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THE
QUARTERLY

OF THE



VOLUME XIX

MARCH, 1918—DECEMBER, 1918

Edited by

FREDERIC GEORGE YOUNG

Portland, Oregon
The Ivy Press
1918

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JAMES H. WILBUR, D. D.

THE QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XIX

MARCH, 1918

NUMBER 1

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HISTORY OF UMPQUA ACADEMY

By R. A. BOOTH

Umpqua Academy, located at Wilbur, Douglas County, Oregon, was chartered by the Territorial Legislature of Oregon, January 15, 1857, and its history as an academy ended October, 1900. Before the granting of the charter a school was taught in the same locality that bore the same name and was the shadow of the coming event.

James H. Wilbur was its founder and distinctively the author of the early events that led to its establishment and splendid career. Any historical sketch, therefore, that does not at least recite the principal events of his life and work will fail to satisfy those readers who are the grateful inheritors of his great work. He was born in Lowville, New York, September 11, 1811, and died at Walla Walla, October 8, 1887. He was married to Lucretia Ann Stevens, March 9, 1831. She died September 13, 1887, less than a month prior to her husband's death. From this union came one child, a daughter, who was married to Rev. St. Michael Fackler, an Episcopal clergyman, in 1849. She died the following year, leaving a daughter who died in her eleventh year.

Mr. Wilbur's life was truly one of ministry. The pioneer spirit was in his blood and the call of God in his heart. He was one of the best of a type of early Methodist ministers, who were thrilled by the "Go Ye" of the Galilean and whose life work was mapped on a plan that made service to others of primary importance. To him, as to others of his time, the

Christian religion was the all embracing philosophy that ennobled manhood and gave boundless possibilities to human action.

It was natural, therefore, that he should seek his commission from the Church. He received it at the hands of the constituted authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His antecedents were Presbyterian but according to the usage of the Methodists he was licensed to exhort by William S. Bowditch, in 1840, and two years later he was licensed to preach by Aaron Adams, Presiding Elder, and joined the Black River Conference, in the State of New York.

On September 27, 1846, he sailed from New York on the Bark *Whitton* via Cape Horn, for the Columbia River and reached Oregon City June 22, 1847. Then the work of the Methodist Church of the Northwest was under the "Oregon Mission" and George Gary, who was once Presiding Elder in the Black River Conference, was superintendent.

The "Oregon and California Mission Conference" was organized at Salem in 1849. Here Wilbur answered the roll call and was elected secretary. The boundaries of this conference were co-extensive with the Pacific Coast country but there were few ministers and consequently many points were not occupied. Six men constituted its membership. Two of this number were appointed to work in California and four in Oregon. Of the former was William Taylor, later the flaming evangel of South America and Africa. This conference appointed Wilbur to Oregon City and Portland.

Here he began to make history that stands out prominently among the events of the Oregon Country, for it was his thought, energy and largely his hands that built the first church and the first school in Portland—the Taylor Street Methodist Church and the "Portland Academy and Female Seminary." He advocated the needs, solicited the funds, aided in clearing the ground, in hewing the logs and driving the nails that made these buildings possible. The academy was completed November 17, 1851. It was incorporated in 1854 and Wilbur was one of its first trustees. Both of the acad-

emies named were under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Before the Portland school had been incorporated Wilbur had been appointed by Bishop Edward R. Ames as Superintendent of the "Umpqua Mission." This was in March, 1853, at Salem, when the M. E. Church of the Northwest was formed into an annual conference and separated from California. Writing of this event, Rev. H. K. Hines says in substance that "Methodism here passed into the third stage—the first being purely missionary and the second under a Mission Conference. Now it had reached full autonomy of a conference and had taken its place in the records and constitution of the church."

Let it be said here that it is no part of the aim of the writer to put into this narrative an undue portion of church history. But it has been said by others and certainly is true that the history of Oregon cannot be written apart from the events in which the Methodist missionaries and pioneers were the principal actors. They, more than the members of any other organization, saved Oregon to the Union.

It was under the circumstances attending these times that this stronger organization sent this strong man into a great field for a great work.

Willamette University at Salem, the oldest educational institution west of the Rocky Mountains, had been organized for some years and was well calculated as the center of a school system as well as to serve a local need. It was Wilbur's idea that academies, correlated to Willamette University, should be established at different points that reasonable facilities might be thus offered for a liberal education to the pioneer families. How natural to his thought, then, that in this "Umpqua Mission," comprising the entire Umpqua basin, the Umpqua Academy should be established!

Among the early farmers, stockmen and miners of Southern Oregon, this messenger of the gospel and apostle of education moved freely and found a welcome wherever there was a hungry soul and a task wherever he could plant ambition in a

boy or girl. The admiration and high regard in which Mr. Wilbur was uniformly held by all who came under his benediction, mellowed into an affection that compelled the title "Father Wilbur" and ever afterward it clung to him. He seemed an essential part of the early growth and development of the Umpqua country, as he formerly had been in each western community, where his lot had been cast. It was but natural that the seat of the Umpqua Academy should be named for him and thus the village that grew about the school that he established, took its name from his. Formerly the locality had been known as Bunton's Gap.

Rev. Thomas Fletcher Royal, one of the early fathers of Southern Oregon, a man of liberal learning and for years principal of Umpqua Academy, left valuable manuscripts concerning the early history of Southern Oregon. From them it is intensely interesting to learn that "Two Sunday Schools and two public schools were organized in Douglas County as early as 1851. The first Sunday School was opened by A. R. Flint, in his own home on the site where Winchester was built; the second was organized about the same time at Bunton's Gap, afterward known as Wilbur. This Sunday School was organized by B. J. Grubbe and Dr. Calvin Reed. In the same year one of the first public schools was conducted under a temporary shed made by leaning long planks against a pole that rested on pins driven into oak trees, near where the Wilbur Methodist Parsonage now stands. Mr. Eason was the first teacher." The other school he says was located on a "mound on Thomas Smith's land claim, in a log cabin, conducted by James Walton, known familiarly in Douglas County and Salem as 'Judge Walton'."

The academy came into history in 1854. The first building occupied was a rough log structure located just east of the residence built by Father Wilbur on his land claim, upon which he settled September 8, 1853. This residence stood long in a well known location, as a pioneer land mark. It was known as the first Methodist Parsonage of Southern Oregon. It will serve as an additional help in locating the first school building

to place it about a quarter of a mile east of where the first Academy building proper stood.

It may thus be seen that the institution that became so prominent in Southern Oregon in later years had its beginning in a very modest structure. It is written by one of the first students: "The school house had a few rude pine desks, unpainted except by ink we pupils spilled over them and unadorned except by a few pictures drawn by our hands or carved with our knives."

The first principal was Rev. Jas. H. B. Royal, who served two years. He was educated at the Rock River Seminary and McKendree College, Illinois. Mary Elizabeth Royal, his sister, was "Preceptress and teacher of physiology and mental philosophy." She later became the wife of the late Rev. John Flinn and is now living in Portland.

Mr. A. R. Flint, formerly of Boston, succeeded Mr. Royal as principal. He was long a resident of Southern Oregon and was well known as a civil engineer and surveyor of public lands. He located the claim on the north bank of the Umpqua River about three miles east of Winchester that is still known as the "Flint Place." He was a pioneer merchant of Douglas County and also served a term as Receiver of Public Moneys at the Roseburg Land Office. Miss Helen Flint, a daughter of the principal, was preceptress. She became Mrs. A. H. Dearborn, now of Portland, and is the mother of Prof. R. H. Dearborn, of the Oregon Agricultural College. Other assistants who taught in the first building were Miss Charlotte S. Grubbe, later wife of Dr. E. R. Fisk, one time Dean of the Medical College of Willamette University.

Among the early students attending at the old building were many names later and even now familiar on this coast. It is to be regretted that the complete enrollment of the first year cannot be given. Here are some of them:

Dr. Geo. B. Kuykendall, now of Pomeroy, Wn.

Rev. John Wesley Kuykendall, who died many years ago in California.

Hon. Geo. W. Riddle, former County Judge of Douglas

County and Receiver of Public Moneys at the Roseburg Land Office.

Helen Flint and C. S. Grubbe, later becoming assistants.

Geo. W. Grubbe, pioneer merchant of Wilbur.

Elizabeth Knott, later Mrs. Robt. Ladd, Portland.

Sarah Watson, later Mrs. Dr. S. Hamilton, mother of Judge J. W. Hamilton.

Miss Kahler, a sister of Judge Wesley Kahler, late of Jacksonville.

Sarah Tibbetts, sister of Mrs. Binger Hermann, of Roseburg.

Geo. and Nancy Stephenson, the latter now Mrs. John Party, of Roseburg.

Lucy Rose, later Mrs. Rufus Mallory, Portland.

Nelson and Frank Reed.

Thomas Jenkins and Henry Jenkins; the latter became a member of the Oregon conference.

It doubtless has not escaped the notice of the reader that the going of Mr. Wilbur to the Umpqua Country and the founding of the Umpqua Academy were simultaneous events, and it is a matter of no small concern whether in estimating the force and character of Wilbur, or the people to whom he had come, that in less than twelve months from the date of his appointment Umpqua Academy had a beginning. Perhaps nothing less should be expected from a field where the chief laborer for a time was to be the great stalwart who had turned his face westward from New York in the early strength of his manhood to find work, helpful work, work that would endure. A new dream was in his mind—no, not a dream, but the vision of a statesman. *Before him was a need and an opportunity.* This both thrilled and emboldened him. He had proven already that he was a finisher of tasks. He now knew the bounds of his territory and the hearts of his people. Here as a minister he met every incumbent duty, whether in the home, by the church altar or at the new made grave. His name had become a household word. He had become counsellor and arbiter to the rancher and miner and inspiration to the young and hope to the mature. To all of these he preached the gospel of education. They heard it with willing minds

and accepted it with fixed purpose to do their part. For the furtherance of the plan he showed the necessity of a suitable building properly furnished and offered as a gift, from his own claim, land upon which to locate it. He had won the confidence of all and they generously responded to his solicitations. It was difficult of course to accomplish such an undertaking but the well-founded belief that it was not insurmountable was sufficient for the man of the hour. What if some men of less heroic mould should have been the leader of the enterprise? Or suppose Wilbur had not been rescued when he fell overboard from the ship—as he did on his western trip! He was discovered far to the rear, a mere speck on the ocean wave, and when picked up by the sailors he said in reply to an inquiry: "I knew help would come and I kept in motion so I would not sink." This Umpqua Mission was a dry land job; just how dry we cannot now tell, but it is evident that our hero kept in motion and help came.

Nevertheless, the destiny of many a young man and woman then living in the Umpqua Region and of others yet to be, was in the balance during the years intervening between the date of Wilbur's assignment to the mission work in 1855 and 1857, the date of chartering the Academy and of occupying the first substantial building.

How splendid that no sad words of "might have been" are strewn along Father Wilbur's pathway! Let us not forget, however, that the settlers were poor and they were seekers of wealth rather than possessors of it. They were home builders and the fathers and mothers of boys and girls. The home and the children were to become their riches. Money and other things of value were contributed—willing hands and strong arms were mighty adjuncts for they felled the trees, hauled the logs, sawed them into lumber and fashioned it into a building. Father Wilbur in his work was day laborer and architect. He chopped, sawed, drove ox-team and worked in the mill six days and the seventh met the men with whom he had worked and others at the house of worship.

The first academy building was well proportioned, substan-

tially built and well adapted to the needs of the times. Terraced on the south side of the mountain around which the village clings, at an elevation of about 200 feet above the level of the surrounding valley, it commanded an excellent view. It could be seen from some directions a distance of ten miles and the bell rang out good cheer that could be heard miles around. The supporting mountain was named Lincoln by vote of the students in 1874.

The building was two stories high, well finished and suitably ornamented. How indelibly its great white form is fixed in the minds of teachers, students, patrons and passers-by! It seemed the very eye of the mountain looking out into a world of opportunity! It stood there for nearly two generations, a veritable monument to heroic deeds, revered by the thousands who wrought within its walls and the beacon of hope to the many who sacrificed that their children might be educated.

The date of the beginning of Umpqua Academy was about midway between territorial organization and statehood. The legislative enactment that became its charter was signed by Jas. K. Kelly, President of the Council, and Lafayette F. Grover, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Both of these men were prominent in the political history of the state. Kelly, in the order named, was candidate for Congressman, Governor and Senator. To the latter office he was elected in 1870. Grover was, successively, Congressman, Governor and Senator. These names thus connected with the founding of Umpqua Academy fittingly become a part of a long list that might be mentioned. Others well known will follow.

Sec. 1 of the charter reads:

"BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE TERRITORY OF OREGON, That there shall be established at Wilbur, in the County of Douglas, an institution of learning to be called 'The Umpqua Academy' and that James H. Wilbur, James O. Raynor, Hon. M. P. Deady, Addison R. Flint, Benjamin J. Grubbe, Willis Jenkins, Fleming R. Hill, John Kuykendall and William Royal, and their associates and successors, are hereby declared to be a body corporate and politic in law, by the name and style of 'The Trustees of the Umpqua Academy.'"

Some of these trustees served for many years and all of them became more or less prominent in the state.

James O. Raynor was a Methodist preacher, a pioneer of 1847, a member of the Oregon Conference, and was appointed in 1853 to work as assistant to Wilbur. He became a chaplain in the U. S. Army.

Addison R. Flint has already been mentioned in this article, once being principal of the Academy.

Willis Jenkins was a pioneer settler and was the father of two of the first students that answered the roll call in the school in 1854.

Wm. Royal, truly was king of the Royal tribe. He was the father of T. F. Royal, Dr. Wm. Royal and Mary Royal, one of the first teachers of the Academy. His family became prominent in Oregon affairs and their name and work are highly honored.

Fleming R. Hill was long an active participant in all that related to the school. He was the builder and for a long time proprietor of the Wilbur House and active in the industrial and political life of the county. Mrs. Geo. W. Short and Mrs. Fannie Hart of Douglas County are his daughters.

Matthew P. Deady, once a boy blacksmith in Ohio, became in turn Justice of the Peace and embryo lawyer in the Umpqua country, chairman of the State Constitutional Convention, Regent of Leland Stanford, Jr. University, First President of the Board of Regents of the University of Oregon and Federal Judge of the district.

Benjamin J. Grubbe, was a promoter of the first effort ever put forth in Southern Oregon to organize a school, primitive and unsheltered as it was. He raised a large family, nearly all, if not every one of them, being in some way, to some extent, educated at the Academy. William became a physician; Caroline and Angeline were assistants at the Academy; George was Wilbur's pioneer merchant; Quincy was one of the early prominent graduates; Jeptha is still active in business in Douglas County; and so the mention of the children's names connecting this pioneer family, long associated with the school, might be extended. Luella was the youngest child and the last to become a part in keeping green the memories that cling about the old institution. She was early widowed and died in 1910. She left the impress of a sweet character and a son and daughter as worthy successors.

John Kuykendall, located in Douglas County the year Wilbur

was assigned to Umpqua work. His family was large and the most of them were educated at the Academy. He was therefore not only a patron of many years by his children's attendance but a part of all that made the school, its life eventful and its character and work noble and continued. His children have been and are not only prominent citizens of the Northwest but are worthy beneficiaries of their splendid heritage. His grandchildren are numerous, active and favorably known in every section of the state and his great grandchildren are now taking their place among the state's forces for advancement. His last child to be educated at the Academy was Celestia. She was a bright girl, a splendid woman and a fine mother. She has just left us and enrolled with the great majority of students in the unknown beyond. Her husband, General Abner Pickering, is now actively training the U. S. Forces for service abroad. She was the mother of four children, two sons, John and Wood, commissioned officers in the U. S. Army, and two girls, Marie and Yeteve, wives of commissioned officers now in France.

The inclination to connect those who were early associated with the school, to the present, through their children and to extend personal mention, seems impelling to one whose life was so bound up in personal relationship with many of the people who were the principal actors of the times covered by this sketch, and it appears difficult to discriminate between personal interest and historical value. But the history of institutions cannot be written separately from the history of peoples and Oregon is yet far from the outer boundary of the influence that grew out of the educational effort at Umpqua Academy.

The essential features of the charter do not differ materially from those of other educational institutions of later date. The corporation was given the right to "acquire, receive and possess, by donation, gift or purchase, and to retain and hold property, real, personal and mixed." The entire use of the property was limited entirely to educational purposes, and the annual income was limited to \$10,000. This probably was meant to limit the burdens of the patronizing community that might be solicited for aid and was indicative of the sentiment that belonged to the simple life of the time.

Vacancies in the Board of Trustees were to be filled by the Oregon conference of the Methodist Episcopal church and additions made by the same authority. The church Conference was to appoint from its members each year a visiting committee of three who were to "visit and examine into the financial and other affairs of said institution and meet and confer with the trustees."

It is a fair implication of the charter that the faculty, trustees and visiting committee could make rules and regulations for the conduct of the school. This they did not fail to do. These "Rules and Regulations" made some hundreds of years after the landing of the Pilgrims, clearly indicate that "there were puritans in those days" and likewise testify that human nature in all its strength and embarrassment was the chief characteristic of boys and girls of the times. And, too, the minutes in the Record Book show that there were prophets and sages yet alive and also scribes, for the writings were profuse.

There are suggestions in the preambles that the authority of the corporate body was somewhat called into question by the patrons. And the faculty watch over the students does not seem to have been limited by the sunrise and sunset. And even certain things were not to be permitted at any time "save in the presence of parents or other revered personages."

No record, however, is found that all of these "Rules and Regulations" were observed and there are those yet alive who testify to the contrary. It may seem tedious to go into the record of discipline, expressions of assumed "authority and justification" that surrounded the school and really surcharged the village air, but these things were a peculiar part of its life and without them it would not have been Umpqua Academy, as then known, and that stood out the more prominently in Southern Oregon history because of the extreme care and the right influences that were meant to be thrown about those committed to the care of these early Oregon educators. Some recitation may therefore be permitted.

The schools that were the educational forerunners of the Academy, as well as other schools of the state or Coast, were

quite primitive. The method of their support varied. The legal taxing power and the sentiment later supporting it were yet undefined. Voluntary subscriptions for the support of district schools were common and boundaries were not established. The school facilities offered were the response, not by any means uniform, to the fundamental need of education. Then, as now, there were differences of opinion and resultant bickering and strife. These perhaps were not serious at Wilbur but were in evidence. The same contentions, somewhat modified, have generally if not uniformly followed the establishment of all schools in the state, except the public grammar and high schools. Some adjustments, not always pleasantly made, between the district authorities and those of the higher state institutions of all classes, have generally attended the establishment of all our advanced schools and it was uniformly so in the independent colleges under church patronage. This was but natural when there appeared some duplication of effort.

The nearly sixty-five year old record book of the Academy has been carefully reviewed for the preparation of this article. It would be difficult to find in the west a more interesting book. From the recitals found in the journal it may be well established that there was need for missionaries and reformers. We read that "Godless Directors" were sometimes elected and were "aided and abetted by other kindred spirits." Partial justification of this statement is found in the following quotation from the preambles to the "Rules and Regulations:" "Thus a party IN the school, allied with kindred spirits WITHOUT united with the spirit of the PIT to corrupt our youth and children among decent people and sap the foundations of civil society in our midst."

Here is another one: "They acknowledged the school authority of the institution but denied the *right* of any and all the powers of the concern to meddle with their *outside* conduct and unfortunately older persons were not entirely wanting to endorse their *declaration of rights*. Several families seemed to measure the prerogatives of the academy managers by their notions of common schools."

Again: "The campus rang with strange sounds at night and sometimes in day light all manner of loafish gestures and waggish ways disgraced the social intercourse of some of the students."

Were it not for the incriminating evidence of the record it would be a delightful task to write of the manliness of the young men and the womanly virtues that adorned the sweet girls, but the stated necessity of so many "Rules and Regulations" and the preambles that precede them, suggest that no such extended comment be made just here. Read this: "Night revelings was [sic] *sometimes* indulged even to very late hours. Profane swearing was slyly but to an alarming extent practiced so extensively indeed that before the knowledge thereof came to the faculty nearly a dozen boys were involved therein, and some of them quite young boys, too."

Alas, we are prone to evil as the sparks are to fly upward! "and not content with these sly immoralities, the designing came boldly into our religious meetings and there for weeks persisted in acts, gestures, whisperings, laughing and other measures of disrespect and disturbances which for weeks greatly annoyed these gatherings."

After noting "a painful sense of the defect in our academic relations" it was decided to invade Gaul, so the Rubicon was crossed and we find: "This defect became still more apparent when on the trustees convening and taking legal counsel the Judge decided that without some further laws enacted by the corporate body the school was as powerless as a common school and could only have supervision of its students while in or about the school, or in school groups. That after their dispersion at night they might do as they pleased either singly or in groups, even to drunkenness and profanity and existing authority could not recognize them till again collected in school groups next morning."

A trustee meeting was called for March, 1859, attending were "Dr. Miller, Judge Deady and Messrs. Kuykendall, Hill and Grubbe, forming a legal quorum according to the charter. Also Rev. T. F. Royal, Agent. E. Arnold in behalf of the

faculty presented the following bill which after deliberation was adopted by the board and agreed to by the directors."

It cannot be expected that all that may be related here of the conditions surrounding early pioneer school life, especially as related to any one institution, will be of equal interest to all who may read, but bearing in mind that another half century must place beyond reach some of the sources and records from which this is gathered and feeling assured that for purposes of contrast it will progressively become of greater interest, some further recital seems justified.

The rules were the joint work of trustees, official visitors and faculty. They were not hasty enactments. With the present plan of student government of colleges they constitute the extremes of the past 50 years and are recorded for their future historical significance rather than for purpose of present comparison. They are a faithful portrayal of the combined judgment of anxious parents, conscientious faculty and relentless guardians. College work then was not only a matter of recitation at stated periods, with large liberty to students at all other hours, but was a constant supervision over all registrants under the requirements of daily chapel attendance and continual presence during regular school hours and authority and vigilance did not cease at the tapping of the bell at 4 P. M.—it continued until the nine o'clock morning roll call and overlapped the week ends.

"Explanation of our position as an academy: This institution was founded as a SELECT HIGH SCHOOL, designed to be firm and UNCOMPROMISING in the maintenance of a high and refined standard of morals and general deportment. This design must not be forgotten or lost sight of but carried and supported under all circumstances. * * *"

"The connection of the academy with the school district is designed for mutual benefit and not as any compromise of the HIGH ORDER OF THE ACADEMY. Neither the directors ask, or the trustees concede any such compromise, nor can the connection be considered a blessing any longer than the High Standard is maintained."

A few "Rules" also will be quoted.

RULE II

"Such as reside outside of the district shall present satisfactory evidence of good moral character and also satisfactory evidence of disposition to obey all the regulations."

"OF MORAL CONDUCT"

"This institution can admit of no immoral principles or practice among its members, nothing poisonous in principle inculcated; nothing poisonous or improper in the reading indulged and nothing corrupting in the influence reflected by the students among students or elsewhere."

"But in addition to these general prohibitions the trustees deem it proper to note some few things particularly because they are more extensively practiced among immoral youth."

Some things could not be tolerated—a partial list is submitted:

"Irreverent remarks about the Christian Religion."

"Profane, obscene or vulgar language or unchaste yarns or narratives, or immoral gestures or hints."

"Any degree of tippling anywhere."

"Any sort of night reveling," and so on ad infinitum.

RECREATIONS

"The only athletic recreations allowable by our students are such as exclude all vulgar or clownish ways, particularly such as wrestling, cuffing, kicking, scuffling, boxing or tumbling about."

"No uncouth noises are allowed by students especially such as hooting, screaming or vulgar salutations."

"This institution being open for both sexes, we will define their relative positions; they are to have no intercourse in school hours or recitations. Under no circumstances are they to join in plays either about the school or elsewhere, unless at home and members of the same family. In short, their intercourse, if any, shall be confined to polite, respectful conversation such as would be entirely becoming if it were in the presence of their parents or other revered personages."

FINALLY

"We expect no student to retain connection with this institution who will not heartily and diligently study to make himself or herself an orderly and respectable exemplar of good morals and good manners and of diligent attention to study and also of strict obedience to the school rules."

The Rules and Regulations quoted were enacted in 1858-9, soon after the corporate life of the school began. It does not appear that they were ever abrogated but it is found that late in the life of the academy they are referred to in resolutions and recitations at meetings of trustees. As late as 1874 there is a minute as follows:

"RESOLVED: That the teachers recommend to the scholars to observe the Sabbath and to attend religious service and Sunday School and said teachers are enjoined to absolutely prohibit the attendance of dancing parties by the students; and by precept and example the teachers are expected to carry out the spirit of this institution in respect to the above habits and to publish the rules at the opening of each term of school."

The chartering, the completion of the building and the promulgation of these rules belong to the same chapter, an important one in the history of this academy of Southern Oregon, the state and many of its citizens. Following were many years of unbroken success. The wavelet put in motion by the efforts of the scholarly men of indomitable will and untiring energy, who stood at the helm became an important part of the surging, restless educational sea that swept over Oregon and the world.

We now come to the larger and more distinct beginning of the academy life. The telling of who was principal and assistants for the different periods naturally follows and necessarily with more or less dull routine.

Before the beginning of this, may there not be a bit more of generalization to give better perspective to what was the academy community or patronizing territory? Bear in mind we are now reciting events of the early 50's. It was in these years that the heavy immigration came overland to Oregon. It came through Eastern Oregon, down the Columbia to Portland, and

from there spread out fan-like over the Willamette Valley in that part immediately tributary to Portland. As Portland was the port of entry, so it was naturally their trading center. The country was still very new, almost distressingly so, and the educational work which was linked with and promulgated by the church was in its missionary period.

In many ways the Willamette Valley is very different from Southern Oregon. The Valley lies between two parallel ranges of mountains that feed the many streams that flow from east and west into the Willamette River. The river flows gently northward and very naturally the travel and trade did and does follow it. But the Umpqua and Rogue river valleys tip westward and their splendid rivers with a mighty rush, characteristic of no other Oregon streams, go by leaps and bounds to the Pacific, cutting in their way mighty gashes in the Coast Range for their channels. Furthermore, these southern valleys are separated from the Willamette by the Calapooia Mountains, a short range extending east and west at the head of the Willamette Valley and connecting the Cascade and Coast Range of mountains.

These sections were connected by the "Applegate Trail" made in 1846 by a party led by Levi Scott, hereafter mentioned in this article. This trail began at a point near Cottage Grove and led across the mountains via streams known as Lee Creek, Thief Creek, Elk Creek and thence southward.

The gold discoveries of the West were yet new and the gold fever was acute. Prospecting was carried on extensively in Southern Oregon and Northern California and here mines were discovered and opened that are still being worked. It meant prominence to the section and attracted not only miners but, settlers as well and these two classes strove together in their interdependence for supplies and market. Their trade followed their streams, and thus in these early years the Umpqua river became prominent as a port of entry. A military road was constructed to open a way from the head of navigation to the settlements.

There were, therefore, two distinct sections of Western Ore-

gon at the time of which we write—distinct in products, markets and to an extent in the character of the inhabitants.

Into the Willamette section Mr. Wilbur came early, did his work as a minister and builder of schools and met with abundant success as measured by the time. He thus ended the first chapter of his western work. Now, as above recited, he belongs to the southern valleys totally different, devoted to a similar work and with like success writes well the second and last chapter of his Oregon work. In 1860, he was appointed to work in Washington among the Indians.

To return to the academic work, in the building just being completed:

The curriculum became at once more pretentious, the faculty enlarged and the work intensified. Some advertising was being done, mostly though by traveling agents, who were looking for students and soliciting funds to further develop the work and sustain that begun.

Prof. Ebenezer Arnold was the first principal in the new building, covering the year 1858-9. He was assisted by Mrs. Mary A. Merchant, preceptress and teacher of preparatory department; Mrs. Lucretia G. Arnold, physiology and assistant to the principal; Mrs. Isaac Dillon, French; Mrs. E. A. Lathrop and Miss Ann Augusta West, assistants.

The closing of the school year was made to correspond with the conference year. The work, so the record says, was much interfered with because of incompleteness of the building, and the "continual noise and dust from jointer work and shavings were constant annoyances." There were "no stoves during the first third of the year, and there was suffering from cold."

The record speaks of Prof. Arnold's physical infirmities, the fact that he did much more work than intended and was compelled to resign to conserve his health. There were 46 students "subscribing to the rules and scarcely one of them who did not become prominent in Oregon."

Rev. Isaac Dillon was the second principal. He was later editor of the Pacific Christian Advocate and a well-known member of the Oregon conference. His assistants were his

wife and J. R. Stork. The school year then and continuously afterward was divided into three terms—the fall and spring terms—12 weeks each—and the winter term—16 weeks. The records of these early years were faithfully kept. The name of student was entered into the record book, a large journal, and opposite each name was entered the receipt of cash for initiation fee and tuition. The total receipts for the school year 1859-60 (40 weeks) was \$805.50.

The student roll was being rapidly extended. My, the names on those pages! If they could all be named here! Surely they are a part of Oregon history! The Dillons, the Casebeers, Watsons, Grubbes, Stearns, Kuykendalls, Millers, Pinkstons, Reeds, Chapmans, Slocums, Tiptons, Wades, Fitzhughs, Mires, Hills, Clinkinbeards, Oteys, Akins—but I must not—let it be known always that they were a royal tribe.

Rev. T. F. Royal was the succeeding principal, serving from 1859-60 to 1866-7, inclusive. He was perhaps the best known of any of the principals for he was longer in control and prior to his work directly connected with the academic work, he was agent for the school and had traveled much in Southern Oregon in its interest. He has a long and honorable record in the Oregon Conference and is remembered by thousands as benefactor and friend.

He was assisted during his incumbency at various times by his wife, E. A. Lathrop, Miss C. S. Grubbe, Mrs. M. Y. Miller, Mrs. Mary A. Clinkinbeard, Geo. B. Kuykendall, Mrs. R. J. Greer, Miss A. T. Royal and during the last two years of his principalship, Mr. Clark Smith was his first assistant.

It was during the principalship of T. F. Royal in 1864 that the first class was graduated. William Henry Byars, Anina Tenna Royal, Stanley Olin Royal and Miller Gould Royal comprised the class. Three of the members were children of the principal.

Mr. Byars has been a constant resident of the state, has led a useful life and is today one of the best beloved men in the state. He was once surveyor general of Oregon. He will be mentioned again in turn as an assistant teacher of the academy.

Miss Royal taught one year as an assistant at the Academy, also one year as assistant principal at the Portland Academy and Female Seminary. She became the wife of Professor Smith and went with him as a missionary to Africa, where she died.

Stanley Royal took degrees from Willamette University and Drew Theological Seminary and spent the remainder of his life as a member of the Cincinnati Conference, where he was popular and effective. Miller received the degrees of A. B. and A. M. at Willamette University, preached for a time and taught school many years as President of Ashland Academy, Olympia Collegiate Institute and Weston State Normal. Later he practiced law and died at Walla Walla in 1910.

Mr. Smith, former assistant, succeeded to the principalship for 1867-8, serving only one year. He was assisted by Miss Marietta Smith, Miss Mary Chapman and Mrs. M. A. Clinkinbeard, Miss Chapman became Mrs. Wilson. She now resides at Wilbur, where for many years she served as postmistress.

Professor Smith married Anina Royal, the eldest child of Rev. T. F. Royal. They became missionaries to Africa, as stated. Mr. Smith returned to the United States and became a physician. He practiced for a time in Washington County.

In the educational report to the Oregon conference at its 1868 session, we find the following:

"Umpqua Academy for fourteen years has enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity. With pleasant surroundings and increased facilities for instruction, a well selected course of study and a highly moral and religious influence, this institution justly has the confidence and patronage of a large part of Southern Oregon. The Academy has been conducted the past year by Rev. Clark Smith . . . The number of pupils in attendance has been 119, many of whom have been converted and many become teachers."

By this period the attendance at the school had entirely outgrown the facilities offered and the building and equipment, once ample, became entirely inadequate to meet the growing attendance. An additional building of much greater dimen-

sions was now erected. The upper part was used as a dormitory and the lower floor for the advanced grades. The primary and intermediate grades were continued in the older building. The new structure finished in 1868 and first occupied under the principalship of Professor Deardorff, came to be known as the "New Building."

Prof. James G. Deardorff was next in order as principal. He served two years and was assisted by his wife, Rev. J. H. Skidmore and W. H. Byars. Of the old days at least these were the very best in point of attendance and in intensive work and accomplishment.

Prof. J. A. Jackson was elected principal in 1870, but resigned at mid-year and was succeeded by Prof. I. G. Herron, who continued until the close of the year 1873-4. His assistants were Mrs. Herron, Angie Grubbe, M. E. Chapman, Mrs. C. W. Todd and Mrs. S. H. Todd.

In 1873, the "New Building" burned. The old building—the first academy building—early outgrown, now by no means met the needs. Thereupon it was decided by the trustees to change the location of the school buildings and a new site was purchased about one-half mile to the west near the center of the village.

The ground, 58.43 acres that had been donated by Father Wilbur and that long served as the academy campus, was sold in 1877 for \$410 to J. T. Cooper and the old historic building was sold for \$300 to D. R. B. Winniford, March 9, 1878. His note, with F. R. Hill as security, was accepted in payment.

On the new site selected and purchased the last academy building was erected in 1874. The contract for the carpenter work was let by competitive bid to R. and D. R. B. Winniford, February 20, 1874. It was accepted, subject to certain alterations and additions, on December 4, 1874. The new building, the last in line of succession, the new location and apparently a newer generation of men were now upon the scenes and a splendid interest attached. Prof. Edward D. Curtis was elected principal and served for two years, ending in 1876.

He is now principal of the Sunnyside School at Portland and has a long, successful record to his credit as an Oregon teacher. His sister, Mrs. Josephine Robb, now of Portland, was vice-principal. They left their impress upon the students of old Umpqua as few other teachers have done. Nellie Spencer assisted them.

In 1876-7 Prof. F. H. Grubbs became principal. His wife, an only daughter of Rev. Jason Lee, Missionary, was preceptress and Miss Mary Hill, now Mrs. Capt. G. W. Short, was assistant. Other assistants were Miss Mary A. Goodsell, now Mrs. Henry Burt, of Yoncalla, and Miss Sue Clinkinbeard, later Mrs. E. T. Woodruff, of Coles Valley.

In the fall of 1880, H. L. Benson, now associate Supreme Judge, became principal under a contract extending over three years. With him came his brother, Frank W. Benson, later Secretary of State and Governor, as vice-principal. These men, splendid educators, full of vim and ambition, gave the best within them to the academy work. They rendered splendid service and became immensely popular, laying the foundation for their succeeding wide and favorable acquaintance. They were assisted by Mrs. H. L. Benson, Miss Emma Benson, Miss Mary Hill and Miss Helena Holman.

Next as principal came Willis C. Hawley, now serving in Congress. He was elected in 1884 and was assisted by Miss Anna Geisendorfer, who later became Mrs. W. C. Hawley. They made many friends who have remained steadfast and many students remember them with delight.

In August, 1886, Prof. L. A. Edwards was elected principal. He was assisted by his sister, Miss Edwards, who recently visited the scenes of her former labor. He was succeeded in 1887 by Prof. A. J. Garland, who was the last of the academy teachers.

The work heretofore done by the academies of the state was being superseded by the public schools. The church felt that it had fulfilled its mission in pioneering the educational work and with common accord it appeared best to abandon further denominational effort in the school work at the old stamping

ground, made sacred by sacrifice of parents and teachers and memorable through efforts and life work of students. Accordingly, it was voted on June 30, 1888, to lease the premises to the public school district for the term of 10 years for \$500, the rental money to be applied in improvement of the building and grounds.

On October 30, 1900, resolution was adopted to sell the premises to the district for \$400. At the meeting G. W. Grubbe was president and E. E. LaBrie, secretary. Here the record closes.

It's a bit difficult to write the last word, for there is more than a suspicion that Wilbur town may not seem as important to those who now hurriedly pass by in autos or Pullmans as it did to those students of early times. The location will seem more definite to say that it is at the junction of the "Old Scottsburg Military Road" with the main state thoroughfare, 8 miles north of Roseburg. This place was known by early travelers as Bunton's Gap, named for Elijah Bunton, who settled there in 1850. He sold his claim to B. J. Grubbe, frequently mentioned in this article. A considerable portion of the town of Wilbur was built on the claim of James L. Clinkinbeard, but no town plat was filed. Mr. Clinkinbeard gave a few acres of his claim to the academy trustees but the tract upon which the academy buildings stood, the old play ground and all that pertained, were the gift of Father Wilbur—a total of 58.43 acres. This is the same tract that was sold at auction in 1877 to James T. Cooper.

The Scottsburg road was no by-trail in the early days. It was constructed by the government in the early 50's under the supervision of Colonel, later General, Joe Hooker. Its southern terminus was Ft. Lane in Jackson County. In those days Portland was not as large as Scottsburg. The town was the jobbing center for a large area, covering all Southern Oregon and reaching into Northern California and supplying many mining camps and settlers. There were no less than 15 stores there, doing retail and wholesale business, and 500 pack mules, at one time, was not an unusual sight in the streets. After

the construction of the wagon road an immense freight business was carried on by teams. Schooners, many of them built on the river, brought freight to Scottsburg from San Francisco and other points and carried away such farm and ranch products as could be spared for export.

The town was named for Levi Scott, who settled there in 1850 and laid out a town. Soon after Scott's arrival, James McTavish opened a store made from the sails of the wrecked *Bostonian*, a schooner that was sent from Boston and wrecked on the bar at the mouth of the Umpqua River, in attempt to enter, October 1st, 1850. The same year Geo. Snelling built the first permanent building in the town from zinc taken from the cargo of the same vessel. The *Bostonian* floated into the river to a point opposite the present site of the town of Gardiner. Its cargo was mostly saved and was very helpful in filling the new stores and in building the far away western town that flourished for nearly a quarter of a century as a trading metropolis.

The *Bostonian* was sent out by a Boston merchant named Gardiner and was intended as a Pacific Coast trader. Mr. Snelling who had charge of the trading expedition was a nephew of Mr. Gardiner and Captain Coffin, of the schooner, took up as a donation land claim the present town site of Gardiner (so named in honor of the Boston merchant) and sold it to Addison C. Gibbs, who came to Oregon in 1850 and who was elected Governor of Oregon in 1862. Gardiner is 18 miles below Scottsburg and 9 miles from the mouth of the river.

The business that centered around Scottsburg attracted many of the early settlers of the country. It was here that Matthew P. Deady, later the learned and just judge, so honored throughout the northwest, early practiced law and held court under the oaks that stood near the Umpqua River—the same good man that was named in the charter as a member of the first Board of Trustees of Umpqua Academy, and later the first president of the Board of Regents of the University of Oregon, and whose picture is a benediction to the hundreds who assemble in Villard Hall.

Here also the ambitious young lawyer, Rufus Mallory, who became the brilliant congressman from Oregon in 1886, plead his first cases and became thrilled with his own ambitions and where his success became a certainty because of his own determinations.

This region was then in Umpqua County. The history of its formation and boundary as well as the organization of Douglas County was in the plans of this article and would be except for its length, probably already too long. Yet it appears to one so closely connected with the events of which he writes, to be naturally connected, for did not Umpqua Academy, helped on by these very men, send out from its walls the men and women whose footsteps became the bright pathways that threaded all the Southern Oregon country and whose splendid characters became a part of the warp and woof of our commonwealth?

The building of the O. & C. R. R. to Roseburg in 1872 diverted from the Umpqua River, once the second in importance in the state, the trade of the territory it served. The floods had also played havoc with the town.

Under the newer conditions Mr. Cyrus Hedden became the only merchant at Scottsburg. He long survived, an honored citizen and trusted friend. His successor in business, John Hedden, a son, is a prince of the realm. But he deserves no credit for it—it could not have been otherwise, for he was a student of old Umpqua.

It is easily discernible and realized also by the writer that he has backed into the latter part of his narrative. It seemed the most gentle way to lead many into an acquaintance with the early history of this interesting section and its important events.

There is another story that far antedates anything thus far cited, in this sketch. It was of a time when the Castilian was monarch along the Pacific. The story, years ago printed in Southern Oregon papers, says, substantially that in 1732 a disabled Spanish vessel entered the Umpqua, drifted to a point near Scottsburg. From the forests the crew cut trees and

made repairs to the vessel, left some of the crew to their fate in the new wilderness and then sailed away. Further credit is given the story because of stumps, apparently a hundred or more years old that were said to have been found by Scott and his party. This legend, or fact, if it is such, is mentioned in Walling's history of Jackson, Josephine, Douglas, Coos and Curry Counties.

With this bit of background the story must end. The imagination of the reader will supply the picture of the beloved Umpqua Country, once the "Umpqua Mission" in which Father Wilbur went in 1853. The happenings since give ample justification to his vision. He labored in a fertile field. Upon it he left his impress. Without what he did and the opportunities he made, many a boy and girl would never have opened the heavy educational gateway that led into the big world and many a life big with results would have been barren of culture. He built moral courage and a sturdy sense of right into a thousand souls.

He believed in a divine ambassadorship that caused him to "speak as one having authority" and his hopes and their fruition truly magnified his faith. He and his contemporaries were worthy forerunners of the best that we can hope for our children and our beloved state. It is related of him that while soliciting aid for the building of the first academy he met a captain who was hurrying from his schooner lying at Scottsburg, to some interior point on an important mission. Being no respecter of persons Father Wilbur sought his aid. The captain replied: "No, why should I help build your school? I never expect to be here again." "Then leave your mark and let it be known that you have passed this way," said Father Wilbur. Thereupon the captain pulled from his pocket a "slug," a coin of California mintage, worth \$50, and gave it with apparent wonderment to himself. He had met a man with a mission.

What finer message was ever given to a man? *Leave your mark—let it be known that you have passed this way.*

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS AT THE OLD UMPQUA ACADEMY

By GEO. B. KUYKENDALL, M. D.

With recollections of the Umpqua Academy fifty-five to sixty-four years ago, what a panorama of memory pictures come trooping up.

What a throng of faces young and fair, of forms youthful and strong, what a chorus of voices joyous in song, sport, laughter or screams of delight. What pictures of school days and social life; the old time school exhibitions, Saturday fishing excursions, with the inevitable swim in the Umpqua river, the Christmas anniversaries, Fourth of July celebrations, strawberry parties, rambles over the hill back of the academy, and rolling those great stones of conglomerate that went bounding and thundering down among the oaks, laurels and brush, and broke into thousands of pebbles that went sprawling everywhere, to the terror of chipmunks and cotton-tails.

Then their pensive strollings, book in hand, among the trees, or sitting in the shade, conning over amo-amas-amat, or trying to conjugate some tough Greek verb or figure out a problem in logarithms, while robins sang in the boughs above, or saucy little chipmunks with striped backs, and with tails erect and bright inquisitive eyes crept over logs and stumps about you. Those were halcyon days. Ah, the soft, balmy, dreamy atmosphere, the deep blue sky, the beautiful oak and laurel crowned hills and the enchanting valley spread out between!

Such are the memory pictures that come to me like a dream of a long past, far away fairyland.

Through the mists of over sixty years there comes to me a picture of the old Umpqua Academy, standing up like a great white sentinel, against the tree clad hill back of it. Here I see a group of boys playing marbles, there a bevy of girls with wild flowers, decorating each other's hair or arranging garlands and bouquets; down on the campus I see a game

of "town ball" or "three cornered cat" being played, while others are running "lickety-split" in games of "black man" or "dare base."

Just across to the west of the building on the level grade and under spreading oaks I see little fellows down on their knees, with faces near the ground imploringly calling, "Doodle bug, Doodle bug, Doo-oo-dle bug, half bushel of corn's burning up," and others nearby are playing "mumble-peg." I seem to hear other voices—"Keep a calling him he'll come out," or "Augh, get back there don't fudge! knuckle down when ye go to shoot," or "Get down close to the ground and get the peg between yer teeth." Up from the grounds below comes a sound whack, whack, whack, "One, two, three, good-black-man-for-me."

When I think of this scene, there comes up the question, "Where are all those faces and forms so vibrant with joy and animation?"

There are, alas, but very few of the earliest students of the old Umpqua Academy left, nearly all have answered the last summons, the school of life with them has closed, and

"The names we loved to hear,
Have been carved for many a year
On the tomb."

But many of them left their mark and we are proud of them today. Whenever we think of the old Umpqua Academy there come up many incidents, some joyous or inspiring, some sad and pathetic, others of ludicrous nature.

Among the early students that attended the academy, there were a number that boarded at the home of John Kuykendall, some were there two or three winters. Among these there were tall Frank Carter, and small George Yale, both of whom, when seen together seemed to belong to the "odd sizes." We boys had beds up stairs in my father's house. Early one morning the sight of Frank's pants and clothes on a chair, by the side of his bed suggested a practical joke and some sport. One of the boys slipped into Frank's room and took his clothes and left in their place a suit of George Yale's. He then hid all

other clothes leaving Frank the option of going without, staying in bed, or of coming down to breakfast with Yale's clothes on.

The rest of the folks were duly notified of the arrangement, so that all might be ready with appropriate remarks, questions and witticisms when Frank appeared in the dining room.

When Frank got up he discovered his clothes were gone, and there was nothing to do but get into Yale's little breeches. So he managed to squeeze into them, and then had considerable pulling and straining to get the coat on. Being duly rigged out he came down to breakfast, and was greeted with a fusilade of well chosen facetious remarks about the fit of his clothes, such as, "What's the matter? A snake bit you? you're terribly swelled up this morning." "How did you get your clothes on?" "Never saw a man grow so much in one night." "Going into the show business, Frank, you'd make a dandy clown." "That suit is a beautiful fit, never saw you look so well."

He really did look comical, about like a giant in a little boy's knickerbockers. Frank had arms and legs of the Abe Lincoln pattern, with a good deal of spread and reach to them. We had been used to seeing him with coat sleeves which reached only to within wistful distance of his hands, and pants that left considerable unoccupied territory far up his boot leg. We all wore top bots those days, when we could get the money to buy them. The picture he made that morning was certainly "fetching," and we all shook with laughter, while good natured Frank smiled as if enjoying a delightful reception which he gratefully appreciated. He showed no signs of irritation or of temper, but sat down to the table in his comic rig and ate his breakfast with as much complaisance as if the whole proceeding was just what he had ordered.

While we had fun at his expense we felt deep down in our hearts that he was one of the best fellows in the world. Years afterward he took the degree of M. D., became an excellent physician and held an honorable position in his profession and in his community, and the state of Oregon.

How the years have flown by since we were boys together. The last time I saw him was at Newport, Oregon; he was going to see his married daughter who was dangerously ill.

When the old Umpqua Academy was in the height of its usefulness and influence, there used to be a number of boys and young men come in from distant parts of the country and "kept batch," or boarded themselves and went to school. They came in from southern Oregon, from about Jacksonville, Leland, Canyonville, Cow Creek, Looking Glass and from the northerly parts of the county, from Yoncalla, Elk Creek, Green Valley and the classic precincts of "Tin Pot" and "Shoestring."

Among the boys that "batched" were Henry Byars, Calvin and David West, Lowery and Ed Watson and P. L. Willis, John Allen and sisters, the Applegate boys, and many more. Most of these attended and belonged to the debating society at the Academy, and some, if not most of them, there had their first experience in "speaking in public."

The Academy boys were a pretty good lot, generally free from drinking, card playing, and worse vices, but they were a lively lot, and some of the old folks said they were "a leetle too full of vinegar," and of course the vinegar would slop over occasionally.

There used to live just a short distance below the academy, Dr. Miller, a large, rather tall, sedate man, who administered allopathic doses of medicine during the week, and on Sunday gave good strong doses of orthodoxy from the pulpit. He was of the old style physician who bled people, not when they settled with him, but with a lancet. The doctor had two daughters, the younger of whom, Ella, was regarded as quite handsome and good looking. Some of the young fellows found the Miller home an exceedingly attractive place to visit, but the doctor was a little inclined to be austere, and was not in favor of alliances, taking a neutral position usually, but assuming a belligerent attitude on provocation. He had a brother-in-law that lived with him, George Young, who was a capital hand at a practical joke, and hearing of the success of the clothes stealing raid on Frank Carter, concluded to

work up a similar scheme on Lowery Watson, acting in collusion with some of the other bachelors' roost boys. One evening Lowery called at the Miller home and stayed quite late and George proposed that he remain until morning. Lowery retired to bed, and along a little before daylight, he reached out for his clothes and found them gone. He got up and found that while there were none of his own clothes, there was a pair of Dr. Miller's long-legged trousers placed for his use. Dismayed, he began a search for his clothes but was unable to find them. He did not feel like calling on the family for assistance, or advertising his predicament. The position was certainly disconcerting. The Bible says somewhere that, "Some bless with their mouths, while they curse inwardly."

It is easy to imagine one could, under such circumstances, have some of the "cuss inwardly" feeling. There seemed to be no other alternative, and so Lowery pulled on the doctor's pants, rolled up the redundant length and then made a flying dash out into the rain, across the prairie, making a halo of webfoot spray around him as he paddled his way to the bachelors' roost. There he found his chums were ready to open up their artillery on him. Of course they geyed him, but he took his medicine and was game. He lived to distance some of his practical joker friends in the race of life, became an honored member of the legal profession and sat on the judge's bench.

Even while yet in school, some of the students exhibited general talents or abilities that foreshadowed their future. Henry Byars, who was in my classes, excelled in mathematics and mechanical and engineering drawing. Parrish Willis was good at mathematics and bookkeeping, and was very studious and methodical. He then had a heavy, shocky head of hair that was inclined to kink and curl about his neck and ears. It was probably this that gave him the "nick-name" "Kink" Willis.

He had a good mind and was a credit to the Academy, became an attorney of ability, and held positions of honor and trust in Portland and Multnomah County, Oregon.

Ed Watson had a fine mind and abundant ability to acquire learning. After graduating in the Willamette University went back and graduated at Harvard, and was chosen to go back and take part in college boat races on the Thames in England.

It would be easy to extend this list and note characteristics of many of the Umpqua Academy early students, and tell how they came off with honors and success in life. My space limits will permit the names only of a few, among which were Stanley O. Royal, Miller G. Royal and his younger brother and Anina T. Royal, who married Rev. Clark Smith and went as a missionary to Africa, where she died of African fever at her post of duty, proving the stuff of which some of the academy students were made. Then there was George W. Riddle, who has written his name in the annals of home regions and the state of Oregon, Dr. W. P. Grubbe, Angeline Grubbe, Morris Harkness, Homer Harkness, Chas. Wesley Kahler, George Kahler, the Applegate boys and many more.

School government at the old academy a few years after it opened up, took a sort of Puritanical trend, with the idea predominant that the "old Adam" (some said it was the devil) in the boys and girls, had to be held down and squelched out. Very strict rules were made in regard to the associations of sexes, it being assumed that the devil in them was bound to break out unless the lid was screwed on tight and held down. It was a rule that the boys and girls should not walk side by side going to school, and all exhibitions of gallantry were to be taboo; they should be kept separate and under strict surveillance, and "raked over the coals" for the slightest overstepping.

This, as should have been foreseen, had exactly the opposite effect from what was intended. It was like trying to stop the water of a garden hose by placing a thumb against it, there was no stop, but a big splatter. The young folks could not be kept under thumb, and the trustees had a troublesome time enforcing the adopted regime.

While people in the country around sometimes thought that the old academy and vicinity was a sort of slow place, an ex-

perience of some of the hallowe'en pranks "pulled off" around there sometimes would have dispelled this illusion.

