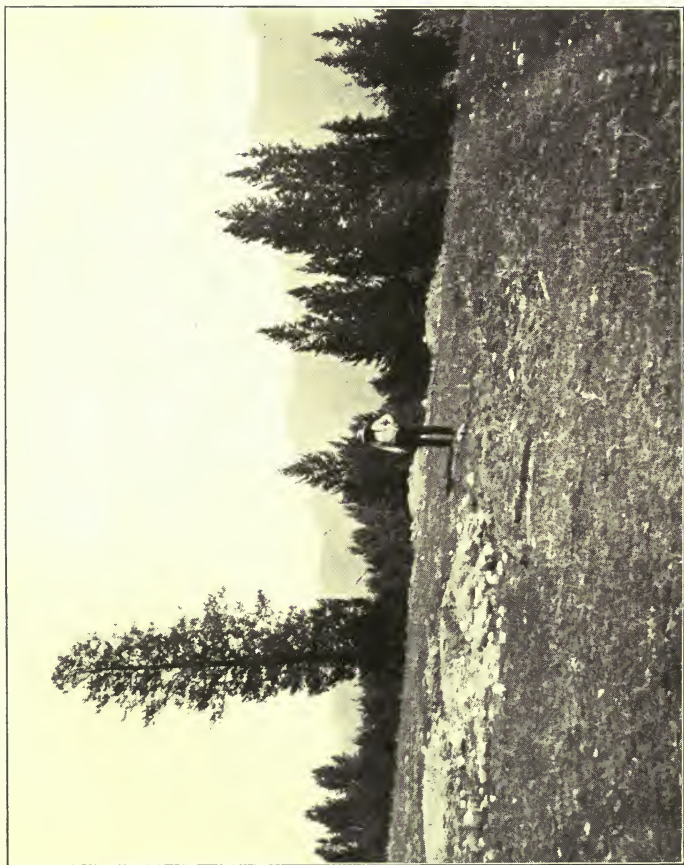


Photo. by H. Ries and T. C. Elliott

Site of "Kootenae House" near Lake Windermere, British Columbia

View looking Northeast across Valley of Columbia River

Photo. shows Michel Pete, a full blooded Kootenay Indian, standing among excavated chimney bottoms

The Kootenay River, taking its rise in the main range of the Rocky Mountains, flows southward into the United States in Montana, and in its course passes within a mile and a half of the lake out of which as its real source the waters of the Columbia River flow northward for 200 miles before turning to the south. The divide between Columbia Lake and the Kootenay River is not a ridge or a mountain, but a level flat of gravelly soil not at all heavily timbered, which affords a very easy portage for canoes. Across this portage in November, 1808, went Finan McDonald, Mr. Thompson's clerk, with a load of trading goods, and descended the Kootenay River to a point on the north bank, just above Kootenay Falls, and nearly opposite to the town of Libby, which is the county seat of Lincoln County, Montana, and there set up two leather lodges for himself and his men, and built a log house to protect the goods and furs and spent the winter, being joined later by James McMillan, already mentioned. Here, during the winter of 1808-9, were carried on the first commercial transactions of white men south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, and in that part of the Old Oregon Country which afterward became a part of the United States.

News travels rapidly among the Indians and later events indicate that furs must have been brought to this winter camp from the Saleesh or Flathead country to the southeast, and from the region of Pend d'Oreille Lake to the southwest. About three years later, at a point a few miles further up the Kootenay River, but on the same side (nearly opposite Jennings, Montana), the North-West Company erected a more permanent trading post, known as Fort Kootenay, in opposition to which, in 1812, the Pacific Fur Company built another fort near by. At Fort Kootenay took place the bloodless duel between Nicholas Montour and Francis Pillet "with pocket pistols at six paces; both hits; one in the collar of the coat, and the other in the leg of the trousers. Two of their men acted as seconds, and the tailor speedily healed their wounds." This is the story told by the facile pen of Ross Cox.

The year 1809 brought to the active notice of the North-Westerns the intention of John Jacob Astor to occupy the mouth of the Columbia River, and the records of the House of Commons in London show a petition from the North-West Company for a charter which would give them prior rights to trade upon Columbian waters. David Thompson, however, was not waiting for charters, but prepared to act according to the teachings of the later David Harum, that is "to do to the other fellow as he would do to you and do it fust." He knew from the results of the winter trade at Kootenay Falls that there were Indians of a friendly disposition living to the south of the Kootenay, and doubtless he also had already some knowledge of the route of the Lewis and Clark party on their return trip in 1806, for the following year he had a copy of Patrick Gass' Journal with him as he traveled. So after a trip across the Rocky Mountains to leave his furs and obtain more trading goods, he returned to the Columbia during the summer of 1809, and from there descended the Kootenay River as far as the present site of Bonner's Ferry, in Idaho, where his goods were transferred to pack animals and taken southward across the regular Indian trail (the "Lake Indian Road," as he called it) to Pend d'Oreille Lake. And on the 10th of September, 1809, upon one of the points jutting out into the lake near the town of Hope, Idaho, he set up his leather lodge or tent upon the site of the next trading post upon Columbian waters, which was called "Kullyspell House." A substantial log house was at once built for the protection of the goods and furs and another for the officers and men, and Mr. Finan McDonald placed in charge. Kullyspell House did not remain in active use for more than two winters, probably, other posts to the eastward and westward being found sufficient to care for the trade; but business was lively there during the season of 1809-10. Ross Cox, who passed that way in the fall of 1812, makes no mention of this Post, but John Work, when crossing the lake in 1825, mentions a camp at "the Old Fort." No trace of its site has been found in these later years.



Photo. by T. C. Elliott

Thompson's Prairie, Montana, looking Southeast from site of "Salesh House."

Canyon of Thompson River on left, and of Clark Fork River on the right

No sooner had the buildings of Kullyspell House been well begun than David Thompson set off again, to the southeastward up the Clark's Fork of the Columbia River, in the direction of the principal habitat of the Saleesh Indians, a tribe more commonly but less properly known as the Flatheads. He traveled about seventy-five miles up the river to a small plain ever since known as Thompson's Prairie, and on a bench overlooking the north bank of Clark's Fork River, located his next trading post, called Saleesh House. Three miles below is Thompson's Falls and two miles above is Thompson River, and to the State of Montana alone belongs the distinction of preserving to history in its nomenclature a permanent reference to this indefatigable and remarkable man. Thompson's Prairie appears to have been in olden times a refuge of the Saleesh Indians when pursued by their enemies, the roving Piegiens or Blackfeet. Just above the prairie to the southeastward the hills again hug the river on either side, and there is a stretch of shell or sliding rock over which the Indian trail passed. This place is locally known to the Indians as Bad Rock and across it the Piegiens did not dare to pass; and Mr. Thompson carefully placed his "House" on the safe side of Bad Rock. After acquiring firearms the Saleesh were on more of an equality with the Piegiens and able to defend themselves in battle, both when hunting the buffalo along the Missouri River and in their own country. So in later years this trading post was, temporarily at least, removed further up the river beyond Bad Rock. In 1824-25 it was located where the Northern Pacific Railroad station named Eddy now is, and later it was near Weekesville, a few miles further up the river. About 1847 Angus McDonald removed it to Post Creek, near the St. Ignatius Mission, in the beautiful Flathead Valley. Wherever located, it was the scene every winter of very lively and extensive trade, the Saleesh being of all the tribes of Indians the most moral and friendly in their relations with the whites, not even the Nez Percés being excepted. Missoula, Montana, today succeeds Saleesh House as the commercial center of the Flathead Country, and as a city exceeds Astoria in both popu-

lation and bank deposits. David Thompson spent the winter of 1809-10 at this trading post, in company with his clerk, James McMillan, who arrived in November by way of Kootenay River with additional trading goods. Again, in 1811-12, after his famous journey to the mouth of the Columbia, Mr. Thompson wintered here.

When in April, 1810, he started on his annual journey across the Rocky Mountains, Mr. McMillan accompanying him, by the usual long and wearisome series of canoe routes and portages, Mr. Thompson expected to be back again in the early fall, and he left Finan McDonald in charge of Saleesh House, with instructions or permission to assist the Saleesh Indians in the use of their newly-acquired firearms. Such an activity was very much to the liking of that restless Highlander, and he even accompanied the tribe on their annual buffalo hunt and took part in a successful battle with the Piegans on the plains along the Missouri River. The Piegans were so angered by this that they at once made trouble on the Saskatchewan River, further north, and prevented Mr. Thompson's party from returning over the usual mountain pass. He was compelled to seek a route through the Athabasca Pass, and as a result did not arrive at the Columbia at all until the middle of January, 1811, and was ice-bound for the rest of the winter at the mouth of Canoe River.

In April, 1810, when at Kullyspell House, Mr. Thompson had also engaged the services for the summer of one Jaco Finlay (whose full name was Jacques Raphael Finlay) an intelligent half-breed, who seems to have been already living in the Saleesh country as a sort of free-hunter; and the presumption is that he authorized Finlay to push the trade further west into the Skeetshoo, which would be the Coeur d'Alene Country. At any rate, when Mr. Thompson returned to the Saleesh Country in June, 1811, he found no one there nor at Kullyspell House; but he did find both Jaco Finlay and Finan McDonald residing and trading at a new post designated as Spokane House. To Jaco Finlay, then, possibly assisted by or assisting Finan McDonald, probably belongs the honor of

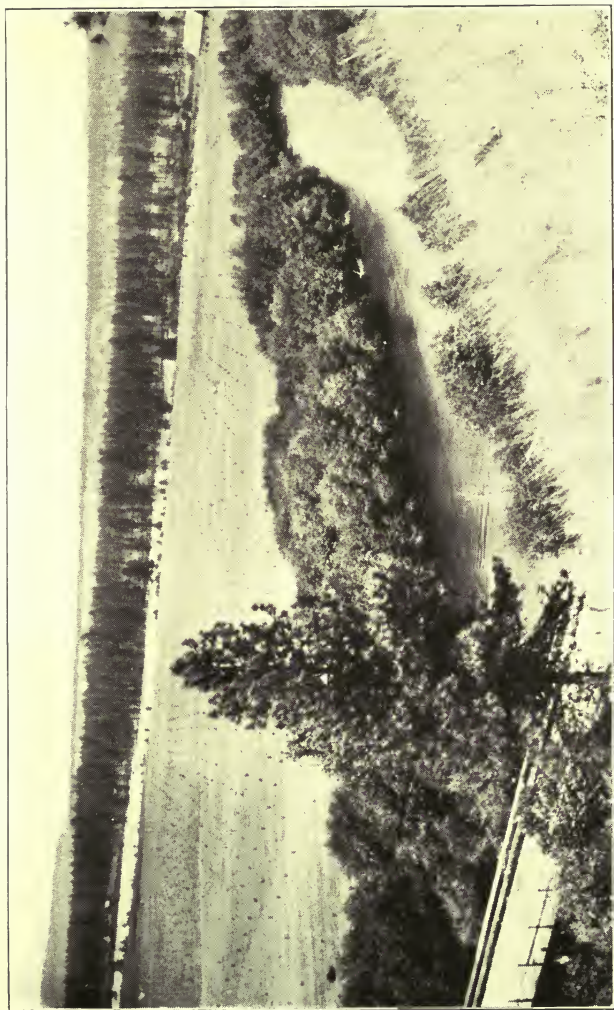


Photo. by T. C. Elliott

Site of "Spokane House," built in 1810

View looking West; Little Spokane river in foreground and Spokane River beyond

selecting the site and erecting the first buildings at Spokane House, located on a beautiful and sheltered peninsula at the junction of the Spokane (then known as the Skeetshoo River) and the Little Spokane rivers, a spot where the Indians were accustomed to gather in large numbers to dry their fish. The location was nine or ten miles northwest of the present flourishing city of Spokane, which has succeeded it as a natural trade center and which today outranks Astoria in both population and commercial importance. Alex. Henry states in his journal that Spokane House was established in the summer of 1810. It was maintained as the principal distributing point in the interior by the North-West Company and later by the Hudson's Bay Company until the spring of 1826, but was then abandoned in favor of a new post at Kettle Falls (Fort Colville) on the direct route of travel up and down the Columbia. The cellar holes of the buildings at Spokane House can still be indistinctly seen by those who know where to look for them. In 1812, a very short distance from these buildings, the Pacific Fur Company built a rival establishment, which was maintained until the dissolution of that company in the fall of 1813.

