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THE
QUARTERLY

OF THE



VOLUME XVI

MARCH, 1915—DECEMBER, 1915

Edited by

FREDERICK GEORGE YOUNG

Portland, Oregon
The Ivy Press

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THE QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XVI

MARCH, 1915

NUMBER 1

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

THE INDIAN WAR IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY*

By the Indian War in Washington Territory is meant the struggle that began between the Indians on the one side and the white people on the other side in the fall of 1855. The struggle that then ensued is sometimes called the Yakima War, from the fact that it had its inception among the Yakima Indians. It also extended into and over much of Oregon, but for the purposes of this address Washington only will be considered.

When white men first came to the country the Indians had most erroneous impressions and conceptions of them. They could estimate them only from what they knew among themselves, and from what they saw of the white men. The immense size of their vessels—ten to twenty times that of the largest canoes—at once caused astonishment, which merged into awe at the wonderful things possessed and done by these strangers with white skins. Their clothing, their foods, their noisy but deadly weapons, their articles of trade were all new to the Red Men. They had never seen or heard of things of the kind. These white men to them were superior, almost supernatural beings. Their possessions were deemed of extraordinary value, compared with which those of the Indians were as of nothing. Avaricious traders took advantage of their favored situation to make bargains with the untutored

*The annual address to the Oregon Historical Society, delivered December 19th, 1914, at Portland, by Mr. Thomas W. Prosch of Seattle.

savages upon the basis of fifty, one hundred and sometimes two hundred to one. As the traders increased in numbers competition became sharper, the natives better informed, and wrongs of this kind were lessened in frequency and gradually caused to cease.

After the ship merchants came land merchants, the various individuals and companies of 1811 and later years. Of these the oldest and greatest was the Hudson's Bay, the only one of the early days still in existence. In this paper that company alone will be mentioned. Its agents proceeded to establish themselves safely, pleasantly and permanently, upon the theory of exclusive occupancy of a fur producing region. As time went on they were compelled to change their course; farming and milling were resorted to, and the stores of the Company sought and received much patronage from visiting ships and from white men who uninvited came among them. Their establishments at Vancouver, Nisqually and elsewhere were sufficiently strong and fortified to keep out the Indians, and a rule partially military and governmental was adopted. The natives were impressed by the power of the Company and were compelled to yield to it in every clash. The Company was just to them. Its wares were always good, and the prices were fair. The employees were a mixed lot of men—a few English, a few Scotch, an occasional American, French-Canadians, Hawaiians, Indians from various parts, and many men in whose veins flowed the blood of both white and red races. They intermarried freely, and they gave their children every advantage that their means and opportunities afforded. There was little or no sign of race prejudice. The rudest dullest native could readily see that he was measured and respected for what he was worth, and that the treatment given him was just as good as that given any other person under like circumstances. They appreciated this, and became loyal and devoted adherents. To them the Company was not only employer, but ruler, guide and friend.

Things went on this way until the coming of the American

missionaries and settlers. In their fewness and weakness they did not attract much attention until 1842-43. The Indians could see by that time that these white men were different from those of the Company. The new men took to themselves large tracts of land, a mile square; they had stores of their own; ships came to them; they were visited by agents of a distant government; as their numbers increased they organized and assumed charge and control of the country. The Indians were amazed. In their loyalty to the Company they did not like to see these things. There is no question that if a war had arisen between the United States and Great Britain at that time, the Hudson's Bay Company could have enrolled on the British side every Indian in what later became the Territory of Washington; nor can there be doubt that the Indians wondered why the fur company did not expel or exterminate the troublesome Americans in the earlier days, when they were able so to do, as Indian tribes all over the continent did with other Indians when the latter encroached upon the particular territory claimed and partially occupied by the tribes referred to.

As the years went on, and the Americans became more numerous and more aggressive and bold, they crowded the natives and hampered them. Rumors came to the Indians of what had occurred between the races two thousand miles and more to the east, and how their people had been subjugated, and destroyed or driven out. They could see that the story thus told them was being repeated in the Willamette Valley. More white men came to Oregon than they supposed, in the beginning, were in the world, and they heard of still more planting themselves—in Utah and California. White men crossed the Indian lands, killed the game, and in some cases abused the tribespeople. Soldiers followed, warships, gold-miners and finally the office-holders of a new Territory.

Of these latter Isaac I. Stevens was chief and foremost. He was not only the first governor, but superintendent of Indian affairs as well. He was instructed to make treaties

with the Indians. Throughout the western country they were intended to be substantially the same. Local conditions caused some variance with the general plan. They looked to the establishment of the Indians upon reserved lands, all other lands going to the government of the United States for the purposes of the white people. For giving up their rights to the country, not included within the reservations, the Indians were to be paid in merchandise, instruction, care and otherwise. Here slavery was abolished, trade in liquor prohibited, and traffic forbidden with the people of foreign lands. The benefits to the Indians were spread over a long term of years. The natives were dealt with as though they were nations, instead of tribes, and in some cases mere handfuls of people. The compensation promised was small—inadequate, insignificant—and even at that was not honestly and fully paid. The first of the treaties was made with the Indians of the upper Sound in December of 1854. Three reservations were provided for, each of about twelve hundred and eighty (1280) acres, for the Puyallups, Nisquallies and Indians near Olympia. The lands were not in one case suitable, and in no case sufficient in extent. Other treaties followed, the last concerning us being one at Walla Walla in May and June of 1855. A great number of Indians were there assembled, from the Umatilla, Walla Walla, Palouse, Yakima and parts adjacent. As Oregon was interested, Joel Palmer, superintendent there, participated with Stevens. They had a military escort, foods and presents to give and strong men to urge the treaties upon the natives. Some Indians favored and some opposed. More than once it looked as though the Council would end in failure. At last, after much oratory, persuasion and strategy, and three weeks of time, the white men accomplished their purpose. The treaty was signed, by some reluctantly, and by others willingly. A few refused to sign. It was reported that a proposition was made by disaffected ones to join forces and massacre the white officials, soldiers and citizens there gathered. To have done this would have been comparatively easy for the thou-

sands of warriors then upon the grounds. No one, of course, will contend that the Indians thoroughly knew what they were doing. All proceedings were conducted through interpreters, and at the best this method was faulty. And then memory is frail. Different people will hear, understand and remember differently. The natives could not read and they placed their "X" marks upon a paper not one word of which they individually understood. Within a month an old Indian has appeared at Seattle who signed the treaty affecting the lands there in January, 1855. He said that the Indians had not been paid as promised; that they were to receive two buckets full of gold coins for what they gave up in the vicinity of that city. He probably knew as much as the other Indians what they were doing, and his recollection of it was probably no more erroneous than theirs. The first and last of the Stevens treaties were apparently the immediate cause of the war that followed, for the Indians affected by them were the ones that entered upon it, while the Indians affected by the other treaties generally abstained, though the terms of all the treaties were substantially alike.

In these negotiations and treaties, the proprietary rights of the Indians to all the lands in Washington Territory were recognised by the government of the United States. This fact, thus brought to the attention of the natives, set them to reasoning along a line of thought not intended. They saw the white people increase from about one thousand in 1850 to about five thousand in 1855. These white people had taken vast tracts of land, and the best land at that, that belonged to the Indians. The most fertile lands; the most level and approachable; the choicest landings and townsites; the campgrounds, cemeteries, fishing sites, berryfields were all taken in this wholesale manner by white men who, as the Indians now learned, had no right to them. Further, these apparently lawless white men had no use for more than one per cent of the lands thus taken. As they became more numerous they also became more harsh and arbitrary with the Indians. The

laws of the latter had no force with the white men, while their own laws were imposed upon the native whether or no, and the latter invariably got the worst of it in their legal and sometimes illegal altercations. The Indian mind gradually came to know that it was only a question of time until they would be reduced and perhaps destroyed by these new strong people, who had come among them; either that, or a combination among the Indians, a sudden war, and extermination of the strangers. While they were thus contemplating their unhappy situation, a new cause for trouble arose.

Gold was discovered in the Colville country. White men began going there. The Indians had some knowledge of the discoveries in California, and of the vast armies of white men who, since 1848, had annually gone there in quest of the yellow metal. They knew that if anything of that sort occurred in Washington Territory they would suffer and die in consequence. Their country would be overrun, their game destroyed, their means of subsistence exhausted, their rights of every nature disregarded, and they insulted, abused, impoverished and starved. Some of them, wisely or unwisely, determined to resist, to prevent the threatened calamity or die in the attempt.

In the summer of 1855, seven men left Seattle to seek gold in eastern Washington. While in the Yakima Valley they were attacked by Indians, and four of the number killed—Eaton, Fanjoy, Walker and Jamieson. The other three men escaped, and soon were over the Cascade Mountains, telling their former neighbors of the unhappy and disastrous experience which they had undergone. It was reported that other white men, also seeking gold, were killed by the Indians about the same time.

When information of these murderous acts reached the authorities, A. J. Bolon, an Indian agent, was sent to inquire of the Indians concerning them. He was at the Catholic Mission in Yakima, September 23rd, in conference with the Indians. It is said and, no doubt truly, that he threatened them with

punishment; telling them that soldiers would be sent for that purpose, that the murderers would have to be given up; and that their wickedness would cost the Indians dearly. After the conference, which in itself was devoid of results, he started for home. He was followed by Qual-chen, a young chief, and three other Indians, who killed him and his horse, afterwards burning the remains of both man and beast in a fire made for the purpose. The Indians probably thought that in this way no word would reach the white settlements of the tragedy, and that no trace would ever be found of Bolon. If they so thought, however, they were mistaken, as in a few days reports of the agent's death were received from friendly Indians, and with them other information of the hostile and warlike intentions of the Yakimas.

Major Gabriel J. Rains, in charge of military affairs along the Columbia River, at once ordered Major Haller into the country of the disaffected Indians. With him were one hundred and five men, rank and file. They left Fort Dalles October 3rd and returned October 10th. They got to Toppenish, about sixty miles, met a great number of hostiles, fought with them and retreated; the white men recognizing the overpowering strength of the savages. They lost five men killed, nineteen wounded, thirty pack animals, camp equipage, a howitzer, etc. The Indian losses in killed and wounded could not be told in this affair or in others following, as it was customary with them to remove from the field those of their own number either hurt or killed. There was reason to suppose, however, that their losses during the war, were greater than those of the whites with whom they were contending.

These events meant war, were war. As the United States had not soldiers enough in Oregon and Washington Territories to overcome the Indians and protect the settlements, Governor Curry and acting Governor Mason called for volunteers, calls that were promptly responded to. Major Rains determined to strike at the Yakimas, and in the latter part of October started

with a large force, having that purpose in view. For three weeks or more in November he was there, moving about, seeing the hostile Indians, approaching them, but in no case getting near enough to fight them. With him were three hundred and fifty regulars, and six companies of Oregon Mounted Volunteers under Col. J. W. Nesmith, the latter acting in conjunction with the Major's troops but independently. Altogether there were more than six hundred men. Among the regular army officers was Phillip H. Sheridan, afterwards Lieutenant General of the army, but then a Lieutenant having a small company of dragoons under him. Much snow fell, and marching became difficult and almost impossible in consequence. The expedition was a complete failure, owing to the slowness, timidity and inefficiency of Major Rains. One Indian only was killed, and he a helpless old man, by an Indian with the soldiers. The latter lost several men by drowning. Fifty-four army mules were lost. The Oregon men suffered somewhat from the weather and in the matter of horses. Under misapprehension the Catholic Mission was burned by the volunteers. Major Rains wrote a bombastic letter to Chief Ka-mi-a-kin November 13th which, if received by the Indian, must have astonished and puzzled him. The authorities were also astonished and annoyed by this military fiasco. Captain E. O. C. Ord, a few years later a successful and distinguished general in the army of the Union, but then in this expedition having three howitzers to look after, at once filed charges against Major Rains, and demanded that he be tried by an army court. Rains was immediately transferred to Fort Humboldt, California, by General Wool, who recognised his incapacity and placed him where he at least would do no harm. In 1861 Rains resigned, and entered the Confederate service, where he served during the four following years as a brigadier general.

Another party of Oregon Mounted Volunteers, at first under Major Chinn and later under Lieut. Col. J. K. Kelly, went up the Columbia by The Dalles to Walla Walla. It was said the

Indians there had seized, kept and destroyed considerable property belonging to white people. It was intended to punish them for these acts. When the Oregonians got to the Touchet they met the Indians under Chief Peu-peu-mox-mox. While they kept away they did not appear to be hostile, and the chief who, prior to this time had been regarded as a friendly Indian, gave himself and four others as hostages. Later (December 7th) a collision occurred, in which the volunteers lost eight men killed and eleven wounded. During the fight the Indian hostages were greatly excited and attempted to escape, all being killed in the effort. How many other Indians were hurt or killed has never been known.

War operations west of the Cascade Mountains began shortly after the Haller expedition to Yakima Valley. The Indians implicated were chiefly, almost entirely, the Nisqually, Puyallup, Duwamish, White and Green River tribes, led by Les-chi, Qui-e-muth, Nelson, Kitsap, Sta-hi and Ka-nas-ket, encouraged and aided by Ow-hi and others from the Yakimas. The scene of disturbance was in King County, from the town of Seattle about forty miles to the southeast. October 28th occurred the first blow, when four men, three women and two children were killed by the savages in what has since been known as the "White River Massacre." That same day a party of white men were ambuscaded in Puyallup Valley, and two of them killed—James McAllister and a settler named Connell. December 4th, while in camp at or near the present town of Auburn, Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter and three soldiers were killed and four wounded, all belonging to the regular army. Somewhat carelessly they exposed themselves in the evening, by standing and moving about in the light of large campfires. Hostiles under Kanasket crept up in the darkness and brush, and fired upon them with the results indicated. In these three affairs the Indians sustained no losses. Before the year ended there were several encounters between the volunteers and regulars on the one side and the Indians on the other in which a number of white men were killed and

wounded and undoubtedly as many or more Indians. Taken altogether, the war tragedies and losses of the whites in the campaign of 1855 were much greater than those of the Indians, as was to be expected, considering the unpreparedness of the white people and the character of offensive operations carried on by the savages.

On October 31st a party of seven men were fired on—A. Benton Moses, Joseph Miles, George R. Bright, Dr. Matthew P. Burns, Antonio B. Rabbeson and William Tidd—were ambuscaded, and Moses and Miles instantly killed, Bradley and Tidd wounded.

When the war began the forces of the general government in the Territory were inadequate to the protection of the citizens. The military posts were Forts Vancouver and Steilacoom, with a small force at the former under Major Rains, and a single company at Steilacoom under Captain Maurice Maloney. In a few weeks additional companies were sent from California to both forts, and in January of 1856 came the Ninth Infantry, the greater part of the regiment going to Vancouver under Col. George Wright, who assumed command of the district drained by the Columbia River, Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey taking the Sound district. To the Sound the government sent ships—the revenue cutter Jeff. Davis and the sloop-of-war Decatur, sail vessels, and the steamers Active, John Hancock and Massachusetts. These vessels had a restraining effect upon the Sound Indians, and the men on board rendered valuable assistance in protecting the settlements along the shore. Acting-Governor Mason organized the First Regiment of Volunteers in October for three months' service, and Governor Stevens the Second Regiment in January for six months' service, and in addition to these, the Territorial forces included several companies of so-called Rangers and Indian Auxiliaries. The First Regiment had no officers of higher rank than captain; the Second Regiment had two Majors—Hays and Van Bokkelen, and one Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw. The Adjutant General was James

Tilton, the U. S. Surveyor General, and one of the Captains was Edward Lander, Chief Justice of the Territory. Nearly one-half of all the men in the Territory rendered military service during the war. With all these forces, on ship and land, organized equipped and provided for, the weak and scattered Indians were unable to contend, and after a few efforts fled into the timber and over the mountains to the east. Early in 1856 the war ended as far as attacks by the Indians were concerned, but not so far as attacks by the white men.

The only two considerable efforts made by the Indians in 1856 were attacks upon the town of Seattle and the block house and settlement at the Cascades. Led by Owhi, Leschi, Nelson and others, Seattle was attacked on the 26th of January. Houses in the outskirts were burned and all day long, from dawn to dark, a musket fire was kept up by the Indians in the woods against the people in the village below. Reply was made by the men of the place, and by the men from the U. S. Ship Decatur on shore, as also by men on board, using the big guns of the war vessel for that purpose. Two white men in the town were killed. Three of the under officers of the Decatur—Hughes, Middleton and Phelps—in after years became Rear-Admirals of the U. S. Navy.

The west side hostiles were now approaching exhaustion and were quite in the throes of discouragement. They yielded from day to day, some retiring to places of hiding, and some coming into the settlements for food and mercy. While in this unhappy condition a number of small encounters with the soldiers occurred, but they were not of the Indians' seeking, and were generally disastrous to them. The chiefs, accompanied by a few of their tribes-men, went over to their allies in Yakima.

One event occurred, however, that is worth here recording. For all previous time, as far as known, Indians from the far north—five hundred to a thousand miles—had been coming south in large parties and robbing, enslaving and killing the

less powerful, less united and less war-like Indians of Puget Sound. One of these bands of marauding savages made its appearance in 1856. They went from place to place day after day, making trouble for both whites and Indians. Captain Samuel Swartwout, of the U. S. Steamer Massachusetts, was asked to drive them away. He found them November 20th at Port Gamble. He proposed to these Northern Indians to tow their canoes to Victoria, and start them for home, saying to them that they would not be punished for their offences if they would go and promise never to return. They contemptuously rejected these offers, said they would do as they chose, threatened and offered to fight, and were generally insulting. They did not seem to know that they stood no chance against a warship, but they soon so found. Their canoes with one exception were battered to pieces. Twenty-seven of their number were killed and twenty-one wounded, their other property being destroyed and they reduced almost to the point of starvation. The hundred or more survivors surrendered, and were taken on the ship, landed at Victoria, and started from there on their return to Southeastern Alaska. In this affair these northern Indians learned a lesson they never forgot. One member of the ship's crew was killed and another wounded.

March 26th, Indians from the Washington side of the river attacked the little settlement and block house at the Cascades, on the Columbia. Hostilities continued three days. Sergeant Kelly and eight men defended the block house. The Sergeant reported one of his men killed and two wounded; also a boy. Reports of the losses among the settlers were conflicting, one as high as twenty-five killed and wounded, another fourteen, and still other estimates or statements. Colonel George Wright came to the relief of the besieged people on the 28th. The hostiles were overpowered, beaten and captured or driven away. Wright took fifty of them, nine of whom he promptly hanged for their complicity in this affair.

Governor Stevens organized, equipped and sent out a strong force under Lieutenant Colonel B. F. Shaw in June, 1856. The men were mounted, and they crossed the Cascade Mountains by the Nachess Pass. They went on to Walla Walla without event of especial character. There they met a considerable number of Nez Percés, who had taken no part in the war. July 11th the Indians had a talk with Col. Shaw, and three days later he had another with Indians of the same tribe at Lapwai. These talks by nearly a score of different Indians—head-men or chiefs—were generally of friendly and pacific character, and gave assurance that as far as they were concerned there would be no war. Some Indians had been troublesome in eastern Oregon. Learning that they were at Grand Ronde, Col. Shaw with one hundred and ninety men went there, and had a fight with them on the 17th of July. Five of his men were killed and five wounded. He reported forty Indians killed; also, as captured two hundred horses and a large quantity of provisions, most of which were destroyed. This expedition concluded the military operations of Washington Territory. The inhabited portions of the Territory were then free from war dangers, and the uninhabited part—the eastern portion—was left to the regular army to care for. Ordinarily the military operations of a State or Territory are confined to the limits of the State, but during this war such lines and courses of proceeding were disregarded. Enlistments and purchases were made in one for the other, and the enemy were struck by Washingtonians and Oregonians wherever found without regard to boundaries. The only objection to this came from the U. S. General commanding the department, and his objections were disregarded by all.

The regulars, or U. S. soldiers, made their chief effort in 1856 in the Columbia River District, including Yakima and to the north. Beginning in April, and extending over a period of four months, Col. Wright marched hundreds of miles there, having under him eleven companies of regulars, or about seven hundred men. Those next in rank were Lieut. Col. E. J. Steptoe and Major R. S. Garnett, to whom were entrusted on

several occasions important undertakings. The Indians were cowed. They either avoided the soldiers, or paltered with them and deceived them, or came into camp and begged for mercy and rations, both of which they received. The command spent much time at Toppenish, Nachess, Kititas and Wenatchee. Chiefs Ow-hi and Ka-mi-a-kin broke their promises to Col. Wright, and fled instead of surrendering. Wright made what appeared to be good arrangements for the Klikitats, who complained to him of being tyrannized over and oppressed by the more numerous and powerful Yakimas. Col. Wright returned to Fort Vancouver after this expedition without having met a known enemy, and without a loss to those under him, or inflicting an injury upon the Indians. He decided to establish two military posts, one being left to Col. Steptoe which Wright called Fort Walla Walla, and the other to Maj. Garnett which he called Fort Simcoe. Garnett was a "fire-eater," as hot headed southerners were called in those days. A pioneer citizen writing of him many years ago, said that he told army officers from northern states that, if the North and South should become involved in war, as then seemed imminent, he would be on the southern side, and would put as many of them under the sod as he possibly could. When the war broke out, in 1861, he became a Confederate Brigadier, but on his first and only encounter (July 13th, in Virginia) with the Union forces he was defeated and slain.

All operations of war-like character were now ended. The Indians were exhausted and unable to do more in the district covered by the hostilities of a twelve-month from the early autumn of 1855. There were episodes, however, apart from the field of battle that should be mentioned.

From the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts and people were unmolested by the Indians during the troubles, unfavorable comment was frequently made by men who were prejudiced, uninformed and reckless of statement. It was a foreign corporation, with rights in the United States recognized by the treaty of 1846, the dealings of which were largely with

the Indians. It was to the interest of the Company to maintain peaceable relations with the Indians, and that it was able to do so in times like those, when others were not so able, was much to its credit. Notice was taken by the agents of the condition of war, and as far as the natives were concerned strict neutrality was enforced. They were advised to keep on terms of friendly intercourse with all the white people; credit was refused to those who engaged in the war, and sales of guns, powder and lead were suspended. With the white people on the contrary the Company employees were all but allies. When money was scarce and military supplies needed by the Territory forces, appeal was made to James Douglas, Chief Factor and Governor at Victoria. He advanced seven thousand dollars upon the request of Governor Stevens, which money was used in the purchase of powder, lead, blankets, coffee, sugar, etc. Stevens was unable to return this money, and Douglas had to wait until 1859 for Congress to make the necessary appropriation. Further, Douglas sent the Company steamer Beaver over to the Sound to show the Indians that the Company was opposed to the war, and her presence had an impressive effect upon them. At one time he regretted the absence of a British war vessel, preventing him thereby from giving more substantial help. The position he and his company took may have prevented some of the Coast Indians to the north from engaging in the war, or at least fair minded people at the time so thought. The local agents of the Company during the war, occupied positions of great difficulty and delicacy, in which, however, under the instructions of their Chief Factor, Governor Douglas, they acquitted themselves commendably.

The war, of course, cost much money. Adjutant General Tilton and Governor Stevens, May 25th, 1856, estimated that by September 1st when the terms of service of the troops would be ended, the costs in Washington Territory would aggregate \$1,899,996. As the U. S. Government was responsible for the protection of the people, and in like cases had paid in other states, it assumed the obligation here. A commission was

appointed consisting of two army officers and one citizen—Capt. Rufus Ingalls, Capt. A. J. Smith and L. F. Grover—the latter in after years Governor of Oregon and United States Senator. They carefully went over the claims, and on the 10th of October, 1857, reported that in Washington Territory expenses had been incurred for subsistence, equipment and pay of troops amounting to \$1,481,975.45. The amount in Oregon was more than three times greater. The commission did not take into account property losses of citizens, which were very great, and for which efforts to secure compensation were subsequently made with much persistence and diligence. Congress was nearly two years in acting, when the whole matter was referred to the Third Auditor of the Treasury, R. J. Atkinson. He assumed the role of “watch dog of the treasury.” He paid no attention to the report of the Grover-Smith-Ingalls commission, but took up the original accounts, and examined them critically and harshly. He reported against them in 1859, 1860 and 1862, and his reports had influence with Congress. It was finally determined to pay the volunteers regular army rates, and to pay for purchased supplies in the same way. This was unjust to people here, and not at all like the treatment given Californians under similar circumstances a short time before. Scrip had been issued for the services and supplies, and this from the beginning had been at a discount. In some cases it is said to have sold as low as ten and twenty per cent of its nominal value. Nothing was paid until 1861, and then slowly and cautiously for a long term of years. The Treasury Department gave twenty year bonds, bearing six per cent interest to pay these accounts, delayed for years, reduced in amount about one-half, and the bonds themselves being worth less than their face. Some of these Indian war accounts were unpaid in the 1870's. It is safe to say that, taking all things into account, the people did not get one-fourth of the money they should have got, and that the service rendered the United States was more illy paid than any other of the nineteenth century in the history of the

nation. In order to justify this course on the part of the government the territorial authorities and people were loudly and frequently slandered as plunderers, instigating and keeping up the war for the purpose of robbing the Indians and Federal Government.

When the war was really ended, by the yielding and fleeing of the Indians, Governor Stevens, not realizing the truth of the assertion just made, committed the error of declaring martial law in Pierce County. He alleged that five men living in the country were guilty of treason, treason against the United States, in that they were giving aid and comfort to the hostile Indians. The men were placed in the guard-house at Fort Steilacoom. They were subsequently taken before a military court, but the court not having jurisdiction discharged the prisoners. In the meantime, however, an effort had been made to get the prisoners before the U. S. District Court, and secure their release by writ of habeas corpus. When the governor heard of this movement, he headed it off by declaring martial law, April 3rd. Chief Justice Lander proceeded to hold court in disregard of the governor's proclamation, whereupon a squad of volunteer soldiers took possession of the court room and removed therefrom both judge and clerk. The judge was detained for some days, but upon recovering his liberty went to Olympia, there to hold court, and it was said to punish the governor for contempt. Stevens headed off this attack by proclaiming martial law in Thurston County, May 13th. For eleven more days this condition of affairs remained, but on May 24th Governor Stevens by a third proclamation abrogated the other two, and restored control to the civil authorities. Not long after Judge Lander summoned Governor Stevens before him, and imposed upon him a fine of fifty dollars for his course in these matters. This whole affair created a great sensation, as might be expected from an occurrence so extraordinary. Meetings of the bar members and of the people were held at Steilacoom, in which the Governor was strongly censured, and the Legislature also con-

demned him, though it is but fair to say that at a subsequent session the Legislature gave him and his course approval.

Another mistake was made by the Governor not long after this one of martial law. He evidenced ill feeling towards Chief Leschi, and made it plain that he should be punished. He offered a reward for his capture. Tempted by this offer the chief was betrayed by one of his tribesmen. He was tried on the charge of murder at Steilacoom. The jurymen disagreed. Upon a second trial Leschi was convicted. He was sentenced to be hanged by the neck until dead. When the day of execution came, the Pierce County sheriff frustrated the court order by connivance with the friends of the Indian chief. The matter was taken into the Legislature, which placed it in the Supreme Court, which in turn ordered the chief hanged at Steilacoom by the sheriff of Thurston County, which order was executed in February, 1858. As the leader of the war party in western Washington, there was strong feeling against Leschi, and his trial in the county where he lived and operated at that time could not result favorably to him. Nevertheless, it was felt that he had been engaged in war, that it was customary at the conclusion of war to let by-gones be by-gones, that he had been greatly punished, and that further punishment in his case was neither wise nor well.

Though this war was a small one it was full of disagreeable features. One of these was the petulant fault-finding of General John E. Wool, at the head of the military forces on the Pacific Coast in 1855-56. He early assumed that the white people were more to blame than were the Indians, and he did not hesitate to say so again and again on every available occasion. Of course, his charges were disputed by the newspapers and citizens of both Oregon and Washington, as also by Governors Curry and Stevens. Wool maintained that the war was encouraged and continued for the purpose of employing unnecessary volunteer soldiery, supplying them with horses, foods, equipment and other necessities at high rates of compensation, all to be charged against and collected from the general government. He charged them specifically and

generally with cruelties and acts of outrageous violence and murder, and made official report of their mishaps, misfortunes and alleged misconduct on numerous occasions. He ordered his subordinate officers—Col. Wright, particularly—to arrest, disarm and send out of eastern Washington Governor Stevens and others who might be there with him. Wright disregarded these instructions, and was repeatedly reprovved by the General for so doing. The Governors and Oregon Legislature made formal complaint of him to Washington City, and demanded his removal. Subsequently General Wool did what he could to prevent the people of the two Territories being suitably compensated for their services and expenses during the war. The Secretary of War and President made no answer to any of the misconduct and like charges so freely presented to them. The War Secretary at one time reprovved the General for his course in another matter in California, and in still another instance gave severe disapproval to Captain Cram's Military Memoir, which General Wool in forwarding had lengthily and heartily commended. The National Administration was democratic; Oregon and Washington Territories were also democratic, with democratic legislatures, governors and congressmen, and it was not advisable to have unnecessary trouble in the political family. So, beyond publishing these various letters, reports, memorials, etc., the acrimonious and discreditable row was patiently borne and wisely ignored.

Though somewhat irrelevant, perhaps, it may be well to refer again to the Memoir of Captain Thomas Jefferson Cram, U. S. Engineer, so highly commended by General Wool, and so justly condemned by Secretary Floyd. The Captain covered all the ground in Washington and Oregon and all the subjects. He was unfavorably impressed with both country and people. Beyond a few regular army officers and their doings nothing was very good. In what has since been done in these two States, what they are now, and what they are going to be and do, he could be glad, if alive, to suppress by fire every copy of his Memoir of one hundred and twenty-three printed pages. He said, for instance, that "there never

will be anything in the interior of this forbidding stretch of country to induce the movement of such a force into the interior should a reasonable show of defense be exhibited by a field force." It was impossible "to defend the mouth of the Columbia River with any known practical system of fixed batteries." Besides, fortifications were not really necessary, as the river "mouth is always blocked by a mass of oscillating sand," and "at high tide a vessel drawing eighteen feet can seldom pass the bar." So also on Puget Sound land fortifications would be useless, steam floating batteries necessarily being the weapons there. "Sea steamers of ten feet draft," he said, "ascend the river to the City of Portland." Willamette Valley would sustain a population of one hundred and fifty thousand. Portland would continue to be the commercial center of that district, unless it were found that sea steamers could "at all times ascend to the foot of the Cascades." The vast region drained by the Columbia River was one which impressed the observer as incapable of sustaining a flourishing civilization. This, said he, "is the general view to be taken of Oregon from the Pacific to the summit of the Rocky Mountain Range, a region only fit, as a general rule, for the occupancy of the nomadic tribes who now roam over it, and who should be allowed peacefully to remain in its possession." Speaking more particularly of Washington this sagacious military engineer, historian and author declared that "the whole Yakima country should be left to the quiet possession of the Yakima and Klickitat Indians." Also this: "In the acquisition of this strip of territory it is certainly not to be denied by any sensible man who has examined it carefully that the United States realised from Great Britain but very little that is at all valuable or useful to civilised man. For the Indians, but for the presence of the whites, it would ever have remained well adapted." The document was replete with utterances of a disparaging, belittling, slanderous, false and absurd character, concerning the people, officials, soil, timber, waters and future possibilities, of the Oregon country given out with high military approval, published by the Government, circulated broadcast,

accepted in many places as fair and right, and with no redress to the country and people maligned, except that afforded in the lapse of time, long time, and the unconcern and forgetfulness of the great general public. Fortunately all the army officers were not like Wool and Cram. Many of them saw things here under more pleasant lights, and they bore to the end of their lives recollections of grateful character concerning the days they spent and the people they met in Oregon and Washington Territories.

The year 1857 passed without war incident. The west side Indians were thoroughly vanquished and accepted peace on any terms. The east side Indians, except those in the Klickitat and Cascades vicinities had got off easily, some of the tribes without a scratch. They were emboldened and defiant. In 1858 they resented the coming among them of goldminers, and reports were rife of killings and robberies by them of such white men. The Stevens treaties had not been ratified by the Senate, and the Indians yet claimed all the country. They came down to Walla Walla and stole horses and cattle, including thirteen beef animals belonging to the fort. Col. Steptoe felt that he must do something for the protection of these miners and the prevention of depredations. May 6th he started for Colville with one hundred and fifty-two enlisted men, besides officers and others. In ten days they were in the Spokane country and there on the 17th were attacked by Palouse, Yakima, Spokane and Coeur d'Alene Indians, estimated by Steptoe to number ten or twelve hundred. Believing that they would be overwhelmed by numbers a retreat was begun. A running fight ensued. In the evening a temporary halt was made upon a height, which at ten o'clock was abandoned for a further night march to the south. With help of friendly Nez Perces the Snake River was crossed, and the soldiers were soon at Fort Walla Walla. Seven of the men were killed and fourteen wounded. The losses also included the two howitzers and other equipments and supplies. Lack of ammunition for prolonged fighting was one of the reasons given for

the retreat. Steptoe made a candid report of the whole affair, which fact tended in his favor as far as criticisms were concerned. He was one of the very few army officers in the Territory then who did not subsequently distinguish himself and secure one or more promotions. He resigned his commission in 1861, and died in 1865.

Of course this attack upon Steptoe must be avenged. The civil authorities were not interested in it. The military had changed in leadership and sentiment. General N. S. Clarke was in command, and he and others were now in favor of the Stevens treaties, of subduing the Indians, and of opening the country to the travel, trade and settlement of the white men. General Clarke ordered a double-headed movement against the Indians, and in August it started forth. It continued six weeks, and was entirely successful. One division went from Fort Simcoe under Major R. S. Garnett up the west side of the Columbia River, through the Yakima, Kittitas, Wenatchee, Chelan and Okanogan districts, five hundred miles up and back, meeting few Indians and no real opposition. Ten Indians were given up to him as those connected with the killing of white men, and were so accepted and shot. The other division was from Fort Walla Walla under Col. George Wright. It went up the east side of the Columbia River into the Palouse, Spokane and Coeur d'Alene districts, encountering the Indians of those tribes and a few others. He fought them twice, near Spokane, on the 1st and 5th of September. The battles were one-sided in results. His casualties included the wounding of one man only. The Indians had about one hundred killed and wounded. He captured one thousand horses, all but a few of which he killed. He also destroyed large quantities of food stuffs stored by the Indians for the winter, and he compelled them to return horses, mules, guns and other properties they had previously stolen or taken from the whites. In addition he compelled them to sign treaties of peace, to give hostages for their future good conduct, and surrender those who had been most forward in inciting the previous hostilities, twelve of whom he promptly hanged.

Col. Wright had a complete little army—infantry, artillery, dragoons, a corps of friendly Nez Perces and his own staff. In the two divisions—Wright's and Garnett's—were one thousand men, the largest force ever assembled in Oregon or Washington for hostile purposes. Wright came to California in 1852, a lieutenant colonel; in 1855 he was promoted to colonel, and in 1861 to brigadier-general. During the war of rebellion he was in command of the department of the Pacific, with headquarters at San Francisco. In 1865, while on his way to Fort Vancouver, the steamer *Brother Jonathan* on which he was a passenger was lost and he was drowned.

The Indian Wars of Washington Territory were now ended. The two races had clashed and one been overcome by the other. The Indians were subdued. Chief Ka-mi-a-kin was driven into life exile in British Columbia; Chief Ow-hi shot while trying to escape from the troops; Chief Qual-chen hanged. The Indians had paid for the killing of the gold-miners and Agent Bolon. They had learned the lesson, learned by other Indians before them a thousand and two thousand miles to the east. No matter what their thoughts and feelings subsequently were, they were determined in Washington Territory to fight the white men no more. It was better so for them and us.

It is not always agreeable to say good things of the Indians, and not always grateful to say bad things of the whites, in contrasting them, but it is none the less true, be it said to our shame, that the most atrocious, fiendish and barbarous acts of the struggle herein briefly treated were those of our own people—the cruel, cold-blooded killing of the wife and six children of Chief Spencer, the killing and mutilation of Chief Peu-peu-mox-mox, and other deeds of similar character that we all know of but shrink from mentioning.

In the preparation of this paper, the letters and reports of the territorial officials and U. S. army officers have been the only published sources of information availed of, and from them they have been drawn much the greater number of the statements made. The general matters, deductions, and comment obviously are those of the writer.

THE METHODIST MISSION CLAIM TO THE DALLES TOWN SITE*

By MRS. R. S. SHACKELFORD, The Dalles

In the spring of 1838 Rev. Jason Lee, the superintendent for the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, sent to a place known as Wascopum the Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H. K. W. Perkins to establish a mission at that point. It was situated where the city of The Dalles now lies, and it will be seventy years this spring since the establishment was started.

In 1844 Lee and Perkins left the mission for the East and Rev. A. F. Waller entered upon the work about that time. "Mr. H. B. Brewer had been there since 1840, and the mission had accumulated quite a little stock and built six plain, moderate-sized buildings on the premises. The dwelling house was a frame filled in with adobe; the church, school-house, barn, storehouse and workshop were log, all of which were estimated to cost about \$4000.00 and were built mostly by Indian labor, and there were about 70 acres under some kind of an enclosure.

In 1844 Rev. George Gary superseded Jason Lee as superintendent of Oregon missions, with instructions to reduce the cost of expenses, with the result of closing up all missions in Oregon except that one at The Dalles. The mission property in Willamette valley was sold to the Oregon Institute and to the laymen who had been dismissed from the service of the Society. Hines states that these sales amounted to twenty-six thousand dollars. By 1847 Mr. Gary had disposed of nearly all the livestock at The Dalles station and was trying to negotiate with Dr. Whitman of the American Board Mission for the sale of the station itself. In the same year before that had been consummated, the Rev. William Roberts succeeded Mr. Gary, and an agreement was finally made for the transfer of the mission station to Dr. Whitman, and in September, 1847, Messrs. Waller and Brewer transferred the station, a canoe, some farming utensils, grain and household furniture for the

*Read before a meeting of the "Old Fort Dalles Historical Society," 1908.

sum of \$600.00 and actual possession was given. There was a kind of understanding that religious exercises and instruction for the Indians should be kept up, but there was no legal obligation to that effect, nor did the Methodist people expect to return to occupy the station if this was not done, for they were becoming very much discouraged in regard to converting the Indian.

Dr. Whitman was supposed to have "purchased the station primarily for himself and nephew, Perrin B., to whom he promised the west half of it if he would remain and take care of it until the spring, when his uncle expected to return and make his permanent home there."

So Perrin B. Whitman, nephew of Dr. Whitman, a youth of seventeen years, was placed in charge and Dr. Whitman unfortunately returned to his own mission station at Waiilatpu, about six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, and where he was murdered November 29, 1847. The following month, December, 1847, Perrin B. Whitman became so alarmed at reports of Indian hostilities that he left The Dalles, taking with him Mr. Alanson Hinman, whom his uncle had sent there in October from Waiilatpu, as farmer and housekeeper.

From that time on no missionary work was done at The Dalles and no missionary occupation by either the Methodist or American Board was ever maintained there. A detachment of volunteers, with young Whitman's permission, was stationed there and the provisional government continued to use it till the troops were withdrawn from the upper country after the Cayuse war closed in the summer of 1848. After that the premises remained unoccupied except by occasional "travelers and immigrants until the spring of 1850, when a military post was established there by the United States and the premises included in a military reserve."

Now, as I have endeavored to make plain, the occupancy of the mission and its changes, it is proper that I sketch the establishing of the town of Dalles City. Both claimed the site and out of these claims grew the contest.

As early as 1852 the place called The Dalles was occupied as a townsite for purposes of trade and traffic and has been so occupied ever since. In 1855 the county of Wasco, which was organized January 11, 1854, caused the site to be surveyed into lots, blocks and streets and record thereof made. "In January 26, 1857, Dalles City was made a corporation with boundaries including said townsite and on April 18, 1860, entered at the U. S. Land Office at Oregon City the fractional northwest quarter of section three in township one, containing 112 acres, and including the land so occupied as a townsite under the townsite law of May 23, 1844 (5 stat., 667; 10 stat., 306), in trust for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof according to their respective interests and now claimed to be the owner thereof accordingly." Besides these two claims there were others which had to be settled.

Three suits were commenced in September, 1877. That one numbered 390 was: Dalles City vs. The Missionary Society of the M. E. Church; No. 391: James K. Kelly, Aaron E. Wait and Phebe Humason v. the same; No. 392: James K. Kelly and Aaron E. Wait v. the same.

As already stated, the three suits were begun in September, 1877, in the State Circuit Court of The Dalles in Wasco County. To quote from Judge Deady's decision, from which most of the following information was gathered: "The summons was served by publication, and on September 12 the defendant appeared and had the cause removed to the U. S. Circuit Court, District of Oregon, where they were all three entered on January 30, 1878. On October 15, 1879, the three causes were heard together."

The history of the claims prior to this must be explained and is as follows: When the claims came up the Commissioner of the General Land Office authorized the surveyor general to "hear and determine the conflicting claims of the Missionary Society, Bigelow, and Dalles City to the premises. On February 16, 1860, the parties appeared before him and soon after "he directed a deputy surveyor to make a survey of the premises (1) as claimed by the Society; (2) as actually occupied

by it; and (3) so as to include its improvements with 640 acres south of the bluff in substantially a square form. Plats of these surveys—the second one containing 87 acres—were forwarded to the Commissioner by the surveyor general with his decision [rendered February 2, 1861] that the society was not entitled to any portion of the premises as a missionary station. Neither of these ‘plats of survey’ were approved by the surveyor general in the sense of the statute, because they were each made upon a hypothesis that the society *occupied* the premises or some portion of them as a mission station on August 14, 1848, which he found not to be true. This decision was affirmed on appeal February 7, 1863, by the commissioner. From there the cause was appealed to the Department of the Interior, where it rested till 1875, when it was finally reversed. After the decision of the Secretary of the Interior, the commissioner wrote to the surveyor general advising him of such decision and directing him to furnish that office with a ‘certified diagram of the claim of said Society’ as confirmed by the same. In obedience to this direction the surveyor general on June 17, 1875, certified to the commissioner a diagram of the first of the three surveys as being a plat of the survey of the Methodist mission claim at The Dalles, and upon this the patent was issued as appears therefrom July 9, 1875.

As I have stated, the case was taken before Judge Deady in 1879, who again reversed the decision and ruled that this patent was void because it was not issued upon a ‘plat of survey thereof’ approved by the surveyor general, but upon survey made by the agent of the mission in June, 1850.”

“Now, in June, 1850, the agent of the defendant went upon the ground and surveyed and marked the boundaries of the claim as he understood them to be, and in 1854 the Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, its agent, notified the surveyor general of the territory of the claim of the defendant thereto,” and this is the survey on which the Secretary of the Interior issued the patent, and is also the same as was described in No. 1 of the survey of 1860 (as claimed by the Society).

Judge Deady declares "a patent could not lawfully issue upon the survey of the claim by the society itself. A survey of the grant involved the question of how much land was occupied by the mission and within what limits. To allow the society to do this would be to make it a judge in its own case." And, again, he says that "whatever then may be thought of the correctness of the survey, the proposition that the patent was issued without a 'plat of survey' approved by the surveyor general, in the face of all these facts, is not tenable."

"There does not appear to have been any survey prior to that of 1850, but the occupants and Indians doubtless understood that it should include certain points or places." Judge Deady did not think that it was ever expected, however, or intended, that it should extend north of the bluff between that and the river, a distance of about one-half mile, where were the villages and camping ground of the Indians and voyageurs up and down the Columbia River."

Another interesting point was the re-transfer from the American Board of Missions to the Methodist Mission Society in 1849. The death of Dr. Whitman had of course prevented the occupation of the station by the American Board.

The draft of \$600.00 which he had given upon the American Board had never been presented, and in March or February, 1849, soon after the news of the Organic Act was received in Oregon, "an arrangement had been made between the superintendent of the M. E. Mission and Messrs. Elkanah Walker, Henry H. Spalding and Cushing Eells of the American Board for the re-transfer and cancellation of the \$600.00 draft." This was done, as Judge Deady says, "not with any view of resuming missionary work, but to enable it to obtain a grant on account of its occupation prior to September, 1847. To the same end and to assist it in obtaining damages from the United States for taking a portion of the station as a military reservation, the defendant in February, 1859, obtained from the American Board a formal quit-claim to the premises, although in November, 1858, Messrs. Walker and Eells, professing to act upon a power to them from said Board dated February 28,

1852, for a nominal consideration, had conveyed the premises subject to the military reservation to Messrs. M. M. McCarver and Samuel S. White." Rev. Myron Eells once mentioned this matter to me with much regret, and said his father had corrected and amended this matter as much as it lay in his power to do so.

It was urged by the Society that their claim was valid because the U. S. Congress had passed an act June, 1860, for the relief of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church. That was in this way: In 1854 the military reservation at The Dalles, which had covered a number of square miles, was reduced to 640 acres by order of the War Department to "be laid off in such manner as least to interfere with private rights." In the execution of the order 353 acres as surveyed by the mission agent in 1850 was included in the reservation and covered all the improvements of the mission. The Society put in a claim for compensation. This was referred to Major G. J. Rains, the post commander of Fort Dalles, who reported in favor of paying them \$20,000. This was recommended to be paid by the house committee on military affairs—\$20,000 for satisfaction of the claim for the land and also \$4,000 for the destruction of property upon the mission claim. The committee considered from their evidence that the Society was still in "possession" of the property on that memorable August 14, 1848, while Judge Deady again emphasized the fact of non-occupancy and ignores the (to use his own words) "convenient term possession." (Act, August 14, 1848.) Now the Organic Law, which was passed on August 14, 1848 (when Oregon became a territory), contained a clause on the *Grant to Missions in Oregon* upon which much stress has been legally laid in the suits between Dalles City and the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church. To quote, the grant "is not confined to a single station to each society, but includes as many stations as were then *actually occupied* by each society for missionary purposes among the Indians." Now, note the *actual occupation* clause of the grant, for upon that peg hung all the rights of The Dalles people.

He also says that the fact of the claim being advanced by a powerful and popular religious organization for whose good will and favor the average congressman in Oregon and elsewhere has a lively regard, may not have been without its effect on the result, and continues that "in making provision for payment of this claim, cannot, under the circumstances, have any effect to invest the defendant with the title to the premises," and also rules "that all that was done amounted only to a release, and was not an admission by the United States, to whom the release was made, that the releasor—the defendant—ever had any right to either land or improvements, but only that it asserted some kind of claim thereto which it was deemed expedient to satisfy and extinguish. But since this payment of \$24,000, there is no longer cause for regarding it as even morally entitled to anything from the public on account of its missionary operations at The Dalles."

"The conclusions of the court is that the defendant did not *occupy* the premises on August 14, 1848, as a missionary station or otherwise and that it was not deterred from so doing by the danger from Indian hostilities, but voluntarily abandoned the same before September 10, 1847, without any intention or expectation of reoccupying it under any circumstances, and therefore the patent to the defendant was wrongfully issued; and the decree of the court will be that the defendant be declared a trustee for the several plaintiffs herein for so much of the premises described in the patent as is claimed by them in their several suits, and that the defendant, within ninety-days, by a sufficient conveyance or conveyances, containing proper covenants against its own acts, to be approved by the master of this court, release to the said plaintiffs accordingly all right and title to said premises, and that it pay the plaintiffs their costs and expenses of suit. (Signed) James K. Kelly and N. H. Gates for plaintiffs; Rufus Mallory and John C. Cartwright for the defendants."

Thus ended the suits numbered 390, 391 and 392, but it was appealed from the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Oregon to the Supreme Court of the United

States. Argued March 22, 1883. Decided April 16, 1883. The history of the case continued the same and the three cases were tried upon the same evidence used in the Circuit Court of Oregon, and the statement of the case by Mr. Justice Woods brings in but one new argument, which is based upon the following:

"Until the passage of the Act of 1850, called the Donation Act, no one could acquire as against the government any title to or interest in the public lands of Oregon Territory, and there could be no constructive possession of them." Before that there was no law by which any person or company could acquire title from the government except by the grant of August 14, 1848—possessory rights were not recognized." The most they could claim was the right of *actual occupancy* as against other settlers." After briefly reviewing the case, Justice Woods delivered the opinion of the Court as follows: "The decree of the Circuit Court was, therefore, right and must be affirmed." Mr. E. L. Fancher for appellant. Messrs. John H. Mitchell and James K. Kelly for appellee.

Many citizens of The Dalles paid the Missionary Society for their holdings in the town and I cannot leave this subject without a brief reference to that part of it. Mr. John C. Cartwright levied the assessment for the Board of Missions and made the settlements. In about 1886 Rev. W. G. Simpson, then pastor of M. E. Church in The Dalles, went to New York and succeeded in getting a hearing from the Board with the result that \$23,000 was honorably returned to The Dalles people who had settled with the mission Board through Mr. Cartwright. In reference to suits Nos. 391 and 392 I would say that on Nov. 1st, 1853, Winsor D. Bigelow took a donation land claim of 320 acres (claim No. 40) at The Dalles and resided upon it and cultivated it until Feb. 16th, 1860. His title was derived under act of Congress of Sept. 27th, 1850, commonly called "The Donation Act," and which gave, upon certain conditions, to every white settler upon the public lands, who was over the age of 18 years and being a citizen of the United States, a half section of land if he were single or

a whole section if he were a married man. The records clearly show full compliance with the law which established his right to the land. "On Dec. 9th, 1862, he conveyed an undivided *one-third* interest of a certain 27 acres on the bluff at Dalles City, and part of his donation claim, to James K. Kelly and Aaron E. Wait, plaintiffs in *No. 391*; and on December 12th, 1864, conveyed the remaining *two-thirds* of the said 27 acres to Orlando Humason. Judge Humason died testate on Sept. 8th, 1875, having devised his interest in the 27 acres to Phoebe Humason, his widow, who became one of the plaintiffs also in *No. 391*.

On Dec. 2d, 1864, Mr. Bigelow conveyed to James K. Kelly and Aaron E. Wait 46 town lots, part of his donation claim and situated in "The Bluff Addition to Dalles City," which as plaintiffs they claim in suit numbered 392."

¹ I am greatly indebted to the late Rev. Myron Eells, whom I visited some years ago on the Skokomish Reservation where he was Indian agent for many years, also to a valuable little book by Mr. H. B. Brewer, who lived, as farmer, at The Dalles mission from 1840 to 1847, and to the son of Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, whom I met at Umatilla some years ago and who was here as a boy with his father, who was agent in the 50's for the missionary society.

REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM H. PACKWOOD

BY FRED LOCKLEY

Wm. H. Packwood of Baker is one of Oregon's earliest pioneers and is the last surviving member of the Constitutional Convention held in Salem in August-September, 1857. Although he has borne the name of Packwood all his life, as did his father before him, yet it is not their family name. His real name is believed to be Duncan. In speaking of the matter Mr. Packwood said "My forefathers lived in Virginia. They came from Scotland. In the colonial days some little time before the Revolutionary War, there was a big flood in the Potomac River Valley in Virginia. Some river men who were out in a boat on the swollen stream saw a little boy on a big tree that was drifting down stream. He was just a little chap and when he was taken ashore they asked him what his name was. He was too small and too much bewildered to tell them what his name was so they called him Billie. He was adopted by one of the river men and soon grew to be a strong and vigorous boy. He was a good worker. Part of his work was to carry loads of wood to the boat. His adopted father used to attract the attention of strangers and say proudly. "See Billie, there, pack wood." Having no other name than Billie, they fell into the way of calling him Billie Packwood. He grew to manhood, settled on the James River where he married and raised his family. He was a stockman and he eventually owned much land and a large herd of cattle.

"I learned of the origin of our family name from Uncle Elisha Packwood. In 1854 he visited his grandmother in Virginia who at that time was nearly 100 years of age and who was cared for by two negro slaves. His grandmother had a large plantation in Virginia on which at that time in '54 there were about 300 slaves. When his grandfather died he left a will in which it was provided that all of the slaves who would emigrate to Texas should have their freedom and whatever money they made on the plantation for a start in life, when

grandmother died, which was about ten years after grandfather. The will was an old one and was made when Texas was a republic.

"A good many years ago I met an old Scotchman named Archie Downey in Baker County. He said his people and the Packwoods were neighbors in Virginia and that my name was Duncan. He told me I was of Scotch descent and at the time of the flood on the James River four Scotch families had settled higher up the James and that they were all drowned except one boy. He said that it was a matter of common knowledge that one of those four families named Duncan was the only one who had a boy of the age of the one found floating down the river on the tree. I suppose my name really is Duncan but inasmuch as the name Packwood has served our family for 100 years or so I guess it is too late to change.

"My grandfather, Larkin Packwood, was born in Virginia and from there went to Kentucky and still later to Tennessee. He had ten sons and two daughters. My father, Larkin Canada Packwood, was one of the youngest of the children and was born in Tennessee. My father's father went to Illinois with his family and took his slaves with him. When Illinois was admitted to the Union as a state he moved to Ozark County, Missouri, where he could continue to hold his slaves. One of the boys, Larkin Canada Packwood, did not go to Missouri as he had found an attraction which held him in Illinois. He was married on October 31, 1831, to Elizabeth Cathcart Stormont. She was born in South Carolina and her people came from Ireland. She had come to Illinois about 1826. My mother had two sons and four daughters. Two of her daughters died while children. Another of the daughters, Mary, married a physician and died in early womanhood, while Agnes, the remaining daughter, died in Coos County about 40 years ago. My mother died while giving birth to a son, who also died at the same time. I was the other son.

"I was born on October 23, 1832, on Jordan Prairie just north of Mt. Vernon, Illinois. I was named for my grandmother's family, the Henderson's of Kentucky. My mother's

people had emigrated from the Carolinas and they were Covenanters. With the Mumfords, Cathcarts, Stormonts and Campbells they came to southern Illinois, where they settled. They were all of the old type of God-fearing, law-abiding, Sabbath-observing Scotch. So strict were they that no work was done by man or beast on the Sabbath day. All food for Sunday was prepared on Saturday and no recreation or amusement was allowed on Sunday. We lived at Sparta for about seven years and went to church at a little settlement called Eden, a mile east of Sparta. There were two churches there both covenanters; one of the Old Light Church and the other the New Light Church. We went to the Old Light Church, of which Rev. Wiley was the pastor.

"When I was a boy a man named Adams came to Sparta and started a saddler's shop. He was a hard worker and a good saddler, but it was whispered around the community that he was a Freemason. He apparently could not decide which church to go to and so stayed in his shop on Sundays and played the flute. Being a Freemason was bad enough, not going to church was worse, but playing a flute on the Sabbath was considered the height of iniquity or the depth of depravity, whichever way you want to put it. At any rate he was pointed out as an awful example and it was thought by all the old covenanters that hell was yawning for him. I was a little chap and one day he asked me to carry in some wood for him and he paid me well for it. I never could be convinced after that that he was altogether a bad man.

"A child's recollections are peculiar. The big and vital things are frequently forgotten while some trifling incident is remembered. My earliest recollection is of getting a clasp knife, one with a strong spring, and shutting it. It nearly cut off my second finger on my left hand and though that was nearly 80 years ago, the scar is still plain today. The next thing I remember was the talk in our family of Queen Victoria being crowned Queen of England. The next thing I remember was the excitement in our family and among the neighbors by a report of Lovejoy's Free Press newspaper at Alton, Ills., being mobbed and his place destroyed. One thing that stands

out clearly in my recollection is attending a wandering circus in Sparta. I think it was called Dan Rice's Circus. I also remember very distinctly my first school teacher. His name was Dr. C. B. Pelton. I went to school to him one year or more. There was a bad boy and a sort of bully who came to school. He abused one of the smaller boys who reported to the teacher. Dr. Pelton, the teacher, sent the smaller boy out to cut a hazel switch. Presently the boy came back with a large hazel switch about the size used for whacking bulls. We all expected to see the Doctor pitch in and give the boy a terrific whipping. The doctor laid down the savage hazel club and taking the big boy's hand closed his eyes and raising his head prayed that the boy would have a change of heart and become better. It certainly settled the bad boy. It was the most effective punishment the teacher could possibly have administered. As a matter of actual fact the teacher ruled that school by love and kindness, a very unusual thing in those days. Later our teacher went to Springfield, Illinois, where he became an official of the American Bible Society.

"My next teacher was a young man named McClure. I went to him about six months. This was all the schooling I ever had. At that time there were no free schools, they were all subscription schools. During my two years at school I studied five books. Noah Webster's blue back Speller, Smith's Arithmetic, Murray's Grammar, Parley's Geography, and a small American History. I still remember vividly the picture in the front of one of my school books. It was a picture of Justice and the law. Justice was shown as a monkey with a pair of scales. Two cats claimed the ownership of a piece of cheese. They brought their dispute to the monkey. The picture showed the monkey placing the cheese in the scales to be weighed and divided equally between the two cats. The little story below the picture told how the scales would not balance so the monkey had to keep taking a bite first from one piece and the other until he finally ate the whole cheese while the cats looked on. I have an idea that the law is still administered that way at times.

"In those days we did not know that it was necessary to have football and other athletic sports, to educate a student. Not having them and not knowing any better we got along all right. We played marbles and we played a game of ball in which there were four corners, four batters and four catchers, "four old cat," as it was then called.

I had to stop school and help my father, who had taken a subcontract to carry United States mail from Salem to Nashville, a distance of about 35 miles. The mail had to be taken three times a week. I made the route on horse back and the mail was carried in saddle bags thrown across my saddle. There were only two stopping places between Nashville and Salem, both of them being postoffices. Practically the entire distance was through an unbroken prairie covered with grass almost as high as a man's head.

"At Nashville they always gave me bob white quail to eat. They caught them in nets by the hundreds. At Salem I saw something once that greatly astonished me as well as the other residents of the town. A doctor took several tomatoes, sliced them, put salt and pepper on them and ate them. We all watched him with fascinated horror. We expected to see him drop dead. We felt sure he would be poisoned by eating the tomatoes. He said he had dyspepsia and was willing to take a chance on being killed or cured. At R. G. Shannon's home in Sparta some tomatoes were grown in his garden just as flowers were. They were grown for ornamental purposes and no one ever thought of taking chances of being killed by eating them. The first tomatoes I ever tasted I ate at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River in 1850.

"My mother died in 1844 when I was 12 years old and I was set adrift. I was thrown on my own resources and it was a case of sinking or swimming, so I swam. I peddled bread from a basket on the streets of St. Louis. While peddling my bread I met a farmer named Ed Drew from Illinois. He told me he had two brothers who were working on his farm with him and he wanted me to go with him and learn to be a farmer. Farming seemed to promise three square meals a day

so I accepted his proposition. I had not been on the farm long before I joined Mr. Drew and his wife Rhoda in the almost universal fever and ague. It was what was called three-day ague, and fortunately we were not all sick at one time. On Ed's shaking day his wife Rhoda and I did all the chores. They had three cows to milk, quite a few horses to care for and about 50 hogs to feed. I certainly did shake good and plenty when my third day came around. We all took Green's mixture from the same bottle. It was thought at that time to be a specific for the ague.

"We pulled corn from the stock before the corn was quite dry and grated it up into mush. Milk and mush was our staple diet. The first Fall I was with Ed Drew he hitched up his two two-horse wagons and he and I hauled his produce to St. Louis where he sold it. We crossed the river on Wiggins' Ferry. Before my mother's death in '44 my father had run a dairy four miles east of St. Louis, his customers being in St. Louis. I remember the big flood in July, 1844. What is now east St. Louis, then called 'Pap's town,' was one great sea of water. East St. Louis in those days consisted of a tavern and some corrals where drovers put their stock up over night.

"Shortly before my mother's death my father moved to Collinsville. My father and mother both became very sick and my mother died on Sept. 8, 1844. My father was not expected to live and he was not told of her death. My sisters were both sick, so I was the only member of the family at the funeral.

"After my mother's death my father, when I was between 12 and 13 years old, made trips through Southern Missouri, peddling and buying furs. He took me with him and I remember on one trip we went by way of Iron Mountain, and went down into the Black River country. There were practically no towns or villages and the houses were far apart. We used to see great droves of wild turkeys.

"We tried to plan it so that we could stay over night where there would be as many people as possible so that father could sell his goods. Some days we would stop where there was a

large family, and occasionally they would send for some neighboring families to spend the night. I was always called on to read something, and I can remember how proud I used to be. They thought it was wonderful to see how well a boy of my age could read. In those days reading was something of an accomplishment. The people with whom we traded were poor and hard-working, but they were kind-hearted and hospitable. They lived on what they raised and on what game they killed. I used to enjoy sitting around the fireplace and hearing the men tell stories of their adventures and hunting experiences. I remember stopping one night where there was an overshot wheel grist mill. The man who owned the mill had ten grown daughters, all of whom were at home, and all of whom helped him in the mill. The mill took its pay in toll taken from the grist. There was very little money to be had.

"On this trading trip we saw a number of mule teams hauling ore from Iron Mountain to some small furnaces.

"After working for Ed Drew I went to work for Grandfather Stormont, on his farm. He was land poor. He had hundreds of acres of prairie land and considerable timber land. Each winter he cleared about 4 acres of timber land. He ran four plow teams and for that day he was considered a very thrifty farmer. All of the family worked hard. My grandmother and her daughters Linda and Naomi were always at work. When they had nothing else on hand they carded wool and spun and wove webs of cloth. One of the webs for summer wear and the other for winter wear. The winter cloth or jean was dyed navy blue, while the summer cloth was dyed butternut. They made all the clothing for the family.

"I remember what profound astonishment the invention of the carding machine created. Grandmother sent some wool to the carding machine which came back in rolls ready for spinning. It was considered an almost miraculous invention. One of the most profitable sources of revenue my grandmother had was her flock of geese. She had nearly 200. She kept

them for their feathers, which she sold for \$1.00 a pound. In those days feather beds were very much in demand.

"Up to 1846 my grandmother had never had a cook stove. All the cooking was done in a large fireplace which had a crane with hooks on it on which she hung pots and vessels for the cooking. The crane could be swung around to bring the pots over or off of the fire. She had a large dutch oven in which she cooked all of her bread; the loaves were round and about six inches thick, and they certainly were delicious. The sound of the dinner horn when we were called to our meals was mighty pleasant music. I remember the dinner horn particularly well, for we had a large sorrel mare who, when the dinner horn was blown, would go to the end of the row, if she did not happen to be there already, and then you could not coax or beat her into doing any more work until she had her dinner.

"About three miles from my grandfather's there was a mill owned by Jimmie Lutey. It was operated by mule, horses or oxen power. Four arms or sweeps formed a circular upright shaft conveyed the power to the burrs. To each of these sweeps he hitched a pair of mules or oxen. Twice a week were mill days. Corn and wheat were the two grains that were ground. The rule was 'first come first served.' This rule was never varied from and there used to be great competition among the farmers as to who could get there first.

"Jordan Prairie was skirted with timber on the north and west sides. A main road ran north and south through the prairie. On mill days from sunrise on you could see dust rising from the teams coming from the east and west to this main road. All of them were driving as fast as they could to get to the main road first so as to get an early turn at the mill. When they got to the main road there was usually a race for three or four miles to the mill. My uncle David was an expert with oxen. He used to begin the training of his steer calves to work when they were very young. He had one yoke of five year old long-legged rangy powerful red steers that he kept

for mill days. When we reached the main road going to the mill there would often be a dozen or more teams. From where we joined the main road to the mill there was always great excitement when Uncle David's powerful big steers began passing the other teams. We usually passed everything on the road. Those red steers were a pretty good second to Maud S.

"Automobile riding was not much in fashion in those days, so the young people took their pleasure in other ways, such as house raisings or husking bees. They used to fill big rail pens with corn pulled from the shock. A party would be given and all the young men and girls would be bid to the party. Sides would be chosen and at the word "go" the two sides would commence on the pens allotted to them. They shucked the corn and threw it into pens and no foot ball contest was more exciting nor was there greater rivalry. Red ears meant kisses and the young folks generally managed to smuggle in quite a few red ears. When all were done a supper would be served, and such a supper! After the supper came the games. If you think the young folks of those days did not enjoy themselves in spite of the hard work just ask any of the old pioneers who as girls and boys went to husking bees, house raisings, spelling matches and singing schools.

"Discipline in the family was much more strict than it is today. In those days the father and mother were the head of the house, not the children. Prayers were said both morning and evening and a blessing was asked at every meal. Every child had his or her duties and they were held strictly to account for the performance of them. My youngest uncle, Uncle Max, had to take care of "Old Pud," a Canadian mare 33 years old, that my grandfather had bought during the Black Hawk war and from whom most of his best horses came. After the day's work was done the family gathered in front of the fireplace. Books, magazines and papers were rare so the children would crack jokes and walnuts, hickory and hazel nuts and while grandfather told stories grandmother would sit in her old rocking chair knitting stockings. Occasionally she would raise her 'specks,' look around at all

the family to see how we were getting along and then if all was well resume her knitting. She was a wonderful manager and you never heard her nag or scold. She was calm, sweet, good-tempered and had just a bit of brogue.

"My youngest daughter went to St. Louis a few years ago. She went out to the old homestead and found that my Aunt Linda was still there. Aunt Naomi had married and moved away. Aunt Linda gave my daughter my mother's Bible and also a daguerrotype of myself taken in 1857.

"In 1846 I quit working for my grandfather and went to Springfield, Illinois, where my father was working at plastering and brick laying. I worked during the summer of '46 on the farm of an English family named Fields. Mr. Fields was a fine old man. He received a pension for his services in the battle of Waterloo. He gave me an idea of military life. In the winter of '47 and '48 I worked in Glenn's grocery store in Springfield. I used to meet Abraham Lincoln almost daily. We used to often meet in the morning as I would be going to the grocery store. Mr. Lincoln would be going in the opposite direction to his law office.

"In 1848 I enlisted in the Mounted Rifles. I belonged to Company 'B,' Captain Noah Newton. The recruits for the rifles were first sent to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. They were recruited from the western states principally. The men were enlisted in 1848. At Jefferson barracks we were assigned to companies. Several companies left Jefferson barracks in February, 1849, overland, across the state of Missouri, for Fort Leavenworth. Our Company 'B' started early in February, 1849, and reached Fort Leavenworth about one month later. Other companies came by steamboat up the Missouri. We suffered much hardship on the trip. At that time Missouri was to a large extent unsettled. It was sometimes 15 miles between houses. The coldest day's travel I have ever experienced was the day we reached Dr. Sappington's, one of the noted pill makers of his day. Some of the men were so near frozen as to require lifting from their saddles. We crossed

the Kaw river in open flat boats, with the ice breaking up and running in large chunks, rendering the work difficult and dangerous. I do not remember one house from Kaw river to Fort Leavenworth. Independence was to the north and last settlement on our road.

"As soon as Colonel Loring had all his companies at Fort Leavenworth, he proceeded to form a camp, which he called 'Camp Summer.' This camp was about five miles from the fort on the west side of what we called Salt creek. We moved to this camp late in March, or early in April, 1849. I remember well that we were in the fort on St. Patrick's day, the 17th of March, 1849. It was the occasion of a grand military ball, and many officers and men who attended that ball have since become famous.

"At Camp Summer the companies were recruited to their full strength. Horses, rifles, sabres and revolvers were issued and we were drilled—mounted and on foot. The quartermaster, Lieutenant D. M. Frost, and Major Cross of the commissary department, were getting supply trains. My recollection is that there was 200 or more six-mule teams, and supplies on hand for the trip across the plains. On the 10th of May, 1849, a bright, sunshiny morning, Colonel W. W. Loring broke camp and the panorama then viewed was one never to be forgotten. The companies, mounted, filed out in columns of twos, their arms shining in the sun; horses gay and prancing; sabres dangling by their sides; officers riding here and there giving commands. As soon as the regiment was well under way the quartermaster and commissary trains began to string out, and in a short time—between 9 and 10 o'clock—the rifle regiment was on the long journey for Oregon, and Camp Summer was no more.

"Now, as to why I was not in that long train: The president had appointed General Wilson Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Pacific coast, and directed that he be furnished an escort. An order was given to Captain Newton of 'B' company to give Captain Robert M. Morris of the Rifles 25 men of his company for the escort for General Wilson.

"I was one of the 25 men, and as soon as the regiment was out of view, Captain Morris moved camp across Salt creek on the east side, and called it Camp Scott. By the 5th of June Captain Morris had his quartermaster and commissary supplies and train ready for the trip. General Wilson and family, Dr. Birdsall and his daughter, Sophia, and Milton S. Latham, afterwards senator from California (later Miss Birdsall became Mrs. Latham).

"Mr. Latham left us near Fort Kearney and returned and came around by water to California. Major Reynolds, regimental paymaster, with two wagons and money for the regiment, joined us. With Major Reynolds was M. P. Deady, then a young shock-headed roustabout, called the 'Red Headed Blacksmith' by our men.

"All being ready, on the 5th of June, 1849, Captain Morris, with Lieutenant Haynes of the artillery in command, broke camp for California. We were five months to a day reaching Sacramento. We were possibly the last train on the road, and our stock suffered fearfully. Out of over 200 head of horses and mules we reached the summit of the Sierras on October 25 with one little light wagon, and I think about 19 head of horses and mules. This was one of the cholera years, and a year in which a large emigration had passed on before us, and, in places, on account of sickness, trains were laid over, and in consequence the grass was stripped far from the line of travel. Many a time we sent our stock as much as seven miles for feed.

"When we reached the Humboldt we had to guard and herd our stock every night, as the Indians were very troublesome. The Indians stampeded our stock twice. Some of our animals were found and recovered 15 miles from camp. There had been given us a 30-foot rope and an iron picket pin with a ring in the top to tie the rope in. The iron pin was 12 to 14 inches long and three-fourths of an inch thick. With a stampede or break loose, as soon as our horses got on the run the pins would be jerked from the ground and go flying in the

air and the pins and ropes become entangled together, so as to tie the horses into bunches. They could not run, but kept circling, and were soon overhauled.

"We forded the South Platte river early in July, I think about the 6th. It was at high water. We had to raise everything in the bottoms of the wagons, and the horses had to swim some and then pull along on the floating sand bottom. We had to keep on the move all the time, and keep moving we did, until we were over the river."

"We had a commissary sergeant whose name was Jones. Captain Thompson, who later became well known at Salem, Portland and Oregon City, was our wagon master. One-Armed Brown, also well known at Salem and Portland, was orderly for Captain Thompson. Major Reynolds' two paymaster wagons were independent of our command, and were kept along for protection, but under no immediate control of our officers. M. P. Deady, later one of Oregon's distinguished lawyers, was a big husky looking young fellow. He had no team to drive, so it came about that he and Jones rode together. Jones had to look out for the commissary wagons, while Thompson and Brown looked after all wagons and loose stock. We moved on up the South Platte and then up the North Platte until we reached Fort Laramie. Colonel Loring had left Captain Barnwell Rhett in command of Laramie, with some troopers, to hold the place.

"After we had rested a day or two and were ready to move, Captain Morris arrested Sergeant Jones and a man named Coulter, and turned them over to Captain Rhett. We moved on and Major Reynolds remained at Fort Laramie until we were well out of the way. The cause of this was that Jones, while riding with Deady and being so chummy, had proposed a plot, by which the two paymasters' wagons should be left behind our train when we reached the Rocky Mountains, and then be robbed. The 'Red Headed Young Blacksmith' Deady had given the plot away, hence the arrest of Jones and Coulter, and the reason for Major Reynolds bidding us goodbye.

"Jones and Coulter escaped from Laramie, picked up stock that we had left behind, passed us without calling at camp, and beat us to California. What became of them after that I never heard. I afterwards saw M. P. Deady at Empire City, but never asked him the true reason as to why they left our company at Laramie.

"I will give you an instance of pluck, nerve and endurance that is not often excelled. Captain Duncan of 'E' Company was with Captain Rhett at Laramie. Two men had deserted from his company, one man a large, fine looking man, who had been in service in the English army, and rated up to sergeant major, named Hesslep, and another, whose name I do not remember. They had stolen good horses and had 12 to 16 hours' start. Captain Duncan took Sergeant Lawler, and in about four days' time came to Green River, on the old emigrant road. At this point they found some Mormon emigrants who had seen Hesslep and comrade come in and go up the stream to camp. Captain Duncan knew from the description that they were his men. He got the Mormons to help him surround their camp. Hesslep and his companion, having placed nearly 400 miles between them and Laramie in four days' time, believed they were safe. They woke up to find Captain Duncan and Lawler with the drop on them, so they surrendered. If that was not determination in pursuit I don't know what it was. Captain Duncan and Lawler made the distance in less time than Hesslep, and when you consider that their horses had traveled from Camp Summer, near Leavenworth, and had lived on grass alone, it makes it a remarkable feat of endurance for horse as well as man.

"On his way back to Laramie with his prisoners Captain Duncan met us and stayed all night. We gave him supplies to carry him back to Laramie.

Hesslep and comrade were chained together, and when we met them they had walked nearly 200 miles chained together.

Captain Duncan afterwards married, served in the Civil War, was wounded, and became a rancher in Nebraska. This

I have from his son, Lieutenant Duncan, who was with General Howard in the Bannock Indian war.

"We passed Fort Bridger and stopped at Salt Lake City.

"I do not remember what would be called a two-story house in the city. There were no paved streets or sidewalks in the city. The foundation had been laid for a building, which they called the Tabernacle. It was built up from four to six feet above the ground. From Salt Lake the next houses we saw were on Weber river, about 40 miles. Some four or five Mormon families constituted the settlement. They had raised some corn and vegetables, of which we bought some. From there we saw no houses till we reached Hangtown (Placerville), Cal.

"From Weber river we followed the main trail to where the road forks to Oregon. Colonel Loring had left Colonel Porter at Fort Hall with two companies. Captain Morris had two men whom he left behind to be punished for something. Captain Morris was 10 days on the trip. Our escort had now been cut down to 19 men. Lieutenant Haynes was in command. We were getting short of supplies and were making forced marches. At nearly every camp we came to notices were posted by the emigrants telling of men shot or wounded and stock stolen by the Indians. We met Lieutenant Hawkins with a supply train for Fort Hall on Goose creek. He had General Joel Palmer for guide. Late in the season, as it now was, General Wilson had General Palmer hired to guide our train to California, and he was to have \$2000 for the job."

At the sinks of the Humboldt, we stopped to cut wild grass to feed the teams while crossing the desert. Captain Morris rejoined us here.

"Lieutenant Haynes reported to Captain Morris the conduct of the teamsters in refusing to stand guard. We soldiers were on guard every other night. We had been traveling about 20 miles a day, and living on bread and coffee. When Captain Morris heard the report of Lieutenant Haynes,

he told me to tell Thompson to parade his teamsters. In a short time the 28 teamsters were formed in line in front of Captain Morris' tent. Captain Morris came out. He said he had been informed that the teamsters had refused to obey Lieutenant Haynes' order to stand guard over the stock. He explained that his men would not be able to continue the strain they had been under, and that he thought it was unreasonable in the teamsters to refuse to share the guard work, and concluded: 'All of you who refuse to obey my orders, should I order you to stand guard every other night, step to the front two paces.' Mr. McKibbin, General Wilson's carriage driver, and O. A. Brown were on the right of the column. They immediately stepped out, then others, until 15 were in front two paces.

"Thirteen stood fast. The captain turned to Mr. Thompson and said: 'Give the 15 men their dunnage and see that the men and their dunnage are outside the lines of camp in 10 minutes.' Captain Morris then ordered me to call the sergeant and direct him to place four sentinels, one on each side of the camp, and to arrest any one attempting to enter camp. The next order was to the commissary, to make out 10 days' rations for the 15 men and take it to them over the lines. The orders were all delivered in an even tone, as though we were on parade or at drill.

"You can imagine the haste to pack up and get outside the square formed. The 15 men went about a quarter of a mile from our camp and made a fire of sagebrush. To the 13 who stood fast during the time the captain was giving the orders, he said: 'I shall double your wages from today, until I discharge you.' Their wages were \$40 a month, so this would give them \$80 a month. Extra guards were placed on the stock that night. On one side was Hangtown, on the other side of the Sierras. This was the nearest point to the westward. Fort Hall was the nearest point on the north. We were in a hostile Indian country, and the striking teamsters had 10 days' grub and no transportation, with a 60-mile

desert to face on the west, as a starter. The horrors of the Donner party who perished in the snow less than four years before, were vivid in our memories. It was late in October. Our party was the last on the road, so there was no hope of being picked up. The banished teamsters kept a fire going all night while preparing for their trip. They threw away everything except what they believed indispensable.

"Next morning Captain Morris ordered some wagons abandoned, so as to have teamsters to go around. It became necessary to have a carriage driven for Mrs. Wilson and her two grown daughters. An old German named Losch was sent to take charge of her carriage and mules. Mrs. Wilson and the girls watched Losch at work harnessing the mules. Mrs. Wilson and the girls were raised in Kentucky and knew more about horses and mules than Losch ever could learn. Mrs. Wilson called him and asked him if he had ever driven a team. Losch, in broken English, told her he knew nothing about it, but that he would try, if ordered to do so. Mrs. Wilson called the general. Their tent was still standing. Our tents were struck and we were ready to pull out. She told her husband, the general, that Losch was no driver and that she was not going to risk having their necks broken, and that she wanted McKibbin back.

"The general went to see Captain Morris. The order was given to strike camp and pitch the captain's tent. The captain and General Wilson and Lieutenant Haynes went into the tent and the ultimatum of Captain Morris was this: 'General, you can take your choice—dispense with the services of the escort, or have the mutineers.' Mrs. Wilson and the general decided in favor of the mutineers, so as to have McKibbin, her carriage driver, back.

"The services of the escort being dispensed with, Captain Morris abandoned all our wagons, except one, a little light rig to have for Mrs. Birdsall, in the event of her being unable to ride on muleback. We packed everything so as to travel light, and next morning we were on our way. The striking

teamsters were immediately sent for, and the general took ten of them back on full pay. General Joel Palmer acted as guide, and they took Thompson and the 15 teamsters with them. They went by the Lawson route, while we took the Hangtown route. We beat them into California by two or three weeks. We crossed the summit on about October 25, at night, and none too soon for our safety from the winter storms.

"A few days out from Salt Lake City we were overtaken by a young man on foot traveling light.

"I think he was a Swede. He had about 30 pounds of flour, a tin cup and knife, and no bedding. He had started for the California gold mines. At night he would mix flour in his cup, make a fire, roll the dough from his cup on a stick and bake it by the fire and eat it. He traveled with us a day or two and then went on. It was pretty nervy of him. I never heard whether he got through. If he did it was largely a matter of luck, and because he did not have anything the Indians wanted, unless it might be his scalp. The Humboldt road was closely watched by the Piutes, to steal stock. The fact that the Indians were not on the war path may have saved him.

"We met relief parties on mules on the Sierra mountains, sent out by Governor Downey to pick up late emigrants on the road. So far as we knew we were the last on the road, as it was the 25th of October, 1849, when we met them.

"Hangtown consisted of a few miners' cabins along a dry gulch, where some mining was being done. One of our men saw a quarter of venison hanging on a tree and rushed up, meat hungry, and asked the owner of the butchershop how much it was. He answered, '75 cents.' Our man had just 75 cents, so he caught the ham and pulled out his money to pay for it. He was told it was 75 cents a pound, and it would cost him over \$11. He concluded he did not want any ham of venison.

"We made a camp at a place called Diamond Springs. Some men were throwing up the soil in sags and flats, intending to wash it up when the rains set in; others were doing what is called 'crevicing.' They had a sack, a pick, knife and spoon and they creviced the bare bedrock. At night they came to the springs to pan it out. It was a poor day's work when from a flour sack of dirt they did not get from \$50 to \$100.

"Around our camp were oak trees and an abundance of acorns. Living on flour and coffee straight, as we had been doing for a number of days, we were nearly famished, so we gathered acorns and roasted and ate them. I was worn out and half sick. When we reached Sacramento and reached camp I was very sick. Dr. Birdsall came to my tent and did what he could for me. What did me the most good was corn meal gruel. My bunkie, Jimmie McDermitt, had been a soldier in Florida in the Seminole Indian war. He had an extra pair of pants, which he took into Sacramento and sold for \$11. He bought some corn meal at 35 cents a pound to use for me. That night some of my comrades came to my tent, about 2 o'clock in the morning, to ask how I was feeling. They said they hoped I would soon be well again, but they didn't say good-bye. I knew their visit was meant for good-bye. In the morning they were gone. I never saw or heard from them again, but I have a warm feeling for them. I was only a boy, and we had been together for months on that hard and weary march across the plains, and one and all had been good to me.

"Our escort of 25 had now been reduced to McDermitt, McClusky, Clemens and myself. If I would go, which Clemens wanted me to do, there would have only been McDermitt and McClusky left, and if Clemens and I had gone, I am of the opinion they would have gone, too. I had given my promise to my father never to desert, and nothing could make me break my promise. Consider a moment and you will see what a temptation it was. Our pay was \$8 a month. Men were

making fortunes in the mines. Eight dollars a day—as much as we had a month—was low pay. Some got as high as \$16 a day. I saw one old German who came with us as a teamster. He was full of scurvy, so much so that we came near leaving him at the springs at Salt Lake to be cured. He stood on a stump driving a team to a horsepower saw, cutting shingles, and he was paid \$14 per day. I also met Mr. Taylor, a butcher from Springfield, Ill. He had a six-mule team and wagon. He reached the mines in August, and began freighting to the mines. He was paid as high as 35 cents a pound for freighting 40 to 50 miles. He planned to sell his team as soon as rains set in. He would have a good stake to go home with. Sailors left their ships crewless. When I saw San Francisco harbor early in 1850, it looked like a burned forest. On all sides were the naked masts of vessels, many of which had only caretakers. No effort was made to bring back deserting sailors or soldiers. There will never be another '49 again. I saw it all and felt the full force of the temptation to join the crowd; but I resisted the temptation, and I am glad now that I served out my enlistment.

“Our company left Sacramento and crossed the valley. I remember seeing only one or two small cabins on the road to Suisin, where there was a Mexican ranch, and none from there to Benicia.

“We found great cracks in the earth from drought. There were wild oats as far as you could see, and cattle and horses in immense herds. Wild geese and brants were to be seen in countless numbers feeding on the wild oats. The winter rains had just begun to fall and traveling was difficult. At Sonoma we found a few members of the second dragoons who had come in from Mexico with Major Graham's command. Captain A. J. Smith came in with some first dragoons. Our soldiers' quarters was located in an adobe building belonging to General Vallejo who, with his wife, daughter and son resided in a part of the same building. The building fronted on the plaza. It was two stories high, had a driveway between the corner stories and was enclosed by an adobe

wall behind, making a large yard or corral. At night our horses and mules were driven through the driveway into the corral and out every morning to feed on the plains below Sonoma. I presume the old building still stands.

"General Vallejo, governor of California under Spanish rule, was a fine old gentleman, a fine old-style Castillian. His family were Catholics, and I remember seeing them often going to mass. It seemed to me then that the old mission bells at Sonoma were the sweetest-toned bells I ever heard, and I still think so.

"There were about 25 or 30 soldiers there. Lieutenant Page, afterwards famous as a Confederate general in the Civil War, was in command. He was a martinet in the matter of roll calls. The last call for the day, retreat, was 8:30 p. m. As it was often very dark and rainy the men did not like it. The lieutenant was prompt in coming to hear the report from the sergeant as to those present or absent.