When Dr. Miller found his gates off the hinges, his pigs turned out of the pen, and F. R. Hill had a new wagon dissected, one wheel hung up in the top of a tree over the road to the academy, and the other wheels and gears scattered to the four winds and several other breezes of heaven, or sunk in the "old swimmin' hole," and when neighbor Clinkinbeard, who had his wagon loaded with wheat, ready to go to mill, found it next morning sitting astride the "comb" of his barn, all loaded up, just as he had left it the evening before, and his forty-foot well rope tied in the top of a tall oak, it looked as if there had been something doing around there. He might well have wished he had an Aladdin's lamp to rub; to summon the aid of genii to get his wagon down from its exalted position. At midnight, when the old Academy bell rang out a wild alarm by the spooks, through the medium of a long rope reaching from the bell to the neck of a wild calf on the campus, it was an indubitable proof of the operation of spirits, but the trustees interpreted it as the work of the devil in the boys. We have all read how persons in sleep, or the somnambulistic state, could lift or carry in the night a stone or other heavy object that they could not budge when awake in the day time. It was a matter of fact that four Academy boys could lift with ease, and carry an outhouse and set it up on Dr. Miller's or Flem Hill's porch that would have taken a team to move. The psychology of this is commended to the investigation of mental philosophers.

This sort of proceedings received a heavy jolt, or at least John Clinkinbeard did, during a series of meetings held at the academy.

There was no church building in the vicinity then, and church services were held in the academy. While the church people were holding a revival, his satanic majesty often stirred up a revival of his work among the boys. During one of these meetings the spirit of deviltry became rampant. One evening there was a large crowd in the chapel room above,

and some of the boys tied a rope across the bottom of the door, at the head of the "boys' stairway." John Clinkinbeard came out, and was just about to start down, when his foot tripped on the rope or cord, and he pitched headlong down the stairway, bruised himself up severely and dislocated one of his thumbs. It was lucky for him that it was not a broken neck instead of a disjointed thumb.

This brought matters to a head, with a storm of indignation and protest, and criminal proceedings were threatened and about to be instituted, but the matter was some way quieted and never got into court.

During one of the revivals when an invitation was given for "seekers" to come forward to the altar, many "made a move," and the altar was crowded. No doubt nearly all were sincere and deeply in earnest, but there were mischievous scamps that seemed to be making it an occasion for sport. One boy got up among the others, and while they were all down and praying, he made himself busy pinning papers or rags to the tails of some of their coats. When he had succeeded in getting one pinned on, he would clap his hands and shout, "Glory to God, Hallelujah!"

The capers of the young scapegrace were soon detected and his particular line of devotions was abruptly cut short. Rev. Wm. Taylor, a nephew of the noted Bishop Taylor, missionary in India, after he learned of the urchin's tagging operations made a suitable diagnosis of the situation and suggested the proper remedy, "That boy needs to be taken out with a good hazel and labored with a while, for the good of his soul."

I just now remember that I saw a few days ago, in the Oregonian, an account of the death of John Clinkinbeard, near Marshfield. John's mother was a sister of Dillard Holman, of the pioneer Oregon family, well known in the state. I am also reminded of the tragic death of Mrs. Clinkinbeard, many years ago on the beach. While standing upon a drift log she was watching the coming-in and receding waves. While gazing in awe and admiration upon the majesty of the ocean, she had just repeated the words, "Thus far shalt thou come, but

here thy proud waves shall be stayed." The log upon which she stood broke loose, turned over, rolled upon her and crushed her to death.

But the limits set have been far transcended. It would have been interesting to have said something concerning Prof. T. F. Royal, principal of the Umpqua Academy for years. He had many noble traits, fine teaching ability, great sincerity, earnestness and integrity. His wife, Mrs. M. A. Royal, was a noble woman, intelligent, cultured, tactful, a fine teacher of music, drawing and botany, who had skill in making her lessons intensely interesting.

At this moment I recall that the first school paper at the academy was called *The Rosebud*. It consisted of hand written articles by the pupils. It had a back made of white drawing paper, fastened with a ribbon. Underneath the outside title was the picture of a rose bud, painted in water colors by Mrs. Royal. The date was May, 1856.

How interested and proud all were when the little paper was read that Friday afternoon.

There comes to mind many incidents preceding, during, and just after the Civil War. A number of the older of the early students went to Roseburg to hear speakers during the various campaigns. I remember well of hearing Delazon Smith, Geo. L. Woods, Tom Dryer and numerous others. There were hot times politically then, and the academy boys were all intensely loyal to the Union. How the war news stirred us, and how we waited almost holding our breath for the thrilling news of the battles, and how the boys, and girls, too, rang out the war songs of the times. How the patriotic thrills ran to our very finger tips.

When the news of Lincoln's assassination came, what an overwhelming tide of grief swept over us! We held a memorial meeting just afterwards in the Academy, which was public for all. I wrote a dirge, and a class of us sang it. That evening the building was crowded, and the air was vibrant with deep emotion. There was sobbing and crying all over the

audience. It seemed that every one was weeping. I never saw anything like it.

There was a feeling of deep, heartfelt mourning, but a look of determination on the faces of people. The older students of the Academy were saying all about, "If the country wants me I am ready."

The influence of the Umpqua Academy in keeping the country around loyal to the Union was certainly very considerable.

There are many things that could have been said of different persons, who were once students of the old Academy, and of their lives, works and influence. The longer the matter is held under consideration the more of submerged recollections come up. But I must stop.

SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF OLD UMPQUA ACADEMY

By AUSTIN MIRES

The founder and early patrons and supporters of Umpqua Academy belonged to that incomparable band of men and women known, and to be remembered, as the Oregon Pioneers. Most of them had crossed the plains with ox teams, consuming from five to six months in the journey, hauling their families and their effects in their immigrant wagons or "prairie schooners," as they were called.

In that long journey those sturdy people had encountered difficulties and endured hardships, a true recitation of which, at this later day, is calculated to stagger the credulity of the hearers. Those immigrants who succeeded in reaching the Oregon Country were true types of the "survival of the fittest," and in their short lexicon there was no such word as fail.

Those who had been neighbors and acquaintances in the "States" as well as those who had met and become acquainted on the way and shared in common the hardships and dangers of the journey, settled here and there in the Willamette, Umpqua and Rogue river valleys of Western Oregon. For some years after such settlement these good people interchanged periodical visits to the homes of each other, sometimes for a distance of more than a hundred miles, and a feeling akin to family relationship prevailed. People were better acquainted, though living more than a hundred miles apart, in those early days than are families living on the opposite sides of the streets of our cities today.

James H. Wilbur, or Father Wilbur, as he is better known, had labored at Oregon City, Portland and Salem in church and educational work, and when he finally went to Southern Oregon and took up a donation land claim and established an academy at the place, henceforth to be called Wilbur, it may be readily understood why the people throughout the settled portion of Oregon Territory, should generally know of and

take some appreciative interest in the new institution of learning. And though the people were rated poor in worldly effects, their children were sent to the Umpqua Academy in its earliest days from miles away. It is no exaggeration to say that a majority of the young men, and many of the young women, attending the school, whose parents resided any considerable distance away from Wilbur, "bached," as that mode of living was termed; this being the only way in which it was possible for them to meet the necessary expense to attend school at all.

In the early days there were no church buildings in the country, with regular services. On occasion a preacher came along and held "meeting," as it was called, in the log school house or other available structure. And again camp meetings were appointed here and there at appropriate places, where the people came and put up tents and brought a few household effects, such as stoves, cooking utensils, bedding, etc., and there camped for days together, worshipping in their own simple way, and visiting and interchanging views upon current questions in the intervals. When these occurrences came about the people living in the country donned their best clothes, called their Sunday or meeting clothes, and the father yoked his patient oxen and hitched them to the old immigrant wagon (horses were used in some instances by those who had them), and when the family were all loaded in, drove to meeting, sometimes several miles distant. After the services were over, it was the custom for one or more families to accompany some neighbor home and there take dinner and visit the remainder of the day. And the preachers who conducted these meetings, as well as those who held forth at the camp meetings in those days, all had their headquarters at Wilbur, either residing there or directed from that place. So that Wilbur was the center from which radiated all religious and educational activity in Umpqua valley at the very first, and Umpqua Academy was the main spring, so to speak, of it all.

The first preacher I now remember of ever seeing was T. F. Royal (Fletcher Royal, as he was better known among the old

timers), one of the very early principals of Umpqua Academy. I was then about five years old. We lived on our old homestead near the foot of Tyee mountain in lower Calapooia valley. Mr. Royal and some members of his family came to our home along late in the afternoon, intending to stay over night. I was afraid of strangers, and especially of preachers, although I did not then know what the term preacher meant, so it required some persuasion from my father to induce me to let Mr. Royal take my hand. He smiled and tried to be pleasant, but that was all camouflage to my thinking. For several years one of his knees was stiff, and by some irreverent persons he was called "Peg Leg." Years afterward, by an accident, the nature of which my memory now fails to recall, his knee was severely wrenched and thereby restored to mobility. It seems now that he was never absent from any meeting or camp meeting in those early days. I have heard him preach many times at Wilbur, Calapooia and Coles Valley. He was six feet or more in height, dark of complexion, straight and quick of movement. He served one term, at least, as County School Superintendent for Douglas County, and he was a genuine enthusiast in religious and educational work.

Be it remembered there were no railroads in those days. No automobiles, no carriages or buggies, no stage coaches and few horses at the first.

The mail was carried on horseback and, when sufficient to require it, by pack horses. W. H. Byars, later a member of the first graduating class of Umpqua Academy, carried the U. S. Mail from Winchester south across Southern Oregon, over primitive roads and trails, via Roseburg, Canyonville, Jacksonville, over the Siskiyou Mountains to Yreka in Northern California, when but sixteen years old. His hair breadth escapes from Indians and highwaymen, when told now sound like fable. Soon horses became more plentiful and everybody rode horseback, and hacks and buggies came into use.

I cannot now recall the occasion of my first visit to Wilbur, but it was some time during the very early days of the Academy when I was a little boy. My mother was a devout Metho-

dist, and more than once, at her suggestion, father drove the family over there, in the primitive way, to attend meeting. Besides, the cemetery, or graveyard, as it was then called, in which the dead of our vicinity were laid to rest, was located just southwest of the Academy building, some two or three hundred yards distant, on an even sloping ridge studded with the native oak trees of that section. And upon a few sad occasions in my early youth, which are still vivid in my mind, I visited this spot as well. And upon all occasions my wondering eyes were attracted to the showy academy building, standing out so stately on the terraced hillside, which seemed to beckon me to it. A little later I was sent over there with my elder brother, who was baching and attending school, to bring back the horse he had ridden. At that time there was a building just south from where Mr. Champan's hotel was later located, and it had a sign which read: "Putnam's Hotel." Another feature which remains fresh in my memory, was the long plank bridge spanning the channel of the swale a few rods east of the Wilbur House, kept by F. R. Hill.

But my first attendance at Umpqua Academy, as a student, was in 1868, or 1869, during the principalship of James G. Deardorff. The teachers, as I recall them now, were James G. Deardorff, principal, and W. H. Byars and J. H. Skidmore, assistants. At that time the old academy building and the new building just north of it were both occupied. The new building contained one large class room on the ground floor, with living rooms above; in the north part of which Professor Deardorff with his family, consisting of his wife and two little girls and Mary and Delman Ross, children of his sister from Portland, Oregon, resided. In the old building was located a small sized museum. I remember it contained some jars of snakes, frogs, fishes, etc., preserved in alcohol, specimens of Indian quivers, bows and arrows, some Indian stone implements, mounted birds, a variety of birds' eggs, fossils, etc.; a goodly portion of which had been donated by L. L. Williams, the old pioneer, Indian fighter, county clerk, unfaltering friend, and useful citizen. There were some electric

appliances, a galvanic battery, globes, and long blackboards, used for making demonstrations to the classes. I wish I had the time and possessed the memory sufficient to name all the boys and girls (young men and women) who attended the academy along with me at the different times. Some of them that come to my mind at the moment were, M. M. Oglesby, William Leaper, John, William and George Booth, Marion, Pat., Webb. and Albert Parker, Child Brummet, Orva Williams, James, Quincy and Jephtha Grubbe, Harry and Clay Pinkston, Robert Watson, Albert Deardorff, Horris Grubbe, Charles and William Kuykendall, Lige Otey, Robert A. Booth, Arthur Alysom, John I. Chapman, Frank Hamilton, George Chapman, Jesse Hockett, Robert Ashworth, Andrew J. Lockhart, Frank Niday, John Clinkinbeard, Zach Smith. And the girls! When I attempt to name them, a subtle something that is beyond my ability to describe, grips my being and quickens the currents of my heart. I venture to enumerate a few of those names that are never absent from my memory when old Umpqua Academy is in contemplation: Luetta Grubbe, Ella Grubbe, Hortense Reed, Mary Hill, Emma Chapman, Alice Chapman, Martha Pinkston, Lucy Pinkston, Emma Redfield, Florence Elliff, Ada Alysom, Hattie Dodge, Susan and Adelia Slocum, Ada Clinkinbeard, Mary Smith, Berenice McBride, Josephine Haines, Sarah Booth, Frances Chapman and Mollie Watson—but—when the vision presents itself, showing its array of bewitching daughters of old Umpqua Academy, it is hard to prevent a mental endorsement of the system of plural wives established by Jacob as he herded the flocks of old Laban on the plains of Paran-Aram, and afterwards so amplified by the now sainted David the psalmist, and Solomon the proverbist, of ancient story, and by Brigham Young of later day saintdom. But I can only suppress a sigh and let it pass.

In those good old days the fads and foibles of insipid society were unknown. The "four hundred" virus of later days never infected the blood of the old pioneer settlers. Such have origin, always, like other vermin, in luxury and laziness. The pusillanimous "frat" that breeds snobbishness and caste, when-

ever and wherever permitted to thrive, never polluted the student body of Umpqua Academy. There was a genuine democracy, recognizing no aristocracy except the aristocracy of honest endeavor.

Motherhood and maidenhood were held in greater veneration by the young men of the Academy than by those of these faster times. I can recall no instance in all the history of the Academy of any young man contributing to the delinquency of any young woman student. Should a young man so far transgress as to use language calculated to disparage the good reputation of a young woman student in those elder days, he would likely receive a smash in the mouth from the fist of some companion for his pains. The spirit of moral rectitude in this particular direction, I can agree, was largely due to the impression received from the stern example and wholesome precepts of the teachers, but in no small measure was it due as well to the very environment surrounding the Academy. And the individual students were probably all unconscious of the righteous influence thus being exerted upon them.

At the time of my first attendance at the Academy the rigid Puritanism of the early directors of its destiny had begun to relax, but the old rules still stood, rigid as ever.

Prayer meetings were as regular as school days all through the life of the Academy, and about as well attended, and revival meetings were not infrequent. At these prayer meetings it was customary, in the earlier days, for all to kneel during prayer. Some of the good old matrons, it would seem irreverent to mention any names in this connection, were prone to make exceeding long prayers, thus lengthening the meetings unreasonably, as was thought by some of us young fellows, who perhaps still possessed some ungodly tendencies. So we organized to stop it. We took seats in different parts of the audience on these occasions, and when we thought such prayers had gone on long enough would commence dragging our feet over the floor with so much noise that the one doing the praying would think everybody was rising from their knees and would reach the amen point without delay. We usually

brought the thing to a close in this way and it was a long time before our ruse was discovered.

Card playing, dancing, drinking and swearing were all strictly prohibited. The moment one of those old professors saw a playing card his bristles would rise, figuratively speaking, for he imagined he could see therein the leering countenance of Old Nick, staring him in the face. But from my advent on, the boys and girls, maybe I should say young men and women, communed with each other with less restraint than of yore, still they were sufficiently hampered to cause much chafing and some resentment among the young people, and divers ways and means were invented and employed to effect the evasion of the more rigid rules without detection. Marconi is considered the inventor of wireless telegraphy, but our first mother, Eve, understood and put in operation the same when our race and time were new, and her worthy daughters have continued adepts in the same right along down the line. A young woman who is not able to convey her feelings, without words and without writing, but in a subtle language that any young man of common sense can readily understand if directed to him, is fit only to become and remain an inmate of some institution for defectives. So with all the rules and all the vigilance the young men and women found ways of discovering their feelings for and to each other "in tricks that were dark and ways that were vain" to their respected professors. A smile or gesture, all meaningless to any except the one for whom intended, and the hurried warm pressure of the hand as the pupils passed from one class and class room to another, could not be successfully forestalled, and conveyed more meaning than the stern professor could crowd into whole volumes of theses. And I dare say these little blessings and blessed moments are still fresh, like oases of the desert, in the minds and the hearts of the now aged men and women who were students in old Umpqua Academy.

Cupid was busy there as ever he is where healthy young men and women congregate, shooting his arrows, rather aimlessly perhaps, just practicing, so to speak; but he finally went

gunning for one of our professors and got him. Some brief reminiscences here may not be out of place.

While these rules of inhibition of communication between the young men and women pupils were being enforced with some rigidity, one of our distinguished professors, whose name I forbear to mention, but whose fame as a mathematician will continue long, suddenly and without warning commenced paying court to a comely maiden of the village. She had another suitor who resided some distance away, but who made frequent visits to her home; but our professor proved too fast for him, and soon, in an old time phrase, "cut him out." His love quests were not long in attracting the notice of the young folks, if entirely unobserved by the other members of the faculty. Upon one of these, his frequent visits, some three young fellows whose names I might mention, but I wont, happened (?) to be in the vicinity after the curfew hour. The coy maiden had neglected to lower the shade of her parlor window so as to entirely exclude all vision from without. The said young fellows peeped through the opening beneath the window shade and there saw their respected teacher, shorn of all professional dignity, engaged in assiduous courtship in the human way of wooing. Be the remainder of this recitation only whispered—they saw him fold his dulcinea in his strong arms and repeatedly kiss her cheeks and lips and gently stroke her fair head with his bear-like hand, and heard him call her endearing names—all in like manner as all red blooded men have always done, and, let us hope for the felicity of the courted, always will; and this performance went on all to the sore envy of those on-lookers outside. It is yet believed that had that same professor discovered one of those young men performing in like manner with himself on that occasion, there would have been a swift expulsion from the Academy the next morning.

It is astonishing how readily the ordinary human being always detects the mote in his brother's eye, while utterly oblivious to the beam in his own eye.

There used to live an old man by name of French near the ferry landing, on the north bank of the Umpqua river at Win-

chester. He kept a little way station where he dealt in a few such articles as tobaccos, canned foods, crackers, oysters, sardines, nuts, candies, etc., and occasionally furnished a traveler with a meal and bed perhaps, but his main source of income was from the disposal of intoxicating drinks. He had no license, so he would sell a stick of candy, a bunch of grapes, or some such article, and *give* the purchaser a glass of beer, whiskey or wine, according to his desire. The boys, or rather, some of them, from the Academy, would make clandestine visits, occasionally, to this old man's resort some two or three miles distant, and indulge in his forbidden fruit. I cannot now recall that any such visit of students ever came to the attention of the Academy "over-seers."

During the time Professor Herron was principal of the Academy he lived in the old T. F. Royal home, located down in the bottom west of the Academy, some two hundred yards. At this time there was a small building in the yard and near the professor's dwelling, occupied by Miss Florence Elliff, a daughter of Hardy Elliff, who resided out beyond Canyonville, on Cow Creek, and another young lady, who were attending the Academy. One evening a rather unruly young man from Calapooia, then about eighteen years of age, escorted Miss Elliff, on horseback, out to Edwin Otey's, some three miles in the country, to attend a dance. They returned before daylight the next morning, but the fact became known among the friends of the young people, and several of them determined to go and do likewise. During the week the trip was fairly planned, and when the night set for the occasion arrived the boys had borrowed a wagon and, with the assistance of Charles Kuykendall, they purloined a team of horses from the stable of his father, John Kuykendall, and had collected, boys and girls, under the oak trees around the Academy building, preparatory to starting. In the meantime, Will Kuykendall had become suspicious in some way, and went to the barn, to discover the horses were gone, and just as we were making ready to start Mr. Kuykendall, with his sons William and Henry, appeared on the scene looking for their horses; and of course our game was up.

The next Monday morning, after chapel exercises, the professor proceeded to recite the recent occurrences—and ended by expelling several of the students, first on the list, Austin Mires.

I find written in my diary, under date June 9, 1876, the day of my graduation under Professor Edward D. Curtis, the following statement: "Afterwards Charles Kuykendall, Frank Niday and I were arrested, charged with disturbing the peace of a civil assembly. We went to Roseburg and stood trial. Finley Watson and Judge L. F. Mosher appeared for us, Watson volunteering his services. We were fined \$10 each and costs. Several students were expelled, some suspended, and others quit the Academy. Harry Pinkston and Jep. Grubbe were expelled with me, but they both made apologies and were finally taken back. I refused to apologize and was never formally reinstated. I have, however, been granted a diploma, and one of the members of the Board of Trustees voting to issuing the diploma to me is the same I. G. Herron by whom I was expelled."

By that affair my education, in schools, what little I have acquired, was doubtless retarded for a few years. But the only regret I ever experienced on account of the adventure was the heart aches and tears it must have caused my good old mother.

I attended the Academy during the incumbency of Professor Jackson. He was a splendid young man and was well liked by the students. In his time the assistant teachers, I believe, were Angie Grubbe, Mary Chapman and W. H. Byars.

Professor Herron was a man of sterling character, and of strong patriotic impulses. He, with two or three of his brothers, fought for the Union under General Grant at the battle of Shiloh. His assistants were W. H. Byars, Angie Grubbe and Miss Kent, as I remember.

On Sunday, October 24, 1875, Hortense Reed, sister of Mrs. F. R. Hill, and Thomas Applegate were married at the residence of F. R. Hill. Immediately after the marriage ceremony we all proceeded to kiss the bride. In doing so Jim Grubbe

remarked, "Well, Tensa, I guess this will be the last time." She answered back with manifest resentment, on account of the presence of her newly wedded husband, I presume, "Yes, and the first time, too."

On October 28, 1875, Clay Pinkston died at Salem, Oregon, and all were affected with genuine sadness, for he was one of us.

On Tuesday, December 7, 1875, Lyda Dimmick and Harry Pinkston were married. A band of boys, led by Harry's old friend, Jep. Grubbe, went over that evening and executed an old time charivari. Harry threw a boot jack out of the window, and hit Ota Reed, knocking him senseless for a time.

On Thursday, May 18, 1876, Ada Alysom and William Kuykendall were married at Wilbur. The Academy adjourned school for the day at forenoon recess, and all attended the wedding. That evening, after prayer meeting, we held a sociable in the Academy in honor of the occasion, where we marched and sang and all enjoyed themselves.

We lived about eight miles north of Wilbur, on the Calapooia. My father, John H. Mires, had no education, but our family, at different times, sent eight pupils to Umpqua Academy, five of whom graduated. They were W. H. Byars, Elizabeth B. Byars, afterwards Mrs. Lewis Stout; Austin, Benton, Anna, Margaret, Addie and John S. Mires. W. H. Byars graduated in the first class along with Nina Stanley and Miller Royal, children of the then principal, T. F. Royal.

Austin Mires graduated June 9, 1876, in the class with Emma Chapman, John I. Chapman and P. H. Burt.

Margaret and Addie Mires graduated June 23, 1882, in the class with Hattie Benjamin (later Mrs. Frank Benson) and Bina Maupin. The present judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon, H. L. Benson, was then principal, with Frank Benson assistant, I believe.

John S. Mires graduated in 1884, in the class with Addie Smith, Cora Booth, George M. Brown (now attorney general of Oregon) and J. I. Creteser. I do not have the date.

Professor Curtis was assisted by his sister, Josephine Curtis,

and at the same time Luetta Grubbe was teacher of music. Curtis possessed a kindly, humane disposition, and loved to associate with young people and to see them advance.

At the first home calling of her children by the old Umpqua Academy, June 1, 1917, among the prominent speakers were Judge J. W. Hamilton, George M. Brown and Robert A. Booth. These three gentlemen indulged in unrestricted crimination and re-crimination, in which not only they were included but others of the old students as well. These accusations went not only to the transgressions of the rigid rules of the Academy, but also to the laws of the State, such as chicken and watermelon stealing, and other such misdemeanors, and as the statutes of limitation had long since run, we heard no denials. To the later generation, and especially those who were never fortunate enough to come within the magic circle of the moral influence of the old Umpqua Academy, it can be but a matter of wonder how such youth, as the aforesaid were shown to have been, could ever develop into law-abiding, law-enforcing, useful citizens. But the facts only demonstrate the mighty influence for good exercised by that pioneer institution of learning. It was, indeed, the crucible into which was cast the crude ore of youth, full of human frailties and baseness, to yield a product of unalloyed manhood and womanhood.

That youth would have proven morally leprous, indeed, who could for any considerable time abide under her influence and receive no permanent impression of righteousness.

The children of Umpqua Academy are to be met with all over the northwest, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Utah and Alaska. The boys, now men, are patriotic, industrious, capable and useful citizens. The girls are now mothers and grandmothers, and their sterling precepts and examples guarantee through their offspring for time to come a citizenry upon which our country may rely with simple faith.

Umpqua Academy, insofar as its corporate entity is concerned, is now a thing of the past, but its spirit, like the soul of old John Brown as portrayed in song, is marching on, and the force of its influence will not end with this generation.

THE UMPQUA ACADEMY STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION.

By J. H. BOOTH.

Last year the faculty of the public school of Wilbur, Oregon, was making a study of the history of the early educators and educational centers of Oregon. It was impressed with the prominent part the old Umpqua Academy had played in the educational foundation of the State. It seemed important that this evidence should be gathered into permanent form. Upon the suggestion of Mrs. Inez Miller, principal of the school, it was decided to undertake the holding of a reunion of the old students. It seemed, also, a fitting way to close the commencement exercises for the first class of the new Standard High School.

Former students, residing both within and without the district, were communicated with and the idea received with favor, though not without misgivings, as to its success. The residents of the little town, however, entered whole-heartedly into the plan. Then began the hunt to locate the former students. In this effort Mrs. Miller and her co-teachers worked long and faithfully. Invitations were sent out for June first and bore addresses from California to New York. The wonderful response received in answer to these invitations can be realized only by those who attended the reunion. More than three hundred came.

June first of last year was a bright, beautiful day. The season being late, Nature was at her best. The green carpet of the Umpqua hills was a-gleam with the bloom of wild flowers, which nowhere grow in more profusion. Birds sang from the trees and the fields, and as the old bell in the high belfry rang to call the assembled crowd together, men and women met who had been boys and girls in school there forty years ago. Many had not seen one another since.

The exercises were held out of doors in the school yard, with the porch of the former academy as the stage. A pro-

gram of speeches and songs was given by old-time students and teachers. Beneath the oak trees nearby the Wilbur people had prepared and spread an excellent noon-time meal.

To perpetuate the ideas inculcated by the old institution and to preserve the history and strengthen the ties of early association, it was decided to form a permanent organization. Officers for the year were elected. A committee was appointed to draft articles of association for adoption at the next yearly meeting. From these proposed articles the real object of the association can best be set out by quoting:

1. To unite in a permanent organization all students and teachers of the Umpqua Academy; to renew and extend acquaintance and friendship of students and teachers and patrons of the school.

2. To gather, publish and preserve the history of the Umpqua Academy, its teachers, students and patrons.

3. To mark the location of the first building and provide a fitting memorial to Rev. James H. Wilbur, the founder.

4. To stimulate the interest of education in the Wilbur Public School.

The affairs of the association are to be handled by an executive committee, which is to be elected annually. An historian is provided to "gather, edit and present in proper form all historical data in harmony with the objects of this association." Funds are provided through initiation, annual dues and voluntary contributions.

It is difficult to measure the influence of such an institution as the Umpqua Academy upon a community. To do so it is necessary to know both the principles upon which it was founded and the character of its founders. Founded by Father Wilbur, who was himself missionary, Indian agent, and "circuit rider" for the Methodist Church, a man of great physical endurance and courage, as well as moral force and high intellectual endowment; and maintained by far-seeing pioneers of sterling worth and integrity, it is not strange that its influence extends and is felt far beyond the picturesque village named for its founder, or the boundaries of the county in which lie the various valleys of the Umpqua rivers.

Says a prominent stock buyer whose operations range throughout Northern California and the five southwestern counties of Oregon to the Klamath and Goose Lake basins:

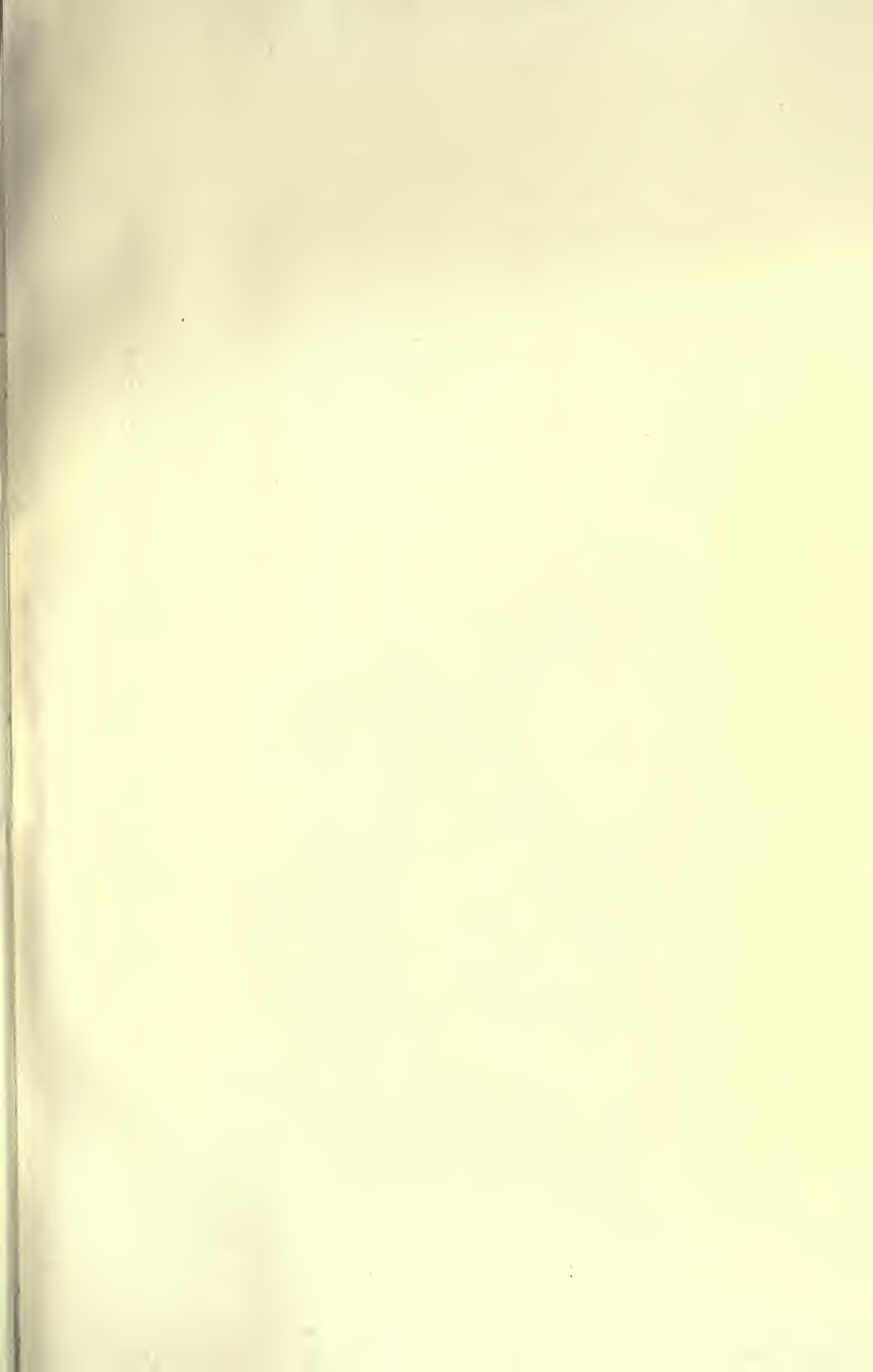
"Wherever night overtakes me I am sure of hanging my hat on the walls of a home from which some member of the family went to school in the old days at the Umpqua Academy and reminiscently recalls them in conversation."

A prominent educator of the state, formerly a student there, recently said to the writer:

"For many years the Academy was the only institution of higher learning between Salem and Sacramento, and thus drew its students from a large part of two states, and as they returned to take up their various occupations in life, they carried with them the high ideals of the old school and wove them into the fabric of two commonwealths. They have been constructive state builders."

A glance at the old school roster will verify his statement. Students of the old Academy have gone to our legislative halls. Some have gained prominence in the profession of medicine and of law. Many eminent educators, editors and statesmen who have gained the top round in these professions received their first inspiration and early training at the old school. Successful business men and those following vocational lines of work recall with musing pleasure the days profitably and happily spent under its roof.

It is safe to venture the statement that no institution of similar size has wielded a greater influence for good than has the old Umpqua Academy.





BINGER HERMANN, 1918

EARLY HISTORY OF SOUTHERN OREGON.*

By BINGER HERMANN.

Four score years and more have already passed away in the revolving circle of time since the beginning of American settlement west of the Rocky mountains.

First came the American missionary, and with him came the trader and commercial adventurer, although these latter had long before made fruitless endeavors here. Soon there followed by sea and by land, the homebuilder, the settler and empire founder. These brought that characteristic American spirit for civil government, by consent of the governed, which began with a Provisional Government, expanding into a Territorial government, after the acquisition of national title, and thence into statehood Feb. 14, 1859, the close of our pioneer history. Though marvelous have been these evolutions in the conquest of the wilderness and comparatively remote the time, yet there are those still living who remember seeing, and perhaps standing, on the very site of the present magnificent metropolis and city of Portland in which this historic body is now assembled. It was then a dense, primeval forest, unclaimed and uninhabited by the white man.

Perhaps a fair object lesson in the progress of events may be that in the present change of quarters of the Oregon Historical Society from their long tenanted, obscure and insufficient offices to these modern and capacious rooms in this palatial auditorium.

This all reminds us that we are in a new West—a new age—and that the old pioneer West is past and gone—a thing of splendid history and instructive memories. No portion of the national domain is so fortunate as Oregon in the fullness and accuracy of its historic record.

Beginning with Lewis and Clark, Hall J. Kelley, Washington Irving, Gray's, Hines' and Bancroft's histories, with the in-

*Address delivered before the annual meeting of the members of the Oregon Historical Society, October 28, 1917.

valuable memoirs of McLoughlin, Nesmith, Applegate, Deady and other eminent pioneer writers, our libraries and this association are stored with a wealth, rich beyond computation.

To one who has the honor of addressing this valued association, the mind first reverts to the distinguished men and revered pioneers who have preceded him in the discharge of the same duty. The contributions they have made to our pioneer history are a precious legacy to those who shall succeed us.

They were themselves all actors in the great drama of empire building, and have placed on record the parts they each have played. They have enabled us to see as in a moving picture the events long since past and the men and women who shaped them in the discovery, the conquest, and development of the vast empire of which we are a part.

Though the actors themselves have nearly all gone and those that remain are old and gray, yet their memories are embalmed in these reminiscences and in the grateful remembrance they have left behind them.

Lastly, let us not forget what we owe to the conservators and zealous keepers of these cherished records, for if it were not for them the accumulation we now possess in our pioneer library would not have been contributed, or would have been lost in the mutilations of time.

To this end let us weave a chaplet of thanksgiving and appreciation though in words far too poor, to one more than all the rest and while he still lives—your honored curator, George H. Himes.

In other addresses more thought has been given to our pioneer history as a whole, or to some special event or individual relators composing a part of it. To me as a pioneer of the Territorial days and one who has made Southern Oregon his home and his study for much over half a century, the pleasant task has been assigned to address you upon that subject alone.

It was Caesar in his opening "Commentaries" without preface and very abruptly, who says: "Gaul is divided into three parts." So we may say of Oregon, that it too is really divided into three parts. All that portion east of the Cascade Moun-

tains is one; that portion north of the waters of the Umpqua is another, while all that south is the third, and may be said to embrace Southern Oregon.

Of all the parts, indeed of all the Pacific Northwest, or of the entire Pacific Coast states, none has contributed so complete a history in stirring details of the desperate struggle and daring adventure and varied developments in industrial progress as Southern Oregon.

In no other portion have the aborigines so stubbornly and so savagely resisted the white man's invasion of their abode. In no other portion was the advancing civilization so remote and so dependent upon the lone efforts of the explorer and home builder. Long following the days of Captain Gray, the Lewis and Clark, and the Astorian sea and land expeditions, the Columbia was the Mecca of the sailor and the fur hunter, and yet then and later upon the waters of the lower Columbia and Willamete, the natives were far less hostile and received the oncoming whites with more welcome than in the Southern Oregon country after its exploration. Even the Hudson's Bay Company had their friendship.

Tidewater navigation has ever been the most potent agency in the civilization and development of all countries and quickly overcame the hostility of the original inhabitants. It became the easy and attractive highway of most all mankind.

Southern Oregon until a later day was without this great auxiliary, and portions of it never became directly accessible by water. It also followed as a sequence that the more remote and inaccessible a region, the more inhospitable and irreconcilable were the native inhabitants to the white man's entrance. They were also noted as more brave, more savage, and unconquerable than those nearer the Coast. Their approach was by Indian trail with its tortuous windings over the mountains, through hidden canyons and across impassable streams; and not by the easy current of the ebb and flow of the sea. In the settlement of all new countries the boat first came before the wagon.

For long years and until gold discoveries, Southern Oregon

suffered the lack of a local market with long and costly outlet to that more remote, while the Willamette and lower Columbian settlements had the early ship arrivals with the steady demand of a Hudson's Bay Company. Later on and in 1843, greater facilities opened up there to increased population by the old Emigrant Road from Fort Hall. Lewis and Clark believed the Multnomah—the Willamette now—"watered the vast extent of country as far perhaps," they say, "as the waters of the Gulf of California." Vigilant explorers they were, yet to them it was the terra incognita, or "dark Continent."

"Nor dint of hoof nor print of foot
Lay in the wild and arid soil;
No sign of travel, none of toil.
The very air was mute."

The first white man's voice from that benighted region was in a cry of distress. This was in 1828, when Jedediah Smith, that intrepid American explorer and trapper, suffered an Indian massacre of most of his party when crossing the lower Umpqua river en route from California up the Coast heavily laden with furs valued at \$40,000.

He with two others safely reached Vancouver. He was a most remarkable man, and the first white man to lead a party across the Rocky Mountains to California.

Two years later the Hudson's Bay Company established their first trading post in Southern Oregon upon the Umpqua River opposite Elk Creek and named it Fort Umpqua.

Other trappers from the Willamette visited the country in 1832, and later, but it was not until 1837 that Ewing Young, a name afterwards noted in Oregon pioneer annals, with a party of other settlers from the Willamette, traveled through the country for purposes in aid of civilization. They were traveling to California to purchase cattle for Willamette settlers, and though they later returned over the same trail with a large herd of cattle, they were several times attacked by hostile Indians on the Klamath and Rogue Rivers, but more severely at Rock Point, on the latter river in September, where one of the whites was killed and two others wounded, who

later died on reaching the Umpqua Valley. These attacks deterred other whites from traveling there for some time.

A few years after this tragedy, another visit for a peaceable purpose in the Christianizing of the Indians, was that by Jason Lee and Gustavus Hines, the pioneer Methodist Missionaries, who sought to establish a mission among the Umpqua River Indians. This was in 1840. The outlook they found was too discouraging and the Indians too treacherous to hazard a mission there. These Indians were the same tribe that twelve years before had massacred the first coming of the white men under Jedediah Smith.

The first most public attraction to the country since then was in 1846, when it was believed that a shorter and easier route for the incoming immigration than others had already traveled down the waters of the Snake and Columbia Rivers and the Barlow Pass, was by the Southern Pass from Fort Hall by the Humboldt, the Modoc and Klamath countries, and thence by the Rogue River and through the almost impassable Umpqua Canyon. This route was attempted with a caravan of nearly 100 wagons carrying immigrants and supplies. These Argonauts were sustained with the spirit of hope and confidence as they mentally chanted the pioneer refrain:

"We cross the prairie as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West as they the East,
The household of the free."

By incredible effort and much suffering and property loss, the way was opened. The next year many again traveled it to avoid the hostile Cayuse Indians on the upper Columbia. But with all this travel through Southern Oregon, none remained to settle it.

It was not until 1848, the first white men ventured into the country to make settlement. But these were only a few courageous settlers who settled choice land claims in the Yoncalla and Looking Glass Valleys, though it is believed that as early as 1847 Warren N. Goodell located upon the land now the site of the town of Drain. No earlier settlements than these

were known to have been in entire Southern Oregon. That well remembered man in Oregon history—Jesse Applegate—settled in 1849 in the Yoncalla Valley and lived there to his death long years after.

It remained, however, for California gold discoveries in 1848 to give a new life to Southern Oregon in the passing hosts of gold seekers from the Willamette settlements. The trails were crowded with horses and mules carrying the excited travelers with their packs to the new Eldorado. To these, however, the fertile lands passed over had no attractions. The quest was only for gold.

But it was in 1850 the real promise and active influence came toward the most effective future and permanent awakening of Southern Oregon. It came in the exploring party in the ship *Samuel Roberts* in the early part of that year into the Umpqua River. They came to explore, to invest and to settle. Their primary purpose was to seek a river or bay with a safe and navigable outlet to the high seas, and with a deep tide-water channel into the interior. This they found in the Umpqua. Their further purpose united with this was the opening of a practicable land communication from their sea port to the nearest point in the gold mining regions of Northern California, over which supplies and miners could be transported more easily, quickly and cheaply than by the long traveled route from Portland or San Francisco. For this public convenience, but more for their own investment, sites for towns were to be located at eligible points, and were regularly surveyed and laid out as at Umpqua City, at the mouth of the river, Scottsburg at the head of tidewater, Elkton on Elk Creek opposite the old Fort Umpqua, and Winchester on the North Umpqua, where travelers and pack trains were crossing over on their way to the mines. From Scottsburg trails were opened and improved ferries established, and soon a lively traffic ensued from that place to the south. It was to the magnetic attraction of gold in California that these evolutions were due.

A still greater attraction was now to have origin within

Southern Oregon itself and was to do more toward its real settlement and permanent development than all the rest. This was in the accidental discovery of gold within our own bounds by Cluggage and Pool, in 1851, upon the site of the present town of Jacksonville. They were packers, and were passing through the country and when seeking for water at their evening camp the shining nuggets came to view. This so stimulated prospecting and exploiting in other sections as to uncover other deposits and soon rich discoveries gave sudden wealth to many seekers in all parts of Southern Oregon. Though thieving and murderous Indians lay in wait and ambush to rob and to massacre, yet population poured in both from California and from the Willamette settlements. This, therefore, may be said to have been the third most notable event in Southern Oregon history. Scottsburg, Winchester and the newer town of Jacksonville, were given added importance by these later developments.

Yet to the seekers, it was not all gold that glitters. To the far-seeing and energetic the way places over which they passed presented to view another wealth in that of the fertile lands, the grassy meadows and pure waters. A vision of home and state building arrested their feverish and now more toilsome search for gold. Their packs were opened, their tents spread, and lands selected under the Donation and Pre-emption law, and cabins followed in the wake toward the social and political system of an advanced civilization.

One of these wayfarers was Aaron Rose, who on returning from the mines on September 23, 1851, located upon the beautiful site, now the city of Roseburg, which he soon platted for a town, and which grew so rapidly as in two years to outrank Winchester, the capital of the county of Douglas created in 1852, and so to absorb its traffic as to require the removal to Roseburg, and to cause its decline, and virtual disappearance.

It was in the year 1851 Port Orford upon the sea coast was located, and claimed under the Donation law by Captain William Tichenor, afterwards a noted man in our pioneer history. He was captain of the pioneer steamer *Sea Gull* which

ran between Portland and San Francisco. He conceived the same idea as that of the Samuel Roberts Umpqua Expedition, to establish a base at Port Orford, from which supplies could be transported more directly over the mountains to the gold mines to the south, and for this purpose the location and construction of a trail or roadway. He selected a small company of volunteers at Portland, and located them on June 9th, 1851, at Port Orford, and intended to continue onward to San Francisco and there enlist a larger number as an increased force, and promised to return with them within a short and fixed time. Those left at Port Orford made their camp upon a rocky islet, connected with the main land only at low water. They fortified themselves with the ship's cannon left with them, as from the appearance and character of the Indians there, they deemed such precaution necessary. Soon, as they had feared, they were attacked by a much larger force than themselves, and a severe struggle ensued. The little cannon placed upon the narrow and steep ridge, or approach to the summit, faced the attacking Indians, and with an enfilading fire, swept those in advance into the sea, killing some fifteen of them. The others retreated upon the beach and awaited reinforcements. Not willing to hazard another engagement with their diminished ammunition and confined position, the little band of whites awaited the protection of night, and then stealthily made their escape into the trackless interior. This episode has since been known as the "Siege of Battle Rock," and its full narration would furnish material for a Sir Walter Scott or a Fenimore Cooper.

Another attempt was made to continue the proposed road construction by another party under Col. W. G. T'Vault, on August 23, 1851. They were all well armed and mounted, but becoming lost in the mountains, they were reduced to the verge of starvation but found an outlet to the Coast where they were beset by hostile Indians near the mouth of the Coquille river just as they were landing. A murderous conflict ensued. It was an intended massacre of the whole party. The most of them were slain or severely wounded and the

survivors escaped after incredible hardships, adding another thrilling story to the long record of Oregon pioneer suffering and sacrifice.

The quick requisition of the U. S. troops from California to redress these outrages brought on a campaign against those Indians, and this gave a wide publicity of the country, and the coming of more whites soon after. A portion of the troops were sent by sea in the ship *Captain Lincoln* in January, 1852, and were wrecked on the beach two miles north of Coos Bay. They were compelled to remain in this isolated portion of the world for four months before a rescue force came to their relief. This narrative alone reads more like fiction. The ship *Nassau* was brought to Coos Bay, the first ship ever to enter upon its waters, to bring away the wrecked supplies saved from the *Lincoln*.

A garrison post was now established by the Government at Port Orford from which for several years military relief was sent out at different times in the Rogue River Indian War. Some of its officers became eminent in our Nation's history, and were commanders of its armies in the great Civil war. Indeed, Oregon may be said to have been the nursery for our country's greatest generals in that terrible conflict.

At this point it may be pertinent to say—as our history now verges upon the several Indian wars to follow—that the Coast Indians as a whole were naturally friendly to the whites and averse to engaging in hostilities against them, but were in awe and terror of the warring tribes of the Rogue River and Shasta Indians. They were the bandits and outlaws of the tribes. They would visit the Coast from their interior battle grounds and infuse mischief and fear among the more peaceful natives, and compel them to unite in acts of thievery and massacre. These interior tribes were from the very beginning of the white man's coming his inveterate and most savage foe, and so continued down to the last day of their surrender in 1856.

It was in the month of May, 1853, that another event of leading importance in Southern Oregon settlement occurred.

This was in the exploration of the Coos Bay Country by a party of miners from Jacksonville, under their leader, Perry B. Marple. Visiting Indians to the interior gave information of the immense deposits of coal in the Bay Country, of its splendid harbor and deep sea entrance, of the gigantic timber and of its fisheries, and its gold deposits along the Coquille waters. At a public meeting of citizens at Jacksonville, a company was organized to visit and explore that country, to select and appropriate town sites, mining claims, and timber holdings. This was all done in a manner that makes another rich narrative of adventure, and danger, in what is now Oregon's second greatest commercial entrepot. Empire City was the name given the first townsite, and located by Captain Wm. H. Harris; Marshfield was the second by J. C. Tolman, and North Bend by F. G. Lockhart. Soon thereafter coal mines at West Port were opened by Flanagan and Mann, who were of the Umpqua Exploration of 1850, and ship-building was commenced by Captain A. M. Simpson at North Bend with a saw-mill beginning by H. H. Luse at Empire City.

In January, 1854, the ship *Demans Cove* was the first vessel ever to enter Coos Bay for purpose of settlement and development and the second ship after the *Nassau*.

The fertile valley of the Coquille nearby had been slowly visited by trappers, miners and stockmen from the Bay, until 1858, when my father, Dr. Henry Hermann, brought to it for permanent settlement, a colony of Baltimoreans. At the mouth of that river, still earlier, indeed as early as 1853, and following the Coos Bay Exploration, gold was discovered on the beach a short distance north of the Coquille river, which yielded immense returns of fine gold, washed from the beach sand. It attracted large numbers of miners and traders and soon a town known as Randolph arose with lucrative business, which continued there for several years until the mines were exhausted and the town disappeared, with all its inhabitants.

In 1852 another gold discovery was made which opened up to notice and development that portion of Southern Oregon

now forming a part of Josephine County. It was made by a party of sailors, from which in early days the place was known as Sailors' Diggings, but later on as Waldo. It became a prosperous town, and is still the center of many well known and very rich placer mines.

It was not long before other discoveries were made in other parts of the same region, and which have made Josephine one of the richest mining counties in the state.

So important in 1852 had the shipping of Scottsburg become to Southern Oregon and Northern California that often as many as 500 pack mules in one day awaited supplies for the mines, and the United States Government in that year was induced to provide for the construction of a Military Wagon Road beginning there and extending through to Camp Stewart, following closely the old trail. Congress appropriated \$120,000 for the work, and it was placed under the superintendency of Col. Joseph Hooker, afterwards the great Union General in the Civil War, and known as "Fighting Joe Hooker of Look-out Mountain."

This further greatly aided in the increase of population and prosperity of entire Southern Oregon. Ashland was that year located by R. B. Hargadine.

Thus far in serial order the finding and material development of Southern Oregon has been followed by its pioneer history.

To review in conclusion the desperate struggles of the aborigines to retain possession of their ancestral inheritance would require space not permitted here.

Reference has already been made to occasional hostilities at various times and places prior to 1852, but it was not until 1853, after increased white arrivals were tempted by exploitation and gold discoveries and with actual appropriation of the Indian lands for permanent homes, that occasional resistance turned to continuous and aggressive warfare.

A compact for this purpose was entered into between the hostiles and including those east of the Cascades. It was to have been a war of extermination. It began in most united

attacks in 1853 upon the whites at Grave Creek, Table Rock, Stewart Creek and Evans Creek, when General Joseph Lane, Captain J. W. Nesmith, Col. John E. Ross, were in command of the volunteer forces and Captain A. J. Smith, Captain Alden and Lieutenant A. V. Kautz of the regulars, against the attacking Indians, led mainly by Chiefs Joe, Sam and John. After heroic struggle on both sides, with a number of killed and wounded of whites and Indians, an armistice was entered into with an agreement that a council should be held at Table Rock on September 10, 1853, and a treaty made whereby the Indians should relinquish their claim to the main Rogue River Valley, and go peaceably upon a reservation to be provided for them in the northern part of the state, and with payments of annuities and other benefits to be made the Indians by the U. S. Government.

Such a council and such a treaty was had with ceremonies and unexpected treachery that approached the verge of a tragedy. From that treaty it was hoped that a lasting peace would result. The volunteer military forces were disbanded and returned to their homes. The Treaty Indians were temporarily held at Fort Lane until they could be moved to the reserve. The year 1854 passed away with continued assurance that the peace would be permanent. Settlers and miners had returned to their homes and their mines and resumed their avocations with no further apprehensions. But, alas! their hopes were delusive. There were quarrelsome whites as well as hostile Indians. Slight offenses were magnified. In the Klamath Country an Indian uprising was defeated by the military, with losses on both sides. Still the Treaty Indians refrained from open hostilities, until a most unfortunate and most unprovoked assault by a company of whites was made at dawn of day upon a little band of peaceful Indians quietly encamped on Butte Creek. These Indians were mainly old men, women and children. About 20 of them were killed, consisting mainly of decrepit old men, and a number of children and several squaws. This atrocious massacre was severely condemned by Captain A. J. Smith, in command at Fort Lane nearby.