There remain to be mentioned three other valid attempts to establish trade relations in the basin of the Columbia, the first of which may have antedated the building of Spokane House by a brief period. This was the enterprise of the Winships of Boston, who sailed into the river in the spring of 1810 and began to erect some buildings on the Oregon shore at Oak Point, about fifty miles from the sea. This attempt was abandoned almost immediately because of the sudden rise of the river with the melting of the snows inland; it was a matter of weeks only and possibly of days. The *second* was the temporary residence of Andrew Henry, of the Missouri Fur Company, during the winter months of 1810-11 on the upper waters of the Snake River, near the present town of St. Anthony, Idaho (compare with Lyman's Hist. of the Columbia River, page 109). The overland party of Astorians found his abandoned cabins upon their arrival in the early fall of 1811, and it was many years afterward before Fort Hall was built

as a trading post in that general locality. The *third* was the only attempt of the Hudson's Bay Company to compete with their rival, the North-West Company, for the Indian trade west of the Rocky Mountains. Alexander Henry makes mention in his journal of the starting off of this expedition from Rocky Mountain House on the Saskatchewan in the summer of 1810, under the charge of Joseph Howse, and states that James McMillan was sent to follow and keep watch of them. David Thompson, when near the source of the Columbia in May, 1811, on his way from Canoe River to the Saleesh Country and beyond, met an Indian who told him that this Hudson's Bay Company party was already returning and was then at Flathead Lake. It is not positive where this party spent the winter, but in his "Fur Hunters of the Far West" (Vol. 2, p. 9), Alexander Ross places them on Jocko Creek in Missoula County, Montana, near where the town of Ravalli is now situated; while an early edition of the Arrowsmith map of British North America (which maps were dedicated to the Hudson's Bay Company, and purported to contain the latest information furnished by that company), shows their trading post at the head of Flathead Lake very near to where the city of Kalispell, Montana, now is.

The editor of a prominent newspaper in Montana, upon reading of the establishment of Saleesh House by David Thompson in the year 1809, wrote that they were beginning to feel quite antiquated in Western Montana. Trade in the Kootenay District of British Columbia antedated the building of Astoria by three and a half years, and that in the Flathead Country of Montana by one and a half years, and that at Spokane, Washington, by at least six months. The cities that have become the commercial centers of these interior districts have not been built upon the exact sites of the early trading posts unless that may be said as to Spokane, Washington, but have all been built along the same established Indian trails or roads, and these have become the transcontinental railroads of today.

Search for the existing records of these early enterprises and for physical remains of the early trading posts may be

likened to the search for gold by the miners of the "Inland Empire" during the early sixties. The Old Oregon Country is as rich in history as in the precious metals; the search for the one adds to our culture and that for the other only to our material wealth.

SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF GENERAL E. L. APPLGATE

By GEORGE STOWELL of Sitka, Alaska

"Lish" Applegate is a familiar name to the pioneers of the "Emerald State." At one time his fame was as extended as its borders. He was by all odds the most picturesque figure that has appeared on the stage of Oregon history. His personal appearance was of a sort immediately to attract attention. His physique was lithe and willowy—tall and somewhat gaunt, his manner of speech unique and his mental traits peculiar—indeed, he was "Lish" Applegate and has had no double.

I became acquainted with him during the winter of 1859-60. I was then living with my parents in Eugene, and he came there that winter to edit the PEOPLE'S PRESS, a Republican journal which had been recently established in that thriving young town by B. J. Pengra and some other "free soilers."

"Lish" was in the springtime of life then, and surcharged with the abounding vigor which characterized the young men of pioneer days. His avocation, coupled with the fact of his being a scion of a prominent and influential family, gave him immediate access to all the homes in the town and he was soon a conspicuous figure at nearly every social gathering.

He was gifted with a remarkable memory, had a vivid imagination, a keen sense of humor and was master of a picturesque style of speech. Although his vocabulary was extensive, his pronunciation was not hampered by the rules of lexicographers. These gifts and oddities made him a very interesting raconteur and he never permitted a strict adherence to verities to mar a narrative. He had seen a good deal of pioneer life in its various phases, and his experiences among those early settlers formed the texture of his stories. The droll and graphic manner in which those experiences were related, together with the drawling tone, startling pronunciation of familiar words, and the subtle tinge of the ludicrous imparted to them by a semi-grotesque imagination made him the central figure of all the social gatherings he attended.

In those days Eugene was a Methodist stronghold, consequently it was necessary at our social gatherings to devise other means of entertainment than dancing and card playing, as these amusements were then under the ban of that church. Singing was found to be the best substitute for these inhibited frivolities, and therefore became quite a feature of those social parties. In order to meet this condition a few of the young people made it a point to practice singing together sufficiently to enable them to reach the end of a tune simultaneously. Applegate, although unable to sing even a note, was fond of music, and our singing, the writer of this being one of those warblers, pleased him so well that he would intermit his rehearsals occasionally for the purpose of listening to it. Notwithstanding his inability to sing he had some music in his soul, and considerable poetry in his nature. One day just after one of those social gatherings he met me on the street, and after the usual greeting asked if I knew he was a poet. Upon receiving a negative reply, he remarked, that although not a special favorite of the muse, it visited him occasionally. He said that when attending his father's toll road in southern Oregon, he lived alone in a rude cabin in the depths of a forest, and that at one time the divine afflatus so influenced him that he was moved to compose a lyric poem, which he proceeded to draw from his coat pocket and read without further ceremony. The production was not without merit, but it has all passed from my memory excepting the first four lines, which were as follows:

“Whilst reposing one night in my cabin alone
I thought on the sadness of a bachelor's life—
What a desolate place for a man to call home
That slumbers all silent of children and wife.”

He said the meter fitted the tune of “Family Bible,” which was somewhat in vogue then, and requested me to sing it at our next sociable, and that favorable mention of it would appear in the following issue of his paper; but as I was not seeking fame along that line the request was not favorably considered.

As an editorial writer he was a success. Some of his leaders written that winter were powerful, their texture being a combination of logic, wit, sarcasm and eloquence. It was a golden era for political writers. The country was stirred to its depths over fundamental principles of government, involving, as they did, social and moral problems. "Lish" was a champion of the Republican party. That party was young then and stood for great principles. The purpose of its organization was to withstand the aggressive policy of the slave holders. Although believing slavery was morally wrong and an industrial mistake, still it did not propose to interfere with it in the States where it existed, but was strenuously opposed to its extension. Its principles were of a kind to enlist the young and generous, and in its formative period was largely a young men's party.

He did his work so well as an editor that upon the opening of the Presidential campaign of 1860 he was employed by the Republican Central Committee to canvass the State for Abraham Lincoln. In this role he was also a success. Indeed, he was the peer of any of the speakers of that campaign, in Oregon, with the exception of that renowned orator, Col. E. D. Baker. His success was so marked that his friends predicted a brilliant future for him. Indeed, the outlook was bright, but coming years developed that in that campaign he reached the zenith of success and ceased to grow in intellectual power. It is true he continued to be an important factor in Oregon politics for many years thereafter, but he never attained the prominence in the councils of his party or in the affairs of state that his friends predicted he would. The cause of this arrest of development was lack of application and over-indulgence in intellectual whimsies. The science of political economy and the true principles of statesmanship do not come by intuition even to the most acute and luminous minds. The old maxim "there is no excellence without great labor" applies to everyone, no matter how great his intellect may be. Furthermore, an ever increasing tendency to grotesqueness and buffoonery in the discussion of all sorts of subjects seemed gradually to sap his

power for that close and lucid thinking which characterized his earlier efforts, until his mind became the habitat of divers sorts of sophisms and vagaries.

Soon after Lincoln's inauguration, B. J. Pengra was appointed Surveyor General of Oregon, and Applegate accepted a position as transcribing clerk in his office, at a salary of twelve hundred a year. That a man who had gained such plaudits by his tongue and pen in the field of political debate should accept such a subordinate position is almost unthinkable by the men of this generation, but it was different then. Such positions were considered posts of honor in those days. Some prominent men accepted clerkships at that period. Indeed, one such—Hon. J. H. D. Henderson—vaulted directly from a transcribing clerk's desk, in the same office, to a seat in Congress.

It is quite probable that the character of the work performed by the subject of this sketch would not have met with the hearty approbation of a modern civil service expert. Nevertheless he retained the place for a year or two, that is, until lack of appropriations necessitated a heavy reduction in the clerical force of the office. After leaving the office he moved to Southern Oregon and remained there until the spring of 1865, when he was appointed Surveyor General, taking the place of Pengra, who declined to be a candidate for reappointment. He held the position almost six years—nearly two years after his appointment expired. His administration of the affairs of the office was creditable. Although almost entirely devoid of executive ability himself he had the sagacity to select for his chief clerk, Mr. Joel Ware, a remarkably clear headed man, who possessed fine clerical, executive and administrative ability.

At one period of his incumbency he seemed in imminent danger of losing his official head. It was when Andrew Johnson turned turtle and was engaged in a mortal political combat with the United States Senate. It was a period that tried office-holders' souls. They did, indeed, seem to be "between the devil and the deep sea." As the contest between the executive

and legislative branches of the Government thickened, the silence of the average office-holder deepened. Not so with Applegate. He believed Johnson was wrong and perversely so, and he had the courage of his convictions. He believed the policy of Johnson was pernicious, and he was unsparing of his criticisms of it. He was instant in season and out of season in his denunciations. A street corner, a store or public square served for a forum, and one or two persons were considered a sufficient nucleus for an audience. In that he was not mistaken, for in those days, whenever he began to talk on political subjects, quite a number would gather around him. On one occasion when he had been more than ordinarily severe in his criticisms of the President, some one asked him if he were not afraid of losing his official head in consequence of such intemperate arraignment of the administration. With a look and tone of intense scorn he replied, "*Afraid of losing my official head; afraid of losing my official head!* Does any one have such a mean opinion of me as that? Does any one believe that I have sunk so low that I would barter my intellectual freedom and my prerogative as an American citizen for a little official pap? Perish the thought! When I reach that stage of degeneration may a thunderbolt from heaven, red with uncommon wrath, smite me, and leave no trace or memory of me on the earth." "That is all well enough, General," remarked a bystander, "but what would you do for a living if you should lose your position?" "What would I do to make a living?" he exclaimed, his eyes again ablaze with supreme scorn, and then answered, "I would dig potatoes for Smith, cut cordwood for Jones, haul manure for Davidson; and if the worst descended to a profounder worst, I might consent to accept a clerkship in Mr. _____'s dry goods store." The tenure of office act which came into effect shortly after this incident probably prevented his political cranium from rolling into the headman's basket.