"It began to happen that rocks would go singing through the air about the time the lieutenant was to appear. Carrying a lantern did no good: the rocks still kept coming, until the lieutenant, not wishing to take any more chances of being hit, dispensed with the 8:30 p. m. retreat roll call. It was just as well, for there were but few men and no calling of the roll would keep them from deserting to the mines if they wished to do so.

"General Persifor F. Smith was in command of the Pacific division. He was with General Scott in Mexico, and a noted man. Soon after our arrival at Sonoma the general wanted a man to look after his quarters, a servant. He sent for me and told me what he wanted. He said I would be relieved from guard duty, drill and other duties of a soldier. I said I wished to be excused, as I preferred a soldier's duty. I had enlisted for that, though I thanked him for the offer. Instead of taking offense at my blunt refusal, he talked with me awhile and finished up by complimenting me on my refusal. During the ensuing months, while at Sonoma, he seemed to feel an interest in me.

"A servant to an officer such as he was, would have had many perquisites and a very easy time, but I had never been, nor did I intend to become one. Colonel Joe Hooker was adjutant general and Lieutenant Alfred Pleasanton aide-de-camp. Colonel Hooker was a very fine looking officer, and especially so when mounted on horseback. Pleasanton was a small, effeminate looking officer, but he made a fine appearance on horseback. Afterwards, in the Civil War, he became a noted cavalry general.

"I was orderly at the general court-martial which was held at Sonoma in the spring of 1850, at which General Joe Hooker was tried for some breach of military discipline. General H. W. Halleck was judge advocate of the court-martial. Hooker was a fine looking man. He was appointed to West Point from his native state, Massachusetts. He was graduated in 1837 at the age of 23, in the same class with Jubal Early and Braxton Bragg. He was assigned to the First artillery, and served in Florida and later in Maine. In the Mexican war he served as aide to General Persifor F. Smith and also to General Gideon J. Pillow. He served with distinction and was breveted as lieutenant colonel. In 1848 he was promoted to a captaincy. From 1849 to 1851 he was assistant adjutant general of the Pacific division. He resigned in February, 1853. He was a civil engineer in California and Oregon until the Civil War broke out. He was made brigadier general of volunteers.

"You know what he did in reorganizing the army of the Potomac and on the Peninsular campaign. His bravery in leading the charge at Lookout Mountain in the 'battle among the clouds' won him the brevet of major general in the regular army. He retired from active service in 1868."

SPANISH AND FRENCH RELICS IN AMERICA

By J. NEILSON BARRY, Spokane.

Should you ask me, whence these strange words?
Such as mustang and mosquito,
Such as alkali and stampede,
Such as tule, trail and sorghum,
Words like prairie and bonanza,
Like coulee, ranch and two-bits,
Alligator and tamale;
Words which sound peculiar
To some region or condition,
Yet familiar in our language?
I should answer, I should tell you
From the Frenchman and the Spaniard,
From the first whites in this country,
From those races which have been here
And have left these words as relics
Of their former occupation.

PART I.

ODD REMINDERS OF SPANISH SETTLEMENT.

The methods of the ancient Greeks and Romans in building their houses around an open court was adopted by the Spaniards and by them introduced into America, and today this custom is still found in Oregon where sometimes the livery stable, or *corral*, consists of a large central enclosure surrounded by sheds opening into it, which is one of the surviving memorials of the time when the southern boundary of Oregon was the northern boundary of Spanish territory.

Both the southeastern and the southwestern portions of the United States were once occupied by the Spaniards, and the flag of Spain once waved over St. Louis, Mo., and although the tide of Anglo Saxon civilization has flowed over their ancient dominions it is but natural that there should be found here and there much that reminds one of those earliest white settlers, and it is interesting to notice how certain Spanish words have become incorporated into our language,

and also how characteristic they are to those parts of the country where the Spaniard lived.

From the southeastern portion of the United States we have words with characteristics associated with that section—*alligator*, *mosquito*, *sorghum*, *sassafras*, *savanna*, *negro*, *mulatto*, *quadroon* and *octeroon*, as well as *creole* and *piccaninny*.

Florida was given its name by Ponce de Leon, while Cortez gave the name *California*, which is a perpetual reminder of him, The dark red waters of the Colorado river gave it its Spanish name which has since been extended to the State, and in a similar way the Spanish word for snow-clad mountains became the name *Nevada*.

The wide prairies of the southwest which were at one time part of the Spanish dominion became in time the ranges for the cattle of the American cowboys, and it is but natural not only that some Spanish words should have become incorporated into our language, but also that they should be characteristic of that section.

The Spanish *ranch* has become our word ranch, and their word *pueblo* used for the aboriginal towns is still associated with *adobie*, the dried mud which was the most available building material in that timberless region of scanty rainfall, while *cactus* and *chaparral* have a distinct flavor of the old ranges where now so much *alfalfa* is being cultivated.

The riding leggings of the cattlemen are called chaps, which is a shortened form of *chaparigos*, while in the early days the scarcity of iron on the plains necessitated some substitute for buckles, so that the *cinch* was used for the girth, with the *latigo*, a strap to fasten it. The *hackamore* was a bridle without a bit, with its *bossal* or nose piece. The cattle were roped with a *lariat*, and the raw-hide ring for the noose was called a *honda*, while the cowboy used a *quirt* to urge his steed, whether *mustang* or *broncho*, which if of variegated color was called a *pinto*. A more humble animal was termed a *burro*, although now sometimes called the Rocky Mountain canary.

It is said that when General Lew Wallace returned from Mexico he placed in his car of freight his little son's *burro*, and the clerk in the railroad office in Indianapolis not being familiar with the Spanish word telegraphed that the freight car had arrived "short one bureau, long one donkey," to which General Wallace telegraphed in reply "change places with the donkey."

The Sawtooth Mountains of the West are known by the Spanish equivalent *Sierras*, while *canyon* and *llano* are now familiar words to us all. The storms of the southwest have given us our words *cyclone* and in the southeast *tornado*, while other dangers are recalled by *desperado* and *stampede*.

The rushes in the western lakes are still called *tules*, and the miners of the early days learned from the Spaniards the terms *Eldorado* and *bonanza*. In more modern times the *tamale* is winning an ever-increasing popularity.

When the early miners flocked to California they carried with them comparatively few small coins, but they found that the Spanish *real* which they called a "bit" was the equivalent of twelve and a half cents, so the terms so characteristic of the West, "two-bits," "six-bits," originated.

It seems strange that these terms should have any connection with our dollar mark, \$, and yet the American dollar adopted for our decimal system was originally the Spanish eight *real* piece, although few school boys who have read in Robinson Crusoe of the old "pieces of eight" have recognized our coveted coin under that designation.

In ancient times the Dutch traders who visited the Spanish settlements in America used a silver coin known as the *Thaller*, which was exactly equivalent to eight Spanish *reals*. The name was shortened from "*Joachimsthaler*," the silver having been mined in the vale or valley of Joachim in Bohemia, but the Dutch tongue pronounced the word *Thaller* as "Dollar."

The old method of designating the eight *real* piece, or dollar, seems to have been to make the figure eight and then to draw a cancellation line through it, as in many other well known abbreviations, for example cent, barrel, etc.

While examining some ancient parchments the writer of this sketch was struck with the peculiar manner in which the figure eight was written, similar to the dollar mark but with only one short downward stroke. The idea occurred that the use of the quill pen might account for this style of forming the figure, which was verified by an experiment which anyone can easily make with a quill toothpick. The origin of the dollar mark can be thus explained as to the old style of the figure eight with a cancellation mark to designate thallers or pieces of eight.

When the California miners made small change with the little Spanish *reals* or "bits," they were using the system which had been customary before the United States government adopted the eight *real* piece as its standard for a decimal system of coinage.

PART II.

The flotsam and the jetsam on a sea beach mark not only the extent of a receding tide but also the character of what had been carried on the waters. In a similar way the area of the North American continent to which French influence has formerly extended is indicated by French names of places so widely scattered as from *Montreal* to *St. Louis* and *New Orleans*, and from *Lake Champlain* to *The Dalles* and *Des Chutes* in Oregon. Many French words which have become incorporated into our distinctively American speech suggest peculiarities of the country occupied by the French as well as of the character of their occupancy.

The French were first attracted to America by the cod fishing on that part of the Atlantic coast where there are many islands, and the spelling of *Maine* for the mainland is said to have been the result of French influence.

Louisiana, which formerly extended over practically the entire Mississippi Valley, preserves the name of a French king and reminds us of the early French settlements on our largest river, while such French words as *plantation*, *barge* and *levee* recall characteristics of that region, while the French word *pickayune* for the ancient Spanish coin, the value of half

a Spanish real, indicates the fact that *New Orleans* was formerly occupied by both the Spanish and the French.

The Green Mountains are inseparably associated with Ethan Allen and other distinctively American patriots, and yet the extent of French influence in that section is indicated by the fact that those mountains have given their name to *Vermont* under a French form.

Pittsburg although of peculiarly English derivation, reminds us of its original name *Fort Duquesne* and of Braddock's defeat, while Nova Scotia recalls its ancient French name *Arcadia* and the tragedy of *Evangeline*.

The French-Canadian trappers roamed extensively over the great west and French words peculiarly characteristic of this region have become incorporated into our language, such as *prairie*, *butte*, *coulee*, *cascade* and *alkali*, which have a distinct local flavor, while the habits of those *couriers* are suggested by such words as *trail*, *portage* and *cache*.

The original names for many Indian tribes have been superseded by such French designations as *Coeur d'Alene*, *Nez Perce* and *Pend d'Oreille*, while the French spelling for *Spokane* and *Willamette** is the cause of amusing blunders by many a tenderfoot from the effete East.

*Note.—While the impression prevails generally that the word "Willamette" is a French corruption of an Indian word some times spelled "Wallamet"—indeed, it is spelled more than a dozen other ways—yet it is possible that that opinion may be incorrect for a number of reasons:

(1) A few years ago I secured for the Oregon Historical Society Volume II of the "Reports of Explorations and Surveys to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, made under the direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853-1856, and printed in Washington, D. C., in 1861, in which appears the 'Reduced Section of a Sketch of the Western Part of North America Between Latitudes 35 and 52 North, 1818.' The origin of this map is described as follows: 'This map of an extent of country including more than twenty degrees of latitude and fifty of longitude, was originally drawn under the inspection of William Rector, Esquire, surveyor of the United States for the territories of Missouri and Illinois, and was by him presented to the General Land Office January 21, 1818. It is probably the most correct map of the country now extant.' Signed, Joseph Meigs. On this map the word under discussion is spelled "Willamette," and indicates the river. If the word is derived from French sources the foregoing would indicate that it came from some one in the vicinity of Saint Louis, as there were no Frenchmen in the "Oregon Country" prior to 1818 except a few employees of Astor's Pacific Fur Company, and nothing from any of them was published until Gabriel Franchere issued his "Narrative" in French language in 1819.

(2) In November, 1901, I found a gentleman in Washington, D. C., named "J. B. Willamette." He was a stenographer, and had been for many years, and was at least sixty years old. He pronounced the word as it is generally spoken in Oregon, with accent on the second syllable. He said he belonged to the seventh generation of his family born in the United States, but was of Scotch-Irish origin, according to the family traditions.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary.

It sometimes happens that a borrowed umbrella is not returned until the original owner is able to recognize its identity with difficulty, and the same appears to be the case with our English word "free-booter," so associated with the ancient buccaneers of the Spanish main, because as the result of French spelling and French pronunciation it has returned to us under the form of *filibuster* so altered that even its mother tongue can scarcely recognize it.

This, however, has been doubly revenged by the Indians who have committed similar atrocities upon two French words, their attempt to pronounce the French word for English to designate the first white settlers in Massachusetts having resulted in *Yankee*, which would appear to indicate that the red men are not adepts in regard to correct French pronunciation, which is also illustrated by their having adopted *Sivash* as the Indian-French for savage, which they doubtless regarded as a very honorable designation.

American Falls in Idaho might appear so distinctively patriotic as to preclude any possibility of French influence, and yet it originated in the early days when practically the only white men in this region were French-Canadian trappers and was given because one of the first parties of Americans in this section were drowned at those falls in the Snake river.

The advent of Americans into this region was the result of the great tide of Anglo Saxon civilization which has spread over the area once occupied by the French and these names and words of French origin so widely scattered over the country are but flotsam and jetsam of the tide which preceded it.

DOCUMENTARY

Letter of William S. Pickrell to Sanford Watson.

Mechanicsburg, Ill., March 18th, 1850.

Dear Brother:

It is now near one year since you left Springfield, and we have not had a line from you. We are now anxiously looking for letters, as several have received them from friends who started with you last spring.

This leaves my family all well, and all of our friends and relatives in usual health so far as we know. I have not been out to hear much news, as my leg was broken over five weeks ago, and I am now just able to walk a little. Our country has been unusually healthy for two years, though there has been some sickness lately. Edden Lewis has died and some of the Shoups on Sugar Creek, also Bill Taff, our neighbor, and there may be some others, but I do not recall any that you or I would know.

This has been an uncommonly warm winter. I have sown my oats and there is considerable plowing done.

The cholera, that much dreaded disease, did not reach us last year; it did not leave the watercourses and thoroughfares much. Samuel Baker died of it. The citizens of Springfield cleansed their city and I never knew it to be as healthy as it was last year.

Illinois is more prosperous than perhaps at any former period; the influence of the operation of the railroad has given a different aspect to things in the surrounding country, in the way of lumber especially.

They slaughtered a great many hogs here last Fall, the stock on the road from Springfield to Alton has been taken and the work commenced. There seems to be considerable excitement in N. Y. on the subject of railroads.

I think our State will do some better under the present constitution. We had a called session last Fall, the expenditures of the State being so much reduced it gives a general impetus to the minds of the people. Property is higher than

it has been for many years. The inflatus of the California gold has found its way here. Mules are up to \$100.00 and \$120.00, oxen about \$75.00, beef cattle on foot \$4.00 to \$5.00, wheat \$1.00, flour \$6.00. Lands have gone up from 20 to 50 per cent. Most all the land in the State has been taken by warrants speculation, lands are being improved and men are settling all about thru. the large prairies; but enough on this subject.

The gold mania has not subsided, it is thought by some that there will be a larger emigration to California this year than last, not many, however, from Springfield. I do not hear of many going to Oregon, though from the last accounts we get from there I should think the latter place the most certain for a fortune. A great many who went to California have returned and from what I can learn, two-thirds have come back poorer than they went. A great many have died.

We have had no letters from Jim McNabb yet, nor no direct information, tho. many of the Springfield men have written home. We learned that Bolivar (Alvey) went to Oregon. I wrote a letter about three months ago to James (Watson) which if you get will inform you of Madaline's death. She has been dead about ten months. Her family are in Iowa. Fisher is doing well. He and Todd Thompson have a store here.

Sister Ann's health is good. Adelaide has a baby boy. John Elkin has moved to town. Evelyn's health is poor. Lucretia has another boy.

Now, Sanford, if you have not already written anything in relation to your country, I wish you to do it, as we all feel more interest in Oregon than we used to. The distance does not seem so great as formerly and there are more inducements since you all are there. I should like to know how things did look to you, compared with what you expected.

I want to know the relative value of the country independent of the gold influence, for none of us know what that will produce. I want to know what Oregon can or will do in

regard to her climate and soil, water and timber, etc., when it is all settled how much country can be cultivated to advantage and what will it produce? And what is the difference in value between the product of an equal acreage in these prairies and Oregon? What advantage would Oregon have in confining stock on the same number of acres, Winter and Summer? The impression here is that your animals will do better Spring and Fall and some Winters, than in Summer. I do not suppose that you can answer all these questions as fully now, or that you are as fully satisfied as to what the country is or how you will like it, as you will be after you remain in it longer, but you can form a pretty good idea from what you have seen and the experience of others. We want you to write every three months, and we will get it some time.

Your Brother,
William S. Pickrell.

Jo. Young, James Brown, and Steven Hupey will take this letter, whom, when you see will give you the particulars.—
W. S. P.

NOTE.—W. S. Pickrell was Sanford Watson's sister's husband (Amanda Watson). They never came to Oregon. Were a prominent family in Illinois and have descendants in Springfield and Chicago who would enjoy this letter. Samuel Baker, mentioned in the letter, was a brother of Col. E. D. Baker, his wife was Cecilia Elder, sister of Sanford Watson's wife. This letter was folded and sealed without an envelope.—Lillian G. Applegate.

Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher

Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society in Indiana,
Illinois, Iowa and Oregon

Edited by

SARAH FISHER HENDERSON
NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE
KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

EDITORS' PREFACE

The letters here given to the public were written by the Reverend Ezra Fisher to the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Their publication was planned by his youngest daughter, Mrs. Sarah Fisher Henderson. She collected the letters, had them transcribed, and with the assistance of Miss Latourette had done part of the editing before her death. In her will she provided for the completion of the work. Her executors entrusted this to Miss Latourette and Mr. Latourette, who have tried to carry it on in as close accord as possible with her original plans. These included a life of Mr. Fisher, such occasional changes in the text of the letters as would make them more clear, and notes of historical explanation. The life is the work of Miss Latourette. The emendation of the text was begun by Mrs. Henderson and Miss Latourette and was completed by the latter. These emendations seemed to Mrs. Henderson desirable in view of the conditions under which the letters were composed. They were written under the most adverse surroundings of frontier life, amid frequent distractions and without opportunity for revision. Certain minor rhetorical and grammatical errors inevitably crept in which the author would, with his usual care in such matters, have corrected had he had the opportunity. It is to make these corrections that the emendations have been designed. They have been slight, have in no instance altered the meaning, and usually have been indicated. Omissions, also indicated, have been made of occasional phrases, sentences and paragraphs. The historical notes are the work of Mr. Latourette.

The editors wish to express their heartiest appreciation and thanks to those who have helped make this work possible, especially to the officers of the American Baptist Home Mission Society for the loan of the original manuscripts; to Mr. George H. Himes, of the Oregon Historical Society, for frequent and ungrudging contributions from his rich stores

of information; to Mrs. Ann Eliza Fisher Latourette for her constant interest; to the executors of Mrs. Henderson's will, Mr. L. E. Latourette and Mr. R. W. Fisher; and to the editor of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for their kindness in offering its pages to the initial publication of the larger part of the letters.

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

Ezra Fisher was a native of New England. He was a descendant of Anthony Fisher, who came from Syleham County, Suffolk, England, in 1637, and settled at Dedham, Mass. Here at the beginning of the Revolution lived Ezra Fisher's grandparents, Benjamin and Sara (Everett) Fisher. Five of their sons answered the call to arms of April 19, 1775. Six of them served later in the war, the eldest dying of camp fever at Ticonderoga.

The youngest, Aaron, was in Captain Asa Fairbank's company at the Lexington alarm, it is said, when but seventeen years of age. He afterward served in the regiments of Col. Ephraim Wheelock, of Col. Carleton and of Col. Rufus Putnam, most of the time with rank of sergeant. During the war he was married to Miss Betty Moore and, at its close, they removed from Dedham and settled on a farm near Wendell, Mass. Here it was that Ezra Fisher was born, January 6, 1800.

His environment was that of the average New England boy at the beginning of the last century. In the home of his parents were few luxuries and much hard work, but there was a fireside where God was worshipped, the Bible read, religion and education discussed and a vital interest taken in the affairs of the State so lately formed. Like other boys of his day, he was privileged to learn, from the generation who had desperately struggled for them, how the civil liberties of that state were won. Unlike most boys of his time, he learned from Baptist parents the meaning of religious liberty. They themselves had been forced to contribute to

the support of the established church and could relate sad tales of the various persecutions which had harassed their denomination in New England until at least 1799.

All the early years of his life were spent on his father's farm. The knowledge of farming there obtained and later supplemented by reading along that line served him well as a pioneer, as did also an unusual ability to turn his hand to many things. To the hard conditions of his life on the farm he doubtless owed not only the latter talent, but his tireless industry and his ability to endure hardships. In spite of health which was never rugged, these qualities were his to a marked degree.

From the common schools near his home, he gained sufficient education to begin teaching at the age of eighteen. At the same age he was converted and united with the Baptist church in Wendell. Out of the religious life which followed came the conviction that he ought to preach the Gospel, and with it, the resolution to fit himself thoroughly for the work.

With no other aid than his own, he struggled nearly twelve years to carry out this purpose. His preparation for college was received in part from a nearby academy, but progress was slow because of much time necessarily spent in teaching and in work on the farm. Severe sickness also hindered him.

He was admitted to Amherst College in 1822. That institution had opened its doors only the year before for the purpose of educating "poor and pious young men for the ministry." Here among many with similar aim to his own, he found the opportunities he sought. Although a good student, working his way meant long absences while teaching, and another illness, which was all but fatal, left him much weakened in health, so that his graduation was delayed until 1828, when he took his bachelor's degree with a class of forty, twenty-three of whom were preparing for the ministry.

The following year he entered Newton Theological Seminary, where he studied until January, 1830. He then accepted a call to the pastorate of the Baptist church at Cambridge, Vermont, and was there ordained to the ministry, January 20, 1830.

On February 7th of the same year he was married to Miss Lucy Taft, of Clinton, N. Y., but formerly of Wendell, Mass. Shortly after the wedding they departed in a sleigh for Cambridge, Vt. They had known each other from childhood, and their marriage was the consummation of an engagement which began two years before his entrance to college.

In February of the next year he entered upon his second pastorate at Springfield in the same state. His work of nearly two years in this place resulted in the conversion and baptism of about eighty persons. From Springfield Ezra Fisher wrote, under date of September 22, 1832, the first letter of his correspondence with the American Baptist Home Mission Society. That Society had been organized the preceding April, and while it included in its scope the whole of North America, it was religious destitution in the Mississippi Valley which gave it birth.

Western need of the gospel had appealed strongly to both Mr. and Mrs. Fisher. In sympathy with the Home Mission movement from its beginning and feeling that New England claims upon them were small as compared with those of the West, they had early decided that, if the Lord should open the way, they would gladly serve Him "in some destitute portion of the Great Valley."

Their wish met with the approval of the Home Mission Society. Dr. Jonathan Going, first Corresponding Secretary of the Society, on a visit to their church in Springfield, had encouraged them to go to the Valley the coming fall. Hoping at the time that they might do so, Ezra Fisher wrote the first letter to inform him that they felt unable to leave the church in Springfield until the next spring or fall. Late in October, however, came a letter asking him to go immediately to Indianapolis, Ind., and assuring him that the Home Mission Society would furnish him an outfit and support him in that place. Reluctantly they changed their plans and at once made ready to go.

On the twelfth of November, 1832, they bade goodbye to their friends in Springfield and, with their little daughter, began their first journey westward. Stopping only for a visit of a few days with Mrs. Fisher's parents in Clinton, N. Y., they were five weeks on the way, not reaching Indianapolis until the 22d of December.

His commission probably awaited him there. It was among the first issued by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. He at once began work at a salary of three hundred dollars a year, fifty dollars having been allowed him for outfit.

With his arrival at Indianapolis, his own pen takes up the account of his life and work and continues it almost uninterruptedly until 1856. It is the story of how he strove to place the leaven of the Kingdom of God within the developing life of the Mississippi Valley, of how he journeyed by ox team to the Pacific Coast to perform a like service for Oregon, and of how he did indeed labor in Oregon amid many discouragements to set in motion the forces which make for effective righteousness. For the most part, only the outlines of what he himself has written would be in place here.

While the purpose of his correspondence was primarily to give the Society an account of his own work and of the Baptist cause where he labored, he does much more than this. He describes the country, its places, the life and conditions of every field he occupied, suggests, often with prophet's vision, bases for future operations, gives a comprehensive view of American expansion westward and at least touches upon nearly every event of importance connected with the earlier history of the Pacific Coast.

The church in Indianapolis was a chaotic one of fifty-five members. They had no articles of faith and their beliefs were almost as varied as the places from which they had come. Most were opposed to the support of the ministry. They had no Sunday school and many did not believe in the institution.

In their association of fifteen or sixteen churches, he knew of no church which had preaching more than one Sabbath a month and there were but two ministers who devoted much time to their calling. Probably the majority of Baptists throughout the state had little or no sympathy with the benevolent societies of the denomination.

His efforts were chiefly confined to his own church. He preached, however, when possible, in neighboring places and visited sufficiently among the churches of the state to keep informed of their needs. He assisted in the organization of the General Association of Baptists in Indiana, in 1833, and of a state Baptist Education Society in 1835.

At the close of his pastorate in Indianapolis, March 22, 1835, many discouraging conditions remained, but the church was in harmony, had a Sunday school of ninety or more members, and would, he believed, furnish half the salary of a minister the next year.

Ezra Fisher continued to make his home in Indianapolis until April 12, 1836, the last year acting as agent of the American Sunday School Union for Indiana. Because of a wish to work directly for the Baptist denomination, he declined the invitation to serve another year, and, because his health would not admit of the sedentary life, he also refused a position as the head of Franklin College, soon to go into operation at Franklin, Indiana.

Under commission of the Home Mission Society, he again went west, this time to Quincy, Ill., to take charge of a church of nine members, worshipping in a small school room. He arrived there May 4, 1836. For the first year only his time was divided between the church at Quincy and one called "Bethany" at Payson, ten miles southeast.

Supported but in part by the Society, during most of his stay of three and a half years, he was able to live, to use his own words, "only by uniting industry and economy with self-denial." When the brave little church at Quincy was building, he cheerfully taught school to make up the deficit

in his salary, and, at the end of that year, wrote: "This church is truly becoming one of the most pleasant churches in the land and will soon become one of the most desirable situations for an efficient preacher in the whole West. . . . When God in His providence shall indicate to me that this place demands another than a frontier man, if my health and that of my family permit, I hope once more to take a frontier post." The church had forty members at the time he left it.

He had hoped to go to Texas in the fall of 1839, but, disappointed in this, he went at that time to Iowa Territory. So far as is known, there is no record of why he did not go to Texas or of his first year's work in Iowa, save that he preached for a time at Bloomington, now Muscatine, and also at Wapsipinikie, now Independence. In serving these places, it is likely that he devoted considerable time to exploring and endeavoring to relieve the general field.

In 1841, when he again takes pen to report his movements since November, 1840, we find him the only Baptist minister in a region "from twenty to fifty miles in width, extending from the mouth of the Iowa river up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Macoquetois [Moquoketa] and thence up that stream some ten miles above its forks." His station was Davenport.

In endeavoring to relieve the destitution, he travelled during the quarter ending December 10, 1841, seven hundred and fifty miles. Through all that part of Iowa territory and across the river at Rock Island, Ill., and neighboring points, his was a familiar figure for more than five years. He preached the gospel, made religious visits to hundreds of homes, took a leading part in organizing the Baptist work in the territory and in organizing temperance societies, gave many addresses on the subjects of temperance and of Sunday schools and secured numerous signatures to the temperance pledge.

The larger part of his time was given to the churches in Davenport and in Muscatine, the latter church having been

organized by him October 31, 1841. It was while living in Muscatine in 1843 that he planned to go to Oregon the following year.

Feeling that the opportunity of visiting relatives and friends would not again be theirs, Mr. and Mrs. Fisher, with their three children, spent the summer and fall of 1843 in the East. It was their first trip back since coming to the Mississippi Valley nearly eleven years before. At the end of the long journey from Iowa, their little daughter announced their arrival at the home of her grandparents in New York by exclaiming, "O grandpa, we've come to stay all night." Their youngest daughter¹ was born during the visit there.

Leaving New York late in the fall, they reached Davenport, Ia., December 15, having come all the way by team.

Under appointment of the Home Mission Society, and still expecting to go to Oregon in the spring of 1844, Ezra Fisher began preaching to various churches within reach of Davenport, travelling that quarter four hundred and twenty-eight miles.

Unfavorable reports of the immigration of 1843 soon reached him. Some of the company had returned, like the Israelitish spies of Canaan, to discourage the hearts of many anticipating the Oregon land of promise.

The uncertainty of getting beyond Fort Hall with wagons and the unsettled condition of Oregon, together with other reasons, led Ezra Fisher to defer his going to Oregon until 1845. He was therefore appointed to labor at Rock Island, Ill., and Mt. Pleasant, twelve miles southeast. On March 14, 1845, at the close of his year with the American Baptist Home Mission Society, he received his commission to labor in Oregon.

Early in April Ezra Fisher and his family set out from Rock Island, Ill., on their journey of more than twenty-five hundred miles to the Willamette Valley, Oregon. Going into rendezvous at St. Joseph, Mo., they left that place the middle

¹ Afterward Mrs. Sarah Fisher Henderson.

of May. To their joy they soon afterward overtook, or were overtaken by Rev. Hezekiah Johnson and family from Iowa, whom they had expected to accompany them, but had given up. The two men had been closely associated in organizing the Baptist work in Iowa. At the solicitation of both, Hezekiah Johnson had also been appointed by the Home Mission Society a missionary to Oregon. A salary of three hundred dollars¹ for one year from the time of their arrival in Oregon had been advanced to each of them.

Like the rest of their company, the two missionaries and their families experienced none of the extreme sufferings which fell to the lot of many who travelled the Oregon Trail, and of some who that year departed from it. So far as known, the worst Indian depredation in the family of Ezra Fisher was the cutting off of the brass buttons on his son's roundabout. But there were trials in abundance and their share of the very real suffering and danger which were a part of crossing the plains to Oregon.

One of their trials was the disregard of the Sabbath, which they not only felt to be wrong, but which prevented their accomplishing as much in a religious way as they had hoped. Except in a genuine emergency, such as lack of water, or of feed for the cattle, on the Sundays when their company insisted upon travelling, the missionaries would tarry behind, have family devotions, rest and overtake the main company late in the evening.

About half of the Sabbaths were observed at least by halting. On these occasions, one of the three ministers of the company would preach, a wagon usually serving as a pulpit.

At The Dalles Ezra Fisher preached his first sermon in Oregon from John 3:16. Here the missionaries camped and built a flatboat. They were out of provisions and obliged to pay eight dollars per hundred pounds for flour and six dollars for beef. Dried salmon, bought of the Indians, was generally a substitute for the latter.

¹ See letter of March 22, 1845.

Some of the party, Ezra Fisher among them, brought the cattle and horses down the Indian trail on the north bank of the Columbia. On the flatboat, laden with their wagons and possessions and a skiff for use in catching their flatboat below the rapids, the rest of their number embarked, and thus came to the portage at the Cascades where they camped in a drenching rain.

Their boat, which was set adrift to go over the Cascades, lodged in the rocks amid-stream and all efforts to dislodge it were in vain. In their extremity, they sent to Dr. McLoughlin for aid. With his usual kindness, he sent them a bateau.

At the Cascades, or, it would seem more likely, at a later camping point, those who had come down the north bank joined them. They were wet and in a nearly famished condition. Ezra Fisher and his son¹ had been living for the last day or two, on a daily half-pint of milk, and a little wheat which they had in their pockets. Hot biscuits² were a never-to-be-forgotten luxury of their repast that night.

Continuing their journey in the bateau, the party arrived at a point near Linnton on or near the sixth of December. Here the two families separated, Hezekiah Johnson and family continuing up the river to Oregon City, while Ezra Fisher and family, piloted by Edward Lenox, went to Tualatin Plains.

In the log cabin of David T. Lenox, well known as captain of the first company to reach Oregon in 1843, they found shelter from the rain and cold. It was the same cabin in which had been organized, on May 25, 1844, the first Baptist church west of the Rocky Mountains. It was about eighteen by twenty-two feet, and had a "lean-to." Although the family of David Lenox numbered thirteen and the "lean-to" was occupied by a widow and three children, with the utmost hospitality the six new arrivals were made welcome. Together

¹ Ezra Timothy Taft Fisher.

² Throughout the journey, the family baking had been done with the aid of a tin reflector, which stood on four legs, was bent so as to form a hood and enclosed at the sides. From the front, baking pans were slid into place along grooves.

the three families spent the remainder of the winter, all making the best of their cramped quarters.

Each morning the beds, which had been spread out on the puncheon floor, would be rolled up in the buffalo robes which had seen duty on the Plains. They did their cooking over the stick fireplace. This was simplified because of a lack of materials with which to cook. They were without flour, milk, butter or eggs, and their only meat was the game which they were able to kill. Boiled wheat, occasionally served with molasses, potatoes and dried-pea coffee, were their chief dependence. They had, besides, dried peas and turnips.

In the evening they would gather around the fireplace, seated, for the most part, on benches or blocks of wood and, by the light of a pitchy knot, Ezra Fisher would read the words for the children to spell. On Sunday evenings he would conduct a Bible class.

Upon his arrival at the home of David Lenox, he had at once united with the little church which had been organized the preceding year and of which Rev. Vincent Snelling, of the immigration of '44, was pastor. This was at West Union, six miles northeast of what is now Hillsboro. During the winter he provided for his family, travelled up and down the Valley, going nearly as far south as the Luckiamute River, acquainted himself with conditions and needs, and preached every Sunday but three.

In the spring, David Lenox moved his family into a new, hewed log cabin and Ezra Fisher's remained in the old. The following summer Ezra Fisher taught a term of school, kept up his preaching each Sabbath, superintended a Sunday school of twenty-five pupils, and, when Rev. Vincent Snelling moved to what is now Yamhill County, became pastor of the West Union Church. During the few months of his pastorate there were ten or twelve conversions.

Believing that near the mouth of the Columbia lay the point which would become of first commercial importance for Oregon, and that no other place except Oregon City was of

more immediate consequence, he moved to Astoria in the fall of '46. That part of Oregon had then its share of settlers, at least one other denomination was beginning an effort there and the outlook for steady growth was most encouraging.

Throughout the winter he preached every Sunday but, with only two American families in Astoria besides themselves, his field of usefulness was limited. Most of his time for two months was occupied in building the house which for many years served as Astoria's postoffice and which has often been pictured as a landmark of the place. It was made of shakes, split with a frow, and was built entirely from one big tree, a portion of which remained unused.

Their privations and discouragements that year were great. They had received neither word nor remittance from the Home Mission Society since leaving Rock Island, Ill. They had no mail and very little reading matter. Their first home was a log cabin which had been abandoned some time before. It had been made more habitable no doubt by some repairs, but it had no windows and in it were few indeed of the commonest comforts of life. They were wearing old clothes which had served their day in Illinois and of food had small variety, although better supplied than the year before. The winter was severe and he lost all but two of his twenty cattle. More than all his privations, he regretted that he could be of so little use as a minister of the gospel and must spend so large a part of his time in providing the necessities of life. "If I have one object for which I desire to live more than all others," he wrote, "it is to see the cause for which Christ impoverished Himself making the people of Oregon rich."

In anticipation of the needs of California and of Puget Sound his first letter from Astoria had this: "Should the settlement of the Oregon question be what we anticipate, we shall greatly need a missionary stationed at Puget Sound before you can commission a suitable man and send him to the field. And should Upper California remain under the United States government, a missionary will be greatly needed

at San Francisco Bay immediately upon the settlement of the Mexican War. . . This whole country and Upper California are emphatically missionary grounds, and our relation to the whole Pacific Coast and the half of the globe in our front demands prompt and faithful action. . . Whatever God has in store for our majestic River and our spacious and safe harbors on the Pacific, one thing is now reduced to a demonstration: We must become a part of the Great North American Republic. It remains for the Christian churches of that Republic to say whether our territory shall prove a blessing or a sore curse to the nation. Shall the needed help be denied us?" His plea for San Francisco and Puget Sound was often repeated.

In the spring, because they could the better earn their living and, at the same time, be as useful as at Astoria, they moved to Clatsop Plains.¹

In connection with the Presbyterians, they at once organized a Sunday school in the log school house where their eldest daughter² taught during the week.

This at first numbered twenty-five and soon grew to thirty. Following Sunday school each week, either Rev. Lewis Thompson, the Presbyterian minister, or Elder Fisher would preach, the two men acting alternately and their congregations numbering about fifty.

In June, mail from the East began to reach the Baptist missionary. It was the first since leaving St. Joseph, Mo., more than two years before. In August, two boxes from the Home Mission Society arrived. At the age of seventy-five, the only living member³ of the family remembers with what delight these, and a box from her grandparents, which arrived at the same time, were received.

¹ See letter of Jan. 26, 1850.

² Miss Lucy J. G. Fisher (Latourette).

³ Mrs. Ann E. Latourette.

The goods from the Home Mission Society had been ordered from Tualatin Plains April 17, 1846, and were sent in response to the wish of Ezra Fisher that a large proportion of his salary each year should be spent in articles purchased in New York at the lower New York prices and forwarded by ship to Oregon. This method of remittance was satisfactory to both and became their practice. The salary of the two missionaries would appear to have been less than two hundred dollars each, as they received word in 1847 that it had been increased to that amount. They sometimes received donations from eastern churches and societies. These, however, were usually books and periodicals for general distribution.

Removing four miles farther south on Clatsop Plains, near what is now Gearhart, Ezra Fisher kept up his appointments at the former place and began preaching on the alternate Sundays in his own home, a log cabin built by himself. In the fall, he made a four weeks' tour of the Willamette Valley, taking with him a supply of Bibles, Testaments and tracts which had been received with the goods from New York.

The third winter in Oregon was passed more pleasantly than the two which had preceded it. But life on Clatsop Plains in 1847 and 1848 was hardly modern. Around them, far more numerous than the white settlers, were the Clatsop Indians, and Chinook Jargon was in daily use. Ezra Fisher's cabin was lighted by a primitive lamp without a chimney and burned oil obtained by the Indians from a whale which had been cast ashore. The lamp was a luxury of his own family, most of their neighbors using a saucer or small bowl of oil or lard in which a twisted rag served for a wick. His home was swept by a hazel broom which he himself had made. Indian baskets were common receptacles and, except for wild cranberries raked from numerous bogs, the family fruit supply was the berries gathered in the summer and dried. Mrs. Fisher had a few cherished dried currants, which on rare occasions she would add to a pudding

or cake. The only apples or oranges the children had seen in Oregon were a few presented to them by a sea captain at Astoria.

In the spring of 1848, Ezra Fisher helped to build a log house to serve for school and church purposes and on March 18, 1848, organized the Clatsop Plains Baptist Church. At this time he was the only minister in the county, its population was gradually increasing and at his two stations were two Sunday schools with forty-two scholars, ten teachers and one hundred and twenty library books.

In June, he made another trip to the Valley, this time to aid in the organization of the first Baptist association in Oregon, and to awaken an interest in starting a denominational school. At West Union the Willamette Baptist Association was organized, June 23, 1848, Elder Fisher being elected moderator and David Lenox clerk. Thereafter, throughout his life, Ezra Fisher was greatly interested in all the work of this Association, was its moderator many times, preached to it and served it in numberless ways. In connection with it was a Ministers' Conference which he helped to organize and of which he was repeatedly elected moderator. He later assisted in the organization of the Corvallis Association, and of the General Association, in both of which he took an active part.

At the close of the West Union Meeting, he made an extended tour of the Valley, preaching and looking over the field with the thought of a suitable location for a school constantly before him. He travelled on foot sixty-five miles above Oregon City, crossed the Willamette near Salem and visited the Yamhill church, returned through the Chehalem and Tualatin valleys and arrived at Oregon City on the twentieth of July. Leaving Oregon City on the twenty-fourth, he reached home the twenty-eighth.

About this time came the California gold excitement.

In the spring of 1849, none of his church on Clatsop Plains was left but members of his own family. Amid the general

confusion and excitement there was little hope of accomplishing much in Oregon, and he lacked the means to devote himself to missionary effort in California. The loss of his supplies from New York for that year in the wreck of the bark Undine off Cape Horn and the absolute necessity of devising some method by which to provide for the needs of his family induced him to go to the mines. This he did, hoping, at the same time, that he might be of more service by going than by remaining at home.

In San Francisco he met and preached for Rev. O. D. Wheeler, whom the American Baptist Home Mission Society had sent to California in 1848. He was in the mines about eight weeks and took out about one thousand dollars' worth of gold, most of which, upon his return, went toward the purchase of a claim to furnish a site for a Baptist college. If any one should think him mercenary, let him read his letters of '49 and that of Jan. 20, 1853.

Arriving home on August 23, he set out on the twenty-ninth for the Willamette Valley. At the call of several representative Baptists of the Valley, a meeting was held at Oregon City, Sept. 21, 1849, to consider the question of establishing "a permanent school under the direction and fostering care of the Baptist churches in Oregon," and on the following day was organized the Oregon Baptist Education Society.¹ The attendance being small, it was voted to adjourn and meet with the church in Yamhill County on Sept. 27.

At the Yamhill gathering, every church except one, that of Molalla, was represented. A site for the institution was agreed upon, a Board of Trustees appointed, and to Rev. Richard Cheadle was assigned the task of raising two thousand dollars for building and other expenses. Ezra Fisher was placed in charge of the institution and was requested to move to the place as soon as practicable, and put a school in operation. The chosen location was on the "east bank of the Willamette about eight miles above the mouth of the Calapooya river."

¹ See letter of Feb. 8, 1850.

Upon his arrival with his family at Oregon City late in November, Ezra Fisher learned that the intended site was not vacant. While awaiting developments, he opened a school in the little meeting house² which Hezekiah Johnson had built in Oregon City the year before, and where his niece, Miss Mary Johnson,³ had taught for a few months immediately after its completion.

It was finally thought best to locate the college in Oregon City, the opportunity of purchasing a claim adjoining the townsite of Oregon City, the success of Ezra Fisher's school, and the desirability of Oregon City as a place of location, doubtless being the chief reasons which led to this decision. The claim was purchased for five thousand dollars by Hezekiah Johnson, J. R. Robb, Joseph Jeffers and Ezra Fisher, the latter giving twelve hundred and fifty dollars, most of it being what he had dug from the California gold mines. About fifty acres, half a mile back from the town, and so located as to command an unsurpassed view of the Willamette River and the Cascade mountains, when once it should be cleared of timber, were donated for college purposes.

To obtain title, Ezra Fisher moved his family to the claim the first of December, 1850. There they built a home and lived until the close of 1855. Upon receiving patent from the government, he deeded to each of the other men their portion of the land according to the agreement. Ezra Fisher taught in Oregon City for about two years and was at the same time pastor of the Baptist church of that place, that Hezekiah Johnson might give his time to the general field. Portland, Milwaukie and other nearby places, he supplied with occasional preaching.

In November, 1851, the Home Mission Society appointed him Exploring Agent for Oregon, this action meeting with the hearty endorsement of the Willamette Association. In this capacity he labored until 1856. As Exploring Agent, he travelled on foot up and down the Willamette Valley many

² It was the first Baptist church building west of the Rocky Mountains.

³ Afterward Mrs. Henry V. Clymer.

times, visiting also the Umpqua and Rogue river valleys. He visited and preached to the churches, assisted in the organization of others, held meetings, kept before the denomination higher standards of efficiency and was everywhere an influence for good. His was in very truth "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight."

Of his work during the time he made his home in Oregon City, he has given a fuller account than of any other period of his life. Let us leave to him the details of both it and of the Oregon City College.

On Jan. 20, 1854, at her home near the site for the Oregon City College, Mrs. Fisher died at the age of forty-eight years. Her illness was short and her family unprepared for so great a calamity. She left five children. The oldest¹ was married; the four at home were aged respectively nineteen, fourteen, ten and six. She had lost two daughters: one, at Quincy, Ill., in 1838; the other, at Muscatine, Ia., in 1842.

Mrs. Fisher had been a missionary's wife for twenty-two years. She had the same missionary spirit as her husband and was constantly encouraging him in his work. With sweetness and fortitude she bore every privation. If her own heart was ever dismayed, her family seldom knew it and she took fresh courage from her beautiful faith in God and the blessedness of their work. Her children have often said that they never heard an unkind word from her lips.

She knew how to make the most of everything. On scraps that many would have thrown away she could get up an attractive meal. If her home was sometimes a rough log cabin, it was a clean one and a most pleasant place to be.

Her death was the cause of a revival, in which about twenty-five were converted, most of them uniting with the Baptist church in Oregon City. Among the number were three of her own children and three from the family of Hezekiah Johnson.

¹Mrs. L. D. C. Latourette.

Old pioneers of Oregon who knew Ezra Fisher well have said that he was a pleasant man to meet and converse with. In manner, he was quiet, kindly and dignified. In appearance, he was six feet in height and thin. His complexion was fair, his eyes blue, his hair light brown and abundant. His health, never the best, made him appear somewhat delicate, but he was muscular and had great endurance. In later years his beard was nearly gray, while his hair was but slightly so. He was careful of his appearance and, according to the almost universal custom of New England ministers, wore a "stove pipe" hat. For the first eight years after coming to Oregon, his trips about the Valley were made on foot and he always carried the usual carpet bag of those days.

When he preached he was earnest, convincing and scholarly. He could preach a doctrinal sermon, but seldom did. No pioneer minister of Oregon could be more depended upon to hold up the Christ than Elder Fisher. He disliked either levity or sensationalism in a minister. In delivery he was pleasing; he used simple language and was sometimes eloquent. He generally used a skeleton. Those which have been preserved, show that his ideas were surprisingly modern. He often used the expression, "one more observation." If young people ever objected to this, they liked his pleasant smile after the sermon was over and he was very successful in his work with them.

At the close of the Willamette Association of 1852, over which he had presided and to attend which he had walked from Oregon City to Parrish Gap, about twelve miles above Salem, he placed his hand on a boy's head and said: "I could walk this country all over for my Master, if I could only be successful in winning souls to Christ." He then appealed to the boy¹ to become a Christian. It was one of many similar appeals. "He was always sowing good seed," said one who knew him well.

¹ Rev. A. J. Hunsaker, who was afterward General Missionary of the Baptist Convention of the North Pacific Coast, was financial agent for the McMinnville College and who is a man so well known and esteemed throughout the state as to need no further mention.

Of what he was in his home life his daughter¹ has thus spoken: "My father was very kind and thoughtful of mother and the children, never omitting when starting on his frequent journeys to kiss us in his kindly way, and we were always glad to welcome his home-coming. He usually brought some start of fruit tree or flower to add to our home comfort." Wherever he lived, he soon had trees, small fruits and flowers growing. He gave them excellent care and was skillful in pruning, grafting and budding.

In 1853 he bought a white pony called Dolly. Thereafter in speaking of his trips Dolly was always included. "Dolly and I" found traveling bad today, or "Dolly and I" met with an accident, he would say. Dolly was the "carriage" of a news item which appeared in an eastern paper and read:

"Rev. Ezra Fisher, of Oregon, while on his way to one of his appointments, was thrown from his carriage and one of his ribs was broken."

On June 27, 1854, Ezra Fisher was married to Mrs. Amelia Millard. She was a woman of Christian character, whose coming into the home was a blessing to her husband and to his children. Such a woman as she was much needed there. By her kindness and tactful counsel she won the hearts of her husband's children and grandchildren, and she lived to see some of his great-grandchildren and to be loved by them. The remembrance of her kindly face and loving deeds during frequent visits to their homes is one of their pleasant childhood memories. She survived her husband many years and was much beloved by all who knew her. She died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. James Elkins, in Albany, Oregon, at the age of ninety-seven years. To the end, she took an intelligent interest in everything, but especially in the work of her church and of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Ezra Fisher entered upon his last year as Exploring Agent, April 1, 1855, with the request that the Board of the Home Mission Society should be on the look-out for a suitable man

¹ Mrs. Ann E. Latourette.

to take his place, and at its close resigned. His work and the hard conditions attending it had told on his strength and he felt the necessity of a less arduous life. Wishing to settle near the center of the Valley within easier reach of the churches most needing ministerial aid, he accepted the pastorate of the Santiam church, located at what is now Sodaville, Oregon. The removal from Oregon City was made in December, 1855, ox teams being provided by members of the Santiam church. They were six days on the road, having stopped over Sunday at Parrish Gap.

The Santiam church numbered at that time about thirty-six members. In a revival conducted by Ezra Fisher and Rev. William Sperry in 1853, there had been fifty additions to the church, but half the membership were dismissed to form what is now the Brownsville church.

In 1856 the Willamette Association met with the Santiam church. The log school house being of insufficient size, the gathering was held in a new barn fitted up for the occasion. Heretofore the Willamette had been the only Baptist Association in the state. That year it was divided into three, the Santiam church, because of its location, going into the Corvallis Association.

Ezra Fisher was a strong anti-slavery man. As time went on he found himself in a church and association whose members were largely from southern states. For the sake of harmony, his policy at first was to say little. But as the slavery question grew larger and Oregon was threatened with admission as a slave state, he felt that it was no time for silence. In public and privately he exerted his influence to the utmost against slavery. When the adoption of a Constitution was before the people, his fight was a valiant one. A well-educated man from Kentucky said that he had met no one since leaving the East who reminded him so much of Henry Clay, and added, "He is as earnest and logical as Henry Clay himself." Few awaited the returns of Nov. 9, 1857, with more anxiety of mind than Ezra Fisher,¹ and none was made more glad by Oregon's decision.

¹ As a good rule for the guidance of American citizens, he was fond of quoting "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The pastorate of the Santiam church continued until 1858, when Ezra Fisher and the other anti-slavery members of the church withdrew and formed a church of their own near Washington Butte. They adopted the usual Baptist articles of faith, but declared also non-fellowship with those who in any way countenanced slavery.

While with the Santiam church, Ezra Fisher had a farm of about twenty-five acres, from which most of his livelihood was gained. Upon moving to Washington Butte, he sold or traded it for another farm of about the same size. In the summer of 1861, he sold this and, putting most of the money into live stock, moved to The Dalles.

Four miles from The Dalles, he bought a small place having for improvements little else than a poorly built log cabin and from which its former owner had not been able to raise enough to "feed the squirrels." Here with his wife and thirteen-year-old son, he spent the record-breaking winter of 1861 and 1862. With plenty of wood, it was all they could do to keep from freezing. With the opening of spring, only a few of their stock, which had been let out for the winter, remained. He was almost penniless and obliged to receive help from a daughter to buy food supplies.

He was sixty-two and Mrs. Fisher sixty, but they at once set themselves to the task of developing and making a living from their place. They set out strawberries and planted vegetables and fruit trees. After a few years, they were able to make a comfortable living.

While he was doing this, he did not forget to preach. There being no Baptist church, he frequently preached for other denominations. The one Baptist family in The Dalles at the time they came soon moved away. Two leading men from the church at Washington Butte moved with their families to The Dalles, and others began to come, so that about 1863 Ezra Fisher began to preach on Sundays to the few Baptists of the place, their meetings being held in the court house.

Later a church of sixteen members was organized. Ezra Fisher generally preached to them on Sundays, but being unable to give much time to the work, he would not permit himself to be considered as a pastor or to receive pay. At this time he was often working fifteen or sixteen hours a day. Rising about three or four o'clock to get his products off on an early boat down the river, he would then work the remainder of the day on his place. His sermons would be prepared on Sunday morning after breakfast and he would then travel, often on foot, four miles to town to preach. In 1870, a letter from The Dalles church to the Willamette Association reported: "We have been holding meetings every Sunday for some time; generally have preaching by our beloved Elder Ezra Fisher." He thus served the church until 1872.

By his untiring labors, and those of his wife and son, their barren land was transformed into one of the pleasantest homes in the vicinity of The Dalles, and was a favorite visiting place of their many friends. They had built a good frame house, and the fruit from his orchard was known throughout the county. Indeed he was one of the first to prove the superiority of The Dalles cherries.

The strenuous work on his farm became harder for him each year. It paid him well, but he was continually going beyond his strength. He therefore sold his place and moved to California.

The climate was favorable to the health of both, but, after a year spent near San Diego, the church at The Dalles, which was then able to pay a small salary, gave him a most urgent call. Feeling that it would be a joy to be once more of service in preaching the Gospel, especially to his loved people of The Dalles, and wishing also to be near his children, he returned to Oregon.

He arrived in time to attend the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Willamette Association. He gave a memorial address, preached to them on the Relation of the Doctrine of the Resurrection to the Scheme of Salvation, and was the only one

present who had helped in the work of organization a quarter of a century before.

At the time of his return in 1873, the church at The Dalles had twenty-three members. They were still without a building, but had two lots which Ezra Fisher and one or two others had purchased about 1868. As actively as in his younger days, their pastor took up the labors before him. Besides working toward a church building, he preached two well-prepared sermons each Sunday, taught the Bible class in the Sunday school and did much pastoral visiting. He was also elected County School Superintendent.

Upon returning to Oregon, he had earnestly prayed that God might once more bless his efforts in the conversion of souls. During the winter he held revival meetings in which he labored for six weeks. Sixteen of the young people of the town were added to the church. Among the number were his youngest son,¹ Rev. C. M. Hill, present head of the Baptist Theological Seminary at Berkeley, Cal., and Rev. G. W. Hill, a Baptist missionary in China.

The next summer he came to the Valley to visit and to attend the Baptist State Convention and the Willamette Association, in both of which he took an active part. To the latter, which met at Forest Grove, he extended an invitation in behalf of his church to meet at The Dalles the following year, expecting that their \$3,000 church would then be ready for dedication. The minutes of that year record: "Elder Fisher preached at the Baptist church to a full house. The venerable servant of God seemed to renew his youth, while he held forth Jesus as the Great High Priest of our profession, and urged all to come to Him and live."

On September 9, 1874, he conducted the exercises at the laying of the corner stone of the First Baptist church of The Dalles, Rev. D. J. Pierce, of Portland, giving the address of the occasion.

¹ Francis Wayland Howard Fisher.

Elder Fisher preached his last sermon on October 18, 1874. While away on a forty-mile trip visiting the schools of Wasco county, he contracted a cold, which resulted in typhoid pneumonia. He was brought home to the Dalles, and there died November 1, 1874. He would have been seventy-five in January. His will provided that, at the death of Mrs. Fisher, one-third of whatever remained of his estate, which was small, should go to McMinnville College.

From those who knew him in the East, among the number two of his classmates at Amherst, from men and women who had lived near him in the Middle West, from California acquaintances and from the pioneers of Oregon has come the testimony of what he was. It has been unanimous that his was a character of the highest type.

The Society in whose employ he labored so indefatigably for nearly twenty-five years has placed the name of Ezra Fisher high on the roll of its missionary heroes. Many words of praise from men who have guided its affairs might here be quoted. But from a most unexpected source came a simple testimony from one who crossed the plains with him, and, since no better test of character could well be imagined than the trials and vexations which attended the journey by ox team to Oregon, it is here given. It came from Andrew Rodgers, who fell with the Whitmans at Waiilatpu. In a letter to Mrs. Whitman's sister, Miss Jane Prentiss, written from Tshimakain and dated April 22, 1846, he wrote:

"There were three ministers in the company, one a Seceder minister [Dr. T. J. Kendall] from about Burlington. The other two were Baptist ministers, one from Iowa, the other from Rock Island, Ill., whose name was Fisher, and who was formerly of Quincy, and is doubtless well known there. He manifested more of the true spirit of Christ while on the road than any other man with whom I was acquainted."

None but God knows how the influence of Ezra Fisher lives on in the lives of many. He was an apostle of Jesus Christ sent to the frontiers of this country to have a part in shaping the destinies of the West.

Iowa Territory, Bloomington [Muscatine], March 15, 1843.
Corresponding Secretary of the A. B. H. M. Soc., N. Y.:

Dear Br.: It becomes my duty to make a report of my labours for the third quarter ending this day, the year commencing June 15, 1842. I have devoted all the time to the ministry as far as my health and the extremely severe winter would admit. I have failed entirely of reaching one appointment on the Sabbath by reason of a severe storm, the thermometer ranging about 12 degrees below zero, and the appointment being in an open prairie 12 miles distant. My lungs have been sore most of the time during the last quarter so that I have seldom preached more than once on the Sabbath.⁴⁸ I have preached 17 sermons; no addresses; attended 4 covenant meetings; 11 weekly prayer meetings; traveled 246 miles. No hopeful conversions; cause of religion and temperance low in B.; yet our church enjoys a devotional frame of mind. . . . We have received 5 by letter and 2 to be under our watch care. Have made more than 50 pastoral visits. Monthly concert is attended at but one place in B. I have visited and addressed 3 common schools. Obtained but five or six signatures to the temperance pledge. . . . We have one licentiate preacher in our church, a good deacon and a valuable brother. . . . Such is the extremely embarrassing circumstance of our feeble church that as yet we have done nothing for either of the benevolent institutions, although there is a willingness and a promise to soon. No auxiliary society has aided me the past quarter. No Bible class; one S. school of 7 teachers, 4 Baptist, and about 45 scholars, 8 of whom are Baptists. No effort to build a house. I have received about \$70 for my support, mostly in produce.

The Church has invited me to continue with them the present calendar year. . . . and made an effort to raise \$200 in produce, but will not be able to raise more than about \$100, should I stay.

⁴⁸ It will be recalled that the author's death was caused by pneumonia. Occasional references to sore lungs show a tendency in that direction.

In view of the irritable state of my lungs every winter and of the soft and salubrious climate of Oregon Ter. and the amount of emigration annually passing over the Rocky mountains, we are contemplating removing to the said Territory next year, if Providence smiles and we can raise the means.⁴⁹ As we have been almost eleven years in this Valley, we wish to visit our friends in New York, Vermont and Massachusetts before we make this removal. Our reasons are, First, the benefit of my lungs and health of my family. Second, it will probably be more difficult to persuade men to go to Oregon than to Iowa, especially at first, while the demands will be greater in three years. We hear of companies forming in various portions of our country to go out the present year and numbers of them are Baptists. Third, I have been a pioneer for more than ten years and have no desire ever to settle over a church in the old states, while the field is the world in the new and rising portions of our country. We shall probably leave this place as soon as the first of June for New York, and I wish, by the Grace of God, to devote as much of my time to the service of the Messiah's Kingdom as I can during my journey with my family. . . . Our Board will meet in this place next week, and I shall present my views to them for consideration and counsel.

Please send me a draft of twenty-five dollars as soon as convenient as I am owing for rents which were due last November and we cannot raise a dollar in money on my last year's subscription.

All which is submitted.

Yours in the bonds of the gospel,

EZRA FISHER.

⁴⁹ The first important immigration to Oregon was in 1842 when about one hundred accompanied Elijah White, newly appointed Indian agent of the United States, on his return to Oregon. This was merely the advance guard of an immigration of about a thousand in 1843. The immigrants of this year came largely from Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri. The interest of Ezra Fisher in Oregon probably dates from the interest in Oregon and the glowing reports of the country which were circulating all through the west in the winter of 1842-4. See Bancroft, *Hist. of Oregon*, Vol. I, passim.

Granville, Putnam County, Illinois,

June 1st, 1843.

To the Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Home
Mission Society:

Dear Br. Hill:

I take my pen to make a report of my services in Bloomington, Iowa, and vicinity, for the part of the quarter commencing March 15th and ending May the 23d.

According to my best calculation I have labored eight weeks in the service of the Society and the church at Bloomington and vicinity.

I have preached 15 sermons, delivered one address on the subject of Bible instruction . . . Traveled one hundred and five miles to and from appointments. . . . Have visited and assisted in the revival in Davenport two days. . . . Our church has been peculiarly oppressed with pecuniary embarrassments and has paid nothing for any of the benevolent objects, but has paid about thirty dollars for my salary. I have received nothing from auxiliary societies. . . . You will please forward me a draft for fifteen dollars to Clinton Post Office, Oneida Co., New York, in the care of Timothy Taft, and I shall receive it on my arrival.

I feel convinced that I have not rendered the amount of profitable service directly to the cause at Bloomington that I should, had not the subject of the Oregon enterprise agitated my mind and called forth my anxious thoughts, and I trust humble prayers. As it relates to that subject, I have endeavored to look at the privations and difficulties as well as to the beauties of nature,⁵⁰ and I can say with some degree of confidence that I desire to set aside all considerations but the will of God and the well being of man in this and all my undertakings. In considering the path of duty I see no field of labor

⁵⁰ This well reflects the information concerning Oregon which was current in the west at the time this was written. No large immigration had yet gotten into Oregon with wagons, and the journey was an extremely arduous and dangerous one of about six months. On the other hand, reports circulated by travelers and missionaries from the country, and by the debates in Congress of the past few winters, pictured Oregon as an earthly paradise. Bancroft, *Hist. of Oregon*, Vol. I, passim.

which I can contemplate with so much satisfaction, or concerning which I have so little doubt of duty as an attempt to lay the foundation for an interest in Oregon. Our countrymen will go, and they will go too, without the Bible and the Sabbath, unless these are carried by the good and self-denying. Hundreds are crossing the mountains this year.⁵¹ Our Government is sending out a scientific corps⁵² of 50 mounted men to explore the country and, if possible, to return as soon as the early part of the next session of Congress. I am also informed that an English nobleman is hiring men and purchasing wagons and mules in St. Louis for an exploring expedition to that country, ostensibly a private expedition. . . .

We shall probably be at Buffalo as soon as the ninth of July, perhaps the second. May God direct.

I subscribe myself your unworthy brother in Christ,

EZRA FISHER,
Missionary.

N. B.—The church in Bloomington will apply to the General Association to render them some temporary aid but have not determined as yet to ask for assistance from your Board. Some two or three families will probably go with me to Oregon, if I am preserved and am permitted to go.

Syracuse, N. Y., Oct. 18th, 1843.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. S.,

Beloved Br.:

It is with emotions of gratitude to our Divine Master for the great kindness you have manifested to me in all your correspondence, and especially since our personal acquaintance

⁵¹ The exact number of the immigration of 1843 is uncertain. It is variously estimated from 500 to 1000. Bancroft, *Hist. of Oregon*, I: 395 ft.

⁵² The United States Government expedition was that headed by J. C. Fremont. It traveled just behind the immigrants as far as Soda Springs on the Bear river, and after a detour of the Great Salt Lake, arrived at The Dalles, Oregon, in November. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 420; C. A. Snowden, *Hist. of Wash.* II: 247. The English nobleman was Sir William Stewart, who was hunting in the Rocky Mountains with William Sublette, Overton Johnson and Wm. H. Winter of the immigration of 1843. *Route across the Rocky Mountains*, etc., reprinted in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, VII: 62 ff.; the reference is on page 68.

that I address you at this time. . . . May Heaven reward you, if indeed I am a disciple of Christ. I was driven to fear that the amount for my salary in Oregon would require my stay in this State so long that I should be driven to cross the wide prairies of the West with my young family in the dead of winter or fail of being ready to leave with the caravan in the spring. I also expected to be compelled to leave the ministry in part to teach through the intervening time, but, by your suggestion, cheerfully take this opportunity to request the Board through you to appoint me as one of their missionaries for the term of six months in Iowa, as I desire to devote that amount of time to preaching the gospel in that Ter. I shall probably find an important field of labor on the Mississippi River. I think it will require one hundred and fifty dollars to barely sustain my family six months, but think, with fifty dollars from your Board, I can live from the people. I have a wife and four children.⁵³ Should your Board think fit to make the appointment, you will please forward it to Br. Charles E. Brown, Davenport, Cor. Sec. of Iowa, Bapt. Gen. Association.

I did not find the instructions to applicants for appointment, as your annual report is packed up in my boxes. I thought perhaps your Board would dispense with all the formality ordinarily requisite, as I intend going directly to Davenport and acting in concert with the Board of the Iowa B[aptist] G[eneral] Association, located in that place.

Yours in grateful remembrance,

EZRA FISHER.

Davenport, Scott Co., Iowa Ter., Jan. 22, 1844.

Dear Br. Hill:

We arrived in this place on the 15th of December, and have delayed writing on account of the unfavorable reports respecting the road to Oregon, hoping to be able before this to learn something more satisfactory on the subject. But as yet we

⁵³ The four children were Lucy Jane Gray (Latourette), Timothy Taft, Ann Eliza (Latourette) and Sarah Josephine (Henderson).

are involved in uncertainty. Five men from the emigrants' company returned, after they had proceeded as far as Fort Hall, who stated that the company were obliged to leave all their wagons and take the pack horses through the mountains a distance of 600 miles.⁵⁴ We have learned too by ten of Lieut. Fremont's men who returned that the company of emigrants were reduced to the necessity of eating horse flesh for meat.

We hope to learn more definitely and positively when Lieut. Fremont returns, which will probably be in two or three weeks. Should we learn that the distance from Fort Hall to the mouth of the Willamette is impassable by wagons, we feel that it will be more than our young family can encounter to take pack horses and provisions and necessary cooking utensils and clothing and bedding and, thus arrayed, attempt to urge our way through the defiles of the mountains. We learn that a very large company from Platt County, Missouri⁵⁵ are making arrangements to emigrate next spring for Oregon, some from this Territory and some from Ill. A Mr. Flint from Missouri writes that probably the emigrating camp will consist of 3000 men. We feel ourselves thrown into an uncomfortable suspense on the subject, but it is all right. Our disappointment was great. It is distressing to abandon the enterprise, and the thought of presumptuously hazarding the lives of my family is equally distressing, especially while so wide a door is open in this wide Valley. Our friends here will none of them advise to go, unless we receive more favorable reports of the way. Yet I have some reason to suspect them of selfishness. We trust the Lord will soon remove our doubts. I can truly say my mind is strongly inclined to preach the gospel in Oregon.

We came all the way (from New York) with our own conveyance, which was the cause of our reaching Iowa so

⁵⁴ The report was false. The Oregon party took their wagons with them. The California party left their wagons and went thence on horses. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 399, 400.

⁵⁵ Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, says that in his researches he has found that some went in this year from Platt County. See also note 67.

late. I commenced my labours immediately on our arrival, and preach part of the time in this place and Rock Island, Illinois, and the remainder of the time in the surrounding country, where we hope there will be a church constituted before long.

The church at Rock Island appear solicitous to obtain my services the ensuing year, provided we do not cross the Rocky Mountains, and it may be my duty to comply with their request, yet the irritable state of my lungs admonishes me of the importance of finding a milder climate, and, as we are now broken up, we feel inclined to get as far south as we can, and be useful in a free state, if we shall find the way to Oregon closed. I shall write you immediately on learning the result of Lieut. Fremont's expedition. I subscribe myself your brother in Christ,

EZRA FISHER.

Davenport, Iowa Territory, March 15, 1844.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Dear Br.:

The time has arrived when it becomes my duty to make my first quarter's report under the appointment made Nov. 1st, 1843. I have preached about one-fourth of my time in this place, part of the time at the mouth of Pine creek, Muscatine County, one Sabbath in Bloomington, a part of my time in Hickory Grove and Attens Grove, Lott County, one Sabbath at Cordova,⁵⁶ Rock Island County, Ill., and the remainder of the time at Rock Island, directly across the river from this place.

Br. Seley organized the church at Cordova last winter; the church in this place Br. Brown supported half the time; the church at Bloomington I formerly supplied; the church at Rock Island has formerly had the fruit of Father Gillett's labors. All belong to Davenport Association. . . . I have labored the whole time in the field, have preached 34 sermons, delivered one temperance address, attended 24 other sermons in

⁵⁶ Cordova is a small town about twenty miles north and east of Rock Island.

protracted meetings; 18 prayer meetings; 6 church meetings; visited one common day school,⁵⁷ 1 Sabbath school four times and addressed them each time, and traveled 428 miles. Eleven or twelve hopeful conversions have occurred in the field of my labors, all but one in Rock Island, in connection with a series of meetings carried on by Br. Thomas Powell and myself.

I have baptised 8 and received one by letter into Rock Island church. I have made 55 pastoral visits. No monthly concerts sustained at present. Have obtained 3 signatures to the temperance pledge. . . . Received \$22 from the people towards my support. Nothing paid for the various benevolent societies connected with our denomination.

No auxiliary society has contributed for my support. One Sunday School at Rock Island, 6 teachers, about 25 scholars, and about 50 volumes in the library. No meeting house commenced.

In consequence of the great uncertainty of being able to reach the American settlements in Oregon by wagons, the great destitution of ministerial labors in all this region especially on the Upper Mississippi, the unsettled condition of Oregon and the late Indian depredations at the Walla Walla Mission station under the charge of Dr. Whitman,⁵⁸ we have concluded to defer going west this spring; yet not without much reluctance and I trust attempting faithfully to commit our cause to him whose we are and to whom we owe everything. Should the door be open so that duty shall appear plain, I now think I shall cheerfully undergo the privations of removing across the desert mountains to the Pacific Coast. May God direct and be it ours to obey.

⁵⁷ The public school system in the Mississippi Valley began early. In Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, there were enacted in the twenties school laws providing for public common school instruction. In Iowa it came some time later. E. G. Dexter, *A Hist. of Education in the United States*, pp. 103-116.

⁵⁸ This probably refers to the trouble with the Indians in the late autumn of 1842. Mrs. Whitman was insulted during Dr. Whitman's absence in the East, and fled to The Dalles. The mission mill at Waiilatpu, Whitman's station, was burned. The news of this, exaggerated and misdated by rumor, seems to have reached Ezra Fisher at this time.

By the invitation of the Church at Rock Island, Ill., and by the advice of all the brethren in this vicinity, I have consented to take charge of that church and a small church in Henry County, 12 miles S. East from that place, the coming year. These churches will be able to give us about two-thirds of a support, and, by the advice of the members of the Board of the Iowa Baptist Gen. Association and Br. Powell, we shall apply to your Board for a reappointment when my present appointment expires.

In view of all the circumstances, should your Board censure the course which we have pursued respecting the Oregon mission, you will have the faithfulness to administer affectionate reproof as becomes the responsible station you occupy. The church in Rock Island formed themselves into a Sabbath School society, on the 5th of March, and resolved to make application to the American Sunday School Union for an appropriation of S. S. books from the special appropriation made for destitute Sunday Schools in the Valley of the Mississippi. . . .

All of which is respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,

Missionary at Rock Island, Ill. and vicinity.

N. B.—Br. Brown will probably move to Parkhurst in a few days. Br. Seley has gone to Ohio and Kentucky on a meeting house begging for Bloomington. Br. Carpenter leaves Dubuke for Vt. in a few days—Burlington, Bloomington, Davenport and Dubuke are each in great want of a Baptist minister and I suppose Galena⁵⁹ will be on the same list in a few months.

O! I wish our wise men, and especially our Baptist ministers who talk of sacrificing for Christ could survey the almost unbroken destitution on the Mississippi from Quincy to St. Anthony's Falls⁶⁰ on both sides of the river, with all our

⁵⁹ Galena was an important center in the lead-mining district. It was laid out in 1827 and incorporated in 1839. By the census of 1850 it had a population of 6,004, but has since declined. *Am. Encyc.*, VII: 563.

⁶⁰ St. Anthony's Falls are, of course, the water power which gave rise to Minneapolis. There was but the barest beginning of a settlement at this time in the vicinity of the present Minneapolis and St. Paul.

flourishing villages, till they would heed the voice of the Spirit and separate at least a Paul and Barnabas for this work. The calls are imperious.

Tell the brethren to take their latest maps of the western states and look over the field by their fire sides and then ask God who is to give all this people the bread of life? The field is increasing in importance every day. Soon it will go into other hands, and well it will be, if it goes not into the hands of the Romans.⁶¹ Yours, E. F.

Rock Island, Rock Island Co., Ill., Apr. 27, 1844.

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.,

Dear Br.:

In behalf of the First Baptist Church in this place, and the Baptist church called Mount Pleasant⁶² in Henry County, 12 miles southeast from this place, I am requested to solicit your aid for the support of my family one year from the time of the expiration of my present appointment. The above named churches wish me to devote my time entirely to the cause of Christ within their bounds and the immediate vicinity. My post office address is Rock Island, Rock Island County, Ill. Rock Island is situated at the foot of the Upper Rapids on the east shore of the Mississippi river; contains about 1200 inhabitants. Three miles above is a rapidly rising village of something like 300 souls, where almost any amount of water power may be employed. Already two saws and two runs of stones are employed and four more runs of stones are to go into operation next fall. Three miles south of this on Rock River another town is laid off at the foot of the falls of Rock River; they are just commencing to build at that place and six runs of stones will be put in operation next fall.⁶³ It is

⁶¹ The extension of Roman Catholic work among the whites in the Upper Mississippi Valley first became prominent in the thirties. In 1841 the chapel giving the name to St. Paul, Minnesota, was built. A large German Catholic immigration into Illinois from 1841 on gave the church there an impetus. *Cath. Encyc.*, under Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin.

⁶² This Mount Pleasant church was apparently in a rural neighborhood. No town of that name exists.

⁶³ This village is the present Moline. The village south of Rock Island, on Rock River, is the present Milan.

said that water power may be employed in these two places, enough to drive 700 or 1000 runs of stones the entire year. The country in the vicinity is becoming thickly populated for a new country. The number of communicants in the church in Rock Island is forty-three; and the average number of attendants at public worship is about sixty. The number of my family is six. It is desirable that my reappointment should commence at the expiration of the present appointment. Mount Pleasant church numbers — communicants and probably about fifty will be the average number of attendants. . . . We have other places of preaching through the week. The amount of salary necessary for the support of my family would not fall much short of four hundred dollars. The church in Rock Island will pledge one hundred and seventy-five dollars, and the Mount Pleasant church fifty dollars. If your Board will appropriate one hundred dollars to my support, I will try and supply the remaining deficiencies.

Rock Island is the seat of justice for the county and I am no enthusiast when I say it is destined in less than twenty years to be second to no other town on this river in Illinois.⁶⁴ The water power will eventually line the whole bank of the river with mills from Molein [Moline] to this place, a distance of three miles, and also the entire east shore of the Island itself the same distance, which terminates opposite the upper part of this town, and, if necessary, half the water of the Mississippi may be employed in driving machinery at a comparatively small expense. No other Baptist church in the place. The other churches are a large Methodist church and a pretty able Presbyterian church for a new country.

The surrounding country along the river and for ten or twelve miles back is capable of sustaining a dense population, being more than ordinarily well supplied with timber, abounding in coal of a good quality, and is fast settling with eastern emigrants.

⁶⁴ If the author includes Moline (the author's Molein) with Rock Island, this prophecy was fulfilled.

We hope to sustain three Sabbath schools the present summer in connection with these churches. In behalf of the above named churches,

EZRA FISHER,

Pastor.

The First Baptist Church in Rock Island, county of Rock Island, and the Baptist Church at Mount Pleasant, Henry Co., concur in the foregoing application to the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, to appoint Elder Ezra Fisher, as their Missionary.

Rock Island &

Mt. Pleasant, Ill.

May 3, 1844.

HARMAN G. REYNOLDS,

NATHAN W. WASHBURN,

Joint Committee of said Churches.

The Executive Board of the Baptist Con. of Iowa, concur in the above and recommend the reappointment of Br. Fisher and the desired appropriation.

C. E. BROWN,

Cor. Sec.

Rock Island, Rock Island County, Ill., June 15, 1844.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Br.:

I now proceed to make my report for the second and last quarter under the appointment Nov. 1, 1843.

I have labored the whole time in my appropriate field of labor except 9 days in which I was absent on private business and during that time I spent most of the time as profitably to the cause of Christ as I should have done in the field, being absent from none of my Sabbath appointments. It is with your Board to judge of the propriety of making a proportionate deduction from the sum appropriated.

I have preached 35 sermons during the quarter, delivered one temperance address, attended 24 weekly prayer meetings, 15 church and conference meetings and traveled 321 miles to and from my appointments. . . . Baptised 1 and received three by letter into the churches under my charge.

Have made 40 pastoral visits. We have no monthly concert yet established, but sustain two weekly prayer meetings in Rock Island Chs. . . . Assisted in the examination of Br. Robb, at Mt. Pleasant, Henry Co., Iowa, for ordination at the meeting of the Iowa Baptist Convention. The church at Rock Island paid \$1 for the Home Missionary Society; nothing for the other benevolent societies. Have raised about five dollars for Sabbath school library and I have received about \$42 dollars of my salary the past quarter. Mt. Pleasant church have pledged \$8 for Home Missions, to be paid next fall. I have received nothing towards my salary from any auxiliary society.

We have organized a Bible class of 12 scholars. We have two Sunday schools with our people, 12 teachers, about 50 scholars, and about 100 volumes in the library. We have bought at auction a mechanic's lien on a brick house 20 feet by 40, with the roof on and doors in, secured most of the company rights to the house and lot and expect to secure the rest and fit it up as a place of worship during the coming year.

I attended the Iowa Baptist Convention with which our church cooperate. Session harmonious and deeply interesting to us in this new country. Collections were taken up in aid of the Home and Foreign Missions and American and Foreign Bible Societies, in all amounting to \$21.

All which is respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER.

P. S. I still feel impressed with the importance of establishing a mission in Oregon and, should the God of missions spare our lives and give us health and we learn that the way is practicable with wagons as far as the Walla Walla, we

hope to be ready to go out next spring, if we can have assurance of being sustained till churches can be raised up to support the gospel in that new territory. Our journey last year, together with the expenses of the family for the present year, strongly reminds me that \$300 will be less than will sustain my family a year, should my services commence at the time of our departure from this place. Br. Johnson⁶⁵ and myself have had some conversation with Br. Brabrook, the Foreign Mission agent for this state and Missouri, and he thinks the mission would appropriately come under the cognizance of the F. Mission Society as it would tend to facilitate the establishment of an Indian mission west of the mountains. It matters but little to us with which Board we stand connected, provided we are enabled to devote ourselves entirely to the work of the ministry and not leave our families to suffer. I greatly desire that Br. Johnson may be appointed and immediately encouraged to go. I know of no man in the West I would prefer to accompany me, should it please the Lord to open the way for me. The undertaking is great and we greatly need more than one, that, in the case of death, the work might not be entirely suspended, the labor, money and time lost. I have just learned that the company going this year would probably be about fifteen hundred. Please write me the wishes of the Board.

Yours,

E. F.

⁶⁵ Rev. Hezekiah Johnson, to whom frequent reference is made in the letters from now on, was born in Maryland in 1799. He moved to Ohio in 1816, and was ordained there in 1827. He moved to Iowa in 1838. In 1845 he went to Oregon as the author records. He died in Oregon in 1866. C. H. Mattoon, *Bap. Annals of Oregon*, I: 45.

THE OPEN RIVERS NUMBER

FOREWORD

In the making of Oregon its waterways have ever been a dominant factor. The earliest attention of the white man to the Pacific Northwest was centered on the hope of finding here a water passage leading through the continent. On the first maps the "Strait of Anian" is a conspicuous feature. The "Oregon" or "The River of the West" was the second source of attracting influence the region possessed. With Thomas Jefferson the leading object for projecting the Lewis and Clark exploration was to secure a "direct and practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce."

The rivers were the white man's main highways when he first occupied the country as a fur trader. When the home-builders came and began agricultural development the obstructions that interrupted the navigation of these rivers became more and more serious handicaps to progress. The building of railroads was a partial relief, but the realization of the full serviceableness of these natural highways of commerce was a consummation from which a resolute people was not to be deterred.

The coincidence of the completion and opening of The Dalles-Celilo Canal, making an open river of the Columbia as far as Lewiston, Idaho, and of the transference to the United States government of the canal and locks at Oregon City, giving free transportation on the Willamette, was unique. The occasions were celebrated. This "Open Rivers Number" of the Quarterly aims to secure a wider and more enduring publicity for the historical papers prepared for the commemoration of these epoch-making achievements.

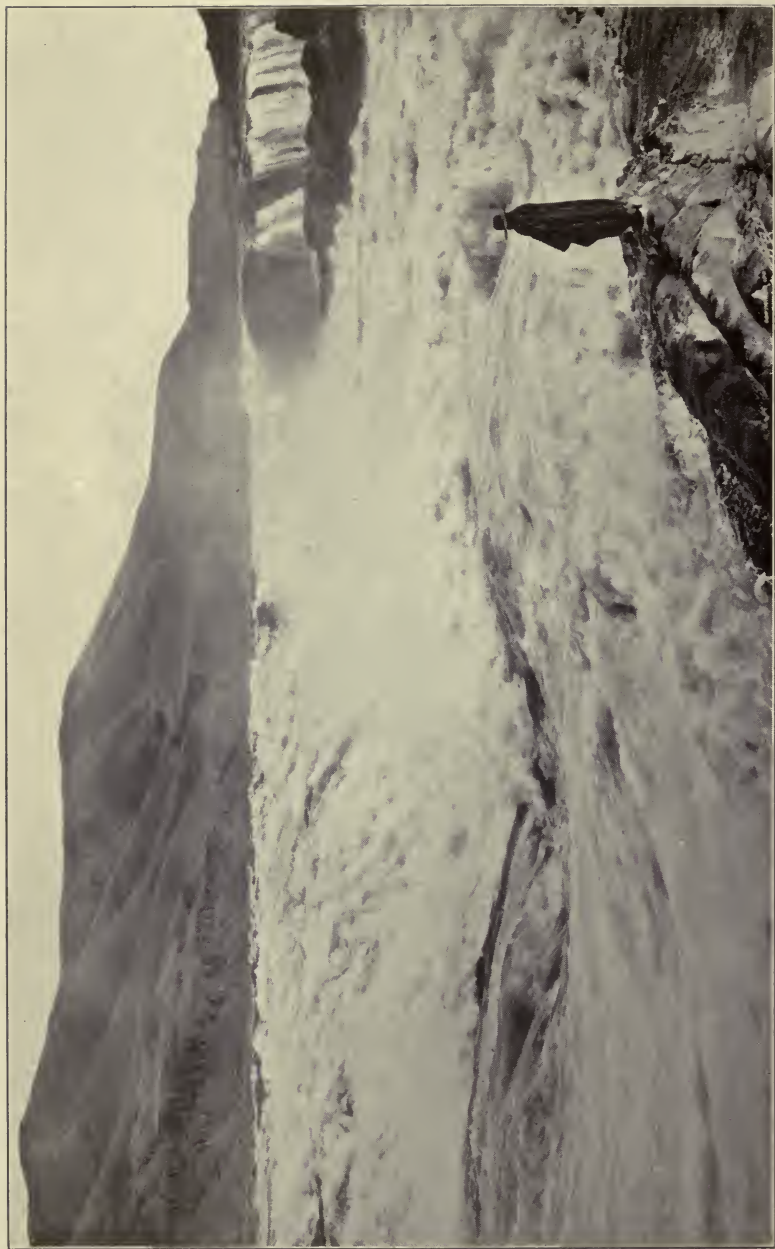


Photo by Gifford.

CELILO FALLS OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER
(The Main Fall)

THE QUARTERLY
of the
Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XVI

JUNE, 1915

NUMBER 2

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

THE CELEBRATION OF THE OPEN COLUMBIA

The Dalles-Celilo Canal removes the last bar to continuous navigation on the Columbia River from the Pacific Ocean to Lewiston, Idaho.

The completion and opening of the canal were celebrated by communities of Washington, Oregon and Idaho during the week of May 3-8, 1915.

The Canal is nearly nine miles long, is located on the Oregon shore of the Columbia near the city of The Dalles and circumvents from east to west, Celilo or Tumwater Falls, Ten-Mile Rapids, and Five-Mile Rapids or The Dalles. A total fall of about eighty feet is overcome. The Canal has been under construction since 1905 and its cost (including the open river improvement of Three-Mile Rapids, just west of the lower end of the canal) has been about \$4,800,000.

Incident to the week of celebration was the first continuous trip to be made by a steamer from Portland to Lewiston, Idaho, and return. The Steamer Undine left Portland on the night of April 29, having been chartered by the Portland Chamber of Commerce, and bearing about 100 excursionists. This vessel arrived safely at Lewiston on the morning of May 3 where the first of the series of celebration programs was held, characterized by pageantry and rejoicing, attracting a large attendance, including the governors of Oregon, Idaho and Washington, a number of United States senators and representatives.