It is true that preceding this hostile act, some murderous hostiles had attacked the Harris home, killing him, and then were driven off by the heroic defense of Mrs. Harris. Other offenses were instigated by the more hostile Indians who complained at the delay in the observance by the Government of the treaty obligations which was represented as an evidence of treachery and bad faith toward the Treaty Indians, and soon conflicts followed at many places. Mounted volunteer troops were called into action. The Governor issued a proclamation ordering out nine different companies. The battle of Hungry Hill had before been fought with unsatisfactory results. The troops were later met by the hostiles at the Meadows where a severe engagement followed, in which one white was killed and five wounded, with but one Indian wounded.

In the midst of this excitement, however, the greater body of the Treaty Indians were kept under guard and were removed to the reservation.

The last and most eventful year of the war came in 1856 at the Big Meadows on Rogue River near where the hostiles had fortified up for a final test. Gen. Lamerick, Col. Kelsay, Col. W. W. Chapman and Major Bruce, were active in command of the volunteers. The battle began but was maintained by the volunteers with so little energy and daring that the casualties were small on both sides. It was really a draw. The Whites went into camp and the Indians withdrew.

The Government was discouraged with these ineffectual attempts to overcome the hostilities, and resolved upon a more determined and decisive prosecution of the war. Regular troops were ordered up from California, in addition to those already in the country. The Indians observing these preparations, assembled in their natural fortifications in the mountain fastnesses, for defense, along the Rogue river. The military plan entered upon was for the California troops to move up the Coast and ascend the river, and for those on the upper river to descend and there to concentrate, and between them to crush the hostiles on their own ground. These movements had their influence upon the hostiles, who being communi-

cated with agreed to a conference with the military authorities at a place upon the Illinois river.

Lieutenant Colonel Buchanan was in command and most of the regular troops, with throngs of Indians, were present, at the time and place agreed upon. The main body of the assembled Indians agreed to remove to the reservation; all except their great Chief John who insisted on remaining upon his own favorite grounds, otherwise he said he would fight. Another council, to meet at Big Meadows on May 26th, was mutually agreed upon, when the removal to the reservation should begin.

The Military under Captain A. J. Smith with his 80 dragoons, were present on the day named, but no Indians came. The wretched weather seemed an excuse. Toward evening two squaws came into camp with a message from Chief George to Captain Smith, warning him to expect an attack. The Captain at once removed his troops to a more elevated and defensive position, and there he prepared to meet the enemy. Early on the 27th he dispatched an aid over the mountains to Col. Buchanan, announcing the expected attack. The aid returned with the Colonel's request to know if reinforcements were desired, to which the Captain explained the necessity for such. But his messengers becoming lost upon the trails, delayed the reply for some hours, but when received a company under Captain Augur, afterwards a great General in the Civil War, hurried to Smith's relief, and came suddenly in view just as the savages were making their last assault upon three sides of the beleaguered fort. The troops had fought all day and already nearly one-half had been slain and wounded. They had been cut off from all water and their ammunition was nearly exhausted, while the Indians were being continually reinforced. The loud commanding voice of Chief John could be distinctly heard sending forth his orders, with all the deliberation and saneness of a military disciplinarian.

The onrush of Captain Augur's company was a surprise to the Indians, who now being attacked in the rear, made a hurried flight down the hillsides and away into forest cover to

the Chief's headquarters. The siege was turned and the day saved.

This defeat with much loss of life to the Indians, compelled their surrender on May 30th, with Chief John and a few of his renegades still holding out. But by July 1st all had come in, including John, and the Indian Wars of Southern Oregon were forever at an end.

The captives were all assembled at Port Orford and they numbered when there 1,300. From there all were removed to the reservation.

Of all the Pacific Coast Indians Chief John ranks as the ablest, most heroic and most tactical of chieftains. Our army officers in pursuit, and in fight with him all testify to his remarkable strategy, daring and dash.

Of the perils and sacrifices of the early pioneer homeseekers during these hostile conflicts with the Indians, none can surpass that of the Geisel family near the mouth of the Rogue River. The settlers were having a dance at Gold Beach on the night of February 22, 1856. Most of them were there, but none of the Geisels. At the midnight hour, their Indian servant returning from his usual visit to the Indian rancherie some miles away, rapped at the door for admission. Geisel opened the door, when to his amazement, a crowd of infuriated savages burst in upon him, and with a blow upon his head, felled him to the floor, but in the midst of this his wife with infant in arms, moved to his rescue as he was falling. Taking her with the infant and her 13-year-old daughter to the outside, into the custody of others of the Indians, those inside awakened the three little boys from their sleep, and one by one they massacred them over the father's body. Then despoiling the dwelling of its most valued contents, they destroyed it by fire, with the bodies inside, and then with the survivors of the family, the Indians marched with their captives to their rancherie in the mountains some miles away. Three years later the writer passed by the ruins of the once happy home, and the ashes, and blackened stones, broken crockery and rusted stove still lay upon the ground, mute witnesses of the terrible conflict there.

The wild grasses and dense briars nearby seemingly refused to encroach upon the accursed spot, and a sense of loneliness and despair pervaded the scene.

The escaping settlers all fled to a previously prepared fort on the north side of Rogue River, where for an entire month they were isolated and cut off from rescue. Many besides the Geisels were slain on that night, among them being the Indian Agent, Ben Wright, who was lured to his death. Time and space do not permit the full story of those events, or of the captivity and ransom of the captives, and the rescue of the fortified settlers.

The career of Chief John, his exploits in war and surrender, his impatience and royal demeanor, when under military custody, on the reserve, his respect for and assumed equality with Lieutenant Phil. Sheridan, his custodian, in command, with the story of his enforced removal by ship to the California prison, and his attempted capture of the ship on the journey when opposite the mouth of Rogue River, all form a narrative of thrilling interest.

As a memoir and fitting close to these observations upon the pioneer history of Southern Oregon, a less brief recital should do credit to many persons, men and women who achieved distinction in those pioneer days and became in later years eminent in all walks of life, many in the state's history and others in the annals of our nation. And such is but a glimpse of early Southern Oregon.

To its departed ones in the stirring scenes we linger in fondest memory and inscribe in tenderest words our thoughts:

“Warm summer sun
Shine kindly here.
Warm southern wind
Blow softly here.

“Green sod above,
Lie light, lie light,
Good night, dear hearts;
Good night, good night.”

JOEL WARE

A Sketch.

Joel Ware was a pioneer of Lane County, Oregon, and although he did not attain statewide celebrity, his local distinction and worth were such as to entitle him to worthy mention in the annals of the state.

Joel Ware was living in Eugene when the writer of this sketch came to that place in the fall of 1858. He was a compositor by vocation and at that time was employed on the *People's Press*,* a free soil paper, which had been established during the previous summer. As the writer recollects it, in addition to being a typesetter for that paper he was proof reader and pressman as well; he also had charge of the local column and occasionally did editorial writing. Mr. Ware had fine mental poise, sound judgment and a dry humor which enlivened whatever he said or wrote. His editorials were models of clearness and directness. I do not suppose he ever attempted to compose an ornate or eloquent sentence. To express his thoughts in plain vigorous language was always his aim. This was manifest not only in his occasional editorial writing but also in the reports he prepared for the Surveyor General when chief clerk in his office.

How long he remained with *People's Press* is not remembered by the writer, but probably until the midsummer of 1861, when he was appointed to a position in the U. S. Surveyor General's office by B. J. Pengra, Surveyor General, one of the founders of the *People's Press*, who consequently had personal knowledge of Ware's capability for any line of service he engaged to perform. The Surveyor General made no mistake in inducting him into his official family when it is remembered that he continued his connection with the Surveyor General's office nine years, the greater part of the time as chief draftsman and chief clerk, when he voluntarily resigned in order to answer the call of his fellow-citizens to come up higher. This call may truly be considered a reward of merit.

*The *People's Press* was lineal parent of the *State Journal*, so long and ably conducted by Harrison R. Kincaid.

In the spring of 1870 Mr. Ware was prevailed upon by his party friends to become a candidate for County Clerk of Lane County, and although the county was strongly Democratic, and he a candidate on the Republican ticket, he was elected by a handsome plurality. This result was not entirely due to Ware's popularity, but largely to the fact that there were two rival candidates voted for by the opposite party.

That Ware was the right man in the right place is manifest, for he was re-elected nine times consecutively, thus having an unbroken tenure of the office for the fifth of a century, and for the greater part of that time the county was Democratic. This certainly was a tribute to his capability and trustworthiness in his office.

Ware's clarity of mind, and close application to the duties of the positions he occupied will be realized by the fact that he attained a thorough mastership in them all. When in the Surveyor General's office he became a recognized authority on every feature of the U. S. Land Laws and departmental regulations thereunder. As a draftsman in the Surveyor General's office he attained such proficiency in all branches of the work pertaining to such position as to rival James Curley, his illustrious co-laborer in that department; as a compositor he gave eminent satisfaction to his employers; and his long tenure of office as County Clerk is proof of his thoroughness and efficiency as such functionary.

After retiring from the County's Clerk office he engaged in the abstract and real estate business, for which no one was better qualified. He continued in this business until the infirmity incident upon old age necessitated complete retirement from life's activities.

Ware was married to Miss "Bettie" Cochran, of Mohawk, Oregon, in 1859, and raised quite a family. He was an unusually kind and indulgent father. He died in the spring of 1901 aged seventy-one years.

Mr. Ware was a native of Ohio, of Quaker parentage. Although he discarded the most of the peculiarities of that sect, he rigidly adhered to its cardinal tenets, namely, industry,

honesty and morality, for he possessed those ethic and civic virtues to a marked degree. He was a genial companion, a loyal friend and an upright generous citizen, and the lingering relics of the generation to which he belonged and which had the good fortune to enjoy his friendship will cherish the memory of him while life lasts.

GEORGE STOWELL.

Portland, Oregon, December 10, 1917.

NEWS AND COMMENT

THE NAME COQUILLE

Coquille River, near Coos Bay, is entitled to the right pronunciation of its name, whether French *ko-keel* or Indian *ko-quell*, but the pronunciation has been in dispute for, lo, these many years. Mr. S. B. Cathcart, pioneer of 1853, wrote to *The Oregonian* February 22 last, that the word should be spoken *ko-quell*, in reply to that newspaper's acceptance of the other pronunciation.

The question seems to hang on the origin of the name, and that is disputed. If the French word *coquille*, meaning "shell," is the source, then *ko-keel* is as near as the American tongue can say it. *Scoquel* is the form of the name appearing in *The Oregonian* January 7, 1854, in an advertisement of Perry B. Marple, whose *Coose Bay Company* of adventurers, from Jacksonville, was then exploring and exploiting Coos Bay. Marple said in the advertisement that *Scoquel River* was the Indian name of an eel, and that he hoped *Coquell* would not supplant *Scoquel*. In Walling's *History of Jackson, Josephine, Douglas and Curry Counties* (p. 496), the source of the name is given as *Nes-sa-til-cut*. Like many other paleface theories pertaining to the dusky Indians, this relating to *Coquille* may be only partly true or wholly fanciful.

In the earliest map known to contain the name of this river, that of John B. Preston, Surveyor General of Oregon in 1851-54, it appears *Coquette*, under date of October 20, 1851. This form, *Coquette*, could easily have been an error in place of *Coquelle*. The name appears *Coquille* in a map, dated 1856, of J. W. Trutch (assistant to Surveyor General Preston, and the surveyor who located the base line of all surveys in the Pacific Northwest) and G. W. Hyde. *Coquille* also appears in a map of 1855, made by G. H. Goddard, "from explorations of Governor Stevens," and published at San Francisco by Britton and Rey.

B. J. Pengra, Surveyor General of Oregon in 1861, made

a map in that year, showing *Coquille*, and a similar map in 1863. In 1869 Harvey W. Scott "wrote up" the Coos Bay and Coquille country in *The Oregonian*, and brought back the pronunciation *ko-keel*. A recent letter from Binger Hermann, whose life-long familiarity with Coos Bay matters makes him an authority, likewise favors *ko-keel*. He cites the similar French word, and suggests that the name may have come from the French-Canadian trappers of the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, who scoured the coast country from a time perhaps earlier than 1815. These trappers may have left the word *coquille* among the Indians. The latter may have imitated the word in *ko-quell*, which early white settlers in Coquille Valley yet pronounce that way. Frequent names in Oregon have mysterious origin, and efforts to derive them from French or Spanish or Indian forms are not satisfactory. *Oregon* is such a name, and *Rickreall* and *Luckiamute* and *Long Tom*. Meanwhile, as to *ko-quell* or *ko-keel*, the evidence seems to favor the latter. The accepted spelling is *Coquille*.

THE LATE HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

Mr. Bancroft, the most voluminous of Pacific West historians, may have left a fame more enduring in the long lapse of time than that of any other person who has lived and wrought in this area. His thirty-nine volumes show immense labor and perseverance, and represent large sacrifice of personal fortune. His death took place March 2, 1918, near San Francisco, at the age of 86 years.

His work did not escape criticism, for there have been many persons who delighted in picking errors or in finding fault with Mr. Bancroft's "compilation" methods—history by wholesale—contrasted with the "digestive" methods of more skillful historians. But the volumes are a reference library that will last for all time, and if Mr. Bancroft had not devoted his fortune and his energy to them, they would not have been published, nor would the great Bancroft Collection, now the

property of the University of California, be in existence. Much of the labor of collecting and writing he assigned to his assistants, for its magnitude was beyond the powers of any one person.

Among the writers who will be remembered along with Mr. Bancroft is the Oregon author and historian, Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor. She was the ablest of his assistants, and it is fair to both of them, in paying tribute to the Bancroft publications, to point out that she contributed much to their success. "At least six of the volumes which today pass as the works of Hubert Howe Bancroft were written by her," says William A. Morris, one of Bancroft's editors, in the *Quarterly* of December, 1902 (Vol. III, No. 4). "These are the *History of Oregon*, in two volumes, the *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana* (in one volume), the *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming* (in one volume) and the sixth and seventh volumes of the *History of California*. . . . Parts of the Bancroft *History of the Northwest Coast* and numerous biographies throughout the series are also from her pen." The *Quarterly*, in recording the great and indispensable service of Mr. Bancroft, has thought it fitting to remember also that of Frances Fuller Victor.

ZIGZAG RIVER

That the name *Zigzag River* originally was applied not to the present stream, along the Barlow Road below Laurel Hill, but to a stream east of Government Camp, is asserted by Mr. Ed. C. Ross, of Portland, a well known writer on pioneer subjects, who cites, as his authority, the testimony of members of the Barlow party (1845-46). Mr. Ross believes that the name *Zigzag* originally designated the present Barlow Creek, tributary of White River and the Deschutes.

The streams east and southeast of Government Camp along the Barlow Road are Salmon River and its tributaries, Red Creek and Sand Creek, all of whose waters flow into Sandy River; and on the east side of the divide, Barlow Creek, Bar-

low Camp, on the latter stream, where the Barlow party cached its wagons, in the winter of 1845-46, is some thirteen miles southeast of Government Camp. The first crossing of the present Zigzag River was some seven miles west of Government Camp. So that, if Mr. Ross is correct, the old name *Zigzag* was used about twenty miles distant from the old road crossing of the stream that now bears the name. This seems a wide stretch of probability. Names are rarely so readily changed in geographical nomenclature. In fact, names have been known to survive the ravages of time almost as firmly as mountains themselves.

The writer has found the name *Zigzag*, in its present location, as far back as 1852, in the pioneer journal of John T. Kerns, printed in the *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association (1914). For September 29, 1852, the Kerns journal reads: "Descended the remainder of Laurel Hill, drove five miles, crossed one fork of Zigzag Creek, then two miles more and crossed it twice in succession."

The question is, however, not of great importance, and the name is now attached to a well-known stream, where it will remain for all time. The history of the name is unknown. Joel Palmer, in his *Journal*, who, by the way, explored the course of the Barlow Road ahead of the Barlows and led the way through the Cascade Mountains, uses the word *zigzag* to designate the manner of descent to one of the streams flowing from Mount Hood. This was in the proximity of Zigzag River, not of Barlow Creek.

MARKING THE MULLAN ROAD

The Mullan Road in Montana recently has been marked by installation of eight monuments, and work is under way to mark it in Idaho, a monument having been already placed at Kellogg. This road, originally an Indian trail, was opened in 1859-62, by Captain John Mullan, with Government funds, between Fort Benton, head of steam navigation of the Missouri

River, and Wallula, on the Columbia River, 624 miles. The road was intended not only to connect the navigable waters of the two great rivers, across the continental divide, but also to provide a shorter route from Fort Laramie into the Pacific Northwest. The road was not a successful through highway, but served the uses of local progress and has important historical significance.

DEATH OF HIRAM M. CHITTENDEN

Death of Hiram M. Chittenden, at Seattle, October 9, 1917, takes away one of the foremost historians of the early pioneer West and a distinguished military engineer. He was a brigadier-general in the United States Army and almost reached the age of sixty years. His *History of the Fur Trade of the Far West*, published in 1902, is probably the most comprehensive and easy-reading authority on the subject. Collaborating with Alfred Talbot Richardson, he edited *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, published in 1905. His earlier work included *The Yellowstone National Park: Historical and Descriptive* (1893). The eighth edition of this book came out in March, 1917, and he was writing a final revision at the time of his death. *The American Historical Review* last year contained a review, written by him, of David Thompson's narrative. He was author, also, of several engineering treatises on Western subjects. He rendered distinguished service in engineering problems in the city of Seattle. His departure leaves widespread regret in historical circles and in his technical profession. He was born in New York state October 25, 1858, and graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1884. A small volume of his poems, written in his early life, was published in 1916 for Christmas distribution.

LATOURELL FALLS AS A MONUMENT

Latourell Falls, the scenic cataract of the Columbia River Highway, will live as a memorial to Joseph and Grace Latourell, whose name it bears. This couple was separated by death November 2, 1911, when the husband passed away, and, on March 6, 1917, the wife also joined the silent majority. Both were early pioneers, who made their home near the falls after their marriage February 14, 1859. Mr. Latourell was born at Keesville, New York, in 1831. He came to Oregon in 1855, and settled near the falls that bear his name in 1857. Grace Ough, who became his wife, was born in the Tualatin country in 1843. Her father was an employe of the Hudson's Bay Company, named Richard Ough, who came to Oregon in 1838. Guy W. Talbot, of Portland, presented Latourell Falls to the State of Oregon in 1914.

Joseph Latourell was the best known settler between Troutdale and Lower Cascades during many years of the pioneer period. He engaged in farming and mercantile business, and served as postmaster thirteen years at Latourell. Four of eight children survive: H. A. Latourell, of Gresham; J. C. and Clara E. Latourell, of Troutdale; Alice J. Courter, of Latourell.

PIONEER FAMILY JOURNAL OF JOHN TUCKER
SCOTT

"Across the Plains in 1852," journeyed by the family of John Tucker Scott, is recorded in the extant journal of Abigail Scott Duniway and is expected in the near future to be published. Among others of the family, well known in Oregon affairs, were Harvey W. Scott and Catharine A. Coburn. The family of eleven members started from Groveland, Illinois, April 2, 1852, with five wagons and sixteen yoke of oxen, and arrived at Oregon City September 28, 1852, after losing on the journey the mother, the youngest child, of four years, many of their oxen, and practically all of their worldly possessions. The father of John Tucker Scott had been the first

settler in Groveland township, Illinois, in 1824, from Kentucky, and it seemed natural for the next generation in 1852 to join the early settlers in Oregon. The journal, as recorded by Abigail Scott, then seventeen years of age, contains some 35,000 words, and would fill a volume of nearly 100 printed pages, if not abridged. It is in the possession of Dr. Clyde A. Duniway, son of Mrs. Duniway, president of Colorado College, at Colorado Springs, who will edit and annotate it for publication.

ANNUAL DINNER OF THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers had their annual dinner at Portland in the main dining room of the Chamber of Commerce, February 14, Oregon's anniversary of statehood. The attendance of pioneer descendants at this gathering was large, and betokened the growing importance of this organization amid the changing times that are giving the places of the commonwealth builders to their sons and daughters. Mrs. David P. Thompson, as president of the organization, arranged the event. Frederick V. Holman, president of the Oregon Historical Society, acted as toastmaster. The chief speakers were Frederick W. Mulkey, on "Oregon's Fifty-ninth Birthday"; Milton A. Miller, on "Oregon Pioneer Statesmen," and George H. Himes, on "Oregon's Historic Spots." Mr. Mulkey reviewed the pioneer and later progress of Oregon. Mr. Miller recalled the services of Oregon's most distinguished men, including Joseph Lane, Jesse Applegate and John McLoughlin, and paid particular tribute to Harvey W. Scott. This dinner of the Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers will be repeated each year on February 14.

ANGUS McDONALD REMINISCENCES

Publication of reminiscences of Angus McDonald, in the *Quarterly* of the Washington Historical Society July, 1917, is a

recent history contribution of value. The text is a narrative, written in 1881 by Mr. McDonald during and after a journey made by him in that year from his home on the Flathead Indian reservation, in Montana, to Victoria, British Columbia. The narrative contains observations and reminiscences running back forty years. For more than thirty years he served the Hudson's Bay Company as clerk and chief trader. He was the last in charge of that company's post at Fort Colville, on the Columbia River, in which capacity he annually exchanged furs for trading goods at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, then at Fort Nisqually, at Puget Sound, and later, at Fort Hope and Victoria, in British Columbia. His service was contemporary with the placer gold activities of British Columbia and the Columbia River country, the beginning of territorial government in Washington, Idaho and Montana, and the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad to the Coast. His participation in the events of his time and his many associations, together with a rather unexpected knowledge of classical literature and a lively imagination enabled him to write a very interesting narrative. The text is copiously annotated by three close readers of Northwest History. The manuscript is preserved in the State Historical Library at Helena, Montana. The editors are Judge F. W. Howay, William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers. The title is, "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West."

THIS YEAR'S DEATHS IN THE SOCIETY

Death has claimed six members of the Oregon Historical Society so far this year: Charles W. Fulton, William W. Cotton, David C. Burns and Theodore B. Wilcox, of Portland, and Nathaniel Webb, of Walla Walla, and Charles W. Young, of Eugene.

Mr. Fulton passed away January 27, aged 65 years. He came to Oregon in 1876, and represented this state in the United States Senate in 1903-09. He was widely beloved and

had a larger personal following, probably, than anybody else in political life in this commonwealth.

Mr. Cotton was a foremost lawyer of Oregon, a kindly and lovable man, and his passing is deeply regretted. He died at Los Angeles March 13, 1918. His residence in Oregon began in 1889. His native state was Iowa, where he was born in 1859. Mr. Cotton's eminence in his profession and in the rail-road world never barred him from the approach of deserving persons, or caused him to overlook the little acts of kindness which men and women and children admire and carry in their hearts.

Mr. Burns died February 19. He was a resident of Portland since 1880, in which year he came from Scotland. He engaged in the grocery business and was highly esteemed. He represented Multnomah County in the Legislature.

Theodore Burvey Wilcox came to Portland forty-one years ago, as a bank clerk, and, in a few years, became a very valuable asset of the Ladd and Tilton Bank, and assistant to William S. Ladd. His organizing and enterprising talents brought him into the flour milling business, and he made it one of the leading industries of Portland, both in production and commerce. Production of wheat and trade and transportation of this cereal, and the manufacture of flour have been activities vital to the whole Northwest country. Mr. Wilcox may be considered the most active figure in the progress of this great industry. His importance is not a posthumous realization; it won him the attention of his fellow citizens many years before his death. His is one of the big names of the Northwest.

THE PIONEER DEATH LIST

Many pioneers have yielded to the final summons this year. Those who have passed out since the year began have been recorded in the lists of the Oregon Historical Society as follows:

Aiken, Andrew G., b. Pa., 1837; 1853; d. Dec. 31, 1917.
Baltimore, David C., b. Ind., 1849; 1853; d. Jan. 9, 1918.
Bolton, Mrs. Oliva, b. Va., 1831; 1852; d. Feb. 19, 1918.

- *Burns, Mrs. Milicent Conyers, b. Ky., 1826; 1852; d. March 17, 1918.
 Casey, James, b. Ireland, 1827; 1851; d. March 20, 1918.
 Chapman, George, 1852; d. March 16, 1918.
 Cheadle, Raphael, b. Ohio, 1829; 1852; d. Feb. 26, 1918.
 Clark, B. S., 1853; d. Jan., 1918.
 Cornelius, Mrs. Rachel McKinney, b. Ind., 1833; 1845; d. Feb. 22, 1918.
 Debel, Mrs. Margaret, b. 1828; 1858; d. March 21, 1918.
 Devlin, John, b. Ireland, 1835; 1858; d. March 2, 1918.
 Drewry, David T., b. Ky., 1837; 1853; d. Thurston Co., Wn., Jan. 15, 1918.
 Dofflemeyer, Cyrus W., b. W. T., 1858; d. Portland, Jan. 22, 1918.
 *Gile, Henry S., b.; 1851; d. March 20, 1918.
 Ground, Luther, b. Ill., 1841; 1853; d. Feb. 20, 1918.
 Ground, Robert, b. Ill., 1840; 1853; d. Jan. 4, 1918.
 Griffin, Mrs. Catherine, b. Cal., 1853; d. Feb. 5, 1918.
 Hailey, Mrs. Louisa Griffin, b. Mo., 1833; 1847 d. Boise, Ida., Feb. 1, 1918.
 Hall, Mrs. Mary A., b. Ill., 1838; 1852; d. Feb. 5, 1918.
 Hill, W. G., b. 1832; 1847; d. Feb. 25, 1918.
 *Humason, Mrs. Margaret Burke, b. Portland, 1854; d. Cal., Feb. 14, 1918.
 Inman, Mrs. Sarah J., b. Portland, 1852; d. Eugene, Jan. 3, 1918.
 Johns, Mrs. Julia, b. Va., 1824; 1851; d. March 7, 1918.
 Jones, William L., Or.; 1855; d. Jan. 27, 1918.
 Latourell, Mrs. Grace Ough, b. Or., 1843; d. March 6, 1918.
 *Litchfield, Mrs. Mary A. Craft, b. Or., 1847; d. Salem, Feb. 3, 1918.
 Lotan, Mrs. Emma Carroll, b. Mass., 1852; 1854; d. Jan. 23, 1918.
 Lowden, Francis M., b. Ky., 1832; 1849; d. Feb. 28, 1918.
 Mays, William Burton, b. Or., 1854; d. Pendleton, Jan. 6, 1918.
 McQuowen, Mrs. Mary, b. Or., 1847; d. Jan. 15, 1918.
 *Moreland, Julius C., b. Tenn., 1844; 1852; d. Salem, Feb. 2, 1918.
 *Miller, Mrs. Betsy A., b. Mo., 1832; 1850; d. Portland, Feb. 18, 1918.
 Newland, Thompson W., 1828; 1853; d. Tacoma, Wn., Jan. 8, 1918.
 *Powell, William S., Ohio, 1831; 1853; d. Portland, Jan. 24, 1918.
 Riggs, Mrs. Talitha Cumi Bowman, b. Ky., 1837; 1844; d. Orchard, Wn., Feb. 4, 1918.
 Robinette, Mrs. Tempy Walker, b. Ark., 1850; 1852; d. Wasco, Feb. 17, 1918.
 Shelton, J. L., b. Mo., 1842; 1844; d. Cottage Grove, Jan. 3, 1918.
 Spurgeon, Matthias, b. Iowa, 1838; 1852; d. March 12, 1918.
 Stouder, Jacob, b. 1827; 1852; d. March 9, 1918.
 Thomas, L. H., b. 1840; 1848; d. Feb. 7, 1918.
 Thompson, Robert Henry, b. Or., 1850 d. Los Gatos, Cal., Jan. 12, 1918.
 Thompson, Mrs. Rebecca Jane, b. Ark., 1841; 1845; d. Feb. 20, 1918.
 Wait, Mrs. Ellen M. Campbell, b. Mass., 1836; 1849; d. March 3, 1918.
 *Webb, Nathaniel, b. Conn., 1833; Cal., 1855—Oregon, 1863; d. Walla Walla, Mar. 9, 1918.
 Westcott, Mrs. Christina, b. 1842; 1857; d. Portland, Jan. 16, 1918.
 White, Mrs. Nancy M. Hoffman, b. Ill., 1841; 1852; d. March 3, 1918.
 Williamson, Mrs. Jennie Kerns, b. Ind., 1841; 1852; d. Oakland, Cal., Feb. 13, 1918.
 Wood, Hiram, b. Mo., 1827; 1852; d. March 6, 1918.
 Woodward, Alonzo B., b. Mich., 1840; 1852; d. Olympia, Feb. 24, 1918.
 Wyatt, E. F., 1852; d. Sierra Madre, Cal., Feb., 1918.
 *Young, Charles Walker, b. Mo., 1830; 1852; d. Dec. 28, 1917.

*Members Oregon Pioneer Association.

THE HALL J. KELLEY NARRATIVE

"Hall Jackson Kelley, Prophet of Oregon," written by Fred Wilbur Powell and published in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society as a serial in the four issues of the year 1917 (Vol. XVIII), has been reprinted as a monograph by the publishers of the *Quarterly* in 185 pages. The author has made a close study of the New England schoolmaster and his rela-

tion to settlement of the Oregon Country and has written the most important biographical narrative that has yet appeared. Mr. Powell quotes from Harvey W. Scott's tribute to the queer schoolmaster: "This strange, eccentric man can almost be called the prophet of Oregon, the father of emigration to Oregon, the man who hastened the fulfillment of Oregon's destiny." The edition is limited to one hundred copies and copies available for outside distribution will be rare.

PIONEER MONUMENT AT VANCOUVER

The pioneer monument at Vancouver, Washington, erected in June, 1916, has been replaced on new foundations. The first foundations were damaged by the summer flood of the Columbia in the year 1917. The monument stands at the north end of the inter-state bridge. It is the gift of the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution. The inscription reads: "In Memory of the Pioneers of the Oregon Trail, 1844." Two water founts are attached, and water flows from cups supported on the horns of bronze buffalo heads. This is one of several pioneer monuments placed in the State of Washington by Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution. For mention of the others see the *Quarterly*, September, 1917.

Y. M. C. A. JUBILEE AT PORTLAND

The fiftieth anniversary of the Young Men's Christian Association, of Portland, was the occasion of a jubilee, on Easter Sunday, March 31, 1918, on the spot where the organization was formed, now occupied by the Ladd and Tilton Bank. The site was formerly that of the First Presbyterian Church. The chief speakers at the anniversary celebration were Edward Quackenbush, Edward C. Frost, H. W. Stone, F. S. Akin, D. W. Wakefield, J. Thorburn Ross, J. K. Gill, John Bain, G. A. Mooney, C. H. Dodd, Henry L. Pittock and George H. Himes. Messrs. Quackenbush, Akin and Himes were charter members. Full narratives of the event are contained in the contemporary newspapers.

HISTORICAL MISCELLANY

Old Oregon Trail marking in Nebraska has been one of the important activities of the Nebraska State Historical Society, as shown in volume XVIII of its *Publications*, recently issued, covering the years 1908-16, inclusive. The volume narrates frequent anecdotes of travel on the Old Oregon Trail. The historical society has had the co-operation of the state legislature, the Daughters of the American Revolution and numerous other patriotic societies. The trail crosses fifteen counties in Nebraska.

A centennial celebration of statehood will be held this year, on an extensive scale, in Illinois. The state was admitted into the Union in December, 1818. The state board of agriculture is planning a great fair and exposition, and the city of Springfield is making extensive preparations. Several counties have formed centennial associations. Numerous pageants will be displayed. A special state commission is making the general plans.

Reminiscences of William Craig, the frontier trapper and plainsman, associate of Joseph L. Meek, Robert Newell and Joseph Gale, well known figures in early Northwest affairs, appear in the *Lewiston Morning Tribune* of March 3, 1918, written by Thomas J. Beall. Craig was engaged in the Rocky Mountain fur trade, first went to the Lewiston country in 1829 and died there in September, 1868. The reminiscences contain numerous interesting narratives of the life of Craig.

Rescue of the *Georgiana* party of Americans from Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands, in December, 1851, was so expensive that its propriety was questioned by the Treasury Department, on the ground that the rescue should not have been effected by Simpson P. Moses, collector of customs at Olympia, but either by the territorial officers of Washington or by the navy. The cost, according to report rendered by Moses, was \$11,017.01. A letter defending his action, written by Mr. Moses and directed to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated

June 29, 1852, will be reproduced in an early issue of the *Quarterly*. The American victims of the Indians, about 28 in number, were wrecked on the shore, while on a gold-seeking expedition, and were held for ransom by the Indians 54 days in November and December, 1851.

Joseph Burr Tyrrell has received the Murchison medal from the Geological Society in London. He is one of Canada's foremost geologists, explorers and mining engineers, an Ontario man by birth and a graduate of Toronto University. The medal is founded in memory of Sir Robert Impey Murchison, a famous British geologist, who died in 1871. Tyrrell has done much exploratory work for the geological survey of Canada. He has practiced mining engineering extensively in the Yukon. Ontario's five-mile railway strip through the wilds of Keewatin to Hudson's Bay was located by him.

"California; the Name," is the title of a 72-page publication of the University of California, December 19, 1917, written by Ruth Putnam, in collaboration with Herbert I. Priestly, assistant professor of history in that institution. This study of the name *California* is a far-reaching one.

A review of the Revolutionary period of the Ohio River country, entitled, "Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio," 1779-1781, being a symposium of letters and documents edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, has been published by that society at Madison, Wisconsin.

Captain Robert Gray, discoverer of the Columbia River, in 1792, had aboard his ship *Columbia* a ship's painter named George Davidson, who was something of a pencil artist. Photographs of two of Davidson's sketches have come to the Oregon Historical Society from Mrs. Gertrude Peabody, great granddaughter of Robert Gray, of Boston.

"Origin of Washington Geographic Names" is the title of a noteworthy series of articles written by Edmond S. Meany, of Seattle, and running in the *Quarterly* of the Washington Uni-

versity State Historical Society, of which he is editor. The series began in the issue of July, 1917, has continued in the subsequent issues and promises to run through numerous numbers in the future. "It is proposed to continue this series of articles until all the important geographic names in the state are published," says the foreword to the issues of January, 1918.

The American Historical Association held its thirty-third annual meeting at Philadelphia December 27-29, 1917. Kenneth S. Latourette, professor of history in Denison University, a native Oregonian, whose home is at Oregon City, spoke on "American Scholarship in Chinese History." Frank A. Golder, of the Washington State College, spoke on the Russian revolution of March, 1917.

Daughters of the American Revolution in Oregon held their fifth annual conference at Portland March 15-16. They elected Mrs. F. M. Wilkins, of Eugene, state regent; Mrs. Walter F. Burrell, of Portland, vice-regent; Mrs. Pearl Gregory Cartlidge, of Oregon City, recording secretary; Miss Bertha Cummings, of Eugene, corresponding secretary; Mrs. W. E. Pearson, of Portland, treasurer; Mrs. J. Thorburn Ross, historian; Mrs. Charles Worrell, of Coos Bay, auditor; Mrs. Levi Tracey, Bancroft is the Oregon author and historian, Frances Fuller of Albany, chaplain; Mrs. John Porter Gibson, of Portland, consulting registrar.

Oregon derived from *Wau-re-gon*, Indian for "beautiful water," is the explanation given by Dean Alward Chamberlain, of Saint Michael's cathedral, Boise, as quoted in the *Statesman* of that city, March 11, 1917. This explanation has freshness and novelty, if other merit be lacking. It should be said, however, that the name *Oregon* was first recorded by Jonathan Carver, from his travels in the Minnesota country in 1766-68.

Mazama, the official magazine of the mountain-climbing club of that name, has been issued for December, 1917, with special features devoted to Mount Jefferson.

A new and revised edition of Joseph Shafer's *History of the Pacific Northwest* is one of the new offerings of the Macmillan Company. Professor Shafer is head of the department of history in the University of Oregon. He wrote the original book in 1905 and has rewritten the new edition. Delivery of the new book has been delayed by railroad congestion, and the writer of these lines has not yet obtained a copy for review.

THE QUARTERLY
of the
Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XIX

JUNE, 1918

NUMBER 2

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THE FEDERAL RELATIONS OF OREGON.

By LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE, Ph. D.

CHAPTER I.

THE SITUATION IN 1819.

By the close of the year 1819 all the essential properties for setting of the stage of the "Oregon question" were prepared. With the exception of the slight difference, removed with little difficulty, with Russia as to the extent of claims upon the Northwest Coast of America, there were brought forward no new factors during the long diplomatic controversy which extended to 1846, although certain relatively unimportant but irritating residual questions persisting for many years after. The Spanish aspect of the matter as such no longer existed after 1819. With Great Britain the matter stood in June of 1846 on exactly the same footing as it had in October of 1818, despite the interchange of numerous diplomatic communications between that government and the United States, despite more than one measure in Congress, a body which occupied weeks, even months, in debating the ever-resurgent "Oregon Question."

The interval between the ending, as between the United States and Spain, of the claim of the latter to the region north of 42° north latitude and west of the Rockies, and the admission of Oregon as a State of the Union in 1859, was one in which may be perceived the gradual development of interest

in a far-off land. In 1819 few knew and fewer cared anything about the region on the Northwest Coast of America. By 1846 it had become an issue, national and international. The "Oregon Question" more than the Oregon Country was the touchstone of political sentiment in the West; that is, in the region along the Ohio and Mississippi, which was then looked upon by the greater part of the people of the United States as the outermost frontier of the land. A prominent factor in the presidential campaign of 1844, one of the two uppermost topics for Congressional consideration after that campaign, it also presented itself as the foremost international issue confronting the United States and one over which a goodly portion of our people would have lightly entered upon a war.

It is important to glance summarily at the major events which brought about the situation of 1819, and to consider how much—or perhaps better, how little—the Oregon or Columbia River country figured in the public consciousness at the time.

Early discoveries and explorations¹ which, during the period of the territorial controversy, entered so extensively into the discussions, seem to have begun, so far as the Northwest Coast is concerned, with those of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who, under orders from Viceroy Mendoza, in 1542-3 sailed north along the western coast of America where Cabrillo's lieutenant, Bartholomé Ferrello, temporarily in command, observed land at 44° north latitude. The next European to venture into those parts was Sir Francis Drake, who, in the course of his long semi-piratical expedition beginning in 1577, touched the Northwest Coast at 43° N. L. (according to some accounts 48°) and claimed the land for his sovereign under the name of New Albion.

Following these pioneers were many others, Spanish, Russian, English, French and American. The following list enumerates the more important of them.

¹ Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, (1844) gives the story of early discoveries. The various works of H. H. Bancroft are based upon much original material and together form the most comprehensive study of the whole subject.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS.

Sebastian Viscaino in 1603 reached and named Cape Sebastian in latitude 42° north. A branch of his expedition reached a point perhaps as far north as 43° . *Juan Perez* in 1774 saw land at about 54° N. L., and shortly after landed at a bay in $50^{\circ} 30'$ called by him Port San Lorenzo, the same indentation being called Nootka Sound by the English a short time later. *Bruno Heceta*, with *Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra* and *Juan de Ayala* in command of two vessels, started from Mexico in 1775. By Heceta and Bodega y Quadra Port Trinidad ($41^{\circ} 10'$) was taken in the name of the Spanish sovereign. Land was next seen at $48^{\circ} 27'$ N. L. A portion of the expedition had trouble with the Indians at $47^{\circ} 20'$, and the painful experience caused a cape and an island to receive the names of Punta de Martires and Isla de Dolores. The expedition separated, and Heceta went as far north as about 50° N. L.; returning south he had a landfall at 48° , although he did not perceive the entrance to the strait of Juan de Fuca. Off the coast at $46^{\circ} 17'$ there was a current strong enough to prevent his entering the inlet which he called Assumption Inlet (Enseñada de Asuncion). From this point he proceeded south to Monterey. Bodega y Quadra proceeded northward until land was seen at a point beyond 56° N. L., and a tall mountain seen there was called San Jacinto. Although this portion of the expedition did not reach 65° , which was the goal, it did get as far as 58° . In 1779 an expedition under *Ignacio Arteaga* and Bodega went over much the same course as that followed by *Cook* in the following year, searching especially for a northwest passage through the Arctic Ocean. In 1788 owing to the activities of mariners of many lands the viceroy of Mexico sent out *Martinez* and *Haro*, who spent some three months in northern waters.

RUSSIAN EXPLORATIONS

Vitus Behring, a Dane in the employ of the Russian government, sailed along the coast of Asia as far as $67^{\circ} 18'$ N. L. in 1728, passing through the strait which separates the Asiatic

from the American continent; he did not discover the land to the east of the strait, however. In 1732 *Krupischef* was driven by storms upon the eastern shore opposite the easternmost point of Asia. In 1741 *Behring* again was sent out by the Russian government and reached the islands on the American side of the Pacific as far north as 60° , also discovering the Shumagin and Aleutian Islands. The expedition, which remained under the direct command of Behring, wintered at Behring's Island, and there the commander died. A second part of the expedition under *Tchirikof* discovered land at 56° N. L. In 1788 *Synd* went along the Kamtchatka shore to 66° and the next year landed, it is supposed, on the American coast. *Krenitzin* and *Levaschef* discovered Fox Island in 1768. In 1781-3 *Gregory Schelikof* and *Ivan Gollikoff*, with a group of fur traders explored the American coast from the extreme western point of Alaska to Prince Williams Sound, devoting especial attention to Kodiak Island. A Russian establishment was founded at Cook's River in 1787.²

BRITISH EXPLORATIONS.

The British pursued exploratory attempts in the Northwest both overland from Canada and by sea, but not until long after the pioneer work of Drake. *Samuel Hearne* from 1769 to 1772 made explorations in the interior, having started from Canada and discovered Great Slave Lake and Copper Mine River, the first stream of the Northwest known to discharge into the western ocean. In 1776 *Captain James Cook* was commissioned for an extensive exploring expedition by the British Government. After his work in the South Seas, during which he discovered the Sandwich Islands, he reached the American coast at about 44° N. L., from which point he carefully explored the coast as far north as $70^{\circ} 29'$ on the American side of the Pacific and to $68^{\circ} 56'$ on the Asiatic side. He gave English names to many of the places which had been named by Heceta or Bodega y Quadra three years before. *Port-*

² A recent study of Russian exploration in this region is found in Golder, *Russian expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850*, Cleveland, 1914.

lock and *Dixon* made explorations about Cook's River, Nootka Sound, and Prince Williams' Sound for the King George's Sound Company in 1785-7. Dixon claimed to have discovered the region between 54° and 52° on the ground that it had not been seen by Cook, and he called the land he found Queen Charlotte's Island, although he did not prove the truth of his suspicions that this was not a portion of the mainland. *Captain Meares* wintered in 1786-7 at Prince William's Sound. *Duncan* and *Colnett* in 1787 explored about Queen Charlotte's Island and demonstrated the truth of Dixon's assumption. *Berkley*, as commander of the Austrian East India Company's vessel, discovered the Strait of San Juan de Fuca in 1787. In 1787-8 Captain Meares, in the employ of a Portuguese merchant, made his headquarters at Nootka, making expeditions from there, especially to try to find the great river said by the Spanish to be at about 46° N. L. He failed to do this and maintained that there was no such stream.³

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS.

In 1786 *La Perouse* received elaborate instructions from the French government, by which he was commissioned, among other things, to explore the Northwest Coast of America. All he did, however, was to spend a short time in the neighborhood of Mt. Fairweather, whence he sailed for Monterey.

The year 1790 marks an important episode in the affairs of the Northwest Coast. By this time no nation and certainly no trader gave serious attention to the Spanish claim to exclusive rights along the entire litoral of the Pacific. English, American and Russian adventurers were drawn by the lucrative fur trade, and merchants of other nations were looking that way. Yet the Spanish government was unwilling to forego its pretensions; the Spanish commandant at the Island of Juan Fernandez was cashiered for allowing the American ship *Columbia*, Captain Kendrick, to leave after having put in for repairs; the expedition of Martinez and Haro was sent particularly to

³ The truth of Greenhow's assertion that the accounts of Meares are not to be relied upon has been upheld by other and more recent investigators.

investigate the activities of the Russians, and the protest of the Spanish to the Russian government appeared appeased by a statement that Russian subjects had been ordered not to make settlements in regions possessed by other nations.

As noted above, Captain Meares, in the employ of a Portuguese merchant, was at Nootka Sound in 1789, where he made some sort of bargain for a post with a native chief. The Portuguese merchant failed, and his interest and a vessel at Nootka were taken over by an agent of the English King George's Sound Company, who increased the establishment apparently with the intention of making it permanent. It was at this juncture that Martinez appeared at Nootka, when (May, 1789) only two vessels were in the bay, the *Iphigenia*, of the English company, and the *Columbia*. Upon the arrival of the second Spanish vessel under Captain Haro, the captain and one other from the *Iphigenia* were arrested by Martinez while the vessel with her papers and crew was seized. Subsequently arrangements were made to release the vessel and two other vessels belonging to the company were seized. The whole affair seems to have been based upon various assumptions and misunderstandings; in the first place there was an avowed intention on the part of the Englishmen to establish a permanent post at Nootka, an act sure to be officially condemned by the Spanish; then Martinez was evidently misled by the Portuguese and British aspects of ownership of the vessels, as well as being possibly intentionally deceived by Meares, who, in making an arrangement for the release of the *Iphigenia*, might have taken advantage of Martinez' ignorance of English. The two vessels which had been seized after the release of the *Iphigenia* were taken to Mexico and finally set free on condition that they should not be found anywhere upon Spanish coasts, although it was maintained that Martinez was sustained by Spanish law in his seizure of them.

In London, however, the matter was not dropped, but became the subject of diplomatic interchanges leading to the

agreement known as the Nootka Convention,⁴ a treaty figuring largely in later discussions between representatives of Great Britain and the United States. After providing that the buildings and tracts of land, of which British subjects had been dispossessed, should be restored, and that reparation would be made, the Convention (Art. III.) proceeded to state:

"And, in order to strengthen the Bonds of Friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect Harmony and good Understanding between the two Contracting Parties, it is agreed that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating or carrying on their Fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, or in landing on the Coasts of those Seas, in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the Natives of the Country, or of making Settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the Restrictions and Provisions specified in the three following Articles."

The restrictions included (Art. IV.) a promise on the part of His Britannic Majesty to take effectual measures to prevent navigation and fishing by British subjects from becoming the pretext for illicit trade with Spanish settlements, with the express stipulation that British subjects should not go within ten sea leagues of the coasts already occupied by Spain. Furthermore, it was allowed that at Nootka and other parts of the Northwest Coast, north of the Spanish settlements, "wherever the subjects of either of the two powers shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation."

As to the coasts of South America (Art. VI.) no settlements were to be made, although "the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated for the purpose of their fishery, and erecting thereon huts

⁴ Martens, *Recueil des prin. Traites . . . depuis 1761*. III, 185-91. Signed at the Escorial Oct. 28, 1790.

and other temporary buildings serving only for these purposes."

The fact of the collision between the Spanish and the English is evidence of the value attached to the growing fur trade, a trade which consisted in obtaining various peltries from Indians by barter, and then selling the same at high prices in China. Spanish and British alike had their interest in the Northwest increased by the Nootka affair, and both governments renewed their exploring ardor, while citizens of other lands also sought those waters.

Among the earliest American adventurers were Kendrick, captain of the *Columbia*, and Robert Gray of the *Washington*, who reached the Northwest coast late in 1788. In 1789 Gray explored the east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island and later entered the opening between 48° and 49°, sailing therein for some distance. Subsequently Kendrick and Gray exchanged commands, the former remaining in Pacific waters, where he may have sailed quite through the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and Gray proceeding to China with furs and thence to Boston.

Captain George Vancouver was appointed British commissioner to adjust the claims at Nootka. His instructions directed him to survey the coast between 35° and 60° N. L., and to seek a waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific, especially "to examine the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between the 48th and 49th degrees of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop *Washington* is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka."⁵ Vancouver left England early in 1791 and reached the Northwest Coast in March, 1792.

While the Vancouver expedition was preparing and during the time it was on the way to the Northern Pacific, both Spanish and Russians renewed their explorations. The Spanish Captain Eliza, who replaced Martinez, sent a vessel under Lieutenant Quimper, who noted a number of islands and passages in the region about Nootka. Alexandro Malaspina ex-

⁵ Quoted by Greenhow (216) from the instructions to Vancouver.

plored farther north, up to about 60° N. L., especially seeking the supposed passage to the northwest denominated the Strait of Anian.

In addition to these expeditions more information was obtained as a result of the zeal of several English and American traders, as well as by a French expedition which made some examination of the coasts southward from 56° in the summer of 1791. Among the American adventurers was Captain Robert Gray again. He left Boston in September, 1791, again in command of the *Columbia*, which had been refitted by her owners for a further venture. Upon his arrival in northern Pacific waters Captain Gray explored some of the inlets between 54° and 56° and wintered near Nootka Sound. In the spring of 1792 he resumed his cruising to the south, where he fell in with Vancouver, to whom he communicated the belief that a large river emptied into the ocean at 46° 10' N. L., but Vancouver was convinced that Gray was mistaken. In May he was again off what he supposed to be the mouth of a river, and on the eleventh of the month ran through the breakers into a large stream of fresh water. He sailed up the river some fifteen miles, and upon leaving it called it the *Columbia* after his vessel.

Meanwhile Vancouver was employed in exploring the coasts and the adjacent islands. He encountered a Spanish expedition under Galiano and Valdes, and for some time operated in conjunction with it. Both expeditions having demonstrated that a great island was cut off from the mainland by the Strait of Fuca, they agreed to call it the Island of Quadra and Vancouver. Leaving the Spaniards Vancouver returned to Nootka where he attempted to carry out his instructions relative to the treaty. Failing to come to a definite agreement with Quadra he dispatched a vessel to England for further instructions and resumed his explorations to the southward. As he had received from Quadra information and charts relative to the great river discovered by Gray, he resolved to look more closely at it. Accordingly one of his lieutenants, dispatched

for the purpose, reached the river, and in a small boat went some eighty miles inland to about where the Willamette enters the Columbia from the south. Further explorations on the coasts were carried on in the summer of 1793 from about 51° to somewhat beyond 54° N. L.

No definite carrying out of the terms of the Nootka Convention took place before there came the rupture between Great Britain and Spain in 1796, although apparently the Spanish abandoned the disputed area as not worth further contention. However, no other European nation attempted to continue the occupation, consequently Nootka and its convention remained to become a bone of contention between Great Britain and the United States many years later.

From inland also the furs of the Pacific Northwest attracted attention. In 1784 there was formed the North-West Company of Montreal, primarily to protect a group of fur traders from the powerful Hudson's Bay Company. For this company Alexander Mackenzie, in 1789 and 1793, made two expeditions. He discovered and named Mackenzie River, and on the second venture reached the Pacific Ocean at $52^{\circ} 20'$, having for a distance descended the stream which later was called Fraser's River. From this time on contacts with the region west of the Rocky Mountains by the overland route became more and more frequent.

The interest of the government of the United States in the region between the Pacific and the Rockies cannot be said to have existed at all until the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, and then that interest was by no means keen. Louisiana Ter-

ritory, purchased as it was under terms which were vague⁶ as to its extent, was not thought to comprise anything beyond the "highlands west of the Mississippi."⁷ Nevertheless, Lewis and Clark were instructed to push their explorations through to the Pacific Ocean if it should be found possible, with the object of discovering whether or not there existed a practicable water route across the continent, as well as of ascertaining the prospects for trading with the natives, especially in furs. Moreover, it appears that some Congressmen entertained the idea that there might be grounds for a possible claim beyond the Rockies, for, in the report of the House Committee on Commerce and Manufacture relative to the Lewis and Clark expedition, reference is made to the large additional territory which was believed to include all land west of the Mississippi and the mountains and "beyond that chain between the territories claimed by Great Britain on the one side, and by Spain on the other, quite to the South Sea."⁸ After the return of the explorers, however, no immediate interest was evinced in any shadow of a claim to the Pacific Northwest as a result of the expedition.