It was during his term of office that I entered the service. Although spasmodic in the conduct of business and at times unduly exacting, taking it altogether he was not a hard task-

master. His fondness for talking prevented such a misfortune for his assistants. He would frequently regale his clerks with stories, the merits of which did not often consist of their brevity. Occasionally he would take them into his confidence and tell them of some great project he had in view.

One morning he announced that he had concluded to write a book on logic. In it would be enunciated an original syllogism which he was confident would startle the philosophic world and place the author on a pedestal of enduring fame. This new syllogism would demonstrate that instinct is superior to defective reason. He said he would prove the soundness of his proposition by arguments adduced from facts, with which all observant people of that community, at least, were familiar. In short, he remarked, "I will prove by Mr. ———, a prominent merchant of Eugene, and the farmers of the surrounding country, that my position is unassailable. It is a deplorable fact," he continued, "that there lurks in almost every human breast the desire to get the best of a bargain—in plain words, to cheat somebody, and even the horny-handed farmers, I am loth to say, are not entirely clear of this iniquitous taint. These farmers come to our town to buy supplies for themselves and families. Upon reaching the burg they decry their merchant, whose stupid appearance attracts their attention and excites their curiosity. He immediately becomes a subject of their inquiry and they are delighted to learn that he is a merchant and has a store in town. The moral taint that was lying dormant in their natures begins to ferment at once and a process of sinister reasoning is the result. Their ratiocinations are from the premises suggested by the merchant's appearance and the facts relating to his general mentality which they gather from casual conversations about him on the street. Their line of reasoning is as follows: Here is Mr. ———. He is witless and stupid. He is a merchant engaged in trade here. I will go to his place of business to make my purchases, and my superior mentality will do the rest. Now this reasoning is seemingly sound, but in reality it is defective, in that it overlooks an important factor in the case. In their reasoning they

do not take into consideration the law of heredity and the fact that Mr. _____'s ancestors have been merchants for a thousand years, and although almost devoid of intellect he is thoroughly saturated with 'calico instinct.' Defective reasoning brings these farmers to his store, and leads them across the threshold. At this point they confront Mr. _____'s hereditary instinct and in due time emerge from his establishment shorn closer than a summer lawn. Consequently, we see, and must concede that instinct is superior to defective reasoning."

I never heard him mention the matter thereafter, nor have I seen a book or treatise on logic, bearing his name as author, and it is presumed he abandoned his purpose of reaching the abode of the immortals by that pathway.

Later on he announced his intention of producing a great poem—a cosmic epic—the world and its history to be its all-embracing subject. Indeed, he said he had commenced writing it already. Upon our solicitations he consented to repeat what he had written, which was as follows:

"In the olden time when the world was new and tribes of men were fierce and few"—and then remarked that that was all he had yet composed, but would report progress as he proceeded. Inasmuch, however, as he never again made any reference to the matter it is surmised that this great purpose went "darkling in the trackless void" also.

In the spring of 1871 his successor in the office was appointed and "Lish" moved to the Mohawk Valley in the north-eastern part of Lane county, and made his abode on a farm he had purchased a short time before his retirement from the public service, and turned his attention, or nominally so, to agricultural pursuits. His success in that line of endeavor was not so brilliant as to inspire the admiration of his friends for his ability in bucolic pursuits.

While in Eugene one day during his residence on the farm he called at the office, for the purpose, he said, of obtaining an interpretation of the "Golden Rule," and upon being told that it was believed to mean just what it said, and that any

attempted explanation or interpretation of it would be more likely to befog than elucidate, he exclaimed, "Well, well; no light to be obtained here! You are like the great multitude—just read right along, swallowing it as you go, without taking into consideration what has gone before, or thought of what may come after in the book you are perusing. What an unreflecting and inconsiderate generation! Does not the book in which the golden rule appears admonish us that we must think no evil of our fellow men; should have charity for all and put the best possible construction upon all their acts?" It was admitted that such was its teachings. "Well, then," he continued, "am I not bound to believe that whatsoever a person does to me is what he wishes me to do to him. Is not this assumption a fair logical deduction from the premises?" It was surmised that some incident had caused him to weave this web, and some one asked him for the reason of his inquiry. "Well," he replied, "a few days ago a neighbor rode across my pasture, left the fence down and permitted my cattle and horses to stray away. When the fact was discovered by me this teaching of Holy Writ came to my mind, was deeply pondered, and the more I pondered the more charitably disposed I became, until at last I reached the conclusion that what he had done to me was what he wanted me to do to him, and therefore I rode across his pasture, left his fence down and let his stock stray away."

In June, 1872, the regular biennial election of county officers occurred. "Lish" deposited his vote early in the morning at the polling place for Mohawk precinct and then came to Eugene to be at Republican headquarters when the returns were coming in. One of the candidates on the Republican ticket was not his choice. His favorite, although a staunch Republican, was running as an independent candidate. "Lish's" mental attitude being generally known, he was accused upon his arrival in town of not having voted the "straight" Republican ticket. He vigorously resented the allegation, and vehemently averred that he voted it as straight as a shingle. About midnight a messenger from Mohawk came to Republican headquarters bearing a report of the result of the election in that precinct.

Applegate was present when the report was read, and manifested some symptoms of dismay when it was announced that that particular candidate had not received a vote. Upon being requested to explain the discrepancy between his statement and the returns, he said that when taking the ballot and stretching it to its full length he noticed a crook in it, and straightened it out before voting it. The report, as it was ascertained later, was not correct in that particular, but the drinks was on "Lish" just the same.

It was during this period that he prepared his lecture on Mohammed and the Koran. He conceived the notion that a lecture upon that dual subject would "take well" with the people. He took unusual care in its preparation. It was quite an able production, and being generously studded with ludicrous observations and quaint similes it was, on that account, well received by people who knew nothing and cared less, about the subject under discussion. The plaudits it received from his friends and neighbors induced him to believe that its presentation in the Eastern States would be successful. With this purpose in view, he subjected it to some revisions, and greater elaboration of preparation. He also trained himself in voice culture, not in the way of its finer modulation, but in the development of its power, so that it might be heard by a vast audience. He carried out his purpose and went East, but perhaps his success in the lecture field was not as great as he and his friends had hoped. His tour did not result in considerable addition to his fame or fortune.

After a few years of rural life he removed his family to Albany in order that his children might have better educational advantages; and soon afterwards he accepted a position in the U. S. Custom Service at Portland. It was while occupying this place that he was nominated for Presidential elector by the Republican State Convention of 1880. His nomination was a surprise, and came without his seeking or any considerable effort on the part of his friends until a few hours before it was made.

The convention had finished all of its preliminary business and adjourned until a certain hour in order that the committee on platform might have time to prepare a report. When the convention reconvened the committee had not completed its work, and asked for more time. While waiting, speakers were called upon to address the convention, and among them was Applegate. He responded, with a speech of great vigor—replete with wit and eloquence and bristling with telling points. He had been in retirement for so many years that he was a stranger to a majority of the delegates, and they were so impressed with his effort that the notion that he would be a good standard bearer took possession of them and when the balloting for electors took place he was one of the chosen. His speeches during that campaign added nothing to his fame, and after its close he went into comparative retirement for several years. In 1888, however, he stepped into the arena again, and took a part in the Presidential contest of that year. Shortly after the inauguration of Harrison he was appointed agent for the Klamath Indian Reservation in Southeastern Oregon. It was perhaps a place he was least suited to fill, of all the offices in Oregon which were at the disposal of the President. At any rate it soon developed that he was not the man for the position, not because of lack of general ability or financial honesty, for there was never a suspicion of crookedness that I ever heard of in connection with his administration of the financial affairs of his office, but he lacked the tact and the self-restraint which are so essential in a position of that kind. It was not long after assuming the duties of his office that there was friction between him and the church authorities that had supervision of the educational and religious work among the Indians on the reservation, and after a time it became so serious that a change was required and a successor to Applegate was appointed. On account of this action "Lish" considered that he had been unjustly treated by the administration and was intensely embittered. His resentment was about equally divided between President Harrison, who performed the act, and the church that occasioned it. He was heard to say after the con-

test was over, that thus far in his career he had been able to "withstand the world, the flesh and the Devil, but I find now that the Methodist Church is a little too much for me."

After this event he ceased to affiliate with the Republican party, and soon entered the fold of Populism. The reservation episode and its result was probably the occasion and not the cause of his leaving the Republican party and casting in his lot with the Populists, for even when a nominal Republican he was in sympathy with some of their cherished doctrines. In the days when resumption of specie payment was an issue he vigorously opposed it and was what was termed a "Greenbacker," and as a logical sequence, was an advocate of the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 when that question became an issue.

In the campaign of 1892 he was strenuous in his opposition to the re-election of General Harrison, and rejoiced over his defeat. Notwithstanding his defection from its ranks, he still retained a warm spot in his heart for the old party which he had helped to organize and build up, and which had been the pride of his youth, and when his new political associates were exulting over its tremendous defeat, he manifested but little elation—remarking to a friend that an exhibition of hilarity over it would savor too much of merry making at the funeral of an old friend, although he was gratified at the downfall of Harrison. With this campaign his active participation in politics ceased, although he continued loyal to his later political affinity until his death, which occurred at Ashland in the autumn of 1895.

The announcement of his passing quickened a train of sad reflections in the minds of his friends of earlier years. Their thoughts went back to the days of his young manhood, when the possibilities of the future for him seemed almost boundless, and the pathway to a glorious fame appeared unobstructed; and then traced his career, with its ever diminishing promise, until it ended in disappointment and comparative failure, and their hearts were made heavy by the thought of what he might but did not attain. Indeed, this blight of a bright promise was

profoundly regretted by the companions of his young manhood, for they realized that the great mental powers with which nature had endowed him had been frittered away or injudiciously used; that a career which resulted in such meager fruitage and ended in eclipse might have been renowned for its usefulness and long remembered for its great achievements.

“Of all the sad words of tongue and pen
The saddest are these—it might have been.”