Pasco and Kennewick, Washington, united in a celebration on May 4, the chief feature of which was the allegorical wedding of the Snake and Columbia Rivers.

Wallula, Washington, site of the historic Fort Walla Walla, was a celebration center for Walla Walla, Dixie, Freewater and other towns. Survivors of the Steptoe massacre threw the gang plank of the first vessel to arrive of the celebration fleet.

Umatilla County, Oregon, was well represented in the celebration at Umatilla, such towns as Pendleton, Stanfield, Echo, Hermiston and others sending large delegations. The spectacle of the burning and destruction of Fort Umatilla was presented as chief feature of the program.

Maryhill (formerly Columbus), Washington, was reached by the celebration fleet on the morning of May 5 and citizens of Goldendale escorted visitors on a tour of the model roads built in the vicinity under leadership of Mr. Samuel Hill.

The formal dedication of The Dalles-Celilo Canal occurred at a point on the canal known as Big Eddy on the afternoon of May 5. Hon. Joseph N. Teal, chairman of the Oregon Conservation Commission, and a leader in the public movement for the building of the canal, presided.

Nearly all craft in the Portland Harbor joined in the celebration at the metropolis of Oregon which followed an early morning program at Vancouver, Washington.

The Steamer Georgiana was made the flag ship of the celebration fleet, succeeding the Undine, on the remainder of the run from Portland to Astoria and the sea was reached aboard the Government light house tender, Manzanita, thus making it possible for participants to say that they had completed the first uninterrupted journey from tide water to the Inland Empire of Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

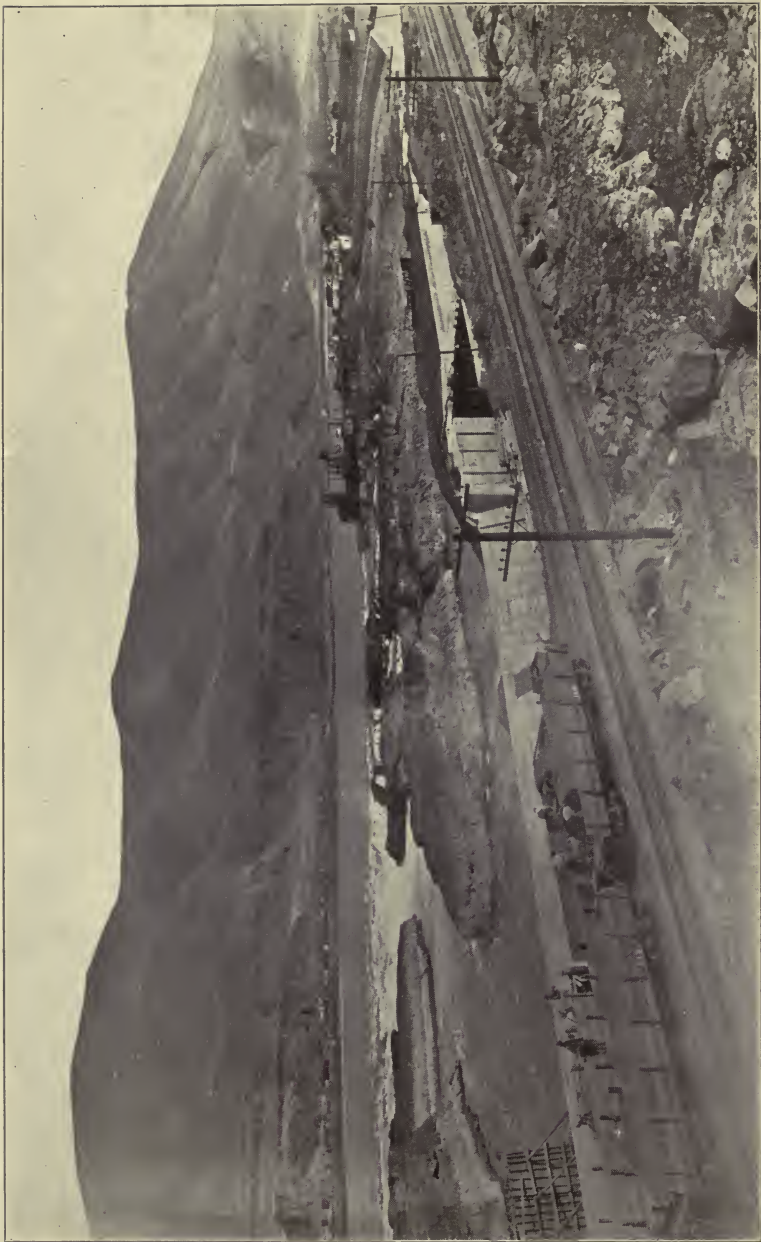


Photo by Grego.

CELILO FALLS AND UPPER END OF DALLS-CELILO CANAL
(Unfinished)

THE CELILO CANAL—ITS ORIGIN—ITS BUILDING AND MEANING

By MARSHALL N. DANA.

Thirty-five years ago when Columbia river steamboats were still being trained to run up hill, a government engineer planned a giant's staircase to get the ambitious craft over The Dalles and Tumwater falls at Celilo.

The next scheme was to install an elevator operated by water power at the foot of The Dalles, and by it lift steamboats to the level of a railroad track, where they would be hauled on cars by locomotives the eight and a half miles to the head of Tumwater falls, to be lowered into the water again by another elevator. An alternate proposal was a canal to be dug around the falls and the rapids at the level of the head of Tumwater falls. At Big Eddy, below The Dalles or Five-Mile Rapids, a drop of 72 feet was to be overcome by a hydraulic elevator carrying a caisson in which the boat making passage would remain afloat. This canal was to have two locks with lift of 15 feet each between Celilo and Big Eddy and a third at Celilo with a lift of 20 feet. The Columbia as a source of water for the canal was ignored; the supply was to be brought in a 13,000 foot feeder from the Deschutes river.

There was also a good deal of talk during 1893 of a dam at the head of The Dalles which would pond the water back to the foot of Tumwater falls, drowning out Ten-Mile Rapids, and the idea had a good deal of favor until Colonel G. H. Mendell, corps of U. S. engineers, recommended the construction of a boat railway from Celilo to Big Eddy. The board of engineers had approved a portage railway from The Dalles city to Celilo, and he included this in his recommendation, saying it could be used as a part of the boat railway to be constructed later.

The estimate for the boat railway from The Dalles or Five-Mile rapids to Celilo at the head of Tumwater falls, together with an open river improvement of Three-Mile rapids between

Five-Mile rapids and The Dalles city was \$2,264,467, and congress, enthusiastic, appropriated \$100,000 toward the cost in August, 1894.

By June of 1899 no actual construction had been accomplished but most of the right of way for the boat railway had been secured. Then the navigation interests who were to use the boat railway when complete were heard from. They said the scheme didn't appeal to them at all. So the authorities not being irretrievably committed and not having had any appropriation since 1896, decided to defer action.

Captain Harts, who had called attention to the attitude of navigators toward a boat railway, then submitted a plan for a canal and locks around Tumwater falls, for a dam at Five-Mile rapids that would drown out Ten-Mile rapids and for open river improvements between the two points, a canal and locks from the dam to the foot of Five-Mile rapids and open river improvement of Three-Mile rapids.

Congress liked Captain Harts' plan and approved the project, but demanded a further examination with a view to modifying the estimate of cost, \$3,969,371.

The result of the re-examination was a recommendation for The Dalles-Celilo canal, about as built today, continuous from the head of Tumwater falls to the foot of Five-Mile rapids at Big Eddy.

Before congress would make any appropriation for the new canal, however, it demanded the delivery of all necessary right of way free of charge. The Oregon legislature appropriated \$100,000 for this purpose in 1905 and deeded the right of way to the government. Actual construction was begun in 1905, just 31 years after the first examination was made.

As you look upon The Dalles-Celilo canal at the time of its formal opening and dedication to commerce and navigation, May 5, 41 years after the first examination and 10 years after the beginning of actual construction, do not take it as a matter of course.

Its location and form are the product of the government's best engineering talent after consideration of all possible, and some impossible, methods. Into the nearly nine miles of its length have been poured more than four and a half millions of government dollars to pay for construction.

Its use will extend water navigation and competition from the sea uninterruptedly into the great inland empire of Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

And its existence is a monument to and an evidence of one of the finest exhibitions of persistent patriotism and untiring public spirit in the memory of the west.

The human history of the Celilo Canal is an epic of development and the romance of an undiscouraged faith.

The man whose influence is most intimately associated with the tedious and now successful effort for the Celilo Canal from the public viewpoint is Joseph N. Teal. He is a lawyer, but it is as a citizen and for the Columbia basin that he has held his greatest brief. The Portage railway and the Celilo Canal have bulked in his mind as means to the development of the broad interior. The stamp of his leadership is upon much that has been done to this end. He has represented and spoken the faith of a little group both here and at Washington, when only the most exact information and the strongest arguments could defeat failure.

As you read into the minute books and records of the Open River Association, the Portage Railway, the Open River Transportation Association and the Portland Chamber of Commerce, the names of a few men recur time and again. They constitute the group always at the center of the fight for the open river. Without any reference whatever to notes, the names of Dr. N. G. Blalock, W. J. Mariner, Arthur H. Devers, the late Herman Wittenberg, L. A. Lewis, Joseph T. Peters, Henry Hahn and others come to me. Nor is it improper to say that the steadfast newspaper champion of the open river campaign has been *The Journal*.

I have searched the records in vain to find who first proposed The Dalles-Celilo Canal. It may be that as the founders of the Oregon Steam Navigation company in the seventies planned their northwest monopoly of transportation, they chafed more and more under the delays and cost of the portages, first made by Indians and laborers, a backload to each, and later by wagons. At any rate, the thought of a canal came long before the portage railway, which was built first.

George H. Himes of the Oregon Historical Society suggests that it lay within the statesmanship of Rev. George H. Atkinson to make the suggestion. Atkinson gave to the great country east of the Cascade range in the Columbia basin the name, "Inland Empire," and was called a "visionary idealist" for it. He also conducted the experiments that demonstrated the wheat growing fertility of the Palouse country and other sections of the Inland Empire. Another who is suggested as the possible author of the canal idea is Dr. D. S. Baker, who built the first little railroad from the Columbia river at Wallula to Walla Walla.

E. E. Lytle was exceedingly active in securing the initial appropriations for the portage railway.

The general impression is, however, that the Celilo canal grew into the community consciousness, inspiring the plan by the need.

Major M. Michler of the United States engineers made the initial examination in 1874, at what prompting record discloseth not.

The first survey was not ordered by act of congress until 1879. It was found that the Columbia, the only river of the west with power to cut through the mountain ranges that lay between its head waters and the sea, had, at a point about 90 miles from Portland, encountered four rock reefs, named in their down stream order, Tumwater or Celilo falls, Ten-Mile rapids, The Dalles or Five-Mile rapids and Three-Mile rapids. The rapids were named in accordance with their distance from Dalles City.

The total drop in the $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Tumwater falls to the foot of Five-Mile rapids is $81\frac{1}{2}$ feet at low water. Steamboats have run the series in time of high water, when the drop is about 50 feet.

A few of the many proposals for circumventing the rapids have been spoken of. I mentioned in the beginning a giant's staircase. To make this reference clearer, the recommendation was for a canal from the head of Tumwater falls grade to a place above Big Eddy, where boats were to be brought to the lower grade by a flight of locks like stairs.

Nothing is accomplished for the development of a country without conscious, organized effort in the direction of the potentialities revealed by vision into the future.

Consideration of method and government appropriation insufficient to do anything delayed action for many years. February 5, 1886, I find Mr. Teal writing from Pasco Junction to the editor of a Portland paper:

"A free people should have a free river. Can the chains with which nature has seen fit to bind its waters, be broken? Can the lock which controls its usefulness, which only lets it fret and fume away its life between the rock-ribbed walls of The Dalles be opened? It can, and the people hold the key."

It was seen that delay in building the canal was giving the railroads dangerous opportunity to establish rates to all the interior unregulated by water transportation. January 30, 1903, the Portland Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution of its open river committee pledging support of a \$165,000 legislative appropriation with which to build a portage railway. The bill had been passed, but nothing was done by the state board, which feared the right of way could not be secured and that the railway could not be built within the appropriation.

May 17, 1904, the Open River Association was organized with members from Washington, Idaho and Oregon, to carry on the open river campaign to a definite result. Members of the Association subscribed a sufficient fund to guarantee the state authorities in proceeding with contracts. The State turned

over the entire building and construction of the portage railway to Mr. Teal, who built it in the time specified within the amount fixed.

Nearly all the right of way was contributed without cost. Most of the lower portion was given by F. A. Seufert and T. J. Seufert, the O. R. & N. Co. and I. N. Taffe.

Under the auspices of the Open River Association, the portage railway was finished and opened June 3, 1905.

It was a day of celebration.

The Mountain Gem, under command of Captain W. P. Gray, brought a steamboat load of rejoicing people from Lewiston, Idaho, arriving at 10 o'clock in the morning. A trainload arrived from The Dalles an hour later. Spokane, Walla Walla and other towns were represented. A special train came from Portland, arriving just before noon.

Governor George E. Chamberlain (now United States Senator) took the first three blows at the last spike. Governor Mead of Washington struck five; Governor Gooding of Idaho, three; J. N. Teal, three; William D. Wheelwright, then president of the Portland Chamber of Commerce, nine; Senator Clark of Oregon, three; W. J. Mariner, secretary of the Open River Transportation company, four. It was a spike well driven with 30 dignified blows. Immediately afterwards a train carrying 250 people passed over the road. The first portage locomotive was called the C. H. Lewis in honor of the father of L. A. Lewis.

The speakers were: W. D. Wheelwright, who presided; Governor Chamberlain, Governor Mead, Senator Heyburn, Senator Fulton, Dr. N. G. Blalock of Walla Walla, President G. B. Dennis of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, Joseph N. Teal. Some of those who came from the interior were Dr. J. B. Morris, Colonel Judson Spafford, T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, E. H. Libby of Lewiston. From Portland came S. M. Mears, Henry Hahn, S. Frank, L. A. Lewis, W. J. Burns, Joseph Morris, T. B. Wilcox, Tom Richardson, Mark Langfitt, F. I. Dunbar, secretary of state; Charles S. Moore,

state treasurer; Binger Hermann, Senator Overman of North Carolina, Senator Clark of Wyoming, Congressmen Henry of Texas, Small of North Carolina, Southwick and Littauer of New York, Patterson of New Jersey and Hedge of Iowa. J. P. O'Brien, general manager of the then, O. R. & N. Co., came with a number of prominent railroad men. The co-operation of the railroad in the construction of the Portage Railway is frequently spoken of. Malcolm A. Moody of The Dalles attended. Hood River furnished a large delegation.

On the return the steamer Spencer with 175 passengers made a record run from The Dalles to Portland, time five hours and eight minutes, an average speed of 20 knots an hour.

The Portage Railway was at first under the control of a commission consisting of the governor, secretary of state and state treasurer. Then the legislature authorized a Portage Railway Commission. Joseph T. Peters, L. Allen Lewis and W. J. Mariner served continuously and efficiently, until at the last session of the legislature, they called attention to the fact that the completion of the Celilo Canal had rendered unnecessary both their services and further use of the railway.

The Portage Railway was made to serve a three fold purpose: First, to demonstrate such volume of independent traffic as would keep a not always eager congress appropriating for the Celilo Canal; second, to exercise a regulative influence on railroad freight rates; third, to transfer steamboat freight between The Dalles and Celilo. Incidentally it served valuably in transporting structural material for the canal.

From any one of these viewpoints, the Portage Railway many times paid for itself. Without it and the open river line, of which I shall speak presently, it is doubtful if we would now be celebrating the completion of the Celilo Canal, "the Panama Canal of the Northwest."

Unquestionably the Portage Railway saved consumers and shippers more through reduction of freight rates than they ever realized or appreciated. Cascades Canal and Locks were opened

in 1896. The railroad then charged $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents a hundredweight to carry salt in carload lots to The Dalles, and $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents a hundredweight to Umatilla, 90 miles farther. The rate per hundredweight in less than carload lots was 15 cents to The Dalles and 60 cents to Umatilla. The same disparity applied in the shipment of sugar, canned goods, loose wool and other commodities. After the Portage Railway was opened, the rate on salt to Umatilla was reduced from $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents to 21 cents a hundredweight, sugar from 51 cents to 35 cents, canned goods from 51 cents to 35 cents, grain from 15 cents to $13\frac{1}{4}$ cents. An active factor in bringing about these reductions, supplementing the Portage Railway, was the open river line of the Open River Transportation Company. The company was incorporated April 20, 1905. In its incorporation you find the names of the same little group that had been carrying on the Portage Railway and Celilo Canal campaigns. Henry Hahn, J. A. Smith and A. H. Devers were the incorporators. The first directors were William J. Mariner, Arthur H. Devers, T. D. Honeyman, L. Allen Lewis, J. A. Smith, Leo Friede, D. C. O'Reilly, Herman Wittenberg and W. H. Moore. The first officers were L. Allen Lewis, president; Herman Wittenberg, vice president, and Joseph N. Teal, secretary and treasurer.

Frankly, all the records and comments seem to show that the open river line came into existence because the campaigners realized it was not enough to have a portage railway. There had to be boats to bring business to the portage railway, so that the reports on river commerce which went back to Washington might be favorable. Whenever I discuss the matter with the organizers, I find them speaking rather injuredly of their surprise at finding it necessary to go into the river transportation business in order to justify the portage railway.

Not that there was then or at any time question or doubt of the warrant for the long striving to make the Columbia free and open to all navigation from the sea to its uppermost reaches

in Idaho and British Columbia. In a report of the transportation committee of the Chamber of Commerce for 1906 (the committee consisting of T. D. Honeyman, L. A. Lewis, A. H. Devers, Henry Hahn, Edward Newbegin, S. M. Mears and J. N. Teal, counsel), I find these paragraphs:

"This committee is more convinced than ever that if Portland is to be a great commercial seaport, if the interior is to receive the benefits of reasonable rates, and to reach its proper development, it will be brought about only through a deep and safe channel to the sea and the opening to navigation of the waterways of the Northwest.

"This committee will further all they can an intelligent understanding of the subject to the end that the works affecting the Northwest may be speedily completed, and it confidently relies upon the support of the entire Northwestern country in its efforts to bring about a condition which will result in such enormous and continuing benefits to all the people."

The first boat of the Open River line was purchased in 1906, the little steamer Columbia, afterwards rebuilt and called the Relief. She carried about 120 tons of wheat, but lacked power to go above Umatilla rapids. She did succeed in furnishing the Portage Railway some business, and she was bought after Theodore Burton, then chairman of the river and harbors committee of the house, had declared the Portage Railway must show some business or the appropriations for the Celilo canal would cease.

The Mountain Gem, second boat of the line, made her first trip in September, 1906, bringing 566 sacks of wheat from the Arlington Interior Warehouse Company. It was the understanding that these boats would make lower river connections with the Regulator line, controlled by the Northern Pacific, but the fallacy of depending upon a railroad for co-operation in opening up a river to navigation was shown first by fitful and irregular service, and next by a one-day notice that connections could not be made. Immediately the J. N. Teal, which was to have been built above Celilo, was built at Portland.

The Teal was burned October 23, 1907, but rebuilt on the old hull in time to be operating again by April 20, 1908. The company also put the Inland Empire and Twin Cities into upper river service in 1908.

Frank J. Smith was selected as first superintendent of the Open River line, and in December, 1906, he made his first report. In it he showed full appreciation of the purposes of the service, saying:

"During the present season of the fall of 1906, the Open River Transportation Company handled considerable grain at a rate ranging from 30 cents to 40 cents per ton less than rates in effect on rail line.

"Merchandise was transported to river towns and also to interior points that were reached by wagon haul. The consignees at river points received their shipments at a saving of 30 to 50 per cent below rail rates to the same point. Interior towns have used the water haul for over 250 miles and hauled by team 20 miles inland at a saving over rail rates.

"The farmers and merchants on the banks of the river have received large benefits. It has enabled them not only to market their produce locally but to procure supplies promptly and at reasonable prices. Unused land that has been in pasturage for years is now being farmed since the boats have given the purchaser means of transportation. A number of new towns have been started along the banks of the river at points where wagon roads reach out to the farm lands of the interior. Old towns that have retrograded since the early steamboat days have been inspired with a new lease of life.

"Electric lines from the interior reaching to the Columbia and Snake rivers have been organized and in many cases much of the right of way has been freely given.

"The open river movement has been directly responsible for these projects. The names and locations of roads are as follows: Spokane Inland Railway from Spokane to the Snake river; Walla Walla and Columbia Electric Railway, from Dayton to Wallula on the Columbia; Bickelton and Northern Railway, from a point near Mount Adams to Alderdale on the

Columbia. The Columbia and Northern Railway has surveyed a line from Hardman through Gilliam and Morrow counties to Blalock and secured some right of way. A line has also been surveyed from Prosser on the Yakima river, through the noted Horse Heaven wheat belt, reaching the Columbia at Paterson opposite Irrigon."

Then follows a statement showing in dollars and cents the reductions in rates that gave the Open River line actual value to the upper river country as a transportation agency. And a digest of the O. R. & N. Co. tariff, effective January 1, 1907, shows how the railroad reduced its rates after competition on the river became a fact. The admonition on the title page of the report reads:

"The question of whether or not the river is to be opened to free and unobstructed navigation, and the people receive the benefit of water rates, rests with themselves."

After the portage railway had been built and the Open River line inaugurated, there was a general feeling that work on the Celilo Canal should go forward without the delays due to exhaustion of appropriations by congress. In a report of the Open River Association's executive committee for October 9, 1907, I find this assertion:

"The Celilo Canal, if placed upon a continuing contract basis, can be completed within three years. When completed it means a free river followed by continued improvement until from British Columbia and from Lewiston to the sea, the people of the Inland Empire will be forever protected from excessive freight rates and freight congestion by nature's own great regulator of traffic."

Five years later than the date indicated if built under continuing contract, the Celilo Canal is ready for use, having been constructed under the biennial appropriations of Congress. Had a continuing contract been adopted the Celilo canal could have been built at less cost and in five years instead of ten. In the jetty and canal work of the Columbia River, we of the Northwest are given evidence of the delays and unwisdom incident

to making appropriations for undeniably meritorious projects the footballs of successive congresses. Under the present plan, extravagance of cost and deferred completion are not the only evils; as long as the present system continues every good and needed project will rest in the balance until actually completed, and there will be biennial opportunity for proponents of indefensible projects to contend for the money which this government has for the improvement of its rivers and harbors. May experience hasten the day when Congress will provide at one and the same time for the beginning, the continuous work upon, and the completion of needed improvements.

A special committee of the Chamber of Commerce in a report made in 1910 indulged in a bit of retrospection to prove the point that under the present plan of appropriating for government improvements, the accompanying public effort is indispensable:

"We believe the building of the Portage Railway exercised a profound influence to furthering the commencement of the canal. Whether this be true or not, it is a fact that the third project was approved in the year 1904 and adopted in 1905; that work started at Three-Mile rapids, April 12, 1904, one contract was let in 1905, another last year, and that appropriations totaling \$1,250,000 have been made up to April 29, 1908, and the project now stands on the recommendation for sufficient appropriations to complete it and have the work go on continuously until it is finished."

The Open River Transportation Company continued with its service, invading even the Snake river country which had been neglected by steamboats since the seventies and the days of the O. S. N. Company. Under the beneficent competitive influence, the railroads steadily became more accommodating in the matter of cars and shipments and rates. The little group that had subscribed many thousands of dollars were called upon for still more and there was little suggestion of loyalty in the hearts of shippers that would keep them patronizing the line

after the railroads had met the competition. In 1912 the company took up with The Dalles, Portland and Astoria Navigation Company, owned by the S., P. & S. Railway, the possibility of its vacating the trade between Portland and The Dalles and letting the Open River line handle the business. The D., P. & A. N. Company did not, however, leave the business until the recent order of the Interstate Commerce Commission under the general ruling that a railroad may not maintain a boat service parallel to its own lines.

I shall never forget the last days of the Open River Transportation Company. There was one attempted rally after another, but to no effect. Friday, the thirteenth day of September, 1912, the company voted to discontinue business. Service was continued on the river until October 31, 1912. Subsequently the boats of the Open River company were sold. With the opening of the Celilo Canal there is to be an extended, uninterrupted service into a territory again active in advocacy of feeder lines, both rail and highway, between river and producing districts.

The government engineers reported at one time a production of 36,000,000 bushels of wheat east of the Cascade range, of which they estimated that 22,000,000 bushels would be exported. The production should now be in excess of 200,000,000 bushels a year in wheat, without reference to the many other commodities which may also be shipped more cheaply by reason of the Celilo Canal. The records of the Portage Railway and the Cascade Locks show as principal articles of shipment, berries and fruit, cattle, horses, fish, flour, hay, lumber, grain, powder, sheep, wheat and wool.

The Celilo Canal is but just completed and already citizens and newspapers are saying, "It is not enough." There must be canals and locks around Priest rapids and other obstructions that prevent continuous navigation into British Columbia. It is even said that the purposes of commerce will not have been served until the Great River of the West itself is canalized, the electric energy thereby developed used in aid of agriculture

and industry—the splendid river subdued to assist the ends of transportation and the progress of civilization. In a statement by Captain W. P. Gray, a veteran open river campaigner and navigator, president of the Columbia and Snake Rivers Waterways association, and admiral of the Celilo Canal Celebration fleet which moved from Lewiston to the sea via Celilo canal, May 3-8, occurs this assertion:

“An open river does not mean merely the completion of the Celilo Canal, blowing out a few rocks at the rapids and scraping the gravel off a few shoals. It means a 40-foot channel across the Columbia river bar, a 30-foot channel from Astoria to Portland and Vancouver and a low water channel 10 feet deep from Vancouver to The Dalles, six feet deep from Celilo to Pasco, five feet deep from Pasco to the Canadian boundary on the Columbia and four and a half feet to the head of navigation on the Snake, the Willamette and other smaller rivers. It means canals and locks around Priest Rapids, Rock Island Rapids and Kettle Falls. It means dams with locks on the Snake and other rivers to submerge the rapids, reefs and bars, and it means that where dams or canals and locks are built, cheap electric power will be generated and the water that now flows useless by our thirsty plains will be raised to give them life. The verdant field, the orchard and the vineyard will soon replace the cactus thorns and sagebrush. The busy hum of factory wheels will wake the echoes of our rock-ribbed canyons. Cities will grow beside the rapid streams. Trolley cars and automobiles will replace the buckboard and the broncho.”

May it be as spoken!

The purpose of this review was to direct attention, particularly, to the efficiency of untiring public spirit, applied in forwarding such a project of community benefit as the open river, even though centered in a small but indefatigably loyal group. Yet the best of patriotism would have availed little in the construction of the Celilo Canal had not the government possessed engineering talent more than usually able. Big men

capable of doing things in a big way are essential to the development tasks of the Columbia basin. From the engineering viewpoint the Celilo Canal is no less a triumph than from the public viewpoint.

Major Michler, who made the preliminary examinations in 1874, was succeeded by Major C. F. Powell, who made exhaustive surveys in 1879. Then came Major Handbury and Captain W. W. Harts, who, in 1900, submitted his plan for the locks and canal around Tumwater falls and the dam at The Dalles or Five-Mile rapids, designed to drown out Ten-Mile rapids.

The board of engineers which was instructed in 1903 to make detailed surveys with a view of modifying Captain Harts' estimate of cost (\$3,969,371) consisted of Colonel W. H. Heuer, Major W. L. Marshall, Major Edward Burr, Captain Cassius E. Gelett and Captain C. H. McKinstry. Major W. C. Langfitt was in charge of field work, with James S. Polhemus assisting as supervising engineer, W. E. Morris, assistant engineer, and W. G. Carroll, junior engineer.

Colonel S. W. Roessler followed Major Langfitt, and Major James E. McIndoe succeeded Colonel Roessler, with Mr. Polhemus as assistant in direct charge of the work. For a brief interval Major Cavanaugh was in charge of the district, then came Major (now Lieutenant Colonel) Jay J. Morrow, who has continued in charge of upper river improvements since, with Captain Robert, Captain Dillon and Frederick C. Schubert, successively, in charge on the ground.

The year 1915 will not be forgotten in the water transportation records of the Pacific Northwest. In this year we celebrate the fact that the opening of the Panama Canal turns this coast toward Europe and brings us 6,000 miles nearer the markets of the old world, as well as closer to the Atlantic coast. By completing the purchase of the Willamette River Locks at Oregon City the toll imposed by private ownership is lifted on all the traffic in or out of the Willamette valley, not only by water but by rail.

And by the completion of the Celilo Canal the navigability of the Columbia and Snake rivers is established; a channel has been opened through which may flow the traffic of that great hinterland east of the Cascade Range called the Inland Empire.

What will these facts mean in the developing of ports, in the settlement and cultivation of now unoccupied lands and in the building of cities and the strengthening of Portland as the great distributing center of the Northwest?

Use alone can answer the question.

The opportunity is almost beyond computation. Civilization may well make here its most splendid achievements.

In the beginning, exceptional advantages as a center of water transportation built Portland. Progress is to be given new impetus now by the same cause. By accomplishment of many improvements, one at a time, and with much yet to be done to perfect the possession, we have now the open river. The beckoning future is much longer than the present. Men and communities will be measured by it.



Photo from Government Engineers' Office.

THE DALLIES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER
(Looking west into Five-Mile Rapid at Season of Flood)

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH N. TEAL

As Presiding Officer at the Formal Opening of The Dalles-Celilo Canal of the Columbia River, at Big Eddy, May 5th, 1915.

Nearly ten years ago, to be exact, on the 3rd day of June, 1905, a number of "open river" enthusiasts of the Northwest celebrated the completion of the Oregon Portage Railway around the obstructions of the Columbia River. The last spike was driven home by the Governors of the three Northwest states, Chamberlain of Oregon, Mead of Washington, and Gooding of Idaho. In addition to these gentlemen directly representing the states concerned, Mr. W. D. Wheelwright, Mr. W. J. Mariner, and the speaker, also lent their aid in tying down the rail that allowed the first locomotive, the "C. H. Lewis," to pass over an unbroken line of steel from Celilo to the Big Eddy. The "Mountain Gem," under the command of Captain W. P. Gray, made the trip from Lewiston to Celilo loaded with men and women, among them Senator Heyburn. The significance of that occasion lay quite as much in what was hoped for in the future as in what had been accomplished. The construction of a railroad nine miles long was not of much consequence; but the spirit behind its building carried a lesson which all could understand.

Today we have come together to celebrate the consummation of the efforts, the hopes, the dreams of more than forty years. From the peerless city of Spokane, from Idaho's seaport Lewiston, from the twin cities of the Columbia, Pasco and Kennewick, from Umatilla, from Walla Walla, from Pendleton, representatives of the Inland Empire have come to rejoice. From The Dalles, from Portland, from Astoria by the Sea, from city and farm in every section drained by the mighty Columbia River, this throng has gathered, moved by a common impulse to commemorate an event of the utmost consequence to the Northwest—the opening of The Dalles-Celilo Canal. While the completion of this great engineering work—great even in this day of great things—is in itself well worthy of

being celebrated, the reasons which have brought us together lie far deeper. This mighty work symbolizes the stern, unfaltering determination of the people that our waters shall be free—free to serve the uses and purposes of their creation by a Divine Providence. It means that our unyielding purpose to secure a free river from the mountains to the sea will ultimately be realized. It means the recognition by all that throughout this vast territory there is no division of interest. This is a common country with a common purpose, a common destiny; and this stream, from its source to where it finally weds the ocean and is lost in the mighty Pacific, is one river—our river—in which we all have a common share.

I must record, if only in passing, the pleasure and satisfaction it is to see here many of those who for many years have stood manfully shoulder to shoulder in an unselfish effort to unshackle this river, to afford greater opportunities to the people, to free commerce from heavy burdens. I delight to congratulate them upon the success of their efforts. And I desire also to speak a word in memory of those who are gone. When I think of the years men like Dr. N. G. Blalock of Walla Walla and Mr. Herman Wittenberg of Portland, as well as others I have not time to mention, gave to this work, I can but hope that they are here in spirit rejoicing with us.

It is not my purpose to make an address, but it is my desire at this time to give you a few facts in connection with this canal. Although the improvement of this stretch of the river has been under consideration for more than forty years, actual construction was not commenced until October, 1905. Since then work has progressed as rapidly as appropriations by the government would permit.

The estimated cost of the canal was \$4,845,000. The first work done was under contracts and at a very favorable figure. Thereafter, beginning in July, 1910, the work was done by hired labor, and, except for the construction and installation of lock gates and small bridges, the canal was

completed under this method. This work furnishes, therefore, an excellent opportunity to test the statement so often made that work undertaken by the government and done by it direct is more costly than the same work done under contract. As a matter of fact the total cost up to May 1 of this year, including all retained balances on contracts and other outstanding liabilities, will be about \$4,745,000, or about \$100,000 less than the estimate. Included in this cost, however, is about \$300,000 in plant, out of which there will be considerable salvage, which will be credited back to the appropriation. It also includes a number of buildings originally not provided for; and it is perfectly safe to say that the cost of the canal is at least \$250,000 under the estimate.

The proportion of work done by contract was a little less than one-fifth, and the average cost of the work done by the government, including all items, was less than that done by contract, even though the contract price was very low. But the chief saving was in the greater flexibility and ease in changing plans to effect economies; and from information I have received I think I am quite within the mark when I state that such changes as have been made have resulted in a saving of \$300,000, and possibly more.

The officers in charge of this work from 1902 to 1915 were as follows:

Major W. C. Langfitt.

Lt.-Col. S. W. Roessler.

Major J. F. McIndoe.

Major J. B. Cavanaugh (temporarily for four months).

Lt.-Col. Jay J. Morrow (from March, 1910, to date).

Assistants:

Capt. A. A. Fries (under Col. Langfitt).

Capt. Henry H. Robert (1910-1913).

Capt. Theo. H. Dillon (1913-1915).

Civilian Engineers:

Mr. Fred C. Schubert, Assistant Engineer.

Mr. G. E. Goodwin, Assistant Engineer.

Mr. F. E. Leefe, Junior Engineer.

Mr. W. G. Carroll, Junior Engineer.

Mr. Jas. Brownlee, Junior Engineer.

Mr. J. H. Polhemus, Junior Engineer.

Mr. Frank Saunders, Junior Engineer.

Mr. A. Seymour Fleet, who designed the gates for Cascades Lock, also designed these gates.

It is but due to Mr. Fred C. Schubert to state that he has been with the work throughout its entire life, and a more enthusiastic and devoted officer it would be hard to find. I have gone into these details at some length in order that justice might be done to the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, which corps has in charge, in addition to its other duties, the work of the river and harbor improvement of this country.

The result of this particular improvement demonstrates that where the engineers have the opportunity they secure results. The handicap they labor under, what with intermittent operation and various limitations, both under the law and otherwise, is but little realized by the public generally; and I am glad to have this opportunity to express my respect and honor for them, representing as they do a branch of the service that has been distinguished throughout its entire life for honor, integrity and ability.

On October 22, 1805, and again on their return on April 19 of the following year, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, inaugurated and made possible by that great statesman, Thomas Jefferson, made a portage around Celilo Falls. It is interesting to note that the obstruction to navigation at this point has been used as a never-failing means of extorting tribute in one form or another from the public, for its control meant not only the control of the traffic in general but at times of men as well.

From the time of the first settlement on the Columbia River at Astoria by the Pacific Fur Company on April 12, 1811, until after the arrival of Dr. John McLoughlin as

Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1824, there was trouble with the Indians at Celilo. Their control of the portage practically prohibited other Indians from traveling between Celilo and the lower Cascades. They acted as traders, purchasing commodities from the Indians above Celilo and other commodities from those below the lower Cascades, thus acting as both buyers and sellers, making a profit out of both ends of the transaction, and keeping the trade wholly in their own hands. Until about 1883 transportation companies had and exercised substantially the same control as did the Indians in the earlier days. Prior to the time of the completion of the railway along the Columbia River traffic could be handled only by steamer, and a portage around Celilo Falls was necessary. Competition on the river was impossible, as the company controlling the portage would not transport goods over its road for steamboats other than its own. Even with the completion of the railway and the substitution of rail for water transportation, this obstruction in the river continued dominant, and not only prevented the use of the river for navigation, but also helped to maintain high rates by rail.

Thus we find that whether the portage was in the hands of Indian or Anglo-Saxon it served its hold-up purpose equally well. Indeed it would be difficult to capitalize and put in exact figures the value which in the past this obstruction to commerce has represented to those in control of it. It would run to a magnificent amount, and, if it could have been continued indefinitely, with the growth and development of this country it would have become a prize well worth striving for. Perhaps the history of this portage will serve to explain why so much opposition to similar projects, such as the Panama Canal, and indeed to the improvement of waterways generally, is made.

So far as Celilo is concerned, however, the shackles are broken. The river is free at last, and tolls based on the control of this portage will no longer be levied either by red

man or white man. One chain was sundered at the Cascades; another we are breaking today; soon Priest Rapids will be freed, and then our dream will almost be realized.

I may also say that we have not been idle in other directions, and that while the engineers were clearing channels, building locks, and digging canals, others were working on the no less important work of freeing our rivers from a control that tended to make these improvements of no avail, even after our millions were spent. I refer to railroad-owned and controlled boat lines, which throttled real competition and prevented all true use of our waterways as instrumentalities of commerce. We are celebrating not only the opening of this Celilo Canal, but a river free in truth and in fact; for now, after all these years of struggle, the steamboat will have a fair chance, and the river will be able to serve its purpose unhampered by the domination which has heretofore stifled competition and restricted service.

Before closing I wish to say a few words on the future of our rivers. Our work is not finished. It has only begun. Above Celilo the improvement presents a problem the successful solution of which will entail results so vast and far-reaching as to be almost beyond our minds to grasp. At this time I can but refer to it very briefly. From Priest Rapids on the Columbia and from Lewiston on Snake River as far west as Arlington and possibly farther, on both sides of the river, lie hundreds of thousands of acres of lands needing but the magic touch of water to transform the desert into a garden. The contour of the country is such that but a small percentage of these lands can be irrigated by gravity. They can only be watered by pumping. This method, while the best, can be successfully carried out only by using cheap power. Above Celilo there are many rapids which ultimately will be improved by means of locks and dams, and the general canalization of the river. With every dam, water power will be created, and this power should be utilized. In other words, the use of our rivers for navigation should not be the only

one considered. All beneficial uses of these streams should be taken advantage of, and when they can be made available in connection with the improvements for navigation, it is worse than a blunder not to do so.

While I have not time to elaborate this thought, the slightest consideration will disclose the magnificent possibilities that await the proper improvement of the Columbia and Snake Rivers. When it is accomplished, as in the not distant day it will be, the Inland Empire will be an empire in fact as well as in name—an empire of industry, of commerce, of manufacture and agriculture; and the valleys of the Columbia and the Snake will have become one vast garden, full of happy homes and contented and industrious people.

It is hardly necessary for me to speak of the profound satisfaction I take in the completion of this great work, and the pride and honor I feel on having been called on to preside at this epoch-making occasion. Not only have we the gratification that comes from seeing the actual results of our labor, but our success thus far will but spur us on to further efforts. Already this particular achievement is in the past. Our faces are still set to the future, and we must never falter nor tire until from the mountains to the sea our great river is as free as the air we breathe, and the land it waters and serves is giving forth in abundance all the fruits of the soil—until this country becomes indeed an empire, not only of productiveness, but of the highest type of American citizenship.

THE DALLES-CELILO PORTAGE; ITS HISTORY AND INFLUENCE*

By T. C. ELLIOTT.

The year 1915 will mark in history the completion of the Panama Canal, by which two oceans are commercially joined together. It will also mark the completion of what is known as The Dalles-Celilo Canal by which a large portion of the Columbia River Basin is afforded open river connection with tide water. The dominant note sounded in honor of these great public enterprises is economic; but of equal interest to many is the historic note, the story of the past. It is the purpose of this narrative to pass in brief review the history of the famous Dalles and Falls of the Columbia River, and to note important instances of the retarding influence of these great obstructions to navigation during the various periods of discovery, exploration, trade, settlement and growth of what is now known as the Inland Empire of the States of Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

The Columbia River is between twelve hundred and thirteen hundred miles in length, from Columbia Lake in British Columbia to Cape Disappointment at its mouth. It is the second river of the Continent of North America in average volume of water discharged, and the first in the magnificence of its scenery. It forms the western portion of the first trade route ever established across the Continent, Latin America excepted. The existence of the Columbia River was recognized for several years before its formal discovery; Jonathan Carver heard of it upon the plains of Minnesota in 1766-68 and Capt. Bruno Heceta observed and charted evidences of its mouth in 1775. It was actually discovered by Capt. Robert Gray, a fur trader from Boston, Mass., who sailed into it on May 11th, 1792, and was re-entered in October, 1792, by Lieut. Broughton of the British Royal Navy, and by him explored as far inland as Point Vancouver, which is situated not far above

*The Historical Address at the "Formal Opening of the Dalles-Celilo Canal of the Columbia River," at Big Eddy, May 5, 1915.

the mouth of Big Sandy River in Oregon. The source of the Columbia River was discovered in July, 1807, by David Thompson, an English fur trader from east of the Rocky Mountains, to whom belongs the honor of first traversing the entire river, between source and mouth. That event took place in 1811 and has not been often repeated since.

The first serious obstruction to the navigation of the Columbia river is the stretch of rapids 160-165 miles from its mouth, which has been curiously misnamed "The Cascades." These rapids were designated by Lewis and Clark in 1805-6 as "The Great Shutes," but were as early as 1811 known to the fur traders as The Cascades. This hindrance has been removed by a system of government locks, which were begun in 1878 and formally opened for use on November 5th, 1896. The next serious obstruction begins at the foot of The Dalles (Big Eddy), practically two hundred miles from the mouth of the river, and extends ten miles to include Celilo Falls, and has now been overcome by the Dalles-Celilo Canal, eight and a half miles in length. The river is now open for navigation as far as Priest Rapids, 420 miles from its mouth; and its principal tributary, the Snake River, to points beyond Lewiston, Idaho, more than 500 miles from the ocean. Both the locks at the Cascades, and the Dalles-Celilo Canal are located on the south or Oregon side of the river.

There are numerous rapids and falls in the Columbia river, which were given their original names by the French-Canadian or mixed-blood voyageurs who manned the canoes and bateaux affording the first means of transportation on the river; Les Dalles des Morts, or Death Rapids (in British Columbia), Les Chaudière or Kettle Falls, Isle de Piere or Rock Island Rapid, Rapide du Pretre or Priest Rapid. Several other parts of the river were designated as Les Petite or Little Dalles, but to this part was originally given the name of Grande Dalles. Here the mighty river turns literally upon edge and through two successive rock-ribbed channels (more clearly described as sunken mill races) together measuring nearly two and a half

miles in length, averaging about 200 feet in width (only two-thirds the width of the Panama Canal), the water rushes seaward with fearful violence. A mountain gorge or canyon with rugged walls rising toward the heavens in majestic silence is awe-inspiring, but this submerged gorge in the solid rock and filled with seething, whirling, rushing water is especially at seasons of flood terrifying.

The name DALLES is very correctly said to be a corruption of the French words "d'aller" meaning TO GO, but there is another French word of similar spelling meaning flagstone. So we have Father DeSmet's authentic statement in his book entitled "Oregon Missions" that dalles is "a name given by the Canadian Voyageurs to all contracted running waters, hemmed in by walls of rock."

The name CELILO attaches to the rather low but romantic horseshoe shaped falls at the rock reef composing the upper end of this obstruction, below which the Indian was accustomed to stand with his spear to pierce the jumping salmon. Like all other river falls these were known to the fur traders as The Chutes and when the name CELILO¹ was first used or whence it came is not known. The name does not appear in print before 1859, as far as yet discovered. The earlier journals and letters of fur traders and travelers do not mention it.

The Dalles-Celilo Canal then will remind the culture of coming generations of both the graceful figure of the Indian who originally held sway over these fishing rocks and river channels and gathered there in such numbers, and the vivacious French-Canadian voyageur whose boat songs were periodically re-echoed from the surrounding hillsides.

Tribes of the Chinookan family of Indians inhabited the country adjacent to the Columbia from its mouth as far inland as Celilo Falls, and there were met by tribes of the Shahaptin family from the interior. The Chinookan family traveled for

¹ Suggestive meanings of the names are, in order of preference: (1) tumbling waters, (2) shifting sands, (3) an Indian chief; all of which presume it to be of native origin. A recent explanation that it is a corruption of the French "Cela l'eau" by the Voyageurs is untenable. There is a suggestion that it first applied to the boat-landing, the falls being known as Tumwater.

the most part in canoes and lived upon and trafficked in fish. The Shahaptins were "horse Indians" and many of them annually went to the buffalo country to obtain meat, but many others came to the Celilo Falls and The Dalles to trade for fish and to enjoy a season of gambling and visiting with their neighbors. Both the Dalles and the Falls, and also The Cascades below, were then as now valuable as fishing resorts where salmon were caught in large quantities. A tribe of the Chinookans known to us as the Klickitats maintained almost permanent habitations at both The Cascades and The Dalles and dominated the fishing privileges. With the advent of the white men these Indians found themselves in a position to demand tribute of any passing up or down the river and were not slow to enforce that demand. The fur traders for many years were at times in danger of their lives, and quite regularly subject to crimes of petty larceny committed upon their goods, provisions, clothing or arms. From the first coming of white men then these obstructions in the river had to be taken into serious account by all who would pass up or down stream. The control of the portage has always affected the commerce upon the river.

The Dalles-Celilo Canal has been constructed in historic ground. It passes directly through the site of some of the nomadic villages of Wishram, so designated by the golden pen of Washington Irving in his book entitled "Astoria." The population of Wishram was very large, and was of two distinct species of the animal kingdom, Indians and fleas. The Indians thronged here most numerous during the fishing seasons, and the fleas thronged here during all seasons; so the chronicles tell us. The inhabitants of Wishram, both Indian and insect, preyed without ceasing upon those who were compelled to travel past their door and perforce to remain awhile. The name of WISHRAM is probably a corruption of the name of a band of E-NEE-SHUR Indians who were so named by Lewis and Clark, though at first thought it savors more of Hebrew or Assyrian literature.

Photo by Crego.

THE DALLES OF THE COLUMBIA

(Part of the Five-Mile Rapid at medium stage of water, and showing uncompleted portion of Dalles-Celilo Canal on left)



The first white men to traverse this stretch of the Columbia River were the explorers, Lewis and Clark and their companions. They arrived from the vicinity of Lewiston, Idaho, on October 22nd, 1805, traveling by water in pirogues hewn and burned from the trunks of trees cut near the forks of the Koos-koos-kee or Clearwater River. Captain Clark personally guided the passage of those clumsy canoes through the "Short and Long Narrows" (now known as Ten and Five Mile Rapids)² without mishap, his men being stationed at intervals on the rocks with ropes made of elk skin to lend assistance if necessary, while the Indians lined the edge of the channel staring in wonder at both men and boats. Their equipment and scientific instruments were all carried for the sake of safety along the trail on the north side of the River. The following spring when returning these explorers did not attempt to bring their canoes above Three Mile Rapids below The Dalles, but proceeded along the north side of the River, some on foot and some upon horses.

The first white man to portage on the south side of the River where the Dalles-Celilo Canal has been dug was also an explorer at the time, although a fur trader associated with the North-West Company of Canada. This was David Thompson, already mentioned, and the first to build any trading post upon its waters, and a very remarkable man. He upon that occasion traveled down stream in a large canoe built of boards sawed from cedar trees near Kettle Falls and sewn (not nailed) together, and manned by a crew of seven experienced voyageurs, but did not dare to run through these Dalles during the extreme high water of that year. His canoe was carried over the portage and put into the water at Big Eddy about 8 A. M. on July 11th, 1811, and on July 31st he returned across the same path, but had to stand guard all night to prevent serious depredations by the residents of Wishram. He had been on a visit to the mouth of the River where "Fort Astoria"

² Five and Ten Mile Rapids are so designated by the government engineers, being that distance from the boat landing at the City of The Dalles. This is in perpetuity of the method of naming Three Mile, Five Mile and Ten Mile Creeks during 1850-60 along the Portage Wagon Road around The Dalles.

had been begun the preceding April. Of all the men ever on the River probably no one ever had more experience with canoe travel than David Thompson and his description of these Dalles is therefore interesting: "I have already mentioned the Dalles of the Saleesh and Spokane Rivers; these Dalles (of the Columbia) were of the same formation, steep high walls of Basalt Rock, with sudden sharp breaks in them, which were at right angles to the direction of the wall of the River, these breaks formed rude bays, under each point was a violent eddy, and each bay a powerful, dangerous whirlpool; these walls of rock contract the River from eight hundred to one thousand yards in width to sixty yards or less; imagination can hardly form an idea of the working of this immense body of water under such a compression, raging and hissing as if alive."

Lewis and Clark and David Thompson were the discoverers and explorers of this Portage and have left valuable scientific record of their visits here.

The shipment of freight across The Dalles-Celilo Portage was begun on the 2nd day of August, 1811, and consisted of fifteen or twenty packages of trading goods, ninety pounds to the package, belonging to the Pacific Fur Company of New York, of which John Jacob Astor was the controlling partner. These goods were being taken up the River for use at the first trading post ever established in the Inland Empire by American capital, namely Fort Okanogan. The party was in charge of David Stuart, a trader of wide experience, and included three clerks, Alex. Ross, Francis Pillet and Donald McLennan, four Canadian voyageurs and one Sandwich Islander, traveling in two heavy Chinook canoes. There were also in their company, for protection, but in another canoe, two Indian women masquerading in men's apparel, who had been visiting at the mouth of the River and were returning to their own tribe. That this small party escaped without serious losses at the hands of the "chivalry of Wishram" speaks well for the tact and bravery of Mr. Stuart, for nearly three days were consumed carrying goods and canoes over six miles of these sands and

rocks, and there were Indians to the right of them, Indians to the left of them, and Indians in front of them—Mr. Ross tells us in his account of the journey.

Connected with the fur trade was the first mail route across the continent (Latin America excepted). Beginning with 1813 annually in March the "Express" (so called) from Fort George or Vancouver crossed this Portage en route via the Athabasca Pass to the Red River settlement, Fort William and Montreal. In October it returned bringing letters from Montreal, Boston, New York, and England. This "Express" was used by the early settlers in Oregon before the establishment of other regular means of communication.

The first attempt to carry letters across this Portage was in April, 1812, when John Reed, an Irishman belonging to the Pacific Fur Company, started across the continent to New York with dispatches to Mr. Astor, announcing the arrival of all of his party at Astoria. For preservation Reed carried these letters in a tin box, and the glistening tin was too great a temptation to the Indians. He was knocked down and the tin box stolen, together with his rifle and other equipment. The following year Donald MacKenzie, one of the most audacious fur traders ever on the River, boldly entered one of their lodges in an attempt to recover the rifle. The account of these events and much else of interest regarding the Falls and the "Narrows" and the Indians residing here will be found in Washington Irving's book entitled "Astoria."

In 1811 there had already been trade on the upper waters of the Columbia for four years but from far away Fort William on Lake Superior as a base. But with this first shipment of goods to the Interior began the period of the fur trade in the Columbia River Basin from Fort Astoria, and later from Fort Vancouver as a base. The extent of this trade in terms of tonnage or pounds sterling it is not the province of this narrative to compute, but measured in the passage of time it continued to cross this Portage (though in diminishing volume after 1840) until the Indian Wars of 1855-6. The trade

for furs above this Portage was very large and important and the profits proverbial. It extended from Southern Idaho to Northern British Columbia. Annually in the early summer the "brigade" (so called) descended the Columbia upon its flood waters carrying the season's catch or purchases. The "brigade" included traders from Fort St. James and other posts of the Upper Fraser River, from Fort Kamloops on Thompson River, from Flathead House on Clark Fork, Kootenai Fort on the Kootenai, Spokane House or Fort Colville. They rendezvoused at Fort Okanogan, were joined by the trader at Fort Walla Walla on the way, and in one joyous and hilarious company arrived at this, the first obstruction in the River where the skill and daring of the voyageur yield to the discretion of the officers, and both furs and bateaux were carried across the sandy and rocky road to be launched and loaded again in Big Eddy. Occasionally the attempt to run these Dalles at the high water stage was made, but too surely with loss of life and property. After two weeks or so of balancing accounts and conviviality at Fort George (Astoria) or Vancouver the return trip was made and the boat loads of goods for another year's trade were carried across this portage.

These brigades always passed down and up the River at the high water season but other parties of traders passed at other seasons and at times risked taking their bateaux through the Dalles but in such stage of the water always had to "carry" around the Falls. On the up river trip they occasionally lined up through the Dalles and a very graphic account of that method is given by Mrs. Narcissa Whitman, who was going from Fort Vancouver to the Walla Walla Valley in the Fall of 1836 and who wrote under date of November 8th, as follows: "8th—Breakfasted just below The Dalles. Passed them without unloading the boats. This was done by attaching a strong rope of considerable length to the stern of the boat, two men only remaining in it to guide and keep it clear of the rocks while the remainder, and as many Indians as can be obtained, draw it along with the rope, walking upon the edge of the

rocks above the frightful precipice. At the Little Dalles, just above these, the current is exceedingly strong and rapid, and full of whirlpools. Not recollecting the place particularly, at the request of the bowsman I remained in the boat, being quite fatigued with my walk past the other Dalles. It is a terrific sight, and a frightful place to be in, to be drawn along in such a narrow channel, between such high, craggy, perpendicular bluffs, the men with the rope clambering sometimes upon their hands and knees upon the very edge, so high above us as to appear small, like boys. Many times the rope would catch against the rocks and oblige someone to crawl carefully over the horrible precipice to unloosen it, much to the danger of his life. When my husband came up, in passing this place, the rope caught in a place so difficult of access that no one would venture his life to extricate it, for some time. At last, an Indian ventured. When he had ascended sufficiently to unfasten it, he was unable to return, and did not until he was drawn up by a rope. They had another accident which threatened both the lives of some of them, and the property, and but for the protecting hand of God would have been lost. While the men with the rope were climbing up a steep and difficult ascent, the rope lodged upon a rock, which held it fast, and had it remained there until all hands had gained their point and commenced hauling, all would have been well but one of the men above prematurely shoved it off. The current took the boat down stream rapidly, in spite of every effort to save it, prostrating all hands upon the rocks, and some of them were nearly precipitated down the precipice by the rope. The boat received no injury, but was safely moored below The Dalles, on the opposite shore. Our husbands, with the men, obtained an Indian canoe and crossed to the boat. Thus they were preserved. It was just night as we succeeded in passing this difficult place in safety, for which we desired to be grateful. Many boats have been dashed to pieces at these places, and more than a hundred lives lost. The water was very low at this time, which makes the danger much less in passing them.

No rain to-day. Thursday we made the portage of the chutes³ and were all day about it."

In the summer of 1841 Lieut. Charles Wilkes was on the Columbia River in command of the exploring expedition sent by the U. S. Government to examine the country in anticipation of final action as to the boundary question between the United States and British North America, and his subordinate, Lieutenant Drayton, was sent up the River with the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade returning then, Peter Skene Ogden being the Chief Factor in charge. Mr. Drayton has left a very vivid account of the Dalles and the Falls, the Indians then fishing there, and the surrounding country. His description of the method of crossing the Portage during the high water season is, as follows: "On the morning of the 4th of July they began to pass the portage, which is a mile (?) in length. It is very rugged, and the weather being exceedingly warm, many of the Indians were employed to transport articles on their horses, of which they have a large number. It required seventy men to transport the boats, which were carried over bottom upwards, the gunwale resting on the men's shoulders. By night all was safely transported, the boats newly gummed, and the encampment formed on a sandy beach. The sand, in consequence of the high wind, was blown about in great quantities, and everybody and thing was literally covered with it."

It will be noted that in 1836 and 1841 the Indians at this Portage had become less impudent and dangerous to passers by and this largely was due to the wise but firm policy of Doctor John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the H. B. Co. at Vancouver after 1824. This change of mien is mentioned by Sir George Simpson in his book entitled "A Journey Around The World." Possibly there has been no business man ever connected with the commerce of the River equal in capacity and skill to Sir George Simpson, who was known as the Governor but really was the Deputy Governor in charge of all the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company on the continent

of North America from 1821 to the time of his death in 1860. His book states under date of August, 1841 :

"As we descended, the rocks became loftier, and the current stronger. About two in the afternoon, we reached Les Chutes, where we made a portage, after having run nearly four hundred miles without even lightening our craft. As my own experience, as well as that of others, had taught me to keep a strict eye on the "Chivalry of Wishram," always congregated here in considerable numbers, I marshalled our party into three well-armed bands, two to guard either end of the portage, and the third to transport the baggage."

Here follows a graphic account of Gov. Simpson's experience at this Portage in the spring of 1829 when four or five hundred Indians planned an attack upon his party, and then the Governor continues :

"But now these pirates had degenerated into something like honesty and politeness. On our approaching the landing-place, an Indian, of short stature and a big belly—the very picture of a grinning Bacchus—waded out about two hundred yards, (?) in order to be the first to shake hands with us. We were hardly ashore, when we were surrounded by about a hundred and fifty savages of several tribes, who were all, however, under the control of one chief; and on this occasion the "Chivalry of Wishram" actually condescended to carry our boat and baggage for us, expecting merely to be somewhat too well paid. The path, about a quarter of a mile in length, ran over a rocky pass, whose hollows and levels were covered with sand, almost the only soil in this land of droughts.

"The Chutes vary very much in appearance, according to the height of the waters. At one season may be seen cascades of twenty or thirty feet in height, while, at another, the current swells itself up into little more than a rapid, so as even to be navigable for boats. At present, the highest fall was scarcely ten feet; and as the stream, besides being confined within a narrow channel, was interrupted by rocks and islets, its foaming and roaring presented a striking emblem of the former

disposition of the neighbouring tribes. At the lower end of the portage we intended to dine on salmon, which we had procured from the Indians; but, after cooking it, we felt so incommoded by the crowd, that we pushed off to eat our dinner, while we were drifting down the river. Our meal was brought to an abrupt termination by our having to run down Les Petites Dalles Rapid. Some Indians on the bank were watching, spear in hand, for salmon; and so intent were they on their occupation, that they never even raised their eyes to look at us, as we flew past them.

"A short space of smooth water, like the calm that precedes the storm, brought us to Les Dalles or the Long Narrows—a spot which, with its treacherous savages of former days and its whirling torrents, might once have been considered as embodying the Scylla and the Charybdis of these regions. At the entrance of the gorge, the river is suddenly contracted to one-third of its width by perpendicular walls, while the surges, thus dammed up, struggle with each other to dash along through its narrow bed. Our guide, having surveyed the state of the rapid, determined to run it, recommending to us, however, to walk across the portage in order to lighten our craft."

Three distinct companies were engaged in the fur business on the Columbia: The Pacific Fur Company controlled by Mr. Astor during 1811-12 and part of 1813; the North-West Company of Montreal during 1814-1820, and the Hudson's Bay Company of London during 1821 to June 14th, 1860, at Vancouver but at Colville, Washington, until 1872. During a part of this period Vancouver, Washington, was the metropolis of the Pacific Coast: Yerba Buena on San Francisco Bay, as well as Sitka in Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands drew their flour, lumber and other supplies from Vancouver. For many years the Hudson's Bay Company occupied the position of the first monopoly to exist on the Columbia River.

And there was one alleged or would-be fur trader who has left a good account of the Dalles-Celilo portage, Mr. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, an ice dealer from the cultured city of Cambridge,

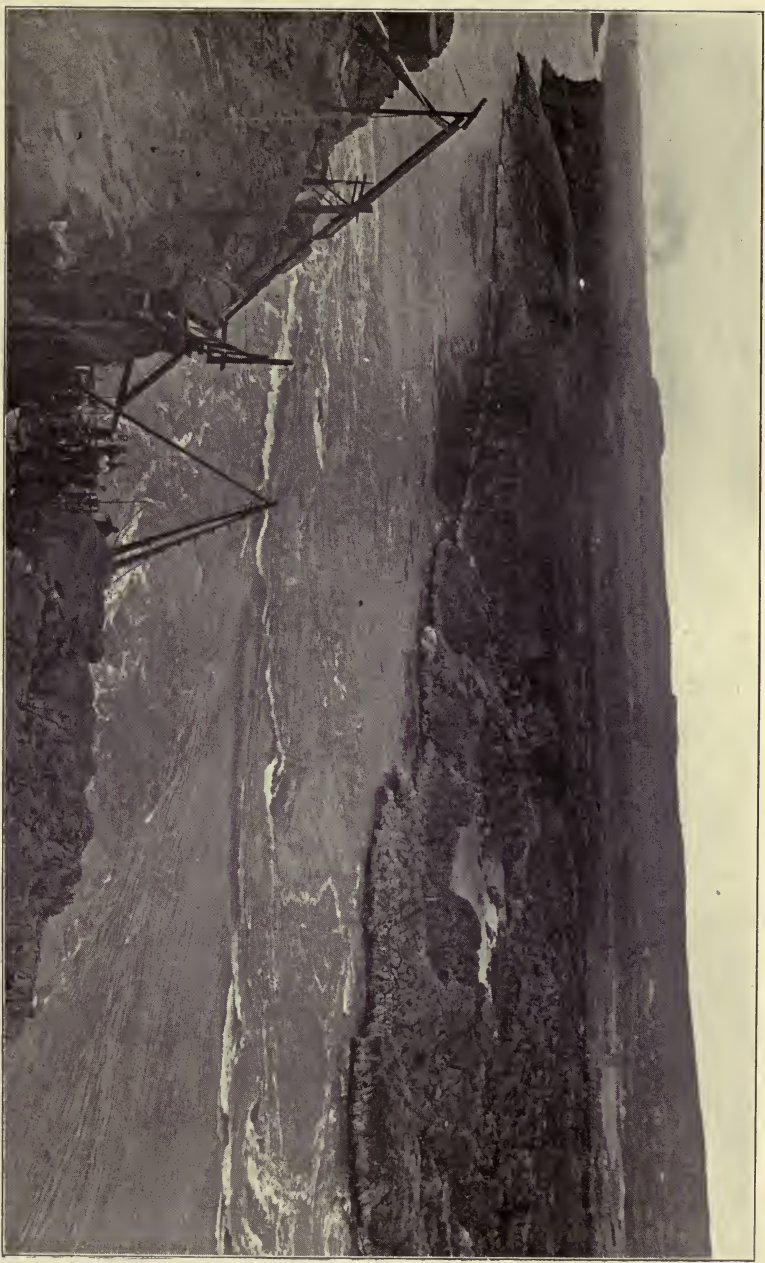


Photo by Crego.

THE DALLES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER
(Looking west from near head of Five-Mile Rapid)

Massachusetts, who passed down the Columbia in October, 1832. Mr. Wyeth was a man of great pluck and thorough integrity although he did "dream dreams and see visions" and failed in his attempt to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company. One of these dreams was a peculiar sort of boat he manufactured at Cambridge, a boat equipped with wheels to carry it on dry land, and in turn to be carried when in the water. In the actual experience he left the boat on the East slope of the Alleghanies, crossed the plains on horseback, and traded his horses with Chief Trader Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun at Fort Walla Walla for a bateau and arrived at the portage on October 24th, 1832. His account is as follows:

"24th—Started about 9 and after about [6 miles] passed the grand falls of the Columbia just above which a small river [Des Chutes] puts into the Columbia about the size of the small rivers above, the Wallah [Wallah] for instance. These falls now the water is low are about 25 feet; when the water is high these falls are covered. The water not have a sufficient vent below the water here rises about 40 feet. Just before arriving at the falls are considerable rapids. The falls are easily passed in boats at high water; we hired the Indians about 50 for a quid of tobacco each to carry our boat about 1 mile round the falls the goods we carried ourselves. Shortly after passing the falls we passed what are called the dalles [small] or where the river is dam (m)ed up between banks steep and high of not more than 100 feet apart through which the whole waters of the mighty Columbia are forced with much noise and uproar. I passed through with some Indians while my men went round they not being good boatmen enough to trust and fright(en)ed withall. We are now camped at the Great Dalles which are still narrower and more formidable than the small, having stop(p)ed after making 20 miles the wind being high and unfavorable for passing. At the gorge of this pass the water rises by the mark on the rock at least 50 feet, forming a complete lock to the falls above, the back water covering them entirely. The Indians are thieves but not dangerous.

Before us and apparently in the river rises the most formidable mountain (Mt. Hood) we have seen. The country ahead is clothed with forest to the river side which has not been the case before and the western horizon is covered by a dense cloud denoting the region of constant rain during the winter.

25th—Made this day 6 miles and passed the great dalles similar to the small ones which we passed yesterday but still narrower being 75 feet about in width. Through this pass we went with an unloaded boat at an immense speed the goods and baggage were carried past on the backs of my men and some Indians hired for that purpose. My men not being good boatmen and timorous I hired Indians to work ours through going with them myself to learn the way. During part of this day we had a fair wind the river still W. by S. Here we saw plenty of grey headed seals. We bought some bear meat from the Indians which we found very fine. We encamped for the first time on the river among timber among which I saw a kind of oak and ash. Indians plenty. One chief at whose lodge we stopped a short time gave me some molasses obtained from (the) fort below to eat. He had a large stock of dried fish for the winter, 4 tons I should think, roots &c. He was dressed in the English stile, blue frock coat pants & vest, comported himself with much dignity enquired my name particularly and repeated it over many times to impress it on his memory. His sister was the squaw of an American of the name of Bache who established a post on the river below the great dalles three years ago last fall and who was drowned in them with 11 others the following spring. The remains of the fort I saw as also the grave of the woman who died this fall and was buried in great state with sundry articles such as capeau, vest, pantaloons, shirt, &c. A pole with a knob at the top is erected over her remains. At the foot of the Dalles is an island called the Isle of the Dead on which there are many sepulchers. These Indians usually inter their dead on the Islands in the most romantic situations where the souls of the dead can feast themselves with the roar of the mighty and

eternal waters which in life time af(f)orded them sustenance, and will to all eternity to their posterity."

During this fur trade period there were some interesting visitors along the Columbia; scientific men and travelers, the most of whom have left a record as to these Dalles. Among these were Paul Kane and John H. Stanley making sketches and portraits of the Indians; Thos. Nuttall and J. K. Townsend collecting specimens of natural history; Samuel Parker, spying out the country in behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The limits of this narrative admit mention of only one of these, selected because of the intimate connection of his name with an important article of our commerce, DAVID DOUGLAS, after whom our Douglas Fir or Pine is named. David Douglas came from England to gather the flora of this region in behalf of the Horticultural Society of London. In the summer of 1826 he was descending the Columbia in a canoe, accompanied only by his dog and Indian servant, and spent the night of Aug. 28th near the Dalles Portage. He was safe in wandering alone among the Indians because they believed he had some supernatural power over the flowers and trees, but the residents of this locality could not overlook their opportunities and after supper he discovered that his tobacco box had been stolen. His journal states: "As soon as I discovered my loss I perched myself on a rock, and in their own tongue, gave the Indians a furious reprimand, applying to them all the epithets of abuse which I had often heard them bestow on another; and reminding them that though they saw me only a Blanket Man, I was more than that, I was the Grass Man, and therefore not at all afraid of them. I could not, however, recover my box, but slept unmolested after all the bustle."

The first white people to reside in the interior of the Columbia River Basin (not meaning those connected with the Fur Companies) were missionaries. In the year 1836 at Lapwai Creek a few miles above Lewiston, Idaho, Mrs. Eliza Spalding and Rev. H. H. Spalding, and at Waiilatpu a few

miles from Walla Walla Mrs. Narcissa Whitman and Dr. Marcus Whitman, simultaneously settled as Protestant Missionaries. Associated with them was W. H. Gray as secular agent and mechanic. Mr. Gray was the father of several sons, who in later years became prominent in steamboating on the Columbia. One of these, Capt. Wm. P. Gray of Pasco, is still an active participant in Open River activities.

Two years later another mission station was started in the Spokane country at Tsimakime. In mentioning these mission stations the names of the wives are given prominence because these were the first two white women who ever crossed the plains and mountains from "the States" and the first who ever passed over the Dalles-Celilo Portage. That event was on the 9th of September, 1836, when on their way to Fort Vancouver. Mrs. Whitman rode across the portage on a pony loaned by a gallant young chief of the Indians, but her experience with the fleas was far less courteous. She suddenly found herself covered with them. Her letter says: "We brushed and shook and shook and brushed for an hour, not stopping to kill for that would have been impossible." These women gladly, zealously and faithfully joined their devoted husbands in the attempt to teach the Indians the fundamentals of Christianity, education and civilized living. Their eleven years continuous residence, removed from the society of their sex and exposed to attempted outrage and death, marks an epoch in our history, and it served to practically direct the attention of the pioneers of the Willamette Valley to the fertility and natural advantages of the great region in the Interior. For it was from the Willamette and not from the East that the Inland Empire received its first population. The massacre at Waiilatpu (Nov. 29-30, 1847) which marked the end of this epoch served to emphasize its influence. That tragedy was the occasion of Peter Skene Ogden, an honored name on this Columbia River, passing hurriedly over this Portage early in December, 1847, en route to Fort Walla Walla and his return one month later with three bateaux carrying more than fifty women and children

ransomed from the captivity of Cayuse Indians. The record is that on the return trip, the river being low, Mr. Ogden risked the passage by water and swept down through the Dalles without portage in his anxiety to place his passengers beyond the reach of the Indians. Had this obstruction not existed the risk to these helpless people would not have been necessary. Neither would there have been occasion for some criticism against Mr. Ogden for, on his way up the river, distributing to the Indians at the Portage the usual toll of a small amount of powder and ball for their assistance.

Beginning with the forties the "tramp of the pioneer" began to be heard along the Columbia, and with the pioneer came the development of a wagon road. The first wagon to come through to the Columbia from across the plains was that of Dr. Robert Newell in 1840, and it is said to have been shipped down the river (the following year) by boat from Fort Walla Walla. In 1843 the first large wagon train came through, a migration of more than eight hundred people. Upon arrival at Fort Walla Walla they were told both by Mr. McKinlay, the trader in charge, and by Dr. Marcus Whitman, that no road existed along the river bank, which was literally true. In a MS. in the Bancroft Library Mr. Jesse Applegate has written; "All of the immigrants of 1843 did not reach the Dalles in wagons. A company including the Burnetts, Applegates, Hembrees, etc., 71 souls in all, built boats at Walla Walla (now called Wallula) and descended the Columbia by water." [See Mrs. Victor's "River of the West" pp. 335-7.]

Jesse Applegate was one of the most influential of the Oregon pioneers; and Peter H. Burnett afterward became governor of California. The Applegates lost members of their family by drowning in these Dalles, and their goods not carried across the portage were lost.

But a larger number of the immigrants drove through by land and pioneered the first wagon track south of the river, which became the road for later migrations. This road climbed the hills after crossing the Des Chutes river and came upon

the Columbia again between Big Eddy and the present city of The Dalles; the path along the river's edge below the Des Chutes river was not suitable for wagons, and was never so used.

The arrival of the pioneers marks the beginning of a period of transition in the use of this stretch of the river in that there was travel from the interior by land which did not pass over the river portage. The Hudson's Bay Company continued to use it and their trade assumed a more general character, but in 1846 the Treaty of Washington placed the Oregon boundary at the 49th parallel and left that company with only possessory rights instead of permanent ownership of their trading posts and business. This transition, broadly speaking, was from commerce between white men and Indians to commerce between white men and white men; and speaking specifically it was the transition from the monopoly or "big business" of the Hudson's Bay Company to the next monopoly or "big business" in the name of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company.

As a part of that transition period came the Indian war of 1855-6, known as the Yakima War because Kamaiakīn of the Yakima tribe was the chief instigator of it. The influence of the Celilo Falls and the Dalles of the Columbia during this Indian war is best explained in the language of Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of the Territory of Washington. Gov. Stevens also held the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs in the Territory and in that capacity during the spring and summer of 1855 held a series of councils with various tribes and obtained treaties under which a large part of the Inland Empire was freed from any claim of the Indians and its settlement by white people made possible. But under the lead of the crafty and brave Kamaiakīn the Indians soon repudiated their signatures to the treaties and in the fall began war upon the few whites already in the country. While making his way back to Olympia under the protection of a band of friendly Nez Percés and when seated in his tent on December 23rd, 1855, near the present city of Walla Walla, Gov. Stevens wrote

a long letter to Gen. John E. Wool, then at Fort Vancouver in command of the U. S. Troops in the Columbia River district, from which the following is taken:

"As to transportation, I would urge that a line of barges be established on the Columbia; that supplies be hauled in wagons from the Dalles to the mouth of the De Chutes, and thence by water to Fort Walla Walla."

"The Hudson Bay barge should be adopted, only be increased in size. The barge most commonly in use carries 6,000 pounds and requires seven men. But the great difficulty in the river is at the Falls (Celilo) at the mouth of the De Chutes river, which is avoided by hauling in wagons to above that point. A barge could be constructed which would carry 12,000 pounds, require eight men, and make two round trips a month from the De Chutes to Fort Walla Walla. Supplies for 500 men, say four pounds per day, including clothing, ammunition, &c., and forage for 500 animals, 12 pounds a day, each animal, would require 10 of these barges, 80 men, about ten (10) three-yoke ox teams, running from the Dalles to the De Chutes. An ox team could not make more than three round trips from the Dalles to Fort Walla Walla, in two months, and this would be more than ought reasonably to be expected. To transport the above amount of supplies and forage in wagons would require 100 ox teams and 100 men. Unless foraged on the road, oxen, after making one round trip must have rest, and a large number of spare oxen must be at hand at both ends of the line to keep the teams constantly in motion." * * *

"I believe it is practicable to run stern-wheel steamers from the mouth of the De Chutes to above Walla Walla, and as far as the Priest Rapids; but time will be required to get a suitable one on the route, and establish wood yards. There is nothing but drift wood on the immediate banks of the Columbia, below the mouth of the Wee-natchap-pan."

Readers of our history know well that Gen. Wool did not take kindly to any advice from Gov. Stevens and conducted

his campaign against the Indians with some deliberation. This letter is dated December, 1855 and it was December, 1858, before by proclamation of Gen. Nathan E. Clarke, successor to Gen. Wool, the Inland Empire was thrown open to settlement by the whites. The policy of the commanding general must not be disregarded as a factor, but the conclusion is clear that had there been no obstruction at The Dalles and Celilo the steamboats then operating on the middle river could have carried troops and supplies to the heart of the Indian country and the war terminated much earlier. As it was the methods outlined by Gov. Stevens as to transportation were adopted by the quartermaster's department and nearly every pound of munitions and supplies from Fort Vancouver to the upper country was carried across a portage road of about fifteen miles, from the present city of The Dalles over the hills to the mouth of the Deschutes river, and then transferred to boats for river transport to the government warehouse at Wallula, and elsewhere.

The present city of Walla Walla had its beginning commercially and physically with the sutler's store opened for the accommodation of the needs of the soldiers sent to establish the military post, since known as Fort Walla Walla, in the Fall of 1856. The Fort Walla Walla familiar to everyone along the Columbia up to that time was the trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company at the mouth of the Walla Walla River and which was abandoned by the Company and pillaged by the Cayuse Indians in December, 1855. The Quartermaster's Department later established a supply depot or warehouse in the buildings of the old trading post and called it Old Fort Walla Walla in distinction from the military post thirty miles to the eastward. But much confusion resulted and this led to the adoption about 1858 of a new name for the river landing, to-wit—WALLULA, the origin and meaning of which is equally as mysterious as that of the name CELILO. Wallula of the present day is one and a half miles distant from the river landing.

Mention has been made of the wagon road opened in the fall of 1843, by the immigrants of that year, and the western end of that road with minor deviations in 1856 became the Dalles-Celilo Portage road; its upper end, however, for a time was Deschutes Landing at the eddy just below the mouth of the river of that name. From the boat landing at the present city of The Dalles the road followed very closely the present line of railroad tracks along the river grade and across Three-Mile Creek, then turned to the right through a gap in the hills to a crossing of Five-Mile Creek at its confluence with Ten-Mile Creek, then eastward to a crossing of "Ten-Mile" at the Fulton Ranch, then over what was known as "Nigger Hill" to the landing. Later it reached the River through a natural gap in the rocky bluff opposite the steamboat landing at Celilo. For several years this was the most active, as well as the most important wagon road in the state of Oregon. Its usefulness as a portage road ceased with the building of the rail portage along the river in the year 1863.

Over this sandy and dusty or muddy hilly road fifteen miles in length were transported practically all the supplies, munitions and equipment from army headquarters at San Francisco and Vancouver to the troops stationed in the interior. Up to 1859 the business was largely the hauling of government freight, also that for army sutlers and traders licensed by the Indian agents. Partners named "Green, Heath and Allen" were engaged in that trade; also Friedman and McGlinchy. But with 1859 general merchandise began to be carried in large quantities, and that term included whiskey and rum as well as pins and needles. After the discovery of gold in 1860 both freight and passenger traffic became enormous. With the beginning of steamboating on the upper river a regular stage for passengers was put on; in July, 1859, Deschutes Landing consisted of a store, an eating house, a stone fort or warehouse and four or five other buildings, according to the Oregon Argus, of Oregon City.

Transportation over this road was controlled by Mr. Orlando Humason, who appears to have been actively connected with nearly everything then going on at The Dalles. Associated with him were a Mr. Fairchild and others not so publicly known but currently understood to include an Indian agent, and at least one army officer. Samuel Johnson, in later years an honored resident of the Walla Walla Valley, was wagon-master; "Chic-chic" Johnson the Indians called him. The equipment consisted of pack trains and large freight wagons drawn by six, eight or ten yoke of oxen. Afterward the Oregon Steam Navigation Co. bought out Mr. Humason and expended one hundred thousand dollars in mules, wagons and other equipment to handle the traffic. This can be better appreciated when it is explained that the charges were \$20 per ton or \$1.25 per ton per mile for carrying goods over this portage, and except for solids that ton meant forty cubic feet by measurement, not actual pounds avoirdupois. A detailed account of this stretch of road would consume the time of an entire narrative; the oaths uttered by drivers and passengers along its grades and crossings have doubtless sent many a soul to purgatory.

During this transition period farming and stock raising and organized communities began to appear in the Inland Empire. To what extent measured by months and years the Dalles-Celilo obstructions to river navigation held back the beginning of the settlement of the upper Columbia River Basin cannot be stated with exactness, but it is probable that an open river would have meant more to the people then, taking into consideration the conditions then, than at any time since. The settlement of the interior country began very slowly. The legislature of Oregon established the county of Wasco during the winter of 1854 (January 11) to include all the territory lying east of the Cascade Range, and Maj. Gabriel J. Rains, who was then stationed at Fort Dalles, said in opposition to this action that only thirty-five white people then actually resided within the proposed county. The legislature of the Territory

of Washington that same winter established the county of Walla Walla with its western boundary at the summit of the Cascade Range and its eastern boundary at the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and in all that stretch of country Gov. Stevens in coming from Fort Benton to Olympia the previous Fall had found only straggling settlers in the Bitter Root, the Colville and the Walla Walla Valleys, engaged in stock raising or trade with the Indians. But when the formal announcement that the country was open was made at army headquarters on December 9th, 1858, it found many settlers already on the way or ready to start. The Dalles Journal of April 23rd, 1859 says: "quite a town is growing up in the Walla Walla Valley; it is the county seat of that county and has been named Steptoeville by the county commissioners."

As has been suggested the early settlers in the interior were the original pioneers, or the sons of the pioneers of the Willamette Valley; they first headed toward the famous Walla Walla Valley, glimpses of which they or their fathers had seen in passing, because of the existence there of Fort Walla Walla and the Indian agency. There were no railroads and even the steamboat facilities on both the middle and upper Columbia were very inadequate. These settlers were compelled to leave the river at The Dalles and proceeded overland, with their household goods and stock; they had little money; and while establishing homes here and there they were subjected to the high prices incident to expensive transportation around the river obstructions at the Cascades and the Dalles and Celilo. Had it been possible to run boats even from the Cascades to river points on the upper Columbia and Snake rivers and unload freight and immigrants within reach of the Walla Walla and Palouse districts, for instance, the development of these states would have been much more rapid.

The last act of this transition period partakes of that attribute common to the whole human family, the thirst for gold. Who first discovered gold in the Inland Empire does not concern this narrative but the honor of starting the rush of gold

hunters to the "Nez Perces Mines" belongs to E. D. Pierce; Capt. Pierce so called, though the title was not of official origin. This man had known mining life in California and British Columbia, had in some manner, possibly as a trapper, acquired an acquaintance with the Nez Perces Indians, could speak their language well and was allowed some freedom in their part of the country. That acquaintance probably accounts for his having been allowed by the army officers a nominal residence near Fort Walla Walla during the summer of 1858 where he lived for a while in a tent near the springs joining Garrison Creek on land now a valuable part of the City of Walla Walla. He owned fifteen head of cattle, but these were disposed of in the early fall to Lewis McMorris; and his squatter's right was sold to John Singleton and he himself departed for the Nez Perces Country. The word he sent out, or brought out in 1859 and the discovery of the rich camps of Pierce City and Oro Fino in 1860 caused the mining rush, which began in 1861 and reached its flood in 1862-63.

Prospectors and miners rushed into the mining districts of the Inland Empire literally by the thousands. The boats from San Francisco to the Columbia River were crowded to the guards, and the farming in the Willamette Valley suffered from lack of labor. It has been carefully estimated that in June, 1862, there were thirty thousand people in the various mining camps of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. While all of these did not reach the Interior country by way of the Columbia River a great proportion of them did. The boats from Portland up river often carried more than two hundred passengers to the trip. In March, April and May, 1862, the tickets sold at The Dalles for passage on the three boats then plying on the upper river totaled over fifty thousand dollars. The "Tenino" took in eighteen thousand dollars for freight and passengers on one trip. These passengers all passed over the portage.

And if the gold hunters did not all go in by way of the Columbia, nearly all the freight which included the tools necessary for their work, the clothes necessary for them to wear,

and the food and drink necessary for them to consume (and the average miner was not a total abstainer by any means) did go in by that route, and the business done at the cities of Portland, The Dalles, Walla Walla and Lewiston was entirely out of proportion to their populations and fabulously remunerative. At Portland in the spring of 1862 drays with goods for shipment by up-river steamers are said to have remained in line nearly twenty-four hours in order to get a chance to unload. All this freight had to be carried over the Dalles-Celilo portage, and the physical ability of the equipment to handle it was taxed to the uttermost. Those were lively times on the old immigrant road of 1843 and at the terminals at The Dalles and Celilo, not mentioning the bar rooms of the steamboats plying on the River. The result was the building of the rail portage fourteen miles in length between The Dalles and Celilo, legally known as The Dalles and Celilo Railroad Company, but really a part of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, which was in the spring of 1862 just perfecting its strangle hold upon river traffic.

The rails for the construction of the Dalles-Celilo Portage railroad were purchased by President J. C. Ainsworth, of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, early in 1862. By some happy circumstance Wm. T. Coleman & Co. of San Francisco happened to have on their hands railroad iron to build twenty miles of road which they were glad to sell, all or none. This was more iron than was needed at the time for the Oregon Steam Navigation Company had not yet acquired the control of the portage at The Cascades, but ownership of it all also happened to become a happy circumstance.