Other matters occupied the attention of the Americans in the years following the return of Lewis and Clark, and scarcely a fugitive reference can be found to the region of their activi-

6 By Art. III. of the Treaty of 30 Apr., 1803, France agreed to "cede to the said United States, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Republic in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty." This refers to the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, 1 Oct., 1800, where "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part, to cede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to his royal highness the duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it; and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." Martens, *Supplément au Recueil de prin. Traités*, III, 467.

No formal treaty ratified the cession of Louisiana to Spain by France in 1764. It was not mentioned in the treaty between Great Britain, France and Spain in 1763, at the close of the Seven Years' War, although the delimitation of the French and English boundary is found in these words: "seront irrévocablement fixes par une Ligne tirée au Milieu du Fleuve Mississippi, depuis sa Naissance jusqu'à la Rivière d'Iberville, & de-la par une Ligne tirée au Milieu de cette Rivière, & des Lacs Maurepas & Ponchartrain, jusqu'à la Mer." "à l'exception de la Ville de la Nouvelle Orleans, & de l'Isle dans laquelle elle est située, qui demeureront à la France." Martens, *Recueil des prin. Traités*, III, 38-9.

7 See Jefferson to J. C. Breckinridge, 12 Aug. 1803, *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford), VIII, 243; Jefferson to Dickinson, 9 Aug., 1803; *Ibid.* 261, for statements of Jefferson's views as to the western boundary of Louisiana.

8 Reported by S. L. Mitchell, *Annals*, 8th Cong. 1st Ses. 1124-6.

ties until the time of the negotiations for the treaty of Ghent. Once, in 1812, Samuel L. Mitchell, a Congressman from New York, in addressing the House upon the Naval Establishment, referred to the commercial activity of his countrymen: "Their activity," he said, "has really wrought wonders. While some are exploring the high latitudes of the Southern continent . . . a fourth plants the seed of empire on the banks of the Northwestern Columbia."⁹ This reference to John Jacob Astor's unprofitable venture of 1811 brings us to another link in the chain of evidence which later statesmen used to demonstrate the claims of the United States to the disputed territory.

Astor's attempt was a more pretentious scheme to capture some of the lucrative trade in furs than those which were undertaken by men financially less able to bear the burden of large outlay with little immediate return. The Missouri Fur Company, formed by a group of traders in 1808, was obliged to suspend its operations in 1810, the same year in which the Pacific Fur Company (Astor's company) was organized. The Pacific Fur Company was financially stronger than its only rival, the North-West Company of Montreal, from which opposition was anticipated, and the latter tendered to Astor a third interest in the Canadian company to secure his coöperation, an offer promptly rejected. The planting of a factory at the mouth of the Columbia River was carefully planned and adequate equipment made it possible for trading operations to be undertaken from the headquarters at Astoria in the summer of 1811.

Operations had scarcely begun and not enough business had been done to cover the expense of inaugurating the enterprise when the War of 1812 broke out, and as an incident in that contest the American company's possessions were transferred to the North-West Company so that Astoria, renamed Fort George, came under British control. Except for the form of the transfer it would be unnecessary in this preliminary sketch to pursue the point further, but the method raised an

⁹ Ibid., 12th Cong. 1st Ses., Pt. I, 868.

issue which figured largely at a later date. When news of the existence of a state of war reached Astoria the post was temporarily under the command of McDougall, once an employe of the North-West Company. McDougall immediately sold the whole establishment to a representative of the Canadian company for \$58,000, of which Astor eventually received about \$40,000, although he claimed that the plant, furs, etc., were easily worth \$200,000. McDougall became a partner in the purchasing company. After the sale had taken place (16 October, 1813) H. M. Frigate *Raccoon* arrived and took possession in the name of George III, formally changing the name of the post to Fort George. It appears that the officers of the *Raccoon* were intensely incensed that the sale had taken place before their arrival because they had expected to obtain a liberal reward from the rich prize. Astor, who had feared for his factory, had made application to Monroe, as Secretary of State, for a vessel of war to proceed to the North Pacific to protect American interests there, but none had been available in time to be of any use.¹⁰

Because Astoria was sold to the North-West Company before capture by a national vessel it was urged later that it was not included as among "places" to be restored according to the treaty of Ghent, since there could be no restoration after a *bona fide* sale to a *bona fide* British Company. Therefore, according to the British view, no strength was added to the claims of the United States either by the words of the treaty or by the "restoration" of Astoria in 1818.

In the negotiations for the treaty of peace following the War of 1812 the Northwest Coast did not assume an important place, although Secretary Monroe in his instructions cautioned the negotiators on the point.¹² John Quincy Adams notes¹³

¹⁰ The correspondence relative to the transaction and Astor's letters with reference to it are given in *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong. 2d Ses. 1210-21, having been brought before the House by a resolution of 19 Dec., 1822.

¹¹ See Memorandum of H. U. Addington, 10 May, 1826, in Stapleton, *Some official correspondence of George Canning*, II, 110-5; also Canning to Liverpool, 7 July, 1826, *Ibid.*, II, 71-5.

¹² *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.*, III, 731.

¹³ *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, III, 81-2, entry of 1 Dec, 1814.

that Bayard insisted upon a simple statement to the effect that there should be a restoration to the state existing before the war, since this alone would prevent the recurrence of disputes over territory. Adams, commenting, says: "No reply was made to these remarks, which Mr. Bayard afterwards told me he made with particular reference to the settlement on Columbia River." The negotiators were not in ignorance regarding Astoria since a son-in-law of Astor had called upon them and, after trying to find out the state of affairs, said that Mr. Astor intended to renew the settlement before the English had a chance to anticipate him and that he would take the necessary steps just as soon as peace should be made.¹⁴ The contention of the Americans became a part of the Treaty of Ghent in these words:

"Art I. . . . All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the War, or which may be taken after the signing of this Treaty, excepting only the Islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay . . ."¹⁵

In July, 1815, Monroe notified Baker, the British chargé, that, since the post on the Columbia was included in the provision for restitution, steps would immediately be taken to reoccupy the place.¹⁶ Baker had had no communication from his government on the point, although he believed the place had been captured, a fact "of which the American government (did) not appear to have any certain information on which to ground the claim of restitution;" furthermore it was a question as to whether "any persons were left to retain possession of it." Although Baker made inquiries of the Governor General of Canada for information the matter rested until late in 1817, when the *Ontario* was dispatched to receive the formal restitution of the post. This action, without any formal no-

¹⁴ Ibid., III, 90. The slight significance of the Oregon region as compared with other matters to be in the treaty is evidenced by the very small attention it receives in Adams' *Memoirs*, and in his correspondence at the time; see *Writings*, (Ford, ed.) Vol. V.

¹⁵ Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, I, 48. The islands referred to are those in Passamaquoddy Bay which were to remain temporarily in the possession of the power holding them at the time of ratification of the treaty.

¹⁶ Correspondence in *Am. S. P., For. Rel.*, IV, 352 and 852.

tice to the British minister of the intentions of the government of the United States, aroused some little feeling although the explanations of the Secretary of State smoothed the matter over.¹⁷ Orders were hastily issued by the British government so that a national vessel was at the mouth of the Columbia in October of 1818. Captain Hickey formally surrendered the post to J. B. Prevost, agent of the United States, but the North-West Company continued to conduct its trading operations as before. Keith, the chief factor, was assured by Prevost that the company might rely implicitly upon the justice and equity of the government of the United States, and, although he was not authorized to make any promises, he could state without hesitation that the company would be treated with great liberality should the policy of his government ever extend to the point of exclusion.¹⁸

The surrender of the post formed a part of Lord Castlereagh's policy with respect to the whole question of the title to the Northwest Coast of America.¹⁹ As an issue among those remaining from the Revolution and the War of 1812—fisheries, boundaries in the Northeast and in the Lake-of-the-Woods region, impressment, commercial relations, indemnities, etc.—it fell to Richard Rush, minister to Great Britain, and Albert Gallatin, special envoy, to deal with it in 1818. Since some, perhaps all, of these issues were far more pressing than that of the title to the Columbia River Valley, it is not surprising that both the American and British governments were willing to let the whole matter rest *in statu quo*.²⁰ The British government, while acquiescing in the surrender of Astoria, would not admit the title of the United States to the soil upon which it stood. The United States, having in hand the negotiations with Spain over Florida and the western boundary was con-

¹⁷ *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, IV, 93. See also Rush to Secretary of State, 14 Feb., 1818, *Am. S. P., For. Rel.*, IV, 853, for Castlereagh's attitude.

¹⁸ For this correspondence see *Am. S. P., For. Rel.* IV, 854; also given in *Annals*, 17th Cong. 1st Ses., II, 2140-2.

¹⁹ Castlereagh's policy in issuing the orders is indicated in a dispatch of 4 Feb. 1818, given by Schafer in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, 1910-11, 183-4.

²⁰ Adams to Rush and Gallatin, 28 July, 1818, *Am. S. P. For. Rel.*, IV, 377-8,

tent to go slow and let the British government disclose its claims. On one point alone, beyond an absolute surrender of its title claim, was the United States insistent; the question of respective titles should not be submitted to commissioners, although this expedient was to be used with certain of the other issues. Nor was the arbitration of a third power, especially if that be the Czar of Russia, to be considered as a means of determining the rights of the two parties. Castlereagh wished, however, to settle the whole question of boundary from the Lake-of-the-Woods to "the utmost contiguous extent of the two territories," a sentiment shared by the American government, if a suitable adjustment could be reached. But when the envoys from the United States suggested that a reasonable division would be effected by continuing the line of 49° for the whole extent from the Lake-of-the-Woods to the Pacific, they found the British plenipotentiaries unwilling to take so decisive a step. As a counter proposal the latter suggested an agreement that the region west of the Rockies, between 45° and 49° N. L., should be free and open to both parties, neither of which should exercise as against the other any territorial jurisdiction.

At the outset, then, in the controversy as to the extent of the possessions of each, we find essentially the same issue which proved to be the stumbling block to the very end of the negotiations in 1846; while the United States admitted, for the greater part of the time, some sort of valid claim on the part of Great Britain to some portion of the Oregon Territory, the British government insisted that the real question was the weight of the respective claims *south* of the forty-ninth parallel. The disputed area from the point of view of the United States was the whole Oregon Territory; from the British angle it was that portion which lay between 45° N. L., or the Columbia River in later negotiations when a better knowledge of the country had been obtained, and 49° N. L. For Great Britain the disputed area lay south of 49° , for the United States it was north of that line.

Since there was no prospect of reaching an agreement the American plenipotentiaries were of the opinion of Adams, that "the minuteness of present interests" of both nations would allow the matter to lie over. Hence they were willing to accept the British proposal of 13 October to the effect that the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains should be "free and open" to both parties, with the qualifying statement that the claims of neither country nor of any other power should be prejudiced thereby. Consequently the convention as signed at London, 20 October, 1818, after defining the boundary between the territories of the United States and those of His Britannic Majesty as the 49th parallel of north latitude from the Lake-of-the-Woods (or from a point where a line drawn due north from the northwestern extremity of the lake should intersect 49°) to the "Stony Mountains," contains these words:

"Art. III. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."²¹

It was obvious to all that the whole question was merely deferred, although there is little evidence that many persons outside governmental circles bestowed even passing attention upon the whole topic. Not only did other features of the convention seem much nearer the everyday interests of the average man,

²¹ Among other places the Convention is given in *Am. S. P., For. Rel.*, VI. 642-3.

but most people were more occupied in the economic questions coming from the financial crisis developing from the War of 1812 than they were with anything connected with a far-off wilderness.²² In referring to the negotiations of 1818 President Monroe in his annual Message to Congress passed the matter over with a general statement, and in December, 1819, when commenting upon the completed treaty, did not notice the Northwest Coast. Nor was Congress curious about the matter, a fact testified to by absence of comment in its debates.

However, one of the plenipotentiaries who negotiated the convention, Richard Rush, deemed the subject of sufficient import to comment upon it in his *Memoirs* in this fashion:

"I cannot leave this part of the negotiation without remarking, that the important question of the rights which it involves between the two nations, is still an open one; and I do not fear to record the prediction that it will be found a question full of difficulty, under whatever administration either of Great Britain or the United States, it may hereafter be approached. It is not in the genius of either nation readily to yield what it believes itself entitled to; and however strong our convictions of the just foundations of the whole of our claim on that coast and its interior, the conviction of Great Britain in the stable nature of her right, that interferes so materially with ours, is not less decided and unequivocal. Nor will she push it with less zeal; not more on the general ground of her maritime and commercial enterprise which are only stopped by the limits of the globe, than on her special desire to foster the growing interests of her colonial settlements all over this continent, and those trading companies that issue from them."²³

While Gallatin and Rush were adjusting, temporarily to be sure, one phase of the Northwest question, John Quincy Adams was engaged in settling definitely this issue so far as it concerned the United States and Spain. The negotiations of 1818-

²² The *National Intelligencer* (quoted in *Nile's Register* of 17 July, 1819), contains a news item about the approaching return of Judge Prevost from the mouth of the Columbia, and expresses the hope that he will give a full account of the region.

²³ Rush, *Memoirs*, (editon of 1833) 374.

19 had in view not only the quieting of the Spanish title to the Floridas but of fixing the boundary, still in dispute, between the Mexican possessions of His Catholic Majesty and the whole Louisiana Territory so far as the two regions were contiguous. It was, indeed, this western boundary, and particularly that portion which should determine the northern bounds of Mexico, upon which the negotiations threatened to break.²⁴ It was a case of a wily Spaniard using all the tricks which the diplomacy of the time approved struggling with an unyielding New England Yankee.²⁵

After the announcement by Senor Onis that his government at his earnest solicitation had agreed to a line running from the Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia, Adams protested that the United States could never accept this line, although the proposition would be considered if reduced to writing. For a month after this offer the matter swung in the balance: Senor Onis, part of the time acting through Monsieur De Neuville, the French minister, protested vehemently that Spain would never grant all that the United States demanded. Little by little, however, he receded, first to the South Branch of the Columbia, and from there to a line which would follow the Red River to 100° West Long., thence north to the Arkansas River, and up that stream to its source, from which point the line would run due west to the Multnomah River and along the river to 43° N. Lat., thence due west to the sea. This line the President was inclined to accept, but the Secretary of State opined that if Onis yielded so much and intended to conclude the treaty at all, better terms could be obtained, and, as a feeler, drafted an article suggesting a line between 101° and 102° West Long. and along 41° N. Lat. Thereupon Onis proposed the Arkansas to its source, thence to 42° N. Lat., and west to the Multnomah, down the river to 43° and west to the ocean. Again President Monroe was for taking up with this offer, but again the Secretary was adamant, insisting moreover that the *west* bank of rivers rather than the middle of river beds should be the boundary. "After a long and violent

²⁵ In addition to the diplomatic correspondence to be found in *Am. S. P.*, a much more intimate and personal relation is contained in Adams' *Memoirs*. See especially IV., 219, 221, 237, 239, 244, 246, 250, 255.

struggle" with de Neuville as go-between Onís agreed to the line as laid down by the treaty which he signed on the 22nd of February, 1819, having agreed not only to 42° as the northern boundary of Mexico, but also to the proposition that the west bank of all streams should be taken as the boundary of the United States.²⁶ Furthermore, the article contained a renunciation of all rights and pretensions as affecting the Northwest Territory in these words:

" . . . The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories described by the said line; that is to say: 'The United States hereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above described line; and, in like manner, his Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States hereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and retories east and north of the said line, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever.'"

With the conclusion and ratification of this treaty there was formed a new basis of claim on the part of the United States to the Oregon Territory, for, according to the arguments brought forward in all subsequent negotiations with Great Britain, whatever claims Spain had possessed now belonged to the United States. It was obvious also that no American statesman or diplomat would minimize the importance of the work of early Spanish explorers, however slightly it might have been estimated by Adams for the benefit of Senor Onís. Of the possible claimants to the territory lying west of the Stony or Rocky Mountains upon the Pacific Ocean and north

²⁶ *State Papers*, No. 103, 7, 16th Cong. 2d Ses., Art. III contains this description of the boundary: "On the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then, following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London, and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red River, and running thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source, in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude to the South Sea."

of 42° N. Lat. three only remained; the United States, Great Britain and Russia.

Up to this time, 1819, the position of Russia as a possible contestant for the region claimed by the United States and by Great Britain, or by either of them, remained a matter of doubt. The activities of Russian explorers and adventurers in the North Pacific had been noted, and the undisputed claim of the Muscovite to the northwestern extremity of North America was little doubted. No indication, however, of the extent of this claim to the south along the coast had been adduced. Judge Prevost²⁷ as a result of his visit to the mouth of the Columbia was disturbed by the evident activities of the Russian American Company, and wrote Adams that up to 1816 there had been no Russian settlements on the American coast south of 55°, and those which they had north of this point were inconsiderable. It appeared, however, that Humboldt's description of the region had aroused their ambition and since 1816 they had established a post not only at Atooi, in the Sandwich Islands, but one a few miles from San Francisco Bay.

After the Spanish treaty had been completed Adams let the Russian minister, de Poletica, examine it confidentially and take a copy for his government. This is the comment Adams makes in his diary:²⁸

"In allowing him to take a copy of the treaty I have shown him an unusual mark of confidence, with a view to its effect upon the Emperor. It is only a slight anticipation, for, whether ratified by Spain or not, the treaty must be published here, at least upon the next meeting of Congress. As the Emperor has evidently taken considerable interest in the late events of our relations with Spain, and wished that they might be amicably settled, it is important to satisfy him as early as possible of the fairness and justice of our proceedings, and that if Spain now refuses the ratifications of the treaty it will be in her own wrong."

²⁷ *Am. S. P., For Rel.*, IV, 855.

²⁸ *Memoirs*, IV, 376-7, under date of 28 May, 1819.

While undoubtedly one of the main reasons for this act was the feeling that it might help in securing the compliance of Spain, it is not going so far into the realm of speculation to surmise that Adams was also willing to ascertain what effect the agreement, as touching the west coast of America, would have in Russia. Certain it is that about two years later came the edict of the Czar announcing that Russia's claims extended to 51° N. Lat., and declaring the North Pacific a closed sea.²⁹

Thus, when the end of the year 1819 was reached, all the essential features entering into the Oregon Question as a national matter were present. The decisive explorations had been made; from a *terra incognita* of the time of the Revolution Oregon had come to be a region about which considerable information was available. While the settlements were confined to the posts of fur traders it may still be said that a beginning had been made in opening the country to civilization. Henceforth, so far as the United States was concerned, the Oregon Territory was to be a diplomatic issue, briefly and without serious portent with Russia, long, and toward the end, acrimonious with Great Britain. As a legislative, executive and administrative problem it entered upon its course in 1819 and continued to be a vexed issue until the admission of a portion of its area as the State of Oregon in 1859.

²⁹ *Am. S. P., For. Rel.*, IV, 857-61.

CHAPTER II.

CONGRESS AND OREGON, 1819-1829.

With the first session of the Sixteenth Congress begins the period of ten years during which the Oregon Question afforded a fruitful source of debate as well as a medium at times for some of the pointed, if not bitter, personal attacks which abounded in that troubled area of our national politics. Contemporaneous as it was with the important diplomatic negotiations with Russia and with Great Britain, the whole topic brought into the open all of the essential factors which were to figure again at a later day. At each session of Congress during this time there was some agitation in one or both houses in the form of bill or resolution to keep alive the matter of the claims of the United States to the Northwest Coast of America, and at one time the action went so far as the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill authorizing the Executive to take formal possession of the region in dispute.

It is difficult to agree wholly with William I. Marshall¹ that the real object of this agitation was keeping "the subject before the public" and for disseminating information "as to the merits of the case in anticipation of the time when either the expiration of the convention of 1818, or the negotiation of a new treaty in advance of that date should give us the right to occupy the Columbia River country." Certainly those who were most active in Congress give no indication that such was the motive behind their endeavors, and the conviction that the real purpose of this group was legislative action of a definite character grows with a study of the times. John Quincy Adams, who, as Secretary of State in the earlier part of the

¹ *Acquisition of Oregon*, I, 157, 8. This work was written to disprove the "Whitman saved Oregon" legend, and Principal Marshall delved into nearly every available source.

period and President of the United States from 1825 to 1829, more than any other individual determined the course of the United States on the Oregon Question during the period, was in a position to know most public men of his day, and he entertained no such view so far as can be judged by his writings which have been preserved to us.

Nevertheless, one is forced to believe that, although a small number actually desired decisive action, they were thwarted by two facts; the mass of men in places of authority believed that the time was not ripe for pressing the matter—that the United States stood to gain more by a policy of waiting than by forcing the issue; and the public at large refused to become excited over Oregon, in fact, ignored the whole affair and so failed to bring to bear that popular pressure which was manifest in 1845-6. There is positive evidence to bear out the first statement, and both positive and negative testimony on the second. The precipitancy with which the question sank into practical oblivion at the beginning of Jackson's first administration, not to emerge for nearly ten years, is merely corroborative evidence.

During the period under consideration in this chapter Dr. John Floyd, a member of Congress from Virginia and later governor of that State, occupied the leading position in the advocacy of settling the Oregon Question. In all cases one is interested to discover, if possible, the motives actuating a man when he rides a particular legislative hobby for a series of years, when he comes to be looked upon as the especial champion of a cause. In the case of Dr. Floyd there seems to be left no direct personal evidence other than found in his speeches in Congress; these, however, afford no real information, emphasizing as they do the customary zeal for securing for American citizens then and in times to follow their rightful heritage. Thomas Benton ascribes the beginning of Floyd's activity to a meeting with Ramsay Crooks and Russell Farnham in Washington. These men had been members of Astor's party and they recounted their experiences on the Northwest Coast

while staying at Brown's Hotel where both Benton and Floyd lived. Benton says:

"It (the proposition to occupy and settle the region of the Columbia River) was made by Dr. Floyd, representative from Virginia, an ardent man, of great ability, and decision of character, and, from an early residence in Kentucky, strongly imbued with western feelings. He took up the subject with the energy which belonged to him, and it required not only energy, but courage, to embrace a subject which, at the time seemed more likely to bring ridicule than credit to its advocate. I had written and published essays on the subject the year before, which he had read."²

Taking Benton's testimony, then, three factors actuated Floyd; his general attitude as a westerner, the immediate incentive from Crooks and Farnham, and Benton's own interest in Oregon and his writings thereon. But Floyd had been brought in contact with the findings of the Lewis and Clark Expedition at an earlier date, for his cousin, Charles Floyd, was a sergeant in that expedition; moreover Dr. Floyd was an early friend and great admirer of George Rogers Clark, whom he had known in Kentucky.³

Looking to another contemporary we receive a different impression as to why Dr. Floyd so long led the futile fight for occupying Oregon. Commenting upon Floyd's report (of January, 1821) Adams, then Secretary of State, says that Floyd was party to a systematic attack upon Calhoun by the supporters of Crawford, De Witt Clinton and Clay; furthermore, about half the members of Congress were seeking some government position, a portion being the cringing canvass and the rest the "flouting canvass;" "this Dr. Floyd is one

² *Thirty Years' View*, I, 13. It is interesting, in connection with this most remarkable remark, to read in Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon*, I, 175-6: It is doubtful if any other politician of our history ever succeeded in acquiring so widespread a reputation as a chief factor in accomplishing a great national work, upon which his real influence was never decisive, as Benton acquired in connection with the Oregon acquisition, by merely writing newspaper articles and incessantly making speeches about it, though of the real constructive work which secured us Oregon he not only did absolutely nothing, but bitterly opposed what such statesmen as Madison, Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Albert Gallatin, Richard Rush and Henry Clay did do, which secured us Oregon without war and without expense."

³ Bourne, *Aspects of Oregon History before 1840*, *Quar. Ore. Soc.*, VI, 262-3.

of the flouters.”⁴ And then, “the President⁵ told me he had been informed that the Columbia River settlement project was for the benefit of a brother-in-law of Dr. Floyd’s, who as Treasurer of the State of Virginia, and about a year since was detected in the embezzlement of the funds of the State to the amount of many thousands of dollars. This had so disgraced him in reputation that a retreat to the Columbia River was thought expedient for him by his friends, and, as his near relations shared something of the ignominy which had attached to him, Dr. Floyd probably intended to be of the Columbia River party too.”

With Adams as well as with Benton some allowance must be made for the personal factor, and it will appear later that one phase of the Oregon agitation was the occasion of an interchange between Adams and Floyd. Apparently there were mingled motives arising from a desire to see that the United States was not checkmated by Great Britain combined with those of personal ambition stimulated by a great amount of the pioneer spirit.

When Congress assembled in December of 1819, President Monroe, in his Annual Message, expressed his regret that no commercial agreement had been reached with Great Britain as a result of the negotiations of 1818, but he made no direct reference to the joint occupancy of the Columbia region which had resulted from the same discussions. During the session a resolution was adopted by the Senate⁶ calling upon the Secretary of War to present to Congress a project of the system considered by him best calculated to protect the frontier of the United States, especially that portion watered by the tributaries of the Missouri River. The result was a Report on Trade with the Indians laid before Congress at its next session.⁷ In this Calhoun recommends the formation, by authority of a Federal charter, of a stock company with

⁴ *Memoirs*, V, 237-8.

⁵ Monroe was a Virginian and in close touch with Virginia politics.

⁶ Introduced by Johnson of Kentucky, *Annals*, I, 1819-20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 2462-6.

furthermore, about half the members of Congress were seeking monopoly privileges for trading with the Indians "who occupy the vast region extending west to the Pacific Ocean." Such a monopoly would not be subject to the objections obtaining against similar organizations in settled communities and only by some such scheme could American citizens hope to compete with the British North-West Company and push their trade to the Pacific, aided by the natural geographic advantages of the western territories. Nothing came of the report, and it is only interesting as throwing light on Calhoun's views of the western situation.

The same session, however, saw the real beginning of Dr. Floyd's long campaign on Oregon in the introduction (19 December, 1820) of a resolution calling for a special committee to inquire into the "situation of the settlements upon the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia."⁸ Floyd was made chairman of the committee which was authorized, and for it reported to the House on the 25th of January, 1821. This report contained a long and detailed account of the claims of the United States, placing especial emphasis upon those so recently derived from the treaty with Spain, and adducing the Louisiana Purchase to support American discoveries and settlements.⁹ The report concluded that the most modest pretensions of the United States would carry the title to 53° N. Lat. The value of the fur trade, which the North-West Company was monopolizing, was emphasized while other natural resources in timber, fish and a fertile soil were pictured in attractive terms.

Accompanying the report was a bill dealing with two matters, occupation of the Columbia and trade with the Indians. For the first the President was to be authorized and required to occupy the territory of the United States "on the waters

⁸ *Hist. of Cong.*, 16th Cong. 2d Ses., 679.

⁹ In all the discussions from this time the claims of the United States were based upon (1) Gray's discovery of the Columbia; (2) the Louisiana Purchase; (3) Lewis and Clark Expedition; (4) Astoria establishment; and (5) the Spanish treaty of 1819.

of the Columbia River," extinguish the Indian title to a portion of the soil, establish regulations for the government of the territory and for the administration of justice therein, and open a port of entry at which the customs of the United States should be in force as soon as should be deemed expedient. The bill further provided that a grant of land should be made to settlers. The portion of the project relating to Indian affairs would establish an entirely new system of dealing with aborigines wherein licensed traders responsible to a Superintendent of Indian affairs were to be leaders in civilizing the natives. No action was taken by the House and the bill expired with the Sixteenth Congress.

Before submitting his report to the House Dr. Floyd had given it to the President with the request that the latter suggest such alterations as seemed desirable. Monroe in turn handed it to Adams who, after reading it, thus freely expressed himself:¹⁰

" . . . I returned the paper this morning to the President who asked me what I thought of it. I told him I could recommend no alteration. The paper was a tissue of errors in fact and abortive reasoning, of invidious reflections and rude invectives. There was nothing could purify it but the fire."

While Floyd's project made little headway in the House it did succeed in arousing some comment in Washington.¹¹ Jonathan Eaton, a Senator from Tennessee, sent to the editors of the *National Intelligencer* a letter from W. D. Robinson wherein was set forth the need for the United States to send an exploring expedition to the Pacific Coast particularly on account of the encroachments of the Russians.¹² To prevent dissemination of the impression that Mr. Robinson was the originator of this proposition, Commodore Porter caused the publication of a letter which he had written President Madison in October, 1815, and which he maintained was the basis of

¹⁰ *Memoirs*, V, 237, entry of 18 January.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 260.

¹² 26 January, 1821.

Robinson's letter. The *Intelligencer*, looked upon as an administration paper, commented,¹³

"Doubts are entertained by intelligent citizens, with whom we have conversed, of the policy and propriety of a disclosure, *at this time*, of the advantages which may probably result to the U. States from the possession of an extent of coast on the Pacific."

The Secretary of State, who had just been engaged with a lively altercation with the British minister, Stratford Canning, over the Oregon discussion in Congress, concluded that the latter would think this hint came from official sources as a result of their conversation.¹⁴ Even if this was the editorial opinion of the *Intelligencer* it did not prevent, a short time after, the statement that "everybody must approve Mr. Floyd's bill to the close of the 4th article; so far it is confined to the occupation of the territory bordering the Columbia."¹⁵

When the Seventeenth Congress assembled in December, 1822, unofficial information of the Ukase of the Emperor Alexander of September, 1821, had reached the United States. A virtual claim to the American coast as far south as 51° and a declaration that the North Pacific was closed to all but Russians served to give impetus to the activities of those who were interested in the passage of Floyd's Oregon bill and even served to arouse some interest in those who were opposed to the measure. A hint of the situation was contained in the Annual Message where the President said that it had been thought necessary to maintain a naval force in the Pacific for the protection of interests of American citizens. This portion of the message was referred to a special committee in the House.

Dr. Floyd opened his campaign by requesting another committee to inquire into the expediency of occupying the Columbia.¹⁶ The committee brought in the bill of 1821 accompanied by another report asserting the claim of the United

¹³ 30 January, 1821.

¹⁴ *Memoirs*, V, 260. See Chapter III, below.

¹⁵ 3 Feb. 1821; further notices as found 10 Feb. and 20 Mar.

¹⁶ 10 Dec., *Ibid.*, 529. The committee reported 17 and 18 Jan.

States as far as 51°. ¹⁷ Although other matters prevented a consideration of the bill itself the Oregon Question arose in other connections. Since, however, the bill was carried on into the next session, for continuity's sake it may be traced here. The second session found the bill under consideration at an early date, when, in Committee of the Whole House, Floyd supported the measure in a long speech, taking the arguments of his report for his text. With a minor amendment or two the bill was reported to the House, where it came up in the middle of January. Although an amendment defining the Oregon Territory as "all that portion of the territory of the United States, lying on the Pacific Ocean, north of the 42nd degree of north latitude, and west of the Rocky Mountains," was adopted, ¹⁸ the measure as a whole was laid upon the table on the 25th of January, and by a vote of 100 to 61 the House refused to take it from the table.

In addition to the fact that interest did not run high in relation to the project itself Floyd's bill was delayed during the first session of the Seventeenth Congress (1821-2) by the Russian Ukase. In December, Floyd had secured the adoption of a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Navy for information relative to the probable cost of an examination of the harbors on the Pacific and of transporting artillery to the mouth of the Columbia. ¹⁹ In February he brought forward another resolution calling upon the President to inform the House whether any foreign government laid claim to any territory upon the Pacific Coast north of 42° and to what extent; what regulations touching that coast had been made by foreign powers, and how far these affected the interests of the United States; also whether any communication had been made to the government by any foreign government touching the contemplated occupation of the Co-

¹⁷ H. Rep. No. 18, 17th Cong. 1st Ses.

¹⁸ The apathy of the House on the topic had been complained of by Wright, *Ibid.*, 413.

¹⁹ *Annals*, I, 553; a response indicated that it would cost \$25,000 to send 150 tons of artillery to the Columbia. The reply was referred to Floyd's select committee.

lumbia. This resolution called before the House the correspondence which had taken place between Adams and de Poletica when the former had received the official Russian announcement of policy in the Pacific.²⁰

One further episode in the House during this Congress casts a ray of light upon the presidential campaign already under way in anticipation of the elections of 1824. In addition to the Secretary of State, who was an avowed candidate to succeed Monroe in accordance with the practice of several years, there were several other aspirants being groomed for the contest. In January, 1822, Floyd brought about the passage of a resolution calling upon the President for copies of all correspondence which had led to the Treaty of Ghent with the alleged purpose of getting more light on the subject of his Columbia River project. When the papers were communicated it appeared that the particular paper sought by Floyd was not forthcoming, and there resulted more resolutions and finally a correspondence in the newspapers. Niles, commenting editorially in the *Register* upon the whole episode, concluded that the whole thing instead of having to do with the ostensible subject of the Columbia River country, was really an electioneering device, and rebuked the legislature for being too much occupied with president-making.²¹ The Secretary of State, if not actually the object of attack in the whole affair, certainly believed himself to be, and opened his soul to his Diary upon the question:²²

" . . . Floyd is a man having in the main, honest intentions, but with an intellect somewhat obfuscated, violent passions, suspecting dishonesty and corruption in all but himself, rashly charging it upon others; eager for distinction, and forming gigantic projects upon crude and half-digested information. He has a plan for establishing a Territorial Government at the mouth of the Columbia River, and, being leagued with Clay and Benton of Missouri, made his bill for

²⁰ *Annals*, II, Appen., 2129-60.

²¹ 25 May, 1822.

²² *Memoirs*, VI, 57. See also letter in Niles Register, Sept. 7, 1822.

that purpose the pretext of moving the call for the Ghent papers, and then for Russell's letters. Clay, who is at the bottom of it all, has been working like a mole to undermine me in the West, by representing me as an enemy to the Western interests, and by misrepresenting the transactions at Ghent in a way to suit that purpose."

In the second session of the Seventeenth Congress (19 December, 1822), a resolution by Johnston of Louisiana produced the correspondence which described the transfer of Astoria to the North-West Company. All this fitted in with the plans of Floyd who was eager to have brought forward anything which would serve to stir Congress into action, and whatever pointed toward apparent British aggression upon American rights was calculated to rouse interest.

While the House had before it the Oregon matter in its various aspects the Senate, during the life of the Seventeenth Congress, ignored the whole question, except in two instances. Late in April, 1822, when the Indian trade was under discussion, Benton took occasion to point out the value of the fur trade of the Columbia region and the claims of the United States to that valuable country. It may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that this marks the beginning of Senator Benton's long *legislative* connection with the Oregon Question; never thereafter when the topic arose was the gentleman from Missouri found reticent in expressing his views. The second time the Senate's attention was directed to Oregon was also at the instance of Benton who, in February, 1823, introduced a resolution calling upon the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation to enable the President "to take and retain possession of the territories of the United States on the Northwest Coast of America." This resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, apparently had two purposes: it served to bring formally before the Senate a matter which the House had under consideration; and it allowed Senator Benton to make one of his many

long speeches on the topic. He reviewed the diplomatic aspects of the subject to date and considered that the prospects for an ultimately favorable outcome for the United States were not promising; he considered that the whole diplomatic treatment as not worthy the best traditions of the American executive. It is to be noticed that Benton did not commit himself so far as to define the boundary to which the United States ought to push its claims. He succeeded no better than in the previous session in stirring the Senate into action or even to words.

The pioneer work of the Seventeenth Congress was actively followed up by its successor. The not too-discouraging results of Floyd's efforts in 1822-3 were the prelude of a more determined assault in the winter of 1823-4, followed in turn by a campaign in 1824-5 which resulted in the passage of his bill by the House. The vigorous message of President Monroe of December, 1823, with its direct reference to the Russian Ukase and the policy of the United States enunciated as a result of it, gave good grounds for agitation of the Oregon Question. Floyd began his work with another resolution for a committee, which, a few weeks later, reported a bill. This measure did not get beyond a reference to the Committee of the Whole in the course of this session. Shortly after the report of his special committee Floyd introduced another resolution calling upon the President to lay before the House information as to the expense of transferring two hundred of the troops then at Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia.

While these steps concluded the legislative activities of the session Dr. Floyd was busy laying his plans for vigorous action later. To the Secretary of War, Calhoun, he wrote, as chairman of the special committee, asking for "any facts or views which may be in the possession of the War Department, relative to the proposed occupation of the River in a military point of view," respecting the ease with which troops might be marched to that point, and their importance in checking

foreign encroachments and in controlling the Indians.²³ This letter Calhoun gave to the President who showed it to Adams, stating to him that he thought this was going beyond the duties of the Secretary of War.²⁴ He, the President, thought of sending a message recommending the establishment of a military post on the Pacific and renewing the proposition of the projected Yellowstone post. Adams considered such an exposition of the President's views quite proper, but he questioned the wisdom of expressing them; in connection with the inquiries of Floyd and Calhoun they were as likely to be construed in the light of an attempt to defeat the proposed establishment on the Columbia. So important was the matter considered that it was made the occasion of a cabinet discussion. To Adams, Calhoun and Southard Monroe read the draft of a message in which he recommended the establishment of a post high up on the Missouri River and one on the Pacific, either at the mouth of the Columbia or on the Straits of Fuca. This recommendation was accompanied by a strong argument against any territorial settlement on the Pacific and the expression of a decided opinion that the region was destined soon to be separated from the United States. All three cabinet members argued against sending such an expression of opinion to the House; Adams and Calhoun thought there would be no separation and that the United States would make settlements on the Pacific Coast. In the face of such unanimity of opinion the President decided not to send his projected message. As a result of all the discussion, Calhoun replied to Floyd's letter in general terms respecting the utility of troops in the Columbia country, adding,²⁵ ". . . but it is believed that so long as the traders of the British Fur Company have free access to the region of the Rocky Mountains from the various posts, which they hold on our Northern Boundaries, they will in great measure

²³ Calhoun to Floyd, 19 Apr., 1824. *Correspondence of Calhoun*, 217-8.

²⁴ *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, VI, 249.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 428, 9. Noted by Adams, 10 Nov., 1824. The negotiations at St. Petersburg and at London the previous winter and spring enabled the administration to have a better perspective than most members of Congress; see below, Chapter III.

monopolize the Fur trade West of the Mississippi, to the almost entire exclusion in the next few years of our trade."

In administrative circles, then, the whole question of the Columbia country was the occasional topic of consideration before the assembling of Congress in December of 1824.²⁵ Richard Rush, at the time conducting new negotiations with the British government on this Oregon topic among others, had advised sending a frigate to the mouth of the Columbia, but the suggestion did not meet with cabinet approval. Crawford thought the establishment of a military post was sufficient as well as proper although he disapproved of Floyd's plan of erecting a territorial government. In fact he had so told Floyd, and the latter, on his advice, said he would change his plan from a territory to a military post.

Monroe apparently clung to his idea that the Pacific Northwest was bound to separate in time from the United States, but he did not let it appear in his Annual Message of 1824. He advocated the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia "or at some other point in that quarter within our known limits," and took some pains to explain how such an establishment would protect every American interest, especially if it were backed by the stationing of a frigate in the northern waters of the Pacific. He made no direct reference to a territorial organization but it could not have been hard for members of Congress to perceive his lack of sympathy with the notion. He did, however, advise an appropriation for exploring the region, more potency being added to the recommendation by the fact that in the same message he could point to the treaty just concluded with Russia which he was about to lay before the Senate.

Neither the President's message nor Crawford's advice made any modification in Floyd's views, and his bill, in the hands of the Committee of the Whole House, came up for early consideration. It contained essentially the same provisions as those of the 1821 measure, omitting the portion which would remodel the whole policy of governmental action with the

Indians: it would establish a military post, allow a port of entry at the discretion of the President, grant bounty lands to settlers and provide for the erection of territorial organization by the President.

In a lengthy speech (20 Dec. 1824) Floyd supported the measure on the grounds of the value of the trade, the strategic position of the Columbia, and the fear that if the United States did not act the country would be occupied by Spain, England or Russia.²⁶ As in his report he assumed that the title of the United States was clear from 42° to 53°. Very little opposition was offered in the Committee of the Whole; Poinsett, of South Carolina, would leave to the President to determine what place in the region should be occupied by the post, while Cook of Illinois opposed the portion relative to a civil government as well as the grant of lands to settlers, a move, he said, to delude the people. The bill was reported to the House without amendment. Here some of the teeth were drawn. The section directing the President to erect a civil government was stricken out, not so much on account of possible international complications as because it would put out of the power of Congress a high legislative matter. Smyth of Virginia did, indeed, refer incidentally to the claims of other nations in his speech in general opposition to the bill, but that aspect seemed to cause little concern. The provision for bounty lands was also removed, so that the measure in its amended form as it passed the House became practically the recommendations of the President. No call for a record division was made at any stage of the passage of the bill, consequently it is not possible to see from what parts of the Union came the 113 votes for the bill or the 57 against it. Nor does the discussion, such as it was, throw much light on this point.

While Floyd's measure went through the House in its emasculated form with surprising ease it met with difficulties in the Senate where from the outset there was apparently

²⁶ The discussion is reported in *Debates*, I, 13-59, and took place on three days, 21-23 December.

no intention of passing it.²⁷ In the meager discussion, while Benton was the chief proponent, Barbour of Virginia spoke in its favor since the measure had been referred to his committee, that on Military Affairs, although, as he said, he had no particular interest in it. The only active opposition came from Dickerson of New Jersey who believed it improper for Congress to act before the expiration of the Convention of 1818 since Great Britain had done nothing to contravene that agreement. Furthermore, thought he, the region was so far off that it would never become a member of the Union, and the cost of the whole proposition would be out of proportion to the benefits which might be obtained.²⁸

Senator Benton, when the matter was up again at the very close of the session, thought that the measure had been unfairly treated by the policy of neglect, and took occasion to go at length into the reasons why the United States had a valid claim to Oregon. He seemed to support the claim as advanced by Floyd's committee; that is, to 53°, although he made no definite assertion on the point. Perhaps the most interesting point in the Senate's relation to the matter is Senator Benton's view of the future of the territory; he believed the bill would serve to "plant the germ of a powerful and independent Power beyond the Rockies," for those mountains would be the boundary between the east and the west. Although this feeling was by no means that entertained alone by Benton, it was one he departed from later on and consequently he did not emphasize it in his *Thirty Years' View*.

The whole matter in the Senate was ended for this Congress by tabling the bill on a vote of 25 to 14, with no roll call.

In his first annual message, in 1825, President Adams was able to continue the policy which he had urged previously as Secretary of State by renewing the recommendations of his predecessor in regard to the Northwest.²⁹ While much fre-

²⁷ The bill was before the Senate on 25 and 26 Feb., and 1 Mar. *Debates*, I, 684, 687-95, 698-713.

²⁸ Barbour's attitude does not seem as indicated in Bancroft, *Oregon*, I, 364.

²⁹ His Inaugural touched the same note. Richardson, *Messages*, II, 298, 305, 313.

quented by commercial navigators, said he, that region had been "barely touched by our public ships," although the principal river had been discovered and named by an American; consequently, "with the establishment of a military post there, or at some other point on that coast, recommended by my predecessor, I would suggest the expediency of connecting the equipment of a public vessel for the exploration of the whole Northwest coast of this continent." This portion of the message drew from Baylies of Massachusetts a resolution inquiring into the expediency and cost of sending the *Boston* to explore the Pacific Coast of North America from 42° to 49°, "and also (inquiring) whether it would be practicable to transmit more cannon and more of the munitions of war in such vessel, than would be necessary for the use of the vessel."³⁰ After an unsuccessful attempt by Sawyer (North Carolina) to widen the scope of the proposed exploration, by directing the *Boston* to try to find the Northeast Passage to Hudson's Bay, the resolution was adopted by the House. Sawyer also attempted and failed to secure a resolution authorizing an overland expedition to the Pacific, along the forty-ninth degree, thence down the coast to the forty-second degree and then along the Spanish boundary to the Mississippi, "or any other more eligible route across our unexplored territory to any place on that or the Ohio River; with a view to geological and other examination which might be considered useful or interesting." Further exploratory zeal was manifested in Trimble's call for Jefferson's confidential message of January, 1803, in which was recommended an expedition into the Northwest, a document which was transmitted, though still under the "veil of confidence."

The most interesting episode in the Oregon narrative which occurred in this Congress was the report of Baylies' select committee, to which had been referred the portion of the Pres-

³⁰ *Debates*, II, 813-5. Sawyer's modified resolution, *Ibid.*, 819-21. The Senate took no official notice of the President's recommendations, although Benton personally "professed to be much pleased with the plan." *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, VII, 75.

ident's message relating to the Pacific Coast.³¹ This committee had had the benefit of some portion of the diplomatic correspondence of 1823-4 between Great Britain and the United States which had been transmitted to the House as a result of a resolution in January. The report went over the various claims to title and came to the conclusion that the possession of the mouth of the Columbia was a matter of vital importance, and that "the indifference of America stimulates the cupidity of Great Britain. Our neglect daily weakens our own claim, and strengthens hers; and the day will soon arrive when her title to this Territory will be better than ours, unless ours is earnestly and speedily enforced." It was the spirit of this report which Gallatin declared was one of the causes of his failure to settle the boundary question in 1826-7. The President, whose influence had been powerful in whatever had been done with this question, saw in the report another of the numerous attacks upon himself in order to weaken him with the westerners. Writing to Gallatin in March of 1827 he said:³²

" The origin, rise and progress of this Oregon Territory Committee, of which Mr. Balies became at last the chairman, is perhaps not known even to you; but you remember it was the engine by means of which Mr. Jonathan Russell's famous duplicate letter was brought before the House of Representatives and nation, and that incident will give you a clue to the real purpose for which that committee was raised, and the spirit manifested in the report of Mr. Balies."

This reference to the earlier controversy with Floyd in which the western vote was appealed to, and the charge that forces were at work to undermine the President's chances for re-election, give a hint that already the Oregon Question was coming to be looked upon in some slight measure as a distinctly western issue. Adams, it appeared, would be shown to have been neglectful of the interests of the West if it could

³¹ H. Rep. No. 213, 19th Cong. 1st Ses. A preliminary report had appeared earlier, No. 35 H. Rep. Com. Vol. I.

³² *Writings of Gallatin*, II, 367.

be proved that all possible claims of the United States to the Pacific Coast had not been sufficiently urged.

The Nineteenth Congress in its second session was even more neglectful of the Oregon question; it ignored the matter entirely unless a fleeting resolution relative to a route across the Isthmus of Panama may be construed as a sort of recognition of the Northwest issue.

The Twentieth Congress was informed by President Adams that the Joint Occupancy agreement with Great Britain had been renewed, but at the moment this did not produce any response. A casual reference to Oregon came up in the first session by the introduction of a bill for "the punishment of contraventions of the 5th Article of the treaty between the United States and Russia," i. e., that portion dealing with the prohibition of the sale of fire-arms and liquor to the natives. While the measure did not become a law, or even arouse any particular attention, it raised the question of the relation of the courts of the United States to the disputed region.³³ A resolution for exploration in the "Pacific and South Sea" passed the House.

The second session of this Congress produced the first really serious discussion of the question of occupying the Oregon Territory, and the first debate which called for any notice worthy the name since the passage of Floyd's bill by the House in 1825. At the same time this was the last Congressional notice of any moment for nearly ten years. Dr. Floyd was once more chairman of the Oregon Territory Committee for which he brought before the House a new bill into which had been incorporated some of the features of his previous measures.³⁴ It authorized the President to erect forts upon the coast between 42° and 54° 40' and garrison the same; the country should be explored, and the criminal laws of the United States were to be extended therein. In the course of the discussion of the measure, taking place upon seven different days, the

³³ *Debates*, IV, Pt. 2, 2560-3.

³⁴ The debate took place in the latter part of December, 1828, and the first of January, 1829. *Debates*, V, 125-53; 168-91; 192. The vote on the third reading occurred January 9th.

original bill was amended so as to confine the application of the laws to citizens of the United States only, thus making it conform with the Act of Parliament of 1821 which provided for the extension of British law over British subjects in the disputed area.

The debate was somewhat widely shared and all the current arguments for and against the measure were aired. Those who favored the bill urged the good title of the United States, the value of the trade and the necessity of protecting citizens of the United States seeking to profit by that trade from the too-active competition of the British company. They argued that the petitions being received from different portions of the Union showed that the public demanded action, while no more favorable time could be found, for, if ten years were allowed to pass by with nothing done, the United States would be considered to have surrendered its claim. Through all the discussion there ran the note that the real reason for action was the fact that the region belonged to the United States, it was bound to be taken some time, and consequently it might as well be done immediately.

The opposition to immediate action was based upon more widely diverse grounds; to some, action, irrespective of the merits of the case, was premature; others thought the whole thing impracticable on account of the distance of the country from the settled regions of the United States; some pointed out that the title was in dispute and, at any event, notice of abrogation of the convention of Joint Occupation should precede legislative action; others said that the title of the United States was so good that no act was needed to affirm it. Some wished no action for fear of offending Great Britain, and others believed that Great Britain had scrupulously lived up to her agreement and so no pressing need of any action existed. To some the Oregon Territory had been presented as a sterile region, not worth the trouble or expense it would bring upon the country, and others would do nothing to drain off the pop-

ulation, needed in the older States and in the States and Territories upon the existing frontier.

Very little of that long and extremely tedious discussion, so characteristic of Oregon debates of later days, of the bases of the title of the United States, is to be found in the record of the debate of 1828-9. For the most part it appears that those who approved the bill agreed to the principle that it should apply to the region between 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$, although Everett called attention to the fact that the United States had offered 49° during the late negotiations with England. It is further interesting to note that James K. Polk was one of those who opposed the bill because, as he stated, he believed the provision for military occupation was sure to provoke a collision with Great Britain. He thought no decisive step should be taken until further negotiations had settled the issue as between the two countries.

One of the interesting aspects of this episode is the sectional distribution of support and opposition to the measure. The sectional issue was scarcely developed; this is shown both by the record of votes and by the discussion. The bill was strongly supported by Floyd of Virginia, Everett and Richardson of Massachusetts, Drayton of South Carolina, Gurley of Louisiana and Ingersoll of Connecticut. Among those who worked against it were Bates of Missouri, Mitchell of Tennessee, Storrs of New York, Weems of Maryland and Gorham of Massachusetts. Moreover, it was not a mere dissatisfaction with the particular bill which produced the opposition of such westerners as Mitchell and Bates. The former said that it was inexpedient to take possession in any manner whatsoever; for no possible good and innumerable evils would result; Bates wished that the Rocky Mountains were a deep sea bordering the United States so that there could be no temptations to expand further in that direction.

As there was no sectional division on the measure so there was no strictly party issue made of the vote, if one can call

those inchoate political aggregations of the time parties.³⁵ The Oregon issue had not entered into the presidential campaign of 1828 and it did not figure as a party matter at this time when the election was over and General Jackson had been "vindicated."

In the course of the discussion in the House three separate requests for grants of land had been presented and supported by the Congressmen most interested. The notion of granting anything like monopoly privileges was not kindly entertained by the House, and proposed amendments which would modify the bill in that direction were not adopted.

The vote of 99 to 75 by which the ordering of the bill to the third reading was lost settled the matter for this Congress and for some years to come. After this there was a period during which other matters occupied the attention of the legislators to the exclusion of the distant Columbia River country.

Outside of Congress during this period of Oregon agitation there was some interest in the question, but it has to be borne in mind that as compared with all the other matters which occupied public attention Oregon commanded but a place of minor importance. This is evidenced by the small amount of newspaper space devoted to it as well as by direct testimony from other sources. At the beginning of this period, 1819-29, something of the popular sentiment is mirrored in an editorial paragraph in the *National Intelligencer*.³⁶

"A bill was reported in the House of Representatives yesterday, the title of which is 'a bill to authorize the occupation of the Columbia River.' Yes, reader, you may believe it, for it is true, that a bill is before Congress, and for aught we know ought to pass, for establishing a Colony now, to be hereafter a Territory, at the mouth of the Columbia, about *forty degrees*

³⁵ The vote, on ordering to a third reading, was by sections as follows:

	For the bill	Against the bill
New England	15	19
North	20	33
South	26	30
West	19	17

The "North" includes New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware; the "West" includes Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri.