But notwithstanding all of his shortcomings his old friends loved him to the end, and cherish his memory as tenderly as if he had fulfilled the promises of his youth, and when departing this life, had passed through the portals of glory into everlasting fame.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL L. SIMPSON

By W. W. FIDLER.*

My first meeting with Oregon's sweetest singer, Samuel L. Simpson, was wholly unexpected. I had been in the habit for many years of treasuring up the superior specimens of poetry, with which he so greatly enriched our earlier literature, but had about abandoned the hope of ever making his personal acquaintance, when unlooked-for circumstances brought him to my very door. I was sitting alone in my lonesome cabin, away back in the mountains near the head of Williams Creek, Jackson County, quietly musing, as is the wont of single gentlemen similarly circumstanced, when "there came a sudden rapping at my chamber door," the same as came to Edgar Allen Poe in days of yore. I obeyed the summons with reasonable alacrity, when in walked a young lad I knew as George Huffer, followed by a medium-sized man of some thirty odd years of age, whom he introduced as "Mr. Simpson." "What, not the poet?" said I. On being assured that my implied guess was correct, I toned down my excitement as gracefully as possible, and proceeded to make them welcome. The conversation first turned to practical, matter-of-fact affairs, and not to poetry. Mr. Simpson and his companion were on an expedition to the recently discovered Josephine County caves; they had camped down by the creek and wanted some feed for their pony. Although they already had their blankets spread for a night's

*Mr. William W. Fidler was born in Indiana in 1842, and a few years later his parents removed to Iowa. In 1849 his father went to the California mines. The next year he came to Oregon and took up a donation claim in Lane county where Coburg now stands. In 1852 he sold out for \$600, returned to "The States" and brought his family across the plains in 1853, and settled on the Willamette river at Spores' ferry, where young William served as ferryman for awhile. In 1856 the Fidler family removed to Jackson county. In 1857, Mr. Fidler returned to Eugene to enter Columbia College, of which Rev. E. P. Henderson was the principal. Cincinnati Hiner Miller, better known as "Joaquin" Miller, Judge James Finley Watson, and a number of other well known men were students at that early institution. The college building burned down in the winter of 1857-58, and soon afterwards Mr. Fidler returned to Jackson county, remaining until 1870, when he removed to Josephine county and took up a homestead, and at the present time he is a resident of Grants Pass. Since his permanent residence in southern Oregon Mr. Fidler has been engaged in mining, journalism, teaching and farming.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary, Oregon Historical Society.

repose upon mother earth, I induced them to move up to the house, promising to go with them and show them the way to the caves.

Just why this brilliant writer of incomparable verse should have chosen that particular time and that particular route to visit a spot which, as yet, had excited no great furore among sightseers, never fully penetrated my comprehension until some years later, when I learned that it was a ruse of J. H. Huffer's, an uncle of Sam's by marriage, to get the author of "Beautiful Willamette" weaned off from a protracted spree that he had been cultivating with disastrous assiduity for many, many years. For it may as well be admitted right here at the beginning of our story, that this exceptional genius was sadly handicapped in his efforts to do something worthy the fame of so rare an intellect, by a master failing that mocks at noble effort, and that trails the highest ambition in the dust. And that good old charitable maxim that tells us we should "say nothing but good of the dead," cannot always be observed with the strictest fidelity. When you say nothing but good of a man, you are apt to get a misfit biography. No man has a right to assume that his worst mistakes will not be remembered and repeated against him as a warning to future generations. It is thus that we get some of our most impressive temperance sermons. The life-failure of such a man as Samuel Leonidas Simpson should be accounted for historically and truthfully, and the cause of it all is summed up in that one word we are forced to use with so much reluctance—inebriate. Somebody has already described him in print as "the most drunken poet, and the most poetical drunkard that ever made the Muses smile or weep," and I am not authorized to dispute the arraignment.

But now for the caves. The next day we packed our bedding and commissary stores on the pony and took it afoot over the rough mountain ranges that separated us from the scene of our destination. "Old Grayback," as the principal mountain is fitly called, is no trivial elevation for a man to tackle whose equestrian feats have been mainly restricted to the rid-

ing of a Pegasus—winged or otherwise. Its lofty summit is streaked with snow nearly the entire summer, and it is of itself one of the most picturesque and prominent landmarks of the surrounding country. From its higher altitudes you get a splendid glimpse of what Joaquin Miller would call:

Snow-topped towers that crush the clouds
And break the still abode of stars,
Like sudden ghosts in snowy shrouds,
Now broken through their earthy bars.

Scenery to inspire poetical imagery in the dullest mind greets the visitor to these Alpine heights. If our comrade with the Pegasus habit failed to take advantage of the situation, it was not the fault of the scenery. Possibly he was too busy with other reflections. And then big mountains are too common, and too hard to climb, for all to get a front seat in our literature at the start. To be satisfied that Sam could do good work in this line, one has only to read his royal tributes to "Hood" and other peaks. And after he has once clothed a subject, be it mountain peak, gurgling brook, flowing river or waterfall—with the classical garniture so richly provided by his poetic fancy, it is a little bit discouraging for any other genius to try to handle the same subject. Hence I am led to regret that our "Old Grayback"—despite its unlyrical name—did not get a poetical lift at his hand. That is about the only important "lift" it is now seriously in need of.

It was after a hard day's travel that we reached the caves, on a western spur of Old Grayback, and struck camp in the heart of the Siskiyou. But alas for the man who was subject to bibulous temptation, some parties had been there just ahead of us and left a part of a bottle of liquor leaning up against the rocks, with its mouth open, ready to make a most tantalizing appeal to any comer afflicted with a chronic thirst. We watched Sam carefully as he eyed his familiar enemy, but he soon turned his attention to something else, with the remark that if he had run across that a day or two sooner he would have felt forced to make use of it. During the night he got up,

ostensibly to look after the pony, or after the bottle, I'm not sure which. Anyhow, the pony charged his bardship with unlooked-for equine ferocity, apparently for no other reason than that Sam had once lampooned the whole Cayuse species in a poem published in the *Overland*. Fortunately for the poet, the steed brought up at the end of his tether and our bard was spared to write and run again.

Our examination of the caves next day was only cursory and perfunctory, and didn't tend to confirm my hope that a literary masterpiece, somewhat after George D. Prentice's immortal tribute to Mammoth Cave, would be the result. Simpson did subsequently write a piece of fiction that dealt with his trip to the caves, but it was too full of fiction to be of any worth as a description of the place, and was hardly worthy of the author of "The Lost Cabin."

On our return to my place of residence, I prevailed on Sam to stop over with me for the winter and try to get out an edition of his poems. This he readily assented to, but, to my surprise, he confessed that he did not have a single scrap of one of his poems with him. Fortunately I had many of his choicer pieces pasted away for my own personal enjoyment, and these became a nucleus to begin with. We gathered up some in the neighborhood, and his sister sent him some we didn't have. But it was the understanding between us that he was to get his muse, his Pegasus, his divine afflatus, or whatever we may choose to call it, in working order and swell the volume with new gems fresh from the mint. As a preliminary he started in reading all the books in my library, and many of them were first-class poetical works, like Homer, Virgil, Pope, Byron, Wordsworth, Præd, Swinburne and others. Beside, I had some classical works that were all Greek, or Latin, which was just as bad, to me, but of splendid service to a man of his education. He very soon made me aware of the fact that he was an omnivorous reader. Book after book was gone through, and yet no addition to the volume of original verse. I tried to encourage him to get down to business, even though he didn't produce something equal to his best.

"You think you must not write anything unless it is as good as 'The Beautiful Willamette,'" I remarked to him, one day. "That has exercised a sort of tyranny over me," was the reply.

For the first time, perhaps, in many years, our favorite bard was now thoroughly sobered up and continued so all winter, for the very sufficient reason that there was nothing there of an intoxicating nature for him to get hold of, and he didn't have ready cash enough about him to buy even a plug of tobacco, though he craved it intensely. It was no doubt the most abstemious period of his life. But it was the making of a man of him once more; he felt it and talked it. With a little financial assistance just at that moment, he might have stood forth rehabilitated and strong enough to ward off temptation. I know from his conversation that this was what he looked forward to with keenest hope. But no matter how excellent poetry he might write, the market seemed completely stalled, so far as his offerings were concerned. In the language of another singer no doubt similarly circumstanced, he might have exclaimed:

Ah, who will take my outcast rhymes—
That knew nor name nor hearth;
But rained like crowding autumn leaves,
Upon a glutted earth!

He took a notion at one time that he would help me in my work of making rails. Not a very brilliant vocation of course, for a man of his brilliancy, who had been used to drawing a one-hundred-and-fifty-dollar salary as a writer on Bancroft's History of the Pacific Coast, but it showed good intentions. Abraham Lincoln had made rails successfully, and had rode on that reputation largely, into the White House; why, then, should an Oregon poet scorn such an humble task? But his judgment in selecting rail timber I could not commend. He went out one day alone, and cut down and cut up a tree that would just about twist clear around in the length of a rail cut. I explained to him the embarrassing difficulties of opening such a cut, and he very wisely took my word for it, without trying to test the matter experimentally. He also wanted to

try his hand at mining, but knew as little about that as he did about making rails. At last, however, he got settled down to writing poetry and was then in his proper element.

In the first place, he had the education and scholastic training necessary to enable him to put his thoughts on paper in a manner that could defy the critics; and this enabled him to say what he had to say with boldness and freedom. He worked as I have seldom seen men work before or since, barely stopping long enough to eat and help with the culinary chores. If genius is "the faculty of taking infinite pains," as some one describes it, he had it to perfection. Often, on going in at noon or at night, I would hear him, long before I got near the house, going over his numbers to be sure they had the right sound and rhythm before he would transmit them to paper. When once he had his lines put down, they were apt to be in every way correct and as he wanted them to remain. Seldom was it that he had to interline or reconstruct a stanza after it was written, though he often threw away a good verse, containing an excellent poetical idea, because of his failure to get a suitable rhyme. For he, like most of our Oregon poets, recognized the controlling influence of certain fixed rules for the construction of poetry. He did not, as did Walt Whitman, repudiate such trammels, that he might soar more easily to imperial heights. Any performance is apt to be noteworthy in proportion to the difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. Still there are people in the world—men of unquestioned literary attainments and seemingly in their natural senses—who are capable of saying that Walt Whitman wrote poetry. He did observe one rule, and I believe only one—he was very particular to have every line commence with a capital letter, without regard to length or rhythm. But as for sound, his lucubrations might just as well have been called prose. Or, if the rules of construction can be pushed aside for one author upon such things, people should make allowance for those writers who accept the handicap of rules and those who do not. Once let all writers be equally emancipated from the conventional thralldom of the rules, think

what flood-gates of alleged poesy would be opened up! Any sort of "barbaric yaup" could then pass muster as poetry. May the "sacred Nine" forever and a day forbid!

One day Sam accosted me with the remark: "I believe you say you like anapestic verse the best." I assented to the correctness of the surmise, when he added that it "had a better swing." Then he told me he was writing a poem in that measure and wanted to know if I knew anything about the miners of Jacksonville having, in an early day, executed an Indian by hanging. After refreshing my memory a little, I told him it was not the miners who hung him, but the military, under direction of Col. C. S. Drew. Indian George had been arrested for some alleged depredation, and without any trial by the civil authorities, was taken to Camp Baker, near Phoenix, and made a good Indian of, as Col. Drew expressed it at the time. This was not done, however, without some protest from the Indian agent, Rogers, and from many of the prominent citizens. Arriving at Camp Baker, matters proceeded expeditiously. A number of persons went up from Jacksonville to witness the strangulation. To *H. B. Oatman, I believe, was accorded the privilege of driving the wagon out from under the Indian. The Oatman family had been pretty much all massacred on the plains by the Apaches, hence the pleasure its surviving member took in the grewsome work of making "good Indians" out of bad ones whenever opportunity offered. And with that family, Indians were nearly all bad.

On this occasion, Indian George gave a loud war whoop as the wagon began to move out from under him, and the surrounding hills—perhaps the only thing present in sympathy with the victim—echoed the cry for a brief second of time, when the slowly tightening noose completed the work of life extinguishment. But what cared Col. Drew. As Simpson states it:

He was only an Indian, the son of Old Mary,
Swarthy and wild, with a midnight of hair
That arose, as he sped to the Lethean ferry,
Like a raven of doom in the quivering air.