The following item appears in the Oregonian of April 21st, 1863, "We learn from the Dalles Journal that the passenger cars of the Dalles & Celilo railroad were to leave the depot of the O. S. N. Co. yesterday morning at nine o'clock, for Celilo, there to connect with the steamer Tenino for Wallula, Lewiston and all intermediate points FOR THE FIRST TIME." This depot at The Dalles stood very near the Uma-

tilla House at the head of the incline to the wharf boat which was the scene of so many greetings and farewells in early days.

Under date of April 25th, 1863, speaking editorially, the Oregonian states that the Cascade road, six miles long, was begun May 21st, 1862, and the Celilo road was begun March 17th, 1862 and the cost of each was \$50,000.00 a mile, or \$950,000.00 and the rolling stock \$150,000.00 additional; and adds: "So there is an investment of more than a million dollars to secure safe and pleasant portage for passengers at points which have hitherto been the dread and annoyance of all who traveled or forwarded goods from the west of the Cascade Range to the Interior."

Just why the building of these two Portage railroads of six and fourteen miles respectively should have taken so much time partakes of the history of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company itself, and emphasizes the value of both portages in the control of the River.

The preliminary step to the formation of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company was really a pool or gentlemen's agreement between the steamboat men of the lower and middle river and the owners of the portages at the Cascades; this began in April, 1859, and lasted for about a year. It was not satisfactory to the portage owners. The first formal organization of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company under special charter by the legislature of Washington Territory and corporate agreements dated December 20th, 1860, combining ostensibly the interests of the steamboat owners on all three stretches of the River, from Portland to the Cascades, from the Cascades to The Dalles, and from Celilo to Wallula and Lewiston, had been in effect earlier in 1860. The original list of stockholders [fifteen in all, and shares worth \$500.00 each] is as follows:*

*Lewis & Dryden's Marine Hist. of Pac. Northwest, page 90.

Shares		Shares	
R. R. Thompson.....	120	Ladd & Tilton	80
Jacob Kamm	57	T. W. Lyles	76
L. W. Coe	60	J. C. Ainsworth	40
A. H. Barker	30	S. G. Reed	26
Benjamin Stark	19	Josiah L. Myrick.....	12
Richard Williams	7	J. W. Ladd	4
G. W. Pope	4	J. M. Gilman	2
Geo. W. Hoyt	3		

The names of none of those engaged in the portage business, either at The Cascades or at The Dalles-Celilo, appear openly upon the published list, but those owners must have been included because the first board of directors of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, elected on December 29th, 1860, were J. C. Ainsworth, J. S. Ruckle, D. F. Bradford, S. G. Reed and L. W. Coe, and five months later R. R. Thompson succeeded to the place of Mr. Coe. (These were the directors who very soon afterward voted to purchase from Orlando Humason, et al., the equipment and good will of the portage business between The Dalles and Celilo, and spend the large sum of \$100,000.00 for new equipment.) The portage at the Cascades, on the south or Oregon side of the River, was owned by J. S. Ruckle and Harrison Olmstead, and that on the north or Washington side by Bradford and Company, and each of these rivals held a five year contract with the Oregon Steam Navigation Co. under which they would receive one-half the freight charges between Portland and The Dalles, then \$30.00 per ton, upon everything transferred across each respective portage.

The manager of the Oregon Steam Navigation Co., Capt. J. C. Ainsworth, then really played these rival portage owners at the Cascades against each other. The purchase of the railroad iron for the Dalles-Celilo portage was authorized at a meeting which Mr. Ruckle, because of some jealousy against the Bradfords, failed to attend and the arrival of the rails from San Francisco was a surprise to him. Three miles of the

Dalles-Celilo Portage were at once constructed and then the Bradfords realizing the temporary character of their wooden tramway and mule drawn cars exchanged their property for stock in the Oregon Steam Navigation Co., but with the sardonic expectation of indirectly still reaping some harvest from their rivals across the River by reason of the five year contact. The construction crew of the Oregon Steam Navigation Co. (some 200 men) was at once transferred to the Cascades and the rebuilding of the Bradford Portage Road begun making use of the six miles of extra rails. Messrs. Ruckle and Olmstead soon after decided to sell and did so for the sum of \$155,000.00, the deal being closed on November 4th, 1862. This all took place during the phenomenal year of 1862 when freight was moving up the River in such quantities that it was impossible to handle it at times. The Oregon Steam Navigation Co. perfected its legal organization under the laws of Oregon, October 18th, 1862, and surrendered its special Washington charter in December, 1862.

It becomes pertinent to here make mention of the man who more than any other seems to have influenced the use of this portage for at least 25 years and whose early career has not yet been written into the annals of Oregon. The active mind in the organization of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company and its development and current business relations was the keen and skillful and genial Capt. J. C. Ainsworth, its president, but the dominant personal influence on the board of directors in determining matters of policy and of transportation rates and of settlements with competitors was that of R. R. Thompson, the principal stockholder.

Robert R. Thompson, a native of Pennsylvania, came to Oregon City with the migration of 1846 and eked out a bare living there for two years doing odd jobs at blacksmithing, carpentering and tinkering of all sorts; and his wife did her part toward family support. In 1847 Mr. Thompson was one of those elected a Justice of the Peace in Clackamas County; in 1848-9 he joined the rush of gold hunters to California and

returned from there with "a long purse"—to use his own expression—full of gold he had dug with his own hands. This was the beginning of what came to be known among the steamboat men on the River as "the Thompson Luck." He then moved his family to The Dalles, where he settled, and (on August 15th, 1854) entered 640 acres of land under the Oregon Donation Act; a part of this land later became Thompson's Addition to the City of The Dalles. In 1852 he visited "the states," and in 1853 returned across the plains with a band of sheep he had purchased (D. P. Thompson, another prominent pioneer of Oregon, assisted in driving the sheep) and when upon the upper Umatilla River was met with the request to hurry on to The Dalles because he had been appointed Indian Agent there, which office he held during the Indian wars. In the triple capacity of land owner, grower of wool and mutton, and salaried officer of the government, the future seemed fairly well provided for, but paths to more rapidly acquired wealth were opened up. His acquaintance with the quartermaster at Fort Dalles was quite intimate and contracts for transporting government freight to the "Upper Country" had to be awarded to someone and he engaged in that business, becoming the controlling owner of the largest fleet of bateaux on the upper river, and of the first steamboat to be operated there; and possibly interested also in the portage business with Mr. Humason. The statement appears in print that the price for carrying government freight from Des Chutes Landing to Wallula was \$100.00 per ton by bateaux and \$80.00 per ton by steamboat and that the boat paid her entire cost during the first month or two of operation.

In 1860 although only a two-thirds owner in this steamboat and another then in course of construction, Mr. Thompson was taken into the Oregon Steam Navigation Company upon his own terms, namely \$18,000.00 cash bonus and 120 shares of stock, that being the largest amount of stock held by any one person, which preponderance he continued to hold during the life of the company. After this rather substantial start he

became one of the early millionaires of Oregon, at a time when that classification was rather limited. For his services as director, which were advisory and not administrative, he was paid \$1,000.00 per month and as a forceful man of affairs, whose judgment was nearly always correct, especially as to how much the traffic would bear, he was very infrequently opposed. His later years were spent in California. When asked by Hubert Howe Bancroft as to the cause of his success he replied that it was because he had always from the very start believed very strongly in a certain man named Thompson.

Coincident with and necessary to the use of the portage was the use of the river below and above, and brief mention will now be made of the beginnings of navigation on the middle and upper stretches of the Columbia River up to the time the Oregon Steam Navigation Company assumed full control.

The first steamboat to stem the current of the Columbia above the Cascades was the JAMES P. FLINT, probably so named after a gentleman in San Francisco who was prominent in steamship interests, and possibly had a small interest in her ownership. Her appearance on the river is best indicated by the following item copied (by Mr. Geo. H. Himes) from the Oregon Weekly Times, Portland, Sept. 4th, 1851; "The New Steamer J. P. Flint—We learn that this fine steamer, J. O. Van Bergen, Commander, is now making her regular trips between the Cascades and The Dalles, on the upper waters of the Columbia. She is 60 feet long, 12 feet beam, and five feet deep in the hold. Her hull was modeled by Capt. Hanscom, who modeled the steamer Whitcomb. D. A. Plummer, Esq., who was also engaged in building the Whitcomb, has been master constructor of the Flint, and receives great credit for the skill and ability he has evinced, as do all those who were engaged with him and worked under his directions. Such mechanics as Hanscom and Plummer are justly appreciated in Oregon."

Evidently the FLINT did not make enough money above the Cascades for she was taken down over the rapids about

New Years, 1852, and did service between river points and Portland; was sunk on a rock near Cape Horn on September 22nd, 1852; was afterwards raised and rebuilt and named "The Fashion" and operated for many years.

The next steamboat to appear was the ALLAN, owned by the firm of Allan, McKinlay & Co., H. B. Co. agents at Oregon City, and who are said to have operated the store at The Dalles for a time. She was a small boat of the propeller type, brought into the River on the deck of some sailing vessel, and used rather for freighting and towing than for passenger service. Thomas Gladwell was her captain and she was hauled up over the Cascade portage from the lower river early in 1853. This boat towed scows carrying Maj. Rains and his command to Fort Dalles when they arrived in the fall of 1853 after a trip around the Horn from New York by sailing vessel.

The steamer MARY was built in the late summer of 1854 at the Cascades by the Bradfords (Dan. and Put.) and L. W. Coe; and that same year the WASCO by Isaac McFarland and his brother, pioneers of 1852. These were small side wheelers and came into important notice during the Indian wars of 1856, and later. Next, in 1857, the HASSALO was built by the Bradfords, the first stern wheeler on the middle river, and did service for many years. The captain of the Hassalo was Eph. W. Baughman, who had also been in command of the MARY, and who is still an honored resident of the Columbia river basin following many years of service upon its waters.

Turning now to the upper river, during the years 1856-7-8, the only transportation was by bateaux or barges of the pattern already described by Gov. Stevens, but rigged with masts and sails and called "sail schooners;" the prevailing wind being inland permitted of very good time upstream, and the current brought them back. The freight carried was almost entirely government supplies under contract with the then quartermaster at Fort Dalles, Capt. Thos. Jordan, who was afterward courtmartialed for suspected participation in these contracts.

The first steamboat which should have ascended the upper river was named the Venture, built at the Cascades by Mr. R. R. Thompson and Lawrence W. Coe in 1858, and intended to be dragged over the Dalles-Celilo Portage upon timbers loaded upon her for the purpose. But she accidentally ran into the current above the Cascades on her very first trip and was carried over the rapids. Not at all discouraged the same partners at once built the famous "Col. Wright" at the mouth of the Deschutes. She was launched in November, 1858 and made the first trip up the river in April, 1859, Capt. Len. White in command. The lumber to build her hull was partly brought from the saw mill of Jonathan Jackson on Ramsey Creek just off Fifteen Mile Creek and partly from the Cascades, and all her machinery was hauled over the Dalles-Deschutes Portage. This boat made "big money" from the very start and was the only steamboat on the upper river when the Oregon Steam Navigation Company took Messrs. Thompson and Coe into their combination. The Tenino was in process of construction however.

With the purchase of the portages at the Cascades and from the City of The Dalles to Celilo, fourteen miles, the control of the whole River including the particular stretch of it was completely in the hands of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, the second monopoly in Oregon, and possibly greater than its great predecessor, the Hudson's Bay Company. It would be interesting to contrast the policy toward their customers, the inhabitants of the great interior of "Old Oregon," of these two great commercial organizations. Quite possibly it would be found that the first of the two was more just and less selfish than the second. But that examination cannot fall within the limits of this narrative, nor does any extended account of the career of the Navigation Company. Its wonderful financial success was due to its ability to control the River, and when reduced to the lowest terms that meant the control of the Dalles-Celilo Portage. At the Cascades two portage roads could and two actually did exist, one on either

side of the River, and the problem of competitive boats to the wheat fields of the Inland Empire would have been comparatively easy had the Cascades been the only obstruction. But along the north side of the Dalles-Celilo obstruction the physical conditions would permit of no portage road being built to connect the middle and the upper stretches of the River without prohibitive expenditure of money, and no attempt to do so was ever made during the existence of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company.

But this narrative would not be complete without other reference to the Oregon Steam Navigation Company during its skillful and energetic control of the Portage and the River. No one has left a better pen picture than Mr. Samuel Bowles, the famous editor of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, who in company with Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and other distinguished men, visited The Dalles and Celilo on July 21st, 1865, and as the guest of the Company was given facts and figures which appear to have since been verified by examination of their books. His written account is as follows:

"The Dalles marks another interruption to the navigation of the river, and another railway portage of fifteen miles is in use. The entire water of the Columbia is compressed for a short distance into a space only one hundred and sixty feet wide. Through this it pours with a rapidity and a depth, that give majestic, fearful intensity to its motion; while interfering rocks occasionally throw the stream into rich masses of foam. Through these second rapids of fifteen miles, the rock scenery at first rises still higher and sharper, and then fast grows tame; the mountains begin to slink away and to lose their trees; the familiar barrenness of the great interior basin reappears; and the only beauty of the hills is their richly rounded forms, often repeated, and their only utility pasturage for sheep and horses and cattle. The fifteen miles of railway, which, with the lower portage of five miles, are built as permanently, and serve as thoroughly, with the best of locomotives and cars, as any

railroads in the country, landed us on still another large and luxurious steamboat,—“and still the wonder grew,”—built way up here beyond the mountains, but with every appointment of comfort and luxury that are found in the best of eastern river craft,—large state-rooms, long and wide cabins, various and well-served meals. From this point (Celilo), there is uninterrupted navigation, and daily or tri-weekly steamers running, to Umatilla, eighty-five miles, Wallula, one hundred and ten miles, and to White Bluffs, one hundred and sixty miles, farther up the stream. For six months in the year, boats can and do run way on to Lewiston, on the Snake River branch of the Columbia, which is two hundred and seventy miles beyond Celilo, or five hundred miles from the mouth of the Columbia, as White Bluffs, the head of navigation on the main river, is four hundred miles from the mouth.

“We spent the night on the boat at Celilo, and during the evening the most of the party went back by rail to The Dalles for speeches to the people from Speaker Colfax and Governor Bross. One of the best bits of fun on our journey was improvised on their return late in the night. Those who had remained on the boat suddenly emerged from their state-rooms, wrapped in the drapery in which they had laid themselves down to sleep, and proceeded to give formal welcome to the entering party. Mr. Richardson addressed the Speaker in an amusing travestie of some familiar points in his own speeches. Mr. Colfax seized the joke, and replied *a la* Richardson with equal effectiveness. The whole scene and performance was picturesque, and amusing in the highest degree; and the cabin resounded with boisterous laughter from all sides.

“The next morning, we proceeded thirty or forty miles still farther up the river, till we had got beyond all traces of the collision of the stream with the mountain, and the scenery grew tame and common. Then we turned back, having reached a point two hundred and sixty miles above the mouth of the river, and retraced our passage through the mountains renewing our worship and our wonder before the strange and beauti-

ful effects produced by this piercing of these eternal hills by this majestic river of the West. * * *

"The navigation of the Columbia River is now in the hands of a strong and energetic company, that not only have the capacity to improve all its present opportunities, but the foresight to seek out and create new ones. They are, indeed, making new paths in the wilderness, and show more comprehension of the situation and purpose to develop it than any set of men I have yet met on the Pacific Coast. Organized in 1861, with property worth one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, they have now, with eighteen or twenty first class steamboats, the two railroads around the Cascades and The Dalles, and their appointments, warehouses at all the principal towns on the river, including one nine hundred and thirty-five feet long at Celilo, and real estate in preparation for future growth, a total property of rising two million dollars, all earned from their business. Besides this great increase of wealth from their own enterprise, they have paid to themselves in dividends three hundred and thirty-two thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. * * *

"So large have been the travel and trade in this direction in the last few years, that the Oregon Steam Navigation Company has carried to the Upper Country sixty thousand three hundred and twenty tons in the last four years, beginning with six thousand tons in 1862 and rising to nearly twenty-two thousand tons in 1864. In the same time, their boats have carried up and down on the river nearly one hundred thousand passengers, increasing from ten thousand in 1861 to thirty-six thousand in 1864."

It is assumed that the famous Umatilla House at the City of The Dalles was considered too lively (fleas) for the comfort of this distinguished party during the hours usually devoted to sleep, but the reason for their being taken to Celilo for the night may have been regard for their early morning nap, as will be understood from the following schedule of trains on the Portage Railroad, published under date of December 1st, 1866:

OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY—WINTER ARRANGEMENT

"Steamers Nez Perce, Chief, Webfoot, Tenino, Owyhee, Yakima, Spray and Okanogan; Captains E. F. Coe, C. C. Felton, J. H. D. Gray and Thos. J. Stump.

"One of the above boats will leave Celilo for Umatilla and Wallula on each Monday and Thursday and Saturday. The Passenger Trains to connect with steamers at Celilo will start from the Railroad Depot, Dalles City at 4:30 A. M., Returning, a steamer will leave Wallula . . . at 5 A. M. on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday.

"For Portland: Through in one day. Steamers Oneonta or Idaho; Capt. McNulty will leave Dalles daily (Sundays excepted) at 5 A. M., connecting by Cascade Railroad with Steamers New World, Cascade or Wilson G. Hunt; Capt. J. Wolf, Commander.

Frank T. Dodge,
Agent."

The Oregon Steam Navigation Company played a conspicuous and important part in the pioneer growth of the Inland Empire. It took much from the people but it rendered service when service was hard to render. It should be judged in the light of the conditions then existing and in the knowledge that corporate greed exists today in the same proportion that it did then. And while it is true, as stated in a "Brief History of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company" in the Oregon Historical Quarterly for June, 1904, that the members of the corporation "took every possible advantage of one of the most extraordinary opportunities that ever fell into the hands of men to amass fortunes for themselves," some of that gain has already come back to the people through direct and indirect benefactions: Reed College at Portland is the most notable instance. Any censure should be against the greed of the individual member rather than against the monopoly itself.

Mention of the heavy shipments over the Portage thus far has been with relation to up-river freight and it is well to record when the tide began to turn the other way, from the Interior to tide water. The first wheat to be sent out from the Walla Walla Valley was in the form of flour. The editor of the Dalles Mountaineer, on March 16th, 1867, wrote; "We have received a sample of bread made of Walla Walla flour at the City Bakery, and believe it to be of an extra quality." The papers of Walla Walla and The Dalles during the next two months bristle with protests against the rate of freight on flour from Wallula to The Dalles of \$17.50 per ton as against \$22.50 per ton on flour from Portland to Wallula; and "Cumtux" (J. M. Vansycle) then residing at Wallula, sent the following communication to the Walla Walla Statesman under date June 2nd, 1867: "By a little foresight of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company in putting down their charges on down frieght from this point trade has turned upon them, and where they heretofore had nothing to carry down they now have thousands of pounds of flour by every steamer. The road from Walla Walla to Wallula is literally lined with heavy freight teams, eight or ten yoke of cattle and four, six, eight and ten mule teams, all heavily loaded with flour are coming in every day. Two ten-mule teams are at present time unloading 20,000 pounds of flour alone. This is as it should be, but let me ask, how many pounds of flour would the steamer have to take down to The Dalles tomorrow had the Company stuck to their old price of \$17.50 per ton? Not a pound! But six dollars per ton gives teamsters something to do, gives our farmers and mill men a market, and puts money in the hands of the O. S. N. Co. Tomorrow's trip will give a clear gain to the company of at least \$300.00. It don't cost them one cent more to take down a three or five hundred dollar freight than it does to go down, as they have done heretofore—empty." Wheat itself began to be shipped in the fall of 1867.

For sixteen years, 1863-1879, this narrow gauge Portage railway from The Dalles to Celilo was operated by the Oregon

Steam Navigation Company, and its history is that of the larger company. For a time it was the longest stretch of railroad between the entire Pacific Northwest and Missouri River points, when passengers made use of the River to connect with the daily stages from Umatilla or Walla Walla for Boise, Salt Lake City and Council Bluffs or Saint Joe. After 1868 these stages connected with the Central Pacific Railroad at Kelton, Utah. It played a part in the efforts of the merchants of Portland to distribute their goods in far away Montana in competition with shipments from San Francisco by wagons over what was known as the "Chico Route." It furnished the rapid transit for bridal couples from Walla Walla and Lewiston, and it carried the families of the prosperous residents of the Inland Empire when they journeyed to the Seaside House or Grimes Hotel for a smell of the Pacific Ocean air in summer time. Much of keen interest incidental to travel and shipment over its rails might be gleaned from the written records of those years, did the limitations of this narrative permit.

Its legal identity was preserved; it was The Dalles and Celilo Railroad Company, and as such, was one of the corporations taken over by its successor, The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company in 1879, when Mr. Henry Villard and associates purchased the stock of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company at practically the price named by its owners. After that the Portage Road became the first link in railway construction to the Inland Empire. Grading on this construction began at Celilo the first week in August, 1880, and connection was made at Wallula with the Walla Walla & Columbia River Railway Company (the famous D. S. Baker road from Walla Walla to the River) on April 16-17, 1881. Connection of The Dalles with Portland by rail was not completed until October 3rd, 1882, when the last spike was driven at a point three hundred yards above Multnomah Falls. With the completion of the railroad steamboating upon the upper river was practically at an end, there being no independent portage between Celilo and The Dalles or at The Cascades.

During and following the days of activity on the Upper River it became necessary to transfer steamboats over the Falls and through The Dalles to the Middle River; and whenever attempted this has been accomplished successfully, though with great risk. The plan usually followed was that of running the falls and upper stretch of The Dalles during the extreme high water of June when the rock reef at the lower stretch of The Dalles acted as a dam and held the river back so as to submerge the upper obstructions, and of tying up at what was called the "mess house" there until lower water in September or October before running through the more tortuous and dangerous lower gorge. The upper Dalles (Ten-Mile Rapids) measure about 2500 feet in length, and the lower (Five-Mile Rapids) measure about 9500 feet in length.

The first boat to be brought down in this way was the OKANOGAN in the summer and fall of 1866. Capt. Thomas Stump was her commander, and the usual significance of his name is certainly in rather direct contrast with the speed of that initial and adventurous trip. In the year 1870 the Nez Perces Chief and the Shoshone were both brought over the Falls on the same day, June 28th, by Capt. Sebastian Miller, known as "Bass Miller" among the elect. This was rather tame sailing for him because he had earlier in the year piloted the Shoshone through the Box Canyon of the Snake River, that boat having been built by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company near old Fort Boise.

The next to go through was the largest boat of all, the Harvest Queen, of 200 feet length and 37 feet beam, and the entire distance was made during eleven days and was attended with some romance. It was made in mid-winter, Feb. 8th-18th, 1881, Capt. Jas. W. Troup being in the pilot house and Chief Engineer Peter DeHuff at the throttle. It was upon that occasion that Capt. Troup in a moment of either anxiety or rapture is said to have called down through the tube to his engineer; "Pete, if you love me back her, back her hard." This incident is not literally vouched for, however, either as

to language or occurrence. It happened that winter that one of the balmy breezes known as a "chinook" melted the snows on the mountains sufficiently to cause a very sudden and unusual rise of the River, which was the occasion for the sudden movement of the boat from Celilo to the "mess house." Then followed almost immediately the usual low water stage of water which permitted taking her through the Lower Dalles.

In 1888, June-September, inclusive, Capt. Troup piloted the steamer D. S. Baker through in the same manner; and now (May, 1915), Capt. Troup is a guest on the first boat to descend through the Dalles-Celilo Canal, so that it is possible for him to say that he has passed from the Upper to the Middle River by water three times, once in three months, again in eleven days, and again in two and a half hours.

It has been stated that at no time during the ascendancy of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company was any attempt made to construct a portage railroad on the north side of the Columbia around Celilo Falls and The Dalles. With the marvelous development in the production of grain in the Inland Empire and the increase in its population the River again began to be thought of as a means of transportation, and a very progressive gentleman named Paul Mohr, of Spokane, obtained title to points of land along the north bank with the purpose of again connecting the two parts of the river by rail portage. His first organization was called the Farmers' Railway Transportation and Steamboat Portage Company in the year 1885, consisting of two residents of Spokane and seven from Walla Walla, none of whom were horny-handed tillers of the soil, however. The Government Locks at the Cascades were then in process of construction and it was aimed to make use of these. One or two reorganizations followed, but without evidence of physical activity; the last was called The Columbia River Railway and Navigation Company and included capitalists from Chicago, New York and Boston. But in 1899 the project was revived and the Central Navigation and Construction Company (really the construction end

of the other company) was organized at Spokane, prominent capitalists there being associated with Mr. Mohr. Much grading was done and three steamboats were purchased or built, named the Frederick Billings, the Klickitat and the Umatilla, and plans were laid to transport the wheat crop of 1900. But in July of that year the Billings was wrecked, and with it any further progress of the Company ceased. According to the Oregonian of May 27th, 1892, about eight hundred thousand dollars was expended on the Mohr Projects, five hundred thousand before 1900 and three hundred thousand after. The right of way fell into the possession of the Northern Pacific Railway in July, 1902, and became the first graded portion of the North Bank Road of today.

But with this same increase in the wealth and production and population of the Inland Empire came the demand of the people for an open river to the ocean and the Open River Association came into being. In July, 1901, the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the National House of Representatives visited the River, under the chairmanship of Theodore E. Burton of Ohio. The verdict of Mr. Burton after this visit seemed to be that the opening of a way through the Dalles-Celilo Portage must wait until the bar at the mouth of the river had been permanently deepened. Largely as a protest against this decision and as an attempt to show in a practical way what an open river would mean the leaders in the Open River Association capitalized themselves to build and maintain steamer service on both the Upper and the Lower Rivers, and the State of Oregon erected a Portage Railroad from Celilo to Big Eddy at a cost of \$165,000.00, which amount had to be supplemented by public subscription and later by further appropriation by the State. This Portage Railroad was formally opened on June 3rd, 1905, and was operated until leased by the government engineers for use in the construction of the Canal which is now completed.

Commercially this enterprise did not measure up to expectations, and financially it was a loss to both the State of Oregon

and the individual investors; but it was of value in hastening the completion of the Canal and in opening the way to resumption of regular boat service on the Upper River.

Another chapter in the history of this particular stretch of the River will be written at some time in the future when its on-rushing waters shall have been harnessed and electric lamps of a million candle power shall reveal by night the beauty of the Falls and the swirling current of The Dalles. But even now in thought it is possible to hark back to the year 1803 when that far-seeing statesman, Thomas Jefferson, the President of the United States, sat at his table in Washington and in the dim light of the candles then in use with his own hand penned instructions to Capt. Meriwether Lewis, who was soon to explore a way to "communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce."

And while commercial expansion was the motive of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, President Jefferson in his wonderful letter was exceedingly minute in reference to information to be gathered as to the people, the flora, the geology, the natural history and the climate of the country to be passed through. Thus did culture go hand in hand with commerce in the first contemplation of the Columbia River region; and as participants in its present growth and achievements it is well that we do not forget to recall and retell the deeds and achievements of the past, and thus be true to our birthright.



Photo by Towne.

CELILO FALLS OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER
(The smaller or southerly fall)

ADDRESS OF WELCOME AT THE DALLES CELILO CANAL CELEBRATION, WALLULA, MAY 4th

By WILLIAM D. LYMAN.

Officials and representatives of the National and State governments, and fellow citizens of the Northwest, it is my honor to welcome you to this historic spot in the name of the people of the Walla Walla Valley; the valley of many waters, the location of the first American home west of the Rocky Mountains and the Mother of all the communities of the Inland Empire. On the spot where we stand the past, the present and the future join hands. Here passed unknown generations of aborigines on the way from the Walla Walla Valley to ascend or descend the Great River, to pass in to the Yakima country, or to move either direction to the berry patches or hunting grounds of the great mountains; here the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark paused to view the vast expanse of prairie before committing themselves to what they supposed to be the lower river; here flotillas of trappers made their rendezvous for scattering into their trapping fields and for making up their bateaux loads of furs for sending down the river. On this very spot was built the old Hudson's Bay fort, first known as Nez Perce, then as Walla Walla; here the immigrants of '43 gathered to build their rude boats on which a part of them cast themselves loose upon the impetuous current of the Columbia, while others re-equipped their wagon trains to drive along the banks to The Dalles. Each age that followed—the mining period, the cowboy period, the farming period—entered or left the Walla Walla Valley at this very point. Here the first steamboats blew their jubilant blasts to echo from those basaltic ramparts, and here the toot of the first railway in the Inland Empire startled the coyotes and jackrabbits from their coverts of sage brush. Wheresoever we turn history sits enthroned. Every piece of rock from yonder

twin cliffs to the pebbles on the beach fairly quivers with the breath of the past, and even the sagebrush, moved by the gentle Wallula zephyr, exhales the fragrance of the dead leaves of history.

But if the past is in evidence here, much more the present stalks triumphant. Look at the cities by which this series of celebrations will be marshalled and the welcomes that will be given to the flotilla of steamers all the way from Lewiston to Astoria. Consider the population of the lands upon the river and its affluents, nearly a million people, where during the days of old Fort Walla Walla the only white people were the officers and trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

But if the present reigns here proudly triumphant over the past, what must we say of the future? How does that future tower! Where now are the hundreds, there will be the thousands. Where now are the villages, will be stately cities. We would not for a moment speak disrespectfully of the steamers that will compose this fleet by the time it reaches Portland, but we may expect that after all they will be a mere bunch of scows in comparison with the floating palaces that will move in the future up and down the majestic stream.

Therefore, fellow citizens of the Northwest and representatives of the National government, I bid you a three-fold welcome in the name of past, present and future. And I welcome you also in the name of the commingling of waters now passing by us. While this is indeed Washington land on either side of the River, this is not Washington's river. This shore on which we stand is washed by the turbid water of Snake River, rising in Wyoming and flowing five hundred miles through Idaho and then forming the boundary between Idaho and Oregon before it surrenders itself to the State of Washington. And, as many of you have seen, half way across this flood of waters we pass from the turbid coloring of the Snake to the clear blue of the great northern branch issuing from the glaciers of the Selkirks and the Canadian Rockies nearly a thousand miles away, augmented by the torrents of

the Kootenai, the Pend d'Oreille, the Coeur d'Alene and Spokane, draining the lakes, the snow banks, the valleys and the mountains of Montana and Idaho. And two or three miles below us this edge of the River touches the soil of Oregon, to follow it henceforth to the Pacific. This is surely a joint ownership proposition. And, moreover, this very occasion which draws us together, this great event of the opening of the Celilo Canal, is made possible because Uncle Sam devoted five millions of dollars to blasting a channel through those rocky barriers down there on the river bank. It is a National, not simply a Northwest affair.

But while we are thus welcoming and celebrating and felicitating and anticipating, we may well ask ourselves what is after all the large and permanent significance of this event. I find two special meanings in it, one commercial and industrial, the other patriotic and political. First, it is the establishment of water transportation and water power in the Columbia Basin on a scale never before known. Do we yet comprehend what this may mean to us and our descendants in this vast and productive land? It has been proved over and over again in both Europe and the United States, that the cost of freightage by water is but a fraction, a fifth, a tenth, or sometimes even but a fifteenth, of that by land; but, note, this is under certain conditions. What are those conditions? They are that the water ways be deep enough for a large boat and long enough for continuous long runs. The average freight rate by rail in the United States is 7.32 mills per ton per mile. By the Great Lakes or the Mississippi River it is but one-tenth as much. Freight has in fact been transported from Pittsburgh to New Orleans for half a mill a ton a mile, or only a fifteenth. Hitherto, on account of the break in continuity in the Columbia at Celilo, we have not been able to realize the benefits of waterway transportation. The great event which we are now celebrating confers upon us at one stroke those benefits. Not only are the possibilities of transportation tremendous upon our river, but parallel with them run the

possibilities of water power. It has been estimated that a fourth of all the water power of the United States is found upon the Columbia and its tributaries. By one stroke the canalization of rivers creates the potentialities of navigation, irrigation and mechanical power to a degree beyond computation. Our next great step must be the canalization of Snake River, and that process at another great stroke will open the river to continuous navigation from a point a hundred miles above Lewiston to the ocean, over six hundred miles away. Then in logical sequence will follow the opening of the Columbia to the British line, and the Canadian government stands ready to complete that work above the boundary until we may anticipate a thousand miles of unbroken navigation down our "Achilles of Rivers" to the Pacific. Until this great work at Celilo was accomplished we could not feel confidence that the ultimate end of continuous navigation was in sight. Now we feel that it is assured, the most necessary stage is accomplished. It is only a question of time now till the River will be completely opened from Windemere to the Ocean. We welcome you, therefore, again on this occasion in the name of an assured accomplishment.

The second phase of this great accomplishment which especially appeals to me now is the character of nationality and even of inter-nationality which belongs to it. While this is a work that peculiarly interests us of the Northwestern states, yet it has been performed by the National Government. Uncle Sam is the owner of the Celilo Canal. It belongs to the American people. Each one of us owns about a ninety millionth of it and has the same right to use it that every other has. This suggests the unity, the inter-state sympathy and interdependence, which is one of the great growing facts of our American system. In this time of crime and insanity in Europe, due primarily to the mutual petty jealousies of races and boundaries, it is a consolation to see vision and rationality enough in our own country to disregard petty lines and join in enterprises which will conduce to the general weal. This Celilo

achievement is one of that large class of facts which encourage us in the hope of a rational future for humanity. It is a lesson in the get-together-spirit. Every farm, every community, every town, every city from the top of the Rocky Mountains and from the northern boundary to Astoria shakes hands with every other on this day. And not only so but every state in the Union joins in the glad tribute in something of common national interest. But while we recognize the significance of this event in connection with inter-state unity we must note also that the Columbia is an inter-national river. It is in fact, the only river of large size which we possess in common with our sister country, Canada. About half of it is in each country. Its navigability through the Canadian section has already been taken up energetically by the Canadian Government. Think of the unique and splendid scenic route that will sometime be offered when great steamboats can go from Revelstoke to Astoria, a thousand miles. Scenically and commercially our River will be in a class by itself.

Such are some of the glowing visions which rise before our eyes in the welcome with which we of the Walla Walla Valley greet you. I began by a three-fold welcome in the name of the past, present and future. I venture to close in the name of the native sons and daughters of Old Oregon. There are many of these within the sound of my voice. Perhaps to such sons and daughters a few lines to our Mother Oregon may come with the touch of sacred memory. Let me explain that Old Oregon includes Washington and Idaho, and when I use the name "our Mother Oregon" I include our entire Northwest:

Where is the land of rivers and fountains,
Of deep shadowed valleys and sky-scaling mountains?
 'Tis Oregon, our Oregon.

Where is the home of the apple and rose,
Where the wild currant blooms and the hazel-nut grows?
 'Tis Oregon, bright Oregon.

Where are the crags whence the glaciers flow,
And the forests of fir where the south winds blow?
 In Oregon, grand Oregon.

Where sleep the old heroes who liberty sought,
And where live their free sons whom they liberty taught?
In Oregon, free Oregon.

What is the lure of this far western land,
When she beckons to all with her welcoming hand?
It is the hand of Oregon.

Oh, Oregon, blest Oregon,
Dear Mother of the heart;
At touch of thee all troubles flee
And tears of gladness start.

Take thou thy children to thy breast,
True keeper of our ways,
And let thy starry eyes still shine
On all our coming days,
Our Mother Oregon.

STORY OF THE RIVER—ITS PLACE IN NORTHWEST HISTORY

By HENRY L. TALKINGTON.

“Where rolls the Oregon” (the Columbia) is a query raised by a great American poet nearly a century ago, and the question today remains only partially answered. Two countries—Canada and the United States—and seven states,—Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah and Nevada,—are the sources of this mighty river and its various tributaries. The Columbia basin has a watershed of 250,000 square miles, embracing most of Oregon and Washington, all of Idaho, and parts of the other four states just mentioned.

At the close of the American Revolution England sought to crush the commercial energies of the American Republic. While she drove the traders of this country from the Eastern shores and the Great Lakes, their restless activities found new fields on the Pacific Coast and in the trade with China.

DISCOVERY OF THE COLUMBIA.

To develop this trade some Boston merchants in 1787 sent out two trading ships. One of these was commanded by Captain Robert Gray. In the summer of 1792 as he was sailing along the Coast, a little north of the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, he on the 11th of May entered the mouth of the great river which today becomes of so much commercial importance to this Northwestern country. He sailed up the river about thirty miles, giving it the name of his ship. He thought the river might be navigable for fifty miles, but today, a little more than a century afterwards, there are in the harbors of Lewiston boats which have navigated the river ten times that distance, and it is to be hoped that at no distant day the river may become navigable for many miles more.

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION.

It was a law among nations that that nation which discovered the mouth of a river thereby came into possession of all the country drained by it and its tributaries. But little was done to maintain this claim by the United States for many years after its discovery.

In 1804-5 the Lewis and Clark expedition was organized. It has been characterized as "the most hazardous and most significant journey ever made on the Western continent—a journey that rivalled in daring and excels in importance the expedition of Stanley and Livingstone in the wilds of Africa—a journey that is related to the greatest real estate transaction ever recorded in history and gave to the world riches beyond comprehension—and was piloted by a woman—Sacajawea.

"It was an epoch-making journey; a journey that moved the world along; that pushed the boundaries of the United States from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific; that gave us the breadth of the hemisphere from ocean to ocean; the wealth of its mountains and plains and valleys—a domain vast and rich enough for the ambition of kings."

THE FUR TRADING ERA.

This nation has been noted for its citizens of vision in every walk of life, science, philanthropy, religion, invention, education, and commerce can all point to names of American citizens renowned for their great work wherever civilization has gone.

Few of these exceeded in their far-sightedness John Jacob Astor. He conceived a plan for fur-trading far more reaching in its scope than any thought of up to that time. His scheme embraced a line of forts and posts reaching from Saint Louis to the mouth of the Columbia, embracing all the tributaries of that river as well as those of the Missouri, but his conception meant more than a transcontinental fur-trading route; it was to include a sea route to the Orient as well.

To carry out this idea a central post was established at Astoria as a supply point for the Pacific Coast trade, while Saint Louis or New Orleans would serve as a base of operations at the other end of the line.

But Astor's great enterprise was short lived. The war of 1812 came, with its menaces. Disasters befell in relations with the Indians, and his competitor, the North-West Company stood ready to take over his affairs.

But the debt which the people of the Northwest owe to his British successors is quite as great as that which they would have owed to Astor himself had he continued in business.

The fur trader mapped out regular routes and at regular intervals located posts consisting of store, as well as block houses, all of which were surrounded by palisades. These palisades included about one hundred yards square and were made of logs sunk into the ground eighteen inches or two feet, and rising some fifteen or twenty feet above it. Watch towers were erected at opposite corners. In these were maintained two to six guns, four to six pounders. Every one entering the gates was first examined by the keeper and only one at a time was admitted. Here was kept the merchandise needed by the trapper in his work as well as in trade with the Indians. Here were also stored the bales of furs until ready for shipment to some central point.

Some of the more noted of these forts were Fort Hall near Pocatello, Fort Boise near the mouth of that river, Fort Colville north of Spokane, Fort Walla Walla, now Wallula, and Fort Vancouver, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The fur traders were our nation's first great topographers. There is not a river, a creek or a branch which they did not ascend and descend repeatedly—not a mountain, a range, a hogback or a hill which they did not cross—not a pass which they did not find, a wilderness which they did not penetrate, or a desert which they did not cross.

The fur trader with his Indian wife and half-breed children did much to prepare the Indian for the coming of the white man. Peter Skene Ogden's ransom of the survivors of the Whitman Massacre, and McLoughlin's noble benefices to the early missionaries, and early immigrants, have few parallels in the world's history.

THE ERA OF MISSIONS.

In 1830 the whole of the Oregon country was inhabited by roaming bands of Indians who were continually at war with each other. The story of the four Flathead Indians and their trip to Saint Louis in search of the white man's Bible is too well known to need mention here. Sufficient is it to say that the Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley near Salem, Oregon, the Whitman Mission near Walla Walla, the Spalding Mission at Spalding, ten miles east of Lewiston, and the Saint Mary's Mission near Coeur d'Alene, were all established in response to that request.

Space will not permit of speaking in detail of all of these missions; only the Spalding and the Saint Mary's, or as it is sometimes termed, the DeSmet Mission, will be noticed, as the others will doubtless receive due consideration by those in the vicinity of their location.

The Spaldings were met at Fort Walla Walla by a delegation of the Nez Percés, who took them to the site of their future work. They arrived in November and began life in a tepee, where they remained until the January following, when a little log house had been constructed. Later a larger building used for church and school was erected.

While the work of the Spaldings was primarily religious yet they taught the Indians all the arts of civilization. Spalding began by teaching the men how to sow, cultivate, reap, thresh and grind grain, as well as to raise other food products and livestock. Mrs. Spalding taught the women how to carve, spin and weave cloth, and make clothes; how to cook and keep house, care for the sick, etc.

The Indians made rapid progress in all of the white men's ways even to his sharp practices. As an illustration of this, when Spalding had by infinite toil and patience quarried the stones which he shaped into the burrs for his grist mill, to be used in grinding the Indians' corn, the Indian wanted Mr. Spalding to pay for the stones.

The missionaries soon learned the Indian language and the *first printing press west of the Rocky Mountains was brought here by Mr. Spalding to be used in translating some of the books of the New Testament into the Nez Perce language. Mrs. Spalding drew readily and she illustrated many scenes of the Bible in this way. The mission grew in power and numbers until the Whitman massacre when it was abandoned for about twenty-five years.

The Spaldings lie buried in a little cemetery within a few rods of where they began their work. Considered from a material standpoint, not a vestige of their work remains. The printing press is held by the Oregon Historical Society. The old mill stones are in the rooms of our State Historical Society. The fences which enclosed the farm have long since fallen into decay. The houses and other buildings are in ruins, but the good which these noble missionaries did will shine out in the lives of the Nez Perce Indians until the end of time.

Another Christian to answer the Macedonian cry for help was Father DeSmet, a Jesuit priest stationed at Council Bluffs when the Flatheads previously mentioned were on their way east. In 1840 he left Westport, Missouri, for the Flathead country. He went with a fur trading party which was met at Green River, Wyoming, by a band of Indians. On Sunday, July 5th, mass was celebrated and an altar was erected on an elevated place and decorated with the boughs of the cottonwood and fresh flowers of the plains.

From here DeSmet was escorted by a party of Flatheads to their country, when he was met by a band of sixteen hundred Indians at Pierre's Hole, some of whom had come eight hundred miles and were from Northern Idaho. The Sunday after his

*See note on page 195

arrival he taught them the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and within two months six hundred were baptized. But this restless priest went on into Western Montana to the Bitter Root country where he established a mission, and in 1842 he established another mission in Northern Idaho, which he called Saint Mary's and where today remains an old building erected in connection with this mission.

A recent writer in speaking of the Coeur d'Alenes says there is no record of their ever having violated any treaty made by them with our government or of their being at any time unfriendly with the whites.

With the exception of the War of 1878, when Chief Joseph was the leader of the Nez Percés, these Indians, too, have kept the faith with our national government, and their friendship with the whites.

, DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN NORTH IDAHO.

In the spring of 1860 E. D. Pierce, a trader, discovered gold on Orofino Creek near where it empties into the Clearwater. An account of the discovery was soon known at Walla Walla. From there it was passed to The Dalles and on to Portland and San Francisco. Thousands rushed to the new mines and soon prospectors were to be found on every tributary of the Clearwater and Salmon rivers. Rich mines were discovered at places afterwards known as Pierce City, Elk City, Florence and Warren. The miners crossed over the mountains to the south and the famous placer mines of the Boise Basin were soon yielding up their millions, to the miner's pan, the rocker, the "Long Tom" and the sluice box. Fabulous sums were taken out in an incredibly short time. A man named Misener rocked out eighty thousand dollars in six weeks, and another man thirty-six thousand dollars with little effort. The accounts of these rich mines soon brought many to central and northern Idaho.

THE COMING OF THE "COLONEL WRIGHT," COMMANDED BY
LEONARD WHITE, WITH E. W. BAUGHMAN
AS MATE AND PILOT.

Some one has described these early days as the coming and going of thousands of miners. They at first all came up the Snake river. The steamboat was the most practicable method of taking care of this new transportation of both men and freight. Former Governor of Washington, George E. Cole, thus describes the trip of the first steamboat to Lewiston:

"In the spring of 1861 the *Colonel Wright*, the first steamer navigating the Columbia river above The Dalles, left Celilo on a trip to ascertain the practicability of navigating the Snake and Clearwater rivers, so as to transport freight and passengers as near as possible to the newly discovered mines of Oro Fino. Captain Len White, an experienced pilot of the upper Willamette river, was in charge of the boat. He had previously gone from Wallula via Walla Walla to the mouth of the Clearwater, and procuring a skiff, he went down the Snake river to its mouth and thence to Wallula.

"Living at Walla Walla at the time, and having a short time before made a trip by land to the mines, I was requested by Captain White, who had previously been in my employ as pilot on the Willamette river, to meet the "Colonel Wright" at Wallula and make the contemplated trip with him. I went aboard the boat at that point. Quite a number of passengers from Portland and some freight were on board. Among them I recall the names of Captain Ankeny, Lappeus, McMillan, Slater and Vic. Trevitt of The Dalles. The first day we reached the foot of Palouse rapids. On the following day we entered the Clearwater and tied up at a point near the mouth of the Lapwai for the night.

"Making the big eddy in the morning, we encountered much difficulty and made slow progress. It was necessary to get out a long line with which the boat had been provided. The passengers and the boat's crew attempted to propel the

boat farther up the stream, as the desire was to get as near the mines as possible and select a point for debarkation, hoping to make the forks of the Clearwater, which were about 40 miles from the new El Dorado.

"Failing in this and not finding a suitable landing spot, we returned to one we had passed and landed the passengers and freight. Slater put up his tent and opened a store, which we called Slaterville.

FOUNDING OF LEWISTON.

"It was soon seen that the Clearwater was not practicable for navigation, and that its junction with the Snake river was the logical location for a town to supply the mines in the inland country. The steamboat "Tenino," a new and more powerful boat than the "Colonel Wright," came up on the second trip and landed its cargo at the place above mentioned. There were on board, among others, the following persons, who agreed upon a name for the new town: George E. Cole, Vic Trevitt, manager of Ladd & Company's store, John Silcott, ———Carr, Doctor ——— Buker, Tom Beall, Captain Ainsworth, Captain E. W. Baughman, Colonel Lyle and Lawrence Coe, the last three being owners in the transportation company. The names Lewisville and Lewistown were suggested but finally they agreed on the present name, Lewiston.

"But the site selected was on an Indian reservation and permission would have to be obtained before any settlement could be made. The services of Colonel Craig, who had a Nez Perce woman for a wife and who lived a few miles away, and Doctor Newell, who also had a Nez Perce wife, were enlisted to obtain the desired lease, so a temporary lease was obtained and the town begun.

"At first it was a city of tents, and its population often reached 7,000 or 8,000, but of so shifting and transient a nature that it is hard to strike an average. However, as time went on permanent buildings were gradually erected, among the first being the old Luna House, a famous hotel of those days, which

supplied the members of the first and second territorial legislature with a home and later became the courthouse of Nez Perce county."

THE PACK TRAIN.

Lewiston became the commercial center for supplying the new mines of North Idaho as well as Montana, with provisions and mining equipment. In a new country, without roads or means of transportation, the pack train was a logical necessity and Lewiston was the logical center from which to operate.

The old packers' sheds from which these trains started were located where now are the book store of Thatcher & Kling and the Lewiston Hardware Company. Hundreds of these trains wended their way annually to Pierce and Elk City, Florence and Warren, and even to the towns of Western Montana.

THE STAGE COACH.

Freight wagons were too slow and pack trains impracticable to provide means for safely carrying passengers into the mines or the gold from them, so the stage coach came here as elsewhere at the proper time. While these coaches are familiar to many in attendance, yet others may not have seen them. The following description is given:

"They were jaunty enough in their day, with their cavernous bodies extended behind into a platform or boot for the reception of baggage, and were built high up in front to furnish a throne for the driver, who needed a high seat not only that he might keep a better lookout for the Indians and road agents, but also that he might the better supervise the six horses bounding along under his skilful management. They were not uncomfortable, those old coaches, for the bodies swung on great leather straps which softened the jolt and gave a gentle swaying motion to the heavy contrivance."

THE EMIGRANT WAGON.

This historic vehicle has been doing duty since the settlements were first made on the Atlantic Coast. It has served the pioneer in his following the course of empire westward. Sometimes it has been alone and sometimes it has been one of the thousand, but it has always meant the same; the coming of families and the permanent settlement of the country. So it was when the wagons began to come into the Palouse country, the Camas and the Nez Perce Prairies. It marked the close of the transient man and the beginning of the permanent settler.

IDAHO TERRITORY ORGANIZED AND LEWISTON MADE THE FIRST
CAPITOL

The Champoege Convention of May 2, 1843, passed the Declaration of Independence for the Oregon country. "When the vote was about to be taken, George W. LeBreton, believing there was a fair chance for the adoption of the report of the committee, said: 'We can risk it—let us divide and count.' As quick as tongue could utter the words, William H. Gray emphasized the proposition by saying with great animation, 'I second the motion.' Jo. Meek thundered out with an earnestness not less than that he would manifest in an attack upon a grizzly bear—"Who's for a divide?" and as he stepped quickly and nervously in front of the settlers, he added in a voice that rang clear out as though it was the death knell to anarchy, 'All for the report of the committee and organization will follow me.' This move was sudden and quite unexpected at that stage of the proceedings, and it was electrical in its effect. Americans followed the patriotic and large-hearted trapper and his Rocky Mountain companions and their allies, and they counted fifty-two, while their adversaries numbered but fifty. Then in the 'three cheers for our side,' proposed by Meek, there went up such a shout as Champoege never heard before and never will again."

In June, 1846, a little more than three years after the convention above named, Great Britain and the United States

compromised on parallel 49 degrees north latitude. All the territory gained by the latter was organized into a territory called Oregon in 1848. Five years later this territory was again divided, the northern half forming the Territory of Washington, and ten years later the eastern part of both of these territories as well as that of Montana, Wyoming and the western parts of North and South Dakota, and Nebraska were organized into a Territory called Idaho.

The familiar tradition as to the origin and meaning of the name "Idaho" is natural and plausible, but so far as is known there is no authentic evidence to support it. The Indian word supposed to mean "gem of the mountains" has never been found, but whether fact or fiction the explanation will have to serve at present for lack of anything more satisfactory.

Section 12 of the Organic Act provided: "The legislative assembly of the Territory of Idaho shall hold its first session at such time and place in said Territory as the Governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the governor and legislative assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said Territory at such place as they may deem eligible."

Governor W. H. Wallace named Lewiston as the first place of meeting and here were held the first and second sessions of the legislature. At the latter the location of the capital was changed to Boise where it has since remained.

THE SURVIVORS OF THE NEZ PERCE INDIAN WAR.

Time has thinned the ranks of the veterans of the War of 1878 but in nowise dimmed the lustre of their heroic deeds. We who today are numbered by the thousands and living in thickly settled communities, towns and cities, in the presence of the telegraph, telephone and the railroad, have little conception of what that Indian war meant: Few people, widely scattered, over a hundred miles to the nearest army post, which

could be reached only by courier; a strong tribe of Indians led by the greatest Indian warrior known in history—Chief Joseph.

The little rifle pit near our city library and the location of the old stockade at Mount Idaho are about the only grim reminders of those stirring times, but only the few survivors can tell us of the brave deeds of the brave men and equally brave women who participated in that conflict. History has recorded little.

THE CELILO CANAL.

On October 12, 1877, the Secretary of War approved of a plan for a canal and locks on the Columbia River where it passes through the Cascade Range. This project was completed and opened for navigation in 1896, but this did not aid very materially in up-river navigation, as it was obstructed again at The Dalles-Celilo, 45 miles further east. The latter project has begun by an Act of Congress of March 3, 1905, and has just been completed. The original act provided for a canal about eight and one-half miles long, with four locks 250 feet long and 40 feet wide, with a depth of seven feet over miter sills. The plan, however, was subsequently changed, making the depth eight feet, the width sixty-five, the length of locks 300, with a width of forty-five feet (50 feet for Ten-Mile Lock). The canal has a lift from the lower river to that above the falls of 81 feet, this elevation being overcome by the locks.

WHAT THE COUNTRY MAY MEAN TO THE OPEN RIVER.

There are eight counties, three in Washington and five in Idaho, tributary to the headwaters of navigation. At present these counties are served by four railroads, and the upper Snake, all leading to this section.

The Northern Pacific runs through Whitman and Latah counties, the one the largest grain-producing county in Washington, the other one of the largest in Idaho.

The Stites road runs up the Clearwater, passing through the county of the same name. This road by its proposed branches and the rafting possibilities of the northern tributaries of the Clearwater will be in touch with one of the largest bodies of standing white pine in the United States. It is estimated that there are thirty billion feet of standing timber tributary to the Northern Pacific, and its Stites branch.

The Camas Prairie road serves parts of Nez Perce and Lewis counties, and all of Idaho, the greatest grain producing section of this state. It is also connected by branch line with Winchester, the home of the Craig Mountain Lumber Company, with a mill of a capacity of 100,000 feet a day.

The Nez Perce & Idaho road (Johnson road) starting from Lewiston and terminating at Nez Perce, the county seat of Lewis county, serves the Tammany section at this end of the line and Lewis county at the other, while there is an area of about 5,000 square miles on Craig Mountain intervening. When this is opened up it will throw on the market a large body of standing timber as well as some of the finest farming and stock-raising country in Central Idaho.

Upper Snake river serves the famous Salmon and Grand Ronde rivers' stock countries, as well as the mines, timber, etc.

But this is the day of good roads. (Lewiston is located on both the Idaho and Washington Highways.) The auto, the jitney bus, the gasoline truck, and hundreds of passengers and thousands of tons of freight will reach the river by these means. It is estimated in the eight counties above mentioned that there are grown annually about 16,000,000 bushels of wheat, about 5,250,000 bushels of barley, 5,750,000 bushels of oats, and about 20,000 tons of hay. There are in this section also about 100,000 head of cattle, 75,000 horses, and 150,000 head of sheep, and many hogs. There are also located in this section two of the largest sawmills in the United States and hundreds of smaller ones, besides many and various other interests. Just what this may mean in dollars and cents each one can estimate for himself by examining the following traffic tables, the one representing the rates to Portland by rail and the other by water.

Per 100 lbs. on less than carload lots :

Classes of

Freight	1	2	3	4	5	A	B	C	D	E
By rail . . .	1.03	.88	.72	.62	.52	.52	.41	.31	.26	.21
By boat . . .	.90	.80	.65	.55	.35	.45	.40	.35	.30	.25

Carload rates per 100 lbs.—

	Rail	Boat
Grain	\$0.17	\$0.15
Potatoes . . . . .	.17	.15
Salt . . . . .	.36	.17½
Hay . . . . .	.19¼	.15
Lime (min. 5 tons) . . . . .	.26	.22½

As an illustration of some articles that come in the different classes the following are cited :

	Rail	Boat
Soap, 4th class	\$0.62	\$0.55
Beans, 3d class . . . . .	.72	.65
Cheese, 2d class . . . . .	.88	.80
Furniture, 1st class	1.03	.90
Wool, sacks or bales . . . . .	.88	.35
Sugar, C-1 . . . . .	.62	.34½
Passenger fare, one way, Lewiston to Portland	10.65	4.00

WHAT THE OPEN RIVER MEANS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE LEWISTON REGION

It means first an open door to the markets of the world—a cargo loaded on board a ship on the open river may, with one change, go to any port in the world; grain and flour may be shipped to Europe or the Orient; lumber may be sent to South America or South Africa; fruit and livestock, wherever there is a demand for them, and the Atlantic Coast markets of the United States will be open to any of the products of this section. In the second place, the open river will mean terminal rates. Lewiston, at the headwaters of navigation, ought to secure as

low a rate from Eastern points as Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma or Portland. This handicap so long borne by the people of this country, should cease as the wholesale centers will no longer be controlled by transcontinental railway traffic agreements—the river and the sea cannot be pooled.

What the open river will mean to the individual will depend on how wisely and well he adjusts himself to the larger commercial and civic unit which the opening of this river brings.

NOTE.—The Missions alluded to by Prof. Talkington on pages 184-185 were established as follows: The Methodist Mission, Rev. Jason Lee, Superintendent, about ten miles north of Salem, on the bank of the Willamette River, October, 1834. The Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (this Board was organized by Congregationalists in 1810, but received aid from Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches from 1826 to 1845), with Dr. Marcus Whitman in charge, assisted by Rev. H. H. Spalding, located one station at Wai-al-at-pu, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, Washington, October, 1836, afterwards known as the Whitman Mission, and another station at Lapwai, commonly known as the Spalding Mission, in the same month. The printing press spoken of was sent to Dr. Whitman by the native church of Honolulu, organized by the American Board Mission there, and by him sent to Mr. Spalding. It was first used on May 18, 1839, by Edward O. Hall, a printer, who was sent with the press to Oregon from Honolulu, in printing in the Nez Perce language the Gospel of Matthew, hymns, primers, etc., translated by Mrs. Spalding, Edward Rogers and Mrs. Whitman. After the Whitman Massacre, November 20-30, 1847, this press was sent to The Dalles. Early in 1848 it was sent to Rev. John S. Griffin, Hillsboro, Oregon, a brother-in-law of Mr. Spalding, who used it that year in issuing a monthly publication for eight months. In May, 1875, the press was presented by Mr. Griffin through J. Quinn Thornton to the State of Oregon, and by authority of the State officials transferred to the Oregon Historical Society in January, 1900.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary.

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH N. TEAL AT DEDICATORY
EXERCISES ON THE FORMAL OPENING OF
THE OREGON CITY LOCKS AND CANAL
AT OREGON CITY, MAY 6, 1915

While deeply sensible of the honor conferred on me by the invitation to address you on this occasion, I am conscious of the fact that I am called on to speak rather in recognition of the work of my father and other pioneers than because of anything I myself have done. Not only was my father an active participant in the work of opening the Willamette River, but my father-in-law, the late David P. Thompson, who long claimed Oregon City as his home, was a co-worker in this cause. If therefore my talk trends somewhat to personal reminiscences, I trust that for once the seeming breach of propriety will be condoned.

On the first of January, forty-two years ago, the gates of the Willamette locks first swung ajar to permit the entrance and passage of a steamer from the lower to the upper river. To the Willamette Valley, which then represented the state to a much greater degree than it does now, it was a momentous event. From time immemorial the falls had presented an unsurmountable obstacle to through navigation, and here, as at Celilo, the control of the portage carried with it the power to levy tribute. Since the producers were dependent very largely on the river for their means of transportation, the toll directly and indirectly levied was a serious burden.

As history seems to be more or less a repetition of what has gone before, we find in this instance, as in later days, an early demand for the clearing of obstructions in the river. Hence we are not surprised at learning that at a meeting held in Eugene on October 6th, 1855, at which my father acted as chairman, strong resolutions were adopted looking to the improvement of the Willamette River, where navigation of the river had been active for many years. In 1857 my father, who was then engaged in business at Eugene, chartered and

loaded the steamer "James Clinton," the first boat to ascend the Willamette that far. For one reason or another, however, it was not until about the year 1872 that work was actually begun on the locks and canal whose freeing from tolls we are celebrating today.

It was a long, long way to Washington in those days and the pioneers of Oregon were a very self-reliant, independent sort. They were a type of men fitted to found a commonwealth remote from civilization and surrounded by every danger. They endured every hardship and surmounted every obstacle borne or met by the pioneers of any land. Too often their reward has been that of the pioneer of every place and all times—discomfort and hardships during life in order that the way might be the easier for those who were to follow them. Well may we be proud of the Oregon pioneer, for the time will come when the early history of Oregon will read like a romance. The time will come when the labor and trials of these men will be known and appreciated; and generations yet unborn will do homage to those who, far removed from friends and kindred, carried the flag they loved to the land of the setting sun and laid deep and broad the foundation of this commonwealth. The federal government, then as now, had control of the navigable waters of the country, and was aiding to a limited extent only in the improvement of rivers and harbors. But, though Oregon was far away from the seat of power, this fact did not deter the men of those days from acting. While a great undertaking for those times, it was resolved that the falls at Oregon City should not continue forever as an obstruction to the free movement of commerce. In 1868 the Willamette Falls & Lock Co. was incorporated for the purpose of constructing a canal around the falls. In 1871, supplemental articles were filed authorizing the company to operate steamboats. The control of this company passed to Bernard Goldsmith, Col. James K. Kelly, Capt. John F. Miller, David P. Thompson, Judge Orlando Humason and Joseph Teal, and this company with some state aid built the canal and

locks whose acquisition by the general government and freeing from tolls this gathering is commemorating today. I have not time to go into the details of the history of construction. I was but a boy, but as my father was a most active participant in everything connected with the building of the locks; and as he would not go very far out of his way to keep out of a fight, there was something doing most of the time. I remember very distinctly hearing of the seemingly unsurmountable obstacles that beset the enterprise one after another, and which made the completion of the work on time appear an impossibility. Some of these hindrances were inevitable in a work of this character while others were carefully planned by some who for one reason or another hoped to delay if not prevent the final completion of the locks and canal. During this period Ben Holladay was building a railroad up the Willamette Valley, and was a powerful factor in the state both in politics and business. As was but natural he did not look with favor on the completion of the locks. Politics were politics then, and politics entered into everything. Under the law the locks had to be completed by January 1st, 1873, and their completion would be marked by the passage of a steamer through them. A bond of \$300,000 had been given that the work would be completed by the date mentioned. Col. Isaac W. Smith was the chief engineer in charge. My father has stated that the work was done in nine working months, at a cost of about \$450,000, and that not a life was lost during construction. The eventful January 1st was approaching. A steamer was sought to make the trip. For some mysterious reason, through some occult influence, none could be secured. It seemed that at last the promoters of this enterprise were cornered, and that a lesson would be taught that would be remembered by any one who dared dispute the supremacy of the river with those in control. Finally, however, as a forlorn hope, the little Maria Wilkins, only 76 feet 5 inches long and 17 feet 5 inches beam, was secured, and on January 1st, 1873, she started from Portland for Oregon City. The following were among the invited

guests: Governor L. F. Grover, Ex-Governor John Whiteaker, Major Philip Wasserman, Henry Failing, George R. Helm, Col. B. B. Taylor, Harvey W. Scott, Jacob Kamm, Lloyd Brooke, Capt. Chas. Holman, Capt. Jos. Kellogg, Capt. Chas. Kellogg, J. H. Hayden, Geo. T. Myers, John Marshall, S. B. Parrish, Bernard Goldsmith, my father, and other officers of the company. My father acted as host, and from what I have been told the guests suffered neither hunger or thirst. On reaching Clackamas Rapids it seemed as though it would be impossible for the little boat to surmount them. Try as it would, there it hung, until as luck would have it a strong gust of wind added just the necessary aid to push it over and victory was in sight. Oregon City was soon reached. Mayor Walker, Charles E. Warner, F. O. McCown, and others were taken aboard. The river was crossed, the lock gates opened and closed, the Maria Wilkins passed safely through, and the deed was done; and since that day, more than forty-two years ago, the gates of the locks have swung back and forth as the steamers moved to and from the upper and lower river.

With the opening of the locks freights dropped fifty per cent almost at once. Boats were built, and the hey-dey of steamboating on the Willamette was in full swing. Wheat was taken for the first time direct from the Willamette Valley to Astoria and there loaded in ships for Europe. But here again we find the pioneer did not reap the practical reward of his work. We will not dwell on this side of the subject, for after all the real reward and satisfaction in our work cannot be measured in money. Nor should the lesson we draw from this story be anything of a sordid nature. It is the spirit of our forefathers that we should emulate, and in which we should glory. Fortunes come and fortunes go; but real service for others, service for our state, brings a reward and satisfaction that money can neither purchase nor measure. Today there is as much to do, and in as many directions, as there was forty or fifty years ago. There are more to do it, there is more to do it with; but I sometimes fear the old spirit of

self-reliance is leaving us, and that dependence on others for help and aid is beginning to be something of a habit. We have a state of splendid and varied resources, but God has so willed it, and fortunately, too, that these resources cannot be properly developed or utilized without work—hard work—work of the brain and work of the hands. The reward is sure, but only at the cost of toil.

In every part of the state special problems present themselves for solution. That solution depends on ourselves, and in working them out will be developed not only a great state materially, but a great citizenship.

As you heard the roll-call of the participants in the early days of this enterprise you must have been struck as I was with the fact that every one of the original company has passed beyond, and that nearly all who made the first trip on the Maria Wilkins are no longer with us. We are at that point in the history of our state where glancing backward we can begin to get something of a perspective. As we contemplate the work of those who have gone before, it should not only spur us on to do our part, but also teach us to be more charitable in our judgment of our fellow-men, and, while we have the opportunity, to speak the pleasant helpful word, or do the kindly act, rather than wait until the recognition we would give is too late to be of service.

At last, however, and by a curious coincidence, the Willamette and its great sister, the Columbia, sound the tocsin of freedom together, and for the first time since they began to flow to the sea, commerce can move over them without paying a toll because of some obstruction to navigation.

It is indeed fitting and proper that the freedom of the river should be celebrated. If, however, we look on this act as the end of our work instead of the beginning, a costly mistake will be made. There is much to learn as to the true use of the waterways. To my mind they are instrumentalities of commerce, developers of traffic. Far from being rivals of the railway, they are really coadjutors in the work of transportation.

Nowhere in the world has the development of the waterway injured the railway. On the contrary, experience shows that the improved waterway increases railway traffic. Rightly used, nothing seems to exercise such a powerful influence in increasing traffic of all kinds as does the waterway.

Consider the Rhine and the railroads which serve its valley and the cities on its banks. Before that river was improved for navigation there was but one railroad, the cities were small and the traffic was light. Since the improvement of the river for navigation traffic has grown to such an extent that double-track railroads on either side of the river are required to handle the movement by rail, and a constant procession of boats and barges moves up and down the river. In the last thirty years the cities on the Rhine have grown by leaps and bounds—indeed they have exceeded in growth even the rapidly-growing cities of the United States. Doubtless there were those who pictured streaks of rust and a right of way as all that would be left to represent the railroad when brought in competition with water. Yet no such result followed, nor has it followed in any country or on any river in the civilized world. On the contrary, after the waterways are improved there is more traffic, and more and varied business constantly increasing and growing in every direction. This will ultimately prove to be the case in this state. Many of the opinions which are expressed as to the effect on the railroads of the improvement of waterways seem based upon the idea and theory that there is to be no future growth, that we have reached our limit both of population and production, and that a division of existing traffic between river and rail to the detriment of both will be the only result. This is a fundamental error into which many seem to fall. In truth we are but commencing to grow. The time will come in the Northwest when we will have as dense a population as many of the eastern states, and as we can support it better, every means of transportation will be required to handle the business of the country. This is not true of Oregon only but of the entire country.

Under normal business conditions today our transportation facilities are taxed to the utmost to handle the traffic. The slightest increase produces almost unendurable congestion and ties up business in every direction. It is my opinion that the improvement of the waterways is an absolute necessity; and I fear this will be demonstrated before either the railroads or the waterways are prepared to meet the situation, to the great loss of the country at large.

We have a right to be proud of the Willamette Valley with its varied resources, productiveness, beauty and climatic conditions. It would be hard to duplicate it anywhere on earth, yet it is almost in a state of nature. When we consider the productiveness of this valley, one's mind can hardly grasp its possibilities. To secure the proper results will require hard work intelligently applied. Its development will be largely aided by the fact that it has a navigable river flowing substantially throughout its entire length. This river must be properly improved, not only for navigation but for every useful purpose. It can be done; and if we have the spirit of our fathers it will soon be done.

I congratulate the people of this valley on the final consummation of this one step. We now have a free river. Shall we make it a useful river, serving every purpose it can serve? That depends only on ourselves.

Again I thank you, not only for the compliment you have paid me in asking me to address you on this day, but in giving me the opportunity to express my regard and respect for the pioneers of this state who have left to us not only an example we should follow, but also a memory and a heritage we should honor, respect, and cherish.

THE QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XVI

SEPTEMBER, 1915

NUMBER 8

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE OREGON EMIGRATING COMPANIES.

By HARRISON C. DALE.

A superficial analogy has frequently been drawn between the westward movement of the American people and the Teutonic folk migrations of the fourth and following centuries.¹ Both the Germanic nomads and the pioneers of the Far West traversed the country in much the same fashion, moving *en masse*, men, women, and children with all that they possessed. Many of those, however, who set out on the great trek across the so-called American Desert—most of them probably—were, unlike the early Germans, entirely unused to a prolonged life on the move. Some, to be sure, belonged to that class of roving pioneers that always finds a population of more than ten to the square mile too dense for comfort and is constantly pushing on to the fringe and beyond the fringe of civilization, but a great number came from the more staid and permanent regions of the East and the Mississippi valley and had been accustomed for generations to life in settled communities, where food, water, fuel, and shelter could be obtained in something like normal proportions. Most of the earlier emigrants, moreover, knew next to nothing about the nature of the country to be traversed, a fact which only served to augment the actual dangers.

¹ E. g. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, New York, 1900 I, 20ff. John Minto, *Address, Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions*, 1876, p. 44.

The real overland migrations began with the 'forties. Before that time only very small groups of actual settlers crossed the country, almost all of them bound for Oregon. These earlier pioneers, with one exception, the Peoria company of 1839, never undertook the journey independently, but always attached themselves to bands of traders, who each year made their way to the Indian country. Thus had come the missionaries with Nathaniel J. Wyeth and with the American Fur Company's men. This was only natural; they were a few individuals, not encumbered with much baggage, and their primary object was to reach their destination with the least danger and the greatest possible expedition. With the 'forties come the actual pioneers, moving no longer as passengers attached to some trading expedition bound for the rendezvous of the fur-trappers, but independently, owning their own outfit, driving their own oxen, employing their own guide, traveling under their own power, so to speak. It was not an easy thing to do, particularly before a stock of common experience had been garnered, and, as was to be expected, a number of mistakes in organization, equipment, and route were made. It was early apparent to them, as they journeyed *en masse*, that common interest and common danger enjoined some kind of organization,² yet among the earlier companies (that of 1842, for example) this organization was so loose and discipline so lax that at times the emigrants were strung out over fifty miles or more of trail and greatly endangered thereby.³ Again, other bodies, by going to the other extreme and moving in tightly compact but huge masses, suffered from lack of sufficient feed for their stock.⁴ It was in dealing with just such problems as these, with the matter of organization and the question of government, *en route*, that the overland emigrants manifested

² This need was felt very early. In the *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate* for April, 1839, p. 220, occurs the following (the italics are not in the original), "Western America will be settled, but it cannot be done safely or profitably by individual enterprise, and the *strongest bonds* should unite those who emigrate." Cf., also, J. W. Nesmith, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1875, p. 46.

³ —See Medorem Crawford, *Journal*, *Sources of the History of Oregon*, Vol. I, Part 1, Eugene, 1897, p. 10, and *passim*.

⁴ F. G. Young, *The Oregon Trail*, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, I, 360 f.

in a high degree their characteristic American political ingenuity.⁵

I. THE EMIGRATING SOCIETIES.

Many of the overland pioneers took the first step by forming in their home town an emigrating society. Neighbors frequently moved together. Fractions of whole communities were sometimes broken off and transplanted in the new soil of Oregon. These prospective emigrants naturally gravitated to each other and as naturally formed a society to study the project from all angles and to win recruits.

Societies for diffusing information about the West and encouraging emigration had existed all through the East some time before actual pioneering began. One of the first of these, called the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory, was organized in 1829, at Boston, by Hall J. Kelley, the enthusiastic Massachusetts schoolmaster. Kelley's object was patriotic, being nothing less than the assertion by actual settlement in Oregon, of the United States' claims to that region which he considered far from perfect. He said, in fact, "The title to the Oregon territory and the exclusive right of occupancy yet remains vested in the aborigines . . . [the region] lies beyond the civil jurisdiction of the United States of America."⁶ Active settlement by American citizens, however, would, he saw, help to validate whatever claims this country did possess. Two years later, he issued a "General Circular to all Persons of Good Character who wished to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory," proposing that they assemble at designated points—Portland, Portsmouth, Concord, Boston, Worcester, Springfield, and Burlington in New England, and in New York City, Buffalo, Albany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington and proceed thence to St. Louis, where the actual journey was to commence.⁷

Hall Kelley's project was not put into operation, for the year,

⁵ F. O. M'Cown, *Address, O. P. A. Transactions*, 1884, p. 19.

⁶ Hall J. Kelley, *General Circular*, Boston, 1831, pp. 5, 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

1829, was a decade too early for the actual colonization of Oregon. The motive that he urged, furthermore, was not likely to meet with great response, many regarding his project as nothing less than a get-rich-quick scheme. The appeal to patriotism might attract some men (in later years it drew a number) but at this stage a more powerful incentive was demanded. It was found in religion.

In 1834, in answer to the Macedonian cry of three years before, four Protestant missionaries went out to Oregon. They were not colonizers; their purpose was the conversion of the natives, but they furnished a motive which could be directed, like Hall Kelley's patriotism, to the task of actual settlement. This was evident four years later when the Oregon Provisional Emigrating Society was formed in Lynn, Massachusetts, the home of Cyrus Shepard, one of the four missionaries mentioned above. The object of this society was to further actual settlement in Oregon and at the same time continue the work of converting the Indians.⁸ To effect this it was proposed to send out a company of settlers in the spring of 1840, and efforts were made to secure recruits. Although the project failed for financial reasons, it is interesting to note that it elicited more enthusiasm and response than had Kelley's society. Interest in Oregon had measurably grown, and the religious motive appealed powerfully to many imaginations. Not a few of those who soon after joined the great emigrations were influenced both by the desire to strengthen the United States' title to Oregon, by actual settlement, and by zeal in bearing the Gospel to the aborigines.⁹

By the early 'forties conditions were much more favorable to

⁸ To stir up interest and enlist recruits the Society published a journal, *The Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*. In the first issue, that of October, 1838, p. 27, the objects of the Society are explained, "We publish this journal in order to spread out before the public generally information respecting the country west of the Rocky Mountains which is now shut up in a certain sense from the community in Government papers, scarce and costly books, and the private notes of persons who have spent some time in that far-off land. . . . We wish to do more than this. We would act upon the understandings and consciences of the Christians of our country and stir them up to the work of civilizing the Indians and bringing them into the enjoyment of the rich grace of the Gospel. . . . And still more, this periodical is to be the Official Organ of a Society whose object is to prepare the way for the Christian settlement of Oregon."

⁹ Robert W. Morrison, for example. See note 11.

permanent settlement. In the first place, the West was infinitely better known. The fur companies, though of waning importance economically, were constantly bringing forward geographical information. Scientists, writers, sportsmen, explorers, missionaries, men in all walks of life and with all sorts of interests, had penetrated the Rocky Mountains and beyond, speeches were being delivered in Congress embodying information garnered from all these sources, and descriptive books and pamphlets published for common consumption. Thus fired, there were thousands who could not resist the desire to see this country for themselves; for was it not El Dorado? The financial depression and consequent hard times following the panic of 1837 naturally added a powerful impetus.¹⁰ Hundreds of people were land-poor, money was scarce, business dull, and the outlook in the more settled portions of the country anything but reassuring. In consequence of this increased knowledge of the country and this mingling of patriotic, religious, and economic motives, western migration set in apace.¹¹

By 1842 emigrating societies existed in all parts of the country. The *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, as early as 1838-'39, mentioned such organizations in Columbus and Portage, Ohio, at Pontiac, Michigan, at Tremont and Pekin, Illinois, at Michigan City, Indiana, St. Louis and St. Charles, Missouri, Meadville,¹² Pennsylvania, and Boston, Massachusetts.¹³ Subsequently they appeared in Bloomington (now

¹⁰ Young, *Oregon Trail, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, I, 353.

¹¹ The mingling of these motives in the case of a single individual is well brought out in Minto, *Antecedents of the Oregon Pioneers, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, 40. In speaking of R. W. Morrison, he says, "First, he believed that Oregon of right belonged to the United States, and he was going to help make that right good. Second, he supposed there were many of the native races in Oregon who needed instruction to a better condition of life than was theirs; and though no missionary, he had no objections to help in that work. Third, he was unsatisfied to live longer so far from the markets that there were few products he could raise whose value in the world's markets would pay the cost of production and shipment." There were naturally many other motives operative such as the recovery of health and a determination to leave states where slave labor competed with free. See, on this head, Young, *Oregon Trail, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, I, 352, and Rev. G. H. Atkinson, *The Pioneers of 1848*, in *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1880, p. 32ff.

¹² *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, p. 349.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

Muscatine) Iowa, and in Iowa City,¹⁴ Savannah, Missouri,¹⁵ Sangamon City, Illinois,¹⁶ Jefferson City, Missouri,¹⁷ and at a great many other points in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and Kentucky.¹⁸ The people of Dubuque, Iowa, even advocated a railroad to Oregon to facilitate emigration. "What next?" exclaimed a newspaper of the day, and the *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate* adds, "What next, indeed? The idea of a railroad to Oregon very strongly reminds us of the mode of ascent to the moon advocated by a certain renowned character, viz., on a bean vine, and we have about as much hope of visiting the Lunarians by the same way as we have of going to Oregon in railroad cars."¹⁹

At the meeting of these societies, books, speeches, and letters about Oregon were read and discussed and information regarding the country disseminated.²⁰ At the same time active steps were taken to induce families or individuals to pledge themselves to emigrate under the society's auspices,²¹ and preliminary funds were raised.²² Traveling agents were even sent out to secure adherents.²³ Sometimes the establishment of these societies was the work of a single individual. Peter H. Burnett has himself described the manner in which he rallied the great Burnett-Applegate party of 1843. In debt, and viewing the

¹⁴ *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, III, 392 *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, X, 424. *Ibid.*, X, 416 ff.

¹⁵ *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 278.

¹⁶ E. P. D. Houghton, *The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate*, Chicago, 1911, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Jeffersonian Republican*, Sept. 17, 1842, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 171.

¹⁸ Cf. J. W. Nesmith, *Address*, O. P. A. *Transactions*, 1875, p. 46.

¹⁹ *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, p. 221.

²⁰ E. P. D. Houghton, *Donner Party*, p. 4. Cf. "Resolutions of the Bloomington (Iowa) Society, March 19, 1843, in *Iowa Standard*, III, No. 17 and reprinted in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, X, 424 f. "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 country and with companies at a distance, receive, and communicate all the information that he may deem expedient."

²¹ Cf. a notice in the *Jeffersonian Republican*, dated Sept. 17, 1842, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 171, "We learn from the Oregon Correspondence Committee of this place that already they are beginning to receive the names of gentlemen desirous of joining the expedition."

²² *Constitution of the Savannah Oregon Emigration Company*, §2, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 278.

²³ *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, p. 287. Hall J. Kelley's society is said to have employed no fewer than thirty-seven such agents in various parts of the country. W. C. Johnson, *Annual Address O. P. A. Transactions*, 1881, p. 22.

future with anything but assurance, Burnett took up his residence in Weston, Platte County, Missouri, in the fall of 1842, and here set to work to organize a wagon company to join him in emigrating to Oregon. He spent the fall and winter lecturing in the neighboring counties, where his eloquence and enthusiasm met with gratifying response in the shape of hundreds of recruits, who pledged themselves to join him with their families and goods the next spring and to proceed to Oregon.²⁴ They kept their pledge, becoming the nucleus of the great Oregon Company of 1843. The society, even where there was no immediate intention of emigrating, served to keep up interest in the idea and to urge on people's attention the opportunities to be enjoyed by those who should actually emigrate later. At this stage there was, of course, no attempt at final organization. This was postponed until the emigrants reached the frontier. Only a simple constitution and by-laws were adopted and perhaps committees appointed to secure further information, to make preparations for an actual start, and to draft a constitution to govern them *en route*.²⁵

2. MEMBERSHIP.

Active membership with full rights in the company emigrating was as a rule confined to males over sixteen years of

²⁴ Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 64 f, and Minto, *Antecedents*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, 43. Burnett's address was popularly known as "Platte Purchase by Pete Burnett," *Ibid.*, p. 40. The Peoria company of 1839 was formed as the direct result of a lecture given in that town the previous year by Rev. Jason Lee, one of the original band of Oregon missionaries. Robert Shortess, *First Emigrants to Oregon*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1896, p. 93.

²⁵ The following is from the report of a committee to draft a constitution for the Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company, printed in the *Western Journal*, March 15, 1845, and reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 278, f, "Whereas, in order the better to prepare the way for and to accomplish our journey to Oregon with greater harmony, it was deemed advisable to adopt certain rules and regulations; and whereas, the undersigned, having been appointed a committee to draft and prepare said rules and regulations, and having given the subject that attention which its importance demands, beg leave respectfully to report the following as the result of their deliberations, viz." At a meeting of the citizens of Clear Creek precinct, Johnson County, Iowa, March 3, 1843, "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," it was resolved that "a committee of seven be appointed by the meeting to draft a constitution and report at the next meeting." The report of the constitution committee was unanimously adopted a fortnight later. *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.* X, 416 ff, 423 f.

age.²⁶ For those between sixteen and twenty-one, the consent of guardians was necessary.²⁷ Good character was insisted on²⁸ and no one was admitted "whose intention was obviously apparent to avoid payment of his debts."²⁹ Requirements under this head did not stop here. In one company every member had to be a believer in the Christian religion³⁰ and in another, to possess a copy of the Bible.³¹ Rigid insistence, however, seems rarely to have been laid on such points as the last. Negroes and mulattoes were regularly debarred.³² The company reserved the right to expel undesirables at any time.³³ After the company got under way, the admission of new members required a vote.³⁴

The dues required of members were of two kinds, a nominal fee, usually a dollar, to be paid on joining the society and a heavier assessment, intended to be a *pro rata* charge covering the expenses of the journey, imposed on those who actually emigrated. The members of the company which the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society proposed to send out in the spring of 1840 were to pay \$400, in the case of persons over sixteen years of age, and \$300 for each child carried in the wagons. In return for this the society was to furnish "horses,

²⁶ Cf. *Resolutions of the Oregon Emigrating Society, Rule 1*, in George Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, New York, 1845, Part II, p. 70. The "Oregon Emigrating Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City," placed the age limit at first at eighteen years but later reduced it to seventeen. *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.* X, 417, 422.

²⁷ *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company, §3*. See also *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory at Iowa City, Article V, §1*. *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.* X, 423.

²⁸ Hall J. Kelley, *General Circular*, Title Page. Cf. *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, p. 223. Cf. also *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City, Article V, §2 and Article I, §15*.

²⁹ *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company, §5*.

³⁰ "Notice to Emigrants, §1," *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, p. 286, "Every man becoming a member of the society emigrating must be recommended by one with whom he is personally acquainted, as a man of good moral character and a believer in the Christian religion." Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³¹ *Oregon Emigrating Society of Bloomington, Iowa, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, III, 392.

³² *Ibid.* Cf. Minto, *Antecedents, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, 45. *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City, Article V, §3*.