³⁶ 19 Jan., 1822.

of longitude west from Washington, and by water distant, how far we know not, but at least 10,000 miles. The Territory, however, belongs to the United States, and we understand that our Eastern brethren resort there for timber which they transport to the Southern Provinces of America, where that article is scarce. It will soon become necessary, if it be not now, to establish a port there; and it may be well to anticipate those who may else undertake to establish one for us, seeing their attention is already turned in that direction."

Toward the end of the same year the *Intelligencer* stated that the debate on Floyd's bill had been, if not convincing as to the measure, at least interesting and instructive upon some points "in their bearing upon the future policy of this country, but which are yet seldom discussed."³⁷ One anxious inquirer demonstrated that his curiosity had been aroused when he had inserted in the public press a query as to whether the government possessed "any tolerably authentic or credible topographical description" of the country. The diverse accounts given by Congressmen evidently led him to think that no one had any too much information on the point. Another interested follower of Congressional discussions advocated making the region about the mouth of the Columbia a penal colony.³⁸

Fugitive news items mostly dealing with some recently-returned fur traders' expedition appear from time to time in the public prints and show that certain editors at least were of the opinion that some of their readers might like to scan a paragraph about the Oregon country.³⁹ In 1822 the *North American Review* contained an article giving a picture of the trade of the Northwest Coast and showing that at the same time some fourteen vessels under American registry were engaged in trafficking with the natives of the mainland as well as with those of the Sandwich Islands.

It is not improbable that the view of Hesikiak Niles, written

³⁷ 19 Dec., 1822. The *Intelligencer* noted in reference to the 1825-25 bill merely that it had passed the House and had been tabled by the Senate.

³⁸ *N. Y. Gazette*, quoted by *Nat. Intelligencer*, 30 Mar., 1822.

³⁹ Niles gathered many of them for his *Register*, while the *Richmond Enquirer*, and the Washington and New York papers did the same.

toward the end of 1825, expresses the opinion of the bulk of men who were at all acquainted with the whole question. Said he,⁴⁰

"The project of establishing a chain of military posts to the Pacific, and of building a colony at some point near the mouth of the Columbia river, is again spoken of in the newspapers. We hope that it will be postponed yet a little while—it is not the interest of either the old Atlantic or the new states of the west, that a current of population should now be forced beyond the settled boundaries of the republic."

Although here and there were groups of men willing to be the recipients of land-grants located thousands of miles away and in an unknown region, most people were of the view of Niles, that the project should be "postponed yet a little while."

⁴⁰ *Register*, 25 Nov. 1825.

CORRESPONDENCE OF REVEREND EZRA FISHER

Edited by

Sarah Fisher Henderson, Nellie Edith Latourette, Kenneth
Scott Latourette.

(Continued from Page 480 in *Quarterly* for December, 1916.)

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., Jan. 6, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. Bap. H. M. Soc., N. Y.

Dear Brother:

During the late high water I spent eight or ten days in Salem and vicinity and preached one Sabbath. As it was the time of the session of the legislature, I availed myself of the opportunity of making myself acquainted with the members from the different parts of the territory and collecting what facts I could relative to the extent of the farming country and the commercial, agricultural and mineral capabilities, the number of population, the prospects of rising towns and the number and character of Baptist members in their respective districts, the results of which I design to embody in a few days, or perhaps weeks, and forward to you.

Salem contains ten drygoods stores, all of which seem to do a very fair business, a flouring mill, two saw-mills, some four or five lawyers, three or four physicians, mechanics of various descriptions and about five hundred souls. The Episcopal Methodists are the prevailing denomination. Here is their Oregon institute ²⁹² in a flourishing condition. Here are five Methodist Episcopal preachers,²⁹³ four of whom hold their land claims, on one of which the town is principally situated, and the others are all adjoining.

The Protestant Methodists sent out a missionary²⁹⁴ last year overland. He has fixed on this place as the place of

²⁹² The Oregon Institute was about to become Willamette University. The latter was incorporated six days after this letter was written.—Bancroft, Hist. of Ore. II:678.

²⁹³ Three of these Methodist ministers holding land claims were Revs. J. L. Parrish, L. H. Judson and J. D. Boon.—George H. Himes.

²⁹⁴ This was Rev. Daniel Bagley, afterwards prominent in the State of Washington.—George H. Himes.

his operations and is gathering a small church. The Presbyterians are holding occasional meetings here and contemplate forming a church before long. We have a few Baptist members wintering immediately adjoining the town but they will soon move to the country, perhaps Umpqua. We have two Baptist members living two miles north who were formerly united with others into a small church in the town. But the peculiar features of the land law called them all to their land claims.

I have formerly given you my views of the importance of occupying this place. I will repeat them and perhaps enlarge upon them: First, it is the seat of government and, whether that shall be removed or not, Salem cannot fail to be the center of a large and rich agricultural portion of the Willamette Valley and must have a rapid growth, situated, as it is, on the east bank of the river about midway between the Willamette Falls and the head of river navigation by small river steamers. From all that I know of the people in the place and the surrounding country, I think they are not generally committed to any denomination, although the Episcopal Methodists control a great share of the wealth and a large amount of influence. Yet the field in the immediate vicinity is very large and easy of access to a faithful, common sense, efficient preacher.

But another most important consideration is the fact that we have three young, feeble churches located in important farming portions of this county (Marion),²⁹⁵ all at this time destitute of a minister. Should a Baptist minister be located in Salem and preach but half his time in town, he might receive a portion of his support from one or two of these churches and exert a general influence through the county by way of building up these and other churches which must spring up soon, should the means of grace be enjoyed and blessed of God.

The churches in the county evince a missionary spirit and would aid liberally in the support of a man in Salem, if they

²⁹⁵ These were the French Prairie, Shiloh and Lebanon churches.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:9, 16.

could have his services but one Saturday and Sabbath each month.

The people generally are as much a church going people as is common for new countries. The influence in the churches is generally good in the country and the members have a fair proportion of talents and wealth. But they need (like all churches in new countries) habitual training in practical Christian duties. A minister, with a small family, adapted to fill that place, should be appointed with a salary of \$700 from the Home Mission Society and he might expect the first year to receive \$200 from the churches and people in Salem and vicinity, if he is a man with fair preaching talents in the old States and could command respect from the leading men in the territory and the government officers who will be located at Salem. As I expect soon to present you with some views on the importance of Oregon as a missionary field, I will only add that I conceive it of vast importance to the cause of Christ under God that your Board, as soon as practicable, sustain in the Willamette Valley at least three missionaries—one at Salem, one at Oregon City and one at Portland. If all the churches besides receive little missionary aid, except as they receive it through the influence and labors of these men, we probably can find men on claims who can attend to the wants of the country churches for the present better than that these places go entirely neglected from year to year.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received March 19, 1853.

Oregon City, O. T., Jan. 10th, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

I wrote Br. James S. Read about eight weeks since suggesting to him the propriety of his representing to you the importance of his field of labor and making timely application for reappointment, at the same time assuring him that I

would recommend his appointment as soon as I could learn that he had taken the requisite steps.

I have received no answer and have not learned since what he was doing, but presume he is preaching the Word as far as he can. Br. Read is a modest, studious, prudent, amiable, pious young brother, in my opinion, better adapted to take the charge of a well organized church than to perform the pioneer work of an entirely frontier portion of a country. Yet he seemed determined on his course and I hope the hand of the Lord was in the work. I conversed freely with him relative to his peculiarities in this respect before I gave my consent that he should go alone into a field which seemed to me to call loudly for an offhand, business-like pioneer. Had we anticipated with certainty that Brother Chandler would leave Oregon City, I think we should have thought it advisable, under all circumstances, to have kept Br. Read with us. But you know full well that instability is impressed in indelible marks on many of our most sanguine hopes in a frontier country. May God in His infinite mercy give us grace to meet every emergency like men richly furnished from the Gospel treasury till Christ shall be honored in Oregon.

Br. Read did not preach so much as other ministers in Oregon while he taught. This was his excuse, that he could not preach without some previous preparation and the brethren, as they became acquainted with him, appreciated his apology. But no young man sustains a more unblemished character.

I shall soon write him and encourage him to give himself to the work of the ministry as far as is consistent with his support. May the wisdom of the Most High direct you and us, is the sincere prayer of your unworthy brother.

EZRA FISHER.

Received March 19, 1853.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Jan. 12, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
A. B. H. M. Soc., N. Y.

Dear Brother:

The time has arrived in which it becomes necessary that arrangements be made touching the field of my labor the coming year. To me it is no pleasant task to solicit a re-appointment. Yet it appears to me a matter of increased importance that the Baptists should have a man in the general field in Oregon who shall visit every church and town and opening district, at least Umpqua and Rogue rivers, Puget Sound²⁹⁶ and the mouth of the Columbia and, at each place, spend a sufficient portion of time to learn the respective wants, and follow the openings of Providence in preaching the Word.

Our churches are small and scattered over a large territory and generally have preaching but one Saturday and Sabbath each month, and some only occasionally; numbers of preachers have only limited opportunities and labor through the week for their bread. Now a visit from a minister in whom the churches repose confidence, who will preach the Word, administer counsel when needed, present both publicly and privately the objects contemplated by the Home Mission Society and inculcate the principles of Christian benevolence and the importance of cultivating the Christian graces, would no doubt, under God, contribute more to promote the unity and strength of the churches and the earliest establishment of the cause of Christ in places of rising importance than the confinement of all our ministers to a given limit, station or two each. It is to be hoped that something may be done the ensuing year by way of aiding the Society in sustaining the gospel in Oregon. I am far from saying to your Board that I am the man, and still farther from coveting the

²⁹⁶ For the early posts of the Hudson Bay Company on the Cowlitz and at Nisqually, see notes 298 and 299. The first American settlements on Puget Sound were in 1845, near Tumwater. They grew gradually during the following few years, but suffered by the exodus to California in 1849. In 1850 a store was erected at Olympia and commerce in American ships began. There were perhaps 100 American citizens on the Sound at this time. In 1851 Port Townsend was laid out; in 1852-3, Seattle. There was steady growth of population from 1850 on.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Wash., Ida. and Mont.*, pp. 2, 4, 16, 17, 24.

fatigues and cares and domestic privations incident to the faithful discharge of the appropriate duties of such a mission. Yet, if I know myself, I desire to serve our common Lord in the field he seems to assign me by the counsel of the brethren who seek to understand the wants of Zion and meet them.

Should your Board judge, in the fear of God, that the cause of Christ in Oregon would be judiciously promoted by giving me a re-appointment with a salary of \$600 and traveling expenses, by the grace of God, I will endeavor to devote myself to that ministry. I say \$600, not because I suppose that sum will cover my family expenses, but because I think with that and the means saved by the services of the family and rigid economy we can live, by occasional mortifications and privations such as were common to our blessed Master and immediate followers and always have been to the pioneers in the blessed cause.

(No signature.)

Received March 19, 1853.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Jan. 12, 1853.

To the Executive Board of the Am. Bap. Home Mission Society:

The Subscriber desires reappointment as exploring agent of the American Baptist Home Mission Society for Oregon Territory for one year to commence on the first day of April, 1853. The total amount of my salary necessary for my support while exclusively devoted to the labor of said agency is \$1000 per annum; the least amount that will suffice from the Society in addition to the services performed by my family is \$600 per annum and traveling expenses. Should the Board comply with this request I engage to devote myself wholly to the appropriate duties of the agency in accordance with their instructions.

N. B.—It will be desirable that I should raise \$300 or \$400, sufficient to protect our school building from great exposure to the weather and ceil and seat one room, and this, it is thought, may be better done by me, without seriously interfering with

the duties of the agency, than in any other way. I would not ask this but for the scarcity of laborers in the field and the direct influence the accomplishment of this work will have on the public mind in Oregon and consequently upon the cause of missions in and out of our churches.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER.

This is to certify that I fully accord with the above request in every particular except the amount asked for. \$600 here is no better than \$200 in any place that I have ever lived in.

GEO. C. CHANDLER.

I certify that I regard Brother E. Fisher as the best minister that we have in this territory for an exploring agent and recommend him as such. The amount that he asks for his services is small.

HEZEKIAH JOHNSON.

Oregon City, Oregon, Jan. 17, 1853.

Dear Br. Hill:

I have made inquiries respecting the expenses of the journey to Puget Sound from Colonel Eby,²⁹⁷ the member of the legislature from Whitby's Island, and find that such a tour as would enable me to reach the principal settlements on the Sound would cost me about six or eight weeks and about \$75 or \$100. The route is first by steam to the mouth of the Cowlitz [Cowlitz], thence up that stream to the Hudson Bay Company's post on the Cowlitz,²⁹⁸ at this place hire a horse to Nesqually [Nisqually],²⁹⁹ there leave my horse and hire a crew of Indians and canoe to take me to the various places rising up

²⁹⁷ This was I. N. Ebey. He came to Oregon in 1848, and after a visit to California in 1850, settled on Puget Sound and became prominent in the community. He was murdered by Indians in 1857.—Bancroft, Hist. of Wash., Ida. and Mont., pp. 15, 29, 137.

Whidbey Island was first settled in 1848. Ebey settled there in 1850.—Ibid, p. 10.

²⁹⁸ The first Hudson's Bay Company fort on the Cowlitz was one of its old stations, and the company had a large farm there. The Jesuits settled there in 1838.—Bancroft, Hist. of N. W. Coast, II:613. The post was in the vicinity of the present Toledo.

²⁹⁹ Fort Nisqually was established in 1833, four or five miles northeast of the Nisqually River. The company had a large sheep and cattle farm there. It was a center of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, an organization closely allied to the Hudson's Bay Company, and was the depot for curing meat and loading vessels for Russian-American posts.—Bancroft, Hist. of N. W. Coast, II:525, 614.

along the Sound, a distance of 80 or 100 miles, and return the same way. From the best information I can obtain, there are from 2500 to 3000 souls in the whole country north of the Columbia River (some estimate the population at 5000) who have never been visited by a Baptist minister. A few of these are said to be respectable Baptist members. This number will doubtless be monthly increased. The question I wish to propound is, Will your Board justify the expenditure of \$100 in traveling expenses to have an agent visit that important portion of the Territory next summer? Before you answer this question I hope to be able to give you the best geographical description of the country I have been able to glean from intelligent residents on the Sound.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received March 19, 1853.

Oregon City, O. T., Jan. 20th, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

Yours of Dec. 1st, 1852, has just come to hand and was read with deep interest. I have named at two several times in my quarterly reports the amount which I have collected for the Oregon City College, not because I regarded this a part of my direct duties I owed to the Home Mission Society, but because I had reason to suppose it would be a matter of gratification to the Board to learn that the cause of education was not neglected with the Baptists in Oregon. A few of the many reasons for the course I have pursued I beg leave to name in this. In Aug. of '49, on my return from California, I found a letter from you, pressing upon me the importance of Baptists securing a suitable amount of land at some favorable point and commencing a school which should eventually take its place among the colleges of the land. I acted accordingly. It was finally judged expedient to locate that school at Oregon City. My interests

must be identified with the school till a suitable teacher could be found. In this work I think I do not exaggerate when I say that I deliberately sacrificed in dollars and cents more than half the little property I then had, most of which I had dug with my own hands out of the California sandbars and gulches in the space of eight weeks. I knew the Board, in view of all the circumstances, approved of my teaching, preaching Saturdays and Sabbaths and collecting funds whenever opportunities presented; not in the abstract, but from necessity, just as the farmer in a new country makes his sled and his plow and repairs his clock. I understand, too, that your Board had somewhat departed from their ordinary course by appointing for said school two teachers and preachers in the same men, paying for their outfit and sustaining them in part in this two-fold relation. I looked upon this, under the circumstances, as the best thing that could be done, although I regretted the necessity of giving one man the work of two or three. Upon entering upon the work of exploring agent I did contemplate doing something for the school and I think I wrote you on that subject, and I had the impression that I received from you in substance this reply, that the Board could not consent that their agents should enter into the services of any other society so as to interfere with their official duties as agents. But, upon referring to your letters, I find nothing on that subject except the instructions given in connection with the two commissions, the one in Nov. '51 and the other in Apr. '52. I understood those instructions would justify me in co-operating with any benevolent society, whenever it could be done without sacrificing the interests of the Baptist Home Mission Soc.

In this work which I have performed I have studiously avoided encroaching upon the time and duties of every department of my agency. Probably in doing this work I have not consumed the amount of two days' time, when I could have done anything for the Mission Society. Almost every man in Oregon had formerly known me as identified with

the school, and, while in that relation, I always carried our building subscription paper in my pocket and, whenever I found a friend of education, I introduced our building enterprise and solicited his aid. Thus I have secured many subscriptions in various parts of Oregon. Numbers of these were unpaid when I entered upon the work of exploring agent. At that time we had about \$4000 invested in the house. The house was enclosed, except the doors and windows—not one of them made. Our lumber was on hand for flooring and ceiling in part. Our school was still in a small Baptist meeting house, thus rendering the house unfit for a place of worship. Br. Johnson was sick, Br. Chandler confined to the school and no man to engage in collecting funds; all said that I could do something without interfering with my official duties and I must do what I could or the work would stop and we as a denomination would suffer public reproach. With all these difficulties to meet, what could I do in the fear of God other than to pursue the work by littles, without interfering with the appropriate duties of my mission? I know it is not my business to over-reach the instructions, when I have sold my time, unless I am permitted to exercise some discretionary power. Yet it is my deliberate conviction that the cause of Home Missions has been aided indirectly instead of retarded in the work I have performed for the school. I have sought my time when traveling on steamers, or spending the night with friends, to introduce this subject as incidental business, thus adding variety and giving importance to my work rather than seriously impeding it. I have informed you in another letter that by far the greater part of the funds collected for the school building has been from men not directly members of Baptist churches, whose sympathies have been enlisted for the Baptists somewhat in proportion as they find them engaged in promoting the great interests of humanity. I have not entered upon this work from pecuniary considerations, nor from any inclination to covet the thankless drudgery of begging as some are pleased

to term it. But it has been because I could not help it while all these and many kindred considerations were pressing upon me and sometimes preying upon my spirits.

I have just written your Board requesting a reappointment, with privilege of performing a little more of the same kind of work, sincerely hoping when that is done this part of the cause of education may rest a few years. I know not what kind of a reception the educational part of the request will meet in the Board, but I believe they are all good men and wise and, if they could be here and see things as they are, they would to a man judge of this matter as we do here. I sincerely hope the Board will weigh this subject well and allow me to do this work in connection with the work of exploring agent, so as not to interfere with my official duties. I will try to the utmost of my ability to prevent interference. I seriously fear that the work must remain undone unless it is done this way by me. If another man could be found here to do it, I would sincerely rejoice, probably more than you all.

Yours with sincere esteem,

EZRA FISHER.

be secured free? When Mr. Atkinson^{299-a} returned to the be secured free? When Mr. Atkinson returned to the States to solicit funds for liquidating the debts of the female seminary building in this place his passage was secured free or nearly so. We have built our house without asking help from the churches at home and we ask for a man to be sent to bless Oregon in sustaining the teaching department of a public school of much greater moment than a county female school. Will our suit be denied by men making money by the hundred thousands?

EZRA FISHER.

Received March 19, 1853.

Oregon City, O. T., Feb. 3d, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

I noticed an article in the Christian Chronicle, under the ed-

^{299a} Rev. G. H. Atkinson, who arrived at Oregon City in June, 1848, and was the first Congregational home missionary in Oregon.

itorial head, with the title "A Field of Promise," in which some extraordinary assertions were made, such as the following: "Oregon, California and New Mexico are all thrown into our hands inviting us to send into that vast region the missionary, the school teacher and the pious layman to preach and labor for God and His church; there are our mountains and rivers of gold and to them our Eastern population are directing their course and pouring in by multitudes; in a very few years this newly acquired territory may accommodate a population as large as that which the whole country now sustains; there will be the wealth and the people and thence will emanate our laws and the great controlling influence."

Now, dear brother, these are certainly startling assertions and seem to come from a very respectable source. Were I prepared to believe all this, how should I as a missionary feel, in view of my responsibility, being one of the few Baptist ministers in all this region so full of promise, and everywhere so richly endowed with schools of vice? And how should I tremble under the vastness of the responsibility imposed upon not more than eight or ten missionaries who give themselves wholly to the ministry in this field of so much promise? It must be that these assertions are not true or that our old and wealthy churches have not the map of the field before them, enquiring, like Daniel, after the time and place of the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, or we should see more self-denying soldiers of the cross directing their course to this field. I have thought, if half of these statements were believed to be true in the able and numerous churches, they would gird themselves for this work and quadruple their efforts to give the bread of life to the feeble rising interests everywhere struggling for existence in the settlements as they are rapidly forming through this field of promise. I propose giving in these sheets some geographical facts relative to the extent of that portion of the field embraced in Oregon, which must be crowded with immortal beings in the short space of twenty-five or thirty years. Oregon includes seven degrees of latitude, eight hundred miles of seaboard, with

bays and harbors every sixty miles and sometimes more contiguous, and more than fifteen degrees of longitude, making an area somewhat more than 364,000 square miles.³⁰⁰ After deducting one-third for waste land, we have then a territory large enough for five states as large as New York or 32 as large as Massachusetts. It has formerly been supposed that the Willamette Valley comprised almost all the desirable resources of Oregon which were attractive to the immigrant seeking a home for himself and family west of the Rocky Mountains. But instead of this being the fact, it is becoming a matter of doubt by our best informed, practical men whether this valley will even hold the first place in point of importance with various divisions now being occupied by the enterprise and daring of the hardy, adventurous pioneers of the Pacific Coast. This valley, however, from the extreme south, where the prairies begin to open out along the principal streams and their tributaries, to the junction of the main river with the Columbia, is about 170 miles [in length] and varies in breadth from 20 to 65 miles; and even far beyond this, up the sides of the mountains, large bodies of arable lands are found which would be sought with great eagerness, if they lay unoccupied in the Green Mountains, with the mildness of this climate and fertility of its soil. Aside from this, the inexhaustible water power and the unexplored mineral resources of its mountains and its agricultural capabilities equal, if not exceed, that of the same number of square miles of the most productive parts of Illinois or Missouri. Leaving this valley, the traveler passes over a transverse ridge of mountains eight miles and enters the Umpqua Valley. It is said that a pass has been discovered, but one or two miles east of the road, sufficiently level to lay a railroad track without grading.³⁰¹ The Umpqua Valley is about 75 miles from north to south and from 15 to 40 from east to west and forms a succession of high hills covered with grass and scattering oaks, and valleys, ranging from a few rods

³⁰⁰ The Oregon of this time, of course, consisted of all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains between the parallels of latitude 42 and 49 degrees. The area is overstated.

³⁰¹ This is the pass now followed by the Southern Pacific R. R.

to three or four miles in breadth, with a rich deep soil, which extends to the tops of the highest hills. This country lies contiguous to the gold mines and is settling with astonishing rapidity. Below the Coast Range, on the River bearing the name of the valley above, a commercial town is springing up by the name of Scottsburg.³⁰² In all this country there is but one Baptist and one Methodist minister. As the traveler proceeds south from this valley he passes through a narrow defile of another transverse range of mountains ten or twelve miles. This pass is called the Canon (pronounced kenyon)³⁰³ and opens into the Rogue River Valley. This is surrounded by some of the richest gold diggings in the whole gold region of California and Oregon, and is said to contain nearly as much farming land as the Umpqua Valley. In this valley already 2000 or 3000 souls have taken up their residence; among this number two or three families of the first respectability are known to be Baptists. Here the Methodists have established a circuit occupied by two traveling preachers. Two years ago not a white man was found in all this valley. From this to the California line is a mining country, interspersed with some good land.

Along the coast, south of the Columbia and west of the Coast Range, are numerous streams emptying into the ocean, on several of which are fine bodies of land, large enough to form small counties, generally lying about fine bays whose entrances are sufficiently large to admit brigs and schooners to enter with safety. These streams furnish a vast amount of water power and are skirted with immense forests of the best fir and spruce in Oregon. At the mouths of these streams settlements are being made such as Port Orford, the mouth of the Umpqua and Tillamook. But not a single gospel minister has ever visited one of these places since their settlement.

Let us now take a brief view of that portion of country formerly embraced in Oregon situated north of the Columbia

³⁰² See note 277.

³⁰³ This is the present Cow Creek Canyon.

and west of the Cascade Mountains. This territory extends more than 200 miles from the Columbia to our northern boundary and about 140 from the Pacific to the summit of the Cascade ridge, having about 300 miles of seacoast, with three fine harbors and a small land sea 180 miles in length, with an almost endless number of harbors entirely secure from storm. And then the majestic Columbia, whose tides daily ebb and flow to the Cascade falls, rolls her deep, broad column of water along the southern border.

I know of no state in the Union which combines within its own limits so many sources of wealth. Timber of an excellent quality and in vast quantities abounds on Puget Sound, along the coasts and on the Columbia, and water power is nowhere wanting to drive the machinery to cut it into lumber. Along the Chehalis and south and east from the Sound, the country opens into extensive prairies, the northern portion of which the white man has not yet explored. The Sound abounds with islands, among which Whitby's is said to be 60 miles in length and on an average seven in breadth, with a soil unsurpassed in fertility. The people residing in this division give it as their conviction that the soil as a whole is equal, if not superior, to that of the Willamette Valley. Colonel Eby, the member of the legislature from Thurston County, informs me that two navigable rivers (the Duwamish³⁰⁴ and the Snohomish) empty into the Sound from the southeast and flow through the extensive prairies west of the Cascade Mountains. Between the Sound and the ocean much of the land is good, but prairies are said to be small. This county, which scarcely numbered 300 souls in 1850, except the government troops, contains at this time a population estimated from 3000 to 5000, and the present session of the legislature has passed bills to organize four new counties, making in all seven counties in this new portion of Oregon.³⁰⁵ In this district not less than ten or twelve towns of importance will soon be the result of the en-

³⁰⁴ This was the Dewamish or White River.

³⁰⁵ These seven counties were: Lewis, organized by the legislature of 1845-6; Clarke; Thurston, organized by the legislature of 1851-2; Jefferson; Pierce; King and Island.

terprise of the present citizens. Saw-mills are being put in requisition, and already a considerable trade in lumber is carried on from the Sound and the Columbia. One Methodist minister ³⁰⁶ affords all the evangelical preaching the pioneers of this whole district receive. He entered the vast field but last December.

As we leave this district and pass through the Cascade Mountains by the uninterrupted channel of the Columbia, sufficiently deep at all seasons to float the largest class of river steamers, we arrive at the Dalles east of the Cascade Mountains. This may be said to be the head of steam navigation of this great river. Here we enter a region of country which has been generally described as altogether unfit for settlement by civilized man. But instead of this being one vast plain of sands covered with little else but sedge and artemesia, that portion of the country lying between the Cascade and the Blue mountains affords one of the finest grazing countries in North America, with a soil capable of producing all the products raised in the northern and middle states in great profusion. The only serious obstacle to the speedy settlement of all this region of country is the scarcity of timber in the more southern and eastern portions and, in some parts, scarcity of water. Yet large portions of the north and west of this region are represented as possessing both of these advantages.

That portion of this division lying north of the Columbia and east of the Cascade range is represented by those who have traveled through it as a most desirable region, to which immigrants will soon be attracted in crowds. The Rev. Mr. Waller³⁰⁷ who resided some eight years at the Dalles, represents this section of the country as one hundred miles long and varying from 15 to 50 miles in breadth and embracing large bottoms, with timber crowning the hills and mountain sides in abundance, also skirting the streams. The Rev. Mr. Par-

³⁰⁶ Rev. John F. DeVore was formally transferred from the Rock River Conference to the Oregon Conference in 1853, and was the apostle of Methodism to Puget Sound.—Hines, *Missionary Hist. of the Pac. N. W.*, p. 418.

³⁰⁷ Rev. Alvan F. Waller came to Oregon as a member of the Methodist Mission in 1840.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* 1: 177, 190.

rish,³⁰⁸ one of the Indian agents, traveled over a portion of this region in May and June of 1850. By his journals, he traveled one hundred and fifty miles in a course first northeast and then northwest. He says he passed 17 mill streams and, at the end of his journey, the plain appeared so broad that he could see no appearances of mountains as far as the eye could stretch its vision. He gives it as his opinion that this is a larger body of land and more productive than the Willamette Valley. Others who have traveled through this region give a similar description of the country. Some represent it 100 miles wide in the broadest place; others represent it 150 miles across in every direction.

A settlement is now being formed at the Dalles³⁰⁹ and another is contemplated on the Umatilla the next summer, and the time is near when flourishing states will spring into existence above the Cascade Mountains on the waters of the Columbia and Snake rivers and their tributaries. The missionaries who were stationed among the Nez Perces and Flathead Indians³¹⁰ represent much of the land occupied by those tribes as exceedingly productive in grasses, small grains, Indian corn and all the varieties of vegetables grown in New York and New Jersey, while it possesses a mildness and salubrity of climate nowhere else enjoyed in North America. The mineral resources of this country are yet unexplored, yet gold has been washed from the sands of the rivers, 60 or 70 miles north of the Columbia, which indicates the probability that the precious metals, in greater or less quantities, lie buried in the sides of all the surrounding mountains.

Now with all these facts spread out before us, shall not the spirit of immigration to the Pacific Coast pervading the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains be regarded as

³⁰⁸ Rev. Josiah L. Parrish came to Oregon in 1840 under the Methodist Mission.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:177; II:213.

³⁰⁹ The Dalles was occupied as a mission station by the Methodists in 1838.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:162. It was transferred to the American Board in 1847. The place was abandoned after the Cayuse war in 1847-8, and only one or two persons lived there until the establishment of the government military post in 1850. A trading post was then soon established and a town began to grow up.—*Ibid.* II:91, 252, 289, 290. See also the letter of Jan. 15, 1855.

³¹⁰ These were the missionaries of the American Board in the present north-eastern Oregon, southeastern Washington and northern Idaho.

the opening of God's providence to give the commerce of Asia and the Pacific Isles into the hands of that nation which has displayed the banner of liberty to the nations of the earth and which is first of all nations in giving the Bible and the devoted missionary to Jew and Gentile sunk in degradation and reduced to a stupidity of which the heathen gods are too fit an illustration? I leave others to tell the growing numbers which crowd every steamer and clipper ship up from California. It is sufficient for me to say that Oregon now numbers between 30,000 and 40,000 American citizens and it is a moderate estimate to predict that she will double her population every two years for the next quarter of a century.³¹¹

Who then will give the bread of life to the thousands hastening to our borders? Who are to build our schoolhouses and put our rising generations under the tuition of pious, efficient teachers instead of leaving them to the sport of all the baser passions of the human soul, while schools of vice are everywhere spreading wide their desolating, debasing influence over the unsuspecting and unguarded youthful mind? To me it seems just as important that the missionary school teacher should accompany the home missionary to the frontier settlements of all our new territories as that the foreign missionary should be attended with such auxiliaries. I have felt for years that the right arm of the Home Mission Society is measurably palsied by attempting to separate these essential constituents. If the church is commissioned to go and teach all nations, why should not the youthful mind be imbued with the principles of the gospel in all its acquisitions? I have no doubt our brethren at home who contribute liberally to sustain the missionary in these new and opening fields desire and pray that this cause may want none of the agencies necessary to crown the efforts with complete success. Why then should not the Home Mission Society assume the responsibility at once of seeing at least one school sustained by efficient, pious teachers in each of the

³¹¹ This prediction was hardly fulfilled. The Federal census gave Oregon in 1850 a population of 13,294; in 1860 it gave Oregon and Washington, which then included part of Idaho, 64,000, and in 1870 it gave the three states and territories 130,000.

territories on the coast, in direct connection with the missionaries there laboring, and that school grow with the growth of that territory and be so conducted as to meet the educational wants of our denomination there? I believe that such an organization under God would add fifty or one hundred per cent to the efficiency and permanency of the Home Mission work on the Pacific shores. No doubt our field is one of great promise, and, being one of so much promise, it demands laborers adapted to its culture, and will soon justify the outlays. May God direct its devising and executing plans precisely adapted to accomplish most harmoniously and efficiently His heaven born purpose so wonderfully opening in this field for the labor and faith and patience of the American churches.

Respectfully yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received March 29, 1853.

Oregon City, O. Ter., March 16, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. Bapt. H. M. Soc., New York.

Dear Brother:

Yours and Br. Whitehead's bearing date Jan. 14, together with an invoice of goods and bill of lading, were received by the last mail. I did not design to recommend Br. Read for an appointment by the Board of the Home Mission Society till he had made an application in form according to directions in the annual report. But as our field is so wide and our mails so irregular, I thought best to have the way open so that your Board might be prepared to act understandingly, should he make an application for reappointment in the Umpqua in due form and give your Board necessary intelligence respecting the field.

Br. Read has left the Umpqua and I am informed he is at Jacksonville, a flourishing mining town in Rogue River Valley. There are two or three Baptist families of his acquaintance in the vicinity of Jacksonville, and one or more others have moved there this spring. I think that he was mak-

ing an effort to build a Baptist meeting house in Jacksonville in Dec. Should he succeed in the attempt (and God grant that he may), he will undoubtedly find it his duty to make that his field of labor, I trust, for coming years. The church in this place have so much confidence in Br. Read that they unanimously voted to invite him to return and take charge of the church as pastor before they knew he had left the Umpqua. But now they have little hope that he will accept their invitation. I have, in another letter, given you my views respecting Br. Read's talents and character as a minister. I presume his extreme modesty, blended with his spirit of independence, will not prompt him to ask of your Board a reappointment till I either see him or receive some communication from him by letter. By this move of Br. Read, the whole of Umpqua Valley is left without a Baptist minister of any description. I trust, however, that a self-sustaining minister at least will find his way into the valley and gather up the scattered members into a church,³¹² if nothing more efficient can be done for that most inviting field.

SANTIAM CHURCH.

I visited this church and attended their yearly meeting, commencing Friday before the second Saturday in February, which continued four days. Fifteen miles before I reached the place, my horse took fright and dashed me to the ground with such violence that, falling upon my umbrella, I had six ribs fractured, two in two places each. I however proceeded the next day and by walking my horse was able to ride to the place; preached four sermons the three following days, but it was attended with much pain in the flesh. Meeting was well attended, church seemed much revived and a few persons manifested unusual concern for their soul's salvation, Br. Stevens,³¹³ now near Marysville, was present. Br. Cheadle is pastor of the church. This church has passed through a long series of trials, but seems to be in a healthy and promising con-

³¹² See note 328.

³¹³ See note 284.

dition. I should have taken up a collection in favor of the Home Mission Society but for the fact that the church felt bound to relieve the wants of Br. Stevens. On Sabbath, after preaching, Br. Cheadle made known the wants of Br. Stevens and a collection of \$48.50 was taken up in his favor.

WEST UNION CHURCH

Last Saturday and Sabbath I spent with the West Union Church, 27 miles west of this place near the seat of justice for Washington County. Here I met Br. Weston,³¹⁴ who is preaching to the church every Sabbath. He reached Oregon last Nov. extremely poor, having left his wife above the Cascade Mountains with a travelling companion till he could come into the Willamette Valley and raise means to bring his family down. The West Union Church helped him to \$100, sent him back for his family, have fixed him on a claim of 320 acres of land near the place of meeting and one brother has furnished him his breadstuff and vegetables ever since. This church are engaged in building a frame meeting house, 30 feet by 40, with 13 feet posts, the present year. Last Saturday they invited Br. Weston to become their pastor and will probably pay him about \$300. The question of the expediency of their applying to the Home Mission Soc. for aid was raised. A leading brother from the other church in the Tualatin plains³¹⁵ being present, I advised that the two churches should unite and support Br. Weston, and, through that means, leave your Board to appropriate the amount which would be asked for Br. Weston to sustain a preacher at Portland. The subject seemed to strike them favorably. I hope these churches will take up and sustain Br. W. and think, should you send the right sort of a man to Portland, I can raise \$50 from these two churches the first year for his support.

³¹⁴ Rev. Rodolphus Weston was pastor until 1854. He was a missionary of the Willamette Association in 1859.—Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore., I:4, 148.

³¹⁵ This was the West Tualatin (Forest Grove) Baptist church, which was organized May 22, 1852.—Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore. I:11.

After preaching on Sab., I presented in brief the claims of the Home Mission Soc. and took up a collection of \$9.00.

Respectfully yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received April 29, 1853.

Oregon City, March 17, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

I wrote you about six weeks since, giving the reasons of Br. Chandler's removal from this place as near as I could. Be assured we have no designs to keep the affairs of the school a secret. I feel that it has been a serious misfortune to the school that Br. Chandler left it. The two last quarters the school has been in the hands of men interested in making a living for themselves, who went into the school till they could find a more lucrative employment. The school has not numbered more than fifteen, and in its most prosperous condition eighteen scholars. The second man, a graduate of Brown's University, left the school in the middle of the term. Had he continued, he would have lost all his school. We have now put the school into the hands of Professor Shattuck,³¹⁶ the principal of the female seminary of this place, and think we shall make no more changes till we can get a man to take charge of the school and identify his interests with the prosperity of it. The school has just opened and scholars are beginning to return, but it will require at least a quarter to bring the school to 25. Business is beginning to increase in town and I have no doubt but by next winter the school will pay a man a fair living. We need just such a man as you represent Br. Post to be and, were he here, he would, in his appropriate work, do more for the general influence of the Bap. cause than any one minister can while

³¹⁶ This was E. D. Shattuck, a native of Vermont, and a graduate of the University of Vermont, who was later prominent as a judge, and as a member of the Republican party.—Hist. of Portland, ed. by H. W. Scott, p. 514.

we leave the school in other hands. I wish with all my heart I could say to Br. Post, Come out and I will pay the passage for you and family and ensure you a salary of \$1500 the first year. But I am poor in available means and cannot do anything till after the meeting of the Association in June. Then we hope to have our educational interest canvassed and it may be that we can secure a denominational pledge. I dare not hope for great things, but I will try and do what I can, by God's grace, for this as well as for every other interest connected with the advancement of the cause of Christ and humanity in Oregon. I sometimes almost wish I could be permitted to plead the cause of education and religion in Oregon before a thousand of our wealthy brethren in our old churches and, heaven approving, I would have the money to send a teacher to Oregon and furnish him his tools to do his work to the credit of the cause of Christ in Oregon. But duty calls me to labor on here under all the embarrassments incident to a new country, and I will try and do it as to Christ.

Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—Some of our brethren here want me to obtain permission to return to the States and present the claims of Oregon as a missionary field and at the same time do what I can for our school. But I have no desire on this subject aside from duty. Oregon is my home and I expect to do what little I do in the cause of Christ principally for this field. I have no curiosity to gratify and wish not to multiply labors to no effect.

E. FISHER.

Received April 29, 1853.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Apr. 1, 1853.
Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. of Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.

Herein I send you my report of labor as general itinerant under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the

fourth quarter ending Mar. 31, 1853. I have labored 13 weeks this quarter; preached 19 sermons, delivered two lectures to the Sabbath school in Oregon City, attended two prayer meetings and four covenant meetings, visited religiously 49 families and individuals, visited one common school, traveled to and from my appointments 325 miles.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,
General Itinerant.

N. B.—But one Sabbath school is regularly sustained through the year in all the Baptist churches in Oregon. The church at Oregon City is temporarily supplied by Elders Chandler and Johnson. When at home I supply the place part or all the day.

E. FISHER.

P. S. (Private)—The churches of the association which were opposed to benevolent operations seem more impressed with the conviction that the ministry at home, must be sustained or the churches must decline and give place to other denominations who will sustain and have a devoted ministry.

* * *

E. FISHER.

Received May 9, 1853.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Apr. 1, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br.:

Herein I send you my report of labor as exploring agent under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the 4th quarter ending March 31st, 1853. During the quarter I have visited Portland and Milwaukie, towns on the Willamette, and Santiam, French Prairie, West Union and Yam Hill churches. Traveled to and from my appointments 325 miles; labored 13 weeks during the quarter; collected \$9.00 cash by a collection taken up in the West Union Church. Paid \$4.00 for travelling expenses, 25 cents postage.

Preached 19 sermons and addressed the Sabbath school in Oregon City twice and taught the Bible class when I have been at home on the Sabbath.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,
Exploring Agent.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., May 13th, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br. Hill:

Yours of March 19th was received by last mail. I will now answer in brief the interrogations respecting our school, some of which I think I anticipated in one of my last. Br. Chandler holds no relation to the Oregon City College other than any other Baptist minister in the territory, except that he is deeply interested in the cause of education and religion in Oregon. He even declined becoming a member of the Board of Trustees while he taught and since he left the school the Board has had no annual meeting.

We have no president of the school. I am president of the Board of Trustees. The school is in a feeble state of operation under the care of Mr. Shattuck, the principal of the county female seminary located at this place. He teaches the large boys and has an assistant who teaches the small boys and geography, etc. The school at present does not meet the wants of the community. But we see no way of doing better than to let it be in Mr. Shattuck's hands one quarter more. Brs. Johnson and Chandler have both requested me to go into the school again, but I cannot think of making teaching my business for life and, then, this season is a time which demands my services with the churches and the new portions of the territory to aid as far as possible in giving a healthy direction to the partially organized and the unorganized interests in our rapidly increasing population. We would be glad to make no more changes in the school till

we can get a permanent teacher who will identify himself with the school. But we cannot see the school entirely run down, or, what is worse, let it slide out of our hands into others, which may be the case unless we keep a good man teacher in the school. We cannot, as a Board, pledge a certain definite salary to a teacher. We do not know how to do this while a very few men in the denomination will assume responsibilities. Mrs. Johnson, Chandler and myself will have to meet most of the responsibilities, should the effort prove a failure, and we are all poor and have sacrificed hundreds of dollars each to keep the school alive. We however intend to lay the whole business of the school before the friends of education next month at the annual meeting of the Association and see what we can do by way of bringing the school more immediately under the control of the denomination. We now want to commit the denomination more directly to the cause of the school. More than two-thirds of the funds which have been raised for the school have been raised out of the denomination. The school must languish, or its whole prosperity must rest on a very few men of energy, till the Baptists of Oregon become committed to the cause. We are amply able to carry on the work, if we can call out the surplus means, but we are a new people and not much accustomed to systematic work and systematic responsibility. Our town has received a new impulse in business this spring and will probably increase in numbers and in wealth gradually from this time. We shall have four or five wholesale houses in the place in four or five weeks and about fifteen retail drygoods stores, and all the relative branches of business are fast moving forward, such as steamboat building, foundries, tanners', smiths', carpenters', millers', bakers', butchers', watch makers', lawyers', clerks', physicians', etc. I wish you would still have the goodness to look out for a teacher. I have no doubt but I could support my family by the school the first year, should the Lord direct my labor to that employment, and now is the time for us to commence, with the present permanent increase

of population in our towns.

I have been travelling through the churches the last five weeks and shall write you on the subject of the state of the churches by the next mail.

Very respectfully yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received June 22, 1853.

Oregon City, O. Ter., June 13th, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br.:

Yours of March 19th was received, as you will learn before the receipt of this; also yours bearing date April 2d, and I now haste to answer definitely some enquiries in that, before giving you an outline of my labor the past six or eight weeks, hoping however to have them both ready before the departure of the next mail. While I cherish a high regard for the piety and talents of Br. Chandler, as your agent I will state to you confidentially that I regard Brother Chandler's removal from the school an unfortunate one both for himself as a public man and for the school. Yet there is an apology. Brs. Johnson and Chandler have not always had the best understanding. Brother Johnson, from the earliest public labors of Br. Chandler, did not regard him as the man either for the care of the church or the school. Although Br. Johnson was passive and too wise to interfere, yet Chandler soon found him rather cool and reserved. Br. Chandler had not long been in the place before he expressed a desire to settle permanently, if he continued in the church and in connection with the school after the first year. This doctrine did not meet with a very cordial reception with Br. Johnson. I assured Br. C. that it was desirable that our situations be made as permanent as the nature of the case would admit; yet permanency could only be obtained by securing the confidence of our employers, whether we were

employed yearly or during life. No man laboring for the honour of the cause of Christ would wish to become burdensome to his friends and the public mind would always judge of the usefulness of a man's labors. In the end Br. Chandler became convinced that he could not live happily as the pastor of the church and president of the school . . . he also learned that he could not receive such an appropriation from your Board as would sustain his family in town, and I think he became too precipitate in selecting him a home. I have done what I could, without too much interference, to induce him to go to Marysville and visit that church, if he must leave Oregon City for a claim. But he saw differently. The public mind is in a great measure ignorant of the causes that operated on Br. Chandler's mind to induce him to the removal. I have no doubt from all I hear that the public mind regards Br. Chandler as erring in judgment in leaving the school and Oregon City. In confidence, I think Br. Chandler never intended to take upon himself all the labor of teaching the small scholars, and he found the school would not sustain two teachers. Br. Chandler's present position is about fourteen miles south of Oregon City in a settlement where most of the community cannot thrive in business as the farming community will generally in a prairie country. He cannot leave his claim now for more than three years, without sacrificing almost all he has in this world, and he feels strongly disposed to labor near home and raise up a religious community around him. He means to be a faithful minister of Christ, labors hard with his hands through the week, preaches every Sabbath, and, what is better, I think he is growing in some of the essential Christian graces. But I deeply regret that his influence must be shut up in a corner for the present. I have two or three times asked him if he would not receive an appointment at Salem, or at this place, spend three or four days each week in town as pastor and do his studying at home, but he seems at present not inclined to receive any appointment from the Board, unless he can receive

an amount that, in his estimation, is about equivalent to the value of his labor. I have now stated the case as nearly as I can, without going into details, and trust your Board will not use this communication either to the detriment of Br. Chandler or Br. Johnson. They are both valuable, tried Baptist ministers. Br. Chandler would succeed well at Salem or Oregon City, with the above named exception, and also in Marysville, that place being again suddenly vacated by the removal of Br. Stevens to the Umpqua Valley. By this removal that young church is left in a bad condition in a critical period of their history. But you must send an efficient, engaging preacher to Portland, if you can find the man. He should be a man of capacity, to meet the emergencies of building up a church in a rising city. Br. Read, as you have learned before this, was invited last fall to take the pastoral care of this church (Oregon City). He is now in the place and will probably give the church his answer this week, which will be to decline the invitation. He has spent the winter in Rogue River Valley near Jacksonville, the principal mining town on the waters of that river; has collected a small church³¹⁷ of twelve members, five of whom are efficient working brethren of the right stamp. That church have invited him to become their pastor. They propose to pay him \$250 and hope to add \$50 more during the year. They also propose to build a house of worship in the town the present year, if he will settle with them. The Methodist church sustained two ministers in that valley last fall and winter, but have left the field and, should Br. Read leave, that valley with about 10,000 souls would be without a gospel minister of any kind. I dare not advise Br. Read to leave that field, although he would be acceptable here. He endured great privations last winter for Christ's sake, paying his board while flour was \$1.50 per pound and fresh beef fifty cents. Sold his horse to pay his board. He needs immediate aid from your

³¹⁷ This was the Table Rock (Jacksonville) Baptist Church, organized May 28, 1853.—Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore. I:12.

Board, although I am unprepared to say how much till I visit the place and see for myself. He is pious, modest, studious and unassuming and wishes to know nothing else among the people but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. He wants no land claim, if he can live as a minister and avoid it and be honest. He tells me the church proposed to ask the Board to appropriate \$500 to his support, but he persuaded them to ask for but \$400. Should this little church build the coming year, probably that sum should be appropriated to him. \$700 is a small salary for a man in that place and I think in a very few years the church will be able to sustain their own minister entirely.

Respectfully yours,

EZRA FISHER,

Exploring Agent.

N. B.—The church at Marysville needs immediate attention. They are able to support a minister, if they fully understood the value of the ministry. But they are young members, mostly from the western states. Yet they have paid Br. Stevens during the last nine months. One brother told me two months ago that he had paid him in money and otherwise \$209 and he still expected to help him. The same brother told me that he had paid the past year over \$500 for building their meeting house and supporting the ministry. Another brother told me he had paid Br. Stevens \$140 since last October.

Yours

EZRA FISHER.

Received July 30, 1853.

(Continued from Page 480 in Quarterly for December, 1916.)

ENOCH PINKNEY HENDERSON.

By GEORGE STOWELL.

Among the educators of the pioneer days of Oregon, Professor E. P. Henderson is entitled to honorable mention. He came to Oregon while it was still a territory, and was engaged in his vocation as an instructor of Oregon youths for many years.

His first engagement, in the line of his profession in Oregon, was as principal of Columbia college, an institution which flourished at Eugene in the late fifties and early sixties of the last century.

It was my privilege to matriculate in that institution in the autumn of 1858, about a month after arriving at Eugene from California, and Professor E. P. Henderson was its headmaster at that time.

The building that was occupied that term by said college was built for a hotel, or tavern, as it was termed in those days, and was not as conveniently arranged for school purposes as was desirable, but as a makeshift it did passably well. This building was occupied that college year for the reason that the college edifice which had been erected on ground owned by the institution, on a hill about a mile southwest of the town, had been recently destroyed by fire. However, in spite of this incommodious housing, the school was efficiently organized, and the various branches of studies were prosecuted with a zeal and morale that were commendable. This result was largely due to the ability of Professor Henderson as an organizer, instructor and inspirer of his pupils.

Professor Henderson was instructor in physics, mathematics and the languages. There were two other tutors connected with the school, one of whom, Professor Geiger, taught the classes in philosophy, physical geography and cognate branches.

Professor Henderson remained only a year with the college after I entered it as a student. The cause of his severance with the school was not for the reason of dissatisfaction of the patrons with his teaching, nor of the Board of Trustees with his method of conducting the school, but because of his political views. A majority of the Board of Trustees was strongly pro-slavery, while Professor Henderson was a Freesoiler, although he sedulously avoided any reference to the disturbing subject on the school premises, and discussion of it was forbidden by any of the societies connected with the school; still in the mind of the Board he was an incipient abolitionist and therefore unfit to be a tutor of the youths of the land. So after the end of the school year 1858-59 he was supplanted by a "fire eater" from Maryland. This generation cannot comprehend the bigoted intolerance of the pro-slavery men of that period.

This, however, did not end Professor Henderson's career as a teacher. Afterwards he taught in several places in Oregon and Washington, notably in Lebanon, Oregon, and Dayton, Washington. He gave satisfaction wherever he taught, and always and everywhere was held in affectionate esteem by his pupils.

Professor Henderson was an ordained minister of the gospel in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, though he never was the pastor of a congregation, that I am aware of. He lucidly and vigorously set forth in his sermons the tenets of the gospel as he understood them, and his life was the daily expression of his Christian experience.

Professor Henderson took the census of Lane County for the United States in 1870. The country was then thinly settled and largely undeveloped. While engaged in this work he made a careful investigation of the possibilities of the country and made same the subject of a series of newspaper articles, which were helpful factors in directing attention to the latent resources of the country and quickening their development.

He was also a practical land surveyor, and at one time fulfilled a contract for the official survey of some townships for the Government.

He was a native of Kentucky, but his boyhood and young manhood were spent in central Missouri. I do not recall, if I ever knew, at what institution or college he obtained his education.

He died, at a ripe old age, in the early nineties. His impress for good still abides and will until the generation that knew him shall have passed away.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

RAINIER-TACOMA DISPUTE AGAIN.