*A relative of the Royse Oatman family, seven of whom were massacred by the Apache Indians in 1851.

Ah, his crime? I've forgotten,—it was something or other—

Judge Lynch's decisions were never compiled;
But we left him, at last, with his forest-born mother,
And she camped by the tree that had strangled her child.

Historically speaking, this is not strictly accurate. Old Mary did not camp "by the tree that had strangled her child," but had him removed near her wigwam on the hill east of Jacksonville, where the vigil that Sam so pathetically described in his poem was carried on. Sam had his version of the affair from W. A. McPherson, another poet and journalist, who must have got his information second hand also, and did not get it very straight. After my explanation of the incident, Simpson saw he was a little off, but said he would let it go at that.

He gave the piece the title of "Jacksonville Mary," at first, but when I expressed dissatisfaction with the name, he changed it to the strikingly appropriate one that it now bears, "The Mother's Vigil." It contained twelve full stanzas originally, of which the following three were the concluding ones:

Alone when the sombre and skeleton branches
Thrilled in the rush of the ship-wrecking storm,
And the glad little children, in hamlets and ranches,
Laughed at the ingle-side, ruddy and warm;
Alone, the sibyls of springtime, returning,
Flung over the forests an emerald mist;
And alone, when the stars of midsummer were burning,
And the musk roses dreamed of the god they had kissed.

While the years have gone on, and the flush times have faded,

Forever the smoke of her vigil ascends,
And the oak, all the while, that poor altar has shaded,
Like a penitent soul that would make some amends.
And still, from his ashes, the dead day arises
A blossoming wonder of beauty and truth,
And the myrtle-wreathed moon, in all gentle disguises,
Remembers, and twines her a chaplet of ruth.

Te Deums may roll in the gloom of old arches,
Where the white-handed preacher coquettes with his God,
But Truth finds her own in long battles and marches,
And the flowers will shine on that tear-sprinkled sod.
When the fire has gone out and the vigil is ended,
Poor Mary may sleep with the loved and the leal,
For the stars will mount guard over the ashes she tended,
And the beauty of morning return there to kneel.

Some of these predictions have certainly been realized ere this. "Poor Mary" no doubt sleeps, as it was said she would, and the flowers, if happily left to the laws of nature, perhaps regularly "shine o'er that tear-sprinkled sod." But not least of the tributes paid to such marked fidelity, is the immortal chaplet of verse which Oregon's truest and best poet has thus paid to the memory of an unfortunate member of an unfortunate race, and Jacksonville Mary now seems as imperishably enshrined in literature as are Pocahontas and Minnehaha.

When the poem was first tendered me to peruse, I did not catch its full beauty, owing to the difficulty I had in making out Sam's excellent handwriting, and it was not until we obtained a printed copy that my admiration rose to a full sense of its superior excellence. But the printed copy was a long time reaching us. When a copy finally did reach us, it showed that a portion of the second verse, for some unaccountable reason, had been left out, and it is not likely that anyone at this time has the full poem in his possession.

With the work of writing original verse now thoroughly under way, there was no occasion for trying to encourage the poet to greater diligence. His application to work gave assurance of a speedy accomplishment of the task he had in hand. He turned off poem after poem without any attempt at intermission or rest. "The Mother's Vigil" was speedily followed by "Milliarium Aureum," "The First Fall of Snow," "Sayonara," "Jump-off-Joe," "Williamsburg," "Forever," "Love Will Surely Come Tomorrow" and "Campfires of the Pioneers," till he had a creditable sized volume ready for the printer. But to find a publisher—there was the rub. Like

members of the craft generally, our poet laureate was too poor to bear the expense himself, and if he had any zealous friends among the book folk or moneyed people, they didn't exhibit a great deal of expedition in showing up. This was perhaps largely due to the fact that, while he could write the best of verse, he was not well versed in thrifty business methods.

Thirty-five years have come and gone since that hopeful volume was ready to launch upon an expectant public, and the author has long since ceased to be actuated either by hope or by fear as to the result. Will not the people of Oregon, precedent to their erection of his monument in stone, pay him the more useful homage of preserving his delightful lyrics in book form? Most of his poems had to do with the grandeur and beauty of the state, for Simpson was especially and almost exclusively an Oregon bard. His themes were always well chosen, and his treatment always moral and elevating in its tendency. For the impress of a pious mother's training was something he could not thoroughly shake off, however else he might go astray personally. Mere appeals to the sensual side of human nature are hard to find in any of his leading poems, and this was not accidental, either. He met completely that excellent definition of poetry which says it consists of "good thoughts happily expressed in faultless rhyme and meter." Some people call "Beautiful Willamette" his best effusion, but with me, there are many of them that are the best. When I read that exquisite story, told in charming verse, about the young maid who thought "Love will surely come tomorrow," I think it as pretty as anything that could be put down in words on paper. And when I read its companion piece, "Forever," that touches to the quick his own life's melancholy history, another sort of feeling comes over me, and I am awed by the thrilling grandeur of his own lamentations. Hear him:

The temples of youth are decaying
 In Beulah, the beautiful vale,
 While life has been wearily straying
 Away from its radiant pale
 To the waters of Marah, all sobbing,
 The sorrow of desolate years,
 The sorrow and tremulous throbbing
 Of hopes that have darkened to fears.
 "Forever, forever, forever!"
 Is the song of a dolorous river—
 The wail of the river of tears.

* * * * *
 * * * * *

Where mountains in desolate places
 Are crouching, bare-kneed, in the sand,
 Hoary sphinxes, with mystical faces,
 Wide gazing in revery grand;
 The garlands I twine by the river
 Are fillets of flame on my brow,
 And the crystalline chime of *Forever*
 Is the dirge of Elysium now.
 "Forever, forever, forever!"
 Was the chant of the musical river,
 That sang me a treacherous vow,

* * * * *

There's an odor of death in the flowers
 That droop in this chaplet of mine,—
 Believe me, in sunnier hours
 They breathed an aroma divine!
 And so I shall wear them forever,
 Unlovely endearments of death,
 As I turn with sick lips and a shiver
 From love's indestructible wraith.
 "Forever, forever, forever!"
 O sing to me, shadowy river.
 And heal the old sorrows of faith."

Appreciation of Simpson's genius was not wholly wanting even from the beginning. "Ad Willamettam," when first published, received the valuable endorsement of Calvin B.

McDonald, known to the newspaper world as the "Triple Thunderer," certainly one of the ablest writers at that time on the Pacific Slope. Equally valuable testimony was rendered by Judge J. H. Reed, an able lawyer, with strong literary leanings and conspicuously identified with the early history of the state. The money he acquired through his profession was largely expended in the mineral development of the state, especially the southern part of it. In writing from Kangaroo Camp, in the cinnabar section on the Klamath, over the nom de plume of "Bevens," he pays a tribute to our poet that I deem worth quoting in its entirety. This was as far back as December 8, 1877. He had been writing of mines and matters geological, when he suddenly turns his attention to poetry, the mail having just brought him a paper containing the poem he alludes to.

"A bas with geology! To the dogs with diorite and porphyry and feldspar and mica schist! I have just picked up a paper containing Simpson's poem to "Hood," and hard granite and hard luck have disappeared in company, and the poem acts like the 'insane root which takes the reason prisoner.' It is what opium is to the smoker, the lotus to its eaters and hasheesh to the Oriental dreamer. It excites and it allays, and produces mental activity and intellectual voluptuousness. To us 'laymen and unlearned' as we are, it gives pleasure, and whatever in literature or art produces pleasure must be beautiful in its degree. If a higher amount of refinement or cultivation could not enjoy it, we are thankful for our crudeness. Will its author have to go abroad and get the endorsement of Walt Whitman before his countrymen will admire him and stamp him a poet or not? * * * Has Whittier or even Tennyson a better line than the following:

"The stars' sweet-eyed eternity,

"Or this:

"And sunset's last and ling'ring ray,
Dropt by the weary hand of Day—
Upon thy regal brow doth fade.

"Simpson's subjects are always well chosen; they are subjects about which it is possible to write poetry, and every heading of the piece shows the man's conception. It is not *Mount Hood*, but 'Hood,' without peer, self-contained, unrivalled,

White despot of the wild Cascades!

"We know not if Simpson will ever be the fashion, but his pieces are always welcome at our camp."

And while I am making quotations I am tempted to use one more, to close with, that is as appropriate now as it was fifty years ago, when it was first uttered. Congressman Keitt, of South Carolina, in paying a most eloquent tribute to a deceased Senator, had this to say:

"The children of genius are bound together by household ties and the great of earth make but a single family. From earliest to latest of those who wear the glories of mind, there rolls a river of ancestral blood; it rolls through priest and warrior, through bard and king, through generations and empires and history, with all her wealth. There are kings of action as well as kings of thought, and both are emblazoned in the heraldry of this immortal descent."

And is it not a source of supreme pride to the State of Oregon that it had, at so early a date, a man fit for such emblazonry, and whose "raptured lines" are apt to live so long as her mountains stand, and her rivers seek the sea?

NOTE.—Samuel Leonidas Simpson was born in Missouri November 10, 1845, and was the second son of Benjamin and Nancy Cooper Simpson. His father was born in Tennessee on March 29, 1818, of Scotch ancestry. His mother was a granddaughter of Col. Cooper, who was a companion of Daniel Boone in Kentucky. He crossed the plains to Oregon with his parents in 1846. His mother taught him the alphabet when he was four years old by tracing letters in the ashes on the hearthstone of the primitive cabin in Marion county in which the family lived in the early days, and then taught him to read. The first poems he ever read, as he once informed the writer of this note, was a much worn volume of Robert Burns which was given to his mother at Oregon City by Dr. John McLoughlin where the Simpson family spent the first winter. An occasional country school three months in the year afforded the only opportunity he had for education until he was fifteen years old. Then he was employed as a clerk in the sutler's store of his father at Fort Yamhill, a military post near the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation. It was here that he became acquainted with Lieut. Philip H. Sheridan (afterwards General), an intimate friend of his father's, and here it was that he received a copy of Byron's poems from Sheridan. When sixteen years old Mr. Simpson entered Willamette University, Salem, and was graduated in the class of 1865. Soon afterwards he became editor of the Oregon Statesman, in which his father had an interest at that time, and continued in that relation until the close of 1866. Meanwhile he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1867, and began practicing; but clients were few, besides the profession of law was not to his liking, hence he entered the journalistic field, that being more to his taste, and followed that the remainder of his life. He was married to Miss Julia Humphrey, of Portland, in 1868, who bore him two sons. He died in Portland June 14, 1900, and was buried in Lone Fir Cemetery.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary, Oregon Historical Society.