³³ *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company, §5*. Robert Shortess, *First Emigrants to Oregon, O. P. A. Transactions*, 1896, p. 97. *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City, Article I, §13*.

³⁴ Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, New York, 1849, p. 46. *Resolutions of the Oregon Emigrating Company, Rule 5*, Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, p. 71. *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City, Loc. cit.*

saddles, bridles, wagons, tents, camp furniture, provisions, medical attendance, and all other things needful for the journey except clothing, blankets and hunting apparatus." The society further guaranteed to each member the best possible title to a parcel of land in Oregon and one year's provisions after their arrival as well as adequate shelter and defence for the same length of time.³⁵ Specific regulations governing the amount and quality of the equipment were frequent. Thus the Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company required each member to provide himself with 150 pounds of flour or 200 pounds of meal and 60 pounds of bacon for every person except infants, and insisted that the wagons be capable of carrying double the amount of their loads and the teams of drawing double the amount the wagons were capable of bearing.³⁶ The same company, like many others, required "every (male) person over the age of sixteen to furnish himself with a good and sufficient rifle" and a specified amount of powder and lead.³⁷ The transportation or consumption of liquor except for strictly medical purposes was generally forbidden.³⁸

Some companies were organized on a communistic plan, each member contributing his money or provisions to a common fund which was drawn on during the journey and, at the end, divided *pro rata* among the members.³⁹

3. PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT.

Two serious problems were presented to all the emigrating companies and were never solved uniformly. These were, first, the difficulty of reconciling military discipline, which was deemed quite essential to the safety and general well-being

35 "Notice to Emigrants, §§2, 3." *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, p. 286.

36 Constitution, *Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §§14, 15. It was resolved by the Bloomington (Iowa) Oregon Company, "that each and every individual as an outfit, provide himself with 100 lbs. of 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, etc." *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.* X, 425.

37 Constitution, *Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §17.

38 *Ibid.*, §18. Minto, *Antecedents, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, 45. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 267, note 17.

39 Cf. Robert Shortess, *First Emigrants to Oregon*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, p. 93 and *passim*.

of the whole, with the excessive individualism and abhorrence of restraint savoring of militarism, which frontier democracy had bred deep in these pioneers. The second was the question of keeping the emigrants together in a sufficiently compact body through all the trials and vexations of the tedious journey. The tendency to disintegrate invariably appeared in all the great migrations, save one, and usually resulted in schism.

The first problem was sensed even before actual emigration began. It was Hall J. Kelley, who, in his circular to emigrants, announced that the government of the body he proposed to send out would be military, but he added that it would be "deprived of much of its asperity and arbitrary discipline by the mild reform which virtue, refinement, and female presence conspire to produce."⁴⁰ Kelley well knew the innate American hatred of militarism and all that it implied.

Not everyone, however, had so clear a perception of this problem as Kelley. The first company of actual colonizers in Oregon, the Peoria party of 1839, was organized at first on a communistic basis and with an utter disregard of the needs of discipline. "They had not travelled far before the usual effects of liberty, equality, and fraternity began to develop themselves, so that they arrived at Independence, Missouri, in a rather disorganized condition." At this point a reorganization was effected which went to the other extreme by burdening the company (less than a score in number) with an absurdly military regimen. The company was divided "into platoons of four men each, sixteen men and two officers, all told." On the morning following the adoption of this arrangement, the company was called by sound of trumpet "to hear the following general order: 'Oregon platoons, Attention! The order of march is: The first platoon will march in front, the second platoon in rear of the first, the third platoon in rear of the second, which will take charge of the public mules, and the fourth platoon in the rear. Take your places. (Trumpet

⁴⁰ Kelley, *General Circular*, p. 24.

sounds.) Forward! March! Close order!"⁴¹ This did not solve the problem, however, for before reaching the mountains this company disintegrated. A compromise had to be effected between "virtue, refinement and female presence," on the one hand, and the pseudo-militarism of the Peorians, on the other.

The problem was faced squarely in the constitution of the Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company, already frequently cited. Two forms of government were here provided for, a civil and a military. At the head of the former was a president, of the latter, a commandant-captain with a series of subordinate officials. The president was elected on the adoption of the constitution of the company and continued in office until the emigrants had reached their rendezvous, when his authority expired. It was then that the commandant-captain was elected, who continued in supreme command until they reached their destination.⁴² His military authority was adequately counterbalanced, however, by an elective executive-judicial council and by the legislative power reserved by the company itself. A dual government of a somewhat similar nature was provided for in the "Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City." The civil government of this company was vested in a President, two Vice-Presidents, four Trustees, and twelve Councilmen, elected annually by the male members of the society. The President or Vice-Presidents presided at all meetings of the society and at all meetings of the Trustees and Councilmen, and also, when on the march, at all meetings of the Trustees and Council *with the military officers of the company*. With the consent of the Trustees and Council the President appointed minor civil officers and, like the Vice-Presidents, Trustees, Council and other civil officers, enjoyed exemption from military service. The Trustees and Council made and published "all such by-laws, rules and regulations for the government of the society as in their opinion . . . would be

⁴¹ Shortess, *First Emigrants to Oregon*, O. P. A. Transactions, 1896, p. 94. One of the companies of 1845 practiced military drill before starting. Stephen Staats, *Address*, O. P. A. Transactions, 1877, p. 47.

⁴² *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §§ 6, 7, 10.

expedient and subserve the best interests of and promote the general welfare of the society," made provision by taxation for the incidental expenses of the society, audited all accounts, and kept minutes of all meetings. Along side this civil organization was a set of military officers including a captain, two lieutenants, and three sergeants, "whose duty it shall be to drill and exercise the company in military tactics." All able-bodied men between the ages of seventeen and forty-five were obliged to perform military duty while on the march. It was clearly provided in the following articles that the military authority was to be subordinate to the civil. "They (the Trustees and Councilmen) 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." As there were sixteen civil officers to six military, control by the former was assured. Even more specific constitutional regulations were made to the effect that the Trustees and Councilmen shall have "a general supervision over and regulation of the military and have appellate jurisdiction of any decrees of the military officers of the company."^{42a}

The adoption of the final or essentially military organization was frequently postponed until the emigrants had got well under way. Thus the Burnett-Applegate company of 1843 waited till they had been out ten days,⁴³ and the company of 1845, of which Joel Palmer was the historian, seven days,⁴⁴ before proceeding to a supposedly final military organization. Such a proposition to postpone the final election of officers until the emigrants had passed the Kansas river was made at the first rendezvous of one of the companies of 1846 but was rejected.⁴⁵ This same tendency is perhaps discernible in the provisions of another company that no lieutenants (i. e.

^{42a} *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City, in Iowa Journ. of Hist. and Pol.* X, 419-423.

⁴³ Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 329 ff.

⁴⁴ Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains*, Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXX, pp. 9, 15.

⁴⁵ Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 31. Cf. F. O. M'Cown, *Address, O. P. A. Transactions*, 1884, p. 19.

subordinate military officials under the captain, who was elected at the start) should be appointed until they reached the Rocky Mountains and numbered at least a hundred souls.⁴⁶

In nearly every case the final organization was effected after leaving the States. There were other reasons for this beyond this desire to postpone the period of military discipline. In the first place, so long as the emigrants remained east of the Missouri river, they were amenable to state laws and tribunals. To adopt a full system of self-government before entering the Indian country would be to create an absurd and invalid *imperium in imperio*. After they had crossed, however, they passed, as they themselves recognized and frequently noted, out of the jurisdiction, or at least the effective jurisdiction, of the United States and became in government, as in everything else, dependent on their own resources.⁴⁷ This frequently resulted in the adoption of a final organization by stages. Thus the Peoria Company of 1839 journeyed from Illinois to Independence organized as a joint stock company, a partial reorganization was effected there, and "at Elm Grove, about thirty miles from the Missouri boundary, on the Santa Fe road . . . they remained to complete the organization of the company" by electing military officers.⁴⁸ The great company of 1843 held a preliminary meeting at a point twelve miles west of Independence, May 18, at which a committee was appointed to draft rules and regulations for the journey. The final organization with election of officers came June 1, as noted above, and after they had been under way for ten days.⁴⁹ A further reason for postponing the final organization is seen in the resolution adopted by the Bartleson California Company of 1841 "That inasmuch as other companies are expected to join us, the election of officers to conduct the expedition be deferred till the general rendezvous."⁵⁰

46 Bloomington, Iowa, Oregon Emigration Society, Report of a meeting in the *Ohio Statesman*, April 26, 1843, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.* III, 392.

47 Cf. J. C. Moreland, *Annual Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1900, p. 28.

48 R. Shortess, *First Emigrants to Oregon*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1896, p. 93.

49 Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, *passim*.

50 Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 267, note 17, citing the *Colonial Magazine*, V, 229.

The company which the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society planned to send out in 1840 would have ignored the problem of organization by electing its officers in New York City the previous fall,⁵¹ while one of the Oregon companies of the year 1853 simply evaded the problem by adopting no organization whatsoever, holding no meetings, and electing no captain or other officers.⁵²

In the administration of justice, moreover, despite the obvious need at times of summary procedure, a manifest effort was made to preserve to each individual all his constitutional rights as a civilian that were consonant with the maintenance of order and discipline. Offences fell in general under two heads; first, ordinary civil and criminal breaches of the law; and second, infringements of discipline. Frequently these last were not made amenable to a law military exactly but rather to a *droit administratif*. At any rate, it was not unusual for the two classes of cases to be kept separate, which was an attempt to solve this problem of civil *versus* military government in matters judicial. For the administration of ordinary civil and criminal law, the company adopted by vote the statutes of a particular state⁵³ or some of its own devising⁵⁴ and then proceeded to elect a judge quite "distinct from their military leaders."⁵⁵ In such a court a jury trial was invariably allowed. Occasionally adjudging of cases against the disciplinary, and hence in a way military, regulations of the company was likewise left to this civil court, but more generally, apparently, such cases were brought before the Council, an executive-judicial body of from nine to thirteen men, elected by the

⁵¹ "Notice to Emigrants," §5, *Oregonian and Indians' Advocate*, p. 286.

⁵² George B. Currey, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1887, p. 36. Cf. Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 44.

⁵³ Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, 67. See also Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, Part II, p. 70.

⁵⁴ Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 31. O. Johnson and W. H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*, 1846, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 69.

⁵⁵ Minto, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1888, p. 94.

company,⁵⁶ who acted with inquisitorial authority. Again, these cases under the quasi *droit administratif* might be submitted to a special court of arbitration elected expressly to "try offenders against the peace and good order of the company."⁵⁷ The most frequent charge under this head was neglect of guard duty. It should be added, however, that in some cases no attempt was made to differentiate between civil and administrative law, in which cases all suits were tried by a judge and jury⁵⁸ or by the council.⁵⁹

That there was a very real problem here is evidenced by the fact that in one company, at least, regulations were adopted strictly limiting the penalty that could be imposed by the council or court of arbitration to expulsion from the company,⁶⁰ while there are instances in which the ordinary civil courts inflicted the death penalty⁶¹ (though only for murder); and, again, by a provision adopted by another company (though almost immediately rescinded), that a committee be appointed to try the officers themselves in case of neglect of duty.⁶² The mass of the emigrants had a wholesome abhorrence of drum-head justice and invented these various devices and checks to insure themselves against such procedure.

A further device intended to assure democracy and thwart any tendency to military despotism was the Jacksonian pro-

⁵⁶ Cf. *Resolutions of the Oregon Emigrating Society, Rule 2*. Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, Part II, p. 70, "There shall be nine men elected by a majority of the company, who shall form a council whose duty it shall be to settle all disputes arising between individuals and to try and pass sentences on all persons for any act of which they may be guilty which is subversive of good order and military discipline. They shall take especial cognizance of sentinels and members of the guard who may be guilty of neglect of duty or of sleeping on their posts. Such persons shall be tried and sentence passed on them at the discretion of the Council." In the Iowa Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City, this authority was vested in the four Trustees and twelve Councilmen, who were empowered "to impeach, try, and for good cause to remove from office the President or any other civil officer who is elected by the Society." *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.*, X, 420.

⁵⁷ J. Quinn Thornton, *Address*, O. P. A. Transactions, 1878, p. 39, 40. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 61.

⁵⁸ Cf. Medorem Crawford, *Journal*, p. 11.

⁵⁹ Nesmith, *Diary of the Expedition of 1843*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 333. *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, at Iowa City. Article 1*, §13.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Rule 3, Resolutions of the Oregon Emigration Society*, Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, *Loc. Cit.*

⁶¹ J. C. Moreland, *Annual Address*, O. P. A. Transactions, 1900, p. 28.

⁶² Thornton, *Address*, O. P. A. Transactions, 1878, p. 39, 40. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 61.

vision for a multitude of officers elected for short terms only. The Oregon Company of 1845 was officered by a colonel, captain, lieutenant, sergeants, and other subordinates,⁶³ that of 1844 by a captain, lieutenant, first and second sergeants, and a first and second corporal,⁶⁴ all elected. Other companies had elective wagon-masters, guards, and scouts.⁶⁵ In a few instances, apparently among the earlier companies, the subordinate officers were appointed by the commanders of the expedition rather than elected.⁶⁶ Tenures were brief. The superior officers, and accordingly in most cases, no doubt, their appointees, held office during the pleasure of the company,⁶⁷ or for a month,⁶⁸ or even for two weeks.⁶⁹ Even the recall of officers was provided for in one company by the regulation that on the petition of one third or more of the members, a new election of all officers and of the council should be held.⁷⁰ The limits on the commanding officers' authority afforded by the executive council and the usual constitutional provision that all matters of importance be submitted to a general vote further checked any possible tendency toward official despotism and preserved the fundamental democracy.

The tendency toward disintegration almost invariably appeared in the course of the long trek. This was only natural in view of the heterogeneous elements comprising the emi-

63 Stephen Staats, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1877, p. 47. Palmer *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 42.

64 *Diary of E. E. Parrish*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1888, p. 95.

65 J. S. Latham, *Crossing the Plains in 1852*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1895, p. 91.

66 T. J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XXVIII), p. 60. Cf. *Resolutions of the Oregon Emigrating Society*, Rule 3. Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, *Loc. cit.* In the "Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory, etc.," the Recording Secretary and Treasurer were selected by the President, Trustees and Council. *Article II*, §3, *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.*, X, 421.

67 "The Captain, orderly sergeant, and members of the Council shall hold their office at the pleasure of the Company and it shall be the duty of the Council, upon the application of one-third or more of the Company, to order a new election." *Resolutions of the Oregon Emigrating Society*, Rule 5, Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, *Loc. cit.*

68 Medore Crawford, *Journal*, pp. 9, 11.

69 Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 47. It should be added, however, that there are instances of officers elected supposedly for the entire journey. Cf. *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §10, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 279. See also Shortess, *First Emigrants to Oregon*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1896, p. 94 and *passim*.

70 *Resolutions of the Oregon Emigrating Company*, Rule 5, Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, Part II, p. 71.

grating companies. The type of man who will pull up stakes to undertake so far and so hazardous a journey is obviously the type which chafes under regulations and feels most keenly the irksomeness of subordinating himself to the general will. He is a thorough individualist; otherwise he would not be a pioneer. The members of all the emigrating companies, who were perfectly aware of this quality of mind, never ventured in their regulations to punish defection. They knew that it would be futile, and they were the last people thus to bind themselves. The most notable case in which the tendency to disintegrate never for a moment appeared as the Mormon migration of 1847 under the leadership of Brigham Young, and this is just the sort of an exception that proves the rule. The Mormon pioneers in accepting Young's guidance in matters temporal as well as spiritual renounced voluntarily much of their own independence, gaining thereby, of course, the advantages of rigid discipline.

With such a latent tendency it is but natural that the actual causes of defection should depend largely on circumstances. Viewing the emigrations as a whole, no single immediate cause or group of immediate causes is recognizable as being in any sense general. Jealousy and what can be termed, vaguely, general discontent are accountable for it in a number of instances.⁷¹ Frequently the disappointed candidates for office not only maintained a stubborn unwillingness to submit to the will of the majority but made it a point to stir up active disaffection.⁷² Occasionally the slow rate of progress necessitated by the presence of so large a body of men, women, and children, of the all too frequent halts for the comfort of the sick⁷³ and the burial of the dead, or the lack of adequate

⁷¹ Medorem Crawford, *Journal*, p. 7, ff.

⁷² Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 43. Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, Part II, p. 71, describes the language of these agitators. Passing the tent of one, Dumberton, after the adoption of rules and regulations by the great Oregon Company of 1843, he heard this gentleman discussing the veto power entrusted to the captain of the company, which he "denounced as an absurd innovation upon a conservative system and a most gross violation of a cardinal principle of political jurisprudence!" For an estimate of the value of Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, however, see Joseph Schafer, *Notes on the Colonization of Oregon*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, VI, 389. Cf. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 29.

⁷³ Cf. Medorem Crawford, *Journal*, p. 7.

grazing for the animals led the more impatient members to strike out for themselves. Irksome regulations against promiscuous hunting and the consequent abandonment of the main body of the company,⁷⁴ the limitation of the number of cattle each member might drive, and the refusal of the "have-nots" to stand guard over the stock of the "haves,"⁷⁵ dissatisfaction with incompetent officers,⁷⁶ disagreements about the route, or the determination on the part of some to seek another destination⁷⁷ were fertile causes of discontent and consequently of schism.

The problem arising out of this tendency to disintegrate was met in a variety of ways. Occasionally the company simply split without further ado, the seceders going off by themselves. So simple a solution was frequently impolitic, however, partly because of the danger to small bands from marauding Indians and partly, too, because of the difficulty in dividing the assets and common obligations of the company. In a number of cases, consequently, an effort was made to divide the company merely for administrative purposes, so to speak, but to

⁷⁴ See Minto, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1876, p. 39 and *Ibid.*, Robert Wilson Morrison, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1894, p. 56. Cf. *Diary of E. E. Parrish*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1888, p. 94. Under date, July 15, he writes, "Quite a confusion in camp this morning about buffalo hunting. The General seemed quite 'cantankerous' because Louis Crawford went out after buffalo this morning contrary to orders. . . . The colony (*sic*) was called together by the General, who, after a short abusive speech, tendered his resignation. . . . We are now in companies."

⁷⁵ Cf. Communication in the New Orleans *Picayune*, November 21, 1843, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, I, 398. In discussing the migration of 1843, the writer says, "Several enactments were made and agreed to, one of which was called up to be rescinded, and something of an excitement arose in regard to it. The law made was that no family should drive along more than three head of stock for each member composing it, and this bore hard on families that had brought with them cattle in large numbers." (Jesse Applegate, of this company, had over two hundred head and others over a hundred head. *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 177.) The dispute resulted in a split of the large body into two or three divisions and so they moved on, making distinct encampments all the way." Cf. also New Orleans *Picayune* for August 16, 1843, containing a copy of a communication in the *Iowa Territorial Gazette*, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 191.

⁷⁶ Shortess, *First Emigrants to Oregon*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1896, p. 97. "Before reaching the Santa Fe Crossing, our leader in consequence of intemperance and neglect of duty had lost all influence or authority and every one did what was right in his eyes." "Before leaving the crossing, our leader being accused of incompetence and waste of funds placed in his hands, saw fit to resign along with two others who had become obnoxious to the party. They were, however, permitted to stay until our arrival at Bent's Fort." A division of the company was effected here. Cf. references note 74. See Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 43.

⁷⁷ E. P. D. Houghton, *Donner Party*, p. 32. Cf. Minto, *Reminiscences*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 152.

keep it loosely joined for mutual defence and for the enjoyment of common property.⁷⁸

There are a number of illustrations of this point. The great Oregon company of 1843 set out in a single body with Peter H. Burnett as captain. A regulation limiting the number of cattle per member produced discontent and led, only eight days after their supposedly final organization, to a division of the company⁷⁹ (apparently on the advice of the experienced Dr. Whitman, who was with it)⁸⁰ into four parts. The commanding officer was now given the title, colonel, in place of captain, and four captains were elected to head the four divisions.⁸¹ In this fashion they proceeded. The largest Oregon party of 1844, comprising three divisions, started as one company under the command of Cornelius (Neil) Gilliam as general but later, because of discontent, resumed its original three divisions, each proceeding on its own account but two of them keeping within supporting distance of each other.⁸² Joel Palmer, of the Oregon Company of 1845, has described the arrangements following their divisions, which likewise came as a result of discontent and disaffection, as follows: "It was agreed upon to form from the whole body, three companies; that while each company should select its own officers and manage its own affairs, the pilot and Capt. Welsh, who had been elected by the whole company, should retain their posts and travel with the company in advance. It was also arranged that each company should take its turn in traveling in advance for a week at a time. A proposition was then made and acceded to, which provided that a collection of funds, with which to pay the pilot, should be made previous to the separation and

⁷⁸ Not infrequently such a division was made perfectly amicably and for purely administrative reasons, particularly in the case of the larger companies, which suffered from lack of grazing for their stock. Cf. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 32 f, 43 ff.

⁷⁹ See above, p. 23 and note 75.

⁸⁰ *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 177.

⁸¹ Letter in *Missouri Republican*, August 7, 1843, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 403.

⁸² Minto, *Reminiscences*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 151. Cf. Communication in *St. Louis Reveille*, November 4, 1844, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 407, and Minto, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1876, p. 39 and *Diary of E. E. Parrish*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1888, p. 102 f.

placed in the hands of some person to be chosen by the whole, as treasurer, who should give bonds, with approved security for the fulfillment of his duty. A treasurer was accordingly chosen, who, after giving the necessary bonds, collected about one hundred and ninety dollars of the money promised; some refused to pay, and others had no money in their possession. All these and similar matters having been satisfactorily arranged, the separation took place, and the companies proceeded to the election of the necessary officers. . . . We found, too, that it was bad policy to require the several companies to wait for each other . . . (and) we adopted a resolution desiring the several companies to abandon the arrangement that required each to delay for the other and that each company should have the use of the pilot according to its turn. Our proposition was not for the present accepted by the other companies."⁸³ The division to which Palmer belonged and of which he was elected captain, abandoned the other parties altogether; but later a reunion was effected.⁸⁴

4. THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENTS IN OPERATION.

Enough has been indicated already in discussing the problems of organization to make it possible to sketch the actual operation of the emigrants' government very briefly. Executive authority was entrusted to the president,^{84a} captain,⁸⁵ commander-in-chief,⁸⁶ general,⁸⁷ colonel,⁸⁸ or whatever might be the title under which the chief officer was elected.⁸⁹ In case the company was comparatively small and moved as a

⁸³ Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 43 ff.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

^{84a} *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.*, X, 419 ff.

⁸⁵ Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 68. Cf. *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, III, 392, F. O. McCown, *Address, O. P. A. Transactions*, 1884, p. 19, and Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 42.

⁸⁶ Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies* (Thwaites), p. 60.

⁸⁷ Cf. references in note 91.

⁸⁸ Stephen Staats, *Address, O. P. A. Transactions*, 1877, p. 47.

⁸⁹ There was frequently much electioneering and the claims of the various candidates were urged with much vehemence and impassioned rhetoric. Cf. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 29 and a communication in the New Orleans *Picayune*, Nov. 21, 1843, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, I, 398 f. Minto, *Antecedents, Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, 39. Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 39. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIX), p. 198.

united whole, his title was usually, captain, but in the larger companies, where a division for administrative or other reasons was effected, he was frequently called colonel⁹⁰ or general,⁹¹ while the division commanders were then designated captains⁹² or sub-captains⁹³ as the case might be. Besides these, there were, as subordinate officers, lieutenants,⁹⁴ quartermasters,⁹⁵ orderly sergeants,⁹⁶ sergeants,⁹⁷ corporals,⁹⁸ secretaries,⁹⁹ treasurers,¹⁰⁰ and pilots or guides.¹⁰¹ These last, as already noted, were sometimes elected and sometimes appointed. The functions of the superior officers were in some cases vague and ill defined¹⁰² but as a rule the by-laws which were adopted pretty clearly fixed their duties and powers. In general, they determined, with the advice of the pilot, the course to be taken each day,¹⁰³ decided on the site for camp¹⁰⁴ and the disposition of the emigrants and their effects during the night, maintained order and discipline, and presided over the meetings of the company. The lesser officers, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, etc., attended to the details of administration.¹⁰⁵ The secretary or orderly sergeant took a careful census of individuals and property at the start and kept careful records of the progress

90 Communication in New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 16, 1843, copied from *Iowa Territorial Gazette* and reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 191.

91 Minto, *Reminiscences*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 135. *Ibid.*, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1876, p. 39. *Ibid.*, Robert Wilson Morrison, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1894, p. 56.

92 Minto, *Reminiscences*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 135. *Ibid.*, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1876, p. 39. *Diary of E. E. Parrish*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1888, p. 95. Nesmith, *Diary of the Emigration of 1843*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 331. *Cf. Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 191.

93 J. Q. Thornton, *Address*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1877, p. 40.

94 Minto, *Reminiscences*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 152. *Diary of E. E. Parrish*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1888, p. 95.

95 Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 43.

96 Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 68. *Cf. Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 191.

97 Minto, *Reminiscences*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 152. *Ibid.*, *Antecedents*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, V, 40. *Diary of E. E. Parrish*, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1888, p. 95. *Cf. Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, III, 392.

98 *Ibid.*

99 *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §6.

100 *Ibid.*

101 See note 110.

102 *Cf. Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies* (Thwaites), p. 198.

103 *Ibid.*

104 *Ibid.* *Cf. also Farnham, Travels* (Thwaites), p. 60.

105 Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 33.

of the company, the executive and legislative acts, and the expenditures *en route*;¹⁰⁶ the treasurer, under bonds,¹⁰⁷ managed the finances, of which he had to give careful account at the end of the journey;¹⁰⁸ the sergeants with the corporals posted the guards at night¹⁰⁹ and were responsible for the adequate performance of guard duty. The pilot, usually a salaried officer, employed by the company at the start and receiving any where from \$250 to \$1000¹¹⁰ was the chief adviser of the commanding officer in determining the route. The term of elective officers varied but tended to be short.

As a part of the executive, and frequently also of the judiciary, was the Council, an elective body of from nine to thirteen men. Their executive functions consisted primarily in offering counsel to the commanding officers in determining the general policy to be pursued by the emigrant government and in reviewing proposed legislation.¹¹¹

The company met in regular session at the outset for the purpose of drafting and accepting their constitution and electing officers. Regular meetings might be called thereafter by the commanding officer¹¹² or at the pleasure of the members themselves. The actual conduct of official business at the start was usually entrusted to committees, who would represent more adequately the various elements composing the company. Such committees interviewed and employed the guide,¹¹³ drafted by-laws,¹¹⁴ inspected the outfit of the emigrants,¹¹⁵ and performed other services of this nature.¹¹⁶ To secure efficiency

¹⁰⁶ Constitution, *Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §8. *Resolutions, Oregon Emigrating Society*, Rule 4, Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, Part II, p. 71.

¹⁰⁷ Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 43.

¹⁰⁸ Constitution, *Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §9.

¹⁰⁹ Minto, *Reminiscences*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, II, 156.

¹¹⁰ See communication, New Orleans *Picayune*, Nov. 21, 1843, reprinted in *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, I, 401. Medorem Crawford, *Journal*, p. 11. Palmer, *Travels* (Thwaites), p. 43.

¹¹¹ *Resolutions, Oregon Emigrating Society*, Rule 2, Wilkes, *Loc. cit.* *Constitution of the Oregon Emigration Society of Iowa Territory*, at Iowa City, Article I, §§5, 6, 7, 15, in *Iowa Journ. Hist. and Pol.*, X, 420 f.

¹¹² Constitution, *Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*, §21. *Diary of E. E. Parrish*, O. P. A. Transactions, 1888, pp. 94, 102.

¹¹³ Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 67.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* Nesmith, *Diary of the Emigration of 1843*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 329. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 31. Thornton, *Address*, O. P. A. Transactions, 1878, p. 39 f.

¹¹⁵ Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 32. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions*, *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, IV, 67.

¹¹⁶ Burnett, *Loc. cit.* Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, Part II, pp. 67, 72.

in the matter of inspection, however, it was customary to select for that purpose a committee of outsiders, who were paid definite wages and whose judgment would be unbiased.¹¹⁷

After adopting a code of by-laws, it frequently became necessary to modify or enlarge them¹¹⁸ or to hold new elections of officers.¹¹⁹ At meetings for these purposes action was taken by majority vote.¹²⁰ The legislative power within the company, however, was frequently limited by a number of devices intended to prevent sedition and mob rule.¹²¹ Thus, an amendment to the constitution in some instances required a two-thirds majority.¹²² Such action was final except in companies where the commander exercised a suspensive veto.¹²³

In the course of the long journey from the Missouri river to Oregon, the pioneers of the middle nineteenth century encountered many unaccustomed dangers and novel problems. Obstacles in the shape of hostile Indians, diminishing supplies, and devastating diseases had to be faced and conquered. But all their difficulties were not physical. They encountered problems of organization and of government as well, and these, like their purely physical trials, they overcame with characteristic American resourcefulness and ingenuity. Out of their experiments and their governmental devices of the moment came much of that fund of political knowledge from which the settlers of the Pacific Northwest and their descendants in these latter days have drawn so freely.

¹¹⁷ *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company, §12.* Minto, Robert Wilson Morrison, *O. P. A. Transactions*, 1894, p. 54.

¹¹⁸ Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ *Oreg. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 343.

¹²⁰ Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, p. 60.

¹²¹ Cf., however, Bryant, *Loc. cit.*, "So thoroughly, however, are our people imbued with conservative republican principles and so accustomed are they to order and propriety of deportment, that with a fair understanding, a majority will always be found on the side of right opposed to disorganization."

¹²² *Constitution, Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company, §21.*

¹²³ *Resolutions, Oregon Emigrating Society, Rule 2, Wilkes, Loc. cit.*

THE YAQUINA RAILROAD.

The Tale of a Great Fiasco

By LESLIE M. SCOTT.

This is a history of a monumental fiasco in railroad finance—of the railroad built in 1878-89 between Yaquina Bay and the near-summit of Cascade Mountains, 143 miles, with steamship extensions to San Francisco and steamboat connections up and down Willamette River from Corvallis and Albany.

The project aimed to make Yaquina Bay the great seaport of the North Pacific Coast and the transcontinental terminus of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific or the Chicago and Northwestern railroad. The former had reached California in 1869 and the latter was contemplating a transcontinental line in 1887-89. Oregon had no through-rail route from the Eastern States, until opening of the Northern Pacific, August 22, 1883, nor from California, until connections with the Central Pacific December 17, 1887.

The plan of the Oregon Pacific was to open the first transcontinental rail route to Oregon, by crossing the State, east and west, through the mid-State region not yet (1915) served by railroad from Idaho, with an extension down Snake River to Lewiston—this to draw Columbia River traffic. It purposed to make the commerce of the Columbia River and the Willamette Valley tributary to a proposed metropolis at Yaquina Bay; to build there a city which should win priority from Portland.

Even after Portland became the terminus of the Northern Pacific in 1883, of the Union Pacific in 1884 (November 11), and of the Central Pacific in 1887, the project continued with unabated vigor until the close of 1889. The scheme was at hey-day in 1886-89, in which period considerable shipments went by sea, to and from San Francisco, and by the Willamette River in connection with the railroad. The towns of Newport and Yaquina "boomed" and soared as "the future seaport of

the Northwest Coast." Town lots at Newport were advertised in 1889 at \$1500 and \$2000 each, which in five years were to be worth between \$25,000 and \$50,000 (see advertisements in *Oregonian*, Sept. 2, 1889).

The company, Oregon Pacific Railroad, bonded for \$15,000,000, went to ruin in 1890-94 and its property was sold at foreclosure December 22, 1894, for \$100,000, after three successive receivers had tried vainly to earn sufficient revenue for operation, and after the sheriff had offered the road for sale at auction seven times previously. Not only did the original stock and bonds meet total loss, but wages and other debts of the receivership went unpaid or were scaled down to between three and ten cents on the dollar. Finally, the ill-starred road passed to the Southern Pacific (1907), which even to this day is unable to wipe out the continuous deficit, and which during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, suffered a loss, over operation cost, of \$202,522 (*Poor's Manual of Railroads*).

I.

The Yaquina railroad originated in 1871-72 with Colonel T. Egerton Hogg, who expanded it through successive stages and finally passed out of its affairs March 4, 1893, when removed as Receiver. His bondholders were men of New York and Baltimore, among the most prominent being John I. Blair, James Blair, A. S. Barnes, F. W. Rhineland, Joseph Wharton, Howland G. Hazard, George S. Coe, George S. Brown, Alexander Brown, J. J. Belden, Henry Martin, Sylvester Kneeland, Geo. de B. Keim, Lindley Smyth, Samuel S. Sands, Stephen H. Little, Samuel A. Stern. Many other names of bondholders appear in the mortuary relics of the Company.

The whole scheme was one of rosiest optimism. It was based on the mistaken notion that the traffic of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers could be diverted from its gravity water courses by railroad routes across mountains to a harbor that was too shallow for entrance of large ships (originally

15 feet depth at high tide; increased to 22 feet by government work after 1880) and could not compete with the superior Columbia River. Two of its own ocean ships were wrecked at the Bay entrance. Moreover, the scheme was fatuously financed, if not mismanaged; its capital, which was to build 600 miles of railroad, was exhausted after construction of 143 miles; and without connections it could not earn enough revenue even to pay operation. One who delves into its history wonders how the ruinous idea could have gained such momentum as to risk and sink so many millions of hard-earned dollars. The actual sum expended in Oregon, as I am informed by Mr. Wallis Nash, formerly Vice-President of the Company, was \$4,250,000—about \$30,000 a mile. Water lines cost an approximate \$1,000,000 additional. I am unable to learn how much cash was realized from the \$15,000,000 bonds of the company, or how much larger that cash sum was than the actual disbursements. It appears that only about one-third of the nominal bonded debt was expended for construction and equipment.

The route of the Yaquina railroad, in earliest time, was that of an Indian trail, which followed a convenient gap in the Coast Mountains between tidewater and Willamette Valley. In 1860 the Oregon Legislature by joint resolution, requested the Oregon members of Congress to obtain right of way for a wagon road to "Aquina Bay" and stated that such wagon road "can be opened with comparatively small expense" (session laws, page 9). Congress in 1866 granted lands for a military wagon road from Corvallis to Yaquina and in the same year the Legislature passed these lands to the Corvallis and Yaquina Road Company (session laws, page 63). About this time Congress made several land grants in Oregon, namely: wagon road East of Eugene, 1864; east of Albany, 1866; Oregon and California Railroad, 1866; east of The Dalles, 1867; Roseburg-Coos Bay, 1869; Portland-McMinnville railroad, 1870. In this period the two rival railroads, projected south of Portland—"East Side" and "West Side" companies—were fighting for

possession of the land grant for the route to California. Citizens of Benton and Linn Counties wished for a railroad to Yaquina as well as to Portland and called for aid therefor. The Yaquina railroad idea then appeared in a joint memorial of the Oregon Legislature (Oct. 15, 1868) to Congress, urging aid for the Corvallis and Yaquina Railroad Company, 45 miles (session laws, page 128). The Legislature in 1870, by joint resolution, asked for a land grant for that purpose (session laws, page 199).

II.

In 1871 Colonel Hogg first visited western Oregon and initiated the project. By this time a toll road for wagons had been opened between Corvallis and Elk City. In October, 1872, Hogg incorporated the Corvallis and Yaquina Bay Railroad Company. Two years later, for a larger purpose, he formed the Willamette Valley and Coast Railroad Company, to build a narrow gauge line, with extension into Eastern Oregon, incorporated July 2, 1874. For a subsidy, the Legislature granted to the company "all the tide and marsh lands situated in said county of Benton" (Act of Oct. 24, 1874; session laws, pages 51-62; Lincoln County not created until Feb. 20, 1893) and exempted the company from taxation for twenty years. Acceptance of the terms of this act was filed with the State by B. W. Wilson, President of the Company, and R. S. Strahan, secretary (November 10, 1874). This act required completion of the road within five years, but in 1878 the Legislature granted six years' longer time. For an additional bounty citizens of Benton and Linn Counties, headed by Green B. Smith and Dr. J. R. Bayley, raised \$35,000 in 1878-79 (Oregonian Feb. 23, 1878, page 1). Directors of the company included W. B. Hamilton, Ashby Pierce, I. B. Henkle, M. Jacobs, Sol King, J. M. Currier, T. E. Cauthorn, J. Harris. In 1878-79 about \$40,000 was expended for construction of the first ten miles west of Corvallis. Ground was "broken" May 17, 1877, at Corvallis and grading began May 6, 1878.

Surveys had begun in April, 1872, under George Mercer (Oregonian April 12, 1872, page 2), and were continued by James Kinney (Oregonian, Sept. 14, 1874, page 1). The survey crossed the Coast Mountains in 1875 (Oregonian, May 22). The estimate of construction cost was \$4,285.11 a mile (Oregonian, July 19, 1875, page 1).

Oregon at this time was in the first period of railroad development. Ben Holladay had opened the Oregon and California Railroad to Salem, Sept. 28, 1870; to Albany Dec. 8, 1870; to Eugene, Oct. 9, 1871; to Roseburg Nov. 2, 1872. He had opened the Oregon Central to Hillsboro December 18, 1871, and to St. Joseph, near McMinnville, Nov. 8, 1872. Henry Villard had come to Oregon as successor to Holladay in 1874-76, and in 1879 was projecting the line of the O. R. & N. along Columbia River eastward, extension of the Roseburg railroad to Ashland and California and extension of the St. Joseph railroad to McMinnville (opened September, 1879), and to Corvallis (opened Jan. 28, 1880). The narrow gauge railroad, promoted by Joseph Gaston, who had begun construction in 1878 in Yamhill County, was beginning the career which was to reach north to Portland and south to Coburg, with expectancy of connection with the Central Pacific. Many residents of Benton County, spurred by these railroad schemes, thought their short and best route to tidewater was via Yaquina Bay. Colonel Hogg, in their view, was their Holladay and their Villard, as a railroad builder.

Hogg's second company made little progress. Capital was lacking and in order to secure it he looked to Eastern investors and incorporated a more pretentious company, Oregon Pacific Railroad, September 15, 1880, with Wallis Nash, Sol King, Thomas E. Cauthorn, Zephin Job, fellow incorporators. This company was to be the financing guardian of the Willamette Valley and Coast Railroad Company, which it undertook to carry forward on a larger scale and to connect with the Union Pacific. Hogg was President of the new Company; William A. Hoag, First Vice-President; Wallis Nash, Second

Vice-President; Isaac W. Smith, chief engineer; H. Yates, Superintendent.

III.

The prospectus of the new company, inviting buyers of bonds, was a highly-colored sample of rainbow finance. When one reads it at this distance of thirty-five years, he wonders that the promoters should have so badly misrepresented or misjudged the poor security of the loan which they set about to "float." In these later days of awakened public conscience one doubts that such rainbow promises would be tolerated. (Reprint of Prospectus, *Oregonian*, Nov. 8, 1880.)

The bonds were to mature in twenty years and draw interest at six per cent. They were to be secured by first mortgage on franchises and property of the two companies, the trustee being Farmers' Loan and Trust Company of New York. The issue was "\$25,000 per mile of such railroad." There was no requirement that the issue be limited to \$25,000 per mile of "completed" railroad. Nor was there any requirement, before issuance of the bonds, of engineer's or president's certificate, showing that certain mileage was finished or that anything material had been done at all. The only need was a declaration from the executive committee that the money was to be used "for the purposes of the corporation" (*New York Evening Post* article in *Oregonian*, Oct. 27, 1891). The trustee issued the whole amount of the bonds, but only 143 of the 600 miles of road were built.

The prospectus continued to state that the bond issue was for construction of the Coast division from Yaquina Bay to the "lumber districts of the Cascade Mountains"; that the mortgage was secured by a "land grant which covers the ocean front for over forty miles and also covers many miles of deep water front on both shores of Yaquina and Alsea Bay." This referred to the State land grant of tide and marsh lands in Benton County, of doubtful value. Other lands alluded to as security were those of the wagon road company between Corval-

lis and Yaquina and the wagon road company, east of Albany, running through Eastern Oregon, neither of which, however, was an asset of the railroad then or later. Yet the prospectus said: "The proceeds of sales from the land grant constitute a sinking fund for the purchase or final payment of the bonds. . . . The land grant alone, embracing, as it does, over 900,000 acres of most valuable selected lands, including all tide and marsh lands in Benton County, will be worth, on the completion of the road, more than the entire amount of the mortgage, thus practically leaving the entire railroad and equipment and the steamships and steamboats and other craft with enormous earning capacity, free from mortgage."

The only assets of the company, at that time, were the grant of tide lands and ten miles of unfinished railroad west of Corvallis, that cost probably \$75,000. The Company never received a land grant from Congress. Hogg and his associates were understood to hold options for purchase of the two wagon road grants. Even if these lands had secured the bonds, their value was very uncertain, and at best, small compared with the sum borrowed.

Further, the prospectus estimated an enormous revenue from freight and passenger traffic. The net earnings, after operating expenses, of the first 130 miles of railroad were estimated "conservatively" at \$1,062,000 a year, or nearly six times the annual interest. The actual earnings never verified these predictions in slightest degree. The promoters not only overestimated the volume of traffic of the Willamette Valley but grossly exaggerated the part of that traffic which would come to them. The Willamette Valley already had two big lines of railroad, south from Portland, and a third was then building. Besides, river steamboats controlled a large traffic by way of Portland. Moreover, the port of Yaquina was inadequate for large ships, because its entrance then had a maximum depth at high tide of only 14 or 15 feet, according to the season of the year. (Reports of U. S. Engineers.) Time proved

that the Yaquina railroad could obtain only a small share of Willamette Valley traffic.

Hogg's resource for raising money had to meet many obstacles and it is fair to acknowledge the able manner in which he overcame them and persuaded bond buyers. At a public speech at Corvallis, October 26, 1881, he announced the success of his financing plans (address reported by Alfred Holman in *Oregonian*, November 2, 1881). "The means necessary to construct the line of the Oregon Pacific Railroad," said Hogg, "from Yaquina Bay to the Eastern part of our state and thence to Boise City, have been secured and we all hope the result will be speedy construction of the same. The very opposition that we met with and which seemed at times to be overwhelming, called the attention of those, who were seeking investments, to our project and thus the persevering effort to defeat us was the best argument that our enterprise was good. We are tonight prepared to say (and we believe that facts will bear out the assertion) that before the close of another twelve-month, the Oregon Pacific Road will be built from Yaquina Bay to a point east of the Cascade Mountains."

Hogg explained that the "opposition" came from foes in the "central portion of the state," evidently adverting to Villard's railroad interests. He said his road would be "independent" of those interests and of the narrow gauge railway which Scotch investors were then building; and that he would put barges on the Willamette, Columbia and Snake Rivers to draw freight for his railroad. "But our immediate work is the grand trunk line through, to join hands with those building to meet us at Boise City and I promise you now that within two years and a half we shall have the work completed and, by joining with Eastern connections will make a grand trunk line through to the East from Yaquina Bay. . . The Oregon Pacific line by its connections Eastward from Boise City will be shorter than any of the trunk lines now built or proposed, by nearly 300 miles." The ocean voyage between Portland and San Francisco, then three and one-half days, Hogg said his

road would cut to forty hours. Freight rates his road would cut in half.

IV.

At this time grading was in progress and locomotives and rails were en route both by rail to San Francisco and via Panama. Engineers located the line early in the Summer of 1881 under Wallis Nash. At the time of Hogg's speech grading was finished fifteen miles west of Corvallis and some similar work was done at Yaquina Bay. Rails were delivered at the Bay, after being re-shipped at San Francisco, because large ships could not enter Yaquina (description by Alfred Holman in *Oregonian*, Nov. 2, 1881). Construction progressed steadily, except for an interval, August to December, 1883, until the first train ran from Corvallis to Yaquina in March, 1885. (*Oregonian*, March 15.) Completion of that part of the road was celebrated by an excursion train April 4, 1885. Grading had been finished Nov. 21, 1884. The Corvallis-Philomath line had been opened in Oct. 1884, on which event J. Henkle, Sr., pioneer of 1852, drove the "silver spike," signalling the arrival at Philomath of the first locomotive. Surveys for connection with the Oregon Short line fifty miles east of Huntington were completed in December, 1884 (*Oregonian*, Dec. 16, 1884). At this time connection with the "narrow gauge" lines of Willamette Valley was contemplated, via King's Valley. The narrow gauge had been under lease to the O. R. & N. since Oct. 1, 1881, but after Villard's retirement and repudiation of the lease by the O. R. & N. Nov. 15, 1884, the narrow gauge needed reorganization and a tidewater outlet. This plan did not develop.

The Oregon Pacific, soon after completion of its line between Corvallis and Yaquina, instituted freight and passenger connections with San Francisco. The first carload of wheat was shipped from Philomath to Corvallis Aug. 11, 1885. Steamship connections began Sept. 14, 1885. The fare between Corvallis and the California City was \$14, the wheat rate \$4.50

a ton. The first steamship was the Yaquina City, which continued the route from Sept., 1885, until she was wrecked inside the bar of Yaquina Bay Dec. 5, 1887. In January of that year the steamship Santa Maria, was put on the route with the Yaquina City and was reinforced in August, 1887, by the steamships Willamette Valley and Eastern Oregon. To take the place of the wrecked Yaquina City the steamship Yaquina Bay arrived at the Bay December 9, 1888, where she was wrecked on the south jetty on her first trip. During 1887 the company maintained a frequent service with three steamships, but business was sufficient to operate only the Willamette Valley in August, 1888. In January-February, 1889, the Santa Maria and Willamette Valley were on the route. In October-December, 1889, the Willamette Valley operated alone. In 1887 the Yaquina City and the Willamette Valley carried 24,000 tons of wheat to San Francisco and the returning tonnage was about 200 a trip.

For Willamette River connections the railroad company built three large steamers—William M. Hoag, N. S. Bentley, and Three Sisters, which together maintained an alternate day service between Portland and Corvallis. The trip took two days, with one night stay at Salem. These water lines were operated by the Oregon Development Company, a subsidiary of the Oregon Pacific. They were essential as "feeders" to the railroad.

After completion of the railroad from Yaquina to Corvallis, the next step was extension to Albany. The Willamette Valley and Coast Railroad Company was authorized in 1880 to bridge the Willamette River at Albany but the franchise was not utilized at once. For a subsidy for the extension, Albany citizens raised \$40,000 in 1885-86. The bridge was finished Jan. 5, 1887, and the first passenger train between Corvallis and Albany ran on Jan. 6, 1887; the first regular freight train January 13, 1887. The whole project received impetus in 1886 from the visit of John I. Blair and Percy R. Pyne, of New York, bondholders of the Oregon Pacific and

directors of the Chicago & Northwestern, who inspected the route to the summit of Cascade Mountains, and commended the enterprise highly. Pyne said in *The Oregonian* of August 23, 1886:

"I have seen enough to convince me that the story has been but half told. I believe the Oregon Pacific will be a profitable railroad and that a great city will grow up at Yaquina Bay." It was widely believed that the Oregon Pacific would connect at or near Boise City with the Chicago and Northwestern.

Notwithstanding this hopeful prospect, construction east of Albany halted in March, 1887, but on June 9, 1887, a bond syndicate at New York announced that it would carry forward the extension to Boise (*Oregonian*, June 10, 1887). The syndicate bore the names of Rowland G. Hazard, Samuel S. Sands, A. S. Barnes, T. Egerton Hogg, S. V. White, George S. Brown, F. W. Rhineland. "This syndicate," ran the *New York Dispatch* to *The Oregonian* (June 9, 1887), "assures the completion of the road from its starting point at Yaquina Harbor, Ore., to its eastern terminus, Boise City, Idaho."

Contracts for construction to the summit of Cascade Mountains were let in the summer of 1887 to Nelson Bennett and G. W. Hunt. Both contractors disagreed with the company and quit December 14, 1887, and litigation followed the dispute. The company let new contracts for this work in July-August, 1888, to Brink and West for thirty miles out of Albany, and to James J. Searle, E. B. Deane and Job & Neugass for successive stages. Construction did not continue in 1890. The farthest point of the finished track was Boulder Creek, about twelve miles from the summit. On October 26, 1890, after the Company defaulted in interest, it went into receivership with Hogg named as receiver, by the State Circuit Court for Benton County, M. L. Pipes, Judge. The petition for receivership came from the Farmers Loan and Trust Company, of New York, trustee for the bondholders. (*Oregonian*, Oct. 30, 1890.)

V.

Now began four years of tribulation for the Oregon Pacific, strife for factions of bondholders and loss for employes and other creditors of the receivership, the whole culminating in foreclosure sale for \$100,000, December 22, 1894, of which sum \$66,000 was used to pay taxes and court fees and \$34,000 remained to meet claims that had been scaled down from more than \$1,000,000 to \$341,971—labor and material, attorneys and various receivers' certificates. Needless to say the \$15,000,000 bonds proved wholly worthless. Most of the indebtedness of the receivership was a total loss. The "preferred" claims selected for pro rata payment out of the \$34,000 included \$138,013.43 for labor; \$39,525.17 with 8 per cent interest from April 10, 1893, which sum was advanced to pay labor by A. S. Heidlebach, J. H. Halstead, John I. Blair and Joseph Wharton at a critical period; \$16,674.19 for insurance; \$68,632.99 for material and miscellaneous items. This apportionment, filed by the referee Feb. 1, 1896, was approved by the State Circuit Court, Fullerton Judge, March 18, 1896. (Report in Oregonian, Feb. 24, 1896.)

In the four-year receivership period (1890-94) the sheriff sold the railroad three times; for \$1,000,000, Jan. 20, 1892, to Zephin Job, representing bondholders; for \$200,000, Dec. 15, 1893, to representatives of bondholders; and for \$100,000, Dec. 22, 1894, to A. B. Hammond and E. L. Bonner. The first sale failed, through delinquency of the bidders; the second was set aside by the Court, which held the bid price \$200,000 inadequate. The sheriff made five other attempts to sell the property in 1892-94.

Quarrels broke out early in the foreclosure proceedings, between factions of bondholders. Decree of foreclosure and order of sale were entered in the State Court April 27, 1891, and sale was finally set for Jan. 20, 1892. Priority of payment from proceeds of the sale was the issue of contention. Finally after conferences of the bondholders in New York,

October-December, 1891, it was agreed to hand over the bonds to some person or corporation mutually to be agreed upon and to accept the plan of a reorganization committee; also to have Hogg bid in the road at foreclosure sale at a price sufficient to pay floating indebtedness and bond the road anew for completion, without voiding the interests of the old bondholders. But after Job bid in the property for Hogg, Jan. 20, 1892, for \$1,000,000, a large faction of old bondholders led by Blair and Wharton began a bitter fight against Hogg, charging him with conspiracy to get possession at a low price and to cheat out the old bondholders (*Oregonian*, Feb. 18, 1892). The fight finally culminated in removal of Hogg as receiver, Mar. 4, 1893. But before that result, the opponents of Hogg took their contest into the United States Circuit Court at Portland, in February, 1892, where they sought to withhold the sheriff's certificate of sale, on the ground that Hogg was scheming to pass the property to a new company with a heavy prior mortgage attached, thus crowding out old bondholders. They petitioned to have the sheriff pass the certificate to a trustee, in conformity with prior agreements with Hogg. They also alleged that Hogg had issued \$250,000 certificates as receiver, which were fraudulent. Hogg answered that the bid price, \$1,000,000, was low because it had to be cash and that the bondholders had failed to arrange for such sum; that the necessary method of raising funds was a bond issue of a new Company and that he was acting in good faith towards all parties concerned. The testimony was presented before Judge M. P. Deady May 2-3, 1892 (*Oregonian*, May 3, 1892, 3½ cols.). The Court on May 9 ordered both parties into a stipulation to pass the bankrupt railroad to a new company which should bond the property for needed funds according to the reorganization agreement. The court saw no evidence of conspiracy on Hogg's part to defraud the old bondholders (text of decree in *Oregonian*, May 10, 1892). Creation of a new company, Oregon Pacific Railway, capital \$18,000,000, followed this decision—incorporated July 30,

1892, at Salem by Wm. M. Hoag, Wallis Nash, B. W. Wilson, Z. Job, Abraham Hackleman. The parties interested could not co-operate, however, the Job purchase fell through, and the reorganization plan came to naught.

VI.

Meanwhile the railroad was fast running behind its revenues. Bondholders' quarrels with Hogg's management continued. Poor business conditions added to the company's troubles. It was plain that there must be a change of administration and a new receiver. Moreover Hogg did not devote his personal attention to the property nor stay in Oregon. On March 4 Judge Fullerton appointed as receiver Everest W. Hadley, who had served as Superintendent of the road and was a resident of Corvallis. This change followed the wishes of the Blair-Wharton bondholders. Their attorney, John P. Fay, of Seattle, said that they had long wished reorganization and desired then to develop the property (interview in *Oregonian*, April 20, 1893). Judge Fullerton's order removing Hogg cited that the latter was "no longer a suitable person to serve as such receiver"; "he has neglected the duties of his trust in that he has since his appointment (Oct. 26, 1890) constantly resided outside of the State of Oregon"; "has delegated his duties to subordinates"; "his interests are directly opposed and antagonistic to the interests of a large number of the other bondholders"; "he hindered and delayed the experts sent out to examine the properties advertised to be sold"; "the interests of all concerned will be conserved by the removal." (*Oregonian*, March 7, 1893.)

Hogg's receivership lasted 26 months, during which time the payrolls of employes went arrears ten months, to a total sum of \$127,000. Hogg issued in credit certificates, \$800,000, which at his removal were worth 60 cents on the dollar in Wall Street (*Oregonian*, March 7, 1893). Other indebtedness included material claims \$25,000 and taxes—the whole being in excess of \$1,000,000. The receiver had been selling certifi-

cates at 40 per cent discount, in order to raise necessary funds. This practice was stopped by the new receiver, Hadley, but it is fair to Hogg to add, that the company continued to pile up deficit under the two successive receivers, although in reduced degree.

Hadley's receivership, from March 4, 1893, to Jan. 4, 1894, piled up a further deficit of \$59,864—earnings \$171,045; expenses \$230,909 (Oregonian, Feb. 4, 1894)—this despite his best efforts to economize. This was in the midst of the "hard times" of the period, which of course, added to the troubles of the company. All three divisions of traffic, ocean, rail and river, showed heavy losses during Hadley's period—ocean, \$18,398; rail, \$25,348; river, \$9,388. Repairs cost \$60,000—which was about the amount of Hadley's deficit. These were necessary because the road was on the verge of physical wreck. In his final report he stated that his economies amounted to \$100,000 a year over Hogg's receivership. One of the early acts of Hadley was to pay \$40,000 to employes, which sum was advanced in April, 1893, by John I. Blair, Joseph Wharton, A. S. Heidlebach and J. H. Halstead, and which was finally repaid ten cents on the dollar in 1896, from proceeds of the \$100,000 sale of Dec. 22, 1894. Hadley went to New York to persuade the bondholders to make extensions but found everywhere "great indifference and evident inclination to regard the matter as a dead horse." (Oregonian, Dec. 25, 1893.)

At the time of Hadley's appointment, the State Court ordered the property again sold by the sheriff, but not until Dec. 15, 1893, was a sale effected, this time for \$200,000, the bid coming from James Blair, Joseph Wharton, J. J. Belden, Henry Martin, F. K. Pendleton and S. S. Hollingsworth. The Court refused confirmation of this sale, Dec. 16, owing to general disappointment over a price which fell so far below the debts of the company—more than \$1,000,000—and which would not have satisfied preferred claims, including dues of employes. (Oregonian, Dec. 17, 1893.) Next day at San Francisco W. A. Swinerton, assignee of claims against the Company, attached the steamer Willamette Valley for \$13,209.

Hadley voiced the general dissatisfaction with the \$200,000 bid, in a statement published in *The Oregonian* December 25, 1893. He said that the bid was absurd, that the property as a railroad was worth \$3,500,000 and as "scraps," \$400,000. Rather than confirm the sale, Hadley urged that the road be turned over to employes and material men "as the creditors most at interest, to be by them torn up and sold, as they might deem best." His appraisal of "scraps" was as follows:

13,300 tons rails at \$15.....	\$200,000
14 locomotives at \$2,000.....	28,000
2 locomotives at \$500	1,000
Passenger coaches	8,000
258 box cars at \$150.....	12,000
Other freight equipment	1,400
50,000 new ties at 10c.....	5,000
Supplies in storehouse.....	10,000
Steamship Willamette Valley	40,000
Tug Resolute	5,000
Tools in machine shop.....	10,000
3 river steamboats at \$2000.....	6,000
Land and buildings	10,000
Water tanks, switches, etc.....	3,000
Incidentals	10,000
	<hr/>
	\$400,000

Charles Clark, who succeeded Hadley as receiver Jan. 4, 1894, was unable to check the growing deficit. In the course of this year it became manifest that the only remedy was to sell the property for what it would bring. The Court had vainly fixed a minimum price of \$1,000,000 and then of \$1,250,000 in 1892-93. By December, 1894, the accumulated claims were more than \$1,166,000: Hogg certificates \$800,000; Hadley certificates, \$81,000; labor and material \$225,000; taxes and court costs \$60,000. (*Oregonian*, December 26, 1894.) On July 23, 1894, the sheriff again offered the property but received no bid. His final offer, on December 22, 1894, brought a bid of \$100,000 from Hammond and Bonner. The State Circuit Court confirmed the sale January 19, 1895, and

the State Supreme Court confirmed it July 22, 1895. Wallis Nash opposed the confirmation on the ground that certain English buyers would pay \$200,000; so also George Bigham of Salem and J. K. Weatherford and Percy Kelly, of Albany, who represented various claims. (Statement of Company finances, *Oregonian*, January 3, 20, 1895; July 29, 1895; Feb. 2, 24, 1896; March 19, 1896.) Taxes and court costs, amounting to \$66,000 were first satisfied out of the \$100,000, leaving \$34,000 for satisfaction of nearly \$1,200,000 claims, that were scaled down by the referee to \$341,971. (*Oregonian*, February 2, 24, 1896.) The people of Corvallis voiced approval of the Supreme Court's decision at a public demonstration July 22, 1895.

VII.

A well-known and esteemed citizen of Oregon, Mr. Wallis Nash, who gave many of his best years to the Oregon Pacific, tells me that the project was wrecked by factional dissensions, which balked its completion and final success. On account of my high regard for Mr. Nash, I wish to insert here a paragraph from one of his recent letters on this subject:

"It is just to remember that no one connected with the management of the Company had any idea except that the receivership (October, 1890) was a step in the way to reorganization by the bondholders. Dissensions among those bondholders and financiers, of the most virulent kind, was the cause of the total wreck of the enterprise. This same dissension foiled every effort that Colonel Hogg put forth until he died (1896) for the resumption and completion of the road."

The new Company, incorporated to take over the Oregon Pacific property by A. B. Hammond, Edwin Stone and Charles Clark, April 12, 1895, was the Oregon Central and Eastern Railway. This Company was succeeded by the Corvallis and Eastern Railroad, which Hammond incorporated December 15, 1897, capital \$2,500,000, for the purpose of bonding for extension through Eastern Oregon, but the project was not carried out.

The various accessory properties of the Oregon Pacific were sold by Hammond after his purchase in 1904, at handsome profits. Among those properties were the following, which Mr. Nash informs me brought prices approximately as follows: Steamship Willamette Valley, \$40,000; Tug Resolute, \$17,000; three river steamboats, \$35,000; rolling stock \$100,000; total \$192,000. Later, on December 18, 1907, Hammond sold the Corvallis and Eastern Company for an additional \$750,000, to E. H. Harriman, who conveyed it to the Southern Pacific, where the ownership now lodges. Before this sale it was reported that the Goulds contemplated Yaquina Bay as a northern terminus of their Western Pacific railroad (Oregonian, May 21, 1905), but the report did not materialize.

Impatient at the inaction of the Corvallis and Eastern, as to the Eastern Oregon extension, Wallis Nash and others incorporated the Co-operative Christian Federation, Feb. 21, 1906, to build the road into that region, for colonization purposes (Oregonian, Feb. 22, 1906, page 10; March 1, 1906, page 10). Other officers of the Federation were J. Frank Watson, Samuel Connell, L. O. Ralston, C. E. S. Wood, of Portland; J. R. Blackaby, of Ontario; N. U. Carpenter, of Baker; C. W. Thompson, of Pendleton; H. S. Wallace, and David Leppert. For a railroad branch of the Federation, Mr. Nash organized at Portland in July, 1906, the Mid-Oregon & Eastern Railway, Portland to Mehama, Idanha and Ontario, \$13,125,000 capital, Wallis Nash, president. (Details in Oregonian, December 23, 1906.) Announcement that funds were pledged to build the railroad was made in The Oregonian January 6, 1907, after return of Mr. Nash from London. This project ended with the sale of the Yaquina Railroad to Harriman and the Southern Pacific.

The railroad has served since as a local branch of the Southern Pacific. Yaquina Bay as a seaport affords little or no railroad traffic and the National Government feels no incentive to develop deep channel at the Bay entrance.

THE PACIFIC COAST SURVEY OF 1849 AND 1850.

By LEWIS A. McARTHUR.¹

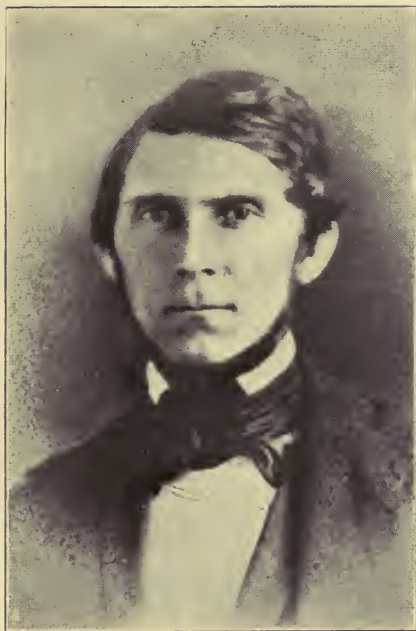
The first survey of the Pacific Coast by the United States Government was made in 1849 and 1850. The field work was done principally by Lieut. Commanding William P. McArthur, U. S. N., and Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett, U. S. N.,² assistants in the Coast Survey. There are some details of the life of Lieut. Commanding McArthur and the work he carried on on the Pacific Coast that may be of interest to students of Oregon history.

William Pope McArthur was born on April 2, 1814, at Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. He was the oldest child of John and Mary Linn McArthur. His mother was a sister of Dr. Lewis Fields Linn, who was later to become Oregon's champion in the United States Senate. Dr. Linn took a decided interest in his nephew, and at the uncle's request, the youth was appointed a midshipman in the United States Navy on February 11, 1832. The first few years of his service were spent in the South Pacific Station, and in April, 1837, he was granted three months' leave. Two months later he was granted permission to attend the Naval School at Norfolk, to perfect himself in his studies.

Early in the winter of 1837-8 the government organized an expedition to the Everglades of Florida, and placed it under command of Lieut. Commanding L. M. Powell, U. S. N. McArthur served as commanding officer of one of the two small vessels of the expedition, with the temporary title of lieutenant. The expedition was a mixed command of sailors, soldiers and marines. Among the members was Joseph E.

¹ The author of this paper is a grandson of William P. McArthur and a son of Lewis Linn McArthur.

² Gertrude Atherton, in her "California, an Intimate History," states that Bartlett was the first American alcalde at Yerba Buena, and that he changed the name of the village to San Francisco in 1846.



Wm. P. M. Anthony.
N. H. S. N. any.

Johnston, who later became one of the greatest generals of the Confederate Army. Johnston had graduated from West Point in 1829, served in the Black Hawk campaign, was stationed at several forts along the Atlantic seaboard, and in 1836 accompanied General Scott to Florida as a member of his staff. Shortly thereafter Johnston resigned from the army, and took up the study of civil engineering. When the expedition of 1837 was sent to the Everglades, Johnston volunteered to accompany it as topographical engineer. Acting Lieutenant McArthur and Johnston became firm friends, and continued so until the death of the former.³

The expedition landed at Jupiter Inlet about the 10th or 12th of January, 1838. Johnston and McArthur warned Powell as to the tricks of Indian warfare, but Powell would not listen, and as a result the command was ambushed, and had it not been for the bravery and coolness of Johnston, the column would have been annihilated.

McArthur was badly wounded in both legs, and was carried to the boats by a faithful negro sailor. Johnston kept the men in orderly retreat and undoubtedly prevented greater loss of life. Later a surgeon removed the ball from one of McArthur's legs, but the other could not be extracted, and annoyed him until the day of his death.

McArthur was sent to the Naval Hospital at Norfolk, and while recovering, courted and married Mary Stone Young, on May 3, 1838. His wife was the daughter of Lieutenant John J. Young, at that time superintendent of the Naval Hospital. During the next two years he saw service on various vessels, and on September 24, 1840, was ordered to the brig *Consort*, detailed to the Coast Survey. The cruise lasted over a year, and during that time a survey was made of the Gulf of Mexico. From that time on his work was almost entirely with the Coast Survey, duty calling him to nearly every nook and corner of his country's coast line.

In the fall of 1848 he received the following instructions,

³ "General Johnston," by Robert M. Hughes; Appleton, 1893, gives further particulars of Scott's campaign, and the expedition described here.

dated October 27, and signed by A. D. Bache,⁴ Superintendent U. S. Coast Survey: "I have been directed by the Treasury Department to make arrangements for commencing the survey of the Western Coast of the United States. A land party has been for some time organizing under the charge of Assist. Jas. S. Williams. I am directed also to organize a hydrographic party, to accompany or speedily to follow the land party, and you have been assigned to the command of the party. You will please therefore make all preliminary arrangements in conformity with oral instructions already received, or such as may suggest themselves as proper to you under circumstances, observing the usual routine in regard to estimates, etc. If no more suitable vessel for your purpose can be obtained, the *Schr. Ewing*, the transfer of which from the Revenue Service has been directed by the Sect'y of the Treasury, will be assigned to you.

"The fitting out of this vessel and her dispatch at as early a moment as practicable is desirable, say before the first week of November.

"I do not deem it desirable that you should make the voyage in the vessel, as you cannot complete work now in hand, nor so well seize the most prominent objects of the Western work as by making the journey over the Isthmus, and joining the vessel at Panama or San Francisco. The specific duties required of you will be stated later in instructions.

"You are authorized to go to New York in connection with the transfer of the *Ewing* at such time as you may deem best."

Lieut. Commanding McArthur left New York on one of the new Aspinwall steamers, and in due time landed at Chagres. The only route across the Isthmus was up the Chagres River in boats, and thence by mule train over the trail to Panama. Chagres was congested with a motley crowd, from all quarters of the earth, making its way to the California gold fields. Among the fortune hunters were many characterless men, and

⁴ Alexander Dallas Bache was one of America's foremost scientists, and was a grandson of Benjamin Franklin. He was born at Philadelphia on July 19, 1806, and died at Newport, R. I., on February 17, 1867. He served in many positions of note, and was superintendent of the Coast Survey from 1843 to 1867.

even fugitives from justice. They threw off all restraint, and perpetrated so many crimes, that the authorities were powerless. Prominent residents appealed to the more responsible Americans, and asked their co-operation in putting down the violence. Lieut. Commanding McArthur spoke Spanish fluently and accurately, and this coupled with the fact that he was an American officer, caused him to be put at the head of an impromptu vigilance committee. He and his colleagues took the lead so effectively that within forty-eight hours the lawlessness was ended.

When he reached Panama, here too were found many gold seekers, many ill from fever, and the place was overcrowded because of insufficient transportation to San Francisco. Passage tickets were commanding exorbitant prices.

Anchored near the island of Taboga was the ship *Humboldt*, 500 tons burden, owned by a Frenchman, J. B. Ferand, used as a store ship for coal, and bonded in a large sum to remain there in that service. So great was the pressure to leave Panama, that a delegation waited on Ferand, and persuaded him to forfeit his bond, and send the ship to San Francisco, if he could secure four hundred passengers at \$200 each, and providing that no cooked provisions were to be furnished by him except as could be prepared "once a day in a large fifty-gallon kettle." Hot coffee was to be distributed in the morning, and hot tea in the evening, and from the perusal of Lieut. Commanding McArthur's letters, it seems probable that the tea and coffee were prepared in the same large kettle with the meat and vegetables.

Four hundred persons were found who would pay the price, and Ferand had the hulk overhauled. When the *Humboldt* was watered and victualled, Ferand found he had no captain, and he opened negotiations with McArthur, who agreed to navigate the ship to San Francisco, in order to clear the city of Panama of as many men as possible, as the fever was daily growing more prevalent.

McArthur boarded the ship after the passengers were on

board, and at once saw that there were more than the contracted for number, and that the ship was badly overcrowded. He made an investigation that showed that Ferand had sold four hundred and eighty tickets. He ordered the last eighty passengers to go ashore, and proceeded to enforce the order without delay. Fortunately a British brig⁵ put into Panama that day and her captain was willing to take the rejected passengers at the same rate.

The *Humboldt* sailed on May 21, 1849. Lieut. Commanding McArthur enforced strict discipline, as being the only means of securing safety and comfort of the passengers and crew. Among the former was Collis P. Huntington, for many years president of the Southern Pacific Company. In the spring of 1890, he recounted to Lewis Linn McArthur, the third son of Wm. P. McArthur, some of incidents of the trip. He stated that there was one exceptionally turbulent fellow aboard, who endeavored to provoke a quarrel with him, and threatened other passengers. When this reached Lieut. Commanding McArthur's ears, he immediately sought out the disturber, and cautioned him not to repeat his annoyances. The man resented this violently and McArthur immediately took his weapons from him and had him put in irons. In a few days his spirits had cooled, and he asked for pardon and promised that there would be no more troublesome conduct on his part.

The passage was very slow, requiring forty-eight days to reach Acapulco. When the *Humboldt* reached that port the passengers and crew were almost famished because of a shortage of food and water.

After a week's delay, the *Humboldt* proceeded to San Francisco, which port she reached in due time.

By the middle of September, 1849, the *Ewing* had arrived from New York, and Lieut. Commanding McArthur was installed aboard, but no sooner had he prepared for operations, than an incident occurred which gave him great annoyance.

⁵ Julius H. Pratt, in the "Century Magazine" for April, 1891, gives an account of his trip to California in 1849, and describes the voyage of the *Humboldt* in greater detail. He states that the British brig that arrived so opportunely was the *Corbiere*.

While the schooner was lying in San Pablo Bay, Past Midshipman Gibson was ordered ashore for some purpose, taking five men and a boat. When the boat had proceeded some distance and the men thought themselves out of sight of the *Ewing*, they seized Gibson and threw him overboard, and made for the nearest shore. Fortunately McArthur was looking through his glasses at the time, and saw the whole occurrence. He dispatched a boat to the relief of Gibson, who was rescued, and the deserters were overtaken and captured. They were tried by court martial, and two were condemned to be hanged, and lashes were ordered for the other three, as was the custom in those days. One of the leaders, John Black by name, was hanged on board the *Ewing*. In all of his letters McArthur mentions the inability to get men to carry on the survey, which was greatly delayed, and this fact discouraged him sorely at times. The high wages and allurements of the gold fields kept men from entering the government service at a few dollars a month, and such men as could be secured were generally worthless.

San Francisco was in the midst of the gold excitement, and in a letter dated September 23, 1849, McArthur wrote to his father-in-law, John J. Young, who was now a commander in the Navy, as follows: "People are still crowding here from all parts of the world, and everybody seems to be as crazy as ever, but good order seems to prevail, and you would be surprised to see how quietly business is carried on—everything ship-shape and orderly. There is already a good police in San Francisco, and the same was established yesterday in Sacramento City, so if a Vagabond comes out here to cut up his capers, he is quite mistaken.

"There is no especial news here except that the convention for forming a state and state laws has been in session for some time, and have acquitted themselves with great dignity and good sense. They will have good, wholesome laws, I have no doubt.

"The joint commission for the selection of sites for Fortifi-

cations, Navy Yards, Docks, etc., etc., are all here on board the *Massachusetts*. They are without men and have done absolutely nothing. They have borrowed some men from the Commodore⁶ to enable them to run over to the Sandwich Islands and ship a crew. . . . It is asserted that the islands are nearly depopulated already. I hope seamen may be had there, as I may be compelled to recruit there myself."

On October 26, 1849, Lieut. Commanding McArthur wrote to Commander Young, dating his letter from San Pablo Bay. Among other things he says:

"This country is truly one of the greatest wonders of any age. The increase of population is truly wonderful. Let us estimate San Francisco at 100,000 souls, Sacramento City 40,000, and Stockton 35,000 or nearly. Eighteen months ago there was scarcely 100 people in all three. There [are] many other places springing up into importance, and I am now making a survey of a place where great improvements must take place. But as it is an island, it will probably be reserved by Government, and I presume to think that it will be the site for the Navy Yard.

"As soon as I get through with this work, I will go on a cruise of reconnoissance to the northward, and hope to be repaid by some discoveries. At all events, I would be pleased to leave San Francisco for a time.

"Captain Williams has not been able to do any work for want of hands—his men all left him but one, and he is waiting to know whether he may be authorized to give California prices for assistants. He expects to hear from the Superintendent on the subject by the next steamer. The joint commission for Yards, Docks, Fortifications, etc., are used up. They are on board the *Massachusetts*, and will go to the Islands (Sandwich) in a few days for men. I may go there

⁶ Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, who had the frigate *Savannah* as his flagship. He commanded the American naval forces in the battle with the British near New Orleans in December, 1814, and it was he who made the premature attempt to capture Monterey, California, on October 19, 1842. When he found that the United States and Mexico were not at war, and that California had not been ceded to England, he withdrew his landing party.

also bye and bye to run away from the incessant rains which are said to prevail with winter.

"[October] 27th. Today I commence work investigating the conveniences and inconveniences of Mares Island Straits with a view of ascertaining whether it would be a suitable place for a Navy Yard. I sincerely believe it to be the only good place in the whole bay. The weather is still warm and pleasant—much more so than in August. Thousands of geese and brandts cover the hills in every direction, eating the wild oats, and the *Coyotl*, a small animal resembling a Fox, spoken of by Prescott (see Conquest of Mexico), is also very abundant.

"I am very much surprised to find so few fish here. We have not caught the first one, and yet they are very abundant further up the Rivers."

In December the *Ewing* made an extended trip to the Hawaiian Islands. Previous to his departure from San Francisco, McArthur was deeply concerned about his health, but the beneficial climate of the islands restored him to his natural condition, and he returned to San Francisco early in 1850, greatly improved in body and in spirit.

This same spring, however, brought new disappointments to Lieut. Commanding McArthur. Interested as he was in the Coast Survey, the desultory way in which the government carried on the work discouraged him. For weeks the *Ewing* lay idle in San Francisco Bay, while the government refused to pay the wages demanded by sailors. Few if any could be secured at the small pay offered by the Department. McArthur chafed at the delays, and finally after much labor the vacancies in the crew were filled, and on April 3, 1850, the *Ewing* sailed out of the Golden Gate headed for a reconnaissance of the northern coasts.

Just before leaving for the northern coasts McArthur wrote to Commander Young, dating his letter late in March. In addition to certain family matters, he wrote as follows: "I have made up my mind to be disappointed with regard to the prob-

ability of our usefulness on this coast. Capt. Williams has as yet done nothing and Heaven only knows when he may be able to proceed with his labors. I have abandoned the hope of his being able to do anything. I feel confident that no work can go on at the present wages of the country as it would require the whole of the Coast Survey appropriation to keep a party together. Wages are still from five to twelve dollars per day, and if anything still rising as the mining season opens. I have written to the Professor and laid my views fully before him.

"In a few days I go to the mouth of the Columbia River and shall make a reconnaissance of the coast both on my way up and returning. I propose also to choose Points for a Light house, Buoys, etc., at the mouth of that river. I shall then be at the end of my tether. It will take about 3 months to perform what is at present required of me and the Superintendent in that time will perceive how utterly vain it is to think of carrying on work here. I am now under the impression that we may be recalled or ordered to disband here in less than six months.

"The country is improving very much in this vicinity and I do not doubt but that San Francisco will be a large and beautiful city, already it has its public Square and churches and other Public Buildings which give it an air of importance. The country is becoming daily more settled and improved, but not so much as might be supposed from the great number of immigrants."

On April 13 he wrote Commander Young from Trinidad Bay as follows: "I may safely say that the only happy days I have spent in the country have been spent since we started. I am at *last* at work and most usefully employed in making a reconnaissance of the Coast as we go up. Great success has so far attended the undertaking, and I must say that I shall have good cause to congratulate myself if I am permitted to complete the work to the Columbia River. I am operating on my

own hook (as the saying is) Capt. Williams being unable to obtain men with which to operate.

"We have completed a very correct outline of the coast, its headlands, Bays, Rivers and indentations from San Francisco to this place, as well as carrying on our soundings as we go, and the results are such as to please me very much. We have discovered many important errors in the charts of the coast, and shall probably discover greater discrepancies as we go to the north, as less is pretended to be known of the country in that direction.

"I shall start from here tomorrow and shall stop at Pt. Georges, distant about 40 miles to the northward of this place. . . . There are also vessels there and a settlement has been made. Rogues or Klamet River is my next stopping place, after that then the Columbia. I may be detained at point Georges Pt. some days, as I shall endeavor to secure the bodies of Lieutenants Ricd. Bache and Robert L. Browning, who were drowned at that place.⁷

McArthur's next letter to Commander Young is dated Astoria, Oregon Territory, June 3, 1850. Among other things he says:

"We are now in Oregon, where I shall remain until I receive further instructions or orders. I hope such will be given me as will permit us to proceed at once to work. We can live better and cheaper here than in any part of the coast. The salmon is fine and abundant, but not so good as the shad. Butter is plenty at 62 to 75 cts pr. lb., fresh beef 20 cts. pr. lb. The climate is agreeable and healthy. The water is not inferior to any in the world. The face of the country is too uneven to permit as general cultivation, still it will and must soon become a great agricultural and stock growing country.

⁷ Lieutenant Richard Bache and Lieutenant Robert L. Browning were drowned on the northwest coast of California on March 27, 1850, while making some special surveying investigations. Lieutenant Bache was the younger brother of Professor Bache.

The scenery is beautiful and in some places and some points of view the grandest that the eye ever beheld.⁸

"Lt. Blunt who is now with me has traveled considerably through the country and is so much pleased with it, that he has taken a section of land and made a regular claim to it, he has also taken one for myself and one for Lt. Bartlett, both adjoining his! What do you think of that? I intend to have my claim registered according to the custom of the country, and protect it as long as I may be on the coast. I may be able to sell it this fall to the emigrants. It lies in the Willamette Valley and is represented to be a beautiful location. If I could hold it for 5 years it would be a fortune.

"You can scarcely imagine the change in the prospects of this country since the discovery of the new south channel, and the arrival for the first time of the Pacific Mail Steamers. Property has advanced materially, and points along the river are of much importance, which have hither passed unnoticed.

"The greatest difficulty existing here at present is the want of acts of Congress to define the extent of land claims and to regulate all matters attending the surveying and giving titles, etc. Nothing exists in the shape of law. There already exists much confusion, which is not likely to decrease till laws be passed.

"The great probability is that Oregon will develop more rapidly for the next ten years than any other part of the United States except California. You will soon be startled with the cry that gold is found in Oregon. I have no doubt of its existence myself. It has already been found as far north as Rogues River and the mines on that River are being worked successfully. Several exploring expeditions are scouring the different directions. Their return is looked for with intense interest. You may depend upon receiving letters by every op-

⁸ Among those who made the trip from San Francisco to the Columbia River on the *Ewing* was William H. Packwood, now of Baker, Oregon, who is the sole survivor of the Oregon Constitutional Convention of 1857. Judge Packwood was one of a small party of the First U. S. Mounted Rifles that was transported from San Francisco to Oregon in the *Ewing*. For his description of the trip, see the *Oregonian* for February 20, 1915.

portunity, but especially now by the regular mails. I do not like to trust my letters to ships. They are neglected and lost."

On July 16, 1850, McArthur wrote Commander Young as follows from Astoria: "Since I last wrote you I have been all through Puget's Sound, Hoods Canal, Admiralty Inlet, etc., etc. I went over in the Steamer *Carolina*. We stopped at Victoria on Vancouver Island, and spent a very pleasant night with Governor Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the morning we went over the farm, visited the dairy, and garden and fields. Everything wore a charming aspect. The wilderness is now in its incipient smile. In a few years it will increase to a broad grin.

"The waters of the sound are a strange and peculiar anomaly. The deep blue sea runs up inland passing between straits but half a mile wide with a depth of over an hundred fathoms. Bays, Harbours, Inlets and Roads startle you at every turning, forming a perfect labyrinth. We journeyed on to Nisqually in the steamer and there I took possession of the "Ship *Albion*" siezed by the collector of the district. She was siezed for a most flagrant violation of the revenue laws and also for committing depredations on our timber, etc., etc. I would have brought her here but could not obtain a crew. We then came across the country traveling through a splendid grazing country for the first 24 miles. Our horses being tired, we tarried 'till morning with an old *Missourian*. The next day we reached the Cowlitz, traveling all day through the most excellent farming country I have ever beheld. We staid all night at the house of an old Canadian who treated us very kindly. We started the next day in a canoe down the Cowlitz and arrived at the mouth of the Columbia without accident, where I found I had been absent from the *Ewing* just one month! I found the sweet little craft all right. Whilst at Nisqually we spent 4 days at the farm of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Society, and witnessed the interesting process of the shearing of *ten thousand* sheep!

"We have now nearly completed our work here and will soon

top our boom southward reconnoitering the coast toward San Francisco, stopping there for provisions, etc., etc. From there we shall go to Point Conception and perhaps San Diego.

"Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances under which we have labored, we shall have obtained many very important results and now we have a land party under way we will proceed more rapidly. This winter I shall perhaps be at San Diego, and the next by the blessing of God I shall be at home."

The next letter is dated at San Francisco, August 27. "We arrived here safely on the 22nd. from a cruise along the coast. We have been successful in surveying the mouth of the Columbia River and up the same as far as Astoria. You will be surprised when I tell you that the dangers of the navigation of this truly magnificent river have been vastly exaggerated. We have crossed the bar sometimes as many as ten times a day for weeks together. More vessels have visited the Columbia within the last year than perhaps ever before and not the slightest accident has occurred. We have completed our work faithfully. I feel sure the Superintendent will feel as much gratified as I do.

"On our way from the Columbia River we were successful enough to make a good reconnaissance of the whole coast from Cape Disappointment to this place and the limits of error may be estimated at one mile in longitude and an $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in latitude. This I consider quite a triumph. We visited every river, bay and headland, and in fact sailed nine-tenths of the way within half a mile of the shore, anchoring every night and resuming our work in the morning. My fame (if any be merited) will rest upon this reconnaissance. I most heartily wish I could send you a copy of it.⁹ The scale is ten times as large as that of Captain Wilkes and every accessory has been successfully attended to.

⁹ The three sheets of the Pacific Coast reconnaissance chart were engraved, printed and published in 20 working days from the time the drawings were first received at the Coast Survey Office in Washington—a remarkable record. They are on a scale of about 1-850,000 or approximately 1 inch to 13.5 miles. They may be found in the volume of accompanying papers to the annual report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey for 1851.

"Upon my return here I find San Francisco very much improved. The Bay is alive with steamers of every size and beautiful brick buildings adorn many of the streets. Business is quite lively and the El Dorado is flourishing rapidly."