Revival of the Rainier-Tacoma controversy may be recorded among the topics of current historical gossip. An Indian of the Nisqually tribe, Henry Sicade, appeared before the mountain-climbing Mazamas at Portland, June 5, 1918, speaking in behalf of *Tacoma* as the name of the lofty snowpeak, and relating "legends" of his people to support his argument. Sicade represented the Chamber of Commerce of Tacoma and was accompanied by S. W. Wall, newspaper man, and A. H. Denman, a photographer, both of that city.

The Indian word, *Tacoma*, was preserved by Theodore Winthrop in his *The Canoe and the Saddle*, a narrative of his travels in 1853. Winthrop said the word was "a generic term applied to all snowpeaks" (p. 36, John H. Williams' edition), and speaks of Mount Adams as "Tacoma the Second" (p. 39). The word apparently designated any very lofty place or peak and not any one in particular. The present writer is indebted to Mr. George H. Himes for the following episode: About the year 1905, Mr. Himes was conversing near Rochester, Washington, with Jim Sanders, a Nisqually Indian. Mount Rainier and Mount St. Helens were both in clear view. Suddenly the Indian, without previous allusion to the subject, exclaimed (pointing at Mount St. Helens) "*Ten-as Tuh-ko-bud*," in guttural accents, meaning "Little Tacoma." This Indian had been reared a Nisqually. His father was of that tribe, his mother, a Chehalis.

Mount Rainier was sighted and named May 7, 1792, by the British explorer, George Vancouver. Peter Rainier was then a rear-admiral of the British navy. Bestowal of his name upon the snowpeak was made by Vancouver in honor of a superior officer, although Rainier was not a party to the exploration.

The name has remained fixed to the mountain for 126 years and has been accepted by the United State Government. Mount Rainier National Park and Rainier National Forest are government titles. The mountain is known by the name *Rainier* all over the world. Usage, during a century and a quarter, has established the title.

It may be conceded that *Tacoma* is a native and euphonious word and would fitly designate the greatest of Pacific Northwest mountains. But *Rainier* is old and world-wide and fixed, and, moreover, is but one of many alien names in the Puget Sound region. *Puget Sound* is an example, and *Mount Baker* and *Mount Saint Helens*, and here in Oregon is *Mount Hood*.

WHY CASCADE MOUNTAINS?

If we were to reject *Rainier* for reasons of national pride or historical precedence or any other, the substitute choice would set up a troublesome debate. Mount Rainier was named *Mount Harrison* by Hall J. Kelley about 1838, Mount Baker was by him called *Mount Tyler*, and Cascade Mountains were by him designated *Presidents' Range*.

The name, *Cascade Mountains*, appears to have been an afterthought of *Cascades* of the Columbia River. The rapids are in the heart of the great range, and the river was the one passable route of travel and traffic from the days of Lewis and Clark. *Cascades*, as the name of the Columbia River narrows, is used by writers as far back as the Astor expedition. In early maps the name appears as either *Cascade Range* or *Presidents' Range* or both. Greenhow's *History of Oregon and California* contains a map, compiled in 1838, which gives the name *Far West Mountains*. *Cascade Range* appears in *Wilkes' Narrative of Oregon* in 1841. Good reasons could be adduced for changing to *Presidents' Range*. The name, *Cascade Mountains* is not a distinguishing one nor especially appropriate.

But the task of choosing "better" names in the Pacific Northwest would be endless. It may be better to bear with the ills we have than to take on others.

PORTLAND'S CANYON ROAD.

Portland received its most important stimulus of growth about 1850, from the farm trade of Tualatin Valley. The highway of that trade was the Canyon Road. Pioneers have pointed out that this road was the avenue that brought to Portland the leading market of the pioneers by enabling them to haul their goods to and from Portland easier than to and from Linnton, Saint Helens, Linn City (opposite Oregon City), Springville (near Linnton), Milton (near Saint Helens) or Willamette (below Clackamas Rapids.) As that period preceded railroad transportation some two decades, river transportation was highly valuable. The easiest route to navigation for the Tualatin farmers was the Canyon Road, and Portland, which had been founded in 1843-45, made good use of that route in the ensuing five years. A missionary settlement had started near Forest Grove in 1840 and a farm community was growing there.

The Canyon Road, along its present route through the hills, appears to have been opened in 1849. Joseph S. Smith, pioneer of 1847, and well known in early Oregon affairs, wrote in *The Oregonian* of July 13, 1884, that the road was first opened in the Autumn of 1849. Ed. C. Ross, also a pioneer of 1847, still living at Portland, says that this road was first surveyed by his stepfather, Israel Mitchell, in 1848. Mr. Ross adverted to the earlier and more difficult road, which was built by Francis W. Pettygrove, ascending the hills, and dating probably from 1845, afterwards called the Mountain Road, and then the Mount Zion or Carter Hill Road. This latter road is described in the diary of Elizabeth Dixon, wife of Cornelius Smith, and, afterwards, of Joseph C. Geer, all pioneers of 1847, printed by the Oregon Pioneer Association in its *Transactions* of 1907. The description is of February 24, 1848, and shows the road to have been very hilly and difficult of travel.

The first big public enterprise at Portland was the improvement of the Canyon Road, so that farmers would come to this village, in preference to its rivals, for trade. This enterprise

started in 1850 and resulted next year in organization of the Portland and Valley Plank Road Company, whose directors were Thomas Carter (president), A. J. Hembree,, W. W. Chapman, George H. Flanders and J. W. Chambers. William M. King succeeded Carter as president, and afterwards D. H. Lownsdale was president. The first plank was laid amid ceremonies near the present Ladd School September 21, 1851. The improvement of this road was always inadequate and several revivals of the work took place in the ensuing twenty years. The road recently has been highly improved. A history of this road, written by George H. Himes, appears in *The Oregonian*, August 14, 1902, page 12.

A PROPOSED HISTORY OF METHODISM

A history of Methodism in the Pacific Northwest is to be written by the Rev. Dr. John Parsons, who will be assisted in compilation and publication by the Rev. C. E. Cline, J. K. Gill, C. B. Moores, of Portland; the Rev. E. S. Hammond of Salem, and L. M. Belknap. These men were delegated a committee on the work at the Oregon annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Springfield, Oregon, last year, except that Mr. Moores has since been named to succeed the late J. C. Moreland.

Ministers and laymen of the church in Portland conferred on the matter at a meeting held June 17 last, in First Methodist church, the Rev. Alexander McLean presiding. Many pioneer narratives of Methodism and its followers were recited at the meeting. Among the well known persons present were the Rev. Joseph Hoberg, of McMinnville, who was a pioneer circuit rider; the Rev. Henry Mays, a pioneer preacher; Dr. John Parsons, the Rev. C. E. Cline, T. T. Geer, ex-Governor of Oregon, Charles B. Moores and J. K. Gill. Historical retrospect gives Methodism a proud place in the settlement and progress of Oregon and the *Quarterly* hopes that this book may be made an authoritative and concise historical record. The patient work of research and verification has been very inadequate in the many books of Oregon history. This history of

Methodism should be a volume commensurate with its noble subject matter. The chairman of the compilation and publication committee is the Rev. C. E. Cline. J. C. Moreland was chosen as the chief historian until death intervened.

MULLAN ROAD MONUMENTS IN IDAHO

Four monuments to the Mullan Road in Idaho are under contract, under supervision of the pioneer society of Montana. The sites for the monuments are at Wallace, Mullan, Kellogg and Coeur d'Alene. The Governor of Idaho will name a day for the dedication. The road in Montana has been marked by eight monuments.

VISTA HOUSE DEDICATION

This monument to the early pioneers of Oregon was dedicated Sunday, May 5, 1918. The site of the costly and imposing structure is Crown Point, overlooking the Columbia River from one of the most sightly elevations of the Columbia Highway. The cost of the Vista House and its appurtenances has been about \$100,000. Its hexagonal walls inside are inscribed with the names of McLoughlin, Lee, Whitman, Applegate, Lane, Nesmith, Deady and Bush. These names were recommended by Frederick V. Holman, president of the Oregon Historical Society, and George H. Himes, curator of that organization and secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association.

Frank Branch Riley, of Portland, delivered the dedicatory address, and Frederick V. Holman, the response. John B. Yeon, of Portland, county roadmaster, under whose direction the highway and the Vista House were built, spoke of the difficulties that had to be overcome in the progress of the project. Others presented were Simon Benson, who had agreed to pay the cost of the structure should Multnomah County fail to do so; Philo Holbrook and A. A. Muck, county commissioners, under whose administration the structure was built; Henry L. Pittock, publisher of *The Oregonian*, founded in 1850, pioneer of 1853, and president of the Vista House Association which promoted the pioneer memorial plan. George

L. Baker, mayor of Portland, made the presentations. A spectacular pageant of raising the flag, led by the Royal Rosarians, concluded the ceremonies.

The initial fund for the Vista House, \$3,812.35, was raised by public contribution. The additional moneys have come from county taxation. Among the items detailed in the *Portland Journal* of May 5, 1918, were the following: Building, \$70,787.74; rock wall, \$9,297.71; grading and paving, \$7,395.69; architect, \$6,264.47; various, \$2,976.96; total of foregoing items, \$96,722.57. The architect is Edgar M. Lazarus.

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF CHAMPOEG

This year's celebration, May 2, included the dedication of a \$5,000 memorial building, the money for which the Oregon Legislature appropriated at its last session. The attendance was the largest that has yet gathered at the historic spot. The speakers were Peter H. D'Arcy, past president of the Oregon Pioneer Association and chief promotor of the memorial building plan; George H. Himes; James Withycombe, Governor of Oregon; T. T. Geer, ex-Governor; Edmond S. Meany, professor of history, University of Washington, Seattle; J. D. Lee, W. C. Hembree, Edyth Tozier Weatherred, E. B. McFarland, Miles C. Moore, Rufus Holman, Fred V. Holman, Milton A. Miller and Robert A. Miller. The new building stands in the park of twelve acres which is owned by the state. The structure occupies a ground area of 25 by 41 feet, with an additional width of 12 feet covered by a porch 41 feet long on the east side. For further details see the *Quarterly*, volume XVIII, number 4, page 297.

OREGON AS THE SOURCE OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

We read now of a Monroe Doctrine of Australia. Frequently we have heard that it will be Japan's policy to apply the policy in the Orient. We learn that Germany has been, of European nations, the most cordially hostile toward that doctrine as upheld by the United States in the Americas.

It may be pertinent to point out that the Monroe Doctrine, now nearly a century old, was a by-product of the Oregon boundary question. It was a declaration made by John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, against encroachments of Russia upon the west coast of America. The negotiations culminated in the famous Fifty-four Forty treaty of April 5, 1824 with Russia, whereby the latitude of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes became the dividing line between the claims of Russia and the United States in North America. The later political cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" almost led to war between the United States and Britain.

Remote as Oregon has been in the world's affairs, its importance has had large bearing upon the destiny of nations.

ANNUAL REUNION OF PIONEERS

The Oregon Pioneer Association, in forty-sixth annual reunion, Portland Auditorium, Wednesday, June 20, 1918, elected the following officers: President, E. B. McFarland, to succeed W. H. H. Dufur; vice president, Nathan H. Bird; secretary, George H. Himes; treasurer, William M. Ladd; directors, William Galloway, of McMinnville; C. H. Caufield, of Oregon City; Bruce Wolverton, of Portland. Judge Fred W. Wilson, of The Dalles, delivered the annual address. A banquet followed the day session, served by the woman's auxiliary of the Oregon Pioneer Association. The reunion concluded with a "camp fire" presided over by T. T. Geer. Robert A. Miller acted as timekeeper. This was a pleasant finale to the day's activities, enlivened by fiddling and singing of old tunes and recitals of early times.

REUNION OF INDIAN WAR VETERANS

Indian war veterans of the Pacific Northwest met in annual reunion at Portland June 19, 1918, Masonic Temple. They were banqueted at noon at tables prepared by the Sons and Daughters of Indian War Veterans, directed by Mrs. L. A. Bailey. Officers were re-elected as follows: Grand Commander, Edwin C. Ross; vice-grand commander, Cyrus H.

Walker; junior grand commander, John W. Cullen; grand adjutant, Otto Kleeman; assistant grand adjutant, Frank L. Benedict; grand paymaster, Charles Chambreau. The session adopted a resolution asking Congress to increase the pensions of widows of Indian war veterans to \$25 a month, and to fix the pensions of the veterans at a minimum of \$20 a month for all who served 30 days or more.

OFFICERS OF THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Sons and Daughters of the Oregon Pioneers elected the following officers at their annual business meeting June 19, 1918, in the Portland Auditorium: President, Frederick V. Holman; vice president, Mrs. Benton Killin; secretary and treasurer, Miss Lillian M. Hackleman.

YAMHILL PIONEER MATTERS

The Yamhill County Pioneer Association met in McMinnville June 5th. Mrs. M. L. Bardon, president; Mrs. N. J. Ungerman, secretary. A good representation of pioneers, sons and daughters of pioneers were present. Mayor Toney gave the address of welcome, J. M. Kelty, of Portland, the response. A number of brief addresses were given; but the one that excited the most interest was that by Mr. Abraham Hudson, from Grand Ronde Reservation, who extended greetings on behalf of the Indians. Officers for coming year: William Merchant, Carlton, president; Charles Berry, McMinnville, vice-president; Mrs. M. M. High, Carlton, secretary; Mrs. Mora Hendricks, McMinnville, treasurer; executive board, Mrs. M. L. Bardon, McMinnville, Miss Jennie Hembree, Lafayette; Mrs. Rhoda McCoy, Yamhill.

On June 25th, a woman's organization in McMinnville, Yamhill county, known as the "Self-Improvement Club," as the guests of Mr. John Wortman, president of the First National Bank, went in six automobiles to the site of the Methodist Mission opposite Wheatland, founded by Rev. Jason Lee in 1834. Then after lunch the party visited the brick house built

by George Gay in 1842 — the first in Oregon — on the line between Yamhill and Polk counties. Leaflets relating to the founding of the first civil government at Champoeg were distributed by George H. Himes of the Oregon Historical Society, and a sketch of the visit by Capt. Charles Wilkes, U. S. Navy, to the Gay premises in 1841, was given.

DEATH LIST OF OREGON PIONEERS, APRIL 1- MAY 31, 1918.

By GEORGE H. HIMES

- Anderson, William Robert, b. Ill., 1831; Portland, 1853; d. April 27, 1918.
 Baltimore, Mrs. Martha A. Clifton, b. Ind., 1839; Or. 1847; d. April 7, 1919.
 *Barnard, John Larkin, b. Mass., 1838; Or. 1858; d. May 7, 1918.
 *Bell, Mrs. John Colgate, b. Ky.; Or. 1854; d. N. Y., Sept. 4, 1917.
 *Blanchard, Dean, b. Me.; Or. 1854; d. May 9, 1918.
 Brown, Thomas, b. 1841; Or. 1852; d. Dec. 16, 1917.
 Brown, Mrs. Minerva Burt, b. Ill.; Or. 1852; d. April 28, 1918.
 Conger, Clairborn, b. —; Or. 1853; d. Dec. 23, 1917.
 Davidson, Mrs. Sarah Montgomery, b. Ohio, 1824; Or. 1852; d. May 17, 1918.
 DeHuff, Mrs. Emily Stryker, b. 1844; Or. 1852; d. May 25, 1918.
 DeVol, Mrs. Anna E. Hedges, b. Ohio, 1845; Or. 1851; d. April 4, 1918.
 Eppinger, Mrs. Charlotte, b. 1835; Or. 1852; d. May 5, 1918.
 Falkner, Mrs. Mary, b. Ohio, 1815; Or. 1851; d. May 21, 1918.
 Fernald, Walter, b. Me., 1841; Or. 1853; d. May 6, 1918.
 Harlow, Anderson J., b. —; Or. 1851; d. April 18, 1918.
 Heilborn, Mrs. Anna, b. —; Or. 1844; d. April 4, 1918.
 Hold, Mrs. Harriet Hall, b. Ill., —; Or. 1847; d. Feb. 14, 1918.
 Keltz, Mrs. Jane Harvey, b. 1847; d. April —, 1918.
 *Mann, Mrs. Anna M. Lewis, b. Ind., 1842; Or. 1854; d. May 27, 1918.
 Manning, Mrs. Caroline Abert, b. Ill., 1834; Or. 1849; d. May 16, 1918.
 Meredith, Dr. J. W., b. 1831; Or. 1853; d. Dec. 31, 1917.
 Miller, Wm. Cottington, b. Ind., 1833; Or. 1848; d. May 18, 1918.
 *Morgan, Mrs. Melissa Boon, b. plains, 1845; d. Dec. 28, 1917.
 Moore, Alfred William, b. Ill., 1849; Or. 1853; d. Nov. 23, 1917.
 McPherson, P. M., b. —; Or. 1852; d. May 5, 1918.
 *Newhard, S. F., b. Pa., 1830; Or. 1853; d. May 24, 1918.
 Perkins, Myron, b. Or. 1854; d. May 5, 1918.
 Prather, Thomas, b. Mo., 1832; Or. 1852; d. May 8, 1918.
 *Rivears, Charles, b. Me., 1835; Or. 1859; d. June 4, 1918.
 Steinbach, Mrs. Hannah Stauffer, b. Mo.; Or. 1855; d. May 17, 1918.
 St. George, Mrs. Martha J. Trimble, b. —; Or. 1846; d. April 22, 1918.
 Syron, Daniel, b. Ohio, 1832; Or. 1852; d. Dec. 3, 1917.
 *Terwilliger, Hiram, b. Ohio, 1840; Or. 1845; d. April 16, 1918.
 Tracy, Mrs. Martha Bidwell, b. —; Or. 1847; d. April 23, 1918.
 *Underwood, Amos, b. Ohio, Dec. 10, 1834; Or. 1852; d. Dec. 16, 1917.
 Walbridge, William, b. N. Y. 1855; Or. 1857; d. April —, 1918.
 Weinhard, Mrs. Louisa, b. Ger. 1832; Or. 1855; d. May 23, 1918.
 Yates, Mrs. Martha, b. Mo., 1837; Or. 1847; d. April 12, 1918.

Only those marked * were ever members of the Oregon Pioneer Association.

THE QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XIX

SEPTEMBER, 1918

NUMBER 3

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THE SPIRIT AND OBJECTIVES IN THE ANNALS OF OREGON

Oregon has an inspiring past and Oregon is again aglow in the making of history.

The Oregon country furnished the stage for the culmination of westward exploration and pioneering of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. The Spanish Latin and the Russian Slav participated in drawing aside the curtain of mystery that long veiled this quarter of the globe from the race of white men. Once revealed, the River of the West, the Oregon, became the Columbia with an imperial drainage area,—both in extent and quality. Then the visions of a Jefferson, of a Ledyard and of a Kelley, made it the objective of adventurous plans of occupation. The enterprise of an Astor and of a Wyeth struggled desperately to establish here going centers of trade and industry. The fortitude of scores of fur traders of the Far West developed the details of the geographical features of the region. Here the intrepidity of countless pioneer home-builders and missionaries founded the nucleus of a commonwealth. And here the magnanimity of a McLoughlin maintained peace under the severe strain of intense international rivalry, exhibiting human nature in its most revered mien.

The annals of Early Oregon are thus charged through and through with the spirit of dauntless endeavor and will have keen appeal to the heroic in the natures of all succeeding

generations of men. The assembling of the founders of Oregon involved a historic movement and a pageant on a scale, and with such stirring dramatic incidents, such that the founding of an Athens, a Rome, an England or a Massachusetts hardly compares with it in human interest.

But the new Oregon community thus constituted was only a group or collection of individuals or families. These were to be merged into the organic unity of a commonwealth. A period of incubation was necessary for the genesis of the soul of a state. To have a part among the matured communities of its time it must first invest itself with the paraphernalia of a twentieth century civilization. Its fields were to be made productive. Its homes, schools and roads were to be built. Its cities organized and its institutions generally gotten into good working order.

The chrysalis stage for Oregon is past. The Oregon community has emerged full-fledged for its part in the world economy. Oregon annals as an integral buoyant part of our national life are again radiant. New motives and new objectives hold sway.

A century ago Oregon was becoming a word to conjure with. It was beginning to stir the souls of the valiant. It was suggesting in turn the lure of the supposed Straits of Anian, affording a direct passage to the Indies; of the wealth of fur on its coast and streams; of the commercial opportunity in its facing of the Orient with its teas, silk and spices; of the salubrious climate and productive lands of the valleys of the Columbia basin with direct egress to the highway of the sea for reaching world markets. And then there were too the perishing souls of the benighted natives the idea of the rescue of whom tugged at the heart strings of the deeply religious. Through these all Oregon drew the adventurous, the brave and ardent spirits from every clime.

A century later—or today—we are not disappointed with spirit of the community having the historic antecedents constituting the annals of early Oregon. The representative world task now is not as it was a century ago that of appro-

priating a rich wilderness for the higher human purposes, but rather that of making democracy—liberty and justice through enlightened loyalties—at home among the nations of mankind. In this world crisis Oregon is always first with her contributions and endeavors towards having right make might. Thus the annals of the Oregon of today will shine as pure gold for all time and give inspiration to an ever rising humanity. They are precious and should be religiously preserved.

AN EVENT OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

By T. C. ELLIOTT.

The calendar year nineteen hundred and eighteen marks important centenaries in Oregon history which even the stress of war activities should not permit to go by unnoticed, although not formally commemorated. The immediate events belong more particularly to the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia river, but their significance and influence apply to the entire stretch of the Oregon Country facing the waters of the Pacific ocean and extending back as far as the summit of the Rocky mountains. They relate to the chain of title by which Oregon finally became a part of the grand Republic now shedding the blood of her sons in the struggle to preserve the civilization of the world from autocratic rule and military aggrandizement. The events of 1818 also direct attention to the fact that the history of Oregon abounds in dramatic incident.

In the early morning of August 19th, 1818, a sloop of war floating the stars and stripes dropped anchor close to Peacock Spit off the bar at the entrance to the Columbia river. This vessel, named the Ontario, was of five hundred and fifty-nine tons burden, carried twenty guns and a crew of one hundred and fifty officers and seamen, and was under the command of Captain James Biddle. By direction of the State Department of the United States she had sailed from New York in October, 1817, under commission "to proceed to the Columbia River, with a view to assert on the part of the United States the claim to the sovereignty, by some symbolical or appropriate mode adapted to the occasion." Leaving his vessel at anchor outside the bar Captain Biddle "proceeded in with three boats well armed and manned with more than fifty officers and seamen." The party landed inside Cape Disappointment on the quiet shore of Baker's Bay near where the buildings of Fort Canby are now located, and there went through the ceremonies of waving and saluting the American flag (with three cheers), of turning up a sod of earth and

nailing a leaden tablet to a tree. Meantime the guns of the sloop roared in salute, the few Chinook Indians who happened to be present looked on in wonder, and the fur traders at Fort George fifteen miles away were suddenly awakened from the monotony of their secluded life. Immediately afterward the boats proceeded up along the north side of the river to Chinook Point where Captain Biddle called briefly upon Comcomly, the one-eyed chief of the Chinook Indians who was inseparable from anything of importance that took place along the lower Columbia during those days; then crossed the four mile width of river to Fort George (Astoria) for a call upon Chief Factor James Keith of the North-West Company; then proceeded down the south shore to Point George (Smith Point, Astoria), and repeated the ceremonies of taking formal possession; and then returned to Chinook Point to spend the night. The next morning the party returned on board the *Ontario* and the anchor was raised and her course laid to the southward again. That part of Captain Biddle's report which includes this event has been printed in the *Oregon Hist. Quarterly* (see Vol. III, pp. 310-11) and furnishes the source for the above narrative.

The caution of Captain Biddle in anchoring outside the bar was quite indicative of a good naval officer: not to unnecessarily endanger his vessel when on a distant coast. It will be remembered that Captain George Vancouver in 1792 declined to take his vessel into the Columbia but anchored four or five miles at sea. Evidently the *Ontario* was anchored closer in since her guns at the proper moment took part in the ceremonials. And evidently August 19th, 1818, was one of those beautiful summer days such as present day visitors at Cape Disappointment keenly enjoy.

Another account of the occurrences of this 19th day of August, 1818, has not yet been printed on the Pacific Coast. It is found in a journal kept by one of the officers of the "*Ontario*," Lieut. J. H. Aulick, and gives us a glimpse of the physical conditions at Astoria at that time. "At 9 A. M. the 1st and 2nd cutters and the jolly-boat were hoisted out and

manned with fifty men well armed ; Capt. Biddle and Dr. Hoffman in the first, myself in the second, and Lieutenant Voorhees in the last, set off for the river for the purpose of taking possession of the country that bounds it, in the name of our country." After mentioning their inability to land on the outer shore of Cape Disappointment because of the reefs and heavy seas and their passage in by the channel, the journal continues : "And with the usual forms took possession of the country in the name and on the behalf of the United States of America. The ship about this time fired a national salute. We nailed up a piece of lead to a tree, on which was inscribed an account of what we had done ; gave three cheers and drank success to the new enterprise." Here is given a description of the Chinook Indians. "From the Chennook village we stood across the river for the establishment founded here by Mr. Astor of New York, and now in the possession of the English N. W. Company. As we approached it I had the mortification to see the British flag run up, and to know that Captain Biddle was not authorized by his instructions to haul it down and place in its stead the American standard. The establishment consists of one large two story and four or five small dwelling houses, two or three stores, and other out-houses, round the whole of which there is a strong and high picket. There is at this time but three guns mounted, although they have five or six more without carriages. Twenty-five whites, and the same number of Sandwich Islanders, constitute the present force of the settlement. The place is commanded by James Keith, a Scotchman. On our way back we landed at Point George and took formal possession of the country on that side of the river in the name and on behalf of the United States, nailed up a board, on the one side of which was painted the American coat of arms, and on the other an inscription, the same as that on the lead put up at Cape Disappointment." (See Amer. Hist. Record, Vol. III, pp. 292-3.)

This description of Fort George (Astoria) is of interest in connection with the statement made by Mr. W. A. Slacum,

who as official representative of the United States government spent about six weeks in Oregon during the winter of 1836-7. He wrote: "Soon after the departure of the United States Ship Ontario, Captain Biddle, the buildings at Fort George were destroyed by fire." (See p. 184, Vol. 13 of *Or. Hist. Quar.*). The correctness of this tale to Mr. Slacum is somewhat doubtful; no other document of that period mentions such an event, as far as now known to the writer. The establishment was certainly intact in October, 1818, when Mr. J. B. Prevost and Captain Hickey were there in *H. M. S. Blossom*. The contiguous location of so many wooden buildings inside a wooden stockade would naturally have occasioned a general conflagration had any occurred, and such disaster would probably have been mentioned by others.

The caution of Captain Biddle in not attempting to lower the British flag is also of interest, as it would have been quite in keeping with his reputation for boldness and firmness to have done just that thing. Doubtless Chief Factor Keith was expecting him to do so as word had been sent from London by way of Montreal and Fort William that a war vessel had been dispatched to the Columbia river for some such purpose. When the Ontario sailed from New York she also carried as joint special commissioner to represent the United States at this surrender, Mr. J. B. Prevost, appointee of the State Department. Upon arrival in South American waters it was found that no officer of the British naval forces had received instructions in this matters and so Mr. Prevost deemed it wise to delay a little and disembarked from the Ontario at Lima or Valparaiso. At this very date, August 19th, 1818, however, he was sailing north in a British naval vessel, the *Blossom*, as guest of a British officer also designated to proceed to the Columbia on this errand. Possibly a difference of opinion existed between Captain Biddle and Mr. Prevost, but that concerns more properly an account of the acts of Mr. Prevost. The instructions were to assert the claim "in a friendly and peaceable manner, and without the employment of force."

Captain James Biddle of the Ontario was a member of the

distinguished Philadelphia family of that name, whose ancestors came to America in the time of William Penn. He was thirty-five years of age in 1818 and already had performed many important duties as naval officer. As a midshipman he was one of those in 1803 who were wrecked off Tripoli and held as prisoners during the war with the Barbary States. During the War of 1812 with Great Britain he performed distinguished services, was wounded, captured and exchanged, and when in command of the "Hornet" sank an enemy vessel in a dual battle, and was presented with a gold medal by Congress after the close of the war. In 1845 he was flag officer in the East India Squadron and assisted in negotiating our first treaty with China. When on his way to Oregon in 1818 he found a state of revolution existing in Chili and a squadron of Spanish naval vessels blockading the port of Valparaiso. The Spanish commodore in command sent word to Captain Biddle not to enter that harbor, but to this notification the Captain replied that his government had instructed him to enter the port of Valparaiso and that it was necessary for him to do so, and he then proceeded to sail in. He remained in South American waters during the duration of this struggle, protecting American shipping and acting as a sort of mediator between the two warring nations, and afterward was officially thanked by Spain for the service rendered. He then continued up the coast to the Columbia river. His official report which is on file in the Navy Department at Washington contains much that is of interest in addition to the portion relating to the ceremonies in the Columbia.

Aside from there being some satisfaction to Captain Biddle in being assigned to a mission which included a surrender by the British as a result of the war of 1812 there may have been a peculiar personal interest to him in visiting the mouth of the Columbia river. It will be remembered that the journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition were officially edited by Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia under appointment from President Thomas Jefferson. These two members of the Biddle family seem to have been cousins (the writer is not

positive of this) and were of nearly the same age, and entered the government service at about the same time, one in the field of diplomacy and the other in the navy. There exists a strong presumption therefore that Captain Biddle had some knowledge of the country at the mouth of the Columbia river through his relative, Nicholas Biddle, and hence may have been able to converse with Comcomly and Chief Factor Keith with some personal intelligence, and perhaps to have avoided contact with the fleas Lewis and Clark had found so numerous in their camp near Chinook Point.

In 1818 Oregon was not known among nations by that name, but was called the Columbia River Country or the Northwest Coast of America. The Ontario was the first United States naval vessel that ever visited this Columbia River Country and her dispatch to this region was in reality the first official act of the United States Government in asserting her title to Oregon. The insertion of the word "possessions" in Article I. of the Treaty of Ghent (December, 1814) and the brief inquiry by our Department of State in 1815 were the preliminaries. The official immediately responsible for the sending of the Ontario may have been John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State under President Monroe, for in a letter to Mr. Rush, our Minister at London, dated May 20th, 1818, Mr. Adams authorized the following explanation to Lord Castlereigh, the British Foreign Secretary: that "the expedition was determined and the vessel dispatched during the President's absence from the seat of government last season." It had been suggested then and in later discussions was claimed that the quiet and sudden departure of the Ontario was a bit of sharp practice on the part of the United States. It is not intended to suggest that President Monroe was unaware of the appointment of and intended departure of Mr. Prevost upon this mission but that John Quincy Adams as the leader of the three commissioners who had negotiated the treaty of Ghent and immediately after as U. S. Minister to England had wide knowledge of and especial interest in the

claims of the United States to the Columbia River Country, and that his influence in the Monroe administration was very great.

During recent years casual writers of history have accorded some emphasis to a mistaken doctrine that Oregon was nearly lost to the United States through the indifference of the government and the people. Mr. H. Addington Bruce, a gifted writer upon a wonderfully wide range of subjects, in his "The Romance of American Expansion," 1909, advanced this conclusion. In this year, 1918, Bishop James Bashford of the M. E. Church in his "The Oregon Mission" (p. 81) concurs with Mr. Bruce. In that connection it is not amiss to direct attention to the friendly attitude to Oregon acquisition of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, whose career needs no rehearsing, during all of the years 1814-1846. In the same letter to Mr. Rush he wrote: "If the United States leave her (Great Britain) in undisturbed enjoyment of all her holds upon Europe, Asia and Africa, with all her actual possessions in this hemisphere, we may fairly expect that she will not think it consistent either with a wise or friendly policy to watch with eyes of jealousy and alarm every possibility of extension to our natural dominion in North America, which she can have no solid interest to prevent, until all possibility of her preventing it shall have vanished."



THE FEDERAL RELATIONS OF OREGON—II

By LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE, Ph. D.

CHAPTER III

OREGON AND THE DIPLOMACY OF 1821-1827

So far as there is any merit in a policy of consistency the treatment of the Oregon Question as a diplomatic issue enjoyed its benefits from the rise of the question after the War of 1812 and until 1827, when the renewal of the agreement of 1818 put an end to active discussion. It was under the guiding hand of John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State that the negotiations leading to the Convention of 1818 were conducted; so, too, when the affair came to the front in 1823-4, both with Russia and with Great Britain, the same secretary dictated the policy, while in 1826-7 Adams as President maintained the stand which he had taken earlier in the controversy. During the period of about sixteen years, then, it was the will of the second Adams that dominated the whole question. The motives which animated Adams fall into two groups: if a division, as between the United States and Great Britain, equitable so far as American claims were concerned, could be obtained, let the matter be settled definitely upon such lines; if, to secure a definite arrangement, more must be ceded than the United States could clearly claim, the question might be allowed to rest *in statu quo* until it should be really vital to one or the other party.

In following out a single line of activity, such as the one here under consideration, there is always a temptation to exalt each episode into a position out of perspective. To avoid such a charge it is well again to call attention to the fact that no magnifying of detail can serve to make of the Oregon Question in the period now under consideration a vital national issue. It is clear that the people at large were not interested in the Northwest Coast. Numerous other matters both domestic and involving international relations overshadowed the topic of the sovereignty over a transmontane district, known to a

few trappers and fur traders, and this despite the efforts of Floyd and a few others.

Negotiations were proceeding simultaneously although intermittently between the United States and Russia on the one hand, and the United States and Great Britain on the other, from 1822 to 1824. Since the Russian interest in that portion of the Northwest Coast coming to be known as Oregon ceased in 1824, that aspect of the diplomatic issue may well be treated first.

On February 11 (N. S.) 1822, Pierre de Poletica, the Russian minister to the United States, handed to the Secretary of State a copy of the Ukase of September 4, 1821 (O. S.).¹ Included in the long list of regulations dealing with the matter of trade in the North Pacific waters were two propositions which astonished Adams: ² in the first place it was announced that all commerce, whaling, hunting, etc., along the coasts of Asia and America from Behring's Strait to the fifty-first degree of north latitude belonged exclusively to subjects of the Czar; secondly, all persons not Russian subjects were warned not to approach within 100 Italian miles of the coasts under penalty of confiscation of all property. Here was an unexpected claim to the American continent to an extent of four degrees, and the pronouncement that the open sea was *mare clausum*; the first proposition assumed to treat as non-existent the claims of Great Britain and the United States to a portion of the region which these states considered a matter of concern to themselves alone; the second would make a new rule as to the high seas. While de Poletica attempted to explain to Adams that the Russian pretensions were well founded³ the latter could see no basis for the first assumption other than a settlement made at New Archangelsk on an island, on the strength of which the coast half way to the American settlement at the mouth of the Columbia was called Russian.⁴ Even this assumption was nullified by the fact that the

¹ Given in full in *Am. S. P. For. Rel.*, IV, 857-61.

² Adams to de Poletica, 25 Feb., 1822, *Annals*, 2152-3.

³ De Poletica to Adams, 28 Feb., & 2 Apr., *Ibid.*, 2153-60.

⁴ Adams to de Poletica, 30 Mar., *Ibid.*, 2157-8.

Emperor Paul, in 1799, granted to the Russian American Company only as far south as 55°. As for making the North Pacific a closed sea, the idea was too absurd even for discussion. And the discussion closed, for de Poletica was not instructed to go further in his explanations.

Nevertheless the pretentious claims of the Czar were received with more equanimity in America than elsewhere.⁵ It would take more than a question of title to a little land to disturb the amicable relations between Russia and the United States, was the feeling which seemed uppermost, as witness Niles:

“ . . . Even if the emperor of Russia should make good his claims to the 51st degree, we *guess* that there will be a region of country large enough left for us;”

and the editors of the *National Intelligencer*:⁶

“ . . . Should any difference finally appear to exist between Russia and the United States, there can be no doubt of its being amicably settled. When Russia and the United States fall out, it will not be about anything so unimportant, we hope, as the nominal title to a degree or two of almost undiscovered land.”

But Alexander discovered that his government had taken a position which was untenable so far as it attempted to close the Pacific Ocean to traders of other nations, and both Great Britain and the United States contested the territorial claim to 51°. It was not, therefore, a surprise for Adams when he received from Henry Middleton late in 1822 a confidential dispatch relating to the affair and announcing that Baron de Tuij was coming as minister to the United States, especially charged with a mission on this subject.⁷ Nothing was done immediately, however; a certain respect for the unquestioned power of Russia entered into the motives which discouraged hasty action, and, since Great Britain was also interested, it would be well to enlist her co-operation.⁸ Rush was invited to sound the

⁵ See quotation from Paris *Journal des Debats* as to the French attitude, in *Niles' Register*, 29 Dec., 1821, after which comes the comment of Niles quoted above.

⁶ *Niles' Register*, 29 Dec., 1821, quotes from the *Intelligencer*.

⁷ *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, VI, 93.

⁸ Adams, in his *Memoirs*, (VI, 150) says, after commenting on the cabinet discussion of the instructions to Middleton in June, 1823: “I can find proof enough to put down the Russian argument; but how shall we answer the Russian cannon.”

British government as to its attitude on joint negotiation, when the question was again actively taken up,⁹ while at the same time Middleton, in St. Petersburg, was instructed to proceed with the preliminary steps looking toward a settlement with Russia in accordance with the suggestion of that government.¹⁰ Joint action, however, was not accepted by Great Britain, for in Rush's instructions was incorporated a portion of that pronouncement, later known as the Monroe Doctrine, which seems to have been first made in a formal way by J. Q. Adams in discussing the Northwest situation with Baron Tuyl. After giving the Baron a hint as to the nature of the instructions which were being forwarded to Middleton, Adams says:¹¹ "I told him especially that we should contest any right to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subject for *any* new European establishments." Baron Tuyl, although considering that there would be difficulties in the way of the negotiation, did not foresee that they would be insurmountable.

But the difficulties with Great Britain for joint diplomatic action with the United States as regards the Russian stand were insurmountable after this assertion, although the proposition had at first struck Canning as feasible, since he thought the negotiations would deal only with the matter of the closed sea.¹² The principle regarding further colonization on the American continents was inadmissible; it not only met the disapproval of the British government on general grounds, but it was peculiarly untenable as referring to the disputed Oregon region.¹³

Although Middleton did not know that England would not join the United States in representations to Russia until the

⁹ Instructions to Rush, 22 July, 1823, *Am. S. P. For. Rel.*, V, 791-3.

¹⁰ Instructions to Middleton, *Ibid.*, 436-7.

¹¹ *Memoirs*, VI, 163.

¹² See Stapleton, *Life and Times of George Canning*, III, 117-8. Stapleton was in a position to speak since he had long been Canning's secretary. The same idea is not only expressed in his official dispatches but in his reminiscences by Rush; see *Residence at the Court of London*, 2d Series, II, 82 seq.

¹³ This point is taken up in discussing the British negotiations.

middle of February, 1824,¹⁴ he had a number of conferences with de Poletica, only to find that this gentlemen had no power to conclude anything.¹⁵ Accordingly he was pleased when he learned that Bagot, the British minister to Russia, could discuss only the maritime situation, since this gave him an excuse to decline further unfruitful negotiations with de Poletica. While awaiting the pleasure of the Russian government he took the opportunity of drawing up and presenting to Count Nesselrode a full statement of the rights and claims of Spain, Russia, England and the United States to the disputed territory, as well as outlining the views of his government on the subject of Russian pretensions as given in the Ukase of 1821.¹⁶

When at last Nesselrode ascertained that Bagot was instructed to proceed alone in his negotiations with Russia, he was ready to enter conferences with Middleton with the object of reaching a definite goal. From the middle of February to the end of March these conferences were held from time to time; de Poletica took the leading part for Russia, although Count Nesselrode was frequently present and joined in the discussion. In accordance with his instructions Middleton proposed at the outset¹⁷ (1) mutual freedom of navigation and fishing in the waters of the Pacific, that is, a withdrawal by Russia so far as the United States was concerned from her position in the Ukase; (2) that citizens of the United States should not land at places actually occupied by Russian settlements without permission of the authorities, and that Russian subjects should likewise be restricted as to their use of establishments of the United States; (3) that the United States should neither authorize nor allow any settlement by its citizens north of 55° N. Lat., and that Russia should observe the

¹⁴ Middleton resented the implication that the delay was caused by his suggestion; he asserted that he had merely protested against any agreement between Russia and England over territorial limits—that the claims of the United States must not be ignored. Middleton to Adams, 19 Apr., 1824, *Am. S. P. For. Rel.* V. 457 seq., 463. Also Middleton to Adams, 17 Feb. 1824, and Rush to Middleton, 9 Jan., 1824.

¹⁵ Middleton to Adams, 17 Oct., 1823, *Ibid.*, 449.

¹⁶ Confidential Memoir to the Russian Emperor, *Ibid.*, 449-57.

¹⁷ For his notes and the projects of each party see *Am. S. P. For. Rel.* V, 458-70. There were no protocols of the conferences, but Middleton wrote out notes on each session.

same rule south of that line. These were the extreme demands of the United States, and pretensions which the Administration did not hope to obtain in full, since Middleton was authorized, on the territorial side of the issue, to conclude an agreement similar to that made with Great Britain in 1818. Nevertheless these were the stipulations essentially as they appeared in the treaty which closed the negotiations.

Russia did not grant these terms without a struggle, although the doctrine of *mare clausum* was dropped at the beginning without a comment. As to the second proposal the Russian commissioners would prohibit trade not alone at the points where Russian establishments existed, but at all points north of the line of delimitation, agreeing to recognize the same principle for the benefit of the United States south of the line. Moreover a Russian settlement, Port Bucarelli, existed upon an island south of 55° and no agreement could be reached which placed this outside Russian jurisdiction. Middleton, although it exceeded his instructions, was not unwilling to allow the line to run on $54^{\circ} 40'$ instead of 55° , but on the matter of trade he was obdurate. His tenacity was rewarded by having included in the treaty an article whereby for ten years the citizens and subjects of each of the two powers respectively might frequent the coasts claimed by the other, except where there were settlements, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives. He agreed, however, to a proviso that "all spirituous liquors, firearms, other arms, powder and munitions of war of every kind" should not be legitimate articles of trade, and that both powers should exert themselves to prevent such trade. Nesselrode flatly stated that the Emperor would never agree to a treaty if the trading provisions did not prevent the sale of arms to the natives, and he added that the prohibition of the sale of liquor was a matter near to his sovereign's heart. To Middleton's objection that other traders, English and Dutch for instance, would sell the prohibited articles and so place themselves at an advantage over the Russians and Americans, Nesselrode replied that Great Britain was ready to agree to the proposition and that the

Emperor would use all his influence to bring other nations to the same view.

The treaty may be considered as practically embodying the utmost American demands: the Russian pretension of making the Pacific a closed sea was definitely abandoned; only 20 minutes of latitude lay between what the United States demanded and what was obtained as a line of delimitation; and, most difficult task of all, freedom to trade with the natives on the coasts clearly within Russian control was secured for ten years. With reference to this last concession Middleton wrote Adams, in explaining his course: we must hold that this right is always held subject to extinguishment whenever maritime dominion is acquired by the nation upon those shores; when the liberty of trading expires (according to the limitation in the treaty) and the coasts remain unoccupied, then they fall into the general category of *unoccupied coasts of the great ocean*, for, said he, he had always resisted the introduction of the Russian proposal of a *substantive* stipulation that the trading privilege should cease after ten years. Even such concessions as were made, said Middleton, were yielded because he feared England and Russia would settle their delimitation question first and then the United States would have had no equivalent to offer for the trade.¹⁸

Well might President Monroe say, in his Annual Message of 1824, in speaking of the treaty which he was about to lay before the Senate for ratification: "It is proper to add, that the manner in which this negotiation was invited and conducted on the part of the Emperor has been satisfactory." And something of official relief that the issue was cleared up is expressed by Adams in his diary: "Brown mentions a letter from H. Middleton of May 2/14, saying he has concluded a satisfactory Convention on the North West Coast question. Blessed be God, if true!"¹⁹ The trading privilege was not renewed when the ten year limit had expired, for, not only did Russian traders object to this encroachment upon

¹⁸ The treaty is given in No. 58 *H. Ex. Doe*, 18th Cong., 2d Ses.

¹⁹ *Memoirs*, VI, 400. Nevertheless Adams had some anxious moments over the question of ratification, and at times feared there would be trouble in the Senate.

their field but the government of the United States laid itself open to criticism for the laxity with which it enforced the stipulations about arms and liquors.

As little comment outside of the State Department was caused by the promulgation of the Ukase of 1821, so the news that a treaty had been completed eliminating the whole controversy aroused little excitement.²⁰ Congress naturally found no cause for criticizing the treaty which was not at variance with the spirit of the Floyd bill which passed the House that session.

At first the satisfaction was not quite so universal among the Russians who were likely to be affected by the convention. Baron Tuyl told Adams that the Russian American Company was extremely dissatisfied, and that this group had prevailed upon the Russian government to send a note of instruction to him on two points: (1) that the convention did not give liberty of trade to Americans on the Siberian coast and on the Aleutian Islands; (2) that he was to propose a modification of the agreement whereby the United States should prohibit vessels under its registry from trading north of 57° N. Lat. Adams told the Baron that there would be no trouble on the second point, and that it was better not to put the other notion into the heads of American traders, but let the treaty go to the Senate as it stood; Tuyl saw the significance of the hint and requested that the conversation be considered as not to have taken place.²¹

While there is no reason to believe that the British government was disturbed by the conclusion of the agreement between Russia and the United States, nevertheless the fact was not viewed with the same complacency which obtained in American official circles. It was the continuing policy of the British

²⁰ The *National Intelligencer*, 2 July, 1823, thought that the matter could easily be arranged with a man of Alexander's friendly disposition toward the United States. In the issue of 22 July, 1824, it quotes a paragraph from a Hamburg paper to the effect that the treaty had been concluded, and passes over the note without comment. *Niles' Register* contained three or four quotations respecting the fact, but no editorial comment was added. The *Intelligencer*, 5 Aug., compliments Middleton on his success. Monroe (to Madison, 2 Aug., 1824, *Writings*, VII, 33) thought that the Emperor had shown great respect for the United States by entering upon the negotiations alone, when England refused joint negotiations. See also Monroe to Madison, 8 Oct., *Ibid.*, 41.

²¹ *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, VI, 435-7; entry of 2 December, 1824.

government, instituted by Lord Castlereagh and definitely formulated by George Canning, to let the question rest as it was so long as the situation did not jeopardize British interests upon the Northwest Coast, although there was always a perfect willingness to discuss the issue whenever the government of the United States so desired.

Adequately to review the situation as between the United States and Great Britain in 1823-4, it is necessary to recur to an incident taking place in January of 1821. Stratford Canning, then minister from Great Britain, sat, as he frequently did—for he found the social life of the American capital very tedious and to be relieved by any kind of diversion—in the diplomatic gallery of the House of Representatives, and from there heard some portion of the debate on the proposition to form an establishment on the South Sea. Soon after he saw the account of the debate in the *National Intelligencer* together with some editorial comment not hostile to the project. Since the *Intelligencer* was considered the official organ of the Administration, Canning was disturbed. He sought an interview with the Secretary of State not, as was his custom, to talk over informally the topic which brought him to the executive offices, but for "official conversation." In the course of a long interview²² he protested that the Convention of 1818 prevented any such action as that which appeared to be contemplated by the United States; he recalled the episode of the *Ontario* and the surrender of Astoria, and said that the action of the United States as reported by Bagot had not been looked upon by the British government as a laughing matter.

Adams explained to him that such was the relation between the executive and the legislative under the Constitution of the United States that the former was not held accountable for discussions which might take place in Congress, although,

²² Adams reports at length the conversation in his *Memoirs*, V 243-9, and (the second interview) 249-59. In April (*Ibid.*, 259-60) Adams notes that he committed the conversation to paper immediately after it took place and, subsequently entered it in his Diary. He ends his comment with these words: "It (the topic of the conversation) will certainly come upon us again, for which I ought to be prepared. Let me remember it."

he added as his personal opinion, the establishment upon the Pacific was likely to be increased in the not remote future. Canning lost his temper and made some hasty remarks, although he was disinclined to reduce his views to writing. A second interview the following day was held at the suggestion of President Monroe, who, while he felt that it was impossible that the British were seeking at that time causes for dispute, thought that no possible opening should be left for a misunderstanding of the contention of the United States. Accordingly Adams, in a long and rather acrimonious conversation, plainly stated to Canning where the United States stood both in respect to its claims upon the Northwest Coast and to its understanding of the Convention of 1818. Entries in his diary both at the time and afterwards show that never again did his relations with the British minister resume the friendly and informal footing which existed before this event.

But the topic was dropped. Canning had become involved in an altercation over an issue which the British government did not desire to press at the time, and he was notified explicitly to this effect, and told that he was not upon his own initiative to reopen the subject without instructions from London.²³ Furthermore Adams was equally willing to let the affair rest.²⁴ He did not mention the interviews when drafting instructions to Rush in London, for he was sure that Canning would report to his government, and, if the question should be brought up, it would be from the English side and Castlereagh would be forced to disclose himself. He reviewed in his mind the whole course of events from the time Monroe first made the request for the restoration of Astoria down to the time of Canning's outburst; from it all he thought he perceived in the British policy the intention to prevent the acquisition by the United States of the disputed coast and at the same time no indication that Great Britain intended to take an unequivocal stand. Moreover, Canning's "zeal and vehemence" had, in Adams' opinion, brought his government

²³ *F. O. Am.* 156, quoted by Schafer in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1911, 288 note.

²⁴ *Memoirs*, V, 260, 1.

into an awkward situation where, if the matter were followed up, Castlereagh must abandon his temporizing policy.

As we have noted above the events of 1822 and 1823 had brought to the surface the whole question of the relation of European states to the American continent, and this relation was being weighed by American statesmen, especially by Adams. Russian claims upon the Northwest Coast and the Holy Alliance's plans for the revolting American colonies of Spain conceivably might form parts of a single scheme, since the Emperor Alexander was a potent factor in European councils. Russia had invited a discussion looking toward a settlement of the issue on the Pacific and Baron Tuyl had stated to Adams that Bagot, the British minister at St. Petersburg, was empowered to take up the same question so far as it affected England. Up to a certain point the interests of the United States and of Great Britain marched together—so far as they tended to combat the pretensions of the Czar—hence nothing was more logical than combined action in settling as much as possible of the controversy. So, too, since the Northwest Coast was the bone of contention, nothing could be more reasonable than that the whole matter be cleaned up at once; with Spain out of the way, there remained but three interested nations and if these could jointly agree it would be indeed an occasion for mutual congratulation.

Not only was Adams ready for joint negotiation but he was prepared to outline the plan which, in his mind, should be satisfactory for all—certainly it met with the approval of the United States. The whole thing was simplicity itself; Russia should agree with the United States that the boundary south of which the former should not go would be 55° ; Great Britain likewise was to concur in fixing her southern boundary and the United States' northern limit at 51° . Each country should surrender all claims to title within the region set apart for each of the others.²⁵ The Russian commissioners had been brought with little difficulty to adopt this plan in its essential points, for their claim to anything south of $54^{\circ} 40'$ was baseless.

²⁵ See instructions to Rush, 22 July, 1823, *Am. S. P. For. Rel.*, V, 791-3.

Although backed by whatever rights the Spanish had ever gained through their explorations on the Northwest Coast, Adams realized that his reaching to 51° would encounter more than perfunctory opposition on the part of Great Britain, so he closed his instructions to Minister Rush with these words:

"I mention the latitude of 51 as the bound within which we are willing to limit the future settlement of the United States, because it is not to be doubted that the Columbia River branches as far north as 51, although it is most probably not the Tachutche Tesse of Mackenzie. As, however, the line already runs in latitude 49, to the Stony Mountains, should it earnestly be insisted upon by Great Britain, we will consent to carry it in continuance, on the same parallel to the sea."