THE INFLUENCE OF CANADIAN FRENCH ON THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT OF OREGON

This year of 1914 is the centennial year of the abandonment of Fort Astor, so called by the employees of John Jacob Astor. It was Fort George from 1813 to 1846. The change of the national master was the result of the visit of H. M. Sloop-of-War Raccoon. It caused the substitution of the British for the American flag. The men in charge held a meeting and resolved to go back to Fort William and their native Canada. It may be stated here that there were already two distinct classes of men in the fur trade beginning as a direct trade in furs to China. The first were a class of Highland Scots who had already become prominent in the fur trade, from which Mr. Astor chose some of his partners. These were already share owners of the Canadian North-West Company. The men with "Mc" prefixed to their names—as McKay, McDougall, McKenzie—were of Highland Scotch lineage, probably prominent by the natural selection of circumstances, as Alexander McKay was the most notable man of the North-West Company, whom Astor chose as a partner in his Pacific Association. His life was sacrificed through the folly of Captain Thorn's treatment of the natives on the Tonquin. There were men not Highland born, as the Stuarts, Manson, Birnie, Black, Douglas, Simpson, Tolmie and Ogden—men of business education; men whom it was not intended to feed on the flesh of horses or dogs.

Of the men we suppose John Jacob Astor selected from the North-West Company as partners, all were from Canada, as follows: Alexander McKay, Duncan McDougall, David and Robert Stuart; of clerks, there were eleven,—three Americans,—James Lewis and William W. Matthews, of New York, and Russell Farnham, of Massachusetts, and eight—Alexander Ross, Donald McGillis, Uvide de Montigny, Francis B. Pillot, Donald McLennan, William Wallace, Thomas McKay and Gabriel Franchere—three Canadian French and five Scotch

Canadians; of boatmen and mechanics, eighteen in number; thirty rank and file, all Canadians and ex-North-Westerners. These, had they not been used to discipline, would have killed Captain Thorn at Terra del Fuego. These men of all the grades of the fur trade they covered were used to obeying the orders of their superiors.

Fur hunting was a pursuit of chances of feast or famine, the latter from 1810 to 1830 much predominating. From Franchere's narrative I learn the North-Westerners at Post Okanogan ate the flesh of ninety dogs during the winter of 1812-13. Messrs. Wallace and Halsey formed winter camps in the Willamette Valley to relieve the stringency for food at Astoria, and even then Mr. Franchere was detailed to fish for sturgeon in the Columbia River, and mentions the relief so obtained from such contributions as apparently preventing the agonies of death by starvation.

The overland arrival of Wilson P. Hunt conduced to make Astoria the gathering point of the needy west of the Rocky Mountains, and of the upcasts of the Pacific Ocean, though the debris from the various posts and parties of Canadian North-Westerners seem to have caused accessions to the number fed at Astoria. The sick with scurvy were sent to Franchere's camp. Franchere notes under date March 20 that Reed and Seaton led a starving band from Astoria to the hunting camps of Wallace and Halsey on the Willamette, and returned to Astoria with a supply of dried venison.

April 11, McTavish and La Roche arrived at Fort George with nineteen voyageurs to meet the Isaac Todd loaded in London with goods for the North-West Company. The month of May was employed in preparing for return to Canada, but Clarke and Stuart (wintering partners) said there was not time to prepare, so it went over to 1814, and thus for another ten years no preparation would be made on the Pacific slope to give local support of agriculture to the profitable collection of furs and peltries.

It is hard to find when and by whom agriculture locally was used in the drainage basin of the great Columbia Valley. Ex-

perience had already proven that a New York merchant, however able, could not completely conduct the fur business in a humane manner. It is proposed to follow these Canadians to the ruling power of their own organization. We will follow Mr. Franchere's party, using his inimitable narrative, from Fort George, or Astoria, to the place and the tactics that furnished permanent food supply. There is one point that I press upon the attention of my readers. It is that the great majority of the ruling class of the North-West Company in the field service were either Scotch by birth or descent, and largely Highlanders. From the time of the break up of clans by the military order against the McDonalds, there was time for resolute men to place themselves in a chosen line of effort, and to that influence I ascribe the large proportion of Highland Scots named in the Canadian North-West Company. After Prince Rupert's Colony was formed, McKenzie, a trader whose cache had been found and looted at the mouth of the stream now called for him, spent May, 1813, collecting salmon, dried on the skin and baled for food, in the journey back to Canada, which the wintering partners, Clarke and David Stuart, said should not be undertaken till 1814. Mr. Hunt, who had gone up the North-West coast on August 4, 1812, returned in May, 1813, from Sandwich Islands. A man of great energy, he had been to Sitka and to East Kamchatka, and had collected 80,000 skins of fur seals. But owing to the loss of the Tonquin and Alexander McKay, his presence at Astoria had been greatly needed. He welcomed them now with salt beef, pork, rice and taro root which he had brought with him. But his order to continue on was not obeyed, and he will be held largely responsible for Astor's, or the Pacific Fur Company's, failure. His neglect to provide for Fort Astoria, when he first arrived there overland, was little short of dishonor on Hunt's part.

It is to the credit of the Canadians that they refused to continue occupants of Fort Astoria, and when Irving's romance is decayed, international good-will will increase. Ninety men left on April 4, 1814, and six days later bought four horses

and thirty dogs for food. On July 14, 1814, they reached Fort William, headquarters of the Canadian North-West Company, encompassed by well cultivated grain fields under promising crops of "barley, pease and oats." Franchere notes the successful cultivation of potatoes at Astoria, also the farming and livestock extending west from Fort William towards Winnipeg, and the strife already beginning for the food from the field.

We hear or see little history of Astoria, or Fort George, for ten years after Franchere's narrative leaves it. The replacement of the American flag only causes a laugh by the occupiers in 1818, but a historical event is never a proper subject of laughter. Ten years' time was needed to compress the Canadian North-West Company into union with the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company. Then Astoria was restored, but called Fort George. The Company was now filled with men of business education, from North Britain largely, but there was need for the most capable man they had to supervise the field service of the Oregon country, and it found him in Dr. John McLoughlin, chief trader at Fort William on Lake Superior. He was chosen chief by an association "which was composed and controlled by very active, practical and forceful men." I choose and endorse the words of F. V. Holman. Dr. John McLoughlin was chosen in 1821 to rule over such men at Fort George, or Astoria, and came to the appointment in the fall of 1824. The laborers were chiefly Canadian French, trappers and voyageurs, with a few Scottish Highlanders and less Hawaiian Islanders. The Scots were best for individual trust, and in directing Kanakas handling lumber or wheat; the French to catch and care for fur and peltries. There never were men more docile to do and to endure movement by land or water, fatigue, cold or hunger.

A comparison of the songs used in their traffic will do. A few lines by Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, will give the spirit of the Canadians:

"Faintly as toll the evening chime
 Our voices keep tune and our oars keep time.
 Soon, as the woods on the shore grow dim,
 We'll sing at Saint Ann's our parting hymn.
 Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
 The rapids are near, and the daylight past.

Why should we yet our sail unfurl,
 There is not a breath, the blue wave to curl;
 But when the wind blows off the shore,
 Sweetly we'll rest our weary oar.
 Blow, breezes, blow, the stream runs fast;
 The rapids are near and the daylight's past.

Ottawa's tide this trembling moon
 Shall see us float o'er thy surges soon.
 Saint of this green isle, hear our prayers,—
 Oh! grant us cool heavens and favoring airs.
 Blow, breezes, blow, the stream runs fast;
 The rapids are near, and the daylight's past."

A Gaelic Canadian boat song, sung on the St. Lawrence by a crew of Scotch Canadians, and taken by a retiring Hudson's Bay Company's officer to Scotland in 1824 and translated by John Wilson. The crew were six pullers and captain steerer:

Listen to me as when we heard our fathers
 Sing long ago the songs of other shores.
 Listen to me, and then in chorus gather
 All your strong voices, as you pull the oars.
 Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand,
 But we are exiles from our Fatherland.

From the lone Skeilin, on the misty island,
 Mountains divide us, and a width of seas,
 But still our hearts are true, our hearts are highland,
 And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.
 Ne'er shall we see the fancy haunted valley
 Where twixt the dark hills flows the pure, clear stream,
 Nor e'er around our chieftain's banner rally,
 Nor see the moon from loyal tombstones gleam.

When our brave fathers in the time long vanished
Conquered and fortified the keep,
No seer foretold their children should be banished,
That a degenerate lord might boast his sheep.

Come foreign rage, let discord burst in slaughter,
Oh, then for clansmen true, and broad claymores!
And hearts that would give blood like water,
That heavily beat against the Atlantic shores.
Fair these broad meads; these hoary woods are grand,
But we are exiles from our Fatherland.

The above was revived and quoted by a Colonel Berrie, near Toronto, Canada, to fill a regiment of Highland Scots to go to India against some troublesome Sikhs about 1885, and read by a wounded piper sitting in a pass of the Himalayas playing the "Cock of the North." If this story be true, the date of its making was 1829, the date of Dr. McLoughlin's claim to the site of Oregon City.

Not a word of war spirit, but a country as large as Europe, was abandoned, so far as known, on the 4th of April, 1814. The energy and practical good sense, which men esteem, left Fort George, or Astoria, and arrived at Fort William with the Franchere party on the 14th of July, and returned to Fort George in the autumn of 1824, in the person of Dr. John McLoughlin, who left the Chief Factorship of Fort William. He had the service of Peter Skene Ogden as chief trader. The first seed came to Dr. McLoughlin from Fort York and was sown near Vancouver while the new fort was under way. The most common date agreed upon of McLoughlin's beginning to plant his ex-engagees on farms in 1825.

JOHN MINTO.

CHAMPOEG, MARION COUNTY, THE FIRST GRAIN MARKET IN OREGON*

By JOHN MINTO.

It was named by the natives from an edible root, good for winter food, found on the south face of the Chehalem hills, on the west side of the Willamette river, opposite. The location was chosen as the site of a grain market for the Canadian farmers whom Dr. John McLoughlin induced to settle in what is now the north part of Marion county, as a market and shipping point, which position it held from 1830 to 1860. In 1843 it was chosen as an adjourned meeting place to form a provisional civil American government, which was done. So that from and after May 2, 1843, food was provided for the first important overland immigration, through the kindness of the chief factor, Dr. McLoughlin, in selling, loaning or giving food supplies at Fort Vancouver; upward of 800 of whom had that year arrived in Oregon, more than doubling the power of the provisional government. There was no serious privation in the winter of 1842-43. The great McLoughlin was incessant in 1844 in urging and aiding the growing of wheat, which was also used by him in the fall and winter of 1844-45, with like kind liberality. In 1845 Dr. McLoughlin went to London, to give an account of his stewardship, and he was forbidden in future to make such loans to American immigrants, as above related; in consequence he resigned his position and pay of \$12,000 a year rather than obey. There was sufficient wheat produced in 1845, '46, '47, '48, and '49, to meet all wants.

When the Indians murdered Dr. Whitman, his wife, and twelve others, in frenzy of superstitious hate and fear, no company sent to punish them was more effective than the French settlers sent in command of Thomas McKay. Many of

*In this connection it should be noted that the site of Champoeg, or "Champooick," as it was originally known, was the only point between the Willamette Falls and Salem where a trail or road could be opened to the river without having to cut through a heavy body of timber. In 1901 David McLoughlin, the youngest son of Dr. John McLoughlin, told me that was the reason why his father selected that place as the site of his warehouse in which to store the wheat he expected to secure from the French-Canadian trappers to whom he gave seed wheat in the spring of 1830.—George H. Himes.

these young men went from the field as volunteers to the gold fields of California in 1849, and most of them never came back. Many others went to the Missoula country, Montana, as settlers. Many of the old Canadian farmers (in French Prairie) sold to Americans, and those who remain can well join in making the twelve acres of State Park at Champoege fittingly commemorate the history here written.