On September 15 McArthur wrote from San Francisco: "For my own part I do not deem a geodetic survey required at present. A reconnaissance and the establishment of Latitudes and Longitudes of the principal points, headlands Bays, anchorages, harbors, etc., with a selection of points for Light-houses and Buoys and general Sailing directions would in my opinion meet the present exigencies and would enable us to investigate the manner, the best manner, of operating for the future. I have already expressed myself in these terms to the Supdt. and I believe his opinion coincides with mine.

"Every day almost I meet some friend or acquaintance from the States. Dr. Rutter, and Dr. Willson,¹⁰ a young brother of Holt, is also here as well as several others from Portsmouth. Washington is also represented and at the Columbia River I met two troupes of Artisans from Baltimore, all old acquaintances.

"Commodore Jones is in many respects the finest naval officer I have ever met. In point of foresight and good judgment he surpasses any."

On October 13, 1850, he wrote: "Since my arrival from Oregon I have been very busily engaged in preparing our work and reports for the past season and will complete everything tomorrow and place all in the hands of Lieut. W. A. Bartlett, who is charged with the charts, etc., and takes them on to Washington." Lieut. Commanding McArthur, in this letter described briefly his visit to the Hawaiian Islands the year before and his entertainment at the hands of His Hawaiian Majesty Kamehameha III. McArthur mentions the fact that by this time wages in the vicinity of San Francisco were gradually resuming normal figures. On October 31 he wrote of the gloom cast over the city by the bursting of the boilers of the

¹⁰ Dr. R. B. Wilson, for many years a prominent physician of Portland.

Mariposa, which killed some 30 persons. He had now been away from home for two years, and the departure of Bartlett, together with the knowledge that he would be away from his family for another year at least doubtless prayed on his mind, but on November 21 he received welcome news from Professor Bache to the effect that a contract was being signed for a 225-ton steamer¹¹ for the Pacific Coast work. McArthur was directed to return to Washington at once to examine the vessel and prepare plans for the season of 1851. Under these flattering circumstances and overjoyed at the prospect of so soon seeing the family he had for so long been separated from, he set sail from San Francisco for Panama on the *Oregon*, on December 1. Alas, he was never to reach his home. When but shortly out of San Francisco an acute attack of dysentery prostrated him completely, and despite medical assistance he died on December 23, 1850, just as the *Oregon* was entering Panama harbor. He was buried on the Island of Taboga. In 1867 his remains were moved to the Mare Island Navy Yard by Lieut. Commander McDougall.

On February 8, 1851, the members of the Coast Survey met in Washington to pay tribute to the memory of William Pope McArthur. Professor Bache and Brevet Major Isaac I. Stevens, U. S. Engineers, who was at that time attached to the Coast Survey, addressed the meeting and appropriate resolutions were passed. Professor Bache's words perhaps best summed up the work of Lieutenant Commanding McArthur, and showed the feelings of the Survey toward the deceased officer. Professor Bache said:

We are met here, as you all know, to pay a melancholy tribute of friendship and respect to one who was dear to us all—dear as a brother to many of us. Instead of greeting his arrival among us as we had fondly hoped, in health, in the full flush of success, we meet to mourn together over his loss from our band. The work which he has accomplished will live forever. Surrounded by circumstances

¹¹ The *Corwin*. Before the vessel was completed it was decided that time could be saved by sending the steamer *Jefferson* to the Pacific Coast. The *Jefferson* was dismantled in a gale off Patagonia, and had to be abandoned. It, therefore, became necessary to send the *Corwin* after all.

the most difficult, perhaps, which ever tried the constancy, the judgment, the resources of any hydrographer, he vanquished circumstances. His reconnoissance of the western coast, from Monterey to Columbia river, and his preliminary survey there, were made in spite of desertion, and even mutiny; in despite of the inadequacy of means to meet the truly extraordinary circumstances of the country. Happy that in his officers he had friends devoted to him and to their duty, especially happy in the officer next to him in the responsibilities of the work.

Prostrated by an attack of fever of a malignant type, contracted while preparing his vessel for sea, Lieutenant McArthur nevertheless persisted in volunteering for the charge of the hydrographical party on the western coast. A subsequent relapse did not abate his determination to enter as a pioneer upon this arduous service, trying alike to his powers of mind and body. Steady in the midst of excitement, he laid his plans in the way to command success. Seizing the peculiar wants of the hydrography of that coast, he applied all his energies to supply them. The gratitude of his fellow-citizens there is already his; the praise of a new country, the resources of which he had aided in developing.

He has been called away just as his wishes were realized, ample means provided, and the first and worst difficulties overcome. In his letters and reports he urged strongly the necessity for enlarged appropriations, and for a steam vessel for the hydrography. His last letters from this office brought him news that both his wishes were gratified, and called him home to make the enlarged arrangements for continuing his work. The arrival of Mr. Cutts with instructions, as late as the beginning of October, confirmed the necessity of his return, and he took passage in the steamer *Oregon*, commanded by his friend, Lieutenant Patterson.

An attack of dysentery prostrated him completely, and from this, in spite of the best medical attendance, of such nursing and attendance as only the circumstances to which I have referred could insure, he rallied but for a time, and sunk to his final rest before he could be landed at Panama. His remains were consigned to a foreign soil, to be brought, let us hope, to his country, where all his affections centered.

He has not lived in vain. His name will ever be bright in the annals of our Survey, whether in the more usual labors on our Atlantic coast, or as the pioneer on the shores of the Pacific. Always advancing as life advanced—the last his crowning work.

Professor Bache having concluded his remarks, Lieut. Washington A. Bartlett, U. S. N., arose and said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: After the appropriate and feel-

ing remarks of the chairman, it is unnecessary for me to add more than to say that when I left Captain McArthur on the western coast he was in excellent health and buoyant spirits, in view of what had been, and what he hoped yet to accomplish. It was my good fortune to be long associated with him, and that association caused me to love him as a brother. I will not detain you, but offer the following resolutions for your consideration:

1. Resolved, That the civilians and officers of the army and navy engaged on the United States Coast Survey, now assembled in Washington, have received with feelings of deep emotion the melancholy intelligence of the death of Lieut. Commanding Wm. P. McArthur, U. S. Navy, Assistant in the Coast Survey; and that in his sudden and unexpected decease the navy has lost one of its most gallant and accomplished officers, and the Coast Survey one of its most zealous and efficient laborers.

2. Resolved, That the successful reconnoissance of the western coast of the United States, from Monterey to Columbia river, and the preliminary survey of the entrance to the Columbia, accomplished under the most peculiar and extraordinary difficulties, while they are proofs of his unconquerable energy, determination, and skill, have forever identified the name of Wm. P. McArthur with the progress of the Republic in the West.

3. Resolved, That we most sincerely sympathize with the bereaved and afflicted family of our generous and warm-hearted friend in their irreparable loss, and commend the widow and orphans to the gratitude of the Republic to whose service the husband and father was so ardently devoted throughout his life.

4. Resolved, That Professor A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey; Brevet Major I. I. Stevens, of the United States Engineers; Lieutenant M. Woodhull, of the United States Navy; Mr. J. J. Ricketts, of the United States Coast Survey, and Passed Midshipman R. M. Cuyler, of the United States Navy, be a committee to take the necessary measures to have erected, in the Congressional burying ground, a suitable monument commemorative of the services and virtues of the deceased.

5. Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be communicated to the Navy and Treasury Departments, with a request that they be placed on the files, and also to the family of the deceased, and that they be published.

6. Resolved, That the officers of the Coast Survey will wear a badge of mourning for thirty days in further testimony of their regard for the memory of the late Lieutenant Commanding William P. McArthur.

Major Stevens, in seconding the resolution, addressed the meeting as follows:

I rise, Mr. Chairman, in the name of one of the co-ordinate services associated on duty here, to pay a tribute to the memory of Lieut. McArthur. I can add nothing to the remarks that have been already made. I simply propose to pay a tribute of feeling and respect.

It was not my fortune to know Lieut. McArthur personally. But I feel that I know him well through his works. They hold up his character as worthy of all respect and admiration. In prosecuting his labors on the Pacific shore he exhibited a constancy, an energy, and a rare force of command which enabled him to triumph over almost insuperable difficulties. These qualities would have made him conspicuous in any career. He possessed all the elements of the heroic spirit. Trials which bowed down the strength of strong men gave his feeble frame almost superhuman strength; and he accomplished, in the midst of sickness and physical depression, of mutiny and desertion, labors that those most highly favored by health and appliances would have shrunk from. His example appeals to us with irresistible force. How can we yield to despondency witnessing his lion heart accomplishing its great purpose—giving vigor to a worn-out frame, and snatching success from the elements of defeat?

McArthur was an ornament to both services with which he was connected—to that larger service, the profession of his youth, in which he took such pride; and to that other service to which his maturer years have been applied. He has, in the words of the resolutions, for ever identified his name with the progress of the Republic in the West. It has gone into history, and will henceforth be associated with those of Decatur and of Perry.

The resolutions having been agreed to unanimously, the meeting adjourned sine die.

(Signed) A. D. BACHE, Chairman.

THORNTON A. JENKINS, Secretary.

Under the date of December, 1850, and published probably early in 1851, the Coast Survey issued a small pamphlet entitled "Notices of the Western Coast of the United States." This pamphlet contained eight notices, all of them by McArthur and Bartlett, which dealt with Pacific Coast matters. A brief synopsis of these notices follows:

"No. 1. Sailing Directions to Accompany the New Chart of the Western Coast of the U. S. First edition, published

December, 1850." We will omit the general directions and the directions for Sheet No. 1, and part of Sheet No. 2. The remaining directions are as follows:

"Klamath river has 15 feet on the bar at low water. It is not difficult of entrance with a good breeze, but very difficult to get out of, the current running so strong that sailing vessels must come out stern foremost to be steered. There is a staff on the south side of the river, on which a white flag, with black ball, is generally hoisted.

"Port St. George is a safe anchorage in the summer at the point indicated by the anchor. The reef off Cape St. George consists of rocky islets. The in-shore channel is good and clear, and shown by the track of the schooner *Ewing*. From Pelican Bay, with a breeze, take this channel.

"From Cape St. George to the Toutounis, or Rogue's river, there are no special dangers. In the summer, vessels may anchor anywhere along the coast, and there are landing places south of all the rocky points. The Toutounis, or Rogue's river, has but 10 feet on the bar, is rapid, and passes between high mountains.

"Avoid the kelp, which indicates rocks under water, and do not approach the shore at night.

"Ewing harbor¹² is a safe anchorage in summer. There is no surf in the landing cove."

"From Cape St. George to Cape Orford,¹³ the coast is thickly inhabited by bands of wild Indians, and care is necessary not to be surprised by them.

"There is a reef of rocky islets off Cape Orford.

"From Cape Orford to Cape Arago, there is no danger clear of the beach.

"The Kowes river¹⁴ has not yet been examined. The anchorage to the northward of the bluff is good.

"The Umpqua is accessible for steamers, and for small sailing vessels only, under very favorable circumstances.

"When off Cape Arago, in clear weather, the high sand bluffs of the Umpqua are plainly seen."

"The coast from the Umpqua river to the Columbia is generally bordered by a sand beach, with white sand hills, and the interior is densely wooded with fir or pine. The cliffs, when they occur, are bold, but afford no shelter for anchoring. In the summer, a vessel may anchor in twenty fathoms off any of these beaches.

¹² Ewing Harbor is now known as Port Orford.

¹³ Cape Orford is now Cape Blanco.

¹⁴ Kowes River—Coos Bay.

"The Alseya, Yaquina, and Killamook¹⁵ rivers require further examination.

"In proceeding to the northward in winter, make Killamook head, and if the weather renders approach to the bar of the Columbia undesirable, keep to the southward of Cape Hancock, (Disappointment,) as the current is northwardly in winter.

"There are good pilots in attendance at the mouth of the Columbia, and the chart of the entrance and bar will give directions for approaching. The pilots are usually off the south channel in a small schooner showing a fly at the main. If not seen, fire your guns.

"Cape Hancock (Disappointment) has several trees trimmed up, showing a 'broom top,' and may be thus known from the cape to the northward of Shoal-Water bay.

"To avoid mistaking Shoal-Water bay for the mouth of the Columbia (the soundings being similar), make Killamook head. Never omit this in winter. There are no dangers of the beach northward of Killamook head, and the soundings in approaching it are regular.

"Note.—Notwithstanding the remarks as to the general fact of the winds prevailing in the N. W. and N. N. W. quarter during the summer, it is proper to state that, in the month of June, 1850, the winds to the northward of San Francisco were light from the southward and westward, with showers north of Mendocino for the whole month, and the coasters ran to the northward with all steering sails.

"It is, however, yet to be demonstrated whether June is a regular period of southerly breezes."

"No. 2. Islands and Rivers." McArthur states that he considers the "*Farrallones*" to be the only islands deserving of the name between Monterey and the Columbia River, and recommends that a lighthouse be placed on them. Under the head of "Rivers," he mentions the following Oregon streams:

"The Klamath.—On the bar of this river there are 17 feet water at mean low water. The channel is so narrow, and the current so strong, that I deem it unsafe for sailing vessels. Steamers are required to make this river useful.

"Rogue's river.—This river has 10 feet water on the bar at the mouth, at mean low water; but it is too narrow for sailing vessels, as there is scarcely room to turn in the channel.

"The Coquille river is not available for any thing larger than small boats and canoes.

¹⁵ The early spellings of Tillamook were all with a K, indicating a guttural pronunciation.

"The Kowes.—This river was not so closely examined, but to judge by appearances at the mouth, I do not hesitate to express the opinion that it will be found to be available and very useful for steamers.

"The Umpqua.—I crossed the bar of this river in the second cutter, in 14 feet water, and passed into three fathoms on the inside of the bar, the rollers breaking at the time all the way across the channel. The channel, in my opinion, is practicable for steamers, but dangerous to sailing vessels, unless under very favorable circumstances.

"The remaining rivers to the northward can only be entered by small boats, except, perhaps, the 'Yaquina,' which might be entered by vessels of a larger class.

"In making my report, with regard to the navigation of these rivers, I beg leave to be considered as only giving my opinion, unless in case when I mention particularly the depth of water, then, of course, I speak authoritatively. I would recommend, however, an early and detailed examination of all; and for this purpose a steamer is indispensable. All of which is respectfully submitted by your obedient servant."

"No. 3. Columbia River, Oregon." This is the first hydrographic notice ever published by the Coast Survey for the Pacific Coast, and should be reproduced in full on that account. It follows:

"Sailing directions for entering the Columbia river¹⁶ as far as the harbor of Astoria, by Lieut. Commanding W. P. McArthur, U. S. N., Assistant in the Coast Survey.

"It is best under all circumstances to have a pilot; but should it be necessary to enter the river without one, the directions for the north channel are: First, bring Sand Island in range with Point Ellice, and stand in towards Sand Island, passing the south end of the north breaker; when Cape Disappointment and Leading-in-Cliff are in range, haul up towards the Cape, keeping Leading-in-Cliff in range until nearly abreast the Cape. Give the Cape a small berth, and continue on towards Baker's Bay until the second island in the bay can be seen; then keep off, and with the second island and Cape in range astern, it will pass clear of the north part of the Middle Sands. As soon as the soundings shoal on this course, keep off towards Sand Island, and passing close by the east end

¹⁶ The Columbia River chart, on a scale of 1:4,000 or about one inch to five-eighths of a statute mile, may be found in the accompanying papers to the annual report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey for 1851.

of the island, get the beacon on the island in range with a tree on Cape Disappointment (which is trimmed up like an umbrella), and with that range astern, stand on up the bay until the custom-house is on with Young's Point, when haul to the east, and keep the last range on till nearly up with Young's Point. Pass along the south shore, running by the lead until up to Astoria.

"To enter the south channel, bring the beacon on Sand Island to bear north 40 degrees east, (true,) and Point Adams on the peak, which can be seen east of Point Ellice, and called 'Jim Crow,' (upon which there is a notable tree,) nearly in range, the vessel will be then on the bar in the south channel in the best water. Steer for the beacon, taking care not to sag to the eastward; rather keep close to the breakers on the Sand Island shore. Pass close to Sand Island, and fall into the range of the beacon with the trimmed tree on Cape Disappointment, and proceed as already directed.

"The best time for entering is on the first or last of the ebb tide. The last of the ebb tide is preferable in either channel."

No. 4 consists of notes on the new chart of the Columbia River, by Lieutenant Commanding McArthur, and is worded as follows:

"Notes on the new chart of Columbia river, from a preliminary survey, by Lieut. Commanding W. P. McArthur, U. S. N., Assistant in the Coast Survey.

U. S. Surveying Schooner Ewing,

San Francisco, September 25, 1850.

Sir:

* * * * *

"When comparing our chart with that of the Exploring Expedition, the changes of the channels and shoals at the mouth of the Columbia river will be found to be numerous and considerable. Sand Island is nearly a mile further to the westward now than it was in 1840-'41. The north channel seems to be gradually filling up, whilst the new south channel is becoming both larger and deeper. This change will go on until some violent storm will throw up the sand again, and upon subsiding leave the water of the river to find a new channel.

"I have examined all the charts that have been made of the Columbia river from the time of its discovery to the present, and find that there has been continued changes going on, but at all times has there been a good deep channel at the mouth of this river.

To these changes in the channel is to be attributed the great dread which navigators have had of the Columbia.

"There is now a good Pilot at the mouth of the Columbia, and I have recommended a Light-house on Cape Disappointment, and five buoys to be placed in such a manner as best to point out the channel. I would also recommend that these be placed under the superintendence of the Pilot, who will always know when any change in the channel takes place, and he can move them to such positions as he might think best. By this means, the dangers and delays attending the navigation of the Columbia would be vastly diminished.

"The greatly increasing commerce of Oregon demands that these improvements be made immediately. The more especially since the Columbia is the most important portion of Oregon for the pursuits of commerce.

"After crossing the bar, there is a good, unobstructed channel for ships up as far as Astoria, beyond which Tongue Point bar presents quite a serious obstacle to vessels drawing sixteen or even fifteen feet water. The channel over this bar is very crooked and shallow; vessels seldom pass it without delay. Once beyond Tongue Point bar, vessels can easily go up the Columbia as far as Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia, and Portland, on the Willamette river. I am of the opinion, however, that the time is at hand when the navigation of the Columbia river will be conducted by steam vessels as far down as Astoria.

"The harbor of Astoria is perfectly safe and capacious; abundance of wood and water can easily be procured. The holding ground is good.

"Within the last eighteen months, more vessels have crossed the Columbia river bar than had crossed it perhaps in all time past, and during that time no vessel has received the slightest injury; and but few have met with much delay.

"I would request that our Chart of the Columbia may be published as soon as may be practicable."

I am, very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed)

WM. P. McARTHUR,

Lieut. Com'g and Assistant U. S. Coast Survey.

"To Professor A. D. Bache,

Superintendent U. S. Coast Survey, Washington, D. C."

"Note.—This Chart will be published at the Coast Survey office about the tenth of March, 1851.

"No. 5. Columbia River, Oregon." This note by Bartlett relates to the draught of vessels that may be taken over the

Columbia River bar, and the statement is made that vessels drawing 17 feet could be taken over the south bar at $\frac{1}{4}$ flood or $\frac{3}{4}$ ebb without the least risk. In addition, this notice says:

"In addition, I would state that my experience at the mouth of the Columbia, has convinced me that the south channel is the practicable commercial channel of that river for certainty and safety, with the additional advantage of accomplishing the passage, to or from the river, without waiting for a particular wind. Ships frequently pass the bar inward in fifteen minutes after receiving their pilot, and outward in thirty minutes after getting their anchors.

"A disabled ship, that can be sailed so as to have good steerage way, can pass over the south bar in safety, when it would be impossible to get her in by the north channel.

"From the 18th of April, to the 5th of August, 1850, there was no day that the south channel was not practicable for vessels, and was in daily use.

"I crossed the bar (south channel) in the pilot-boat 'Mary Taylor' during the 'heaviest bar' that occurred within the above named period, beating out with the wind ahead.

"The principal pilot of the bar is Captain White, late pilot of New York harbor; he is very intelligent, and competent to his duties, and no accident has occurred at the mouth of the Columbia since September, 1849, when he commenced his duties as pilot.

"The commerce of the Columbia river—the great artery of the fertile valleys of the Columbia and its tributaries—is rapidly increasing; the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamers now proceed to Astoria, and return to San Francisco with the monthly mails. A small steamer has been built at Astoria, and is now employed in the river trade. A second steamer was on the stocks when we left the river.

"Regular lines of sailing and steam-propeller vessels, are also established between San Francisco and the various towns on the Columbia; also to Nisqually, and other points in Puget's sound."

No. 6 relates to the lights deemed necessary for San Francisco Bay and its approaches.

No. 7 relates to the report of Bartlett on the proposed light-house at Cape Disappointment, which is as follows:

Washington, November 29, 1850.

"Sir: In answer to your inquiries as to the character of the Light-house, which should be erected at Cape Hancock or Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia River, Oregon Terri-

tory, and for information as to the locality on which it should be placed, &c.:

"I have the honor to state, that Cape Hancock or Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia River, Oregon Territory, where it is proposed by a late act of Congress to erect the principal Light-house for that river, is a bold cliff of columnar basalt, rising perpendicularly from the sea to variable heights of from 200 to 300 feet, terminating in unequal rolling summits, covered with a rich and fertile soil.

"These summits vary also in width from ten to fifty feet at the apex, whence they slope by a quick descent to the northward; the northern or in-shore face of the hills being covered by a dense growth of gigantic pine, alder, and other trees, with a thick growth of vines, 'Salmon Berry,' and other shrubbery.

"The summit of the sea-cliffs (which are not covered by the forest) is the proper position for locating the Light-house, say within two to four hundred yards to the westward of 'Broom Station,' as given in our triangulation of the river: should the Tower be placed there, it will show the light from the lanthorn around three-fourths of the horizon, without the necessity of felling the trees to the northward.

"In this position, the base of the Tower will be about 250 feet above high water mark, and should the Tower be raised 80 feet to the deck of the Lanthorn (and in my opinion it should not be less) on a base of 25 feet diameter, it will be a prominent land mark, for making the Cape in the day time.

"The lanthorn or light, which is to be placed on the tower, should be of a power not less than the best Light on Navesink; in other words, a Marine light of the first power.

"The Tower should be constructed of fire-proof materials, and no wood whatever should be admitted into the construction of the building; as there is at all times much danger of the forest being fired to the northward, which, in such a case, would inevitably destroy the building.

"From the cove in Baker's Bay, where the materials would be landed, the distance is about 1,000 yards by a path, now greatly obstructed by huge trees which have fallen across it. It must ever be a difficult matter to transport any great amount of bulk or weight to the summit; a good road must first be made. Whether the tower is constructed of wood, iron, or brick, the material must be transported in small parcels.

"When such a tower as I have contemplated is lighted up by a light of the first power, it will be clearly visible for a distance of nine leagues at sea, from the N. W. by the W. and S. W. to the

south, and by the east for the entire width of the river, and for the same distance up the Columbia.

"A light on Cape Hancock, or Disappointment, will be of vast importance to the rapidly increasing commerce of Oregon, as it will enable all vessels to approach the coast boldly, and then to maintain their positions on pilot-ground till daylight, when they will at once be taken into port by highly intelligent pilots now fully established there.

"Very respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be, your ob't serv't,

"(Signed)

WASHINGTON A. BARTLETT,

"Lieut. U. S. N., Assistant Coast Survey.

"To Professor A. D. Bache,

"Superintendent U. S. Coast Survey."

No. 8 is Lieut. Commanding McArthur's report on the establishment of lights at "Cape Flattery and New Dungenness, Oregon." This report is as follows:

"U. S. Surveying Schooner Ewing,

"San Francisco, September 25, 1850.

"Dear Sir: The portion of your instructions relating to the investigation of the necessity, or otherwise, of light-houses at Cape Flattery and New Dungenness, has been attended to, and I beg to report as follows:

"I have carefully examined the roadstead of New Dungenness, and find it to be safe and capacious. The holding ground is excellent, and it is well protected from all winds except those from the N. E.; a quarter from which it seldom or never blows so hard as to endanger shipping.

"The ingress and egress are remarkably convenient.

"A point, two and a fourth miles in length, extends from the main land, and completely shelters the anchorage from the strong and prevalent northwest winds. This point is quite low and narrow, and not discernible at night. On the extremity of this point, I would recommend a light-house of the first power to be built; the shaft to be not less than 80 feet in height. Thus situated, it would guard navigators against the spit, as well as point out the anchorage. The entrance is entirely clear; but, as the profile of the bottom is so precipitous, I would advise navigators to come to anchor in not less than 10 to 13 fathoms water.

"A light-house is much needed also at 'Cape Flattery'; and I would recommend that it be situated on 'Tatoochi island,' a small island almost touching the northwest extremity of Cape Flattery.

"To vessels bound from seaward, a light-house on this island

would be of much assistance. It would enable them to enter the straits, when the absence of a light would frequently compel them to remain at sea till daylight. Once inside the straits, vessels are comparatively secure.

"The advantage of having the light-house situated on the island instead of on the extremity of the Cape is, that it would serve as a guide to vessels seeking Neap or Scarborough's harbor, a small but secure harbor of refuge about four miles inside the straits. Strong contrary currents will cause navigators to seek this little harbor quite frequently.

"Traffic is very much on the increase in Oregon; and, while it must be admitted that the great increase has been on the Columbia river, yet it has also much improved on the Sound. Lumber has become an extensive article of export, and it is quite probable that there is no country on the face of the globe where it is so abundant, so good, and so convenient.

"It seems to me that the Government should be informed that ships are continually arriving at different points of the Sound to obtain spars and lumber, (they of course take the best and most convenient,) and it might be deemed advisable on the part of the Government to take means to arrest these depredations. I had occasion to witness them, and was called upon by General John Adair, the collector for the district of Oregon, to assist him in enforcing the revenue laws, and arrest even foreign vessels from smuggling and cutting our timber. See his report on the subject to the honorable Secretary of the Treasury.

I am, very respectfully, &c., truly yours,

"(Signed) WM. P. McARTHUR,

"Lieut. Commanding and Assistant U. S. Coast Survey.

"To Professor A. D. Bache,

"Superintendent U. S. Coast Survey, Washington, D. C."

Among the papers of Lieut. Commanding McArthur was found a letter apparently addressed to him, and signed by George Gibbs, dated at Astoria, November 23, 1850. There seems no doubt but that it was written by the pioneer ethnologist of Oregon. It follows:

"Dear Sir: Mr. Frost forgot to procure from you a power of attorney to sell lots at this place when he was in San Francisco. It is very desirable that some one should possess the power of sale here, as it would take too long to send around to the various owners in case a purchaser appeared. Will you be good enough therefore to forward one and in case you write to Mr. Bartlett, to request a similar power from him. I intend

soon after the steamer is out to prepare some papers which will place the affairs of the property in better order and will advise you of them. When Mr. DeWitt was here I was in some doubt whether Frost had deeded to you the exact amount he intended to. I now propose to divide it into shares, which will be a common divisor of every man's interest, and that stock or scrip be issued accordingly. Please let me know what you think of the proposal, and if you can assent to it on Mr. Bartlett's behalf. If aye, whether I shall issue your scrip to you jointly or severally.

Very truly yours, etc.,

George Gibbs.

"I see a letter in the Pacific News of Oct. 24, signed by a man named Morse, puffing Pacific City in a most preposterous style. He is a person whom Dr. White brought in on the *Ocean Bird* to lecture up his town throughout Oregon. The letter was written before the animal had ever seen the country. I understand also that another of his new importations, a "Professor Jackman," has written something in a similar vein, but attacking Astoria, and a Weekly Cal. Courier of sometime since had an article signed by Edmonds and Edwards stating that they had piloted in or out over 200 vessels in three years, and that Bakers Bay was the only good harbor. I believe that you yourself know that this statement is false on the face of it, as that number of passages of the bar did not occur previous to White's coming here and that Latty and Reve were the pilots. Now is it worth while to answer these things over two or three signatures, or say a dozen? I have only the Pacific News of the 24th in my possession. If you think that I can procure the other two papers, please send them. Jackman's article was in the News sometime in October—Edmonds' in the Courier of I believe the same month. It struck me that as there was one responsible or at any rate actual name, it might be time to pounce on Dr. White as a humbug. But you can best judge from your position whether he is effecting anything. I have sent by this mail two memorials to Thurston against the removal of the Custom house, and have one on the desk signed by shipmasters and owners."

In 1876 the United States government built the schooner *McArthur* at Mare Island, California, and named her in honor of Lieut. Commanding William Pope McArthur. For the past 39 years the *McArthur* has been in practically continuous service in the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey on the Pacific Coast. The vessel is 115 feet long and of 220 gross tons, and has long since served her usefulness. In his last

annual report, Secretary of Commerce Redfield strongly condemns the government for requiring men to go to sea in such a ship.

In 1886, Lieutenant James M. Helm, U. S. N., surveying certain parts of the Alexander archipelago in southeastern Alaska, was in command of the *McArthur*, and he named McArthur Peak, 2239 feet high, on Kuiu Island, in honor of his vessel, and he also named Port McArthur on the same island for the *McArthur*.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey named McArthur Reef, in Sumner Strait, off the mouth of Clarence Strait, in the Alexander Archipelago, for the schooner *McArthur*.

A REVIEW.

(Reprinted from the American Historical Review.)

The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire: A Comparative Study of the Beginnings of the Mining Industry in Idaho and Montana, Eastern Washington and Oregon, and the Southern Interior of British Columbia and the Institutions and Laws based upon that Industry. By William J. Trimble, Professor of History and Social Science, North Dakota Agricultural College. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 638, History Series, Vol. III., No. 2. (Madison, the University, 1914, pp. 254.)

This account of the occupation of the gold bearing placer regions of the upper Fraser, Columbia and Missouri rivers in the decade following 1855 exhibits three salient and dominating ideas of the author: This movement of population is viewed as part of the formation and advance of an *eastward moving frontier*. The American frontier had in the decade from 1840 to 1850 leaped from the banks of the Missouri to the valleys of the Willamette and Sacramento. Now it recoiled eastward and met half way the old frontier still advancing westward. Secondly, the writer is concerned in tracing the rise of mining camps, with many diverse elements of population suddenly congregated, to orderly, well-organized communities. His leading idea, however, has to do with the contrast between the courses of development of those under British jurisdiction and those under American authorities.

Professor Trimble's narrative is a remarkably clear, well-ordered and comprehensive handling of a large and difficult subject. The physiographical features of the wilderness of the "inland empire," the Indian tribes in possession and the sources of the population that took part in the "rushes" are graphically outlined. The vicissitudes of trial and hardship in getting to the remote locations of the different discoveries with supplies

and the experiences of privation and danger in the early stages of the development of each camp are well worked out and told largely in the language of reliable contemporary accounts of participants. Following a realistic survey of the salient features of the rushes to the different localities of gold discovery, the economic, social and political or law-and-order aspects of these "mining advances" are brought out. The fact that these mining communities were about equally divided between British and American jurisdiction, half situated north of the 49th parallel and half south of that line, afforded excellent opportunity to Dr. Trimble to give his history the point of the record of a social experiment and verification. He establishes convincingly that the physiography of these British and American localities and the constituent elements of the population of the respective groups of mining camps north and south of the line were not divergent enough to account for the contrasting types of life and institutions developed in them. In other words, the principle of economic determinism or that of the controlling sway of the self-maintenance mores does not find confirmation in the early history of the "Inland Empire." Moreover, the virtue and efficiency of the British tradition of law and administration quite outshine what is exhibited of social control on the American side. Constituted authorities are equal to the emergencies with one, while vigilance committees and lynch law have to function with the other to secure safety for life and property.

A carefully arranged bibliography of sources used is given. A few lapses in proof-reading occur that need attention when a second edition is issued.

F. G. YOUNG.

Obituary

On March 30, 1915, Mr. Thomas Wickham Prosch, Mrs. Virginia McCarver Prosch, Miss Margaret Lenora Denny and Mrs. Harriet Foster Beecher, all of Seattle, Washington, lost their lives in an automobile accident while returning home from a visit to the Washington Historical Society at Tacoma. All four of these unfortunate persons were intimately associated with the history of the Pacific Northwest, the first three from the earliest days, as is indicated by the following:

Mr. Prosch, it will be remembered, delivered the last annual address before the Oregon Historical Society on December 19, 1914. He became a member of this society in 1904 and was a frequent contributor to the pages of *The Quarterly*. He was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 2, 1850, of German and English ancestry. He came with his parents to the Pacific Coast in 1855, and San Francisco became the abiding place of the family until February, 1858, when removal was made to Steilacoom, Pierce county, Washington Territory, where the father, having had many years experience in the printing and newspaper business, established a newspaper called the *Puget Sound Herald*, the first issue being on March 12, 1858—the third paper in Washington Territory. At the age of nine Mr. Prosch began learning to set type in his father's office, and continued for six years. At fifteen he was a salesman in a store; a hand in a logging camp at seventeen; legislative clerk at nineteen; clerk and inspector in the custom house at Port Townsend at twenty; and between times worked at his trade. In 1872 he became the owner of the *Pacific Tribune* at Olympia. In 1873 he moved his plant to Tacoma, and in 1875 to Seattle. From that date to 1886 he was identified with the newspapers of that city, chiefly, the *Post-Intelli-*

gencer. In 1876 Mr. Prosch was appointed postmaster of Seattle by President Grant, which office he resigned in 1878. In 1890 he supervised the municipal census of Seattle, and in 1891-1893 was a member of the Seattle Board of Education. In 1894-95 he with two other men platted and appraised the tide lands of the state in front of Tacoma, Ballard and Seattle—3,500 acres, all in King county. Soon after the latter date Mr. Prosch practically retired from active business, except so far as was necessary in the performance of the duties involved by his connection with civic organizations, and pioneer and historical societies. In connection with the latter bodies he was the author of several pamphlets and books of a descriptive and historical character, as well as many newspaper contributions along the same line, all of which, by virtue of his painstaking efforts, have become important sources of early history.

On September 12, 1877, Mr. Prosch was married to Miss Virginia McCarver, a daughter of Morton Matthew and Mrs. Julia Ann McCarver, pioneers of 1843 and 1847. She was born on a farm near Oregon City, April 17, 1851. In 1858 the family removed to Portland, and Miss McCarver secured her education at the Portland Academy and Female Seminary, and at Spencer Hall, Milwaukie, which was the beginning of what afterwards became known as St. Helen's Hall, Portland. In 1868 the McCarver family removed to Tacoma, and in 1870 Miss McCarver became the second school teacher in that city. With the exception of a year spent in California, she followed the vocation of teaching until her marriage. Six children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Prosch, five daughters and one son, and three daughters and the son survive their parents.

Miss Denny was the daughter of the late Arthur A. and Mrs. Mary A. Denny, pioneers from Knox county, Ill., where she was born on August 14, 1847. The family arrived at Portland on August 23, 1851, and a few months later embarked on the schooner *Exact* for Puget Sound, in what was then known as Northern Oregon. The vessel arrived at Alki

Point—West Seattle of the present day—on Nov. 13, 1851, and twenty-four persons—twelve adults and twelve children—disembarked; several of them remained there, and thus became the first settlers and founders of Seattle. Miss Denny's father took a claim of three hundred and twenty acres on Feb. 15, 1852, under the Oregon donation land law of September 27, 1850, and in the subsequent years this came to be the site of what at the present day is the heart of Seattle. On the death of her father and mother she inherited an ample fortune. This was most liberally used in promoting the public welfare, particularly for the support of charitable institutions, schools, churches, and for perpetuating the memory of pioneers. She is survived by four brothers and one sister, all residents of Seattle.

Mrs. Beecher was the wife of Captain H. F. Beecher, a son of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the famous preacher and lecturer of Brooklyn, New York. She and her husband went to Washington Territory more than thirty years ago, and for a few years made their home at Port Townsend, where he was engaged in steamboat service, both as master and pilot. About twenty years ago this family removed to Seattle, and there, Mrs. Beecher became a recognized leader in literary, musical and art circles, and achieved an enviable reputation as a portrait painter.

The untimely and tragic death of these four persons, so closely associated in supporting institutions for public service, is not only an irreparable loss to the immediate relatives, and the organizations to which they contributed most liberally, but also to a wide circle of intimate friends. And of the latter, none can be more deeply affected than the writer of the foregoing feeble tribute to their worth, because of the cordial relations which have existed for more than fifty years between the first three named and himself.

GEORGE H. HIMES.

Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher

Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society in Indiana,
Illinois, Iowa and Oregon

Edited by

SARAH FISHER HENDERSON
NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE
KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., February 26th, 1846.

Dear Brother:

After a protracted journey of more than seven and a half months and a distance of more than 2500 miles,⁸⁹ we now find ourselves situated in the lower part of Oregon in the midst of an extremely interesting country, but in all the rudeness of nature. Consequently you will not be disappointed when you learn the true state of society as it exists in this place and the surrounding country. I arrived with my family at the Tuallity Plains⁹⁰ about the 6 of December last, after traveling in the rains about 15 days and having occasional rains for the preceding month. When you learn that I walked further than would cover the whole distance of the journey, bearing my full proportional part of the services of the company, and that neither myself nor family laid off our clothing more than four or five nights during the whole journey, always sleeping in our tent on the ground, you will not be surprised that we were worn down with protracted fatigue and care. But a merciful Providence has sustained us all the way through the wilderness and blessed us with more than a usual measure of health and strength. Yet the last month I found my strength

⁸⁹ A quotation from a letter of a fellow immigrant of the same train as the author throws an interesting sidelight on the trip.

"Another trial that one has often to meet on the way is disregard for the Sabbath. I suppose there was about as much contention arose on that subject in the company in which I came as any other. A good part of the company cared nothing about that, or any other religious question, and if it suited them they wished to travel on that day as well as any other. And even then when they did stop on that day it was only to mend their wagons or wash their clothes. I do not say that all did this, for there were some of our company that were devotedly pious. There were three ministers in the company; one a Seceder minister from about Burlington [this was T. J. Kendall, D. D.]. The other two were Baptist ministers, one from Iowa, the other from Rock Island County, Illinois, whose name was Fisher. . . . He manifested more of the true spirit of Christ while on the road than any other man with whom I was acquainted. . . . The company in which I came traveled, maybe, half of the Sabbaths on the way. We had preaching most of the days on which we stopped." —Letter of Andrew Rodgers, Jr., April 22, 1846, quoted in "The United Presbyterian" (Vol. 46, No. 2), Jan. 13, 1898, p. 10.

⁹⁰ There is much obscurity surrounding the origin of the names Tualatin and Tuallaty. Geo. H. Himes, from his investigations, believes Tualatin probably to be an Indian name meaning "a land without trees," describing the natural prairies of what is now Washington County; and Tuallaty (the accent on the penult) to be an Indian name meaning "a lazy man," describing the sluggish river. If this is true, Tualatin was the name applied to the plains, and Tuallaty to the river; but a confusion of the two early took place which ultimately resulted in applying Tualatin to both river and prairie. The plains had begun to be settled at least as early as 1840. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:244. They had at this time about 150 families, Canadians, half-breeds and Americans. Warre and Vavasour, ed. by J. Schafer, *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X:75.

gradually yielding. On our arrival, although we were greeted with kindness by the few brethren we met, we did not find our lot cast in the midst of wealthy churches who were participating in the fruits of centuries of labours in civilization and Christianity. We were, however, kindly received into the cabin of Br. Lenox⁹¹ where we have resided up to the present, and, although his house contains but one room, about 18 feet by 22, without a single pane of glass, and his family consists of 13 souls, besides, almost every night, one, two or three travelers, and my family consists of six souls, we have passed the winter thus far quite as pleasantly as you would imagine in view of the circumstances, and probably more so than a large portion of the last emigration, although perhaps a little more straitened for room.

With the exception of the last two weeks, our health, as a family, has been very good since our arrival. . . . The amount of ministerial labor that I have been able to perform since our arrival would seem to a minister in the eastern or middle states to be trifling indeed. But were you in an entirely new country not reclaimed from the savages, with only one settler on each mile square and that only in the open plains, in the dead of winter, with the rains almost daily falling till all the small streams are swollen to swimming, and numbers of bridges, of which there are as yet but few, swept away, with all the cares of a family to be met, after eight months' consumption of provisions and clothing where supplies are to be procured at distances of from ten to thirty miles,⁹² it will appear less strange. I have visited but little, have preached every Sabbath but three, and then my place was supplied by others, except once when journeying, the rains and the distance from neighbors prevented. Yet I am almost daily

⁹¹ See note 73.

⁹² The nearest points where supplies could be purchased were Oregon City and Portland. Pettygrove had established a store in the latter place in 1845 and with Lovejoy had cut out a road to the Tualatin plains. They may also have been able to get a few supplies at Linnton. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:9. Oregon City was begun in 1829-30 by Dr. McLoughlin and by 1845-6 had 300 inhabitants, two church buildings, about 100 dwelling houses and stores, a grist mill, and several sawmills. Warre and Vavasour, ed. by J. Schafer in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X:47-51.

having intercourse with citizens from various parts of the country and, through that means, hope the way is opening for more extended labors in the opening of the spring, which is now beginning to make its appearance. I have established an evening spelling school for children of the family and one of the neighbors and a Bible class on Sabbath evenings in the same families. About twelve children attend regularly.

. . .
As it relates to my views of the importance of the field we are now just entering, I am by no means discouraged, but on the whole have a growing conviction that I never in my life was placed in a more responsible relation; yet at the same time I feel borne down with the surrounding and opponent obstacles to extended usefulness. If you will not regard me desponding, I will name a few of them: First, we have but one church in Oregon⁹³ and only two of the members living within 25 miles of the place so that all efficiency by church organization is lost, and those that have emigrated the past season are generally poor and but just able to provide for their immediate wants. The forty or fifty Baptist members are scattered over an extent of country, perhaps 90 miles in length and 50 in breadth. Again, we are destitute of juvenile books and periodicals, and books peculiar to the wants of our denomination. And then, the settlements are fast extending south and west and north-west to points which soon must rise to very considerable importance, and here are Br. Johnson and myself, with exhausted funds and beyond the reach of your aid for more than a year (and we must necessarily apply ourselves in part to procuring the means of present sustenance), with the labor of five or six men before us in the ministry, and that, too, at a time which most of all is the most favorable to give permanence and character to a rising nation. Do you ask how our means are exhausted so soon? We answer that when we arrived at The Dalles exhausted of provisions, we paid \$8 per hundred for flour and \$6 for beef; at the Cascades, from \$6 to \$10 for

⁹³ The West Union Church on Tualatin Plains. See note 73.

flour and \$6 for beef, and on our arrival in the Plains we found flour worth from \$4 to \$5, and beef \$6 and pork \$10, fresh; sale shoes, coarse, \$3 per pair and custom work \$6; axes, \$4 each; nails 16c per pound; coffee 33½c per pound; common calico from 25c to 62½c per yard; a common cast bake kettle, with a lid, from \$3 to \$6, when to be had at any price, and most of our wearing apparel is somewhat in the same proportion; school books cannot be had at any price.⁹⁴ Now, could our able brethren and pious too, see and feel as we do the great reluctance with which we must leave the work in part to serve the present urgent wants of our families (and these wants must be still more urgent before we can get any remittances from your Board) would they not esteem it a pleasure to make up a box of common clothing or clothes laid by in their families which will cover nakedness and render the appearance of our children in the house of worship decent in Oregon? We are sure we do not covet the softest raiment for ourselves or families, but we do greatly desire to be able to give ourselves wholly to the work, and something in this way might lighten the expense of our support and add greatly to our usefulness.

The subject of education, too, allow me to say, rests with great weight on my mind. Judging charitably, with all the laudable efforts of our citizens, it is beyond their power to do much by way of educating their children while they have so much to provide for present animal wants, and are placed beyond the reach of books. Besides this, the greatest efforts made, are those by Romans⁹⁵ and the Methodists. Now could we obtain a few school books so as to enable us to operate a common school, they would be of great service. I hope to be able to organize two or three churches, by the aid of Br. Snelling, and to explore generally the settlements above and

⁹⁴ The first school books to be brought into Oregon in any quantity were by Dr. G. H. Atkinson in 1848.—Geo. H. Himes.

⁹⁵ A Catholic school for boys, "St Joseph's College," was opened in 1843 at St. Paul, on French Prairie. The Sisters of Notre Dame opened a school for girls on French Prairie in 1844 and in Oregon City in 1848. E. V. O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon*, pp. 123-125.

The boys' school at St. Paul's was closed in 1849, the girls' school in 1852, and the school at Oregon City in 1853. Ibid. pp. 129, 130.

The Methodist "Oregon Institute" (the precursor of Willamette University) was organized in 1842. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:201, 203.

visit the mouth of the Columbia and Puget's Sound during the coming dry season, should Providence give us and our families life and health. We are often strengthened and encouraged by the reflection that we have the prayers and sympathies of many, very many, personal and dear Christian friends, as well as of many whom we shall never know till we see as we are seen and bow together around the throne of our exalted Redeemer.

Yours,

E. F.

Rec'd July 22.

Oregon City, Feb. 27th, 1846.

Dear Br. Hill:

The haste in which I write and the circumstances will be the only apology for the want of order in which the subjects are thrown together. What, however, you publish, you will cull out and arrange, as I would, had I paper and time before the return party leave this place.

I was upon the subject of education last night and I cannot leave it till I have still further urged its claim upon our churches at home. And here I will say that, with few exceptions, we have had very few schools in Oregon and most of those of a character such as might reasonably be expected in so new and remote a settlement. Our Methodist friends have a school in operation, about 60 miles above this, in which are taught the branches usually taught in common schools in the States, with a male teacher part of the year, a female teacher through the year, about 40 scholars, and a spacious edifice partially completed. About 30 miles above this, the Roman Catholics are making a strong effort and this year they are erecting a large edifice to be devoted to the purposes of education and have a school in operation,⁹⁶ and I am credibly informed that they contemplate a similar institution on the Cowlitz. In both of these they propose to teach all the branches

⁹⁶ In March, 1846, Vavasour described the Roman Catholic Mission on French Prairie, as having "several large wooden buildings, two churches, dwelling houses and a nunnery." On the Cowlitz he mentioned the Catholic church as being near the settlement of about 19 families. *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X:91, 93.

essential to a thorough education without *directly inculcating their peculiar religious tenets*. The influence of this sect is becoming strong in this territory. I am informed by indubitable authority that there is not a place in the whole territory where the higher branches can be acquired except by a private teacher or in a Catholic school. We then need extremely a series of elementary books, geography, grammar, arithmetic, natural philosophy and other school books, but we have not the means of compensation except by exchanges. They would be purchased were they here, if wheat would buy them. Can we not have them? Again we are in perishing need of juvenile reading such as the publications of the Am. Bap. Pub. Soc. and the religious periodicals of our denomination both for young and old. We are almost in a heathen land so far as relates to the circulation of religious intelligence, while there is a readiness and eagerness on the part of citizens generally to read anything late from the States. Some of our numerous brethren in New York and Boston could easily send to Br. Johnson and myself the files of their own religious periodicals, after reading, without increasing their expenses. I know of no country where religious tracts would be read with more interest than in Oregon. I know Br. J. M. Peck to be emphatically a western pioneer, and through his influence and yours, may we not expect immediately an appropriation of the Am. Bap. Pub. Soc.'s publications for Oregon, a proportion of them advocating our denominational views and exhibiting the true character of popery? Should a box of clothing be made up for the relief of our families, allow me to state that common calico, shirting, any woollen clothing either for men or women, or children between the size of infancy and manhood, shoes, half hose, or any articles of bedclothes would be very acceptable; our hats and shoes are literally worn out and Br. Johnson's boys have been barefooted, and little girls, too, all winter, and mine are candidates for the same treatment unless we get returns from New York or supply them and varied other demands by the labor of our hands.

Should your Board continue us in their employ, I shall need a large portion of the appropriation in clothing and books purchased by you in New York, as I may designate in my reports, one of which I shall make and forward by the next return party after this, which will leave in April or May. I had forgotten to mention in the catalogue of our wants writing paper, an article not now in this city. Please send me a few reams and charge it to me from the next appropriation.

Hitherto I have but barely alluded to the field before us. The present population from the States is estimated at about five or six thousand souls, and, when once settled in their homes, will extend up the river about 120 miles above this and up the varied tributaries, and from this downward to the lower mouth of the Willamette.⁹⁷ At the mouth of the Columbia a strong settlement is being made, and another on Pugette Sound. Our country below the Cascade Mountains is not extensive; yet, as far as I have seen, I think the fertility of the soil generally will exceed the description given by Lieutenant Wilkes and Mr. Townsend.⁹⁸

The truth is, it is in a great measure an unexplored country, except by trappers who have probably but little interest in judging of the fertility of the soil and still less in publishing it to the world. I have traveled down the north bank of the Columbia on foot from The Dalles to Vancouver; from Vancouver to the Tuallity Plains; through the Plains four times; from the Plains through the Chahalum Valley, across the Yam Hill river and up the Willamette Valley across the Rick-reall about half the distance to the Luckymao,⁹⁹ making a dis-

⁹⁷ This estimate of the American population of Oregon seems about correct. See F. G. Young, *The Oregon Trail, Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* 1:370.

The history of the settlement at Astoria is well known. The Methodists occupied Clatsop plains in 1840. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* 1:185, 188. It was rather optimistic, however, to call the settlements here and on Puget Sound "strong." The American settlement at the latter point had only just begun, and was very small. Bancroft, *Hist. of Wash., Idaho and Montana*, pp. 1-5.

⁹⁸ Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, commander of the U. S. Exploring Expedition of 1838-42, was in Oregon in 1841. His "Narrative" was published in five volumes in Philadelphia in 1844. A "Synopsis of the U. S. Exploring Expedition during the years 1838-41," appeared earlier. Bancroft, *Hist. of N. W. Coast*, pp. 670-683.

John K. Townsend was a naturalist who was in Oregon in 1834-6. His "Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River" appeared in Philadelphia in 1839. *Ibid.* p. 577.

⁹⁹ Probably the Luckiamute, a stream in Polk County.

tance from the Plains of about 80 miles; from the Tuallity Plains to this place twice, a distance of about 28 miles, and I think I hazard nothing when I give it as my opinion that its fertility is scarcely excelled by the same extent in the Mississippi Valley. In wheat it far exceeds in yield any part of the United States. The crop never fails by winter killing, by blight or by insects, and produces from ten to more than fifty bushels to the acre of the best wheat I ever saw. All the small grains and vegetables do well as far as tried and turnips excell anything I ever saw. The climate is remarkably mild during the winter, although rainy, and is said to be extremely fine during the spring, summer and autumn. It is ascertained that there is a large extent of country north of the mouth of the Columbia reaching to the Sound and back for perhaps more than a hundred miles, much of which is open and fertile, susceptible of immediate settlement. The country of the Umpqua, the Rogue and the Clamet¹⁰⁰ is represented as remarkably fertile and somewhat extensive. New towns must soon rise up on the river, both above and below us. At the mouth of the Columbia and on the Pugets Sound there must soon spring up small cities whose extent and importance will in a great measure be determined by the intelligence, virtue and enterprise of the people of the tributary country. Our climate, our soil, our timber and our water power conspire to render our resources, when developed, great, for the extent of the territory, beyond that of any country I ever saw. But with all these facilities, we greatly need a few discreet young brethren, with perhaps families, who love our Lord and His cause, who can teach and operate upon the mind of the rising generation in bringing them to adopt correct views in all the social and moral relations of man. We also greatly need brethren with families who know how to feel and act for the wants of the church, with whom ministers may counsel and execute.

¹⁰⁰ The Klamath. For the different spellings of the name, see Frederick V. Holman, *History of the Counties of Oregon*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* XI:55. Clamet was the spelling given in Elijah White's "Ten Years in Oregon."

In truth the door is fast opening for business men on the coast as well as in the interior, and the facilities for emigrating from the eastern states are about as good, if not better, by water than by land. Five hundred dollars invested in clothing or mechanics' tools in New York or Boston is better than the same amount in cattle and wagons in Missouri, and then emigrants might sail in the fall and arrive in the spring in time to make a crop.

You can forward any papers or boxes from New York or Boston or other port by any ship bound to the mouth of the Columbia. The firm of Cushing, Newberry Port, will probably send out one vessel each year.¹⁰¹ The firm of A. G. & A. W. Benson, No 19 Old Slip, New York, will probably send one vessel each six months. Should you send by any vessel directed to either Br. Johnson or myself, Oregon City, Oregon Territory, to the care of E. O. Hall, Financier of the A. B. C. F. M., Honolulu, Oahu Island, and pay the freight, he will forward such packages or boxes to us.

Yours, &c.,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.: It is due to Br. Johnson to state that his family has suffered much with the camp fever¹⁰² since their arrival in this place, but through a kind Providence their lives are all spared and their health is gradually returning. Sister J. is beginning to take the charge of the family. We design fixing our families near this place the coming season, sustaining preaching regularly each Sabbath, traveling as much as we can and searching out the scattered sheep.

Tuallity Plains, Tuallity Co., Oregon, April 17, 1846.

Dear Br. Hill:

I have just learned that the return party to the States will leave Oregon City on Monday. It is now late at night, and

¹⁰¹ F. W. Pettygrove, at Oregon City, had come out as agent of A. G. and A. W. Benson in 1842. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:422. The firm of John and Caleb Cushing of Newburyport had sent a ship to Oregon as early as 1839 (it arrived in 1840) and in 1846 another of their ships appeared in Oregon. H. W. Scott (ed), *Hist. of Portland*, p. 86.

¹⁰² Camp fever was much like dysentery or typhoid fever. It was sometimes called mountain fever.—Geo. H. Himes.

my last chance for sending is early tomorrow morning. I can therefore do nothing more than sketch a few lines in the greatest haste. The mercies of God are still passing before us, giving us life and health as a family. We find presented almost daily opportunities of contributing to the formation of the moral character of the people of our Territory. Yet we find everything so dissimilar to anything we ever experienced that we often feel placed almost beyond religious privileges as you are wont to enjoy them in the States.

The population as yet must, from the nature of the case, be very sparse and, as the settlements are somewhat remote from each other, it renders the labors of a missionary difficult, situated as we are at this time many thousands of miles from home and with exhausted funds. We cannot reasonably expect any supplies from your Board for at least twelve months. With these obstacles before us we do not despair, but must be pained while we are obliged to minister to our temporal wants temporarily, and hence limit greatly our field of labour. I have pretty nearly concluded to teach a school a few months, as soon as we get settled, as the most convenient method of promoting the moral and religious condition of the people. I have just returned from the mouth of the Columbia River. I find it an interesting part of the country, and, to all probability, should the emigration continue as we have reason to anticipate, the commercial point for the Willamette Valley and a great portion of the Territory must be located either where Astoria once stood or between that and the mouth of the river. I found about thirty or forty log cabins in this vicinity occupied by families and bachelors. On the south side of the river about the mouth is a tract of rich land large enough for a small county, susceptible of cultivation, but mostly timbered. That portion now occupied is mostly plains, and portions of the timbered land would be more easily cleared and put under cultivation than most of the timbered land in New York.¹⁰³ The climate is remarkably salubrious. Noth-

¹⁰³ The history of Astoria is too well known to need repetition here. The Clatsop Plains were apparently first settled by whites in 1840 when the Methodist Mission established a station there. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:185.
This station was ordered sold out in 1844. *Ibid.* I:221.

ing but the small number of people and the distance of this point from the present populous part of Oregon will prevent me from fixing my family in this vicinity and labouring from this point. Even now my convictions are so strong of the relative importance of this point and of the probable future character of its population, that I may in a few months deem it my duty to take my family to that place.

I still preach on Sabbaths and visit only as I travel from place to place.

Your Board may be desirous of knowing what will be necessary to enable us to devote ourselves to the ministry. I think that after fixing our location we can support the family, should the Board see fit to make an appropriation of \$150 or \$200 the first year, and hope we may be blessed with favor of the people so that we can afterward live on a less sum. Should your Board make an appropriation for another year, we wish you to put us up a box of the following articles and pay for the same from the appropriation: 1 pair no. 9 thick calf-skin boots; 1 pair of calf-skin shoes no. 4, women's; 2 pair of no. 3 shoes, boys'; 2 pair of children's shoes for a girl 7 years old, and 2 pair for a girl 4 years; 2 bolts of common calico, dark coloured, worth 12 or 15 cents per yd; 10 yards of Kentucky janes and 4 yards of black cassimere; 20 yards of woollen linsey, plaid, for children's dresses; 25 spools of common sewing thread; 8 pounds of cotton batting; 1 cast bake kettle, with lid, that will hold about ten quarts; 1 large octavo Bible and five or six spelling books. We are in an entirely new country and have little or no crockery or cooking utensils at any price. You will probably get the box on board Mr. Benson's ship bound for the mouth of the Columbia; if not, direct to me as one of your missionaries, Oregon City, Oregon Territory, to the care of E. A. Hall, Financier of the A.B.C.F.M. at Honolulu, Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands, and it will probably come safe. Yours truly,

EZRA FISHER.

Rec'd Aug. 19, 1846.

Oregon City, Oregon Territory, Aug. 15th, 1846.

Dear Br. Hill:

I am at this time on a visit to this place with Mrs. Fisher and to spend the Sabbath, and have just learned that Mr. Stark, supercargo of the Tulon,¹⁰⁴ leaves this place on Monday morning, and I have but an hour to write and that too in a visiting circle. I have many things to write which I intend to do before winter, but must dispense with order at this time. We are all in tolerable health and presume Br. Johnson's family are, although we have not yet seen them since coming in town. You can have but little conception of our feelings at the present. We find Oregon emphatically presenting a most interesting field for missionary labor, but quite dissimilar to any we have formerly occupied, and our circumstances widely different. I wish you to be assured that we are not at all inclined to complain of the allotments of Providence. They are all in mercy. And it becomes us to rejoice that we may endure hardness for the cause of Christ so long as duty and necessity demand it. But rest assured, dear brother, I tell you the sentiments of my inmost soul when I say I have no desire to become secular when I see a civilized *nation* (shall I say) bursting into existence on the dark side of the globe, with a character entirely unformed and less elevated than that of Iowa or Missouri, and removed thousands of miles from the moral and religious influence of old and established institutions of morality and religion. Your means of communication are easy and direct throughout the entire states and territories drained by the waters of the Mississippi, and even through Texas; but here we are, separated by great mountain and desert barriers, or a voyage of more than 20,000 miles by sea, surrounded by heathen near at hand, by Romans all along the southern coast line, with the isles of the sea waiting for the law of God and some in the very act of receiving it. What can be done must be done or our opportunities for doing as

¹⁰⁴ The "Toulon," Captain Nathaniel Crosby, first came to Oregon from New York in 1845. For a number of years beginning with 1846 it made trips from Oregon to the Hawaiian Islands. Benjamin Stark, Jr., was supercargo. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:16, 48.

a denomination will be largely lost. A country is now settled, at favoured points, about as large as half the state of Illinois, and we are expecting large accessions the coming fall. Then the most important points will be seized upon with great eagerness, if it is true, as we fondly hope, that the notice bill¹⁰⁵ is passed by both branches of our National Legislature and become a law. We see Romanism taking root in our soil and special effort being made to secure the influence of the leading men in our colony, and to establish schools for the education of our children and youth. We have already three churches, if they may be called churches,¹⁰⁶ and members favourably located to organize two or three more; besides, we must soon look after more important interests than any already brought into existence, or entirely leave the seaboard to others. My heart bleeds at this view of things, while I find myself confined in school as the best way temporarily to exert a limited influence while I provide my family with the present necessities of life. With this state of things before us, we have but three Baptist ministers in good standing in the churches,¹⁰⁷ and the other two are more confined than myself. We know your Board does not expect we will exhaust our physical powers for the bread that perishes, and, were you here to view things as they are, you would lift up your voice in the churches till we were liberated from the necessity of serving tables, or say, We will leave you to your ways, but appoint more faithful laborers in this vineyard of our common land. You know what we have to expect from the first emigrants from Missouri and Iowa. It is too much to expect to be thrown into the bosom of affectionate churches who sympathize with the faithful ministry and study to make his labors delightful.¹⁰⁸ Men do not rejoice

¹⁰⁵ The bill provided for twelve months' notice to Great Britain of the termination of the joint occupancy of the Oregon agreement of 1818. The news of the passage of the notice bill did not reach Oregon until a number of days after this letter was written. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:589.

¹⁰⁶ These three Baptist churches were at West Union (Tualatin Plains), La Creole (Polk County), and Yamhill (South Yamhill). Mattoon, *Bapt. Annals of Ore.* I:1-4.

¹⁰⁷ The three Baptist ministers were Rev. Vincent Snelling, Rev. Hezekiah Johnson, and the author. Mattoon, *Bapt. Annals of Ore.* I:43-50.

¹⁰⁸ Baptists from these western states and territories were not yet accustomed to supporting the ministry of the church.

at the sound of the gospel even here; but we feel strongly assured that the time is not far distant when all the discouragements peculiar to a new country and an extremely fluctuating population will give place to the order and efficiency which the gospel of Christ so forcibly inculcates. At present I am teaching school, as I have intimated, in Tuality Plains, 25 or 26 miles N.W. from this place, but greatly fear that my lungs will not long allow me to continue in that employment. I preach and superintend a Sabbath school on the Sabbath, or preach and visit abroad Saturdays and Sabbaths. Two weeks today and tomorrow I assisted in organizing a small church near the mouth of the Yam Hill River,¹⁰⁹ and on Sabbath presented to the public the peculiarities of our denomination, in a sermon of about an hour, and at the close baptized a brother of some talent who wished to prepare for the ministry. The three churches now organized are most favorably located, being organized so that their future place of worship must unavoidably be at the county seats of three important counties on the Willamette river. But our brethren are in a new country and have everything to do to render their families comfortable, and have not been formerly trained to the principles so happily carried out by our Pilgrim fathers in the settlements of Plymouth and Boston. I preach every Sabbath. We have a Sabbath school, in connection with other denominations, and Bible class consisting in all of about 25 scholars and 5 teachers; ten of the children are of Baptist families, and three teachers. I superintend the school when at home. Four days in June I attended a camp-meeting of the Congregational Church in the upper plain ten miles from my present residence and participated as much as my strength would admit. Our labors were blessed, and it is hoped that some ten or twelve souls were truly converted. . . .

Tell our brethren that tracts and Sunday school books are *greatly needed*, and we feel that *we cannot be denied this*

¹⁰⁹ This was the church at South Yamhill, twelve miles or so from the mouth of the river. Mattoon fails to mention the author's part in this organization, giving only the names of Snelling and Johnson. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* 1:5.

request as soon as a package can be made up and sent. Our brethren will not forget to send us files of religious periodicals. We have now been cut off from all the blessings of religious periodicals and literally shut out of the religious world for 17 months except that we find occasionally an angel visitor of this kind in a Pedit-baptist paper. We trust it is our love for the cause of Christ in Oregon which has led us to forego, with our young families, all these privileges. Shall our wants meet with a response from the hearts and hands of our brethren in the Atlantic states? We maintain a weekly prayermeeting and Mrs. Fisher and our little daughter, with two other young females not yet baptized, sustain a weekly prayermeeting. I visit but little as a minister, but embrace every opportunity I can for that purpose. I must close this for want of paper and time but hope I shall be able to fill another sheet before the Tulon leaves the mouth of the Columbia. If possible we must have two good Baptist preachers sent out from east of the Alleghany mountains immediately and I think they will find support. Remember us affectionately to our dear brethren in New York.

Yours truly,

EZRA FISHER.

Rec'd Feb. 5, 1847.

Tuallity Plains, Tuallity County, Oregon Ter.

Aug. 19th, 1846.

Dear Br. Hill:

Since last writing, learning that the Tulon may be delayed a few days at the mouth of the Columbia and being about to visit Clatsop and the coast immediately north of the mouth of the Columbia, I hope to be in time to forward you another sheet. Consequently, I hasten to communicate another letter. We returned from Oregon City on the 17th. Found our family in usual health. I wish . . . that your Board may know as near as possible the true state of things with us. As it relates to the character of our Baptist brethren with whom we have to co-operate, they are mostly from the upper

part of Missouri and . . . a very considerable number of Baptists from Iowa. . . . We have some few who have been accustomed to work in prayer meetings and Sabbath schools and would like to see the ministry devoted to their appropriate calling, but as yet very little can be realized by way of ministerial support. Yet I think the time is near at hand when the brethren will take a gospel view of the subject and carry out the gospel plan. We greatly need a few working brethren located at favoured points for business and influence in Oregon. It is not difficult to see where those points will be. Such brethren as could engage in farming, lumbering, mechanic arts, such as are indispensable to a new country, and in the salmon fisheries will find that a small capital judiciously invested, with industry, would soon enable them to rise to competency and probably to affluence. I have never seen a country where, at so early a period in its history, so many avenues are opened to reward the industrious as are found in Oregon . . . We greatly need a few efficient brethren who have formed their habits east of the Alleghany Range. It is as easy for brethren to come by water direct to the mouth of the Columbia, to Vancouvers Island or Pugets Sound, which are certainly among the most favored points in our country, as for the inhabitants of Missouri to cross the Rocky Mountains by ox teams. The time has already come when money or merchandise will buy neat stock at no very extravagant prices in New York or Massachusetts. Whoever can reach the Sandwich Islands will be able soon to find a passage to the mouth of the Columbia.

I wrote you in my last that we greatly need two good teachers. My reasons are these: 1. I think they will undoubtedly be able to sustain themselves. 2. The Romans are now very industrious in attempting to occupy every important point with a school. I was credibly informed that a proposition was recently made by a priest to the proprietors of Portland, the highest point which merchant vessels reach on the Willamette, to build a church and establish a permanent school

in the place, if the proprietors would give the site and pledge their attendance on the services of the Roman Church.¹¹⁰ A somewhat similar proffer has been made to some of the settlers of the Clatsop Plains south of the mouth of the Columbia, if my informant, a resident of said plains, is to be relied upon, and I think him a man of veracity.

I have taught one quarter and probably I shall teach another, commencing about the first of October, if my lungs will allow me to teach and preach; if not, I must abandon teaching and find some other employment sufficient to sustain my family till relief comes from your Board, should it decide that a mission must be sustained here. Our Pedit-baptist friends have very freely expressed to me the opinion that I ought to have gone to Oregon City. But as the circumstances are and Br. Johnson seems desirous of remaining, I have for months been decidedly of the opinion that I should hold myself in readiness to make my home at or near the mouth of the Columbia, as soon as our brethren in this region will give their consent and Providence opens the door. I rejoice to be able to say that quite unexpectedly to me our brethren are now adopting my views, and the probability is that by next summer settlements will become sufficiently extended on the coast to justify my removal to that point . . . We need men in Oregon who desire to magnify the office of the ministry and love it more than all other pursuits. We need more ministers, but we shall doubtless be better able to say what the character and qualifications should be after the arrival of the forth-coming emigration; volunteer ministers will probably come then and we shall then probably have an opportunity of writing you by way of the Sandwich Islands. We shall probably need one more at least in the Willamette Valley, one at Vancouver and one in the neighborhood of Puget's Sound before you

¹¹⁰ There seems to be no other record of this offer. If it was ever made it was not accepted. The first Catholic chapel was not erected in Portland until 1851, and not until 1859 was the first Catholic school opened in Portland. *Hist. of Portland, Ore.*, ed. by H. W. Scott, pp. 348, 394.

can commission and send them out. The coast and Vancouver will probably be peopled with an enterprising and intelligent people.

I think Br. Johnson and myself will need \$200 cash another year to enable us to devote ourselves to the work, and, should we place ourselves so as to stop our rents and keep a little stock, perhaps we can live with that by subjecting our families to taking the charge of our little temporals. Probably one half of that in such goods as families need in wearing apparel and articles of furniture, would be as convenient for us as the money, and, by this means, your Board may sustain its missionaries by the assistance of friends who would cheerfully contribute wearing apparel when money is out of the question.

Rec'd Feb. 5, 1847.

Astoria, Clatsop County, Oregon Ter.,

Jan. 4th, 1847.

Dear Brother Hill:

Being in daily expectation that the ship Tulon will leave the mouth of the river for the Sandwich Islands, I embrace this as the only opportunity I shall have till spring to address you by letter, and this will not reach you for eight or ten months, if ever.

Through the tender mercies of God, we are all in good health, except that I am confined to the house with a wound received from an axe in my foot last week. The wound, however, is doing well and will probably heal in two or three weeks. I will here remark that we probably have one of the most salubrious as well as mild climates in the world. But I have taken my pen for other purposes than to give a description of climate and soil, and the beauties of the scenery. We have chosen this as our field of labor should God graciously please to spare our unprofitable lives, although at present the population of the place and vicinity is small. This I have done from a strong conviction that the coast must soon become the most important part of the country, and that, too, probably

as soon as we shall be so situated as to be able to do much permanently for the cause. We feel a strong assurance that we shall soon enjoy a stability of government which will give an impulse to emigration and commerce, and we trust that in the emigration we shall find some who care for the cause of Christianity, and will co-operate with us for the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ on these shores. We have three Baptist sisters about ten miles from us on the Clatsop Plains, who have moved there since we came to this place, with whom we had a slight acquaintance in the states.¹¹¹ We are in expectation of other members in the spring or summer, and hope by that time to constitute a feeble church in this county. If we shall be able to do this, and to awaken in the community an interest in substituting religious order on the Sabbath for visiting, hunting and transacting worldly business, we shall feel that we have not lived in vain in Oregon. We feel the strongest conviction that ours is a very important position, although at present we labour under the greatest inconveniences of any of your missionaries. Your Board is my witness that I have not in years past made the privations of a missionary the burden of my communications with you. The duty I owe to Him who bought us with His own blood and ever lives to intercede in our behalf, as well as the relation I sustain to the Home Board of Missions, and to our new and promising territory, demands of me, however humiliating the task, a disclosure of facts. Before I proceed, I will state that to me, and I doubt not to the other two Baptist ministers labouring in Oregon, the work of the ministry is desirable above all other works, and I know of no field for which I have any desire to abandon Oregon. But what can a man do without his bread and his tools? To be sure, under the most adverse circumstances, something may be done for God every day, but we know it is not God's plan that Zion's teachers shall be removed into a corner, but that they shall be brought into sight and hearing, that she may hear the word: "This

¹¹¹ These were Mrs. Robinson and her two daughters, Mrs. Motley and Mrs. Thompson.

is the way, walk ye in it." We are all as Baptist ministers driven to the necessity of going to secular pursuits to give our families food, and but very insufficient raiment.

As a people, we are a colony removed far from all civilization and commerce, except what the small surplus products of our country attract. The consequence is a monopoly in commerce, very oppressive to the community. Our settlers are generally industrious, and should the Government grant them their lands, they are laying the foundation for wealth despite the temporary monopoly in trade with which they are oppressed.¹¹² As before stated, we have very few Baptist brethren who have been accustomed to see a minister sustained by the church, and those few are scattered so as to prevent anything like a systematic effort to aid in the support of the ministry. They love the gospel sound and delight in its ordinances; but ministers must travel far from settlement to settlement to preach. This creates a large tax on the time of the man who must leave the word of God and serve tables. Added to this, the rainy season five or six months in the year renders the roads in this new country very difficult to travel, and when we travel by water we have to go in open boats and sleep in the open air, perhaps in wet blankets after rowing all day in the rains. These difficulties might and would be overcome were our hands liberated and our family cares abated. With the improvement of the country, the difficulties of travelling will soon be overcome, and are now probably as few as might reasonably be expected . . . Our white American population now numbers nine or ten thousand souls scattered over a territory more than two hundred miles from Puget's Sound and this place to the headwaters of the Willamette, and is aided in science, religion and morals by only one printing press, and that issues a semi-monthly half sheet.¹¹³ Its proprietors

¹¹² Probably a reference to the Hudson Bay Company, which did most of the shipping at this time.—Geo. H. Himes.

¹¹³ This was the Oregon Spectator which first appeared Feb. 5, 1846, under the editorship of W. G. T'Vault. H. S. Lyman, *Hist. of Ore.* IV:279. The spelling book was published Feb. 1, 1847. There were 800 copies, none of which are known to be extant in their complete form. The book was an abridgement of Webster's Elementary Spelling Book, about two-thirds the size of the original. Geo. H. Himes, *Hist. of the Press in Oregon*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* III:347.

have lately resolved to strike off 200 copies of Webster's elementary spelling-book somewhat abridged. You can form some estimate of our poverty and want. Probably not one family in three in the territory has a spelling-book. I have no doubt men would gladly have paid one dollar per copy for spelling-books for their children in the school which I taught last summer, but there was not a spelling-book at any price. We have a few Sunday-school books sent out from New York . . . which have been of great value to the children and youth as far as enjoyed; and we have a few volumes of the publications of the American Tract Society and some tracts sent to Rev. Mr. Griffen, a Congregationalist.¹¹⁴

Our Methodist brethren are doing something towards supplying some of the children with juvenile books, and their Sunday School Advocate, with their hymn books, and some Bibles and Testaments; but all this is a very small fraction of what is greatly needed. I have not seen a Baptist periodical from the States for more than 20 months. I have omitted to mention that the country is almost destitute of all suitable elementary school-books and juvenile reading. It would do your heart good to see the eagerness with which a periodical, a tract or Sunday school book is seized upon and read by a large portion of our citizens. For example, when our eldest daughter of fifteen years was sent for to teach a school quarter,¹¹⁵ and a request came for hymn-books and any other suitable books so that they could have a Sunday school during her stay, I had nothing but a few copies of the Divine Songs and a few tracts to send. Cannot our request be responded to so that as missionaries we may be supplied with suitable tracts and juvenile books of the American Baptist Publication Society, with a fair proportion of the former exposing the evils of Romanism, and others vindicating our denominational peculiarities; also some Bibles and Testaments. I know

¹¹⁴ This was probably Rev. J. S. Griffin, who came to Oregon in 1839 (Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:238), sent by the North Litchfield Association of Connecticut.

¹¹⁵ This school was at Skipanon, near Warrenton, in Clatsop County.—Geo. H. Himes.

there would be an effort made, if our brethren in the States were to feel our wants as we daily feel them. Imagine yourself and family of children surrounded by heathen and daily under their influence, and at the same time Romanism uniting its influence with heathenism to bring into disrepute the simplicity of the gospel in a new and isolated republic rising on the western borders of America; would you not plead for help?

Our brethren will not forget to send us files of some of the religious periodicals as well as the annual reports of the Missionary, and other benevolent societies. So far as these auxiliaries are concerned, we famish in a dry and barren land. When I left the Western states I sold and gave away a large portion of the few books which composed my library because they were too heavy to transport across the Rocky Mountains, so that now when I would consult a commentary or some of the standard writers of the last and present century on the great truths of the Gospel, I seriously feel my need. My library consists principally of Mosheim's Church History, Horne's Introduction, Buck's Theological Dictionary, Butterworth's Concordance, a Greek Testament and Lexicon and Wayland's Moral Science. One of our ministering brethren on the Willamette has Fuller's Works and McKnight on the Epistles. As ministers we greatly need a few books, and could any valuable ones be sent, they would be thankfully received. De Aubin's History of the Reformation¹¹⁶ would probably be an invaluable work here. We have consumed most of our available means, and find ourselves placed in the strait of involving ourselves in debt or providing with our hands the bare necessities of life, not knowing how soon we shall get any communications from you. I have received a few presents from two of our brethren here and a few from some friend, amounting perhaps in all to thirty dollars.

We are living, and have lived ever since we came to the country, except for about five weeks, in a rude log cabin without a single pane of glass. Our furniture consists of three

¹¹⁶ Not De Aubin, but D'Aubigne (1794-1872).

chairs, three stools, a small pine table about two feet by three, two old trunks which have traveled with us about 20 years, and a very few cooking utensils which we have brought with us or obtained at exorbitant prices. We have two tea cups and four saucers; more are not to be obtained in the country at any price. Most articles of clothing and furniture, when they can be obtained, are three or four times the price they are in the States. We have neither fire shovel, tongs nor andirons, but a common barn shovel. We often think, if we had a few of the most commonly indispensable articles of household furniture and could provide our children with the most coarse but comfortable apparel so that we could meet the many pressing and important calls for ministerial labor all over the country in all the varied relations of our calling, we should be happy.

Our Territory is needing the labors of at least five or six devoted Baptist missionaries. The time has come when we, as a denomination, must have men in the field, or other men will gather the harvest. Our Methodist brethren are now sustaining five or six missionaries in the settlements, and at this very moment, had we the men and means, our denominational views are as favorably received as any other. Brother Snelling is a worthy brother, and would gladly wear himself out in the ministry but for the pressing cares of his family. Brother Johnson is doing what he can at Oregon City and vicinity. My labors will be principally confined to this county, unless we are so liberated from secular cares as to enable me to spend a portion of the time in traveling through the settlements now forming on the Chehalis and at Puget Sound,¹¹⁷ as well as the upper settlements. Should the settlement of the Oregon Question be what we anticipate, we shall greatly need a missionary stationed at Puget Sound before you can commission a suitable man and send him to the field. And should Upper California remain under the United States government, a missionary will be greatly needed at San Francisco

¹¹⁷ See note 220 for the early settlements on Puget Sound. The upper settlements were probably those in the Willamette Valley.

Bay immediately upon the settlement of the Mexican War. It is my deliberate opinion that missionaries in whom your Board can confide should be appointed and sustained till by God's blessing an interest shall be awakened sufficient to sustain itself, and afford assistance to the surrounding country. This whole country and Upper California are emphatically missionary grounds, and our relation to the whole Pacific Coast and the half of the globe in our front demands prompt and faithful action. If our position excites so much interest in the political and commercial world, ought not the churches to turn the eye in this direction and ask: Have we no interest in all these movements? Whatever God has in store for our majestic River and our spacious and safe harbors on the Pacific, one thing is now reduced to a demonstration: We must become a part of the great North American Republic. It remains for the Christian churches of that Republic to say whether our territory shall prove a blessing or a sore curse to the nation. Shall the needed help be denied us? As a people, we are in the most helpless infancy; the power of the Gospel of our ever Blessed Saviour must be exerted to bind this legion and drive it into our mighty Pacific, or we shall be abandoned, the prey of the worst of spirits and the basest of passions. Dear brother, it is far beyond the power of language to describe the blessings of the Gospel. While we, almost isolated and faint, pray and labor and look with longing eyes toward the parent land, shall we not see this bow of promise hanging over our eastern skies: "The Lord will send deliverance out of Zion"? No doubt the time is near at hand when the facilities of communication will be greatly multiplied and a direct mail route will enable us to correspond directly two or three times a year,¹¹⁸ and vessels will be monthly leaving this place for the States and bearing cargoes directly from the States in return. We wait with patience for these changes. We feel that we are passing

¹¹⁸ For a time in 1846 direct mail service had been established with Weston, Mo., at the rate of fifty cents a single sheet, but this was discontinued after nine months. Geo. H. Himes, *History of the Press in Ore., Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* III:343.

through a crisis in the history of the country, and ask God for grace that we may be brought through without repining at his providences. We feel a strong conviction that the time is near at hand when God will enlarge Zion on these shores, and we shall enjoy all the blessings of civilization and Christianity for ourselves and our children.

I preach every Sabbath, although the number living in our place is as yet very small. I shall probably divide my labors between this place and Clatsop Plains, in the opening of the spring. I have spent most of my time the last two months in building a small frame house, and have it now almost enclosed, and shall probably soon move into it.¹¹⁹ We shall then open a small Sunday school of the few children we have in the place. We feel pretty strong convictions that we shall make this region the field of our future labors, should God permit, and this becomes the commercial point on this river, which is very probable. We are waiting with anxiety, however, to learn what the Government will do for this country; you probably know at this time, or will before the rising of congress.¹²⁰ I have written you five or six times since our arrival in the country, and two or three times on our way, but have not yet had a single line from you. Will not a box of clothing be sent to aid Brother Johnson and myself in clothing our families? Second-handed clothing and coarse, too, will be very valuable to us. You can have no conception of how thankfully it would be received, or of the difficulty of obtaining clothing in this country. I know positively that our families would rejoice exceedingly, if they had the old clothes which are regarded useless by hundreds of our brethren in the old States.

¹¹⁹ This house was used as a post office by John M. Shively, who was one of the first two U. S. postmasters appointed for Oregon (1847). Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:614. A picture of the house was in the *Oregon Daily Journal*, Dec. 31, 1909.

¹²⁰ It may be that the author had not yet heard of the final settlement of the Oregon boundary, which was made in the summer of 1846.

(Jan. 4, 1847).

I have repeated the request for books and clothing through fear that any former letters may have never reached you. I know it will afford many a sister pleasure to collect a few comforts for those of us who are laboring in these ends of the earth. We make not these appeals because we think we could not meet the wants of our families should we give ourselves entirely to secular pursuits. But this we cannot do. God will have his ministers feel a necessity laid upon them and a woe too, if they preach not the Gospel. We very much expect to hear from you in the spring, so that we can feel relieved in spending the dry season strictly as missionaries. We ought to visit every large settlement and hold a meeting of two, three or more days, and gather up the scattered sheep and feed the lambs. But I must desist. My heart is full of the wants of our country. May God give us grace to do His will. You can send any boxes or letters on board any vessel that passes the Sandwich Islands, directing all such packages to me at this place to the care of E. O. Hall, Financier of the A. B. C. F. Missions at Honolulu, Oahu or Wahoo.

Your unworthy brother and fellow laborer in the gospel field,

EZRA FISHER.

N.B. Let us have an interest in your prayers and the prayers of all those who mourn over the desolations of sin, that the richest blessings of the gospel may be poured out upon Oregon.

Received July 13

Astoria, Oregon Territory, April 2nd, 1847.

Dear Brother Hill:

I wrote you three sheets by the Tulon in January, making known in some measure the wants of our country west of the mountains, and directed it by way of the Islands, but after writing, Captain Crosby determined to take a cargo

of flour to the American squadron at San Francisco Bay.¹²¹ The package may be a year in reaching you, and it may be that he made over his letters for the States to the war ship which was dispatched to take Captain Howison to the States to account for the loss of the Schooner Shark.¹²² It is possible that you will receive it in two or three months, but, through fear of a long delay, I shall repeat some of our obstacles in the promotion of the cause of Christ in Oregon. By the abounding grace of God we are alive and in good bodily health; yet our remote situation from the seat of operations of American churches, together with our temporal embarrassments, and the inconvenience of reaching the remote settlements, both as it relates to the time employed and the expense of traveling, has compelled me to confine my labors to the few people in Clatsop County. The winter has been extremely severe, and to human appearances Providence has frowned upon my attempts temporal.

We moved to this place last fall, as probably possessing the most favorable indications of future usefulness, and with pretty strong encouragement that we should be joined by other Baptist friends this spring. But the severity of the winter which has been destructive to cattle in this place and to the wheat already in the barns probably determined our Baptist friends otherwise. My cattle, which were more than twenty head in the fall, are now reduced to two, and I feel myself compelled to remove to Clatsop Plains on the coast immediately south of the mouth of the Columbia, but cut off from this place by Young's Bay, three miles in width, as the most probable place of sustaining my family by my own hands and at the same time sustaining a small congregation; our daughter Lucy Jane Gray can have a small school part of the time, and a small Sabbath school may probably be sustained during the year. In the meantime we hope that the day is

¹²¹ This was, of course, the Pacific squadron which had helped in the American occupation of California in this and the preceding year. Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.* V, passim. Captain N. Crosby was prominent in the history of early Oregon shipping. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:26.