For the negotiations with Great Britain we have more than the official dispatches with which Rush kept his government informed of the course of events: in his Memoirs he had preserved a more intimate view of the whole proceeding.²⁶ In December, 1823, upon the request that some hint of the views of the United States might be given as useful in later discussions, and especially valuable in assisting in framing the instructions for Bagot at St. Petersburg, Rush outlined to Canning the proposals of the United States. This division of the western part of the continent between the three claimants along the 55th and 51 parallels was reasonable, Rush stated, the more so because of the extinction of the exclusive pretensions of Spain by the independence of the colonies on both American continents. Furthermore, Rush, in the course of his remarks, quoted from Adams' instructions the doctrine then promulgated in Monroe's message that "the American continents, henceforth, will no longer be subject to colonization."²⁷

Canning took the information under advisement, and a few days later (18 December, 1823) in a familiar note complained that it appeared that the United States was proposing to settle not only its own questions but those of Great Britain and Russia.

²⁶ *Residence at the Court of London*, 2d Series, II, 82-88

²⁷ The proceeding was recounted in Rush to Adams, 19 Dec., 1823, *Am. S. P. For. Rel.*, V, 470.

"What can this intend?" he wrote. "Our northern question is with Russia, as our southern with the United States. But do the United States mean to travel *north* and get *between* us and Russia? and do they mean to stipulate as against Great Britain in favor of Russia; or reserve to themselves whatever Russia may not want?"

To the claim as far north as 51° Canning (2 January, 1824) objected strongly; it ignored the fact that Nootka, south of that line, had been the occasion of a dispute with Spain, and what had been insisted upon with Spain could not be yielded now to the United States. Even more difficult was the proposition about future colonization (5 January) and upon this issue Canning was constrained to hope that Rush was inclined to allow the negotiations at St. Petersburg to proceed separately. Rush was entirely willing to agree to this proposal so far as he had any authority to speak,²⁸ first because the principle of non-colonization would remain a subject of contest, and as Russia shared England's views the negotiations at St. Petersburg might place both Russia and Great Britain against the United States; it was wiser to avoid the issue in this form. Moreover a preliminary and detached discussion of this great principle, if carried on when Great Britain was willing to waive it, might endanger all the other parts of the negotiation. Again, nothing was given up, and the force of the American contention would remain undiminished.

Joint negotiation was therefore impossible, and the two governments each pursued its course at St. Petersburg, while in London Rush continued his efforts to clear up the issues between his government and that of Great Britain. No definite statement of his country's stand on the Oregon controversy was made by Canning during the preliminaries, but Rush was able to report to Adams his conviction that England would claim to some point north of 55° and with great firmness as far south as 49° and possibly farther, at the same time being especially tenacious of the right to colonize all parts of the

²⁸ *Residence at the Court of London*, II, 88.

coast which were outside the admitted boundaries of other nations.²⁹ Rush might have put the case much more strongly had he been able to examine the instructions which George Canning gave the British commissioners on 31 May, which outlined what was to be the policy of his country on this point for the next twenty-two years. Rush had at this time again brought up the Oregon question, after it had rested some months, and had formally submitted a proposition containing the extreme demands of his government.³⁰ He proposed that the terms of the Convention of 1818 should be continued in force for a period longer than ten years, with the understanding that "no settlement (should) be made on the Northwest Coast of America, or any of the islands thereunto adjoining, by the citizens of the United States, north of the fifty-first degree of north latitude, or by British subjects either south of the fifty-first or north of the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude."

To this proposition the British commissioners, Huskisson and Addington (Stratford Canning later took Addington's place in the conference) were directed to present the strongest opposition of His Majesty's Government. While the British cabinet was willing to take up the question, although the Convention still had four years to run, the terms offered were "little calculated to satisfy the claims of Great Britain, even when those are reduced within the narrowest compass prescribed by the honour and just Interests of the Country."³¹ The claims of the United States were as extravagant as those of Russia, and, although the article purported to be temporary, it would in reality be determinative of the region to be held by each.

"By engaging to abstain from making settlements to the south of the 51st Degree of Latitude, while the United States remain unfettered by any such engagement, it is clear that Great Britain would virtually surrender her title to the whole extent of the Coast between that Parallel

²⁹ Rush to Adams, 19 Jan. 1823. *Am. S. P., For. Rel.*, V, 470-1.

³⁰ American proposal submitted 2 Apr., Paper F, *Ibid.*, 582.

³¹ Canning's Instructions to the British Commissioners, in Stapleton, *Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, II, 76-85.

and the 42d, which forms the Northern Boundary of the Spanish Territory, as acknowledged by the United States. Within that space is Nootka; and we may be allowed to ask, under what pretence the American Government can expect that Great Britain should, in their favour, surrender Her Claim to a part of the Coast, from which, when Spain attempted to exclude her, in 1790, she maintained Her Right in opposition to that Power, . . . and maintained it successfully. Within the same space is situated the Mouth of the Columbia, or Oregon River, the only Navigable Communication, hitherto ascertained to exist, with the Interior of that part of the Country. The entrance of this River was surveyed by British Officers, at the expense of the British Nation, many years before any Agent of the American Government had visited its Shores, and Trading Ports of the Hudson's Bay Company are now, and have been for some time, stationed upon its Waters."

Canning was unwilling to admit that the American title could rest upon a combination of (1) American claims, (2) Spanish claims, and (3) claims arising from the possession of Louisiana, as put forth by the Minister from the United States. The Spanish title was overshadowed by that of the English, for Drake had been upon those coasts before any Spaniard; a government exploring expedition under Vancouver was the ground of a much stronger claim than any based upon a chance discovery of a private citizen (Captain Gray); and the single settlement of Astoria, which had been sold to the Northwest Company, and *formally* restored by "a liberal construction of the First Article of the Treaty of Ghent," could weigh little against the extensive establishments of British merchants. On the basis of these considerations Canning outlined the British counter-proposals:

"You are therefore authorized, in conformity with the Principles already laid down, to propose that the Boundary Line shall be carried due West across the Rocky Mountains, along the 49th Parallel of Latitude, until it strikes the main North-East Branch of the Columbia, designated in the Maps as M'Gillivray's River, and thence down along the Middle of the said River, through the whole of

its Course to where it empties itself into the Pacific Ocean. By adopting this Boundary His Majesty's Government will renounce all Claim to any Territory Possession or Right of Settlement, on the Coast between the Middle of the Entrance of the Columbia, and the Spanish Territory to the South. They will also give up to the United States a portion of the Interior Territory already occupied by British Traders. But I conceive that we shall obtain a satisfactory Return for the Concessions, by securing the only Points of substantial Interest to us. . . .

"Proposals so reasonable in themselves, though greatly differing from those presented by the United States, ought not to be lightly rejected; but if, nevertheless, they should be declined by the American Plenipotentiary, His Majesty's Government will be content to observe the Stipulations of the Third Article of the Convention, concluded in 1818, during the Remainder of the Term for which they are valid, rather than surrender, for no adequate reason, the just Claims and fair interests of the Country."

These instructions are gone into at length at this point because they afford the key to the British side of the diplomatic interchanges on the Oregon Territory down to the very eve of the settlement of the question. Not only are there stated the limits to which Great Britain tenaciously clung during the whole period, but there is also in outline her policy of action during the time. So long as the United States was unwilling to grant that the Columbia, from the point where it was intersected by the 49th parallel, should be the boundary, just so long was the British government willing to allow the principle of joint occupancy to continue and let the respective titles be strengthened by the lapse of time aided by the activities of private adventurers. Again there is a hint of the important part played by the chartered company; the North-West Company, starting as it did a rival of the Hudson's Bay Company, was merged with the latter in 1824, and from that time the voice of the directors of the Company were potent in the councils of the Empire whenever it was a question of the Northwest Coast of America. On the other hand the directors of the Company were informed at this time that the govern-

ment would not press a claim to any territory south of the Columbia, so thereafter the chief factor was directed to cease activities in that region and confine the Company's operations to the area northward.

Furthermore, the notes written in the course of the negotiation of 1823-4 afford practically all the light to be obtained upon the claims which were urged whenever the topic rose to the surface. The notes of 1826-7 and those of 1842-6 contain only a wearisome repetition of the arguments used by Rush, Huskisson and Addington (or Canning) in 1824. In fact the earlier notes have the virtue of being less prolix than those which came later.

Rush was not surprised when his proposal of April second was rejected and the British counter-proposal submitted. He rejected the proffer at the same conference when it was tendered and offered the utmost his instructions allowed him; namely, 49° as the boundary from the Rockies to the sea. This was promptly refused of course. The British commissioners made no new counter-proposal, stating that their proposition was one from which the United States need not expect their government to depart, just as Rush had, in offering 49° declared it to be the extreme limit to which his government could be hoped to yield since it considerably reduced what were looked upon as well-founded and legitimate claims. At this point the affair rested.³²

When Floyd's bill, which passed the House in 1825, was tabled in the Senate, and when the election of 1824 had been finally settled, the immediate political value of the Oregon Question, such as it was, vanished. Nevertheless, the time for the expiration of the Convention of 1818 was approaching, and the British government had not viewed with absolute equanimity the continuing agitation of the topic in Congress, especially when Baylies' Resolution (16 Dec. 1825)³³ had called forth such a report. Accordingly it was from the British government that the invitation to resume consideration of the

³² The protocols are given in *Am. S. P.*, V, 559-65. Rush summarizes the conferences and his views, Rush to Adams, 12 Aug., 1824, *Ibid.*, 553-8.

³³ *Debates in Congress*, II, 813 (1825-6).

question came in April, 1826.³⁴ The Foreign Office desired to know whether Mr. King was provided with instructions which would allow him to take up the Oregon Boundary matter, alleging that it was particularly induced so to inquire since it had received a copy of a communication to the House of Representatives giving a portion of Rush's correspondence relating thereto. In order that there might be no delay Canning informed King that Messrs. Huskisson and Addington were prepared to enter into conferences and either renew the proposal of July, 1824, bring forward others, or discuss some new proposition to be made by the American government.

It is obvious that Mr. Canning found himself with more of a complicated problem to solve than he had been aware of or at least willing to admit in 1823-4. The crucial point respected the surrender of Fort George in 1818. According to the Memorandum drawn up for Canning by Mr. Addington³⁵ the transfer of Astoria to the North-West Company had been "by regular bill of sale," and after the close of the war, when Lord Castlereagh ordered its restoration to the United States, Bagot, the minister in Washington, was instructed "*to reserve to Great Britain the Territorial Claim to the Tract of Country in which the Fort was situated.*" This had been done verbally, but no record of the transaction was procurable. Equally fatal had been the omission of the same detail in the public act passed on the occasion by the parties involved, which contained a reference to Lord Bathurst's dispatch, but "no tangible and *nominatum* reservation of the Claim by Great Britain." Canning's view of this phase is summed up in his words to Lord Liverpool:³⁶

. . . "The absence of any producible document on our part respecting the reservation under which Fort George was restored is the principal difficulty in maintaining our claim in the argument."

³⁴ *Am. S. P. For. Rel.*, VI, 645-6.

³⁵ 10 May, 1826; Stapleton, *Some official correspondence of George Canning*, II, 110-5.

³⁶ Canning to Liverpool, 17 May, *Ibid.* II, 55. Evidently Liverpool shared Canning's apprehensions, and considered the case weaker than did Canning. *Vid.* Canning to Liverpool, 11 June, *Ibid.*, 58: "Unluckily you said before Harrowby and others that the printed papers gave an imperfect view of the case, without the additional information. I protest I do not think so." This refers, indeed, also to papers which the government did possess.

It was, however, not alone the form in which the restoration had been made that disturbed the Prime Minister; the return of Astoria under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent was the first and colossal mistake.

. . . "The truth is, that all our difficulties in argument upon this case arises from our own blunder. I am glad to be able to say our own . . . I find that the date of that unlucky transaction was 1818, when I was a member of the Cabinet; and as the Cabinet must have been consulted upon such a measure, I am entitled to my full share of the responsibility for it.

"As such I do not hesitate to say that our decision on that occasion was absolutely unjustifiable, and will not bear the light of discussion."

The blunder, according to Canning, consisted in viewing the transfer of Astoria, in 1813, as a case of "taken in war," whereas actually the treaty could not apply to Astoria at all, for it had not been taken, it had been sold. The restoration, however, gave a hold to the Yankees, a fact which they had seized upon. Nevertheless, Astoria lay south of the Columbia and already an offer had been made by which that river would form the boundary at that point, so "it now makes our present ground stronger by showing how willingly we departed from that part of it which we thought untenable." But further yielding would make the restoration of Astoria appear as the first of a series of "compliances with encroachments" which were bound to continue. Two points must be emphasized, said Canning; the "ambitious and overbearing views of the States are becoming more developed, and better understood in this country;" the trade between the Eastern and Western hemispheres directly across the Pacific was the trade of the world "most susceptible of rapid augmentation and improvement." At the moment the East India Company prevented others from entering that trade but in ten years its monopoly would no longer exist, and it was the duty of English statesmen to see that this channel of gainful enterprise should not be closed to future generations of Englishmen.

37 Canning to Liverpool, 7 July, *Ibid.*, II, 71-5.

Canning's fears of the American attitude were intensified when he received a copy of the report of Baylies's Committee with its gratuitous flings at British motives. It stirred him to write:³⁸

“After such language as that of the committee of the H. of Representatives it is impossible to suppose that we can tide over the Columbia, or make to ourselves the illusion that there is any other alternative than either to maintain our claims or to yield them with our eyes open.”

The British proposal to renew negotiations upon the Northwest boundary question was favorably entertained by President Adams, the more so because a number of other issues waited to be settled, among them the Northwestern boundary, indemnity for slaves taken in the War of 1812, and the question of renewing the commercial convention of 1818. In connection with the last point the recent Order in Council placing an embargo upon American trade with the West Indies had aroused particular exasperation in the United States. Such questions demanded the best talent America could furnish, hence Adams offered Albert Gallatin an appointment as special envoy to Great Britain to deal with these critical topics.

Gallatin accepted the mission and left New York for London on the first of July, 1826. His instructions, as touching the Oregon Question, were based on those given Rush for the previous negotiations, and it was not thought necessary to recapitulate the arguments upon which the American claims were founded.³⁹ The offer of 49° was to be renewed, with a possible concession of free navigation of the Columbia if it should be ascertained that the river was navigable at the point where it was crossed by the forty-ninth parallel; until the question of navigability should be determined the right might be exercised by British subjects. That this was the farthest extent to which Adams was willing to go is clear from his words to Gallatin: “This is our ultimatum, and you may so announce it. We can consent to no other line more favorable to Great Britain.”

³⁸ Canning to Liverpool, 14 July, 1826, *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁹ Clay to Gallatin, 19 June, 1826; *H. Ex. Doc.* No. 199, 20th Cong. 1st Sess.

Gallatin was inclined to view this position as a bit inflexible and thought there might be allowed some latitude on two points:⁴⁰ in the first place it was probable that the "Caledonia" (Fraser's) River was cut by the forty-ninth parallel near its mouth so that while almost the whole course of the stream would be in British territory the mouth would be commanded by the United States; if this should be the case, Gallatin thought "a deviation not greater than that what may be sufficient to give them the mouth of that river would be of no importance to the United States, and might facilitate an arrangement." In the second place, five years to be allowed the British for closing their affairs south of 49° was too short a time and it would be more equitable to allow ten or even fifteen years. Adams was obdurate as to the territorial limits, but if British pride would be served Gallatin might for the first time offer free navigation of the Columbia in common with the United States; as to the extension of time, that was a minor point and might be yielded if need be.⁴¹

In studying the whole topic at a later date it is easy for us to see that there could be no common ground so long as Canning directed affairs, or his policy guided Englishmen, on the one side, and John Quincy Adams determined the course of the United States on the other. The interest in the negotiations of 1826-7 lies, therefore, in the manner in which the claims of the respective parties were presented, and especially in the views entertained by those close to the affair on the part of the United States. As to the former point it may be said that, while nothing absolutely new to support the pretensions of either side was brought out, both were able to present their arguments in a more logical form than had been the case in the earlier discussions but neither was able to convince the other of the soundness of his own position.⁴² A hint of the ultimate settlement is contained in Huskisson's

⁴⁰ Gallatin to Clay, 29 June; *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, II, 312.

⁴¹ Clay to Gallatin, 9 Aug., *Am. S. P. For. Rel.*, VI, 646.

⁴² For the British argument see Gallatin to Clay, 16 Nov., *Ibid.*, 650-2; the American arguments are given in Gallatin to Clay, 25 Nov., *Ibid.*, 652-5. The relative merits of the presentation in 1824 and 1826-7 are expounded in Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, II, ch. 16.

objection to a straight line for a boundary on the grounds that it would cut off the end of Quadra and Vancouver's Island,⁴³ and Gallatin's suggestion that perhaps the United States would entertain a proposal for an exchange of territory north of 49° for what would be lost on the island.

A slight concession was actually offered by the British commissioners at the third conference (1 December, 1826) after the American offer had been declined. This consisted of an offer of a detached bit of territory bounded by a line from Cape Flattery running along the shore of Fuca's Inlet, thence across the entrance of Hood's Inlet to a point of land forming the north-eastern extremity of that inlet; from here the line would follow the east shore of the inlet to the southern extremity thereof, then by a straight line to the south point of Gray's Harbor, and from there along the ocean to Cape Flattery.⁴⁴ This area would contain Port Discovery. The offer, however, was accompanied with the stipulation that neither party should erect along the Columbia or at its mouth any works which should be calculated to hinder or impede the free navigation of the river. Gallatin considered the concession wholly inadequate and rejected it forthwith.

Despite all these feelers Gallatin saw at an early date that there was no hope of reaching an agreement on the boundary. He ascribed his inability to accomplish the object of his mission in this respect in part to Baylies' Report, which he considered typical of Congressional agitation, to the language of the United States in its diplomatic intercourse with Great Britain, and to the feeling on the part of the British government that the Americans were trying to take advantage of them while they were laboring under temporary distresses. However, he felt that there had been a disposition to come to a settlement up to the time of the receipt in England of Mr. Baylies' report which struck beyond the mark and only succeeded in exasperating.⁴⁵ Gallatin was not able to make Canning see

⁴³ *Northwest Boundary Arbitration*, 42d Cong., 3 Ses., V, 25.

⁴⁴ Protocol of the Third Conference, *Am. S. P.*, VI, 660.

⁴⁵ Gallatin to Clay, Dec., 1826, *Ibid.*, 655. See also Gallatin to Clay (private) *Writings*, II, 248, 9.

that the report of a special committee which had not been accepted by the House, had little more weight than the speech of an individual member of Congress.⁴⁶

President Adams was inclined to look deeper for the causes of British feeling than committee reports and the like.⁴⁷ Even the assertion "of the late president" regarding colonization was inadequate to explain the English attitude. The President believed that Mr. Canning could not be so ill-acquainted with the state of affairs in America that he did not know the factious nature of Baylies' report, and he, Canning, would think it passing strange to be held to account for the offenses of a similar character when committed by Mr. Brougham or Mr. Hume.

When it was evident that no agreement on the boundary could be reached, Gallatin reserved for the United States the right to put forth a claim to the fullest extent of its pretensions, and turned to the question of renewing the Convention of 1818. Two details of this renewal occupied the attention of the negotiators during many conferences so that, although the question of definitive settlement of the boundary was dropped early in December, it was not until late in the following June that the new convention was signed. Gallatin, in accordance with his instructions, was insistent that the old agreement for joint occupancy should be so modified as to make no reference to other powers. This contention touched the real issue between the two countries; Great Britain insisted that the region was open to settlement by all peoples, while the United States contended that all claims to title between 42° and 54° 40' except such as were held by Great Britain and the United States had been extinguished. In other words it was the American insistence on and the British rejection of the colonization portion of the Monroe doctrine which made the difficulty. The second point which occasioned much discussion was in itself of minor importance: what was to be the duration of the new convention? Although not vital *per se* in conjunction with the other disputed point it seemed to have significance.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Gallatin to Clay, 27 Nov., *Writings of Gallatin*, II, 342-4.

⁴⁷ Adams to Gallatin (private), 20 Mar., 1827, *Ibid.*, 367.

⁴⁸ The correspondence and the protocols are given in *Am. S. P. For Rel.*, VI, 645-96; also in *H. Ex. Doc.* No. 199, 20th Cong., 1st Ses.

While the American plenipotentiary was anxious to incorporate some statement which would bear out the contentions of his government touching the nature of its claim, the British commissioners would include an article prohibiting in set terms, any act of exclusive sovereignty or dominion by either party in the disputed area as well as a distinct pronouncement that no existing or future settlement, within the time limits of the convention, should at any time "be adduced in support of furtherance of any claim to such sovereignty or dominion."⁴⁹ This restriction was not acceptable to Gallatin since it seemed in derogation of the American claims.

After a long delay, partly due to the necessity of sending to Washington for new instructions, the Convention of 1818 was renewed without change other than the omission of a time limit. Instead of a specified duration it was competent for either party, "at any time after the twentieth of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annual and abrogate" the Convention.⁵⁰ Gallatin had succeeded in preventing the addition of any explanatory clause which was desired by Great Britain to the effect that each party felt itself precluded from exercising or assuming any exclusive jurisdiction or sovereignty within the territory. Such a demand on the part of the British was evidently inspired by the activities of Congress resulting in committee reports, proposition of bills and the like, and was intended to maintain for an indefinite period the existing situation. Gallatin had pointed out that Great Britain had extended the operation of her laws over her subjects in the Oregon Territory, and had virtually extended her jurisdiction through an incorporated company endowed with wide powers. Logically the government which did this could not complain if the United States took similar action, necessarily in a different form; where Great Britain acted through the Hudson's Bay Company the United States would have to accomplish the same end by some form of territorial organization.⁵¹ To his

⁴⁹ Proposed when it was seen that the boundary question was insoluble.

⁵⁰ Treaty in *Am. S. P., For. Rel.* VI, 1000.

⁵¹ Gallatin to Clay, 7 Aug., *Ibid.*, 691-3.

own government Gallatin stated his opinion⁵² that he had so impressed this view upon Messrs. Huskisson and Grant (who had taken the place of Addington) that there would be no objection to the erection of a territorial government having its eastern boundary within the known limits of the United States, provided (1) no customs duties or tonnage taxes were levied, (2) the law specifically stated that the jurisdiction of the United States extended only to its own citizens, and (3) no military post was erected. Great Britain would feel herself under the same restrictions.

In the United States the new treaty was accepted for the most part as a good enough solution of the whole problem; it was recognized as a temporary measure, but time did not press. In official circles there was sufficient confidence in the claims of the United States to engender the belief that time would work for it rather than for Great Britain.⁵³ So long as the American contention had been maintained, and since nothing in the negotiations could be considered, formally at least, as binding upon future statesmen, there was no reason to feel other than complacent at the outcome. So, too, in the country at large, insofar as there seems to have been any interest in the question, satisfaction predominated, although it would perhaps be more correct to say that indifference was maintained. Oregon was still too far away and nothing had as yet happened to create a lively interest in a place so remote.

There was, however, one region which did not altogether share the prevailing sentiment. From this time Missouri begins to show her maternal interest in the country along the Columbia; from about 1827 the Oregon Question becomes a Missouri Question, slowly expanding into a Western issue. Senator Benton notes,⁵⁴ in commenting upon the new convention, that he had perceived the delusive nature of the Convention of 1818, and, then a lawyer in St. Louis, had written against the pact as wholly one-sided and against the interests

⁵² Gallatin to Clay, 10 Aug., *Ibid.*, 694-6. In a private letter to Clay (*Writings*, II, 382-3) Gallatin stated that he believed the change of ministry would not change the policy of Great Britain.

⁵³ Clay to Adams, *Works of Henry Clay*, IV, 171-2. 30 Aug. 1827.

⁵⁴ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 108 seq.

of the United States. He opposed the renewal of the agreement "with all the zeal and ability of which (he) was master; but in vain." He says that the treaty was ratified because of the weight of administrative influence, general indifference to remote objects, a desire to put off difficulties, and the delusive argument that the agreement could be terminated at any time. He proposed three resolutions aimed at the principle involved in the convention; that the joint occupancy feature should be allowed to drop at the expiration of the Convention of 1818, and that a new negotiation at the earliest possible moment be undertaken on the basis of separation of interests and establishment of a permanent boundary. He could obtain no vote upon these propositions but he remarks that his views found favor in the eyes of a few as shown by the vote against ratifying the treaty.⁵⁵

A little more evidence of Missouri's interest in Oregon is obtained from the newspapers of the time, and the following extract voices a sentiment akin to that of Missouri's senior Senator.⁵⁶

"The injustice of this convention, its injury to Missouri, is too glaring and palpable to need any comment. Suffice it to say that it is of a piece with all Mr. Adams' conduct to the western country. But the next election will relieve us. The Convention referred to contains a clause that the privilege granted to the British may be revoked on giving twelve months notice *which President Jackson will promptly give.*"

⁵⁵ The vote as recorded by Benton (*Thirty Years' View*, II, 111) is interesting as showing a slight western cast to the issue, such as did not appear in the House vote on the bill in 1829. Benton, Mo., Cobb, Ga., Eaton, Tenn., Ellis, Miss., Johnson, Ky., Kane, Ill., and Rowan, Ky., voted against ratification.

⁵⁶ From the *Missouri Messenger* of Oct. 17, 1827, quoted in the *Richmond Enquirer* of Nov. 20. The extract contains a notice of the return of one of General Ashley's fur trading expeditions, with the added note that the people of Missouri had been eagerly looking forward to the end of the Convention of 1818, which placed the American trader at great disadvantage.

CHAPTER IV

OREGON: 1827 TO 1842

In this narrative of the relations of Oregon to the Federal Government of the United States there is no place for the history of the development of the region itself—that has been told elsewhere and many times. But in view of the fact that there would otherwise be an inexplicable gap for nearly ten years it is necessary briefly to sketch some of the factors which made it possible for the far-off and unpeopled land of 1827 to have acquired a sufficient population by 1848 to become an organized territory; in fact according to its foremost champions in Congress, to have been ready for that stage at least ten years before.

Reference has been made to the North-West Company, with its headquarters at Montreal, and to the Hudson's Bay Company which had been operating in Canada ever since its charter had been issued in 1670. It was the former to which the dubious sale of Astoria was made during the War of 1812, for in the establishment of that factory the directors of the North-West Company saw the entrance of a rival, probably a powerful one, upon their rich hunting grounds west of the Rockies. While on the eastern slopes of the mountains, and from there to the wilds about Hudson's Bay, the older English company had long held nearly absolute sway, nothing more than an occasional trapper or illy-organized band of hunters had penetrated into the Columbia River region.* John Jacob Astor's effective competition with the Hudson's Bay Company in the Great Lakes region made the North-West Company look upon his advent at the mouth of the Columbia with little favor, consequently their nipping his scheme to tap the fur trade of that country caused great satisfaction.

Both British companies were expanding, the older one to the westward from Hudson's Bay and the newer east from

*The writer here has overlooked the extensive explorations that David Thompson had been conducting on the upper Columbia and its tributaries. See *Ore. Hist. Quar.*, V. XII, pp. 195-205.

the Rockies, and they came in contact in the Red River Country and in the region to the northwest of Lake Winnipeg.¹ A bloody contact here brought the quarrels of the two organizations definitely before Parliament. Even before this, owing to the complaints of the Hudson's Bay Company against its rival, Parliament had noticed the existing tension, but the latest outrage brought an investigation in 1819. In 1820 the death of Lork Selkirk, the largest stock-holder in the old company, removed the one person to whom more than any other the bitterness of the rivalry was due, consequently a move to consolidate the two organizations resulted in an Act of Parliament to that effect in July, 1821. By a grant in the following December the joint organization received the exclusive right to trade with the natives throughout all the unsettled regions claimed by Great Britain in North America, including the Oregon country. The Company's officers were made justices of the peace so that all British subjects within the granted area were brought under the protection of British law. In 1824 the amalgamation of the two companies was completed by full absorption of the North-West Company in the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Company had several "forts²" to the west of the Cascade Mountains, the principal of which was Vancouver on the Columbia River, four miles above the mouth of the Willamette, where the headquarters of the Company in the Pacific Northwest were located. Two important posts and several scattered ones of less significance controlled the trade between the Cascades and the Rockies. The whole organization in the Northwest was under the direction of Dr. John McLoughlin, who assumed his position as chief factor for this region in 1824 and continued therein until he resigned in 1846, when he took up his residence in Oregon City on the Willamette.

Whatever direct interest Great Britain or her subjects had in Oregon was centered about the Company whose word was law and under whose smile or frown fortunes prospered or languished. No chartered organization with monopoly priv-

¹ See especially Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, II, ch. 14.

² Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I, ch. 1.

ileges, however, such as suggested by Calhoun when Secretary of War in 1819, represented the dignity of the United States in the same region. Private enterprise, unsupported by legislative grant, undertook to penetrate the country which afforded British stock-holders handsome returns. William H. Ashley of St. Louis, who had for some years been engaged in fur trading between the Missouri frontier and the Rocky Mountains, attempted in 1823 to cross to the transmontane district. The expedition failed in its object, but the following season a second venture resulted in Ashley's crossing the divide at South Pass which became later the recognized route to the Columbia River valley.³ In 1825 he went to the Great Salt Lake, and a part of his company went north into the Snake River country where they trapped until 1829. At this time Jedediah Smith was entering the preserves of the Hudson's Bay; in 1824 and 1825 with a strong company he trapped along the Snake River; in 1826-7 he went as far south as San Diego. The Spanish authorities, jealous of this American intrusion, designated in 1828 the route of his exit to Oregon. In the Umpqua Valley he and his men were set upon by Indians and all but three were killed; these, among whom was Smith, reached Fort Vancouver where supplies were furnished by Dr. McLoughlin, who sent out a party to punish the Indians.

The more or less individualistic enterprises which from now on sought the country west of the Rockies in greater numbers had to compete with stronger organizations such as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which took over Ashley's interests, and Astor's American Fur Company. The former, under the direction of Smith, William Sublette and D. E. Jackson, struck west from St. Louis in 1829 and reached the mountains whence they brought back a large quantity of furs in 1830.⁴ To the Secretary of War these men reported that they could have crossed the mountains at South Pass with their wagons.⁵

³ At the request of Eaton, Secretary of War, Ashley gave his opinion of the best way to protect the western frontier, promote the fur trade, etc., against the Indians, to whom, he said, the Hudson's Bay Company furnished arms. *Appen. Cong. Debates*, VII, 92-5.

⁴ *Niles' Register*, 6 Nov. 1830.

⁵ Richardson, *Messages*, II, 534, for Jackson's message submitting Eaton's report.

It is at this point that Hall J. Kelley, a Boston school teacher, appears actively in the Oregon agitation. He began writing on the subject of Oregon and the necessity of action by the United States as early as 1815, according to his own account, although there is now to be discovered nothing earlier than 1830.⁶ He petitioned Congress for a grant of land in 1824 at the time when Dr. Floyd was the active worker for Oregon; in 1829 he was the major part of the American Society for encouraging a Settlement of the Oregon Territory, through which he besought Congress to grant twenty-five square miles of land in the Columbia valley. Acting in the name of this society he circulated widely his pamphlets descriptive of the attractions of Oregon, a region which he said was being stolen by the British through the instrumentality of the Hudson's Bay Company. He spent the winters of 1830 to 1833 in Washington where he tried to arouse the interest of members of Congress. But his efforts were inopportune, since the crest of the Oregon flurry had passed. Nothing more was accomplished than a House resolution which called upon the President for information as to whether any part of the territory of the United States upon the Pacific Ocean had been taken possession of by the subjects of any foreign power. President Jackson in reply submitted brief reports from the Secretaries of War and Navy to the effect that there was no satisfactory information on the point in the possession of the Executive.

Twice Kelley attempted and failed to organize parties to go with him to the Promised Land (1828 and 1832) and finally he set out with a few companions by the way of Mexico and California. He was deserted by his associates at New Orleans but persisted in his determination to reach Oregon. After much hardship he succeeded, but he arrived under the cloud of an accusation of horse-stealing in California, so that his reception by Dr. McLoughlin was not the cordial one usually extended to strangers. He remained in Oregon until

⁶ Bourne, Aspects of Oregon History before 1840, *Quar. Ore. Hist. Soc.*, VI, 260 seq.
⁷ *H. Doc.* No. 191, 22d Cong. 1st Ses. 17 Mar. 1832.

1835 when he returned to New England by the way of the Sandwich Islands, after having lost a considerable portion of his means in the venture.

Kelley's schemes were looked upon by many, perhaps most, people as absolutely wild, in view of the fact that Congress after so much discussion had decided to make no move regarding Oregon. Ridicule and scorn were heaped upon the "gentleman for whose talents and ambition his native land does not afford sufficient scope,"⁸ and who had "been employing his leisure in devising schemes to better the condition of his countrymen." He was undertaking a venture which had been repudiated even by the people of Missouri who, although "a little addicted to dirking and duelling" were not "destitute of humanity" and so would not see their fellow creatures perish without their expostulation.⁹ He proposed to withdraw his fellow men from the haunts of civilization and lead them into a region of which the most conflicting reports were given; he promised them wealth from trade in grain and lumber with Japan and South America, although in Japan only one port was open to foreign trade and that only to the Dutch, while South America was supplied with lumber which, under any circumstances, could be obtained more cheaply from Maine. Mr. Kelley promised lands to his dupes yet no title could be given, and it was against the laws of the United States for individuals to buy from the Indians.

One of those who had been interested in Kelley's plans wrote the Secretary of War early in 1832 and received a response which he published in the *Boston Courier*. "The executive," wrote Cass, "can give no aid to individuals in their efforts to establish a colony upon the Oregon river," since the law made no provision for occupying the country or for negotiating with the Indians there, and Congress alone could give the requisite authority.¹⁰

⁸ W. J. S. in *New England Magazine*, II, 123-32 (Feb. 1832). See also by same writer article in II, 320-6 (Apr. 1832).

⁹ The St. Louis *Republican* spoke disparagingly of Kelley's projects, and considered that Missouri offered quite as good opportunities as Oregon. *Niles' Register*, 6, Aug., 1831.

¹⁰ *Niles' Register*, 28 July, 1832. After Oregon was organized as a territory Kelley petitioned Congress for a grant of land in recognition of his services, but nothing was done. *Globe*, XXII, 92.

Nathaniel J. Wyeth, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was one of those who believed there might be something in Kelley's ideas and so made two trips to Oregon where he attempted to establish a salmon-fishing enterprise.

The missionary movement which played so important a part in the Oregon story begins at this time.¹¹ It is related that in 1831 some Indians from across the mountains appeared in St. Louis inquiring for Captain Clark and stating that their people wished religious men to be sent among them. This story was circulated in the newspapers of the day and reached, among others, the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church. After much discussion it was decided to establish a mission among the Indians of the interior, between the Cascades and the Rocky Mountains under the direction of Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee. Before preparations for the departure of these men had been completed the elder Lee learning of the return of Nathaniel J. Wyeth from his first Oregon journey and visited him in Boston in the winter of 1833-34. Here arrangements were made to send supplies by Wyeth's vessel and for the missionaries to accompany Wyeth's party overland.

In September, 1834, the Missionaries and Wyeth arrived at Fort Vancouver, whence the latter proceeded to select as a site for his fishing operations, the end of an island in the Columbia just below Vancouver. From the first, however, it was felt that this project was doomed to failure, and although efforts were continued into the next year, in 1836 the establishment was broken up and Wyeth returned to Boston. In 1836 the fishing station and a trading post, Fort Hall, which had been established by Wyeth's party when they crossed the Rockies, were sold to the Hudson's Bay Company. Both the fur trading operations and the salmon fishing were looked upon by Dr. McLoughlin as business ventures directly in competition with the organization to which he owed his loyalty, consequently he used the strength of the Company

¹¹ See Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, II, chapters 25 and 26. Also Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I, chapter 3.

to drive this rival from the field, although personally he liked Wyeth and treated him and his associates with consideration.

The Methodist missionaries looked over the lower Willamette valley and chose for their settlement a point just south of a rolling plain called French Prairie, where a number of French Canadians, retired servants of the Company, had taken their abode. With the Canadians were some Americans who were survivors of the Astor expedition of 1811. Jason Lee had been sent out primarily to establish a mission among the Indians east of the Cascades, but his choice of the Willamette valley was due to the fact that not only were there savages to be found there, but the surroundings were far more attractive than in the comparatively barren country of the Flatheads.

While the Methodist were extending their work in the Willamette valley another missionary movement was on foot. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, after having looked over the field, sent out in the spring of 1836 Dr. Marcus Whitman and the Reverend H. H. Spalding, each accompanied by his wife, as missionaries among the Oregon Indians. William H. Gray was sent along as mechanic and general assistant to the others. The next year this mission was reinforced and the work somewhat extended.

Although the number of Americans in Oregon was not large, the task of settling Oregon by United States citizens had begun in spite of the disinclination of the government to act. Sporadic attention was given, indeed, by one or another public personage during these years of quiescence, since those who were interested in some one of Oregon possibilities took occasion to bring their desires either before Congress or the Administrative departments. In December, 1834, J. N. Reynolds, of Rhode Island, presented through Congressman Pearce a petition which was backed by a recommendation from both houses of the Rhode Island General Assembly. Reynolds, who represented that he had recently returned from a voyage of exploration in the Pacific Ocean, prayed that an expedition be fitted out by the government for the purpose of surveying the coasts and islands of that ocean. Mr. Reynolds' interest

lay chiefly in the whaling industry and it was for its benefit that he approached Congress.¹²

It was not long after this that Hall J. Kelley returned from his unfortunate experience in Oregon, and, smarting from his sense of injury, he published a pamphlet in which he denounced the Hudson's Bay Company as inimical to all Americans, preventing them from gaining a foothold in the country. This pamphlet was brought to the attention of John Forsyth, then Secretary of State, who directed that William A. Slacum make a quiet investigation of the situation.¹³ Slacum, a purser in the United States naval service, was ordered to proceed up the Oregon River as soon as he should have arrived upon the Northwest Coast, and ascertain as nearly as possible the number of persons, Indians and whites, in the country. He was to observe the nationality of the whites, and find out what disposition toward the United States existed, as well as the feeling about "the two European powers having possessions in that region;" and "generally, endeavor to obtain such information, political, physical, statistical, and geographical, as may prove useful or interesting to this government."

Acting upon these instructions Slacum reached the Columbia in December, 1836. There he found the customary friendly welcome from the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, although Dr. McLoughlin suspected that there was back of the visit more than the whim of a private gentleman seeking information about the country. In the month Slacum remained in Oregon he was able to discover the salient facts and report to his government what the situation was in the winter of 1836-37.¹⁴ At Fort Vancouver the Company had within its stockade some thirty buildings with a larger number outside. A farm of about 3,000 acres gave employment to over one hundred men, and some thirty more were engaged at the Company's sawmill. Of the servants and officers of the Company only about thirty were Europeans, the rest being Canadians,

¹² *Globe*, II, 26.

¹³ Forsyth to Slacum, 11 Nov. 1835. *H. Doc.* No. 470, 25th Cong., 2d Ses.

¹⁴ Slacum's *Report*, written 26 March, 1837, Sandwich Islands, *Sen. Doc.* No. 24, 25th Cong., 2d Ses.

half-breed Iroquois, and Sandwich Islanders. Every year forty or fifty trappers left with their women and slaves for the season's trapping and trading going as far south as the fortieth parallel sometimes. The Methodist settlement on the Willamette he found in a flourishing condition as testified by the harvest they had been able to gather with the assistance of their Indian "neophytes" in the autumn of 1836.

Slacum was instrumental in clearing up a cloud which threatened the peace of the community and at the same time affording means of getting into Oregon the cattle needed by the settlers. Ewing Young, who had come from California in 1834 with Kelley, had been regarded with disfavor by Dr. McLoughlin ever since on account of a story of horse-stealing in the south. On this account he was not able to secure supplies from the Company as other settlers did and so, in order to make a living, he threatened to establish a still to supply whiskey to that hitherto comparatively dry community. This proposition was opposed both by the Company's agents and by the missionaries, but Young had declared that he would persist in his scheme. Slacum, acting as intermediary, offered to Young facilities for getting to California in order to secure a retraction of the defamatory statement made by Governor Fugueroa. At the same time Young proposed that he drive some cattle north in order to supply the settlers who, up to then, had been obliged to get on with the few head loaned by the Company. Money was raised for the purchase from the settlers, and Dr. McLoughlin and Slacum added to the sum, so that a sufficient amount was raised to purchase some 800 head of cattle and a number of horses.

At the meeting held to consider the question of cattle Slacum says that he told "the Canadians (i. e. the settlers at French Prairie) that, although they were located within the territorial limits of the United States, their pre-emption rights would doubtless be secured to them when our government should take possession of the country. I also cheered them with the hope that ere long some steps might be taken to open a trade and commerce with the country." Slacum's

statements were largely instrumental in causing the settlers to draw up a memorial to be presented to Congress, a document made use of by Dr. Linn in his Oregon propaganda.¹⁵

The settlement begun in 1832, said the memorialists, had prospered "beyond the most sanguine expectations of its first projectors" on account in part of the extremely favoring natural conditions of the country. The advantages as to position, soil, climate were pointed out although, said they, "the winter rains, it is true, are an objection." However, these pioneers were imbued with the true spirit of the country when they added, "but they are generally preferred to the snows and intense cold which prevail in the northern parts of the United States." In later years the real Oregonian never found it necessary to apologize for the winter damps; rather were they to be preferred above all other varieties of weather for the season in which they were (and are) accustomed to prevail. To the benefits derived from the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company the memorialists paid a grudging tribute and then went on to voice their fear that in the future it could not be hoped that things would be so satisfactory. They spoke of the lack of civil institutions without which a desirable population could not be expected to fill the land; instead of the hardy pioneer of the west, if the United States did not hasten to afford protection, the country would be filled by "the Botany Bay refugee, by the renegade of civilization from the Rocky Mountains, by the profligate, deserted seamen from Polynesia, and the unprincipled sharpers from Spanish America."

Just after the departure of Slacum there arrived the first considerable reinforcement of the Methodist mission, so that by the end of 1837 instead of three white persons, as Slacum found, the settlement numbered thirty. Nevertheless Jason Lee thought that the needs of the institution must be put before the eastern brethren more emphatically than was possible by letter, and for that purpose went to the States early in 1838. He was able, therefore, to be in Washington when

¹⁵ The Memorial is printed in the *Globe*, VII, 148. See Ch. 5 below.

Caleb Cushing, in the House, and Lewis Linn, in the Senate, were exerting themselves to secure legislative action on Oregon.

Oregon by that time was in the air; more than one community was discussing its promises and prospects. Among the more pretentious of the organized efforts to promote the Oregon propaganda was the Oregon Emigration Society, organized in Lynn, Massachusetts. This society proposed to send two hundred men with their families as the first group of some thousands whom they hoped to persuade to migrate in order to clinch the title of the United States. The society by its secretary, the Reverend F. P. Tracy, published a little paper called the *Oregonian* which was used to spread information and to obtain members who were assessed at three dollars apiece to finance the undertaking. The society never came to the point where it could carry its ambitious plans into operation, although it is possible that the persons subsequently led to Oregon by Lee were influenced directly by its activity.

Lee did not accomplish in Washington any of the more ambitious plans which he had, such as securing positive action by Congress, but an appropriation from the secret service fund was granted by the President in order that Lee might charter the *Lausanne* to take his pioneer band to Oregon. It was not until after the Treaty of 1846 was ratified that this fact was divulged.

Not all the activity of the early 'Forties was on the side of the Americans. The directors of the Hudson's Bay Company sent Sir George Simpson to the Northwest Coast in 1841 to look into the affairs of the Company there and also to consider the advisability of attempting to acquire the Russian post in California. His report gives a rather full account of the situation in Oregon at the time.¹⁶ He found that the four establishments of the American Board, the five missions of the Methodists, the three established by Catholics from St. Louis, together with the Hudson's Bay Company servants and some Americans not connected with the missions afforded a non-

¹⁶ Given by Schafer, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, 73-82.

Indian population of some five hundred. All of these people, including the missionaries, who were not directly employed by the Company were engaged in agriculture, having taken land wherever they desired with the expectation that their titles would be confirmed when the boundary was settled. The Company had fostered an agricultural undertaking of its own. In 1837 the question had come before the directors in London and it had been decided that, as agricultural pursuits were so radically opposed to the primary object of the organization, a separate company should be formed. Accordingly the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, which was not to engage in trapping or fur trading, took over all the Hudson's Bay Company's farming interests. Nevertheless all the stock of the new company was held by stock-holders in the old Company and its officers were chosen from among the officers of the parent organization. A region north of the Columbia River, toward the upper part of the Cowlitz River was chosen for exploitation, but the company was not a success and the holders of its securities were glad to dispose of its possessions to the United States in 1867.

Sir George not only discovered that there were American settlers in Oregon, but he found an even more significant symptom of the growing interest that country afforded the United States. An exploring expedition had been authorized by Congress in 1835 but its departure had been delayed until 1838. This delay had made it possible for Dr. Linn's suggestion that some time be devoted to exploring the Oregon country to be incorporated in the instructions for Lieutenant Wilkes, who was directed to note especially the topographic and strategic features of the country.¹⁷ Sir George was at Vancouver at the same time the Wilkes Exploring Expedition was at work in the region, and from conversations with the men he was not reassured as to the future for his Company.

The year 1842 saw a considerable increase in the population of Oregon. The agitation in Congress of the previous winter, when Linn's efforts made it seem possible that the next session

¹⁷ The Report is in *Cong. Record*, XLVII, 3120-26.

of Congress would produce some definite action—the bill did, indeed, pass the Senate,—the reports of those who had been in the country, all resulted in the largest single migration that had taken place up to that time, for more than one hundred persons went over the Oregon Trail under the leadership of Dr. Elijah White. This Dr. White had been in the Methodist colony on the Willamette, but as he had not gotten on well with Jason Lee had returned to the United States about a year before. When Lee was in Washington he had urged the appointment of some sort of a civil magistrate for Oregon, but the suggestion had not been favorably received, but when Captain Spaulding of the *Lausanne* reported the situation in the Columbia Valley on his return from taking the Methodist party, there was a change of sentiment. Lee's suggestion was recalled and White, since he had been in Oregon, was called to Washington in January, 1842. He was presented to President Tyler and Secretary Webster by Senator Linn and with them talked over the situation. After some discussion, for it was rather difficult to appoint an official for Oregon and not at the same time infringe the stipulations of the treaty, White was commissioned a sub-Indian agent with half salary to be doubled if the Oregon bill passed.¹⁸ The migration of 1842 then not only doubled the white population of Oregon but brought the first United States official charged with duties for that specific region.

With the large increase of Americans in 1842 plans which had been under consideration in the Willamette valley could be carried out. The question of civil organization had long troubled the United States citizens in Oregon; British subjects had Her Majesty's Government represented by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, for each factor was a justice of the peace, but there was nothing to typify the dignity of the United States. Moreover, like most Americans, they had a feeling that things were not proceeding properly unless there

¹⁸ *Ten Years in Oregon; travels and adventures of Dr. E. White and Lady, west of the Rocky Mountains*, compiled by Miss A. J. Allen, 138 seq.; also J. C. Spencer (Sec. War under Tyler) to White, *Ibid.*, 322-5. Report on White's petition, S. Doc. No. 50, 29th Cong., 1st Ses. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I, 254, 5.

was some sort of governmental machinery.¹⁹ In 1841 the death of Ewing Young brought the question directly before them for Young left considerable property and no known heirs, consequently some provision for disposing of his estate had to be made. Accordingly there was a meeting, mostly made up of members of the Methodist mission, in February of 1841, and it was agreed that some kind of government must be organized. A second meeting carried the plan still further, and at the same time elected a judge, a clerk and recorder, a sheriff and constables. The judge was directed to act in accordance with code of laws of New York—since there was a copy in the colony—until a code could be prepared. Owing to the lack of sympathy with the government idea on the part of Dr. McLoughlin, and to the advice of Wilkes, then in the region, against taking action when only a minority of the population desired it, no further steps toward organization were taken then.

The large migration of 1842 changed the aspect of the situation. The question continued to come up and throughout the winter of 1842-3 meetings and informal discussion sought to win over to the notion of organization the Canadians who held the balance of power. At one of these meetings, the "Wolf meeting" so-called because it was convened to consider the depredations of wild animals, there was adopted a resolution for a committee "to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony." The committee held frequent meetings to discuss the general topic of organization and the apparently more important one of who should be governor. Finally it was felt that the time was ripe for action and a mass meeting was called to convene at Champoeg on the Willamette on May 2, 1843. There it was decided by a majority of two—two Canadians—to adopt the recommendations of the committee and take the preliminary steps in forming a provisional government. A legislative committee was immediately elected and instructed to draw up a frame of government and a code to be submitted at an adjourned meeting in July.

¹⁹ F. V. Holman, *Quar. Ore. Hist. Soc.*, Sept., 1912.

This committee presented a form of organization which had as its basis a legislative committee of nine, while executive powers were to be vested in a committee of three, for the missionary party apparently would have prevented organization if they insisted upon having a governor as they had at the outset.²⁰ The judicial power was vested in a supreme court composed of a supreme judge and two justices of the peace; the laws of the Territory of Iowa were adopted for all "civil, military, and criminal cases, where not otherwise provided for, and where no statute of Iowa Territory applies, the principles of common law and equity shall govern." The right to vote was given to every "free male descendant of a white man of the age of 21 years and upwards, who shall have been an inhabitant of this territory at the time of its organization" and all new comers after a residence of six months. The fourth article of the "constitution" provided that there should be no slavery or involuntary servitude except for the punishment of crime whereof the party should have been duly convicted. Opposition to all formal taxing prevented the grant of any taxing power to the officers of this government, and all necessary expenses were to be met by voluntary contributions.

One of the most important of the subjects dealt with in the body of laws was that relating to title to the soil. No individual could hold more than a square mile, in square or oblong form, nor more than one claim at a time. Furthermore all persons were forbidden holding claims upon city or town sites, extensive water privileges, or in places necessary for the transaction of mercantile or manufacturing operations. Dr. McLoughlin considered that this was direct evidence of the animosity of the Methodists who disputed with him a claim at the falls of the Willamette, where both had made the beginning of development of the water power; the title of the Methodists, however, was safeguarded by a proviso which read, "that nothing in these laws shall be so construed as to affect any claim of any mission of a religious character, made

²⁰ The original code is given in Bancroft, *Oregon*, I, 306-9 note.

previous to this time, of an extent not more than six miles square."

With this provisional government, modified somewhat after a little experience, the people of Oregon managed until Congress provided for a regular territorial organization in 1848.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In harmony with other efforts of like character in the State of Washington for the purpose of establishing permanent monuments to designate points of general public interest, a pioneer picnic was given on the thirtieth of last June in an apple orchard adjacent to the site of the garden which marked the "il-li-he" or home of the noted Yakima Indian chief Ka-mi-a-kin over seventy years ago. This point is situated on the Ahtanum creek about eighteen miles west of the present city of Yakima. The Yakima County Pioneer Association, David Longmire, President, and John Lynch, Secretary, was instrumental in getting the assemblage together primarily as an annual social and neighborhood function, but really to arouse interest in the locality by submitting an excellent programme of pertinent historical significance in order to emphasize the importance of the event.

The president of the day was Mr. Fred Parker, of Yakima. The invocation was given by Rev. George Waters, a full-blooded Yakima Indian, and a convert to the Methodist Episcopal church in 1862 by James H. Wilbur, a pioneer minister, who came to Oregon from Lowville, N. Y., via Cape Horn, in 1847, who organized the first church in Portland in 1848, and built the first building for church purposes in 1850. Later in the exercises of the day Mr. Waters made an address reminiscent in character. An historical paper was submitted by Mrs. A. J. Splawn, whose husband, recently deceased, was an Oregon Pioneer of 1852, and who, at the time of his death, March 2, 1917, had been a resident of Yakima Valley nearly sixty years. This paper was placed in an iron tube which was driven into the ground beside the main traveled county road to mark the site of the future monument.