EMIGRATION FROM IOWA TO OREGON IN 1843*

In spite of the great distance which separates the two regions there are many points of contact in the history of Iowa and the history of the Oregon country—the area now included in the States of Washington, Oregon, [Idaho and parts of Montana and Wyoming]. Especially interesting is the fact that a number of the men and women who helped to found the earliest communities within the present State of Iowa at an early day joined emigrant bands toiled over the long trail to Oregon, thus becoming pioneers of two Commonwealths. Scarcely had the eastern border of Iowa been settled before many of the settlers who had so lately crossed the Mississippi began to look to the Far West, to the much-discussed Oregon country.

There had been tides of emigration to Oregon from the Mississippi Valley and from the Eastern states in 1841 and 1842, but the movement seems to have attracted special interest in Iowa in the spring of 1843. Emigrant associations were formed, plans were made, routes were investigated, and finally a number of settlers from different parts of the Territory of Iowa departed for the Oregon country. In some cases it may have been pure love of adventure or the desire of the typical American frontiersman to escape the restraints of advancing civilization which induced these men to brave the dangers and hardships of the long overland journey. The hope of bettering their financial condition and of gaining better homes may have attracted others to the new Northwest. But aside from these personal motives there seems to have been a patriotic desire on the part of many to aid in the movement to settle the Oregon country and thus establish forever the claim of the United States to that rich and resourceful region.

Below are printed accounts of the organization of two of the so-called Oregon Emigrant Associations, together with instructions to prospective emigrants, copied verbatim from

*Reprinted from "The Iowa Journal of History and Politics," July, 1912.

newspapers of the period. These accounts illustrate the earnestness of the emigrants and the thoroughness with which they made preparations for the overland journey.

OREGON MEETING

[The following account of a meeting in Johnson County is reprinted literally from the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City), Vol. II, No. 14, March 11, 1843.—EDITOR.]

At a meeting held on the 3d of March, 1843, of the citizens of Clear Creek precinct, Johnson County, at the house of Mr. A. Gilliland, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a company to emigrate to Oregon, and devise rules by which said company shall be governed. The meeting was organized by calling John Conn, Esq., to the chair, and choosing Bryan Dennis secretary. Mr. Gilliland then explained the object of the meeting and presented a series of resolutions for the consideration of the meeting, which underwent several amendments and were adopted as a guide for the formation of a constitution.

Resolved, That the company shall draft and adopt a constitution for their government which shall provide for electing the following officers and defining their duties, viz.: One president, two vice-presidents, four trustees, one recording secretary and one corresponding secretary, who shall be treasurer *ex officio*.

Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the trustees to inquire into the character of all applicants who wish to join the company, and reject all intemperate and immoral characters. They shall also open books to receive subscriptions of stock, consisting of shares of fifty dollars each to be paid in cash, materials or labor, as will best suit the subscribers for the purpose of building a grist and sawmill for the company, and also a schooner or sloop, if funds sufficient can be raised.

Resolved, That as soon as the company shall number twenty male members between the ages of 18 and 45, they shall hold an election and elect one captain and five subordinate officers, whose duty it shall be to drill and command the company. After the above officers are elected, the company shall meet once per month for the purpose of drilling said company.

Resolved, That before the company commences their march, they shall elect a council of twelve persons who shall assemble in council with the officers of the company, who shall deliberate on and decide all matters pertaining to the company during their march.

Resolved, That there shall be hunting parties chosen who shall hunt for the company alternately while on their march.

Resolved, That each family and single person shall furnish a sufficient quantity of provisions and means of conveyance for the same and themselves while on their march.

Resolved, That the male members of the company between the ages of 18 and 45 shall be disciplined, armed and equipped to act on the defensive if necessary.

Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed by the meeting to draft a constitution and report at the next meeting.

Resolved, That the following persons shall constitute said committee: A. Gilliland, John Conn, Bryan Dennis, G. N. Headley, G. L. Frost, David Switzer, Asa Caukin (Calkin.)

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in both of the newspapers of Iowa City.

On motion, the meeting adjourned until the 18th instant, to meet at the house of Ja[r]vis H. Frost at 12 o'clock, M.

JOHN CONN, Ch'n.

BRYAN DENNIS, Sec.

OREGON EMIGRATION MEETING

[The proceedings of the adjourned meeting above provided for are reprinted literally from the *Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), Vol. III, No. 16, March 23, 1843.—EDITOR.]

A meeting of the citizens of Clear Creek, favorable to the settlement of Oregon Territory, was held at the house of Jarvis H. Frost on Saturday, the 18th inst. The meeting was organized by the election of the customary officers, when A. Calkins, Esq., briefly stated the object of the meeting—it being called for the purpose of hearing and considering the report of a committee appointed at a previous meeting, to draft a constitution and by-laws, for the formation, regulation and government of an Oregon Emigration society.

Mr. Calkin from the committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following:

CONSTITUTION OF THE OREGON EMIGRATION SOCIETY OF IOWA
TERRITORY, AT IOWA CITY.

Whereas a number of the citizens of Iowa Territory, have it in contemplation to remove to, and settle in the Territory of Oregon, west of the Rocky Mountains—and whereas it is desirable and necessary, in order to secure union and concert of action, insure tranquility, and promote the general welfare, that there should be some fixed and permanent rules for the government of the Society, during the preparation for said removal, and also during its march. We do therefore ordain and establish the following constitution, or form of government, and do mutually agree with each other, to abide by and support the same:

ARTICLE I.

1. The Legislative authority of this Society shall be vested in four Trustees, and twelve Councilmen, to be elected by the male members of this Society, entitled to a vote for civil officers under this Constitution.

2. The Trustees shall be elected on the eighteenth day of March, eighteen hundred and forty-three, at an election to be held for that purpose, at the house of Jarvis H. Frost (provided there shall be fifteen members present who shall be entitled to a vote), who shall hold their office until the first Monday of May, A. D. 1843, and until others are chosen in their place.

3. The Trustees and Councilmen shall be elected annually, on the first Monday in May, and shall hold their offices until others are elected in their place. The first election of civil officers shall be held at Iowa City on the first Monday of May, A. D. 1843. Provided there shall be at that time forty-five members who are entitled to a vote.

4. No person shall be eligible to the office of Trustee or Councilman, who shall not at the time of his election have attained the age of 25 years, and be a member of this Society.

5. It shall be the duty of the Trustees and Councilmen to make, ordain and publish all such by-laws, rules and regulations, for the government of the Society, as in their opinion, or the opinion of a majority of the whole number, would be expedient and subserve the best interest of, and promote the general welfare of the Society.

6. They shall keep a journal of all their proceedings, and the yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall at the desire of any two members be entered on the journals. The journals shall at all times be open to the examination of any member of the Society.

7. Any member of the Trustees and Council shall have the liberty to dissent from and protest against any act or resolution which he may think injurious to the general welfare of the Society, or any individual, and have the reasons of such dissent entered on the journal.

8. They shall have power to provide for the incidental expenses of the Society, by levying a tax, or establishing an initiation fee—to audit all accounts, and make appropriation for the same; and no payment shall be made by the treasurer, except upon the appropriation of the Trustees and Council, and order of the president.

9. They shall also, when on the march, meet in council, and consult with the military officers of the company, and a majority of the whole shall determine the course to be pursued in any case of emergency.

10. They shall have power to appoint hunting parties from time to time, while on the march (whose duty it shall be to hunt and procure game, and provisions for the general use of the Society), and to determine their duties and term of service.

11. They shall also have power to impeach, try, and for good cause to remove from office the president, or any other civil officer who is elected by the Society.

12. They shall also have a general supervision over, and regulation of the military, and have appellate jurisdiction of any decision of the military officers of the company.

13. They shall also have power to hear, try and determine all complaints against any member of the Society, for dishonesty, immoral or improper conduct, and to dismiss any member from the Society who shall wilfully disobey or violate any of the provisions of this Constitution or the By-laws of this Society, or be guilty of any immoral, dishonest or improper conduct, or for other good cause.

14. They shall use their influence to encourage the emigration with this Society, of ministers of the gospel, teachers, artizans and physicians.

15. It shall be the duty of the Trustees especially to examine all applicants for admission into the Society, and shall make report of the result of such examination at each regular meeting of the Society, and no person shall be finally admitted or rejected except by a vote of the Society, and no person of intemperate habits, dishonest, or immoral character shall be entitled to admission into this Society.

16. The said Trustees shall also open books for the subscription of stock, as provided in the second resolution adopted at a meeting of the citizens, held on the 3d day of March, 1843, at the house of Archibald Gilleland, and until otherwise provided by law, they shall be governed in their duties by said resolution.

ARTICLE II.

1. The executive power shall be vested in one president and two vice-presidents, who shall be chosen annually on the first Monday in May, by the male members of this Society, entitled to vote for civil officers under this Constitution, and shall hold their offices for one year, and until others are chosen in their places.

2. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all public meetings of the Society, and at all meetings of the Trustees and Council, and also, when on the march, at all meetings of the Trustees and Council, with the military officers of the company. He shall not, however, be entitled to a vote upon any question before the meeting, except in case of a tie, when he shall give the casting vote.

3. The president shall have power to nominate, and by and with the consent of the Trustees and Council, to appoint one recording secretary, who shall be ex officio clerk of the Board of Trustees and Council, and one corresponding secretary, who shall be treasurer ex officio.

4. It shall be the duty of the first vice-president to preside in the absence of the president, and in case of a vacancy of the office of president, he shall fill the office and perform all the duties of the president, until the vacancy shall be filled.

5. It shall be the duty of the second vice-president to preside in the absence of both the president and first vice-president.

6. No person shall be eligible to the office of president, or vice-president, who shall not have attained the age of 30 years, and be a member of this Society at the time of his election.

ARTICLE III.

1. The military authority of this Society shall be vested in one captain, two lieutenants and three sergeants, who shall be elected by the male members of this Society, between the ages of 45 and 17 years, whose duties it shall be to drill and exercise the company in military tactics, and who shall be elected in the manner provided by law.

2. Every able-bodied male member of this Society, between the ages of 45 and 17 years, shall be disciplined, and shall arm and equip themselves, and be liable to do military duty, under the rules and regulations provided by law, except the civil officers while on the march.

ARTICLE IV.

1. Every male member of this Society over the age of 17 years, shall be entitled to vote for the election of the said civil officers of this Society.

2. In case of a vacancy from any cause whatever, in any of the civil offices, there shall be an election held to fill the vacancy, at such time and place, as shall be designated by the president, who shall give twenty days' previous public

notice of the time and place of holding such election, and of the office to be filled, by publication in one or more of the public newspapers printed in Iowa City.

3. In case of vacancy in the office of, or in the absence of the president, the first vice-president shall give the requisite notices for such election; and in case of the absence of both the president and first vice-president, then the said notice shall be given by the second vice-president.

ARTICLE V.

1. No person shall be entitled to become a member of this Society who shall not have attained the age of 21 years, unless he shall at the time of making his application present to the Trustees the written consent of his parents or guardian.

2. No person of *intemperate or immoral* habits or principles, shall under any circumstances whatever, be admitted as members of this Society.