¹²² The "Shark" was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia, Oct. 10, 1846. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:587.

not far distant when we shall have such relief sent us from your Board as will enable me to reach more remote portions of the settlements and devote my whole time to the appropriate duties of a gospel minister.

In the abstract I think this county presents as much present prospect of permanent usefulness as any part of the country, if we except the immediate vicinity of Oregon City and the country accessible from that point. We feel a strong confidence that the first national work by way of fortification and the facilitation of navigation must be done at this great outlet of travel and commerce, and but a few months will be sufficient to decide this.¹²³ I cannot therefore think of leaving this point unless the seat of commerce should be fixed at another point and Providence should plainly indicate a more advantageous situation. We have three Baptist sisters [married] in Clatsop Plains and there is a general desire manifested that we shall remove there for the present. I learned by Captain Kilborn of the Brig Henry that he had sent a letter for me to the Willamette Falls (Oregon City). I suppose it is from your pen, but have not had the satisfaction of seeing it. Rest assured we wait with great anxiety some communication from you. At present we have here only two American families besides my own, and a few bachelors, and besides the Hudson Bay Company's servants, and it is not probable towns will improve much in Oregon beyond the absolute necessities in business transactions, should our Government make grants of lands to the first settlers and require each family to reside for a term of years on his land to perfect his title.

I have received no direct communication from Brother Johnson since I left Tuality Plains, but occasionally hear from him. I can assure you that to all human appearance our usefulness would be increased ten fold were we only placed in such circumstances as we were in the Great Western Valley, and yet our labors as ministers are as greatly needed as they

¹²³ The first defensive works at the mouth of the Columbia were begun in 1863. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:510. No work on the channel was done until much later.

ever were in the Mississippi Valley. O! how blighting to the Christian graces is this secularizing of the ministry! Surely no minister, who values holiness of heart and desires the enlargement of the Redeemer's Kingdom on the borders of idolatry and Romanism, can do otherwise than exercise the deepest regret at the necessity of consuming his precious time and attention in providing but partially for animal wants. Such at present must unavoidably be our condition unless aid come from some quarter. Our few churches are but partially organized, and need frequent visiting and instructing, and to see practically demonstrated the utility of a devoted ministry, that they may appreciate it and put forth laudable efforts to sustain it. We feel a strong confidence that all necessary relief would be forthcoming with many and prevailing prayers, could our liberal brethren stand by and see us as we go to our daily labor with almost all the spiritual needs in their pressing importance urging themselves upon us, yet neglected. I do trust that another summer will not leave Brother Johnson and myself in a still more straitened condition than we were the past Were we placed in other circumstances I might be justified in being less opportunate but where all depends upon the efficiency of the ministry to bring before the infant churches the doctrines, the ordinances, the precepts and examples of the gospel, we ought to be given *wholly* to the work. We covet not this spiritual exile because it is to be preferred to all those pleasing associations which daily bring to your door the triumphs of the gospel from the four quarters of the globe, and that habitual enjoyment of elevated Christian society which is to be enjoyed in all the older parts of our country. But we have chosen our position and chose the sacrifice with the hope that under the blessing of God and by the aid of those more highly blessed with temporal and spiritual gifts, we might become both His and their servants in shedding abroad God's gifts in these benighted ends of the earth. It will be two years the twelfth of the present month since we left

the field of our former labors. With it we cheerfully relinquished the prospect of enjoying those almost inestimable privileges of religious publications of all description, as we supposed, for one year, hoping that a few months after our arrival we should occasionally be greeted by those welcome visitors. But Alas! the Mexican war and the infrequency of arrivals by water direct from our eastern ports has held us in banishment up to this present. When I look to the people and see them left in ignorance of all the great religious movements in the world, except for a few packages sent to the Methodist and Presbyterian missions, my feelings are often left to wander between despair and that indifference occasioned by the care and fatigue incident to meeting our temporal needs. Our whole country is oppressed by an excessive monopoly of our merchants, so that most of the people are unable to meet the pressing wants of their families. If they could sit down at night as they come in from their daily labor, take up a religious periodical and read their half-clad families some interesting accounts of the triumphs of grace over depravity instead of meditating and teaching the principles of revenge, how would the family circle be cheered and the lowering cloud of our Western solitude be dissipated! The question is settled that Oregon is destined to be numbered among the states of our great American Republic; the scenes of our early sufferings and privations will soon be known only as they are engraved on the memory of the sufferers, or recorded on the pages of history. A brighter day is before us and we fancy that we already descry the first dawning light breaking over the tops of the eastern mountains. We must look to the older and more gifted states to aid in giving us a religious as well as a political and commercial character. Will not our Baptist churches aid in this work? Romanism is making strong attempts at planting deep its root in Oregon soil and availing itself of every inefficient effort of Protestantism to bring into disrepute the vital godliness of both it and its ministry. So long as our ministers are unsustained, the

priests herald the stereotyped reproach through community, both savage and civilized: "These men are not ministers. See, they work and trade and live like other men." "We are the founders of schools and are always ready to minister to your afflictions and care for your souls."

Can there be some method devised whereby we can have forwarded several numbers of some good religious periodicals of our own denomination, and some of the publications of the A. B. Publication Society adapted to Sunday schools and to vindicating our own denominational peculiarities and breathing a spirit of devotion and Christian philanthropy? Books of all kinds are eagerly sought for and Sunday schools can easily be sustained where ten or twelve children can be found sufficiently contiguous. I have several times written relative to the best and cheapest way of sustaining your missionaries in Oregon. Such is the feeble and scattered condition of the settlements that your missionaries must be sustained principally from your Board, or they must sustain themselves. Yet there is great hope that a few years will change the aspect of things in this respect. When the people once see the happy effects of a devoted ministry, they will cheerfully contribute to its support, and be blessed in so doing. When the time comes that a fair competition in trade takes the place of oppressive monopoly, industry will probably be as amply rewarded in this as in any other part of the nation, and we all hope that day is near. None but those who have experienced it can tell the inconveniences and privations of a new country so far removed from civilization. But really our early settlers have performed their part nobly, and are still contending undismayed with obstacles which would be regarded almost insurmountable in the old states. On arriving here the few people of this country were all poor and for the past three years they have brought almost all their breadstuff 125 miles in canoes and open boats, making a trip in 10 or 15 days and camping out in the open air through all their jour-

ney.¹²⁴ these journeys are often performed in the dead of winter while the rain is falling every day; all groceries and store goods are obtained in this way, except such as are purchased off of ships. The people have just put in operation a mill sufficient to meet the home demand, and the days of privation are fast passing by. Now the actual expense of living in Oregon, with half the comforts of life, is twice as great as it is in the western states, and how to meet these expenses of your missionaries is the question to be considered. Articles of clothing are exceedingly difficult to be obtained here. Sisters of the churches could make up clothing or send the articles unmade, or even half worn clothing, such as is laid by, and would contribute largely to our wants. They would probably thus provide for us with great cheerfulness; at the same time it would not at all diminish the annual cash contributions. You can have no conception of the manner in which we are clad in our ordinary business. We are still wearing old clothes which we had laid aside as unfit for use in the Western states, and have purchased but a few of the most common articles, and those of the coarse and substantial kind when they could be obtained. We still prefer to practice this kind of self-denial to the abandonment of our enterprise, while we have the hope left that we may be made instrumental in laying the foundation of the cause of Christian civilization where it is so much needed. We wish not to make the gospel an item of merchandise, and I think both Brother Johnson and myself are willing to practice the most rigid economy for the sake of carrying out the great object of our mission. As to the amount necessary to sustain our families, you will be able to judge by referring to the Methodist Board to find what it costs them to sustain the families of their ministers in this field. It may be proper to write a few lines relative to the sufferings of the late emigration which in far too many cases have been great, and in some cases perhaps without parallel

¹²⁴ These were probably brought from Vancouver or Oregon City, and possibly also from Portland.

in American history, and I fear it will be read to the prejudice of future emigration. I believe all the emigrants who followed the usual roads to Oregon and California arrived in good season and with good health and no serious loss. It was only those companies who were either desirous of finding a new and better route, or were induced to follow imprudent and self-interested guides, who reaped so bitterly disappointment and disaster and even starvation. The greatest sufferers were probably a party who, before crossing the Sierra Nevada range of mountains, left Mr. Hastings who was conducting a part of the California emigration. After travelling till all hopes of reaching the lower company failed, a party of fifteen of the strongest, in attempting to cross the snowy mountains, were compelled to leave their animals and travel on foot almost destitute of clothing and food. Such was their extremity before reaching the San Francisco Bay that eight perished, and the survivors subsisted on the flesh and blood of those that perished, some upon their own relatives. Five of the seven who reached the settlements were women, and when they arrived they were reduced to a perfect state of nudity. May these sufferings prove an effectual warning to all successive emigrations to follow none but explored and opened roads.¹²⁵ A practicable wagon road is now opened from the States to the settlements on the Willamette River, terminating at Oregon City, where plenty of provisions can always be had at the ordinary prices of the country. We trust we shall soon have regular mails at least quarterly from this to the States; and then we can rely with some certainty on our packages being safely carried to the place of destination. I have written you every opportunity since I arrived in the Territory, but as yet have had no letter from you.

You may judge by this that we are greatly discouraged,

¹²⁵ There is also probably a reference here to the party which in 1846 came to Oregon via the southern route from Ft. Hall. This party suffered great hardships while getting into the Willamette Valley from the Rogue and the Umpqua Valleys. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:556-565.

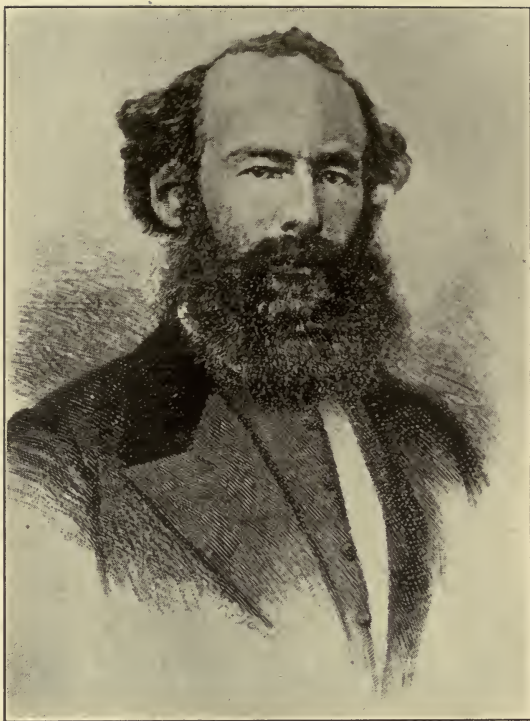
For the hardships of the California party, which are here not exaggerated, see Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.* V:529-542. The author mentions only the party called the "forlorn hope," but a much larger party suffered somewhat similarly.

but you may rely upon it that we entered this field expecting to meet many privations. Our greatest embarrassment is that we are doing so little for Him who has bought us with His blood and we trust clothed us with his righteousness.

As ever yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Rec'd Sept. 6, 1847.



ELI THAYER.
(See Page 364)

Mr. Thayer was born in Mendon, Mass., June 11, 1819, and died in Worcester April 15, 1899. He graduated at Brown University in 1845, and in 1848 founded Oread Institute. He is chiefly remembered for his connection with the "Kansas Crusade," the purpose of which was to secure the admission of Kansas as a free state. With this aim in view, he early in 1854 organized the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company; soon afterwards affiliated it with the Emigrant Aid Company of New York, and a year later reorganized the two under the name of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Local leagues were established whose members emigrated to Kansas and settled in localities where the company had erected hotels for their temporary accommodation and had provided sawmills and other improvements. The company proved a financial failure, but its main purpose was successful. Under its auspices the towns of Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Osawatomie and other places were settled, and in this way contributed greatly to the saving of Kansas for freedom. In 1856 Mr. Thayer began a somewhat similar but unsuccessful work in Virginia, and founded the town of Ceredo, containing about five hundred inhabitants from New England. From 1857 till 1861 he was a member of the National House of Representatives. In addition to the foregoing he was an inventor of considerable note. During his terms in Congress he was an ardent supporter of the bill for the admission of Oregon to the Union, which was passed on February 14, 1859, and it is reasonably certain that had it not been for Mr. Thayer's untiring efforts the admission day of this state would have been postponed until after the Civil War. As it was, success was attained by a very narrow majority—114 to 103 in the House, only one of the Massachusetts delegation voting with him.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary.

THE QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XVI

DECEMBER, 1915

NUMBER 4

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

THE LAST STEP IN THE FORMATION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR OREGON IN 1845.

By ROBERT CARLTON CLARK.

In a letter dated August 30, 1845, written by Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver, he says: "We have yielded to the wishes and request of the respectable part of the people in this country of British and American origin by uniting with them in the formation of a provisional and temporary government having for its object the protection of life and property."¹

The act here described constitutes the last step in the formation of a provisional government for Oregon. It will be the purpose of this paper to give an account of the motives leading to this step.

In a former paper by this writer appearing in the *Quarterly*² the movement leading to the formation of a government for Oregon was described so far as it had taken place down to the election of officers in May, 1844. It was there shown that the first of the steps in this movement had been taken in 1838 when the American element elected magis-

¹ From a letter, a copy made by Professor Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon.

² Vol. 13, No. 2.

trates for themselves; the second in 1841 by the election of a larger body of officers; the third in 1843 with the placing of the government on a more definite constitutional basis. It was not, however, until 1844 that the British and Canadian citizens, resident in the Willamette Valley were brought into the union. By this fourth step a government embracing all the inhabitants and comprising all the territory south of the Columbia River was established. It was not, however, until the next year and by means of a special agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company officials and by forming a new constitution that the region north of the Columbia and its residents were brought into the bounds of the infant state. The story of this last movement will be related here.

At the time of the organization in 1843 of the Provisional Government for Oregon Territory by the settlers of the Willamette Valley, most of whom were of American extraction, no attempt was made to give a definite northern boundary to the territory over which its jurisdiction was to extend. Oregon territory was to include all the region south of the northern boundary of the United States. The obvious intention was to avoid giving offense to the Hudson's Bay Company which had extensive land-holdings around Vancouver and elsewhere along the north bank of the Columbia River. The following year, 1844, after an understanding had been reached with the French-Canadian and other British subjects by means of which they were brought into the Provisional Government, a new legislative committee meeting in June passed a law definitely fixing the Columbia River as the northernmost limit of the territory. Though a second session of the same body meeting in December of the same year, after new men had arrived from across the Rockies with a report of the political campaign in the United States and the Democratic party's championship of the claim to Oregon with its slogan "Fifty-four, forty or fight," passed another act making the northern boundary line the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude, no attempt was then made to organize the region north of the

Columbia or in any way to extend a definite jurisdiction. The bolder spirits among the Americans might be inclined to lay claim to control over the whole of the Oregon region, yet until the Hudson's Bay Company through its officials recognized the authority of the Provisional Government over themselves and the territory under their control such assertions were without practical effect. Indeed, until the British citizens within the Willamette Valley had given allegiance to the new government it was without authority over them. There were men among the Americans, cooler headed and more moderate, who realized the desirability of securing the consent of those whom they would govern. The government of 1843 had proven ineffective so long as the French-Canadians, constituting as they did, a compact body of settlement on the lower Willamette prairie, and other Britishers held aloof. In 1844 these had, by peaceful means, persuaded that their own best interests would be served, been brought into the union. Now to complete this union territorially the region north of the Columbia needed to be included, and to secure what was more important a political union of the people settled north and south of that river. The settlers north of the Columbia constituted, for the most part, those directly connected with the Hudson's Bay Company and in its employ—about two hundred in number—and those who had been brought into the country under the direction of the Company and who recognized a certain measure of authority and control by its officials. The Provisional Government could scarcely hope to compel from these people obedience to its laws. It was the better part of valor and wisdom to secure from them also by peaceful persuasion a recognition of its authority, to form with them a definite union. This last act in the making of the Provisional Government of Oregon was accomplished in August, 1845, by a formal agreement entered into between the Legislative body acting on behalf of the people of the Willamette Valley and the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company speaking for the people to the north of the Columbia.

On the side of the inhabitants of the Willamette Valley, beyond which the authority of the existing government could not be thought really to extend, there was a strong desire for an understanding with the Hudson's Bay Company that would secure its support. Those that thought of themselves as subjects of Great Britain were for the most part retired servants of the Company and accustomed to look to it for direction. This is shown by the fact that they had joined the new organization at the behest of Dr. John McLoughlin, its chief official at Vancouver. This element could not immediately divorce itself from a long habit of obedience and subservience. To secure itself from possible attack or submergence and from encroachment on its land by the ever-swelling tide of restless Americans it had been persuaded to join with them in supporting a government, but by this act they were not won away from allegiance to the Company and would consider a union that included that powerful organization a better guarantee of their own security.

A second factor that made for union from the side of the Provisional Government itself was the economic union that really existed between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Willamette Valley. The settlers of this region were very largely dependent upon the Company for the merchandise they needed and as purchasers of such surplus agricultural products as they had for sale. During this year 1845 the Willamette Valley was expected to have 50,000 bushels of wheat to market.³

Many of the Americans had received assistance from the Company, which had furnished means of transportation from the Columbia to their new homes, or had been given credit for food to tide them over the winter months and for seed to plant the first crops. Many of these perhaps owed their very lives to the generosity of Dr. McLoughlin. Not all of them were grateful for such help, and there was complaint against the Company that it was a monopoly and

³ *Last Letter of McLoughlin, American Hist. Rev.* 21:129.

was not always fair in its dealings. Yet facing a real situation they were compelled to recognize themselves economically dependent upon it and were not inclined to refuse the facilities it offered. Indeed the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company with its thorough organization for keeping in communication with the outside world was a great blessing to the early colonists, however grudgingly they may have recognized its value. By means of it they sent and received letters from their friends in the east. It served as a clearing house for commercial paper, its stores of manufactured goods were always complete, and it was ready to accept their surplus grain. Its mills ground the flour needed by the various settlements. There was a manifest advantage to these settlers to have the Company incorporated with them in a common government. It would not seem such an alien and hostile body attempting to crush out their very existence.

A third object of union would be found in the influence and control maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company over the hostile Indians that were to some extent a menace to the Willamette settlements. The Company traded widely with the Indians and had secured a certain measure of influence over them. It had shown no disposition to turn these Indians against the Americans, but it was manifestly to their interest to have a positive influence exerted upon these Indians to keep the peace. This desirable object was more certain to be secured if the Company became a definite part of the organization responsible for maintaining order in the Oregon territory.

A fourth and perhaps the strongest of all the motives leading the Provisional Government to seek a union with the Hudson's Bay Company was that of poverty. The money necessary to keep a government going had thus far failed to materialize by means of taxing its citizens. The reluctance of the people to be taxed had led them at first to attempt to raise the needed expenses of government by means of voluntary subscriptions. This had proven a most miserable failure. No money was

forthcoming. The next year, 1844, the Legislative Committee seeing that the government could not be sustained without a revenue imposed a tax on the people and sought to secure its payment by the provision that he who failed to pay should have no benefit from the laws nor be allowed to vote. So drastic a measure did not, however, succeed in producing funds sufficient to pay the upkeep of the new government. The appropriations for the year 1844 were but a little in excess of \$900 and the revenues collected by end of year amounted to about one-third of this sum.⁴

Though the population of the territory was increasing very rapidly, and its wealth in proportion, and deficiency in revenue might in a short time be made up it seemed to many a more speedy solution of the financial difficulty to secure the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company and from it and its supporters a payment of the taxes so difficult of collection south of the Columbia. For a wealthy corporation in their very midst, enjoying a large measure of monopoly over their industrial life, to take daily toll of their meager incomes, and to secure the benefits of the peace and order maintained by the government they had established while contributing nothing to its support, seemed to the political leaders of the infant state a very real grievance. Every effort ought therefore to be made to persuade the company that it owed a duty to help support a government that brought it such manifest blessings and a community that was to it such an important source of profit. This desire to make the Hudson's Bay Company a direct contributor to the revenues of the new government was to be not the least of the factors in bringing about its union with the Provisional Government.

A further circumstance that was contributing to the establishment of better relations between the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company and the American settlers who were the leaders in the new organization was the influx of new men from the United States and the consequent changing of the per-

⁴ Bancroft, Oregon 1:443.

sonnel of the government. The elections were held annually and at the second election in May, 1844, only one of the old officers was re-elected and a majority of these elected to fill the three places on the Executive Committee and the nine members of the Legislative Committee came out to Oregon the preceding year, 1843. Only three of the members of these bodies were again chosen in 1845. The leading and guiding spirits in the legislation of 1844 and 1845 proved to be men who had recently arrived in Oregon, Peter H. Burnett and Jesse Applegate. These new men had less reason to feel antagonistic towards the Hudson's Bay Company than had those longer resident who had taken sides in the controversy that had arisen between McLoughlin and the Methodist mission over a land claim at Oregon City, nor did they share in the enmity felt toward the Company by so many of the older residents. (Shortess Petition in Holman, McLoughlin, 198.) The Provisional Government had originally been formed as an act hostile to McLoughlin and the Company. The new men exhibited a more conciliatory spirit and realized that the Provisional Government would be greatly strengthened by securing the allegiance of the Hudson's Bay Company men.⁵

Thus by the summer of 1845 these influences were working for the complete union of all elements residing in the country. On the part of the Willamette Valley settlers the advantages were clear. British subjects resident there would be better contented. Those that acknowledged allegiance to the United States realized that they were too remote to count upon the active protection of their own government and that it were better part of wisdom to placate than to defy the Hudson's Bay Company, upon which they were in so large measure dependent for their existence. Further the financial assistance that would come from collecting taxes from the men and property of the Company would make the running of the gov-

⁵ McLoughlin in *Last Letter*, p. 116, gives it as his opinion that Applegate and his friends were actuated by anxiety to prevent disorders in the country and to secure right to coerce and drive from Company's grounds American citizens by action of law.

ernment easier and less of a burden to themselves. These considerations together with the growing ascendancy of new men of conciliatory temper were to lead directly to overtures to the Hudson's Bay Company looking to a closer union.

At the same time Dr. McLoughlin and his associates were beginning to realize that such a union carried with it weighty advantages both for themselves and the Company and were therefore ready to meet more than half way the advances made by the officers of the Provisional Government. The motives actuating such a conclusion were in part personal to Dr. McLoughlin himself and in part due to a conviction that the best interests of the Company would thus be served.

For Dr. McLoughlin himself, a conciliatory attitude towards the new government south of the Columbia River had seemed the better policy from its first inception. The favors he had shown Americans and assistance given them in establishing themselves in the country while prompted, no doubt, by purest philanthropy promoted as well his own interests. It was distinctly to his advantage to cultivate friendly relations with these new settlers for they were making his property on the Willamette distinctly more valuable and more profitable. His land claim at the falls of the Willamette had been surveyed and platted out into a town named "Oregon City." He believed this place "destined by nature to be the best place for commerce in this country."⁶ This town had already become the most considerable settlement in the Willamette Valley. Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, two British officers, reported to their government in October, 1845, a population for it of some three hundred people with a hundred dwelling houses and stores. The increasing population evidently made this town property more valuable. In addition McLoughlin had established grist and sawmills at the falls which became more profitable sources of revenue as the inhabitants of that region became more numerous. He could not feel altogether secure in his claim so long as he held

⁶ Last Letter, 129.

himself aloof from participation in a government that had been founded by men anxious to secure their titles to land and to prevent mutual encroachment on each other's holdings. He had been troubled with squatters on his land and a rival claimant, notably the Reverend Mr. Waller, whom he had bought off in April, 1844, by a payment of \$500 and transfer of some of the lots at Oregon City. Dr. McLoughlin had also just paid five thousand five hundred dollars to the Methodist mission for the lots claimed by that organization at Oregon City because as he says he could not "produce a legal test of proprietorship" and this ground was needed to "complete his Establishment." (Last Letter, p. 122.) He felt that there was serious danger of losing this property should the boundary settlement be favorable to the United States before he had secured a title the validity of which was at least as good as that of other settlers in the valley. True, the Legislative Committee had, in 1844, repealed the clause in the land law of 1843 which had been directly intended to deprive him of this claim, but he had been made to feel in many trivial ways the hostility of the government. The legislature had even gone so far as to refuse him the privilege of constructing and operating a ferry across the Willamette. So long as he had no part in the government he could expect no favors at its hands.

Furthermore, there is evidence that McLoughlin had some ambition to assume a leadership over the people of the whole Oregon country and a confidence in his ability to win the respect and support of the American element. In short, he was moved by political ambition and a love for the power and influence that the governorship of the new state might give. In a letter written to Sir J. H. Pelly, November 15, 1844, Dr. McLoughlin predicts that if the boundary question is not settled by the two governments, Great Britain and the United States, the settlers in Oregon territory will declare an independent state "of which I might be elected head were I to retire among them." (Copy of letter in possession of Professor Schafer.) It would thus seem that McLoughlin was

already contemplating the "retirement" that he actually carried out a year later and was looking forward to the fulfillment of an ambition for leadership. There is nothing in his character to make such a conclusion improbable. He was of a distinctly masterful temperament and might easily have underestimated the difficulties in the path of such an ambition. The sequel was to prove something quite different from these anticipations. Thus it seems that motives of financial interest and personal political ambition may have been promoting Chief Factor McLoughlin to bring himself, his people and the property of his company under the jurisdiction of the Oregon Provisional Government.

To the Company's superior officers, however, McLoughlin in justifying his action in recognizing and uniting with the new government in August, 1845, advanced only those arguments that convinced him that such action best served the interests of the Company and British subjects in general. "We have yielded," he says, "to the wishes of the respectable part of the people in the country, of British and American origin, by uniting with them in the formation of a temporary and provisional government designed to prevent disorders and maintain peace, until the settlement of the Boundary Question leaves that duty to the parent States" (from McLoughlin Letters of August 30 and November 20, 1845, copies made by Professor Schafer. The second letter is given as first part of *Last Letter* printed in *American Hist. Rev.* 21:110-116.) To McLoughlin at this time the situation seemed critical. The property of the Company was subject to intrusion and attack, "exposed in the midst of a population living without the restraint of laws." "A crisis was evidently fast approaching which would drive us to the painful necessity of yielding to the storm, or of taking the field openly, arms in hand, with means so unequal compared to those arrayed against us, as to leave no hopes of success." There seemed to him little hope of receiving any speedy or effective protection either from the British government or the Company, though he had represented

to both the dangers in the situation and made request for an armed vessel to be stationed in the Columbia. Until such protection could be afforded it seemed the better part of valor to enter into a union "for the purpose of mutual protection, with the white population of the Willamette." "We decided on joining the Association both for the security of the Company's property and the protection of its rights."

To McLoughlin and his associates such a union seemed further desirable as means of safeguarding against evils for which no protection was offered if they remained isolated from the rest of the community. If the "Company's servants" deserted and took refuge in the Willamette settlements they could not be arrested unless the Company thru its officials had some part in the association. There had been cases of such desertion. "Another powerful inducement arose from the considerable amount of outstanding debts we have in the Wallamette Settlement." These debts had risen during the previous year to the formidable total of \$30,000.⁷

The advantages of the union as a means of collecting debts are obvious. "Under the newly assumed political position we would have been cast entirely on the honour and good faith of our customers, as the law could of course only give protection to those who gave it support; but by joining the Association we can sue and attach the property of any man in this country who is indebted to the Company."

The Company's officials at Vancouver had been compelled to face the problem of keeping the bolder Americans from encroaching upon its lands. A certain Henry Williamson had in 1844 gone so far as to build a cabin on an island in the river near Vancouver claimed and occupied by the Company. His cabin had been torn down and Williamson induced to withdraw. He and others like him McLoughlin thought so base as to stop at no crime. "They were determined at all risks to intrude upon the Company's land claim, and they made no secret of their plans if ejected by force. If not supported by

⁷ *Last Letter*, 123.

their countrymen, they were to seek an easy revenge by firing our premises, destroying our barns, or such like deeds of cowardly villainy."

Thus we find urged as motives for bringing about a union of the Hudson's Bay Company through its officials with the Willamette valley settlers in the formation of government the need of preventing encroachments upon the Company's land and to safeguard its property from attack by hostilely disposed Americans. Such a union would offer an easier and more certain method for the collection of debts owed the Company and a means of bringing back its employees "tempted by the certainty of immunity and high wages in the Wallamette to desert the Service." There is evident alarm at the rapidly increasing number of Americans. An average of more than a thousand each year had come into the valley during the two years just past and some three thousand immigrants were expected to arrive during fall of 1845. Such alarm is indicated by McLoughlin's request to the British Consul General at Honolulu for a ship of war to be sent to the Columbia river. Promise of such support could not be secured and as by August "the season was so far advanced there was no reason to expect the arrival of any Government vessel on the coast" seemed so good "as to take part in the Association." Convinced of the benefits to be derived from union McLoughlin only needed to act upon the invitation that had been extended by the Oregon Provisional Government. The way toward union had already been paved by action of that body.

A first step towards union with the Hudson's Bay Company officials had been made in June, 1845, by the election of Frank Ermatinger, manager of the Company's store at Oregon City and in official capacity its "Chief Trader"⁸ to the office of treasurer of the Provisional Government. This was manifestly intended to indicate to McLoughlin and his associates the friendly attitude of the Willamette valley settlers. A second step towards union had been made by the change made

⁸ Gray's, *Oregon*, 424. *Last Letter*, 115, 128.

in the form of the oath by which the officials elected in June were inducted into office. The oath declared an obligation "to support the organic laws of the provisional government of Oregon, so far as they are consistent with duties as a citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain." This oath was later formally incorporated into the new constitution adopted by the people in July, 1845, and thus deprived the Provisional Government of its former national character. In its original form such provisional government had seemed to be established only until such time as the United States might formally assume jurisdiction over the Oregon territory and conceded nothing to the sentiments of citizens of other countries. The changed form of the oath made it possible for the Hudson's Bay officials and other British citizens to loyally support the new organization. The reorganization of the provisional government on a more carefully worked out constitutional plan and the incorporation into the body of the constitution of a land law that had none of the features objectionable to McLoughlin or the Company as contained in the first measure enacted in 1843, paved the way for an offer of union. A better organized government, with executive, legislative, and judicial departments carefully differentiated and the functions of each fully prescribed in a written constitution that had received approval of a large majority of the settlers at an election especially held for the purpose, seemed more stable and to offer better guarantees of stability and strength to enforce its decrees than the more loosely constructed government established in 1843. The newly established constitution may for this reason be considered as a third step in the direction of union. Afterwards came overtures of Jesse Applegate by means of private interviews and letter asking if "company will be willing to become parties to articles of compact by paying taxes." A visit of McLoughlin to Oregon City convinced him of the sincerity of the desire of the better part of the American element to secure the incorporation of the Company in the provisional government. A formal invita-

tion sent by a committee of the legislature duly authorized on August 14, 1845, met with a prompt acceptance the next day, August 15, by McLoughlin and Douglas acting for the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, "to become parties to articles of compact."

The Company's officers did not, however, take such action and enter into such a compact without exacting certain conditions expressed and implied. Among the expressed conditions of the union stated in the letter accepting the invitation made by the legislature consent to the union is based on the provision that the Hudson's Bay Company be called upon to pay taxes only on such sales as may be made to settlers.⁹ It is thus stipulated as a first condition that a special concession in taxation shall be granted. A second condition, demanded by McLoughlin and sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly, was that the region north of the Columbia river, which it had been proposed should be divided into two districts named Lewis and Clark, should be created as one district with the name Vancouver.¹⁰

McLoughlin says that the "Ultra party were excessively annoyed at this being called Vancouver's District, a point we insisted on carrying; it appeared to them a concession of American rights, and an avowal of the British claim to the north bank of the Columbia, but the tide set so strongly against them that their opposition was overpowered." A third condition of the union was that all rights of trade enjoyed by the Company should be maintained. A fourth implied condition and one recognized by the changed form of the oath required of officers of the government, was in divesting the organization of all distinctive national character so that it would not interfere with the duties and allegiance of Hudson's Bay Company's officers as British subjects. A fifth implied condition seems to have been that the majority of all the offices established for Vancouver's district should be given to Englishmen. At least of the first

⁹ See Holman in *Quarterly*, 13:133-4 and *Last Letter*, 114. In another letter quoted by Holman, *ibid.*, McLoughlin says "on stock also like any other farmer."

¹⁰ *Last Letter*, 116, No. 21.

officers named for the district, three judges and a Sheriff, only one was an American. One of the judges appointed was the chief factor of the Company, James Douglas.

In character, it will thus appear, the union partakes of the nature of a treaty and not a real incorporation either of the Company or its officers on the basis of entire equality with other members of the new state. The officers of the Company treat as equals with the duly elected officers of a government acting for the people living south of the Columbia; they demand certain terms as the price of their inclusion in a union to take in the territory both north and south of the river; these terms are granted and upon the basis of these concessions the union is constituted. The character of the territory north of the Columbia as the special reservation of the Hudson's Bay Company is thus in large measure preserved. A second characteristic of the union is suggested by the comment of McLoughlin who describes it as an "association that does not pretend to exercise authority over such persons as have not voluntarily joined it, and do not contribute to its support; neither does it extend protection to any but its own members." Or its description by the two British military officers who visited the Oregon country just after the union had been formed, as "an organization formed for the purpose of neutralizing the preponderating American influence," "a compact independent of the United States Government, one in which emigrants of all nations, willing to uphold the law in the country, and for the protection of life and property, are enrolled as members."¹¹

These descriptions seem to indicate that the jurisdiction of the government extended only to its own members. While established by the majority and its sanction disputed, according to McLoughlin, only by a few of the Americans of the very worst character, there was no purpose to coerce the minority who refused to join it. Furthermore it seems to have been as characterized by Ware and Vavasour, a "coalition" government without distinctive national leanings.

¹¹ *Last Letter*, 116. Ware and Vavasour's *Military Reconnoissance, Quarterly*, 10:51.

The advantages secured by the union seem to have been just such as had been anticipated. The Hudson's Bay Company, and a subsidiary organization, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, made contributions, during 1845 towards sustaining the infant state amounting, according to statement of McLoughlin, to \$226.65. Since the agreement for the union was not made until August the officials of the Company had apparently agreed to be taxed on the sales of merchandise for the whole year. The amount contributed by the Company was about a fourth of the expenses of the Provisional Government during the preceding year and two-thirds as much as that raised from all sources during 1844. Thus it will be seen the entrance of the Hudson's Bay Company and the contributions it made by way of taxes went far towards assuring the stability of the new government.

Nor was it altogether a one-sided bargain. To McLoughlin it was a matter for congratulation to have "secured the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company without embroiling ourselves or the British Government in vexatious disputes with a gang of low, contemptible vagabonds." He further expresses the opinion that the position of the Company has been greatly strengthened and danger of collision with the American element removed by joining in this union with the Provisional Government. The wisdom of such action is also commended by the two British military officers, Warre and Vavasour, who express the opinion that "a more judicious course could not have been pursued by all parties for the peace and prosperity of the community at large."¹²

Immediately "full advantage of the laws of the Association, in regard to land claims" was taken and the country around Vancouver surveyed and platted into nine lots, each of one square mile. These were registered in the office of the recorder of the territory under the names of officers and employees of the Company to be held for it. The requirements of the law as to survey, markings, and building of a hut on

¹² *Last Letter*, 116. Warre and Vavasour, 51.

each plot were complied with. Thus the Company was assured of means of ejecting an intruder upon its lands by thoroughly legal methods. All other lands used by the Company could be covered by registered title in the same way.¹³

The life of the Provisional Government after its extension to include the whole of the Oregon territory was to be too brief to determine whether all the benefits to the Hudson's Bay Company anticipated by McLoughlin were to be fulfilled. In the next year the boundary dispute between Great Britain and the United States was settled. The Provisional Government had, after this settlement, only to mark time until the Congress of the United States provided a territorial government. However, it will ever be one of the bright places in Oregon history to find that in spite of antagonism, jealousies, and mutual distrust, a spirit of conciliation and compromise prevailed to bring together all the residents of Oregon territory, British and American citizens with the French Canadians, people of diverse religions and unlike temperaments, into a peaceful union for the purpose of maintaining a government "having for its object the protection of life and property."

¹³ *Last Letter*, 115.

JOHN MINTO

A TRIBUTE BY ONE WHO LOVED HIM

John Minto should have been his own biographer. Listening to his charming description of old times in Clatsop, as we strolled over the downs beside the sea one summer's day in 1910, I earnestly besought him to write the story of his life complete with circumstance. He stopped in his walk, as was his manner when he would talk seriously, and expressed his astonishment and pleasure, that the story of his life could be of interest to anybody outside the small circle of his most intimate friends.

Fortunately he had already written much for the "QUARTERLY" and for many Oregon publications. We have, in these reminiscent papers, precious fragments of his wonderful story, told in his own simple, masterly fashion. It is for the very excellence his own hand imparted to his work that any other narrator must hesitate to attempt what he would have done so much better.

This is not intended as a story of his life, nor as an epitome of it. Something, rather, of recent fellowship with him, and recollections of incidents in my acquaintance with him, which was, to my regret, very limited, compared to that of hundreds of his own and later generations.

If one talked for a time with Mr. Minto he was certain to hear some reference to Robert Burns, or to some line from Burns' poems. He would tell you, if you asked about his "education", that the best of it was from the reading and knowledge and love of Burns. His first acquaintance with his favorite author was the finding in a ditch, when walking to his work, of a "signature" from the Poems, when John Minto was a lad. He shortly got a complete copy. Few men know Burns as he knew him. Nor was he wrong in attributing to Burns the greater part of his education.

In my first acquaintance with him—about 1900—we were soon matching quotations from Burns. I spent a night, rather than an evening, with him at Salem, soon afterward, and well may I wish such another—but vainly. It was two in the morning when we said good night; and our talk and song—for it was a responsive celebration, the listener of us twain being ready with another when the speaker or singer had finished—was nearly all from Burns.

What would have been the trend of John Minto's "education" if he had found a few leaves of Pope or Dryden, or Mrs. Barbauld? Certainly he had gathered not a little from Thomas Campbell. His reading in his youth and early manhood was very limited; but the comparative leisure of his life in Oregon, after having comfortably established himself and family on the farm of Chehulpum, gave him the opportunity which he had hungered for, and little that was good or great escaped him. The newspapers too—a few of the best—he not only read, but seemed to re-edit. He missed nothing of real importance in the news of the day, and especially nothing whatever that related to Oregon. Our fisheries, coal, lumber, shipping—matters in which, with his many active concerns, we might think he could have had little interest, were all important subjects to him, as was everything that related to the industries or products or history of Oregon.

We were passing Knappa in a train one day, and I called his attention to that fine promontory where the old hotel stands. I thought it the most charming spot in the hundred miles from Portland to Astoria, and asked him if he had ever noticed it. As though he had forgotten the place for fifty years he looked out upon the hill and said: "Why, I sowed the first seed that ever was planted on that ground."

He loved "the Willamette" as few ever loved it—above all the state he knew so well; but next the Clatsop Plains. He had gone thither in the early winter of '44, the year of his arrival in Oregon, with Captain Morrison and his family, to help row the boat they voyaged in—borrowed from Doctor

McLoughlin—and to help in getting the Morrisons established in their new illahee.¹

They began their journey at Linnton, where Captain Morrison had first intended to settle. The promoter of that early metropolis, McCarver, had already boomed and “founded” an important city on the Mississippi, and subsequently selected the site of Tacoma as the metropolis of the Sound country and did much to make it what he believed it would be. And he was not far wrong about Linnton. It is today a suburb of the greatest city of the Columbia.

When the Morrisons arrived at the head of navigation on the Skippanon, the winter day was closing. Between the landing and Solomon Smith’s log cabin, which was to be their home for the winter, was a half-mile of swamp, knee-deep in mud and water, choked with thickets and fallen trees. Through this the family staggered in the twilight, Mrs. Morrison carrying a baby in her arms, to the blessed bit of high land where the station we know as Columbia Beach is now. The swamp and the thickets and briers and crowding alders are still there. One sees enough of them from the window of the train to pity any of God’s creatures that even now might have to grope his way from Morrison’s to the Skippanon at nightfall.

The place was very dear to John Minto. He had come with Morrisons the previous summer across the plains, and Martha Morrison had become the apple of his eye. I warrant he often sang Burns’ beautiful song: “Mary Morrison,” but fondly saying “Martha” in lieu of Mary. He went down there in his canoe from his claim in the hills south of Salem, courting; and when he married Martha he took her by a better trail to the canoe at the landing on the Skippanon and paddled with her across the bay, up the sheltered channels of the Cathlamet illahee; up the broad Columbia, with several “camps” along the route; and then on again up the Multnomah, as our Willamette then was called (and that should be the

¹ A Chinook jargon word meaning country or home.

name of Portland), to the home at Chehulpum hill. Of their life there he has left a fine record in his contribution to the HISTORICAL QUARTERLY of 1908.

The "Plains" invited settlement very early, doubtless because of interest in the missions of the Methodists and Presbyterians, both located as adjoining neighbors at Morrison, the Methodist being first, in 1840. "Clatsop" was the largest area of habitable prairie west of the Willamette, and was highly attractive for many reasons. The plains since that time have been robbed of much of their original fertility, and despoiled by intruding sands of the sea which have stolen hundreds of acres that were originally thickly covered with excellent grass. The forest, too, has encroached upon tilth and pasture, and has changed the wide, open aspect of the plains greatly, even within the past ten years.

As we sauntered down the old plains road, or through the Gearhart woods, or along the clean, hard beach he recalled many interesting facts connected with the early settlement of that part of Oregon; of the Clatsop Indians and their habits; of the great "Clatsop booms," when in the early days of the gold-seekers everything produced on the plains became suddenly three- or five- or ten-fold dearer than ever before. "More people lived on the plains in 1850 than now," he told me.

We were crossing the Wohana and stood a moment on the bridge looking northward, where the river flows wide and deep in a beautiful meadow, with trees that grow parklike, set by Nature's skillful hand. "There was a mill near this spot in 1845," he said. Having known the locality very intimately for a dozen years, I was incredulous.

"What was the business of the mill?"

"Why, it was a sawmill, of course."

"But no white people lived within miles of the Wohana then. What was the market for the lumber?"

"They used the product of the mill in building the houses at Clatsop, Skippanon and Morrison."

"What! Hauled lumber over these miles of sand?"

"No, certainly not; it was rafted up the Neacoxie to the nearest point to where it was to be used."

"Come! You couldn't float lumber a mile up Neacoxie."

"But they did, I assure you."

So we went down along the east bank of Wohana, and a little above the mouth of the Tidegate or Mill creek (as I had sometimes heard it called) we found two "snubbing posts," nearly rotted away, which were used to hold sawed lumber from the mill until the tide served to carry it down to the mouth of Neacoxie, when on the next flood it would be floated up that creek to its destination.

Still the matter seemed inexplicable to me. I have often been along the course of Neacoxie since our argument and seen abundant proof of the truth of my friend's story. That river formerly drained Cullaby lake into the bay at the mouth of Wohana and Necanicum, and its valley for miles was a deep, long hollow between the outer dune which faces the sea and the next inland from that. In the prosperous days of the early '50s the settlers pastured too many cattle on the rich grass which then reached almost to the high-tide mark all along the shore. They fed the pastures to the very roots, broke through sod on the outer ridge in many places, and the strong winds began to undermine and cut away the outer dunes. The flying sand was mostly checked by the Neacoxie, sank to the bottom of its bed and constantly raised it higher, filling the former narrow valley to a breadth of a hundred yards in some places, the stream pouring thinly over the surface and catching more sand as it widened. Several lakes now occupy the old river-bed, dammed west of Clatsop station by this accumulated sand evidently to a height of twenty feet above the level when it was a tidal river.

When I bought a tract at Wohana for a summer home Mr. Minto wished to buy an acre north of mine and build a cottage there; but the owner would not give a deed to the shore of Necanicum, and without that provision he would not buy. He later thought of buying a tract on the northern slope of Tilla-

mook Head, where the first bench rises above the stream from which we drank as we followed the old trail of Lewis and Clark, a little before emerging upon the stony beach.

We lingered among those venerable wind-racked trees that stand so valiantly as outguards of the forest of Tillamook, and it was easy to imagine Captain Clark and his frontiersmen padding along the ancient Indian trail that winds among them, on their way to Elk Creek. These, many of them, were old trees in Clark's day, and we fancied the astonishment of the explorers in that grove of grotesque titans. The story of Lewis and Clark was intimately familiar to him, and he delighted to trace their expeditions from Fort Clatsop through the plains country.

It was impossible to encourage him in his scheme to pioneer anew as a hermit on the base of Tillamook Head; had he carried out his intention hundreds of us would have been in daily concern for his welfare; but we of Klahanee were always hoping he would overlook his riparian privileges and come to dwell near us on the shore. He rowed a boat down to our place from Seaside in the summer of 1910, against incoming tide, and after a pleasant call launched his boat again, disdaining help, pushing her off and scrambling aboard like a jolly Tyne waterman when she was sliding into deep water, then rowing back against the current to Seaside.

Lest I take too much of your space, let me relate some incidents of our last companionship, the dearest and most vivid of our acquaintance.

On the day of the assembly of the 28th session of Oregon's Legislature he was waiting for me in the lobby of the House when we adjourned at noon. We walked down town together for lunch, and then he accompanied me to my desk for the grand ceremonies of the afternoon. The sergeant-at-arms announced "His Excellency, the Governor of the State of Oregon," and the newly-elected and the retiring governors ascended to the speaker's dais, followed by Governor Geer and Governor Moody, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the President of the Senate and the state officials.

Mr. Minto whispered that he would like to speak with Judge McBride as he passed from the House, so I stood beside him at the side of the aisle as the dignitaries came slowly down from the platform. As Governor Withycombe approached he took Mr. Minto by the hand and greeted him most cordially as "Uncle John," and told him how much he felt honored by his presence there. Governor West put his arm affectionately around the old man's neck and said: "I would have missed you more than anybody, Uncle John!" Governor Geer, Governor Moody, the Judges—everybody paused to say a cordial greeting, and it was almost like a formal reception in honor of John Minto.

Half of those forty days he was there, waiting for me to go to lunch with him, and as we walked slowly down through the park or on the street, young men and old, his neighbors, greeted him with a respect and affection beautiful to see.

One night we went to Mr. McGilchrist's to celebrate Burns' anniversary. I had gone to Salem several times before as Mr. Minto's guest for this event. It was a jolly, hearty gathering. Eaton, Thoms and I were there from the House. The guest of honor, of course, was John Minto, the father of the Salem Burns Society. He read to us (but mostly from memory) the "Letter to a Young Friend," "A Man's a Man for A' That," sang "The Lasses O," and by his happy comments upon the poet and his songs, so dear to every Caledonian and the world, made that evening (which we little thought to be our last with him) memorable to us all.

Consider, ye who knew him best, what he had been to Oregon for nearly seventy years, and recall if you can a man among all our great forebears so retiring, modest, unpretending as he!

One afternoon he sat at my desk while the House was droning away in dull routine, and I was not sorry that he fell asleep. Occasionally I glanced at him, and began to be alarmed when I observed that his chin had fallen upon his breast and his breathing ceased. I shook him by the shoulder, spoke in his

ear and tried in vain to rouse him. The speaker saw that something serious had happened to Mr. Minto, and adjourned the House immediately. We wheeled him rapidly to an open window, opened his cravat and collar, called in a doctor from the Senate—our own two of the House being absent—and in a few minutes there was a sign of returning consciousness. He looked about him quietly a moment and then said: "Am I the cause of this disturbance, gentlemen?" A little later: "If this were passing, surely no man need dread it!"

Allen Eaton and I took him home, and when we arrived there attempted to assist him up the steps of Douglas Minto's house; but not he! "Let me alone, I can get on all right by myself!" And he went sturdily up the steps and bowed his thanks to us courteously from the landing.

Though we might have foreseen that his days were numbered, the news of his death, a few days after the adjournment, was a shock to the whole commonwealth. A throng filled the spacious hall where the last words were said over him, a touching tribute to his memory being offered by his devoted friend, Judge D'Arcy. Death left upon his countenance an ineffable dignity and beauty. He was buried in the old pioneer cemetery beneath the oaks he loved and the tall laurel trees, still green, though it was February.

I walked alone in the sunset up the beautiful path through the park to the Statehouse; fed the leaping trout in the fountain, as we two had often fed them; went into the silent halls where every step resounded, sat a moment in the chair he commonly occupied when he came thither, and thanked God as I walked back alone amid the darkening shadows of the trees, through which the winter stars were shining, that it had been my unspeakable privilege to be the friend of John Minto.

JOHN GILL.

INDIAN WORDS IN OUR LANGUAGE

By J. NEILSON BARRY.

How much wood would a woodchuck chuck, if a woodchuck would chuck wood? might suggest the question as to what other variety of "chuck" there may be besides the little animal which has gotten itself into the calendar on account of its supposed curiosity in regard to its shadow. The Indian word o-t-c-h-i-g or w-e-j-a-c-k altered to woodchuck is an example of the many Indian words which have become incorporated into our language, and it is of interest to note how many things peculiar to America have retained their Indian names and also how many such words have also developed a significance altogether different from the original.

The Indian word w-e-j-a-c-k appears to have designated the fisher, or Pennants marten, the largest of the weasel family, but is now popularly applied to the moosack or ground hog, which latter term has so often furnished the punster with an alternate for sausage.

Chipmunk, the striped ground squirrel, is from the Indian word atchitamon, meaning head foremost, originally applied to the red squirrel on account of its manner of descending a tree so differently from a man or a bear.

Other animals, however, have retained their original names, the moose, or wood-eater, from its habit of gnawing the bark of trees; wapiti, the white rump; caribou, that paws the snow; skunk, coyote, quickhatch or wolverine, meaning hard to hit by the Indian archer, and cougar, which on account of its wide distribution is also designated in various localities as mountain lion, California lion, catamount or cat-of-the-mountains, panther, called by negroes in the south "de painter" and also puma in South America, from which country also we have obtained such Indian words as alpaca, llama, tapir, jaguar, chinchillar and peccary.

The scratches on a "coon tree" originated the Indian name arakun or racoon, while in the far west cayuse, the tribal name for the Indians around Walla Walla, Wash., is now applied to the Indian pony, elsewhere known by the Spanish word mustang.

Over half of our states have Indian names, Mississippi, the great river; Missouri, the muddy river; Wisconsin, the rapid river; Connecticut (Quinni-tukq-ut), the long tidal river; Minnesota, the whitish river; Kansas, the smoky river. While the same word designating an Indian tribe has become Arkansas by the addition of the French word for bow, the pronunciation being obscured by the French spelling as in the case of Spokane and Willamette. Nebraska means shallow water, and Ohio the beautiful river. The same word in Japan signifies good morning, and the story is told of a traveler in the land of the Mikado, supposing that the salutation was an inquiry as to his residence, replied, "No, I come from Kentucky," which also is an Indian word of uncertain meaning, although popularly supposed to signify the dark and bloody ground. The meanings of Tennessee and of Oregon are unknown.

Alaska, the mainland, has the same meaning as Maine; while Massachusetts was named from the blue hills of Milton. The derivation of Idaho from its snow-clad peaks is disputed. Wyoming is an Indian word for prairie. Michigan, which an Englishman once pronounced "my chicken," means fish weir, similar to Wallowa in Oregon. New Mexico retains an Aztec word which referred to a deity, and from those same people we have Arizona, the small springs, where silver was found in early days, and also Texas, which has the same significance, friends or allies, as Dakota. The captain of a Mississippi steamer is said to have given the names of states to the sleeping apartments on his boat from which the term state-room originated, and being loyal to his native state, named his own room by the pilot house Texas, which originated the expression "Texas deck" and so became applicable to the sharp-edged surface of the cayuse on which so many of the early pioneers migrated to the Oregon country.

Alabama is an unusually pleasing Indian word and means thicket clearings in allusion to the agricultural efforts of the aborigines. The name of Indian tribes have been preserved in Utah ; Oklahoma, red people ; Iowa, sleepy ones, and Illinois, men, the two latter having French spelling. And lastly while Indiana is not of Indian origin, it refers to that race.

Other Indian place names have given rise to a class of words in our language which have entirely changed their original meaning. Hobo applied by early New Yorkers to the poorer whites who settled across the Hudson at Hoboken, the pipe country, where the Indians had obtained clay for their pipes, and in a similar way Tuckahoe, a vegetable substance eaten by Indians became an epithet for the poor whites of southern Virginia. Wabash, gleaming white, was applied to the river which flowed over limestone beds and became a synonym for cheat on account of alleged delinquencies of some of the first white settlers.

When the mineral springs known to the Indians as Saratoga became a fashionable resort, that name was applied to the potato chips which were first popular there, and also to the huge trunks in which the belles of that day transported their hoop skirts. In a similar way a fashionable coat was named from Tuxedo, wolf, in New Jersey, while Rockaway, sandy loam, in the same state became the name for a carriage. Conestoga in Pennsylvania, named from an Indian tribe, gave its name to the huge wagons used before the advent of railroads and also to the draft horses which drew the conestoga wagons, while a shortened form, stogie, is the name for a kind of cigar. Podunk, a neck or corner of land, has become familiar through its use by burlesque writers.

It is natural that the white men should have retained the Indian names of things peculiar to this country, such as ter-rapin, made famous by Uncle Remus ; mahogany, chinkapin, a small chestnut greatly prized by children in the south ; pecan, a nut of wider popularity ; catalpha and pohickory, or hickory, which became the nickname for one of our presidents. Per-

simmon is another tree the bright rosy fruit of which has a most unpleasantly astringent effect upon the mouths of the unsophisticated who have been induced to try to eat one. Sequoia or redwood, and tamarack or hackmatack, are well known in the west, as well as the mesquit of the plains.

Everyone is familiar with potato, tomato, cocoa, chocolate, tapioca, gauva and ocrea. The delicious grapes, catawba and scuppernong preserve Indian names which were never so associated by the red men. Tolu gum is popular with many, and camas is well known in the west. When a little boy asks the riddle: If you toss up a pumpkin what comes down? he probably has no idea that squash is an Indian word.

Indian corn is now seldom called maize, but hominy is in common usage and pone, a cake of corn bread, is also used in the south, while succotash is everywhere used for stewed corn and lima beans. Samp, supawn, or Indian pudding, and sagamite or sagimity are becoming obsolete. Johnie cake is a corruption of journey cake, formerly made by travelers in the woods who spread corn meal dough on a piece of wood and cooked it before the campfire, a custom probably learned from the Indians.

Indian words are often unpronounceable and the early settlers evidently decided that Indian sugar with any other name would taste as sweet so they called it maple sugar, unscrupulous manufacturers also called various substances "maple sugar" prior to the passage of the pure food law. The sounds emitted by the red men are not always capable of reproduction by white men, consequently some Indian usages were adopted without the names. It may be well enough to call a spade a spade, but the rules does not apply when an Indian has named a thing, this was probably the case with the snow shoe, the white men adopted the idea but they preferred an English appellation; the same appears to have been the case with clam-bake, and the Indian game la crosse with its French name. Blazing a trail and girding trees to clear land also originated with the Indians. Indian file refers to a custom of the Indians

as well as burying the hatchet and the peace pipe, which also has a French name, *calumet*. The Indians wore a feather to commemorate an exploit which gave rise to our expression "a feather in his cap."

Probably few persons realize that our familiar Indian cent really represents the Goddess of Liberty, the designer having portrayed his little daughter Laura Keen with a Sioux head-dress instead of the traditional French liberty cap.

Tobacco is an Indian word as well as *segar* or *cigar*, as the French spell it, cigarette being also a French form. Nicotine is from a French name, *Jean Nicot*.

Tomahawk, totem pole, moccasin, wampum and hammock are familiar words, as also toboggan. A young lady after her first coast exclaimed that she would not have missed the thrill for a hundred dollars, but when urged to repeat the experience replied, "not for a thousand dollars."

From the Indians we get such words as canoe, pirogue, a dug out, *kiak*, the skin canoe of Alaska, as well as *tepee*, *wigwam*, *hogan*, *toopic* and *wickiup*, the names for various houses among the Indians. *Papoose*, *squaw* and *potlatch* are familiar words, as well as such names for chiefs as *sachem*, *sagamore*, *werowance*, *tyee* and *mugwump*, which latter term has gotten into politics as has also the name of the Indian chief *Tammany*. Somehow Indian matters seem to end up in politics so it is fitting to close with *caucus*, originally an Indian council and another of similar significance—*pow-wow*.

EARLY FARMING IN UMATILLA COUNTY*

By C. A. BARRETT.

Asked to prepare a paper on the early growing of grain in Umatilla County, the writer is aware of the difficulties connected therewith, as it seems the fact is evident that grain and corn, in a small way, were grown by the early settlers some years before anyone even thought of this section as a grain-growing community, therefore the question of who raised the first grain in Umatilla County will always be an open question.

I have confined myself in this paper to the period when actual settlement was made and the information contained herein has been secured from living witnesses, for the period prior to my own personal observations, which commenced with November, 1872.

PINE CREEK EARLY RENDEZVOUS.

I will confine myself to the period subsequent to 1863, although it appears that prior to this some grain had been grown for feed purposes.

In 1863 a man by the name of Dodge lived on Pine Creek, just below where the O.-W. R. & N. trestle now is. This point at the time was the stage station between Walla Walla and Cayuse, at the foot of Meacham Hill. This station was the rendezvous and principal camping ground for packers and freighters, water, grass and feed being available.

In 1863, after Dodge had laid in a supply of feed for the station, some packers in a spirit of hilarity caused the barn and feed to be burned, in settlement for which the packers paid Dodge \$1500. In 1864 Dodge sold out to Taylor Green and the place has been known to all old-timers as the "Taylor Green" place ever since.

*Paper read before the annual meeting of the Umatilla County Historical Society.

Beginning with these dates I have traced the development of grain-growing with facts secured from living witnesses.

In the fall of 1862 one Tom Lieuallen settled at the point where Weston now stands, followed by the settlement at that place in 1863 by Andrew Kilgore, who, from my research, leads me to believe that to him was due the honor of raising the first grain for a livelihood and from a money standpoint. At the time Mr. Kilgore settled at Weston he bought a claim from Robert Warren (who later settled near Adams), trading him a yoke of oxen for his cabin and garden patch, which was situated at the spring near where the dwelling of G. W. Proebstel now stands.

STAGE ROUTE RECALLED.

Prior to 1865 the stage route between Walla Walla and Cayuse station had been along the old Dalles trail, crossing Dry Creek at the same point, the road now below Weston, by the Richards crossing of Wildhorse Creek (now Athena) to Cayuse station.

In the fall of 1865 the settlers at Weston, Lieuallen and Kilgore, decided to have the road changed and William Kilgore, now living at Athena, plowed the furrow marking the road from where Milton is now located, by Blue Mountain station and Weston, ending on Wildhorse Creek at the John Harris place. This placed the stage route through Weston and from this time on farming slowly developed in the Weston country.

In 1864 Andrew Kilgore planted and harvested a small crop of wheat at the point where Weston now stands. This grain was cut by hand with a cradle, and threshed by being tramped out with horses, cleaned with a fanning mill, taken to Walla Walla and ground into flour at the Isaacs mill, then located at Walla Walla.

In 1868 several of the settlers in the vicinity of Weston and living on Wildhorse above the present town of Athena raised small fields of grain. That year the first threshing was done

with a small horsepower, hand feed machine by William Courtney. He threshed grain for Andrew Kilgore, Henry Hales, James Lieuallen, Taylor Green, Thomas Linville, D. A. Richards and probably a few others. Some of this grain was cut by hand with a cradle, some cut with a mower and rake and some cut with a hand rake reaper.

THRESHING MACHINE APPEARS.

In 1871 a man by the name of Snyder, living at Wildhorse Grove, just above Athena, bought the Courtney threshing machine and ran it in the Weston country. In 1872 William Kilgore and Tom Fuson bought and operated a small horsepower hand-feed thresher. Prior to this date several small farms had been opened up in the foothills around Weston. In 1871-2 the first header operated by parties living in this vicinity was owned by J. W. Stamper, who had settled just north of the present town of Athena.

In the period between 1863-1870 the settlers were few and these few paid more attention to stock interests than grain, but it is a fact that Kilgore, Green, Lieuallen, Hales, Barrett, Linville, Royse and possibly a few others did grow and thresh grain during these years.

In 1865 Lafe Warmoth had 20 acres of sod broken on land adjoining the City of Weston and planted to corn. Warmoth gave Taylor Green a pack mule to plow the 20 acres of sod and the planting of the corn was done by using an ax to cut the sod, dropping the corn by hand and covering same by the heel of the boot. Yet with this crude way of planting I am informed this field of corn made a satisfactory crop.

Many of the early settlers raised excellent fields of corn and demonstrated many years ago that corn would grow in this country.

In 1877 David Taylor raised corn, T. J. Kirk in 1878 and the writer in 1882 planted and harvested a good crop of corn on 35 acres of ground two and one-half miles northeast of Weston.

In the spring of 1870, J. C. Mays, father of Mrs. C. A. Barrett, of Athena, and W. B. Mays, of Pendleton, plowed and sowed 40 acres of wheat on his place at Weston, which place is now owned by J. M. Banister.

This grain was cut by hand with cradles and threshed with flails. Two of the men who helped cradle this grain are still living in this county, Henry Pinkerton, of Athena, and J. R. Brown, of near Pendleton. The grain was mostly used for flour and seed in the Weston vicinity. In 1871 Henry Pinkerton had a small acreage of wheat, and William Nichols, of Milton, brought a header into the neighborhood and cut and stacked wheat, the grain afterwards being threshed by horsepower and hand-feed machines.

In 1866 my uncle, Charles Barrett, settled on Dry Creek, two and one-half miles northeast of Weston, and engaged in the stock business. He commenced raising wheat and oats shortly after this, the grain being cut for hay. About 1872-3, he cut and threshed quite an amount of oats and in February, 1873, the writer plowed 50 acres of ground for him, which was that spring seeded to oats, cut in the fall with a self-rake reaper and threshed, after being stacked. He also grew grain hay on the creek bottom for a distance of three-quarters of a mile up and down Little Dry Creek some years before this.

STOCK-RAISING CHIEF INDUSTRY.

Although stock-raising was still the principal industry, about this time the settlers near Weston and on the mountainside above Weston had commenced to plow up the sod and raise grain. The winter of 1874-75 an 18-inch snow fell, which stayed on the ground for six weeks and feed was scarce. At this date the writer was working for J. F. Adams on his stock ranch on Wildhorse, near where Adams is now situated. Mr. Adams being short of hay and not being able to buy sufficient hay, he bought up all the grain to be found in the Weston country, which consisted of two lots of wheat. One lot was

secured from Mr. Mays and the other from a Mr. Rinehart, who had opened up a farm about three miles east of Weston, well up the mountainside.

This grain was hauled by the writer on bob-sleds with a six-horse team, and fed to sheep at one of the Adams sheep ranches located near where the town of Felix now stands.

Thus it appears that all the available surplus wheat to be had in the winter of 1874-75 was fed out to one band of sheep. It was the custom to scatter the grain on the tramped snow and let the sheep eat it from the ground, afterwards to make trails to the hills and herd them and let them paw the snow from the large bunchgrass and feed on the grass.

IRRIGATION BEGUN IN 1869.

About 1869-70 one T. Dickenson commenced raising grain by irrigation at the junction of Dry and Pine Creeks, in the Hudson's Bay country. In the Fall of 1873 the writer hauled threshed oats for feed from the Dickenson ranch, and also wheat, and had the same ground into flour at the Miller mill at Milton, for use on the Adams ranch. This mill was built in 1872 by John Miller and is still operated by his three sons, Henry, John and William.

In the spring of 1884 the writer hauled a load of wheat from Weston, grown by Mr. Hartman (the father of Mrs. Lina Sturgis and the late Judge Hartman) and had the same ground into flour at the Indian mill on the Umatilla Indian Reservation, just below Cayuse station.

From the completion of the Dr. Baker narrow-gauge railroad to Blue Mountain station, in 1879, the development of grain growing in the Weston-Athena territory was more rapid. Among the early settlers then growing grain were H. McArthur, R. Jamieson, T. J. Kirk, Robert Coppeck, P. Ely, William Pinkerton, Joe Lieuallen, Richard Ginn, Tom Price, O'Harra, Downing, Gibbons, Winn and others. These people had engaged in the growing of grain in a small way prior to

any railroad transportation in this country, when the nearest point was to haul the grain to Wallula and Umatilla landings, on the Columbia River.

HEADER BROUGHT INTO USE.

In 1878, the year of the Indian War, the section about Weston had become mostly devoted to grain. The writer worked with the Edwards and Pinkerton threshing machine that harvest, the outfit being a header and old-style hand-feed thresher. The grain was all measured in a half-bushel measure, placed in seamless sacks and hauled to a granary.

Up to this time but little headway had been made in opening up the bunchgrass country west of Athena, but settlement was being rapidly made in this territory. There had been some grain hay grown on Wildhorse Creek by stockmen, but the only threshing that had been done prior to 1878 that I am able to learn was by David Taylor, who raised a crop of oats on the creek bottom of what is known as the Jackson Nelson place, about one mile below Athena.

From 1874-78 there had been considerable settlement west of Athena and about 1877 David Taylor plowed about 40 acres of sod on his claim, three miles west of Athena, and planted it to corn by sewing the corn broadcast and harrowing the seed in. In the Spring of 1878 James Scott seeded this ground to wheat, which was cut and threshed that Fall, the cutting being done with a Buckeye wire binder, that is, wire was used to bind the bundles, instead of ties.

SQUIRRELS EARLY DESTROYERS.

From this time on the development of the main wheat belt of Umatilla County steadily, but slowly, advanced. For many years the squirrels were bad and it was nothing uncommon for the settler to go to the mountains after wood or posts and on returning the next day to find his small patch of grain all cut down by the squirrels.

One of the first men to engage extensively in grain growing west of Athena was Moses Woodward. Others were the Stones, Gerking, Walker, Scotts, Keen, Grass, Johnson, Russell, Willoby, Howell and Wilson.

In the territory west of Adams, the first farmers to construct a board cabin and break sod were James Damford and William Judkins, about 1874.

The first person to grow potatoes on the bunchgrass hill land west of Adams was Bob Warren, who, in 1860, had sold out at Weston to Andrew Kilgore. These potatoes were raised on what is now the Ralston farm, in 1874 or 1875. Some of the early grain growers west of Adams were the Reeder, Hales, MacKenzie, Morrison and Howells. Americus Hale and William Reeder were two of the earliest bonanza farmers of the county, being located northwest of Adams.

Not until the completion of the railroad between Pendleton and Blue Mountain station, in 1884, and of the Hunt road from Wallula to Athena and Pendleton, about the year 1887, did the main wheat belt become fully developed.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH R. WALKER

By JAMES O'MEARA.*

Biographical sketches of the adventurous and intrepid spirits who explored the vast wilderness and broad deserts which now constitute the States and Territories of the Pacific, and the whole region westward of the Missouri River, are befitting subjects for presentation to the people who inhabit this vast domain, and who therefore feel a deeper interest in its history; and, in time these biographies will constitute one of the most interesting, and not the least important, of the various departments of the standard literature of the Republic; similarly as the lives of De Leon, of De Soto, of Champlain, of John Smith, and Roger Williams, and of Daniel Boone, and other early explorers and adventurers are regarded in connection with the discovery, origin, and settlement of the several divisions of the country lying eastward of the Missouri.

And in contrast with the myths and fables, the fiction and romance, and the obscured, confused and uncertain accounts and histories of the origin and foundation of the nations of the Old World, these clear-cut, authentic and entirely trustworthy records of the New World are singularly fascinating, instructive and wholesome.

The world has been made conversant with the grand exploration of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific shore of Oregon, and their tracing of the mighty Columbia and its chief tributaries—the Clearwater and Snake rivers; and the similar adventures of Bonneville are perpetuated in the charming narrative of Irving.¹

*James O'Meara was born in New York City June 22, 1825, and his ancestors on both sides were natives of Ireland and communicants of the Roman Catholic Church. When six years old he was sent to a parish school, where he continued as a student until ten years of age, and during the last two years of his school life he was a newsboy. Then he became an apprentice in a newspaper office, first as an errand boy and then a type setter. At the age of sixteen, he was employed as a reporter, and took a deep interest in the political discussions of that time, being a protegee of Fernando Wood, who achieved a national reputation as a speaker, writer and shrewd politician between 1840 and 1860. In 1849 he sought a new field of endeavor by going to California and was connected with newspapers there until 1857, when he removed to Portland and found employment as the editor of the Democratic Standard, a paper that was established in 1855 by Northrop & Rees, with Alonzo Leland as editor. In 1858 he ran for State Printer on the National Democratic ticket, but was defeated by Asahel Bush, the nominee of the regular Democratic ticket. In October, 1859, in company with a man named Freanor, as a partner, he bought the Oregon Sentinel, Jacksonville, and edited it until May, 1861. During this period the paper was violently pro-slavery in its sentiments, and was compelled to

But there are other explorers and pioneers of this vast western empire yet to be honored by tributes of enduring form, in manner commensurate with their exploits and their merits; and these contributions may most appropriately come from among the people whose fortunes have been happily directed hitherward more or less directly through the adventure and toil, the sagacity and self-sacrifice of these noble and intrepid pioneers who first tracked the waste of wilderness and desert, and supplied to their countrymen the knowledge of the magnificent domain which is now peopled by the most enterprising of their race, and has before it the promise of that still greater development which is so certain in the course of time to be fulfilled in its ultimate grandeur and glory; when the many States of the Pacific shall be densely populated, and shall outrank all others of the Union in the leading elements of prosperity and wealth; and when San Francisco shall become the unrivaled possessor of the rich and enormous traffic of the Indies and China, together with that of the great island continent and the many islands of the broad Pacific.

In this spirit of the performance of this grateful duty, within the measure of the ability of the writer, this sketch of one conspicuous in his lifetime among these early explorers and pioneers is presented.

suspend for want of patronage. On August 14th, following, Mr. O'Meara, associated with a man named Pomeroy, issued the Southern Oregon Gazette. This paper was so denunciatory of the government that it was denied the privilege of the United States mails, and hence was compelled to suspend in a few months. After that Mr. O'Meara's editorial services were confined for nearly two years to the Review at Eugene and the State's Rights Democrat at Albany, during which time he kept his remarks within due bounds.

The mining excitement in Idaho Territory in 1862-63 drew him to that section some time in the latter year, and he found employment as the editor of the Idaho World. During this time he was an important factor in the political affairs of that territory, and met a good many acquaintances of the early fifties in California.

About 1869 he returned to California and renewed his acquaintance with Ben Holladay who by this time was engaged in railroad operations in Oregon. In his characteristic manner he impressed Mr. Holladay with the need of an organ in Portland to advance his interests, notably in connection with political operations. This resulted in the establishment of the Oregon Bulletin, issued July 18, 1870, as an ostensibly Republican paper, and an ardent supporter of the political fortunes of John H. Mitchell.

After severing his connection with the Bulletin in 1875 Mr. O'Meara edited the Evening Journal in Portland for a few months, and then went to California. In 1887 he returned to Portland once more and edited the Daily News nearly two years. Then he returned to California, where he spent the remainder of his life preparing historical articles for the San Francisco Examiner and Argonaut and the Californian, an illustrated monthly which appeared for the first time in December, 1891. He died January 23, 1903.

He was married in Salem, Oregon, to Miss Fanny Davidson, a pioneer of 1847, on September 5, 1860, who bore him two children, a son and a daughter, and the latter was a teacher in the public schools of Santa Rosa for many years.

Joseph R. Walker, the discoverer of "Walker's Pass" through the Sierra Nevada chain, leading from the great basin into Tulare valley, was born in Knox County, near Knoxville, Tennessee, in the closing year of the last century.

His father had emigrated only the year before from Rock-bridge County, Virginia, and his new home in Tennessee was at that time barely an outpost of civilization, with an old block house, or fort, for the protection of the few settlers from the Indians.

At the age of nineteen years, Jo Walker, as he was commonly called, moved with the family to Fort Osage, Jackson County, Missouri.

His father had died, and his brother, Joel Walker, two years his senior—who died in Santa Rosa township, Sonoma County, about two years ago—and himself were the main support of his widowed mother and sisters.

In 1821 he made his first steamboat trip on the "Expedition," the first vessel of the kind that ever ascended the Missouri so far up as Council Bluffs; and the event was so impressed and retained in his memory, that he could narrate the details of it down to the close of his life.

One circumstance of the trip was the unskilled manner of loading the boat, by which she was made to draw only two feet of water forward, while aft she drew six feet.

But this great difference in the draft enabled them to make landings at low banks and shores with better facility than had she been on "even keel," as the boatman's phrase is.

Rafts and broadhorns were then the ordinary means of river navigation on the "Big Muddy" and the novelty of a steamboat trip, in connection with the wonderfully increased speed of from six to eight miles per hour—the best time for the crack steamboats of those waters in that early period of steam navigation—had allured young Walker to the treat.

He had early developed a fondness for adventure and mountain life, and his home in the sparsely settled regions of his

nativity, and in the still wilder Missouri new territory, had enabled him to cultivate the chief requirements for that kind of life.

In his twenty-third year he joined a hunting and trapping expedition to the plains, with the intention of extending the perilous journey all the way to the Pacific coast, as the accounts of the explorations of Lewis and Clark—each of whom had settled in Missouri after their famous trip across the continent to the Columbia River and the Pacific shore of Oregon, and subsequently became Governor of the Territory by presidential appointment had excited many to engage in similar expeditions.

The route proposed by the party led through New Mexico, at that time a province of Mexico, secured to the new republic by the treaty of Aquala, by which Spain had relinquished her dominions in that part of the New World to her former subjects; and the Governor of the province was ill disposed toward Americans, either as adventurers or emigrants.

He consequently forbade the expedition from encroaching on his domain, and as his orders were supplemented by an ample military force, the unwilling expeditionists had no other alternative than to submit, and the return to Missouri was consequently agreed upon, after a brief imprisonment of the whole party.

At that early period, however, the sagacity and enterprise of some who were engaged in trade in Missouri led them to attempt the opening of a route that should enable them to possess the rich traffic of the Mexican border; and as Santa Fe had already become the chief trading post for that extensive region, that was made the objective point toward the accomplishment of the scheme.

The aid of Congress was petitioned and in 1824 an appropriation was voted by that body to survey a route from the Missouri border to that chief Mexican trading rendezvous, the route to be marked by the throwing up of small earth-mounds at suitable distances.

Because of his superior qualifications for the service, Jo Walker was engaged as guide to the survey; and although the project was, in direct sense, a failure, it served, nevertheless, as the "breaking of the crust," as Walker himself characterized it, for the subsequent use and benefit of the caravans or trains which annually conveyed the merchandise and established the lucrative traffic that so long made synonymous the term of "Santa Fe trader" and the acquisition of large fortune, and secured to Missouri the immense profits and great advantages of that golden gateway to the wild territory of the distant West, in which was bred and inspired so much of that spirit of adventure and enterprise which has ever since directed its fearless energies to the exploration and settlement of the vast region on this side of the continent, then almost an unknown wilderness and waste, so far as the white race was concerned.

So well had Walker acquitted himself in the survey employment, that on his return to his home he was elected sheriff of Jackson County, and in that capacity he developed his foresight as a true pioneer by his selection of a site for the county seat.

He named it Independence, characteristic alike of his sterling patriotism and his own free nature, and by that name the town is still known.

It was long famous as the point of departure for trains and emigration bound for New Mexico, Utah, California, and Oregon, as well as for its having been the chief trading and military post of the far western frontier.

His first term of two years having expired, Walker was honored by a re-election, and again creditably served the duration of the term. Upon retiring from office, Walker returned to his more congenial mode of life, and in the pursuit of his love of adventure, joined also the occupation of trader in live stock.

He made long journeys from Independence into Arkansas and contiguous territory, and Fort Gibson was one of his points of traffic.

At Fort Osage in Missouri, early in 1832, while on one of these trips, he fell in with Captain B. L. E. Bonneville of the Seventh Regiment Infantry, U. S. A., then under leave of absence from Alexander McComb, Major General, commanding the army, to enable him to explore the country to the Rocky Mountains and beyond, and whose remarkable adventures, while on that exploration, the genius of Washington Irving has so felicitously recorded in his enchanting works.

The casual meeting led to the enlistment of Walker as "sub-leader" or lieutenant in Bonneville's expedition, and he is thus sketched by Irving: "J. R. Walker was a native of Tennessee, about six feet high, strong built, dark complexioned, brave in spirit, though wild in manners.

He had been for many years in Missouri on the frontier; had been among the earliest adventurers to Santa Fe, where he had gone to track beaver, and was taken by the Spaniards.

Being liberated, he engaged with the Spaniards and Sioux Indians in a war against the Pawnees; then returned to Missouri and had acted by turns as sheriff, trader, trapper, until he was enlisted as a leader by Captain Bonneville."

At the same time was enlisted M. S. Cerre, an experienced Indian trader, and who had also been upon an expedition to Santa Fe. He, too, was engaged as a fellow-leader with Walker.

Bonneville's party left Ft. Osage May 1st, 1832, one hundred and ten men strong, the greater portion of whom were skilled hunters and trappers, inured to mountain life, and experienced in fighting Indians.

Captain Bonneville departed from the accustomed mode of using only animals for pack-trains, and outfitted also with wagons.

The American Fur Company and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company were at that time the competitors and rivals in the valuable traffic in furs and peltry through the wild regions of the West, and with the employes of these companies Walker and Cerre were well acquainted, as the two were likewise

with the wilderness, in which they mainly pursued their exciting, hardy and oftentimes perilous vocation.

During the following October the Bonneville expedition reached the country of the warlike Blackfeet Indians, and from there Walker, with a band of twenty hunters, was dispatched to range the region beyond the Horse Prairie.

At one of their camping places, while quietly enjoying their rest after a day of hard travel, and a hearty supper of the game they had killed, some sitting about the camp-fire, recounting their adventures, others giving attention to their rifles and accoutrements, and Walker and a few more beguiling the hours at a game of "old sledge," they were suddenly surprised by the war whoop of a party of Indians, and had barely time to prepare for the instant onset of the savages, who shot into the camp a shower of arrows and had already seized upon the horses and pack mules to run them off.

Quick work with their handy rifles and the determined courage of the surprised band, in a little while turned the attack into a flight and the Indians were at last glad enough to make their escape from the deadly encounter without the animals they so much coveted.

Walker's coolness and intrepidity in the sudden hot dash, and his sagacity in directing the hurried plan of defense into mastery of the situation saved himself and his comrades from slaughter, and enabled them to get away from the scene in good condition, without serious wound or loss; but he was afterward more prone to adopt the very safest course from any repetition of the hazardous incident and he evermore hated "old sledge."

By his consummate skill in leadership and his equanimity and daring in moments of greatest difficulty and danger, as well as by his uncommon aptitude in mountain life and woodcraft, Walker became the most trusted and favorite among all in the expedition in the estimation of his chief; and hence, when the party reached the confines of what is now Utah Territory, to him Captain Bonneville committed the charge of the sub-

division to find and explore the Great Salt Lake, of which Bonneville had heard, and was most anxious to gain accurate information from a trustworthy source.

More than a year had now elapsed since the expedition had left Fort Osage, and Bonneville had resolved to continue his explorations to the Columbia and trace that mighty river of the northwest to its mouth and discharge into the vast Pacific.

"This momentous undertaking," as Captain Bonneville himself termed the exploration of the route and the survey of the Great Salt Lake, now entrusted to Walker, resulted disastrously, through circumstances against which it was impossible for him to successfully contend.

With his forty men, he had left the main body at Green River valley late in July, and pushed westward toward their allotted destination, to be met and joined by Bonneville the ensuing spring or summer.

It was an unexplored country through which they were to force their way and meantime they were to trap for furs and hunt for their own subsistence.

Along Bear River and on the headwaters of the Cassie they hunted and trapped, gathered furs and laid in a store of buffalo meat and venison.

Away southward they could see, from their greater altitude, the shining surface of the Great Salt Lake they were to reach and report upon. But they could not find or trace any stream which led to it or was tributary.

Beyond and surrounding it were deserts and utter sterility. Any who have in these times traveled overland by railroad or otherwise through the Weber canyon, and become acquainted with the impracticability of surmounting the Wahsatch range, or suffered the fatigues of the desert which stretches from the Sierra Nevada mountains to that range, will readily understand why Walker's party, in that primitive period of the exploration of that inhospitable, barren, and then unknown region, were unable to accomplish their desperate and perilous mission.

They were beset by hostile Indians nearly every day; and while upon the desert, they endured sufferings which can be adequately imagined only by the emigrants and others who have since similarly suffered—frequent attacks by hostile Indians, hunger, thirst, and the difficulty of subsisting their animals or themselves.

They were compelled at last to abandon the mission on which they were bent, to save themselves from perishing on the desert, and to strike for the mountain ridges to the northward.

They reached Mary's River, and there the Shoshones troubled them, pilfering their traps and game by day, and endangering their camps as they slept.

The killing of one of these thieving Indians caused such hostile conduct on the part of his tribe that the party were forced to leave that region and push their way across the mountains into California.

The Great Salt Lake expedition was a woeful failure; but on that terrible journey into California Walker traced the Humboldt to the sink of the river, discovered Carson Lake, and also the lake and river which still bear his name, viewed Mono Lake from a distance, and crossed the Sierra chain not far from the headwaters of the Merced into the valley of the San Joaquin.

On the night of the extraordinary spectacle in the heavens of the "shooting stars," November 12, 1833, Walker and his party camped on the banks of the Toulumne River, and he was roused from his sleep in the dark of the early morning, by the comrade who shared his blankets, to look at what the terrified trapper exclaimed was "the d—dest shooting-match that ever was seen!"

From the San Joaquin Valley he crossed the coast range to Monterey, and there wintered, much to the demoralization of his men.

Early in the spring of 1834 he started to rejoin Bonneville at the appointed rendezvous on Bear River, and there found

his chief in quite destitute condition from his long journey to the Pacific shore of Oregon, and his exploration of the Columbia and Snake rivers, and sadly disappointed at the failure of his next darling project, that upon which Walker had been sent.

It was arranged that Walker and Cerre should proceed on the homeward journey to Missouri, to superintend the conveyance of the furs to St. Louis; and there ended Walker's connection with the Bonneville expedition.

After his return to Missouri, Captain Walker as he then became known, was quickly employed by the American Fur Company, and during the ensuing four years he remained in that employment.

These were four years of arduous toil, frequent privations, desperate encounters with hostile Indians, besides many hazardous adventures and bare escapes from death.

He then determined to pursue his favorite mode of life on his own account, untrammelled by contract obligations and unrestrained in his path of duty or pleasure.

The companion and congenial fellow of the most noted trappers and mountain men—the Sublettes, Bridger, Hensley, Fitzpatrick, Williams, Carson and others of similar skill and worth—he employed his years in hunting, trapping, exploring and pioneering thence onward, down to within a few years of his death, and became conspicuous among the few who volunteered their services, on many occasions, in guiding and escorting into California and Oregon the weary and perplexed and destitute emigrants who came over the plains to found new homes on this coast.

Hundreds of families of whom the heads are still living, or whose sons and daughters are now themselves advanced in life, with families of their own about them, throughout these Pacific States and Territories, owe their easier and safer journey hither to his generous and prudent conduct.