3. No Black or Mulatto person shall, in any case or any circumstances whatever, be admitted into this Society, or permitted to emigrate with it.

ARTICLE VI.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Trustees, Councilmen and other civil officers, shall be exempt from performing actual military service on the march. They shall, however, fully arm and equip themselves, and when on the march, in any case of emergency, shall remain with and protect the families and baggage.

ARTICLE VII.

This Constitution may be altered or amended at any time, twenty days' previous notice being given by the president, by publication in one or more of the public newspapers printed in Iowa City, of the time and place of meeting of the members of this Society, for that purpose: *Provided*, That two-thirds of all the members present shall concur therein.

The above title, preamble, constitution and by-laws, were unanimously adopted, and a large number of citizens present subscribed their names to the same.

On motion: Resolved, That the Society now proceed to the election of four Trustees.

Whereupon, A. Calkin, David Switzer, Israel L. Clark and J. L. Frost, were unanimously elected.

Resolved, That A. Calkin, Esq., be requested to deliver a public address before the society, at its next meeting.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the newspapers in Iowa City.

Resolved, That the meeting adjourn to meet in Iowa City, on the first Monday in May next.

OREGON MEETING AT BLOOMINGTON

[The following account of a meeting at Bloomington (now Muscatine) is reprinted literally from the *Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), Vol. III, No. 17, March 30, 1843.—EDITOR.]

At a public meeting held at the school house in Bloomington, on Saturday, 19th inst. for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a company to emigrate to Oregon Territory, the Rev. Geo. M. Hinkle, of Louisa County, was called to the chair, and Wm. F. Smith appointed secretary. The chairman having explained the object of the meeting, Mr. Jno. C. Irwin, chairman of the committee appointed for that purpose at a previous meeting, made the following report:

Your committee who were appointed to draft a report to be made to this meeting, beg leave to submit the following, to wit: that from the information they have obtained from various sources, they believe the Oregon Territory to be far superior in many respects, to any other portion of the United States—they believe it to be superior in climate, in health, in water privileges, in timber, in convenience to market and in many other respects; they believe it to be well adapted to agriculture and stock raising, also holding out great inducements to mechanics of the various branches; they would therefore recommend to every person possessing the enterprise and patriotic spirit of the true American citizen to emigrate to Oregon Territory at as early a day as possible, and thereby

secure to themselves, a permanent and happy home, and to their country, one of the fairest portions of her domain. In order to bring this subject more fairly before this meeting, your committee beg leave to submit the following resolutions for consideration and adoption:

Resolved, That the company here forming, start from this place (Bloomington) on the 10th day of March next, on their journey to Oregon.

Resolved, That the route taken by the company shall be from here to Iowa City, from thence to Council Bluffs, and from thence to the most suitable point on the road from Independence to Oregon, from thence by way of the Independence road to Oregon.

Resolved, That the company leave or pass through Iowa City on the 12th day of May next, and invite other companies to join, etc.

Resolved, That each and every individual as an outfit, provide himself with 100 lbs. flour, 30 lbs. bacon, 1 peck salt, 3 lbs. powder in horns or canteens, 12 lbs. lead or shot, and one good tent cloth to every six persons. Every man well armed and equipped with gun, tomahawk, knife, etc.

Resolved, That all persons taking teams be advised to take oxen or mules, also that [every] single man provide himself with a mule or poney.

Resolved, That we now appoint a corresponding secretary, whose name shall be made public, whose duty it shall be to correspond with individuals in this county and with companies at a distance, receive and communicate all the information that he may deem expedient.

Resolved, That the members of the Association meet on the last Saturday in April next, for the purpose of a more complete organization.

On motion of Mr. Purcell,

Resolved, That the resolutions just offered be taken up and read separately, which was agreed to, from the first to the seventh article were voted for unanimously, with the request that those who wished to join the company, would particularly look to the 4th and 5th resolutions.

TWO O'CLOCK, P. M.

Pursuant to adjournment, the meeting met, and being called to order, proceeded to the regular business of the day, Rev. Mr. Fisher, Gen. Clark, Rev. G. M. Hinkle, Judge Williams, Stephen Whicher, Esq. and J. B. Barker, Esq. addressed the meeting with very eloquent and appropriate addresses in behalf of those persons who wish to emigrate to Oregon.

On motion of Mr. Irwin, Gen. Clark was requested to act as corresponding secretary for the company until its final organization and departure for Oregon. Also, that committee of three be appointed to act in conjunction with the corresponding secretary in the transaction of any business for the advancement of the interests of the company. Jno. W. Humphreys, Barton Lee, and Tho's Gartland, were appointed said committee.

On motion, Resolved, That the ladies, and all others friendly to the settlement of Oregon, be respectfully invited to attend, and that the Rev. Mr. Hinkle and others be invited to address the assembly.

On motion, Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published in the *Bloomington Herald*.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Fisher, the meeting adjourned till Friday 31st inst.

G. M. HINKLE, Pre't.

W. F. SMITH, Sec'y.

ADVICE TO PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANTS TO OREGON

[The following communication is reprinted literally from the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City), Vol. II, No. 16, March 25, 1843.—EDITOR.]

There seems to be at this time a strong inclination on the part of many of our citizens to emigrate to the Territory of Oregon. It therefore seems to me that a plan of operations should be laid out by some person, and I have been anxiously waiting for full a twelve-month, in the expectation that some individual would perform the task, but having been disappointed in that expectation, I feel it my interest and duty to

lay before the public my imperfect plan in hopes that some one will thereby be induced to offer amendments until the plan of operations shall be perfected.

I have made every inquiry of those who have visited that region of country, and have read all perhaps, that has been written, of the character of the country, and have come to the conclusion that the distance from Burlington to Council Bluffs is 350 miles—from the Bluffs west, on the north side of Big Platt river, by way of the Pawnee villages, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains at the old pass, where Captain Bonneville passed with his loaded wagons, is 500 miles, and no stream to cross except the Loupe fork of Platt. The pass to which I allude is in about latitude 41 deg. 30 min. north, from thence take a west course, or nearly so, to the Wallamet river; the distance is about 500 miles, making in all about 1300 or 1400 miles travel. By an inspection of the maps you will discover that the whole route will vary but little from a direct line.

My plan for outfit, etc., is as follows: With oxen and mules you will travel with a caravan of say 100 persons, 15 miles per day, which, if you lose no time, you will accomplish the journey in 100 days, but make reasonable allowance for accidents and delay, and say 150 days.

FOR THE OUTFIT AND ORGANIZATION

100 men should be armed and equipped with a good rifle gun of large bore, carrying not less than 60 bullets to the pound—4 pounds of powder, 12 of lead—(flint locks are to be preferred,) caps and flints in proportion—and good knife and a small tomahawk. Those who go with a view to hunting and trapping ought to have along half a dozen traps suitable for catching beaver and otter. Percussion guns should have with them a spare tube in case of accident of one bursting; also, canteens. As to provisions necessary for the journey, say 150 pounds of side bacon, 1 barrel of flour, a half bushel of beans, 10 pounds of rice, 20 pounds of coffee, 20 pounds of sugar, one year's stock of coarse and durable

cloth, 2 blankets, and to every five men a tent the same size and form of the infantry tents in the regular army; they should be made of cotton drilling or dark cloth. To every five men there should be a wagon and team sufficient to transport two thousand pounds, hauled by three or four yoke of oxen; they should be shod and spare shoes and nails taken along, and a water keg to contain at least ten gallons to each wagon; each man should have the necessary implements of husbandry to go right to work, and each mechanic should take his tools with him; also in addition, each man ought to have a good poney or a mule to ride, (if he is able,) & that should be well equipped for packing and riding, a Spanish saddle and a picket line to tie your horse when feeding—saddles should have cruppers for this service. In addition, every man should take as many cows with him as he can get, they are scarce in Oregon, they might be learnt to work in yoke the same as oxen. With this outfit they ought each to have not less than from \$20 to \$50 in cash—when you go to the country your labor will produce cash—everything there commands cash, and common labor is very high. It will be necessary in such a company, that they should be completely organized like a company of regular soldiers; and I would advise that they agree (after choosing their officers) that they, while on their march thither, shall subject themselves to be governed by the rules and articles of war of the United States, so far as they shall apply to that service. I would recommend that to 100 men, they elect one Captain, who should carry a spy glass, four Sergeants, and four Corporals—and there ought to be a Bugler to give the signals, and if one cannot be had, there should be a drum and fife. Guides and buffalo hunters will be required who will have to be paid a reasonable sum, as it will not do for every one to go hunting and shooting at pleasure.

Prices at this time.—Wheat is nominally worth \$1 per bushel, beef 6 cents per pound, pork 10 cents, cows are worth \$50, oxen by the pair \$60, horses \$35, potatoes 25 cents per bushel, common labor is worth \$35 per month and boarding,

etc. found. I should recommend those who wish to emigrate, to be ready at this place by the first to the tenth of May. This route will be found much shorter and easier than any other which has been travelled. There are on this side of the mountains to cross, first Skunk, Des Moines, and then the Missouri, after that you will cross the Loupe Forke of Big Platt, this last stream is quite shallow at a common stage of water, say about from 18 inches to 3 feet—has a quick sand bottom, and ought to be crossed with double teams and they should be hurried on fast.¹

A party of the above description should take with them 2 good cross-cut saws and 2 whip saws, spikes and oakum that in case they could do no better, they could in two days build a ferry boat, say 30 feet long and 10 feet wide, but they will hardly be reduced to that necessity, because there is no stream on the whole route, except the Missouri river, but what you can ford in a common stage of water during the summer months—and I believe there is a ferry kept at or near the Council Bluffs. Take all the cattle you can, they will travel as fast as your teams and keep fat. Also, have plenty of seines and fishing tackle, hooks, lines, etc.

I speak of Burlington as a very suitable point to start from, because we have an abundance of the necessary supplies, and an excellent and very commodious steam ferry boat for those who are east of us. Companies ought not to be less than fifty

¹ The undersigned was an eye-witness to the engulfing of an emigrant wagon and one yoke of oxen at a crossing of the Platte river in June, 1853. The emigrant had a wife and two children. His outfit consisted of a wagon and four yoke of oxen and a good supply of provisions. He was on the south side of the river, and decided to cross to the north side. The water at this crossing was referred to as being about two feet deep. He drove his team into the water, wading beside the same. About half way across, the two yoke in the lead turned completely around, facing the wagon. Before he could get them straightened into line the wagon sank in the sand, also the two rear yoke, beyond extrication. Other emigrants, seeing the impending peril, drove teams slowly by the sinking wagon, one after another, and rescued the family, saved the provisions and three yoke of oxen; but the wagon and wheel yoke of oxen sank under the turbid waters of the Platte. The customary way of crossing the Platte was for a horseman to attach a line to the lead yoke of oxen, and thus the team would be kept in a straight line and in constant motion, thus avoiding danger. The emigrant who suffered the loss was told that it was risky for him to attempt to cross the river without assistance; but, as it was reported at the time, he replied by saying, "That I guess I know my own business, and if I want any help I will let you know."—GEORGE H. HIMES, Assistant Secretary.

efficient fighting men, but 100 would be better ; there are some Indians who are rather hostile, and they might attack a small party for plunder.

ONE WHO INTENDS TO EMIGRATE.

N. B. Newspapers friendly to the enterprise are requested to give the above an **insertion**.



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