He not only guided or directed them to the most feasible and least dangerous routes and through mountain passes, but he furthermore, in many instances, accompanied and gave

them his protection and substantial aid into spots favored of Providence in soil and surroundings; for he was acquainted with almost every trail and pass, conversant with Indian life and its dangers, and knew the most eligible portions of the country for settlement and homes.

It was not until 1850 that Captain Jo Walker discovered the pass through the Sierra Nevada Mountains which leads into Tulare Valley, although others attribute the discovery to Jedediah S. Smith, as far back as 1825, while trapping in the service of the fur company of which General Ashley was the chief in command in the mountains; and others still ascribe it to Ogden, the American in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, who is said to have found it in 1827; or to Ewing Young of Tennessee, a pioneer of Oregon, who died in 1841; or again, to William Wolfskill, an early pioneer of California, who passed through it, on his way farther westward, from an exploration of the Wahsatch Mountains at a subsequent period.

It is clear, at all events, that whomsoever discovered the pass, it was never utilized to the purposes of emigration and travel until it was made generally known by Captain Joseph Walker in 1850, when he pushed through it after his explorations in the country of the Moqui Indians, supposed to be a remnant of the ancient Aztecs, in which he saw the ruins of old and massive habitations, pyramids, castles, pottery, etc., which gave evidence of a very remote and advanced civilization.

These ruins he found between the Gila and San Juan rivers.

They are believed to mark the site of the great city of Grand Quivera, or Pecos, the most populous and grandest of that race, now long extinct.

Walker found his way through the Pass from the Mohave desert into Tulare valley.

It was ten miles from plain to plain, and on his way he traveled along the headwaters of Kern River.

General Beale afterwards traveled the same region, going eastward by the southern route.

It was in 1844 that Captain Walker resolved to make his home in California, here in the territory where so many of his old and beloved comrades had fixed their abode.

That year he left for the states with a band of horses and mules, with a party of eight men to accompany him.

Colonel John C. Fremont was then in advance of him, on his return to the East, after his second expedition to this coast.

In his journal of that adventure under date of May 14th, Fremont says: "We had today the gratification of being joined by the famous hunter and trapper, Mr. Joseph Walker (the "Mr." would have roused the ire of the plain and modest old mountaineer), whom I have before mentioned, who now became our guide.

Nothing but his great knowledge of the country, great courage and presence of mind, and good rifles could have brought him safe from such a perilous enterprise," i. e., the journey he had made before he overtook Fremont.

Captain Jo Walker's very modest account of the "perilous enterprise" was to the contrary effect—that he never felt that himself or his little party were in the slightest peril, for he and they were alike well mounted, well armed, and amply prepared for the long journey overland by themselves, without fear or thought of molestation from either the hostile Indians or perils of other sort.

And his idea of the quality, if not of the want, of the much-vaunted courage of the "Pathfinder," and of his skill as a "mountain-man," was not at all to the credit of that gold-medaled hero of his own exploits, whose memorable trip over the coast range, from the valley to Santa Barbara, forever dispelled the humorous fancy of those who indulged it, that mules never famish or die.

After having guided and accompanied Fremont to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River, Walker continued his journey into Missouri in his own way.

But the following summer, at Fremont's solicitation, he again engaged with him in the trip westward to California,

and his services were once more invaluable to that distinguished adventurer.

The gold discovery in California had no charm for Captain Jo Walker. Although he valued money in his own provident and unselfish, unavaricious way, he was neither its slave nor its worshiper.

To accumulate and hoard it, when about him or known to him were any whose circumstances or necessities caused them trouble or privation, was averse to his great and generous nature.

He was not wantonly prodigal with gold, but he was never so fond of it as to make its acquisition the aim or end of his lifetime pursuit.

It was to him mainly the medium through which to comfortably provide for his own simple wants, and to supply the necessities or relieve the sufferings of his friends, and the unfortunate whom he encountered mostly to cheer or assist.

His temperament and his mode of life prompted and confirmed in him moderation in requirements and habits.

He was a democratic republican of the ancient, pure, and simple stamp, in principle and action, without the dross of the politician or the guile of the partisan in his nature or behavior.

General Jackson was his grandest of mortal heroes blessed with immortal name, and he remained always affectionately disposed to his native Tennessee, and to the "Old Missouri" of his early manhood.

He was alike temperate and frugal in his mode of life.

His was a notable figure in any group of men, even in his ripe age, as the writer of this tribute saw him in 1853, when he was prevailed upon to recount some of the eventful deeds and scenes of his active life for publication in the San Francisco "Herald," which were graphically and gracefully prepared for the press by Mr. A. J. Moulder, at that time the assistant editor; and in later years, so late as 1876, when again he was persuaded to communicate to Mr. R. A. Thompson—

then associate editor of the Sonoma "Democrat," now county clerk at Santa Rosa—a more extended account of his reminiscences of mountaineering and Indian fighting.

His stature was as given by Irving and copied in this sketch, and his form was of massive mold for strength and endurance, as well as for activity.

He bore himself always as a man conscious of his own rights and proper dignity; nor was he unmindful of the rights and condition of others.

He had the mettle of a hero, the simplicity of a child.

Captain Walker ceased from his accustomed toils and fatigues about ten years before his death, and made his home, in peaceful contentment, with his nephew, James T. Walker, in Ygnacio valley, Contra Costa County, from which he occasionally paid visits to his elder brother, Joel, in Santa Rosa, and to prized friends in other parts of the state. But he was happiest in the quiet of that fond home, and there he died, October 28th, 1876.

His mortal remains repose in Alhambra cemetery in Contra Costa. He lived to the green old age of seventy-six years.

The soil of California has given final rest and sepulture to few more deserving of the respect and remembrance or homage of her citizens, for the measure of good works nobly performed from unselfish motives, and in self-sacrificing, generous spirit.

Among the roll of her honored pioneers, his name will be cherished, and the record of his life and of his beneficent services during his eventful career, as a worthy representative of the noble band with whom he maintained devoted fellowship, will be inseparably connected with the complete history of this state, to whose growth and greatness he and they so materially contributed in the period of its earliest occupation by Americans, and its subsequent marvelous development toward highest prosperity.

SPEECH OF MR. ELI THAYER ON THE AD- MISSION OF OREGON AS A STATE.

Mr. Speaker: My colleague (Mr. Dawes) who has just addressed the House, is unable to see how an honest Representative of the State of Massachusetts can vote for the admission of Oregon. Well, in the exercise of charity, I can see how a Massachusetts Representative, both honest and patriotic, can vote *against* the admission of Oregon. He can do it by not comprehending the question, or he may do it in obedience to party dictation. I will now show my colleague how an honest Representative can vote *for* admission, if he will listen to my argument and the reasons which I shall give in defense of my position.

Mr. Speaker, I think this is a strange necessity that compels the Northern Representatives upon this floor to give the reasons for their votes for the admission of another free state into this Confederacy. Sir, I shall vote for the admission of the State of Oregon without hesitation, without reluctance and without reserve. So far as my vote and my voice can go, I would extend to her such a welcome as becomes her history, as becomes her promise for the future, and such as becomes our own high renown for justice and magnanimity—a welcome not based on contemptible political calculation, or still more contemptible partisan expediency; but such a welcome as sympathy and friendship and patriotism should extend to another new state, such, sir, as becomes the birthday of a nation.

This people comes before us in accordance with the forms of law, and upon the invitation of this House; and it is too late to apply a party test upon this question. On the 19th of May last, a vote was taken in the Senate upon the admission of Oregon, and eleven Republican Senators voted for her admission, while six Republican Senators only voted against her admission; and, sir, I have not heard of any attempt on

the part of the six Senators who voted for the rejection of Oregon to read out of the Republican party the eleven Senators who voted for her admission; and if that attempt is now to be made, we will see whether it is in the power of a minority of the people to read a majority out of the party.

But, sir, who are these people of Oregon, who come here now, asking admission? They are the pilgrims of the Pacific coast. If they are fanatics upon some subjects, we can refer to the pilgrims of the Atlantic coast, who also were fanatics upon some subjects. But, sir, if the pilgrims of the Atlantic coast finally became examples to the world in all that exalts our race, may we not hope that the pilgrims of the Pacific coast may yet become worthy of our esteem?

Nearly one-quarter of a century ago, in my boyhood, I studied the adventures of those men, who founded upon the western shore of the American continent what are now the cities of Oregon and Astoria. These men, who were then in the vigor of their lives, are now old men—gray-haired and trembling with age. Their work of life is nearly completed; and this day they are sitting by their hearthstones, waiting to know what is to be the result of our deliberations; waiting to know whether the proud consummation to which they have aspired for the last twenty years is now reached; and whether Oregon, which, in toil and trial, in defiance of danger and of death, and with persistence and endurance such as belong only to our race, they have brought to her present proud and prosperous condition, is now to be placed upon an equality with the original states of this Confederacy.

These are the men who have carried our institutions to the remotest boundaries of our republic. These are the veterans of the art of peace. American valor with conquering arms has carried our flag by Monterey and Chapultepec, until it was planted upon the halls of the Montezumas. But far beyond those halls have these heroes borne the victorious arts of peace. In the Territory of Oregon they have established our free institutions. There, sir, strong and deep, they have laid the

foundations of a free state, and they come here, like the wise men of the East, not *asking* gifts, but *bringing* gifts; in that respect unlike our military men, who expect and receive honors and rewards for their services. What do they bring? Why, sir, the trophies of their own labor, the evidences of their own worth. They present before us the cities and towns which they have founded. They present schools, churches, and workshops. They bring all, all the products of their labor, and place them upon the altar of the Union, a pledge for the common welfare and the common defense. And what are we doing here? Why, sir, quibbling about things which are comparatively unessential, and which pertain exclusively to the people of Oregon, and not to us or our duties here; quibbling about points which, if New York or Massachusetts were in the place of Oregon, would secure some votes on this side of the House against their admission. Massachusetts, which you know, sir, I never defend anywhere, even Massachusetts does not allow the negro to be enrolled in the militia of the State. These, then, are the men who come here; and what if they have some ideas and sentiments with which we do not agree—is that a reason why we should excommunicate them; that we should have nothing hereafter to do with them?

What law of reformation is this? It is the pharisaical law of distance, distrust, and derision. It is not the Christian law of contact, confidence and communion. The Pharisees denounced the Founder of Christianity as “the friend of publicans and sinners.” That class would repel all who do not agree with them to the fullest extent. Shall we pursue a similar course in relation to the people of Oregon? Is it wise to do so? Is it expedient to reject their application on such grounds?

What objections do Republicans present to this application? They say there is not sufficient population, and they claim that it is their mission to see that the Democratic party shall recover its consistency. At whose expense? At the expense of the consistency of the Republican party. I submit that it is

better for the Republican party to preserve for itself the consistency which it possesses, rather than attempt to recover for the Democrats the consistency which they have lost.

Then, sir, in relation to this qualification of population, what is the position of the Republican party, and what has it been? This party, by its Representatives, voted for the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, with less than one-half of the present population of Oregon. The Republican party in the House, with one exception, so far as I know, voted for the enabling act inviting Oregon to come here, with a Constitution, to be admitted as a state. I have no disposition, and there is no need, to inquire here what is the population of Oregon; for, as a Republican, I am pledged to no rule on this subject.. I opposed, as did my colleague, and my friends on this side of the House, the restriction which was put upon the Territory of Kansas. We protested against it then, and protest against it now. We have no sympathy whatever with that restriction, and are ready, at any time, to give an honest vote for its repeal.

Another objection is urged against the clause in the Constitution of Oregon which excludes negroes and mulattoes from that Territory; and, in addition, provides that they shall not bring any suit therein. It is said that this is in contravention of the Constitution of the United States. This I do not admit. But what if it is? The Constitution presented by the people of Oregon is not submitted to our vote. We cannot amend it; all we have to do about it is to see that it is republican in form. If it is unconstitutional, it is not in the power of Congress to impart to it the least vitality, and it will fall by its own weight. But gentlemen argue here, as if we could by our votes give life and power to an instrument in violation of the Constitution of the United States. Sir, this argument is weak and futile, Congress itself derives its own vitality from the Constitution, and how can it impart a greater vital force than it has received? The stream cannot rise above its source.

But should the Constitution of Oregon be proved unconstitutional before the proper tribunal, then, sir, will it follow

that we have violated our oaths, by admitting Oregon into the Union with that organic law? By no means. We have not sworn that the people of Oregon shall support the Constitution of the United States. We have sworn to support it ourselves, not that anybody else shall do so.

But, sir, this provision is no more hostile to the United States Constitution than are the laws of Indiana and Illinois, which exclude free negroes and mulattoes from their boundaries. Certainly not. It is no more to exclude the suit of the man, than to exclude the man himself. Is the negro less than his suit? I contend that he is greater than his suit. The greater contains the less, and the statutes of Illinois and Indiana are as unconstitutional as is the provision of the Oregon Constitution. But it does seem, at the first view, that it was a wanton and unprovoked outrage upon the rights of these men who are excluded from that state. I think there is a real apology for the action of the States of Illinois and Indiana. They are in close proximity to the institution of slavery. They are under the shadow of the dying tree of slavery, and its decaying limbs are constantly threatening to fall upon their heads; and I cannot censure them for taking such means as they see fit to protect themselves from such imminent peril. I am not disposed to call into question the right or constitutionality of their action.

Is there *no apology*, then, for the people of Oregon? Have they committed a wanton and unprovoked outrage upon the rights of negroes and mulattoes, in excluding them from that Territory? I say that there *is* an apology, and that it consists in this: they believed that they were obliged to choose between a free-state constitution with this provision, and a slave-state constitution without it. There were three parties in the Territory at the time this constitution was made and adopted. There was the Free-State party, which was composed of Free-State Democrats and Republicans. There was the Pro-Slavery party, in favor of a slave state. There was, between these two, a very considerable party, supposed to hold the balance of power,

and that party I may characterize as the anti-negro party. They said that they would sooner vote for a slave state than for a free state with a constitution admitting free negroes and mulattoes. They preferred to have slaves in Oregon rather than free negroes; and it was for the purpose of securing their vote for a free state that the Republicans and Free-State Democrats inserted and advocated this provision. The leading Republicans of that Territory advocated the adoption of the Constitution containing this provision. Mr. Logan, who received every Republican vote for United States Senator, advocated, on the stump, the adoption of the Constitution with this clause.

What was the vote? Why, sir, this clause of the Constitution had a majority of seven thousand five hundred and fifty-nine votes; while the Constitution itself had a majority of only four thousand votes. The Democratic majority in the Territory, as shown in the election of a Representative to this House, was only one thousand six hundred and thirteen votes. Then it is proved, by the official record, that the Republican party combined with the Free-State Democratic party to sanction and ratify this provision of the Constitution which is here called in question. There is also abundant evidence, outside of the record, to satisfy any one that such is the fact. This, then, is the apology for the action of the people of Oregon on this question. What Republican, or what friend of free states, is justified under these circumstances, in voting to exclude the people of Oregon from this Confederacy on account of this provision, which is only an expedient, and not a thing for practical use? It is very easy, at this distance, to censure the people of Oregon, and to pronounce judgment against them, but such judgment may be neither wise nor just.

“Then at the balance let’s be mute,
We never can adjust it;
What’s done we partly may compute,
But know not what’s resisted.”

But, sir, there is another objection urged from certain quarters, with great pertinacity. I mean the objection to the suf-

frage of aliens. The Constitution of Oregon, in respect to alien suffrage, is certainly more stringent than the law of some of the States of the Union, and less stringent than that of others. It is the same as the Territorial law has been during the last ten years. It requires a residence of twelve months in the United States, and of six months in Oregon. It requires that the sworn declaration of an intention to become a citizen of the United States shall have been on file at least one year. What was the inducement for that encouragement of aliens? The wages of labor are now, and have been, in Oregon, double what they are on the Atlantic coast; and I ask, would it be expedient or wise for Oregon to drive away from her borders the emigration from Europe, on which she has to rely for developing the resources of the country? Certainly not. Such a policy would have been disastrous in the extreme to the young state. It was wise and prudent, therefore, for Oregon to invite and encourage that immigration which she so much needs, to develop her great resources, and to secure for her the products of her natural wealth.

These, sir, are among the plausible and ostensible objections that have been urged on this side of the House against the admission of Oregon. There is yet another argument: that Kansas has been excluded from the Union by the action of the Democratic party; and that, therefore, Republicans ought to exclude Oregon. The argument amounts to this: that we should abuse Oregon because the Democratic party have abused Kansas. Now I, for one, am quite content that the record of the Republicans, in respect to Oregon, should be better than the record of the Democratic party in respect to Kansas. I am quite content that the record of the Democratic party, in respect to Kansas, should be just what it is; and I do not think it is possible very much to improve the Republican record, or to impair the Democratic record. Are we to sacrifice our own political principles and advantages, for the sake of compelling the Democratic party to consistency of action? Are we bound, as a party, to sacrifice our own consistency in

doing so? Certainly not. I think the Republican party has another, and, to my mind, a less difficult mission to perform, and that is, to preserve its own consistency.

These are some of the palpable objections that have been urged on this floor. I come now to some for which I thank the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Hughes). He has presented to the House some *secret* objections which the Republicans are said to have to the admission of Oregon. The first is, that the Republicans are opposed to the admission of Oregon because it is a Democratic State. Now, sir, does not the gentlemen from Indiana understand that the Republican party is not so devoid of sagacity as to fail to see that to reject a young state for the reason that it is Democratic would make it Democratic forever? Does the gentleman from Indiana find anything in the history of the Republican party which justifies such conviction of its stupidity, as would lead him to say that the Republican party, as a party, is opposed to the admission of a free state because her people had chosen such politics as seemed to them best? Does he not see that sagacious Republicans, finding that the Republican party in Oregon is now in a minority of only a few hundred votes, understand that if Oregon be admitted by their action, and were thus set free from the influence of Executive patronage, she would very soon become a Republican State?

But further than that: the gentleman brings up another secret reason why the Republicans would oppose the admission of Oregon. That secret reason is, that, in case of the failure of the people to elect a President, and in case of that election coming to this House, there will be a vote from Oregon against the Republican candidate, which may procure his defeat. Now, does not the gentleman from Indiana understand that any such position of the Republican party would secure its defeat? That if it were stupid enough to take a position against the admission of free States, because their Constitutions were not universally approved, it would require more than the vote of one state, either in Congress or out of

Congress, to help or harm the prospects of the party? I thank the gentleman from Indiana for the secret reasons which he has given, and which I have thus far been enabled to prove too absurd and impolitic to influence the action of the Republican party.

There are certain principles which, in my opinion, should govern the House on a question of the admission of a state. First, the Constitution must be republican in form. Second, there must be sufficient population; what number may be sufficient, must be left to the discretion of Congress. Third, the proposed admission must be shown to be for the benefit of the contracting parties; to be best for the state applying, to be best for the Confederacy. Let us look at these principles, and see how they should affect the vote on the admission of Oregon. First, then, is the Constitution presented by Oregon republican in form?

I will here send to the Clerk's desk a quotation from an authority which is justly and generally respected by Republicans—an extract from a speech of Senator Seward, made in the Senate of the United States last May, upon this very question.

The Clerk read, as follows:

“I think there is nobody who doubts that the people of Oregon are today ready, desirous, willing, to come in. They have made a constitution which is acceptable to themselves, and a Constitution which, however, it may be criticised here, after all, complies substantially with every requirement which the Congress of the United States, or any considerable portion of either House of Congress, has ever insisted on in regard to any state.

“It seems to me, therefore, to be trifling with the state of Oregon, trifling with the people of that community, and to be unnecessary, and calculated to produce an unfavorable impression on the public mind, in regard to the consistency of the policy which we pursue in admitting states into the Union, to delay or deny this application. For one, sir, I think that

"the sooner a territory emerges from its provincial condition
"the better ; the sooner the people are left to manage their own
"affairs, and are admitted to participation in the responsibilities
"of the government, the stronger and the more vigorous the
"states which those people form will be. I trust, therefore,
"that the question will be taken, and that the state may be
"admitted without further delay."

Mr. Thayer : So much, then, in relation to the first principle which should govern our action in the admission of states. And what, sir, concerning the other? How will it affect this present Confederacy of States, to admit the Territory of Oregon? Why, gentlemen talk here as if we were discussing the question of admitting some new and unheard of race of monsters and cannibals into the Union! Sir, is not this injustice to the people of Oregon? Will they contaminate this Confederacy? Just as much as their mountain streams will contaminate the Pacific ocean. I tell you, they may be inferior to us in education, in refinement, and in etiquette; they may not appear as well in the drawing-room as some of our Eastern exquisites; but in the sturdy virtues of honesty, of fidelity, of industry, and of endurance, they are above the average of the people of this Confederacy. I regret that the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Washburn) the other day deemed it expedient to call the pioneers of our national progress "interlopers, runaways and outlaws." I affirm, concerning American citizens in any territory of the United States, and in any new state of this Confederacy, that they are above the average of the population of the old States, in all that makes up manly and virtuous character. They have my sympathy, and never will I oppress them by my vote or my voice.

But, sir, what if the people of Oregon were really as bad as the most unfavorable construction of their Constitution, and the speech of my colleague (Mr. Dawes) would represent them to be, then what should we gain by refusing them admission into the Union? If the objectionable features in their Constitution are their true sentiments, and are placed in the organic law for use, and not for expediency, then surely the

evil is deeper than the ink and parchment of their Constitution. It is in the hearts of the people, and will not be eradicated by any harsh treatment that gentlemen on this floor may recommend. I doubt whether you will effect the salvation of the people of Oregon by heaping curses on their heads, or by excluding them for unworthiness. You may send them away from the door of the Capitol, but they will go thinking less of you and less subject thereafter to your influence. They may come again with a hypocritical constitution, trusting to effect by statute law what you would not allow in organic law. They may not come at all, or they may come with a constitution tolerating slavery. Discouraged and repulsed by Northern votes—finding no sympathy where they had most right to expect it, they might not be able longer to resist the Slave-State party in the Territory, acting under the Dred Scott decision. Is it not right, therefore, for the lovers of freedom to advocate the immediate transition of Oregon from the condition of a territory in which slavery is lawful, to the condition of a state in which it is forbidden? Which do we choose, a *slave territory* or a FREE STATE?

But, sir, there is another argument which may influence some members who doubt the security of this Union of States. By this act which I now advocate, we shall bind firmly to the old states, by indissoluble bonds, the remotest portions of our possessions. This will make secure all intermediate parts of the national domain.

This, then, may be grateful assurance to such as want assurance about the permanency of the Union. For myself, I have not much respect for any such assurance, but I do have an utter contempt for any doubts on the subject. This Union, Mr. Speaker, is not a thing to be argued for and advocated; it is a thing settled, fixed and determined. Far transcending in importance the temporary convenience of any one state or of all the states, it is in our hands, a trust, not for our posterity only, but for the world. We are bound to deliver it unimpaired to succeeding generations, and we WILL so deliver it. THE UNION IS AND WILL BE.

If, then, there is a great gain to the Confederacy, is it not also better for the people of Oregon themselves that she should be admitted into the Union? Is it better that they should remain under the tuition of this Federal Government—a non-resident government—or that they should govern themselves? Why, sir, to contend against the advantages of self-government would seem to me unsuited to this place, and not to comport well with the history of this Republic; for the origin of this nation was a protest against a non-resident government, and our history should be. For one, sir, I have no faith in that kind of government being exercised over Anglo-Saxons anywhere, and least of all have I faith in that kind of government being exercised by Republics anywhere; and, therefore, to relieve a portion of our people from what I consider a curse—the curse of a non-resident domination—I will cheerfully vote for the admission of Oregon.

Sir, this non-resident control is a relic as it was an invention of ancient tyranny. It has come down from the history of the old Romans, who had proconsuls in Judea, in Spain, in Gaul, in Germany, and in Britain; and England has copied their example, and sent Governors and Governor Generals to India, and to this continent also. But we protested successfully against that kind of government by the war of the Revolution; and I look forward to the time when every portion of our national domain shall be free from it; when we shall have no provincial dependencies whatever; when we shall have nothing but a combination of equal and sovereign republics. Then, sir, we may bring the duties of this Government to a position where they will be, as was well said last session by the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Curry): "Few and simple;" as they should be.

It is in accordance with this view that I shall oppose anything that leads to complications—that shall multiply or extend our provincial dependencies.

I shall oppose all protectorates over foreign countries; all military occupations and military usurpations; all annexation

of territory, except as independent sovereignties acquired and at the same time admitted into the Union by treaty stipulations as states equal to any in this Confederacy. It will never do for us to imitate the despotisms of Europe. We must adhere to the original, simple plan of this Confederacy, which did not contemplate provincial dependencies, or armies and navies, necessary for their acquisition and control.

So far as we deviate from the simplicity of the plan of the fathers, just so far shall be advance towards danger, disaster and destruction.

But, Mr. Chairman, I did wish to review the action of the minority of the Committee on Territories in relation to this question, but my time has nearly expired, and I can only refer to it.

They have reported the bill of the majority with an additional provision repealing the clause of the English bill restricting the right of Kansas to come into the Union with a less population than ninety-three thousand. Now, sir, I had supposed that the gentlemen of the minority of the committee would have voted for the bill which they have reported, but speeches have been made by two of the gentlemen who signed that report (Mr. Grow and Mr. Granger) in which they went off on an altogether different line of reasoning. They have talked about the unconstitutionality of the Constitution of Oregon, and about its invasions of human rights, without confining themselves at all to the argument of their minority report. They argue that whoever may vote for the admission of the state will properly be held responsible for all these outrages. And now I wish to know for what consideration the signers of that report are willing to ignore all these revered human rights, invaded and ruined by the Constitution of Oregon? I have their reply in this report. On one condition they are willing to sanction all these outrages; and that condition is, that a certain act concerning Kansas shall be repealed. If the report is in good faith, there can be no other conclusion. (Here the hammer fell.)

REVIEW

The Columbia, America's Great Highway through the Cascade Mountains to the Sea. By Samuel Christopher Lancaster. Published by the Author, Portland, Oregon, pp. 140. 31 color plates, 25 by the Paget process of color photography.

The author of this description of the historical and scenic setting of the Columbia River Highway was the consulting engineer in its location and construction. He measured up to the opportunities that this connection with this achievement gave him. He soon became enamored with the views such a highway along the Columbia where it breaks through the Cascade Range could command. Also as he was engaged in the arduous work of running the lines for the determination of the location of the road his thought was naturally turned back to the experiences of the explorers, the missionaries and the pioneers who were compelled to use this route to reach the Coast country. This vanguard of exploration and settlement elicited his sympathy and gave the essential background of human interest to the wealth of scenic beauty arrayed along the wonder stretch of the Columbia gorge.

Nature in her disposition of the natural features of the earth's surface has not been given to running her mightiest rivers at right angles to and athwart her loftiest mountain ranges. Great drainage channels and watersheds regularly lie more or less parallel with each other. But in equatorial Africa and with the Columbia we have the exceptions. The combination of the Columbia and the Cascade Range with its snow-capped sentinels set across each others pathway was tried in our quarter of the globe and a most unique wealth of scenic grandeur was the necessary result. A road along this part of the Columbia to serve its highest purpose could be located and built only by an engineer whose vision caught, as did Mr. Lancaster's, the best that was here displayed and who would run his highway lines accordingly. Furthermore,

such an engineer would become possessed with the purpose to have all the people of the Pacific Northwest and the tourist even from the uttermost parts of the earth experience the exquisite thrills that had enraptured him. This is the motive that brought forth this finely conceived and elegantly executed book.

But if the sublime in nature can have association with heroic achievements of man so much deeper, more substantial and lasting is the joy the scene inspires. About half of the volume is taken up with the portrayal of the human experiences associated with this route. This story is told through the use of excerpts from the journals kept by the missionaries and pioneers as they were buffeted on the waves of the Columbia, trudged through the thickets along its banks, or climbed and crossed the Cascade range to the south of Mount Hood. The test came too as the culmination of a summer of hardship on the plains, generally when winter was full upon them. The accounts by Mrs. Marcus Whitman and by Mrs. Elizabeth Dickson Smith Geer are especially effective and graphic, the latter only is pathetic.

The volume is embellished by many cuts of Indian characters and of historical relics. The author in selecting these materials, especially the excerpts from the pioneers' journals, had the valuable assistance of the Curator of the Oregon Historical Society and the use of its collections.

The color photographs of the Columbia scenes are simply superb.

The spirit and generosity of those who organized this undertaking of the Columbia River Highway and who gave so freely most efficient service in superintending its construction and donated park areas along the route of the highway—these shine and add lustre to the achievement as a whole and bring finest honor upon themselves and upon the community and the commonwealth they served.

F. G. YOUNG.

Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher

Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society in Indiana,
Illinois, Iowa and Oregon

Edited by

SARAH FISHER HENDERSON
NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE
KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

Rock Island, Ill., Aug. 29, '44.

Dear Br. Hill:

Through the appointment of the Iowa Baptist Convention, at this late date, I proceed to give you a brief outline of the wants of the Baptists in this growing territory. . . . At this time the population of this territory is but a fraction less than 90,000⁶⁶ souls, occupying a region of country about 120 miles from east to west, and from the mouth of the Des Moines to Prairedes Chien [Prairie du Chien], and soon the entire territory from the Mississippi to the Missouri will give place to civilization. Lee County contains 9900 souls, several flourishing villages on the rivers, two churches, and four preachers who work on their farms. Des Moines has 9109 souls. Five or six openings for Baptist preaching. Burlington, with a population of 2000 souls and about 15 Baptist members, is wholly neglected. A Baptist church might here be easily collected. Louisa Co., 3,238 souls, one church and one Baptist minister. Van Buren Co., 9,019; facilities for agriculture and manufactories are very great; at present two Baptist ministers. Keosauqua, an important point, has a church greatly needing a minister, and the ministers in this county have to spend a portion of their time in other counties. Henry County contains 6,017 souls. Elder Burnet has organized a church in the county seat in the midst of about 700 souls, and preaches half of his time with this church. Most of this county is destitute of Baptist preaching. Jefferson County contains 5694 souls almost entirely destitute of Baptist preaching, except occasionally, and that rarely, when a Baptist minister travels that way and preaches a sermon to a few scattered Baptists and others who gladly hear the Word. Two small churches were recently organized in this county, but the county town is entirely neglected by our ministers. Baptists have joined other churches temporarily (a bad business) because they have no Baptist preaching. Washington Co. contains

⁶⁶ A census of 1836 showed the counties of Demoiné and Dubuque, which included the present Iowa, to have a population of 10,521. In 1838 Iowa Territory had a population of 21,859. William Salter, *Iowa*, pp. 208, 230.

In 1840 its population was 43,112, and in 1850, 192,214. *Am. Cyc.* IX:332.

3120 souls. Br. Elliott some time ago visited this county and baptized a few. A church, in a somewhat flourishing condition at the county seat, needs a pastor immediately. Muscatine County, 2882 souls, with a church at Bloomington, is about to settle a pastor. In this county are several interesting openings for Baptist preaching. In the above named churches are two licensed preachers who might be rendered quite useful as preachers, but are obliged to pursue their ordinary occupations. Scott County has 2750 souls, two churches and one minister. Davenport, without Baptist preaching, has a population of 1000. Johnson and Cedar Counties, with a population of 5166, and Linn, with a population 2643, have four churches and a number of important settlements with but one ordained minister. Clinton and Jackson Cos., with a population of about 3000 souls and two organized churches and probably another soon to be constituted at De Witt, have no ordained minister and only the occasional labors of Elder Brown. DuBuque has 4052 souls, one church at the seat of Justice and an ordained minister. The remaining counties, together with the new purchase 50 miles in width extending the entire length of the Ter. from north to south, the southern portion of which is becoming thickly settled, for a new country, with farms from 10 to 100 acres already under cultivation, contain a population of at least 22,000 souls with but one Baptist minister and two small churches, although there are a very considerable number of brethren and sisters scattered through this region, like sheep without a shepherd, anxiously desiring and praying that God send them the faithful missionary who will collect them into churches and administer to them the ordinances of the gospel. Now, dear brother, what does this territory need? Do we not need one man in each of these counties, at least? Do we not need one minister in each of the important towns . . . who can devote himself entirely to the work . . . assigned him? Then, if we could have a few of our ministering brethren who would like to settle their rising families on farms, so that they could devote a portion of their time to preaching the Word

and gathering up churches and at the same time bless Zion, their own families and their own souls . . . the labors of such brethren would be appreciated. Perhaps more than all, we need wise lay brethren to move to our Territory for the sake of doing good. Men of prayer, good works, and FAITH too, who are well established in the doctrines of the gospel, who know well how to sympathize with the ministry and devise and execute plans by which the ministry may be kept constantly employed in their peculiar calling. Now let us ask you, Will our ministers and deacons and churches in the older and more favored portions of our land compare our destitution and prospects for usefulness with their own and then, in the fear of God, ask what they can do for us? By order of the convention.

EZRA FISHER,

Chairman of the Committee.

N. B.—I learn that 1500 souls have crossed the Rocky Mountains this summer for Oregon.⁶⁷ Please let me know if the Board will appoint Br. Johnson to go out with us next spring? We have a promising young Br. in this place from Mass. by the name of Stone, whom I think this Church will invite to become their pastor when we leave.

Yours, E. F.

* * * * *

Rock Island, Ill., Sept. 16, 1844.

Dear Br. Hill:

Should providence open the door, we expect to leave for Oregon early next spring with the companies that will then go out to Oregon and California. I should like to know whether the Board will be willing that the appointment shall be so made that the services shall commence at the time of our departure.

⁶⁷ McLoughlin placed the number of the immigrants of 1844 at 1,475. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* 1:448.

George H. Himes, as a result of extensive researches, believes it to have been only 600 or 700. British officers in Oregon in 1845-6 placed it at about 1000. *Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnoissance in Oregon, 1845-6*, ed. by Joseph Scrafer, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X:111.

You will allow me to repeat the earnest request that Br. Johnson be appointed, if practicable, to accompany me. My views of the importance of the enterprise are in no way diminished. A company will go to California next spring,⁶⁸ among which will be several valuable Baptist families, who will settle with the companies that have gone before them on the Sacramento River near San Francisco Bay. Is it not time that the Baptists had two missionaries west of the mountains to look after the rising interests on the Pacific? Our health is tolerably good, but sickness is becoming more frequent than it has been this season.

I shall forward my quarterly report by the next mail.

Yours truly,

EZRA FISHER.

P. S.—Please write me soon and let me know the wishes of the Board respecting the contemplated mission.

Yours, E. F.

Rock Island, Ill., Sept. 17th, 1844.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Br:

I proceed to make my report for the first quarter under the appointment bearing date May 1st. . . .

I have preached thirty-five sermons, attended sixteen prayer meetings, five conference meetings, seven covenant meetings, and traveled three hundred and twenty-five miles. We have no conversions to record within our congregations. Baptized none. Received three by letter. Have made seventy-five pastoral visits and attended one funeral, a member of this church. Monthly concert is attended with this church. Visited one common school. Obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge. We have one young brother fitting for college; as

⁶⁸ The first important overland immigration to California from the United States was in 1841. Bancroft, *Hist. of California* IV:263.

The overland immigration of 1845, the preparations for which are here mentioned, numbered about 150. Ibid. IV:571.

yet he has not avowed his intentions for the ministry. Organized no church. No minister ordained. Received sixty-five dollars toward my support (\$65.00). Received nothing for any of the missionary, educational or other benevolent societies. We have received nothing from any of the auxiliary societies towards my salary. One Bible class, about 15 scholars. Three Sunday schools, about 15 teachers, sixty-five scholars, and about 150 volumes in the libraries. Done nothing to the meeting house since my last report.

The Campbellites are making great efforts in this place and vicinity to draw off members of other denominations, and, in view of all the circumstances, I have thought it my duty to deliver a lecture each Sabbath on the doctrines and ordinances of the gospel; thus far they seem to awaken an interest by confirming the brethren and eliciting the attention of the community. Amid the flood of error with which we are surrounded, we greatly need the truths of God's Word exhibited in the spirit of meekness and zeal of the primitive Christians. Truly we need the wisdom of the serpent as well as the harmlessness of the dove. I have never witnessed in any place in the valley so much determined opposition to the Baptists, as such, as in Rock Island and vicinity. Perhaps I have never felt more forcibly . . . the thought that the gospel and the whole gospel is God's appointed means of accomplishing his purposes in bringing sinners to repentance and establishing the churches in the truth than during the past quarter.

In the midst of our labors and trials, I have one great consolation, that I, in common with all the missionaries of your Society, have the prayers of hundreds of thousands of God's dear people.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER,
Missionary.

I am waiting with some solicitude to hear from you relative to the subject of Oregon.

Cannot Br. Johnson be appointed to go out with us?

Yours,

E. FISHER. . . .

Rock Island, Ill., Nov. 5th, 1844.

Rev. B. M. Hill.

Dear Br.: Yours of Sept. 27th was duly received, and I now take pen to answer it, together with other communications which it becomes my duty to make in the same sheet. The Board of the I[owa] Conv. understands the course your Board has pursued in relation to Br. Seeley's tour last spring and are satisfied, I believe.

On this subject of my going to Oregon next spring, I would state that my views have in no way altered as regards the importance of carrying the Gospel of Christ there immediately and, unless some special providence intervenes, we shall make our arrangements to leave this place some time in the month of April next. The question whether the time of our service commences when we leave this place or when we arrive at the field of our future labor will not be material with me farther than the settlement of the question whether the amount will enable me to devote myself to the work of the ministry unimpeded by secular labor. I trust my ruling desire is to render the greatest possible service to the cause of Christ; I feel perfectly willing to refer that matter to your Board.

I have never asked what were the views of the Board respecting the time of the transmission of the funds to me for my services during the year after our arrival. I suppose, however, that such would be the distance and difficulty of regular communication from Oregon to N. York and so long a time must necessarily intervene between the time of making my reports and that of receiving funds in answer to said reports, your Board would advance to me the amount agreed upon for one year before taking our departure from this place. Your Board may possibly know of some convenient and safe way of transmitting drafts so that they may reach us seasonably to prevent us from being reduced to sufferings for the want of the common comforts of life.⁶⁹ I intended to have laid that subject before you personally while at Syracuse last fall, but

⁶⁹ See note 72.

it did not occur to my mind when I could have an interview with you. Br. John Peck however advised me personally. He thought in this case it would be the pleasure of the Board to advance the year's salary before we left Iowa. I have just received a letter from Br. Johnson still expressing a strong desire to accompany me to Oregon, informing me that you say, if money can be raised, he can be appointed to go with me, provided he can receive a recommendation from the Executive Board of the Iowa Baptist Convention. This being the case, I laid the subject before said Board on the first instant, and the Board passed the following resolutions:

1st. Resolved that this board cordially recommend Elder Hezekiah Johnson as a most suitable man for the A. B. H. M. Soc's. Board to appoint as a missionary to Oregon to accompany Elder Ezra Fisher to that field next Spring.

2d. Resolved, that the Secretary be instructed to accompany this recommendation with a brief description of Elder Johnson's qualifications for a missionary in a new country. In complying with these instructions, I will simply state that I am confident I give the sentiment of every faithful Baptist in Iowa who knows him when I say that Br. Johnson's uniform ardent piety, his strong perceptive and comparing powers, his originality of thought, his familiarity with Bible doctrines, the facility with which he defends them, exposes error in the spirit of the gospel, and the long experience he has had as a faithful pioneer of the West in planting and fostering churches, as well as enduring hardships and privations, render him eminently qualified for the work of a missionary in a new country, where error is rife and counsellors are few. Without detracting from the merits of all our worthy brethren, I speak the sentiments of all when I say he is regarded as one of the few fathers of our denomination in Iowa. I have long known him and taken great pleasure in his counsels. Your Board will not wonder then when I repeat the earnest request that Br. Johnson may be appointed to accompany me. Will you think

of from 7000 to 10,000⁷⁰ souls in Oregon within two days' ride from the mouth of the Willamette,⁷¹ speaking the English language, and that number fast increasing from the western, the eastern and middle states, without a single Baptist preacher, and will not your Board appoint this one more missionary that we may follow the example set by our blessed Saviour of sending out his disciples by two's? If no other way can be devised, will your Board not encourage Br. Johnson to circulate in New England and raise the requisite funds during the winter? God knows what is best, and, if my importunity is too great, I know he will pardon and I trust you will do the same.

I attended the Davenport Association the second week in Oct. at Marion, the county seat of Lynn County, Iowa. The session was harmonious and one of more than usual interest and some tokens of divine favor were manifest. Collections were taken in aid of the home and foreign missions. We trust a lasting blessing will follow. On Saturday before the fourth Sab. in Oct., we organized a new association in this place known by the name of Rock Island Baptist Association, including but four churches, but an extent of territory more than 100 miles in length on the Mississippi.

Although the weather was unfavorable, the scene was truly pleasing, and on Sab. a collection was taken in favor of home missions amounting to four dollars and sixty cents. I will forward you the minutes of said association when published.

⁷⁰ This number was largely over-estimated. In his letter of Feb. 27, 1846, written after he reached Oregon, the author places the population at five or six thousand, and this was after the population had been about doubled by the immigration of 1845. Deducting this, the population in 1844 would be between two and three thousand. Bancroft places it at the latter figure. *Hist. of Ore.* I:508. G. H. Himes thinks it was 1,200 or 1,500. Lieut. Piel gave it as 3,000 before the coming of the 1845 immigration, and Warre and Vavasour gave it as 6,000 after the immigration came. See J. Schafer in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X:53.

⁷¹ The origin and the original form of the name Willamette are obscure. G. H. Himes finds the meaning of "Green Water" given it in two early, entirely independent sources. If these sources are reliable, it is an Indian name and the present spelling closely approximates the original sound. See also in the spelling: Bancroft, *Hist. of N. W. Coast* II:60, 61, where a summary of different authorities is given.

I have used the above named \$4.60 and will deduct the same from my next draft.

Your unworthy br. in Christ,

EZRA FISHER,
Sec. pro tem.,
Iowa Bapt. Conv.

Rock Island, Ill., Dec. 16th, 1844.

Corresponding Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Br. Hill:

It becomes my duty in the order of God's providence to make my second quarterly report.

My time has been devoted almost exclusively to the work during the quarter, and more than an ordinary portion of my time has been spent in associations and convention. During the quarter I have preached twenty-eight sermons and participated in almost all the public discussions which have come before the public meetings of our denomination, such as home and foreign missions, Bible cause, publication cause, education, etc. Attended twenty weekly prayer and conference meetings, as the church in this place sustains both a weekly prayer meeting and conference meeting, which have been well sustained through the season. Attended four covenant meetings and two church meetings, four meetings of the Board of the Iowa Convention, traveled five hundred and forty miles. I have no evidence of any case of hopeful conversion during the quarter, yet we have had the satisfaction of seeing an increased attention in several instances in our congregations. I have baptised none. We have received three by letter during the quarter. I have made sixty-five (65) pastoral visits. We sustain the monthly concert in the church in this place instead of our weekly prayer meeting. I have visited two (2) common schools. Obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge. No young men preparing for the ministry. Neither organized a church or assisted in ordaining a minister. Assisted in the organization of an association in this place. Have received about fifty

dollars toward my support, on the subscription for my salary, received four dollars and sixty cents, the amount of a collection taken up at the organization of the Rock Island association for the cause of Home Missions, and nine (\$9) dollars from the home missionary society in the Mt. Pleasant church, Henry County, where I preach once a month; have received nothing for the Foreign Missions, Bible Publication or Education Societies.

We have one Bible class of about fifteen scholars, and three small Sabbath schools. The one in this place is quite small and quite interesting; about thirty-five children and ten teachers. The one with the Mt. Pleasant church comprises both young and old and is quite small. . . . The other is sustained by a Br. Gillmore, twelve miles south of this. It has about thirty children. The church in this place are now making an effort, and I think it will be successful, to finish the house we purchased last summer. This has engaged part of my time the past week.

I have during the quarter attended the Davenport Association and the convention at Canton in this state. On the whole, although we have witnessed no marked tokens of divine favor, yet we think the churches are becoming more consistent, exercising a better discipline, and evince a laudable growth in the Christian graces, and I can but feel a degree of assurance that God will soon appear in answer to the prayers of his people to revive his work with us. . . .

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EZRA FISHER,
Missionary at Rock Island.

N. B.—Yours of Nov. 29th came to hand today, informing me of the appointment of Br. H. Johnson to accompany me to Oregon. The intelligence rejoiced my soul. May God favour the decision of your Board and greatly bless the enterprise. We are making every arrangement to leave as early as the tenth of April, should the All Wise permit.

I will answer partly your proposed questions. I verily believe the enterprise is of God and trust he will prosper it and fondly hope the time is not distant, when we shall see churches in Oregon able and ready to sustain the gospel and even carry it to others. Your Board will readily see that I can give you no definite answer. I am willing to confide that matter to the wisdom and integrity of the Board, when they shall have learned the true state of the cause by an actual survey of the field.

I should hope never to encumber the cause of missions with any obligation to support my family, while my labours are unprofitable. As soon as we can open the way for our support in Oregon, it will be our greatest pleasure to see your Board directing their aid to other and more destitute fields. As it relates to remittance after the expiration of the first year, should your Board think it for the honour of the cause to continue my services, I think, were you to permit us to make drafts at the expiration of each semi-annual report on your treasurer, or on yourself, we could sell those drafts by endorsing them ourselves, as I understand there is a merchant from Boston doing business at Oregon City at the falls of the Willamette.⁷²

Yours,

E. F. . . .

Rock Island, Ill., Jan. 10, 1845.

Rev. B. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

In my quarterly report of December 16th I promised to write you soon and give the Board in brief my views of the plan of our future operations in Oregon, should God graciously permit us to labor in that field.

We expect to find our field of labor, so far as our denomination is concerned, in an entirely new and unformed state; we shall consequently find everything to do or things will be

⁷² This is possibly a reference to F. W. Pettygrove, the Oregon City agent of A. G. and A. W. Benson. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:417, 422.
Money could also have been sent by Hudson Bay Company's drafts.

left undone. We know some Baptist members have emigrated to that country⁷³ and others are going, but it is reasonable to suppose they are scattered. Should Br. Johnson accept of the appointment, which I trust he will, I would suppose we should select two of the most favorable positions to reach the greatest amount of inhabitants, on or near the navigable waters and as near each other as circumstances will admit, so as to enjoy each others' counsels and, as circumstances permit, labor in public, and in these places make it our great business to establish churches in the apostolic order.

I presume we shall find, in exploring the field, more points of importance that we shall be able to visit monthly on the Sabbaths. I think it probable we may find it our duty to establish something like circuits which we may reach periodically, while others more remote may demand occasional visits. I trust we shall feel that our great business will be preaching the Word both publicly and from house to house. Yet in a country where education is unprovided for by law,⁷⁴ and where every false religionist is propagating his dogmas through the medium of schools, it seems almost indispensable to the greatest and most permanent usefulness of the gospel minister that he become the guardian of youth and patron of moral and religious education. The Pope of Rome has already appointed a Bishop of Oregon and has sent out two ecclesiastics, and with these fathers are to be sent seven female missionaries and a number of priests.⁷⁵ I therefore think that, at an early

⁷³ A number of Baptists, prominent among whom was David T. Lenox, had come to Oregon with the immigration of 1843. Lenox and a number of others settled on Tualatin plains and there organized in May, 1844, a Baptist church. This was the only Baptist church in Oregon until 1846. The Rev. Vincent Snelling, a Baptist minister, came with the immigration of 1844, and was, as far as is known, the first Baptist clergyman in Oregon. C. H. Mattoon, *Baptist Annals of Oregon* I:1, 2, 39, 43. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:421, 466.

⁷⁴ The author was right as to the absence of public state instruction. This did not come until much later. The first school in Oregon supported by a public tax was opened in Milton, near St. Helens, Columbia County, September 15, 1851. G. H. Himes; Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:35; I:201, 325.

⁷⁵ The first Catholic priests came to Oregon in 1838. One of these, Blanchet, was created Archbishop of Oregon in 1843. In 1844 a company of five priests, a number of lay brothers, and six sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, came from Europe. The "two ecclesiastics" referred to by the author were possibly Fathers Blanchet and Demers, who had come in 1838. Several others, notably Rev. P. J. De Smet, came to the country between 1838 and the arrival of the party of 1844. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:315, 327.

period, schools should be established under pious teachers, and, as soon as practicable, one should be founded on liberal principles, adapted to the wants of the country and especially to the demands of our own denomination, which should rise with the demands of the people till it shall eventually furnish the means for a complete education. Should congress pass the land bill, which has so long been before both branches of our national legislature,⁷⁶ I trust we shall find friends to the Baptist cause sufficient to carry out such a plan without materially detracting from our ministerial usefulness.

While other denominations are directing their energies to evangelize the natives and half-breeds,⁷⁷ I think Baptist missionaries should not look on with indifference in this work of blessing the remnants of these once numerous tribes. If anything more can be done, a way may be opened for the successful introduction of missionaries in the most favored positions and thereby effect a great saving of time and expense to the cause of missions. I will not multiply. But you will allow me to say that Upper California is becoming a place of great attraction to western emigrants, and among them are Baptists who will ever pray for the ordinances as they were delivered. I am personally acquainted with some of these, who are inquiring whether the Home Missionary Society will not appoint them as missionaries. We shall become acquainted with these brethren in our journey, and a correspondence at least may be kept up with them by which we may learn the wants of that country. We hope soon to form churches which will relieve your Board, in part at least, of sustaining us, and it shall be one part of our duty to teach the brethren that the gospel is a sacrificing system. As to the amount it may require from your Board to enable us to live the second year,

⁷⁶ There had been at several times bills before Congress providing for grants of lands to settlers in Oregon. The reference here must be to the Atchison bill in the Senate, and possibly to an Oregon bill in the House—neither carried. No Oregon donation land grant act was passed until the famous act of 1850. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:379, 384, 386, 388; II:260.

⁷⁷ The reference here is, of course, to the earlier Protestant missions in Oregon—those of the Methodists and of the American Board. He seems here not to be thinking of the Roman Catholic missions to the Indians.

so far as I am concerned, it shall be left to your Board and myself to decide when God shall in his wisdom make known to us our duty. I expect, if I am faithful to God, you will appreciate it; if not, your aid in my support must necessarily cease. Your Board will give me their instructions and make known their wishes.

We are making preparations for the journey. The winter yields us the hope at least that we shall have an early spring. We must be ready to leave this place as soon as the first day in April. It would be desirable that the draft of which you speak in yours of Nov. 29 should be here by the first of March

Yours as ever,

EZRA FISHER,

P. S.—I made my last quarterly report on the 16th of Dec. and requested you to forward me a draft of thirty-six dollars and forty cents (\$36.40) for the two last quarters, after deducting \$13.60 which I have received in this region.

N. B.—I have one farther request. Will your Board forward me a draft for my services with this people up to the first of April when the other draft is forwarded and let me mail my report just before I leave? I will here say that my time will be necessarily somewhat interrupted in making preparations for the journey, but I hope to be able to spend most of the time in the ministry.

Yours,

E. F.

Rock Island, Ill., March 14, 1845.

Dear Br. Hill:

I proceed in brief to make out my quarterly report for the quarter ending this day, being the third quarter of the year.

I have labored all the time, except so much as has been necessary for me to make preparations for our journey to Oregon; and these labors have made much larger drafts on my time than they would in N. Y. where everything can

be readily obtained and every brother is ready to give timely assistance. I have spent no time in my private business beyond the above named labors, and they probably have cost me 135 miles' travel and three weeks' time, yet I have met all my regular preaching appointments and most of the prayer meeting appointments, but my pastoral visits have been neglected, to my grief. But such must be or I must abandon the desired enterprise. Preached 21 sermons and have been assisted by several visiting brethren on Sabbaths; 12 prayer meetings, 8 conference meetings, 5 covenant meetings and traveled 124 miles; no hopeful conversions among my people; none baptised; received none by letter. Monthly concert is attended at one place, Rock Island church. Made 48 religious visits. . . . Assisted in the organization of the Pine Bluffs Church in the south part of this county on the first Sabbath in February, and in the ordination of Br. Cyrus G. Clarke as their pastor. Addressed the church on the occasion and gave the charge to the candidate. . . . Received nothing from any auxiliary soc. toward my support, but about \$30 . . . from subscriptions. Have one Bible class and about 12 scholars, two Sabbath schools and about 50 scholars and 7 teachers. The church at Rock Island are making arrangements to finish the house they purchased last summer and will probably be able to occupy it by June next.

I wrote you about two months ago requesting you to forward in advance of the report the amount of my salary up to the first of April in a draft in connection with the advance draft for my salary next year. But as yet I have received neither. Will you forward me the draft immediately, if you have not done it.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,

Missionary at Rock Island.

N. B.—I have received no letter from you since the 29 of Nov. In a letter of the 4th of Nov. you informed me that my salary would be paid in advance about the month of

Feb. or March and in one you requested me to make every preparation necessary [for the Oregon journey.] I have done so as far as my means will allow and am now waiting with great anxiety to receive the drafts to enable me to finish the outfit. The little property I had I sold at a great sacrifice and the outfit is more expensive than I anticipated, but, if the draft or drafts reach this place in season, we can be ready in ten or twelve days for the journey; we are anxiously expecting them every mail. We ought to be on the way as soon as two or three weeks from this at farthest, but must stay till your instructions reach me here.⁷⁸ The 4th of April is the day fixed upon for our departure from this place. We feel that we need greatly the prayers of your Board, especially that Heaven may bless the mission. I am more and more convinced of the importance of the enterprise and that God only can sustain and give us success. You will forgive my importunity. I know not how to lay over on suspense another year. I fear I am too solicitous; if so, may God forgive. Br. Johnson is probably on his way at this time to Independence, Missouri, where I hope to join him, God permitting.

Your unworthy brother in Christ,

EZRA FISHER.

March 14, Evening. Just received my commission and regret that I had not known three weeks ago that in this case your Board would not have violated their usual . . . rule. I shall stay in this place till you forward me the order, or order N. B. Stanford to receive the draft for me and order it paid, which I think he will do. In this case, I shall write you to that effect before leaving.

Yours in the gospel,

EZRA FISHER.

⁷⁸ The emigrants for Oregon left as early in the Spring as possible to reach Oregon before the winter rains. Some left as early as March, others as late as May. See Johnson and Winter, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* VII:68.

Rock Island, Ill., March 22d, 1845.

Dear Br. Hill:

I received the commission dated Feb. 1st and 28th, and read it with mingled emotions of pleasure and regret.

By that it appears there is some little misunderstanding between you and me relative to the time when my quarterly reports become due. I know the commission under which I have been laboring the last nine months was dated the 1st of May; but, my time of service under the former appointment of six months not having expired till the fifteenth of June, I have made all my quarterly reports to correspond with that date. Hence my quarterly report which you expected to be due the first of Feb. was not due till the 15th of March. Yet, not having heard from you after my inquiry of January 10th, I prepared my report one day before the time in order to get it into the mail at as early a date as practicable, and on that evening the commission appointing me a missionary to Oregon arrived, in which you stated that you would hold back the draft of \$300 a few days. I greatly hope that I shall find it in the office on the arrival of the next mail, as the time has now arrived that traveling is tolerably good and I have exhausted all my pecuniary means in the preparation for the journey at a great sacrifice of my property, and that cheerfully, and have already incurred as many debts as I dare till the draft arrives; yet I have to buy all my flour, some clothing and other articles which must be procured before we start. You may judge what my anxiety must be on the arrival of every mail when I find that it contains nothing for me. I wrote a letter and put it in the hands of Br. Byron of Dubuque, which you have undoubtedly received before this.

I forgot to state the sum which will be due me on the first of April, but you will see that it will be \$29.00, by a reference to my report. I have made arrangements with Mr. Napoleon B. Buford to take the draft out of the post office and order it paid in his own name instead of mine. When you receive

an order from me to pay \$29 to N. B. Buford on a draft given for my services up to the first day of April, you will please pay the said \$29 and take the draft, whatever may be the face of the draft, without any power of attorney from me to said Buford.

Yours under date of Nov. 14th, 1844, says: "Yours of 16th of Sept. was laid before our Ex. Board at their last meeting and your request to have your salary commence at the time of your starting for Oregon was agreed to." But in the commission you state, "for the period of twelve months to receive three hundred dollars from the said Board, or at that rate per annum, the time to commence as soon as you reach the territory, the above sum to cover traveling expenses and salary and you to derive the remainder of your support from the people among whom you labor."

Now I have sacrificed at least \$300 in preparation for the journey, and my pecuniary means are so reduced that I must break at least \$100 or \$150 on the salary to be ready to start; and then we have a wilderness of 2500 miles to cross, with not a single church organization to receive us and provide even our bread. Now I leave your Board to say whether of the two letters shall define the time in which my salary shall commence. The sacrifice is made and I shall go, God being my helper, and do what I can. I do not faint or feel discouraged. It is not absolutely certain whether we go by Council Bluffs or Independence, Missouri.⁷⁹ You will do well to address me one letter to Independence to the care of Eld. Hezekiah Johnson, and another to Council Bluffs, immediately on the reception of this. I suppose you are advised that Mr. Zuron [Jason] Lee⁸⁰ has been at Washington the past winter

⁷⁹ These were convenient points on the frontier for reaching the Platte River Valley, along which was the first part of the trail to Oregon. Independence had for some years been the rendezvous for those starting west on the Santa Fe trail, and in fact to all points in the Rocky Mountain region and beyond. Overton Johnson and W. H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* VII:65. Bancroft, *Hist. of Arizona and New Mexico*, 329.

⁸⁰ Jason Lee, prominent in the Methodist mission in Oregon, had been in the East since May, 1844, on business connected with Oregon and the mission. He died March 12, 1845. The Methodist Institute, the forerunner of Willamette University, was organized in February, 1842. Wm. D. Fenton and H. W. Scott, on Jason Lee, in *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quar.* VII:237, 239, 263. See also note 95.

for the purpose of obtaining a grant of land in Oregon for an Oregon Institute—Methodist, of course. You will be let into the secret by turning to the President's message, with the accompanying documents, from page 492 to page 495 inclusive. Please be at the trouble to obtain it from some of the political printing offices in your city and read it. Then ask the Baptists of the United States if it is not time for Baptists to look to Oregon.

Yours respectfully,
EZRA FISHER.

Rock Island, Ill., March 31st, 1845.

Dear Br. Hill:

At the request of the members of the Board of the Iowa Convention, I now sit down in great haste and in the midst of confusion and a little anxiety, to write you a private letter, presenting in brief the views of the members of the local board in Davenport relative to the future operations of your Board in Iowa. We have been contemplating our field of labor with a prayerful interest, but we cannot do less than feel emotions of gratitude for the liberal patronage your Board has extended to it. Yet we feel convinced that all your funds are not the most judiciously appropriated. . . . We believe that the present year you will expend from \$1300 to \$1700 in the bounds of our convention, including Rock Island Association, and yet numbers of the most important fields of labor are entirely unreachd—Burlington, and at present Iowa City, Fort Madison and the entire county of Lee, with a population falling but little short of 10,000 souls. It is the decided opinion of the brethren of the Board that some changes ought to take place, so that these points may effectually be reached and the cause sustained in them.

We think there is another defect, although we are far from charging your Board as being in any measure the cause,—yet we think you may be the cause, when the defect is pointed out. The appropriation of just \$100 per annum to your missionaries irrespective of the place they occupy and other

contingencies, with a few exceptions, we think, might be improved upon. We cannot find it in our hearts to disapprove of the appointments of your missionaries, except, perhaps, in one or two instances. Yet we feel that moer regard should in future be had to the position the missionary occupies. We know of instances where we think \$50 would afford as much relief to a missionary's family as \$100 or \$150 would, were the same man to occupy another and more important field. . . . We then would say that we would recommend the appointment of missionaries with appropriations varying in proportion to circumstances. If a minister is to sustain the cause in Burlington or Fort Madison or Galena or Bloomington, he must have more than \$100 from your Board, or we think little that is permanent will be effected, and you will retain in the older states those very men for the want of whom the cause must suffer in our Territory. We think in a few cases appointments might be made with an appropriation of but \$50 from your Board, and through that medium you might be enabled to do more towards fully sustaining men in more important points. Could you visit our prairie country and see its peculiarities, you would feel the force of these views. The great amount of labor must be performed in the populous points and from these reach less populous places.

We hope at our next anniversary to effect another object, to wit: That the convention will be prepared to instruct her Board not to recommend the appointment of ministers to labor in the bounds of any church who will not pledge themselves to raise a sum equal to 25 cents for each member to aid the present Society over and above the amount they pledge for the support of their minister direct.

We have now two applications pending which are not approved, either for want of information relative to the applicant or from informality in the application, which may soon be in your hands. You understand this is a private letter and will not therefore publish it.

One word respecting myself. I received the commission more than two weeks since, but as yet the draft has not reached

me, and tomorrow companies from this state will commence their journey and we have fixed on next Thursday to leave this place, but must wait till the draft reaches us. We have disposed of all our little possessions and all our furniture at about half their value, to be ready, and are still in suspense whether we shall be able to enter upon our anticipated field of labor. We sometimes fear the draft is in the bottom of the lake or has miscarried. You may imagine with what anxiety we wait each returning mail and what are our feelings of disappointment as we return from the office unprovided for. We try to feel that the hand of the Lord is in all this. Sometimes I feel to say "Thy Will, O Lord be done." Yet our constant prayer is, If it please Thee O Lord, grant us the desire of our hearts and give us seasonably the means necessary to the prosecution of our journey. Should the next mail bring the draft, we must be delayed a few days beyond the appointed time. You have undoubtedly forwarded the draft before this.

Yours truly,
EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—Perhaps it is not the will of the Lord that I should go; if so, I should submit, yet my heart is in the work and it will be time enough for me to learn that fact when I find the door is shut. Till then, I am bound to act up to a conviction of duty in view of the importance of the field before me. Should the draft go back to you with my name on its back, you will not pay it till you hear from me by letter, as I shall write you immediately on the receipt of the draft that you may learn the time of our departure.

E. FISHER.

Rock Island, April 5th, 1845.

Dear Br. Brabrook:

At the request of Dr. Witherwax and others I take my pen to address you a line in great haste. The church in Davenport are still destitute and perhaps have been rather

difficult to please as a whole, yet they greatly need a minister, and the Territory as much need a leading mind in the denomination who may exercise a father's care and kindness toward our esteemed young brethren in the ministry. Now I hardly know what to write you. I would not draw you away from a very responsible and important post to occupy a less important one. Yet, should you determine to settle as a pastor, I feel greatly desirous that an effectual door may be opened for you in Iowa. The church at Davenport and in this place cannot unite in the support of one man; each would claim the services and residence of the minister. And the field is so wide in this vicinity that our brethren feel that they must have a man all the time on this side the river. Perhaps they judge correctly. I have no doubt from the acquaintance I have with the brethren in Davenport that they are prepared to give you a unanimous call to settle with them, provided they can raise the means for your support.

The Church in Bloomington will probably be left destitute before long, at longest in the month of June. It is the object of this letter to elicit from you a reply to a few questions. Are you determined to continue in your present agency? If not, would you regard it duty to settle in Iowa, provided you could be supported at a commanding point? Should the churches of Davenport and Bloomington unite in giving you a call, could you consent to supply the two churches thirty miles asunder, but with an excellent road on the bank of the river? Dr. Witherwax says their church would wait six months, if they knew you would settle with them at the expiration of that time. He also thinks that your support might be raised by adopting that plan. Please write Dr. W. in answer to this, as I shall probably be on our long journey before you will be able to have a letter reach this place. We are only waiting a draft from N. Y. which we are expecting every mail. Do not fail to attend our convention at Bloomington the first of June. May God direct you according to his holy will. Pray for us that our enterprise may be under

the fostering care of the Almighty and be greatly blessed of the Lord.

Yours in gospel bonds,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—Please stir up Brs. Bailey, Sherwood, Rogers and Crane to attend our convention.

Done by request of those who love the cause of Christ in Iowa.

Davenport, April 12th.

Dear Br.:

We are now here on our way for Oregon. We feel alone, as Br. Johnson does not go this spring, in consequence of the ill health of his wife. But if God is with us, all will be well. You see by Br. Witherwax's letter the state of feelings of this church in relation to you. I trust God will direct you. You will not fail to attend the convention at least. I failed of taking up the collection for the magazine, as I expected, through a variety of causes, but will leave the money with Dr. W. for the two volumes. I would be glad to have it here after sent to me to Oregon, if you can direct; if not, it must be discontinued at present. Should you finally think it your duty to come to this territory, perhaps you will do well not to expect anything positively from Bloomington.

Yours truly,

EZRA FISHER.

P. S. The brethren here wish to have you come to this place and devote your labors entirely to this place and the immediate vicinity.

Yours,

E. FISHER.

Addressed on back:

Elder Brabrook,

Upper Alton,

Ill.

Rock Island, Ill., April 11th, 1845.

Dear Br. Hill:

Yours of March 29th came to hand the last mail. I had made arrangements with Br. E. F. Calkins to advance the funds on the drafts and consequently we were almost ready for our long and laborious journey. Our clothing and provisions are all loaded and we expect to cross the river early in the morning. I am almost worn down by the fatigues of preparation, but trust with common blessings to improve when once on our journey. We hope to be able to reach Independence before the last company leaves for Oregon.⁸¹

I will make the report up to the present from March the 14th in brief. I have preached eleven sermons. Spent most of my time in preparation for my journey. Delivered one public address at the request of the citizens of Davenport on the subject "Agricultural and Commercial and Moral Prospects of Oregon." Attended six prayer and two conference meetings. Visited six families. Attended Sabbath school twice and addressed the school once. Received three dollars towards my salary. All the remaining . . . I am pained to say my press of business obliges me to leave unattended to. I regret exceedingly that I should have been the cause of the slightest disquietude, either to yourself or the Board. I trust I have the soul of a Christian and would not willingly wound the feelings of an enemy, much less those of the guardians of the cause of American Baptist missions. If I know my own heart, I have only sought explanations, and the farthest possible would I be from censuring either you or the Board. You say we do not find any memorandum of a letter of the 4th of Nov. I have a letter now in my hand dated the 4th of Nov., 1844, and in the one under date of Nov. 29 you state: "I wrote you on the 2d instant etc." Now I think you may find your memorandum by referring to the 2nd of Nov. instead of the 4th. After leaving Syracuse, where I last parted with you personally, I did not

⁸¹ See note 78.

reach Iowa so soon by some weeks as I expected in consequence of the extremely bad traveling. Your appointment was here some time before my arrival. I consequently reported from the time I commenced labor in the territory and not from the time of the date of the commission, and when I received the commission of the 1st of May I finished the six months' service before I commenced reporting under that commission, and I suppose there is the place where originated all our misunderstanding. I therefore supposed my former reports had been acceptable, hence I supposed you would not expect a quarterly report before the 15th of March. Had I known your expectations I should most cheerfully have reported the 1st of February. You sent me a draft of \$41.67, yet according to my calculation but \$31.70 would be my due up to the present date and but \$29 up to the 1st of April. As the expense of my outfit has been much greater than I expected and the sum I will have to take with me after the making of the outfit is so small, I concluded to order the whole paid and will be willing to make the deduction from the next appointment's salary, should your Board request it. I shall start from this place with about \$240.00 and we shall be at about \$50 charges in getting to Independence. In view of my pecuniary situation the friends in this place gave me a collection for my personal benefit amounting to about \$8.70, after preaching a sermon on the subject of the Oregon Mission, and after a similar manner the people in Davenport raised me about \$11.60, as a token of sympathy for me in the sacrifice they regard me now making. I name this that you may see that our friends here approve of our undertaking and bid us God speed. I regret exceedingly that Br. Johnson will not go this year.

Yours,
EZRA FISHER.

N. B. I trust I shall soon have a fellow laborer, and that I now have the prayers of all the members of the Board. I feel often greatly to distrust my adaptation to so important

an enterprise, yet I trust God is my helper, and only through his strength shall I prove a blessing to the cause of our precious Redeemer.

Yours E. F.

St. Joseph,⁸² Missouri, on the East Bank of Missouri River,

May 14, 1845.

Dear Br. Hill:

We left Rock Island on the 5th of April. Spent the Sabbath in Davenport, where I preached twice. Were affectionately received by the brethren, and on the 7th commenced our journey, after singing a missionary hymn and publicly commending ourselves, and the mission we anticipate to the care of Him who rules the hearts of men, being accompanied on our way two miles by three brethren and seven miles by another. Rested and preached [on Sabbaths] except the last, when we were obliged to pitch our tent, on the preceding evening, two miles from timber in the midst of a broad prairie. Our journey has been fatiguing, yet on the whole our health has improved. We have now 14 wagons in company and suppose there are at least 50 behind; yet, lest we may be disappointed in failing to fall in with their company, we have judged it prudent to move over into the Indian Territory immediately. And now while I am writing in my tent some of the teams are crossing the Missouri river. We find our route will be something more than 100 miles nearer and at the same time impeded with less water courses than it would have been by Independence. Therefore I suppose I have failed of receiving an important letter from you. I trust, however, that you will forward me a letter to Oregon City, Oregon Territory, by ship, through the medium of the Methodist Mission Agency in your city, so that I may receive it on my arrival at that place.

⁸² St. Joseph and other points along the Missouri in this vicinity, such as Independence, Liberty and Westport, were frequent points of rendezvous, as they were convenient places from which to start up the Platte Valley, the emigrant route. See also note 79.

The spirit of immigration is great this year, yet it is impracticable to tell exactly the number of souls which will cross the mountains this summer.⁸³ 200 wagons have already passed this place and the immediate vicinity, and probably twice that number have passed Independence. It is judged that from 5000 to 15000 souls will pass the mountains this summer. Br. Johnson probably will not go this summer, yet I trust that he will next spring. If not, I think your Board will not delay to have a missionary ready next spring for Oregon. I am more and more convinced of the importance of the enterprise and desire to become more like our Divine Master in temper and activity in His cause. But God must bless, or all is in vain. The care of the camp at this particular time urges brevity. When we arrive at Fort Laramie I will probably write you again. I hope to be able to keep a journal through my journey.

Yours in great haste,

EZRA FISHER.

Indian Territory, Nemaha Agency, 25 miles west of St. Joseph,
Mo., May 23, 1845.

Dear Br. Hill:

At the suggestion of Br. Johnson, I submit to you the proceedings of the meeting of the New London Emigration Company for Oregon, of which Br. Johnson and myself, with our families, form a part.

At a meeting of the emigrants convened at this place, on motion Elder E. Fisher was called to the chair and J. H. Rinearson was appointed secretary.

On motion a committee of seven were appointed to draft a constitution and rules for the government of the company on their way to Oregon, to wit: Ezra Fisher, A. Hackelman, Eckenburg, Knox, Gallaheir, Hezekiah Johnson and Wm. Bruck. Adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

⁸³ The immigration to Oregon in 1845 was the largest up to that time. Bancroft says that it numbered about 3,000. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:508. About 150 more went to California. Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.* IV:571. British officers in Oregon in 1845-6 estimated the immigration at 2,000. *Warre and Vavasour*, ed. by J. Schafer, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X:50.

2 o'clock P. M. company convened; the chairman called to order. The committee submitted the following constitution and rules which were unanimously adopted:⁸⁴

CONSTITUTION.

Article 1st. This Company shall be called the New London Emigrating Company for Oregon.

Art. 2d. All persons uniting with company shall be bound by the regulations hereinafter provided.

Art. 3d. All male members over the age of sixteen years shall have the right to vote in the business transactions of the company.

Art. 4th. The officers of this company shall consist of a Captain, Lieutenant, Orderly Lieutenant, Sergeant of the Guard, Engineer and a Committee of Five, who shall be elected each four weeks; except the Engineer and Sergeant of the Guard, who shall be appointed by the Captain.

Art 5th. Captain to maintain good order and strict discipline, and to enforce all rules adopted by this company. It shall be the duty of the Lieutenant to take charge of the cattle and to call out a sufficient number of men and boys not engaged in driving teams to drive and take care of the loose cattle, and he shall be subject to the order of the Captain. It shall be the duty of the Orderly Sergeant to keep a fair roll of the names of all the men subject to duty. It shall be the duty of the Engineer to remove any obstruction in the road and select the most suitable places for encampment. It shall be the duty of the Committee to settle all matters of difference between two or more persons in said company, according to the evidence in the case. Any person or persons that may feel themselves aggrieved at the decision of the Committee shall have the right of appeal to the company, provided that parties in dispute shall not be allowed to vote, and a decision of a ma-

⁸⁴ It was customary for the emigrant parties to adopt constitutions. One of the emigration of 1844, for instance, was published in the New York Herald in January, 1845, and the author may have seen it, for the two constitutions resemble each other in many ways. *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* III:407.

majority of the voters shall be final except in criminal cases, which shall require a vote of two thirds.

Art. 5th. Those who have loose cattle shall provide hands to drive in proportion to the number owned.

Art. 6th. Any person attaching himself to this company shall be bound not to take more than one quart of ardent spirits to each person in his family, and in no case shall any individual let it be known to the Indians that there is any in the company; and it shall be the duty of the judicial committee to examine each wagon to see that this article is not violated.

Art. 7th. When the company may have opportunity to hold religious assemblies, any person violating the rules of decorum or disturbing such worshipping congregation shall be taken into custody by the judicial committee and shall be dealt with according to its decision; and it shall be the duty of the company to rest on each Sabbath except in cases of emergency.

Art. 8th. This constitution may be altered or amended at any regular meeting of the company by a vote of two thirds of the legal voters.

Br. Johnson and family are here and our company will move forward tomorrow.

Our company consists of 50 wagons, 214 souls, and about 666 head of cattle. 275 wagons have already passed this point before us, and about 1000 souls. It is uncertain how many have left Independence. We have heard of one company which left that place with 500 wagons and another which have left, the number not yet learned at this place.

We have in our company 30 Baptist professors, including Br. Johnson's family and my own, 5 Methodists, 2 Presbyterians, 2 Cumberland Presbyterians, 5 Associate Reformed Presbyterians, 2 Seceeders, 1 Anti-missionary Baptist, 1 Campbellite Baptist and 1 Dunkard Baptist.

Last year an Elder Snelling from the Platte country moved to Oregon with a small organized Baptist church.⁸⁵

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B. Will you publish this entire in the Baptist Advocate. I suppose our company is the first that ever observed the Lord's day in crossing the Rocky Mountains. We feel that we need your prayers.

The Indian Agent, Major Wm. P. Richardson, has rendered us every facility and has invited us to participate in the hospitality of his family. His wife is an excellent Methodist lady. We have been here one week. In about 150 miles we shall probably find a hard gravel road and short buffalo grass, salt enough for our stock. You will probably hear from us when we reach Fort Laramie, 650 miles from this.

Yours truly,

EZRA FISHER.

We are all in good health and the company in fine spirits. I spent last Sabbath with the Presbyterian Mission at this place and preached once, and, on Wednesday last, attended prayer meeting at his place and we had an affecting scene. I addressed the meeting about twenty minutes. Mr. Hamilton, the superintendent, is a godly man.

Fort Laramie,⁸⁶ Indian Territory, July 10, 1845.

Dear Br.:

By the grace of God we have been preserved through dangers and fatigues about 1000 miles on our journey and we are now in comfortable health, although Mrs. Fisher has had a slight attack of the fever occasioned no doubt from exposure and excessive fatigues on the Platte river. The multiplied labors of the camp and the great anxiety of the emigrants

⁸⁵ See note on letter of Jan. 10, 1845. This was either incorrect information, or the church disbanded on or before reaching Oregon, as the first Baptist church in Oregon was organized in May, 1844. The next two were organized in 1846.

⁸⁶ Fort Laramie was not the present city of Laramie, but was a fur traders' post on the south side of the Platte, near its junction with the Laramie fork.

opportunity of performing anything like missionary labor on our way. In this respect we are somewhat disappointed, yet we hope to exert in some measure a restraint over them which will be salutary hereafter. When we left the Nimaha Agency, we hoped to be able to influence the company in which we then were to rest on the Lord's day, but we soon found that every circumstance was construed into a case of emergency, except those manifest providences in which it became impracticable to move. You can have no conception of the influence such a journey exerts for the time being to progress on their journey almost entirely preclude the upon the character of moral, and even professedly Christian men. Every man's interest seems to conflict with that of his neighbor, and still they must live in a community to a certain extent. We have preached but three Sabbaths since we left the Nimaha Agency, and been constrained, notwithstanding every remonstrance, to travel a few miles, sufficient to throw the camp in confusion every other Sabbath. But the days of this pilgrimage are comparatively short, and we hope and trust the trials will the better fit us for faithfully serving our common Lord in the land to which we are directing our steps. May Almighty God grant us the desire of our hearts.

Our roads since we crossed the Missouri river have been the best we ever saw in any country, and at present our greatest fears are that the long season of drought will render the feed so poor and scarce that our cattle will suffer. We have suffered but little for want of water as yet, and we are now approaching a region of springs and perpetual snow, so that we have but little to fear from that score. We expect it will be at least twelve or thirteen weeks more before we reach the field of our future labors, and we know not whether we shall be able to write you again till that time. I am now writing seated on a buffalo robe in the open air under a scorching sun. (I would suppose the thermometer would range between 86° and 96°), with the bottom of a fallen wash tub in my lap for a table and in the midst of the confusion of the camp. You must therefore tax your patience

in deciphering these hieroglyphics. Our wagons are now undergoing repairs, having become shrunk almost beyond your conception by protracted and excessive heat from the sun and sand. Probably in two days we shall be on our line of march. As near as we can calculate, about 600 wagons are in advance of us and probably about 100 are behind us, and it will be almost a fair estimate to reckon 425 souls to every hundred waggons.⁸⁷

Yours in haste,
EZRA FISHER.

N. B. Br. Johnson and family are with us and in good health. He requests me to say that as he is preparing a letter for the Cross and Journal and his time is all employed in that and the multiplied cares of the camp, he cannot write at this time. He sends his respects to yourself and Board.

Your, E. F.

Snake River, 7 miles above the Salmon Falls, Oregon Territory, Sept. 12th, 1845.

Dear Br. Hill:

I this day am happy to meet Dr. White,⁸⁸ the Indian agent for Oregon, on his way to your city and Washington. It affords us peculiar pleasure to state to you and your Board that by the abounding grace of the All Wise God, Br. Johnson, myself and our families have been preserved through a fatiguing journey of about 2000 miles by ox team and that we are now in health and within about 670 miles of our journey's end. The fatigues of our journey perpetually pressing upon us forbid our doing much directly by preaching the word of God, yet we hope soon to be placed where we may labor directly for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the new and rising colony with whom our interests are soon to

⁸⁷ This estimate was apparently nearly correct. See note 83.

⁸⁸ Elijah White, M. D., had arrived in Oregon in 1837 as a member of the Methodist mission. He was appointed United States sub-Indian agent for the Oregon Country in 1842. He was now on his way to Washington bearing to Congress a memorial of the Legislature of the Provisional Oregon Government, and on business concerning his office. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:155. 254, 481-6.

be identified. We feel as much as ever interested in the enterprise and our hopes are as high, although we feel convinced that we will have to meet all the peculiarities of a new country.

May God give us grace to acquit ourselves faithfully in his fear. Dr. White gives a flattering account of the colony, as you will learn by a personal interview with him, which you will doubtless have. I have but a moment's time to write as our camps are on the eve of moving and Dr. W. is in the same condition.

We hope to reach the place of our destination in about 8 weeks, if God will give us a share in your petitions to the Father of all our blessings, that we may have grace to plant and water churches in the true apostolic spirit.

I have not time to write to our relatives in the state of N. York. You will confer a favor on us and them should you insert a note in the Baptist Register stating that we are all in health.

Yours respectfully,
EZRA FISHER.

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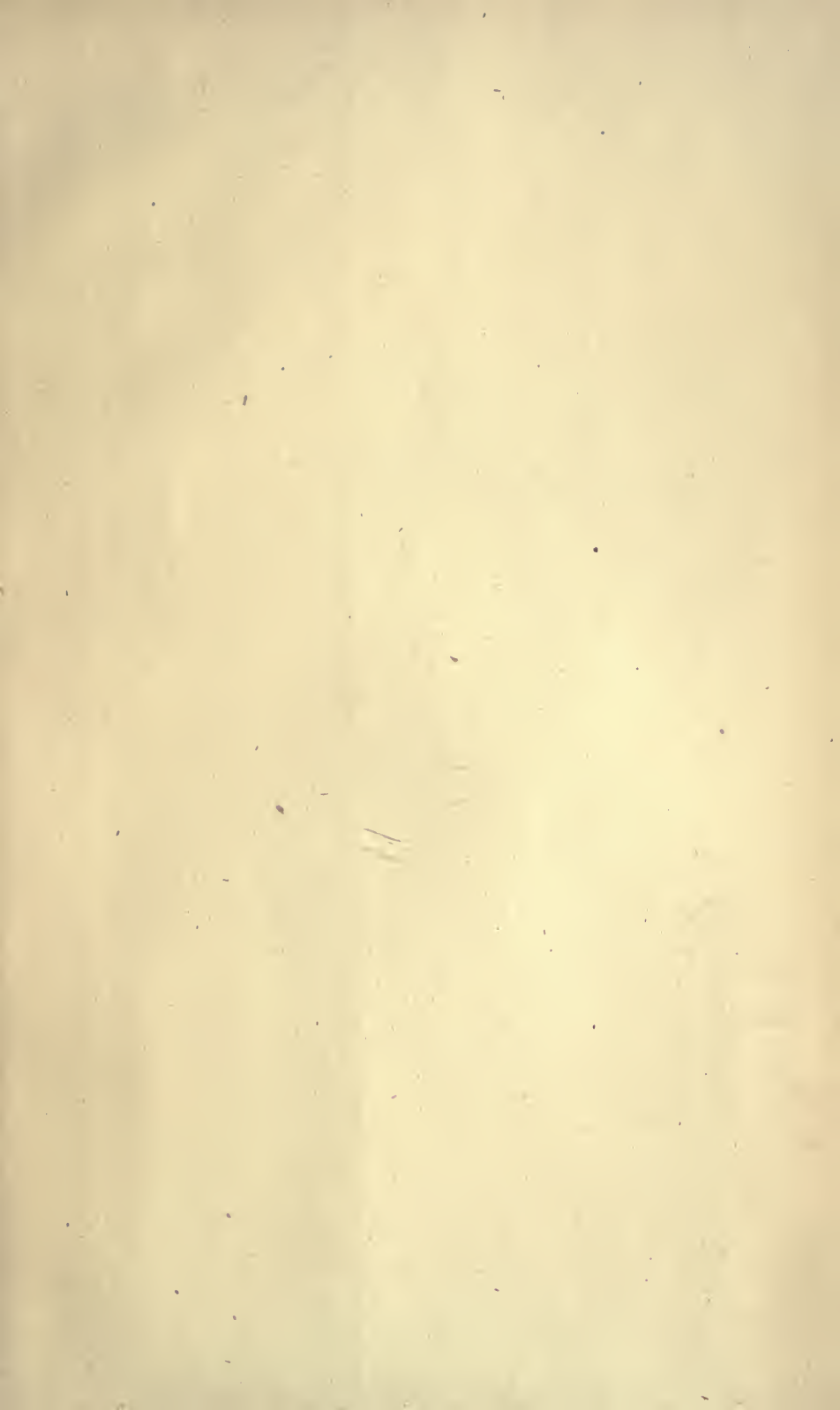
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