In the address by Mrs. Splawn allusion was made to the irrigating ditch made by Chief Ka-mi-a-kin, the water being taken from a branch of the Ah-tan-um and was about one-

fourth of a mile long. It is impossible to state the exact date when this ditch was opened, but it is believed that it was in 1853, and that the chief was instructed regarding the use of it by the Roman Catholic missionaries stationed near by. At any rate this place is generally recognized as the starting point of irrigation and stock raising in the Yakima Valley.

Brief addresses were made by Prof. Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington; General Hazard Stevens, ex-President of the Thurston County Pioneer Association, Olympia; W. P. Bonney, Secretary of Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma; Prof. William D. Lyman, of Whitman College, Walla Walla; Miss Martha Wiley, a pioneer daughter of Yakima Valley; Rev. George Waters, from the Indian Reservation; George H. Himes, Curator of the Oregon Historical Society and Secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association, Portland.

Mrs. Abigail Walker Karr, the fourth white child born within the limits of what is now the State of Washington, (May 24, 1840), and Mrs. D. R. Reynolds, of Wiley City, the first white child born in Yakima, were present and introduced to the assembly.

An interesting feature of the occasion was the singing by David Simmons, a full blood Yakima Indian, who had been studying voice culture in Tacoma for two years. He surprised as well as delighted every body by the rendition of a number of ballads, having a baritone voice of fine quality and great power.

Three representatives of the first direct immigration into Western Washington, numbering one hundred and eighty, which passed through Yakima Valley in September, 1853, were present, as follows: David Longmire, George Longmire and George H. Himes.

* * *

Among the recent accessions to the documentary material of the Society the following items deserve mention: A large scrap book, 14x17 inches, 300 pages, compiled by Mrs. G. W. Bell, a pioneer of 1852, in the last month of her eighty-ninth

year. Also, a second scrap book, 10x12 inches, compiled by the late Mrs. A. H. Morgan, a pioneer of 1845. When properly indexed both books will be of great value as secondary sources of information relating to a wide range of subjects, as well as a valuable addition to the seventy scrap books the Society has already.

Quite a notable addition to the collection of photographic material was recently secured from Mrs. S. P. Davis, a resident of Oregon City for a number of years, and formerly a minister. Health failing, and having to leave the ministry, he acquired the art of photography, and in retiring from that business he donated eighty-two negatives of varied scenes and individuals to the Society.

Pursuant to the expressed wish of Mrs. Minnie Holmes O'Neill, a pioneer of 1843, who died on June 30, 1918, in her eighty-third year, a number of scenic views, relics of early days, books, and account books of her father William L. Holmes, who was a well known business man of Oregon City sixty years ago, have been acquired. All books recording business transactions, naming different articles of merchandise and stating prices, are valuable as original source material.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. B. Lee Paget, who had a good deal to do with the settlement of the estate of the late Mrs. Anna M. E. Mann, a pioneer of 1854, who died on May 27, 1918, an interesting collection of minerals, shells and fossil specimens from a wide range of territory has been secured, Oregon being well represented. The collection was made by Mrs. Mann's father, Mr. D. C. Lewis, a pioneer civil engineer of fine repute, prior to 1866. With the collection there is a suitable case, 20x56x87 inches, with twenty-seven drawers, in which to arrange it. In addition there were twenty volumes of works, a number of them early government reports which are useful for reference.

A diary of Robert H. Renshaw, a pioneer of 1851, kept while crossing the plains, has been unearthed and secured through the interest manifested by a grandson, William E. Kinnear, of Butte, Montana.



CORRESPONDENCE OF REVEREND EZRA FISHER

Edited by SARAH FISHER HENDERSON, NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT
LATOURETTE

(Continued from Page 163 in *Quarterly* for June, 1918)

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., June 14, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br.:

I shall now only have time to communicate the state of things in connection with my labors in Tualatin Plains the past month. I attended the yearly meetings of the West Tualatin Church on Friday, Saturday and Sabbath, the 22d, 23d and 24th of April. The weather was very rainy on Friday and but four persons were in attendance. On Saturday and Sabbath our congregation became unusually large, although the weather continued wet and cool, and the house being an open log school house (a thing noways uncommon in Oregon), the congregation were in a very unfavorable condition to be benefited by the gospel; yet the meeting became interesting and, after the public service closed, Christians of various denominations expressed a regret that the meetings had not been continued through the week. So much solicitude was manifested on the part of professors of religion that Br. Weston and myself consented to visit the church in four weeks and labor three days with that people.

On the second Friday, Saturday and Sabbath in May the yearly meeting of the West Union church, ten miles east from the West Tualatin Church, in another [part] of the Tualatin Plains, was held. Br. Weston, their pastor, and myself were the only ministers present till the evening of the last day. Although a political meeting was held in the neighborhood on Saturday and the political excitement preceding the general election was waxing warm,³¹⁸ our meetings were solemn. The

³¹⁸ This was the campaign preceding the general state election of 1853.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:309. W. C. Woodward, *Political Parties in Oregon*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XII:55.

brethren began to confess their wanderings and give tokens of true penitence for past remissness in duty. On Sabbath some of the impenitent manifested unusual interest in the preached word and their hearts appeared softened. The meeting closed without any evidence that any souls were savingly converted. On Friday before the fourth Sabbath in May a meeting was commenced with the West Tualatin Church and the first day had not passed before we began to witness tokens of Divine favor with the brethren who were convened from both the afore-named churches, as well as with the brethren from other churches. Sinners manifested solicitude for the salvation of their souls and on Sabbath a young man and his wife asked for baptism. The wife dated her conversion from the time of the meeting two weeks previous in West Union Church, she and her husband having attended that meeting. At three o'clock the congregation repaired to one of the branches of Tualatin³¹⁹ River, in which I had the happiness of burying these candidates in the watery grave and raising them up, I trust, to walk in newness of life. The scene was solemn. Before closing the public exercises of the day the question was propounded to the church and congregation, Will you have this meeting continued? Almost the whole congregation, consisting of about 130, rose to their feet as an expression of their wish that the meeting should be continued. The meeting was continued with increasing interest through the week; by Saturday the congregation had increased to nearly 200. During the prayer meeting before preaching a brother, who had left the church six years before and joined the sect generally known as the Campbellites, rose and confessed his wanderings with deep emotions and said he had no other home but in the Baptist church, and closed by saying, "I now knock for admittance at the door of the church, if you can receive me." He was followed by his wife and three others who had been in similar condition. Two others came forward with letters, all of whom were received into fellowship with the church. An opportunity was then given for any who

³¹⁹ This branch was probably Gale's Creek, which rises west of Forest Grove.

wished to unite with the church by baptism; three young converts came forward and related what God had done for their souls and were likewise received for baptism; all young men. The next Monday two of these young men were baptized by Br. Weston. The other will join the West Union Church very soon. There were several other cases of hopeful conversion and the meeting closed at the end of eleven days, apparently with as much interest in the minds of the impenitent as at any period of the meeting. The labors were performed mostly by Br. Weston and myself, in connection with Elder Porter,³²⁰ the pastor of the church, and the lay brethren present. A meeting was appointed for Br. Weston to preach the next Saturday and Sabbath, at which time probably others will go forward in the ordinance of baptism. The subjects of our discussions were mostly such as the following The Nature and Consequence of Sin, The Nature of Penitence, The Exclusive Claims of the Gospel, The Office of Christ as the Atoning Sacrifice and Mediator, In What the New Birth Consists and In What the Work of the Disciples of Christ Consists. The church will probably make arrangements to secure the labors of Br. Weston half the time from this time and the two above-named churches will make arrangements to pay him about \$600 salary and liberate him from his blacksmith shop entirely. This church are making arrangements to build a good, neat house of worship at Forest Grove,³²¹ a little village springing up in connection with a school designed to be the literary organ of the Congregational churches in Oregon. On the whole, our Zion seems to have an onward tendency in Oregon, notwithstanding the many opposing barriers the enemy raises in our way. Pray for us that our faith may increase more and more and that we may abound more and more in every gospel labor.

Yours affectionately,

EZRA FISHER,
Exploring Agent.

³²⁰ Rev. William Porter came to Oregon from Ohio in 1847 and was for a time pastor of the West Union Church. He helped organize the West Tualatin Church, near which he had a donation land claim, and was its pastor for some years. He died in 1872.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:3, 11, 192.

³²¹ The town grew up on the claim of Rev. Harvey Clark, who gave the town-site for the benefit of the college. Tualatin Academy was incorporated in 1849, and Pacific University a few years later.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:32-35.

Received Aug. 9, 1853.

Marysville, Ore. Ter., June 27th, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br. Hill:

The meetings of the Willamette Baptist Association closed yesterday. All the churches except two were represented. One of that number was the LaCreole Church, some of whose delegates last year took the lead in opposing benevolent operations. All the deliberations were conducted with the utmost harmony and resolutions were passed in favor of the American Baptist Publication Society, the A. B. H. Mission Soc., Sunday schools, Oregon City College and religious periodicals. Subscribers were obtained for the latter and books sold by the agents of the American Baptist Publication Society. The subject of the importance of the Baptists in Oregon and Washington territories sustaining a religious periodical at an early period was discussed and a committee was appointed to correspond with printers and editors on this subject and report at the next anniversary.³²² Two churches were received into the body, one of which is the Table Rock Church, located at Table Rock or Jacksonville, in Rogue River Valley, the other on the forks of the Santiam River.³²³ Two other churches are organized, which will unite with the Association next year.

The preaching through the sittings was instructing and impressive, the congregations good and seriously attentive. The exercises will not fail to make a good impression on the public mind. We have now arrived at the long prayed for period when this body may pass beyond a blighting anti-missionary influence.

At the close of the morning services the claims of the Home Mission Society were presented for about five minutes and a collection of forty dollars and twelve and a half cents (\$40.12½) was taken up in favor of that Society and this

³²² This agitation resulted in 1856 in "The Religious Expositor," which suspended after twenty-six issues.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:24.

³²³ This was the Providence Baptist Church, organized April 9, 1853.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:12.

morning Sister Margaret Robinson gave ten dollars for that object. The churches are small, but are becoming convinced that the ministry should abide in their calling and that it is the privilege of the churches to sustain their spiritual servants, and are fast coming up with the work.

The churches of the Association have received, the past year, 14 by baptism, 38 by letter and relation. Total number is 245, number of churches 13, making in all 15 churches nominally missionary.

Yours sincerely,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Aug. 30, 1853.

Marysville, O. Ter., June the 27, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br. Hill:

Herein I send you my report of labor as General Itinerant under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the first (1st) quarter ending June the 30th, 1853.

I have labored thirteen weeks in the quarter. Preached twenty-eight sermons, attended twenty-six (26) prayer meetings, eleven covenant meetings (11), visited religiously sixty-two families and other individuals, two common schools, baptized two (2) persons, traveled to and from my appointments five hundred and forty-five miles (545); ten have been received by letter and one by experience and eight have been hopefully converted.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,

General Itinerant.

Marysville, O. Ter., June the 27, 1853.

To the Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br. Hill:

Herein I send you my report of labor as exploring and

collecting agent under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the first quarter ending June 30th, 1853.

I have visited as towns Portland, Oregon City, Marysville and Albany and Shilo, Lebanon, West Union, West Tualatin and Marysville churches. Have travelled to and from my appointments five hundred and forty-five (545) miles. Have labored thirteen (13) weeks. Have collected fifty dollars and twelve and a half cents (\$50.12½). Have paid one dollar and twelve and a half cents (\$1.12½) for traveling expenses and twenty-five cents for postage (25)—\$1.37½. Delivered twenty-eight sermons (28). Baptized two (2) persons. Attended a meeting of eleven days (11) with the West Tualatin Church in which my labors were almost incessant.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,
Exploring Agent.

N. B.—Received by collection at the Marysville Association \$40.12½. Mrs. Margaret Robinson's donation, \$10.00.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., Aug. 10th, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br. Hill:

I have just returned from a seven weeks' tour to our Association and thence to Umpqua and Rogue River valleys. I found yours of May 4th and 28th on my return. Rejoice to learn that Br. Post is finally appointed by your Board to the charge of our school, and prayerfully hope nothing but God's special providences will prevent his immediately taking the steamer for Oregon.

Yesterday I attended the quarterly examination of our school, found that there had been over forty students during the quarter and that the average attendance was something over thirty. We have employed the same teacher for next quarter, hoping that Br. Post will arrive soon enough to commence the winter term.

I shall leave for Washington Ter., especially that part bordering upon Puget Sound, in a few days. The tour will occupy six or eight weeks. I regret that I could not have delayed this tour till next summer as Sept. is the month in which the yearly meetings of the churches are mostly appointed, except those that are deferred till spring. My presence would contribute somewhat to the furtherance of the cause of Christ as it relates to the interests of Home Missions, our school, and the revival of religion in the churches, but God is not limited and I withheld my name from attending those meetings in reference to the above-named tour, knowing that our rainy seasons commence sometime in October and a delay from that tour till after these meetings would throw me in heavy rains and open boats in a new and sparsely settled country, with nothing but natural roads and subject to the necessity of camping out some of the nights. My personal attention is much needed in this vicinity with the churches to raise some funds for the school building while the hearts of the brethren are opened by the spirit of the Most High to Christian enterprise. But I can only do what I can and leave the event with Him who sympathizes with all our desires to see His cause advanced in the midst of error, where all our organizations are new and feeble. Yet I often, nay daily, cry to Him for more laborers who can give themselves to the ministry of the Word, in the most liberal sense, to every good work. In this I must not fail to request the Board to appoint Rev. Jas. S. Read their missionary to Table Rock Church and town, more generally known by the name of Jacksonville, the seat of justice for [Jackson] County, lying in Rogue River Valley. This valley contains about the amount of six townships of farming prairie land, about half of which is exceedingly rich and fertile; the remainder is comparatively unfit for cultivation. Portions of the hill and mountain sides afford good grazing six or eight months in the year, while other portions are sterile, except that here and there a solitary, long-leafed pine towers above a scattered growth of chaparral and manzanita, sure index of desert land. But through all these mountains are deposited by the Master

hand rich treasures of gold, and thousands of our countrymen are here employed in digging and washing it from the otherwise almost valueless earth. In this place Br. Read found a number of valuable brethren last Oct. or Nov., who solicited his sojourn with them through the winter. In May he organized a church of twelve, including himself. The members of the church, without exception, are among the most influential citizens in the county and seem to understand remarkably well for a new settlement the duties and responsibilities of a church. At present there is no other minister of any order in the county. Br. Read's influence with the citizens and miners is decidedly good. The church are about building a meetinghouse in Table Rock or Jacksonville, as it is called this season. Have agreed to raise \$250 for Br. Read's support and say they intend to make it \$300. Br. Clinton says he will give him his board and washing and furnish him his horse to ride for the year for his part. The church evinces a true missionary spirit. Were the church supplied with a house of worship and their own houses and barns built, as is the case with churches in older countries, they say they could support their own minister. I think Br. Read needs \$700 salary in order to sustain him in the place. Provisions and clothing are at least 50 per cent higher than at Oregon City.

I cannot predict what will be the final result of the mining business but it will pay large wages to the laborer for years to come. I think it would be a judicious arrangement to appropriate \$300 or \$400 to Br. Read's support for one year in Table Rock and vicinity. Our new counties are more fluctuating than older, yet there is an appearance of stability sufficient to warrant the appropriation. The principal drawbacks to the hope of usefulness will be the instability of the mining part of the population. Yet the agricultural interests, and even manufacturing interests, will be stable, should the mines fail.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Sept. 12, 1853.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., Aug. 22, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

I wrote you by the last mail describing as nearly as I could the geographical position and relative importance of Rogue River Valley as a missionary field. In that letter I recommended the appointment of Br. James S. Read as a missionary for Jacksonville (Table Rock) and vicinity. In this I wish to give you a brief definite view of the Umpqua Valley. The rim of this basin is formed by the Cascade Mountains on the east, the Umpqua on the south, the Coast Range on the west and the Calapooia Mountains on the north. The distance from the south base of the Calapooia Mts. to the north base of the Umpqua Mts. varies from sixty to eighty or eighty-five miles, and from east to west from twenty to thirty or thirty-five miles. This basin is little else than a concatenation of hills and low mountains interspersed in every direction with valleys varying in breadth from a few yards to three or four miles and in length from two to three miles to one hundred and thirty, by the meanderings of the streams. The valleys are almost uniformly prairie, except occasionally a grove immediately skirting the margin of the streams, and are uniformly rich and well adapted to every branch of agricultural pursuits. Every twenty acres, under a good state of cultivation, would produce enough to support any ordinary family. The hills are generally covered with a fine growth of nutritious grasses and studded with groves of branched oaks resembling in appearance large orchards of old apple trees more than a forest of straight, upright trees. These are interspersed with an occasional long-leafed pine, while here and there in the defiles of the high hills and along the water courses are found groves of excellent fir well adapted to fencing and building purposes. The valleys are generally too small to render all the purposes of religious society convenient, while each family claims from 320 to 640 acres of land. Consequently the minister must travel great distances and preach to small congrega-

tions embracing a great variety of religious views. But the large land claims will soon become divided and subdivided as lands become scarce and the prices high. This valley will have its own ports and its commerce will soon become as distinct from the Willamette as Connecticut is from Massachusetts. A few miles from the mouth of the Umpqua, on the tide water, a small commercial town has sprung into existence by the name of Scottsburg, which is approached from the main valley by a pack trail. Twenty miles south of the mouth of the Umpqua is an entrance into a bay called Cowes Bay (pronounced Coos Bay³²⁴) which extends into the interior about 30 miles. At the head of this bay a town is soon to be laid off³²⁵ and a wagon road constructed to the southern part of the Umpqua Valley so as to intersect the road leading from the Willamette Valley to the mining district. Around the several arms of the bay it is said there is a large tract of rich, level, timbered land, sufficient to form a small county. Umpqua Valley now contains 3000 souls and about twelve or fifteen Baptist members, mostly from Missouri and Ohio. Among this number is Elder Thomas Stevens,³²⁶ of Welch origin, who formerly preached in or near Utica, N. Y., and, for the last fifteen years, near Sandusky City, Ohio. He says he is personally acquainted with W. R. Williams, D. D.,³²⁷ of your city. I spent two Sabbaths in the Umpqua Valley on my tour to Rogue River. On my return, I assisted Brother Stevens in constituting a small church at the mouth of Deer Creek.³²⁸ The point is one of as much apparent importance as any in the valley and it is spoken of as the most probable place for the permanent county seat. A large flouring mill is just erected at the place and there are two small stores and a post office at the place. Br. Stevens retains many of Welch

³²⁴ The name now spelled Coos is of Indian origin, and was the name of a tribe and of the Bay. It was variously spelled Cowis, Cowes, Kowes and Coose.—F. V. Holman, *Hist. of the Counties of Oregon*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XI:39.

³²⁵ The Coos Bay Company was formed in May, 1853, and the first settlement in the Coos Bay country was made that summer. The town referred to as about to be laid out was Empire City. Marshfield was laid off later.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:331, 332.

³²⁶ See note 284.

³²⁷ See note 236.

³²⁸ This was ten miles east of Roseburg. It was organized July 24, 1853, in the house of William Perry.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:13.

peculiarities, especially in his preaching—full of figures, imagination lively and never fails to interest his hearers. Seems not over prudent in the control of his tongue; yet if he could live in the midst of an affectionate church which could appreciate the importance of a living ministry, I think he would be a rich acquisition to the cause of Christ. I have my difficulties in recommending him for an appointment, yet my prevailing opinion is that he should be appointed to preach to the church at the mouth of Deer Creek, with liberty to fix his outstations in Umpqua Valley according to his own judgment, with salary of \$300 or \$400, if he apply. I have named him this sum because he has a good claim, with a few cows and a team of oxen, within one mile of the place where the village will be built; this his family and a brother can manage without materially engrossing his care or time, so that that sum will be as much for him as \$600 will be for Br. Read at Jacksonville.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—The Methodists have two ministers in Umpqua. Besides these there is no minister of any order except Br. Stevens. I trust one of the six or eight Baptist ministers now on their way overland for Oregon³³⁰ will find a home in Umpqua Valley and help in sowing the seed and reaping the harvest in promising fields. The climate in this valley is mild and remarkably salubrious.

Received Oct. 6, 1853.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., Aug. 23d, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

In this I design to write you a general letter touching our affairs in Oregon. I will begin with the state of things in Oregon City. Our city or rather town has undergone a great

³³⁰ Among these Baptist ministers were Revs. C. C. Riley, J. Bond, W. M. Davis, G. W. Bond, D. Hubbard, R. D. Gray, J. D. South and W. P. Koger.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, 1:100-07, 10, 14.

change in its business appearance during the last four months. We have now four wholesale stores and fourteen retail dry-goods stores, and probably four times the amount of goods are sold in a month as in the same month last year. We have now a large foundry in operation, where mill irons and all the castings for our river steamboats may be made. On the opposite side of the river a permanent breakwater is being constructed for the double purpose of rendering available the water power and putting it in requisition, and letting the boats from the upper trade down to receive the merchandise at the foot of the falls. Two steamboats are now building in our city and one just above the falls, in a village, half a mile above the place, called Canema, in which place there are two or three drygoods stores, an extensive plough factory and other mechanic shops. Our population are all the while changing, yet the tendency is toward a permanent increase. Several large business houses have been built this season; three or four more are now on the way and will be completed in five or six weeks, and it is said that the number does not meet the demand. It appears to me that, under these circumstances, the demand for a good professional teacher in our schools is imperious. In the department of teaching, and, as a member of our feeble church, acting as superintendent of our Sunday school, such a man's influence will no doubt be felt in Oregon more than the labors of any pastor of any of our churches. I know not how to cherish the thought that Br. Post must stop at San Francisco for want of means to bring his family from that to this place. I know not how cheaply Br. Thomas carries his goods to San Francisco, but I do know that it costs nearly half as much to ship from that place to Oregon as it does to ship from N. Y. to Oregon. Br. Post, in my estimation, had better have shipped himself and family on board the clipper Hurricane for Oregon than to leave half his family in N. Y., take the other half and his furniture to San Francisco and a few cases of books to Oregon. To me this does not look quite enough like burning the ship. However, I will do what I can in the case. But the

circumstances are rather embarrassing. We feel inclined to the opinion that it will operate against the interests of the school in our immediate community, if we appeal to the public liberality to pay his passage and that of his family from San Francisco just at the time when their benevolence is highly taxed every year to meet the sufferings of the overland immigration by sending them provisions above the Cascade Mountains and by aiding the poor after their arrival in the valley. If we apply to the churches, they are scattered over a country almost half as large as the state of N. Y. I think, however, an appeal to the churches would meet with a tolerably cordial response. But this I must make, if it is done this year. Then your Board are growing impatient for me to visit Pugets Sound and, should I delay this journey five or six weeks, the rainy season, high waters, difficult travelling and the embarrassments attendant to an exploring agent's business in the winter, would be the result. By advising with the brethren, they say, Delay your tour to the Sound till this object is secured. And this is the course I should regard Providence marking out for me but for the fact that your Board are looking to the Sound with a deep interest and I am unwilling to disappoint them. I shall endeavor to see the agent of the Howland and Aspinwall Company³³¹ and do what I can for Br. Post in a few days, attend the yearly meeting of the Oregon City Church commencing Friday before the first Sabbath in Sept., and leave for the Sound just as soon as this meeting closes, take the first part of the rainy season into the tour and leave the event with Him who does all things well.

I wish to state that Marion County, with Salem for its shire, which is the capital of the Territory, has no Baptist minister within its bounds. In this county are three missionary and two anti-missionary Baptist churches. The three missionary churches are nearly twelve miles from Salem. The three churches are nearly able to sustain one minister. Now I think your Board would do well to appoint a minister for

³³¹ The Howland and Aspinwall Company operated steamships from New York to the Isthmus of Panama.—Geo. H. Himes.

Salem and vicinity. He will be sure to be taken up in part by these churches and receive at least half his support from them before he has been three months in Oregon, if he is a man in any degree adapted to the work in Salem. These churches may despair of finding an immigrant preacher to settle on the public lands and preach to them, as the public lands are all taken up in their vicinity. These churches, at least two of them, are feeling the importance of an efficient ministry given to the work. I know of no Baptist member in Salem, yet other denominations, with little strength in the country, are laboring to build up an interest here. Salem is growing with the rapidity of western towns on navigable waters.

Albany, also, about 25 miles above Salem, is growing fast. In this town we have a feeble church. Albany is the county seat for Lynn County.³³² The church in this place has only occasional preaching. I think a good opening for a minister will be made in this place before next spring.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Oct. 6, 1853.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., Sept. 6th, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

I received yours of July 5th, principally in reference to Br. Post's outfit, by the last mail. I had just written you that I should be on my way to the Sound immediately upon the close of the yearly meeting at this place, but the tenor of your last letter inclined me to delay the tour to the Sound four or five weeks, attend the yearly meetings of two or three churches in the valley and perform the double service of laboring in these meetings and raising what I can to aid Brother Post in his passage from San Francisco to this place. At the close of the forenoon service in the Baptist meetinghouse last Lord's day, the subject of Brother Post's wants was pre-

³³² Linn County was organized in 1847.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:715.

sented, and we took up a collection of \$25.35, which we shall apply to that object and, as you have now an educational department to the Home Mission Society, if it is consistent with your rules, you will credit this amount and charge it to Brother Post as part of his fare from San Francisco to Oregon City. I think we shall be able to raise \$100 or \$150 more without materially interfering with my official duties, if these are not a part of them, and reach the Sound so as to visit most of the important settlements in Washington Territory and return by the middle of December, which will give me five or six weeks of exposure to the heavy rains of the winter, unless it should be unusually mild. But the cause of our blessed Lord demands this service and I shall leave the event with Him and explore that territory as soon as I have performed the other service. To human probability, a failure of securing Brother Post to this station would prove a calamity too great for us to sustain in Oregon, although our brethren do not justly appreciate the importance of this enterprise upon the future interests of the denomination on the Pacific Coast.

Our yearly meeting with the Oregon City church has just closed. The meetings were well attended, even to a crowded house on the Sabbath; at all the services the congregations were attentive and solemn, even to weeping, in numbers of instances; yet we have learned of no cases of conversion. Brother Johnson preached in the morning; Brother Chandler at 3 P. M., and I in the evening.

The Sabbath before, I preached and baptized a young brother who has been led to submit to the Messiah's reign within the last three months. The Sabbath school and Bible class in this church are still quite interesting, although we are destitute of teachers. Mrs. Fisher is the only permanent teacher in the female classes. Whenever I am at home, I superintend the school and teach the male Bible class. Since Brother Chandler closed his labors with the church, Brother Johnson is our supply, but his health is so poor that he can perform no pastoral labors.

I will here introduce another subject. The long expected

Coloma has arrived at last, having been out somewhat over eight months. Our goods all arrived in good order except such as were damaged by the action of the salsoda as it contracted moisture, dissolved and ran promiscuously through the goods. Of the eight pounds of the salsoda put up, we found about one-fourth of a pound in the paper. The rest had been converted into a fluid and stood in crystalization on the old books, my hat, frock coat, flannel and both the bolts of cotton sheeting. About half the hat was as rotten as brown paper. The back and part of one sleeve of the coat were saturated with salsoda, the colour changed to a pale snuff and the texture destroyed; also a place about the size of the palm of my hand in each fold of the coat. The coat was literally ruined. The soda saturated through the folds of about half of the red flannel, so as to entirely ruin about one-third of the bolt, or six yards. We shall lose about one-third of both bolts of sheeting, one bleached and one unbleached. I have estimated the damage as follows:

1 hat, dead loss, \$2.00.....	\$ 2.00
1 frock coat, damaged, \$12.00.....	12.00
1 bolt of bleached cotton, damaged, \$1.29.....	1.29
1 do unbleached do, do, \$1.23.....	1.23
8 pounds of salsoda, dead loss, \$0.33.....	.33
6 yards flannel, @ \$0.25 per yard, \$1.50.....	1.50
Total	<hr/> \$18.35

I am ignorant of the rules regulating insurance offices. But this one thing I will say, that I should never have thought of packing old books with leather covers around a bundle of salsoda and another of saleratus, wrapped in paper, and then packed on the top of or underneath a good coat, a hat, a piece of flannel and cotton goods, for a voyage of twenty thousand miles. It seems that the box was stowed away in the ship bottom side up, so that all the liquid salsoda as it contracted moisture settled into the above named goods. I have no doubt the vessel was loaded too deep for so long a voyage, but I have

no expectation that the insurance company will pay for damages occurring under such circumstances. I have stated the facts as nearly as I can as they appear to me and leave the matter for you to adjust as nearly right as the case may appear in your judgment. I will say, however, that I had rather pay for the freight of good, clean, dry, white pine shavings than for old school books, for in the nature of the case one is worth just as much as the other. The shavings will contract little moisture; the books with leather bindings will always mold in the hold of a ship. I have learned a profitable lesson in this matter (yet it is rather an expensive one for somebody), that, should I in coming time order saleratus and salsoda, I shall order them put up in tight vessels, packed apart from valuable clothing.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Oct. 29, 1853.

Oregon City, Oct. 1st, 1853.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. of Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society as their exploring agent for Oregon Ter. for the 2nd quarter, ending Sept. 30th, 1853.

During the quarter I visited Umpqua and Rogue River valleys, and the towns of Jacksonville, or Table Rock, in Rogue River Valley; Winchester, on the Umpqua River, Marysville, county seat of Benton County, Albany, county seat of Lynn County; Portland, Washington county, Marysville, Santiam, Lebanon, French Prairie and Oregon City churches. Labored 13 weeks during the quarter. Paid \$12.75 for traveling expenses and twenty-four cents for postage. Delivered twenty-seven sermons and fifteen addresses, mostly in the yearly meetings. Baptized one person, a young man, at Oregon City, and four in the Santiam church. Have labored three

weeks in the yearly meetings with the Lebanon, Santiam and French Prairie churches.

Respectfully submitted,
EZRA FISHER, Exp. Agt.

N. B.—If time permits, I intend to give you a brief view of the influence of the yearly meetings on the churches.

Oregon City, Oct. 1st, 1853

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society as general itinerant for the 2nd quarter ending Sept. 30th, 1853. I have labored 13 weeks in the quarter; preached 27 sermons and delivered 15 addresses; attended six church and covenant meetings; eight prayer meetings and visited religiously 98 families and other persons; baptized five persons; assisted in the organization of one church on Deer Creek in the Umpqua Valley; traveled to and from my appointments 849 miles. In connection with the labors of other brethren in the ministry where I labored in yearly meeting, which will not be reported to your Board, eight persons have been received by letter, three by experience, 12 by baptism and two more were received as candidates for baptism,³³³ who will soon be baptized by the pastor, Rev. Geo. C. Chandler. In connection with the labors of other brethren where I have labored, there have been eleven cases of hopeful conversion. One young man of promise is preparing for the ministry within the Willamette Baptist Association. Three Sabbath schools are sustained in the churches in the Willamette Valley and Br. Chandler sustains one at one of his outposts.

Respectfully submitted,
EZRA FISHER,
General Itinerant.

Received Nov. 29, 1853.

³³³ One of these two candidates was a Mr. Jackson.—Mss. Records of the Oregon City Church. His initials and the other's name are not given in the records.

Oregon City, Oregon, Oct. 3rd, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

I wish to give you a birdseye view of things as they are connected with the Baptist cause in Oregon. And first, I will give you a brief history of the yearly meetings of the past summer and autumn, or rather of the season now passing, as they have occurred, a part of which you have reported in your last associational minutes. The darkness which has hung over our feeble churches for the past four years has been truly alarming, not on account of any serious outbreaks among the members, neither on account of any sinful strife and rending divisions occasioned by agitation of naughty doctrinal debates. But the four years may properly be denominated the years of the reign of gold. Worldly mindedness seemed to hold imperious claim upon the throne of the affections. But early last spring our brethren in the ministry began to manifest something like a fresh anointing from the horn of salvation, and almost everywhere it became apparent that the ear could be charmed by the simple story of a Saviour's love. In May, meetings were held with the West Tualatin and West Union churches, during which the one more than doubled its members and the last received four by baptism. The sessions of the Association passed off harmoniously, happily. I then visited Umpqua and Rogue River valleys. I found affairs, on the whole, apparently under the smiles of the great Head of the Church.

Our yearly meetings were now about to be renewed and my mind was distressingly divided between the labors assigned me by your Board to proceed to Puget Sound and explore that important field, hitherto untried by Baptist ministers, and what I held as the no less important duty of laboring with the churches (dearly beloved by me) in the Willamette Valley in their yearly meetings then just coming on. I often went to the throne of grace for direction. Your letter urging the importance of our making immediate efforts to help Br. J. D.

Post from California to this place aided me in deciding the path of duty. Yet I found our brethren all of opinion that my duty was to stay and labor in these meetings and at the same time, as I chanced to fall in with a brother, do something if possible for Br. Post.

Our meeting at Oregon City was of but three days' continuance, with favorable indications, but has not as yet resulted in any hopeful cases of conversion. The yearly meeting with the Shilo church, 11 miles south of Salem, continued six days and resulted in five or six hopeful cases of conversion. Five were added to the church by baptism³³⁴ and two or three by experience. Br. J. G. Berkley³³⁵ was the only ordained minister present, but he was assisted by faithful young brethren of the church. The yearly meeting with the Lebanon church followed on the 2nd Saturday of September, which continued till Monday evening. One was received by letter; the church was revived; two backsliders were professedly reclaimed and two or three were inquiring what they must do, when the meeting closed. The engagements of the ministers present were such that we were obliged to close the meetings at the very period when it was becoming increasingly interesting. From Lebanon church I proceeded to the Santiam church as fast as my business would permit, traveling through an unusually heavy rain two days. The meeting had been in progress for six days, conducted by Elder Chandler and assisted by Elder Sperry. The evening of my arrival an interesting young man professed a hope in Christ, some few backsliders had returned to their first love and the church was truly revived. The interest of the meetings daily increased till on Sabbath Br. Chandler baptized three interesting young persons, among whom was a young married lady from Holland who could speak but broken English. She had been a member of the Presbyterian church. She expressed such strong confidence in God and such endear-

³³⁴ One of those baptized was Rev. Andrew J. Hunsaker, since then grown to be very prominent in the Baptist work of the state.

³³⁵ This was Rev. Jesse G. Berkley, 1796-1872. He came to Oregon from Missouri in 1852.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, 1:97.

ing attachment to her Bible as sent a sensation of sympathy through the congregation, as she exclaimed in broken accents, yet with an eloquence which seemed more than earthly, "My dear blessed Bible, that precious book, I do love to read it every day; it is not like your Bible," referring to the English translation. All the services of Sabbath were deeply solemn. On Monday evening nine persons, mostly children of the members of the church, found peace in believing. On Wednesday following, Br. Sperry and I baptized nine persons in the waters of the Calapooia, among whom was a Presbyterian brother and his wife. I was obliged to leave that evening, yet numbers were still enquiring where they might find ease for their troubled conscience. The meetings of the French Prairie church followed on the next Friday. This was a meeting of unusual interest. Several were found disposed to seek a forgiveness of their sins. The church was revived, although we have no cases of conversion to record.

At the urgent request of some of the leading members of the Santiam church, I consented to spend the 2nd Saturday and Sabbath with Br. Chandler on the south side of the south fork of the Santiam. How long I shall continue will depend upon the indications of Him who sends His people times of refreshing from His presence. Such is the present state of things in general in the churches and such the importance of raising something for Br. Post, together with the fact that several Baptist ministers are now arriving in the valley with the overland immigration who are seeking places for a settlement, where for a season they may be useful as self-supporting ministers and are asking counsel as to the place where they may best serve the cause of Christ and their families, that I cannot think your Board would advise me to leave this field to explore the Sound, with all the exposures and uncertainties of winter, while the country is very new, provisions scarce, settlements scattered and immigrants, just coming in, are all in confusion. Now my plan is to leave the Sound till the waters fall next summer and proceed thither immediately after the Association closes, during the

time of our wheat harvest, so as to be in the valley again at the yearly meetings of the churches next fall. The people at the Sound raise but little wheat as yet and during the summer months a new country can be much better explored than in the winter and the people will more readily come and hear the preached Word. I fear I shall not be able to raise much more than \$100 for Br. Post's passage from San Francisco to Oregon City. Money is very scarce in Oregon, or rather much more so than it has been since '48, and numbers of the brethren promised to do something for him, but will be unable to do it in time to meet his wants. Many of our forehanded farmers tell me that they have not a dollar to their name. But they have barns full of wheat and oats and plenty of cattle and horses and hogs on the prairies. We have a little money in the Institution treasury, so that I hope to be able to forward Br. Post about \$150 to San Francisco in time.

You have doubtless read accounts of the Indian war in Rogue River Valley³³⁶ and are waiting with anxiety to learn of its influence on our little band of disciples at Jacksonville. I have feared much and prayed oft for those lovely brothers and sisters, and especially for young Brother Read. The Lord has kept them all in the hollow of His hand and I believe not one of them has fallen by the hand of savage barbarity. It was reported that our beloved brother Judge Rice was massacred. But we learned in a few weeks, to our great joy, that it was all a mistaken rumor. No doubt the business relations of those brethren have been much deranged and I fear they will be unable to build a suitable house for worship this fall; but the war is ended, except with a few scattering clans who may annoy the people some. The government will keep a garrison sufficiently strong to keep the Indians quiet hereafter.

I forwarded the letter you sent to Br. Read addressed to this place to my care, immediately on its arrival.

Our school is doing very well this quarter. Mr. Shat-

³³⁶ This war broke out early in June, 1853, and ended in September of that year.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:311-321.

tuck³³⁷ gives his undivided time to it during the regular school hours. Yet we must have a man in the school who will identify himself with its present and future prosperity and likewise identify himself with the interests of the denomination, if we will secure the confidence and cordial co-operation of all our brethren in the Territory. We must bring our brethren to feel that the school stands connected with all that is promising in the future of our denomination in Oregon and on the Pacific shores, at least, and then we shall have patronage most cheerfully.

But the work of harmonizing discordant materials and developing the spirit of true Christian philanthropy requires the persevering patience and love and prayers of men more than ordinarily devoted to the honor of the King of Zion. O, that I had more grace and adaptedness for this work! But for this work I cheerfully live and in this cause I sometimes feel that I would wish to die, or see the work crowned with complete success. Soon, perhaps very soon, we shall have young men in Oregon looking to the ministry asking instruction from our school, if it continues in existence.

Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Nov. 28, 1853.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Oct. 5, 1853.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

The Baptist church in this city last Saturday at their regular church meeting took up the subject of providing themselves with a pastor, which resulted in the following resolutions:

Resolved that this church invite Elder Hezekiah Johnson to become our supply till we can obtain a pastor.

2. Resolved that we appoint a committee of two, in the absence of our deacon, to correspond with the Home Mission Society Board to send us a suitable man to fill this place as a pastor.

³³⁷ This was E. D. Shattuck. See note 316.

The meeting closed without any formal action in relation to the amount necessary to his salary, but I will be responsible that \$100 will be raised toward his salary in this place; perhaps \$150. Now our case is a most urgent one. We have never had but little pastoral labors performed in Oregon City. The fact that our school is located here demands the labors of an effective man every day in the place, who may be always ready to co-operate with the teacher by counsel and action. Since Brother Chandler left, nothing has been done by way of sustaining the Sabbath school, except what is done in the school room at the hour, and when I am absent, which is about three-fourths of the time, the male department is sometimes left without any teacher. . . . In view of all our circumstances, we must have a minister, acceptable to be sure as a preacher, but a practical, pious, common sense pastor.

The Congregational church has such a man here,³³⁸ the Methodists will keep such a man here, the Episcopalians will soon have such a man here and the Baptists must have such a man here, if they sustain no other pastor in the Territory. Taking everything into account, this is the first appointment that should be filled, if I do not greatly err in judgment. I think you should appoint a man with a salary of \$700, \$100 of which the church will pay. . . .

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Nov. 29, 1853.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Jan. 2d, 1854.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.

Dear Brother :

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Soc. as General Itinerant for the 3d quarter ending Dec. 31st, 1853. I have labored 13 weeks during the quarter; preached 15 sermons; delivered ten lectures on temperance and to the young in Sabbath schools and

³³⁸ Dr. G. H. Atkinson was the Congregationalist.—Geo. H. Himes.

to young Christians; attended eleven prayer meetings and six church covenant meetings; visited religiously 41 families and as many more individuals; visited two high schools; baptized one; traveled to and from my appointments four hundred and thirty-eight miles. Eighteen persons have been received by baptism, in connection with the labors of myself and my fellow-laborers, and five by letter. The church in Tualatin Plains, called West Union, have completed a meeting house; most of the work has been done the present quarter.

Connected with the churches I have visited are five Sabbath schools, but they are generally small, averaging about 25 children and four teachers to the school; probably in all about 400 volumes in the libraries.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EZRA FISHER,
General Itinerant.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Jan. 2d, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. Home Mission Society:

Herein I send you my report under the appointment of the Home Mission Society as Exploring Agent for Oregon and Washington Territories for the third quarter ending the 31st of Dec., 1853. During the quarter I have visited the towns of Marysville, Benton County; Forest Grove and Portland, Washington County; Oregon City, Clackamas County, and Santiam church, Lynn County; Marysville church, Benton County; West Union church twice and West Tualatin church, Washington County; have labored 13 weeks during the quarter; collected one hundred dollars to aid Br. J. D. Post from California to Oregon and paid the same to Br. J. D. Post; have paid two dollars and seventy cents for traveling expenses; twenty-five cents for postage; preached fifteen sermons; delivered ten addresses; baptized one person; attended one meeting of eight days with the Santiam church, during which time Brother Chandler, the pastor, and Br. Cheadle, the father of some of the converts, baptized seventeen

converts. I was present and preached the dedication sermon in the new house built by the West Union church, an account of which I shall give you in another letter.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—I wrote you some time since that I had collected something more than \$150 for Br. Post's traveling expenses from Cal. to Oregon. That all things may appear straight, I will state that on the arrival of Br. Post we found that the house must have some work done on it to make it comfortable for his family. He therefore agreed to take \$100 and let the balance be applied to carrying on the work on the school building, as a part of the funds collected were paid over to me to be used at my discretion where it was most needed, either to aid Br. Post or to carry on the work on the house. You will therefore credit the donors to the amount of \$100 and charge the same to Br. Post so that your books may stand fair. I will give you the names and the amount paid by each person or congregation accompanying this report.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Jan. 2d, 1854.

Dear Br. Hill:

The following sums were collected to aid Br. J. D. Post from Cal. to Oregon:

Collection taken in the Oregon City church.....	\$25.25
James Hunt50
Israel Chamnies	5.00
Rev. Richmond Cheadle	8.12½
Joshua Brooks	1.00
Daniel Smith	2.00
Collection taken at the Santiam church.....	12.62½
J. H. Pruett ³³⁹	2.00

³³⁹ Of the above-named donors, J. H. Pruett (1820-1866) came to Oregon from Missouri in 1847 and settled near Gervais.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:65.

George Cornelius	3.00
D. D. Stroud	5.00
John Trapp	5.00
Alfred Rinehart	5.00
Martha Avory	5.00
Martha Robinson	2.50
Jeremiah Lewis	1.50
Arnold Fuller	2.50
Thomas M. Read.....	14.00

Total.....\$100.00

This hundred dollars you will please credit to the donors on your books and charge it to Br. J. D. Post and not to me, as I have paid it over to him. In yours of Nov. 9th, 1853, I noticed this paragraph, "Ere this I trust Br. Post is with you and entered upon his work. I am glad your people evinced a liberal spirit in aiding him to get from Cal. to Oregon. He is worth and worthy of it. The credit and charge will be made on our books and, if you report more, we will do the same."

Now I suppose you charged that sum to Br. Post and not to me, as I have paid him the \$100 herein reported as collected. If you have charged it to me, you will please correct the mistake.

Received Feb. 10, 1854.







GEORGE WOOD EBBERT
1810-1890
Oregon Pioneer of 1839

*GEORGE WOOD EBBERT

I was born in Bracken County, Kentucky, June 23, 1810, where I resided until early in the year of 1829, when I started for the Rocky Mountains in the employ of William Sublette to engage in the fur trade for the American Fur Company, in whose employ I remained six years. I then joined the Hudson's Bay Company and trapped for that company three years. In the fall of 1838 I came to the Mission kept by the Rev. Mr. Spalding at Lapwai; remained there through that winter, working at blacksmithing, a trade that I had learned in Kentucky. In the spring of 1839 I started for the Willamette Valley, arriving there on the 20th of May the same year, and settled at Champoege for one year. I then moved to the Tualatin Plains, twelve miles west of Portland, where I now reside, in the fall of 1841.

In January, 1848, in company with the late Jos. L. Meek, Nathaniel Bowman, David Young, John Owens, James Stead, Samuel Miller, Jacob Leabo, Dennis Burriss, and a Mr. Jones, started for the States with dispatches for help from the parent Government. Had an escort of volunteers under Captain Lawrence Hall, sent out by General Cornelius Gilliam's orders to accompany us to the foot of the Blue Mountains, as the Indians were very bad, we being then in the midst of the Cayuse war. Nothing of interest occurred on the trip except one fight with the Indians, in which the volunteers were victorious after a fight of eight hours. At this place some of the soldiers went out on a foraging expedition and captured some

*On December 16, 1847, James W. Nesmith, a member of the legislature of the Provisional Government of Oregon, introduced a bill appropriating one thousand dollars to defray the expenses of J. L. Meek, as special messenger to Washington City. This was read the first and second times and referred to the committee of the whole. The bill was amended by striking out "one thousand" and inserting "five hundred," and then passed. Meek then resigned his seat in the legislature, and began making arrangements for the trip, starting early in January, 1848, as stated by Mr. Ebbert. Of the number named only three went to Washington, viz., Meek, Leabo and Ebbert. This sketch of that trip, secured directly from Mr. Ebbert, in January, 1877, is now printed for the first time. His home was a few miles north of Hillsboro, where he died Oct. 1, 1890, and was buried in the rural cemetery adjacent to the West Union Baptist Church.—George H. Himes, Curator and Assistant Secretary.

cattle belonging to the Indians, which were slaughtered and the meat jerked and prepared for our food on the trip. We camped here at the foot of the Blue Mountains one night, and started next morning on our perilous journey. The soldiers accompanied us up into the snows and then parted with us, wishing us a safe journey. Then, turning our faces eastward, we branched out—ten of us—the snow being from five to eight feet deep, going eight or ten miles, and camped at the summit the first night. We had a hard trip breaking the trail. One man would go ahead and break trail until he gave out and then one of the others would take his place. The first night we camped without fire and no feed for our horses—had to tie them to pine trees. The next night we made the bald hill and found feed for our horses; also found here eight head of horses. Some of the company were for taking the horses and some were opposed. Finally we concluded to leave them. The supposition was that the horses belonged to the Indians that murdered Dr. Whitman and family.

The third night out we camped on the Powder River. The snow was mostly gone except in the ravines. From that on for four or five days nothing of interest occurred until we came to Snake River. We here found the Indians with the measles. A great many of them were dying from their mode of doctoring, which was to jump into the water when they were broken out with the disease. One of our company caught the measles, John Owens by name, and we had to pack him on a mule by fixing a bed for him. Provisions were getting short and we could not stop. As good fortune favored us, he soon got well. Nothing more of interest occurred until we arrived at Fort Hall, Captain Grant in command. He was a Hudson's Bay trader. Colonel Meek had letters from Dr. John McLoughlin to get supplies and animals if needed. Grant was absent and we could get nothing. We went on from there and the fourth day one of our horses gave out and we killed him. Colonel Meek and myself cut out some of the choice pieces to live on as we were then without anything to eat, and God only knew when we would get any more. The rest of the

company would not take any, all saying they would rather starve than eat poor horse meat. Four days from this place we came to snow from three to seven feet deep, and very cold, making only from five to seven miles per day, with our mules living on willows. We were in this snow seven days when we arrived on one of the tributaries of Bear River, where we found grass for our horses. Here we recruited our animals a few hours, and ate the last of our horse meat. The rest of the company by this time thought horse meat a great luxury. Here wild geese were seen and some of the boys went out to try and capture some, but returned empty-handed. We held a consultation about what to do, as starvation was now staring us in the face, and something must be done and right soon; and we wanted all of our animals for future use. No man was willing to kill his and take the chances of being left afoot. However, as the mountain man's last resort after all other plans fail, we decided to separate and some of us go on in advance afoot and the rest to bring up the animals. I being one in advance, after a few miles came upon some tracks, and then we knew that Indians were near. I ascended a hill and saw in the distance some lodges. Then I signalled the remainder of the company to come on and then we went into the camp, not knowing whether it was to death or life; and to our great joy we found it to be the camp of old "Peg Leg" Smith and a couple of Frenchmen, old companions of years gone by, and they had a lot of cattle and with the proverbial hospitality of all mountain men, he made us a large kettle of coffee and killed the fatted cow. Some of it was jerked and prepared for us on our journey. After a stay of a couple days we bade our hospitable friends adieu and again turned our faces eastward.

Four days from here we arrived at a stream called Little Muddy. Here Meek had the misfortune to ride in and get his papers all wet, the river being swimming, and in consequence had to lay over one day to dry himself and documents. Three days from this we arrived at Bridger's fort and laid by two days. Here we saw the first white woman since leaving the

Willamette Valley—a Mrs. Vasques. This place was kept by old mountain men, and of course we were well treated. We exchanged our jaded animals for fresh ones, and got our larder well supplied. We left here and after eight days' travel our provisions gave out, but we were fortunate enough to kill a buffalo. That night we made a drive to get out of the country, as it was very unhealthy. We had seen fresh Indian signs. We traveled two days and came to Independence Rock. There we saw more Indian signs; then made another all night drive. The next day we laid by in the brush. Again at night we sallied forth and traveled that night and the next day. About nine o'clock we saw a band of buffalo, which to us mountain men was a sure sign that there were no Indians in the neighborhood. The second day from here we discovered wagon tracks. In two days more we arrived at the Fort,—Old Fort Laramie, in charge of an old Frenchman by name of Pappillian. The people of the fort told us there was danger ahead. We left, after two days' rest, and traveled three nights, laying by in the daytime. We reached Ash Hollow—Robidoux Fort—a trading post was here kept by a Frenchman named Le Beau. We here traded for sugar, coffee and buffalo meat. Rested one day and started on, reaching Little Platte the next day; thence down the Platte for eight or nine days, finding plenty of buffalo and killing what we needed. Meeting some Indians of the Pawnee tribe they tried to rob us by trying to intimidate us into giving up our guns. This we declined to do. Thence on to the Big Blue and down this stream three or four days' travel, with nothing to eat but one buffalo tongue and one duck which was killed by the party. Thence on to one fork of the Blue. Here we heard the familiar sound of the turkey, and most of the company were off like a shot to capture some of them; but when night came on so did the hunters, but no turkey came. Next morning, without breakfast or anything to eat, we cooked our old parfleches, which were greasy, and had a very good meal. We started on, expecting every hour to meet the immigration, as the spring was now advancing, and we had now come to the conclusion

to kill one of my mules to eat that night; but fortune favored us that afternoon, as we met the immigration, and camped and fared sumptuously, having ham and eggs. Traveled on and met another large train of immigrants and camped with them. Started on next morning and at noon met another train. Sol. Emerick, now of this county, was along. Nooned with them. Three days from this we met Mr. Joseph Watt's train, having a band of sheep for Oregon. Five days later we came to the Kaw Agency, and tried to get provisions, but failed. Traveled on and in a few miles met a man who gave us some bread and a bottle of whiskey. The next morning we started early and arrived at Saint Joe, Missouri, the 4th day of May, 1848.



DEATH LIST OF OREGON PIONEERS, JUNE 1- SEPTEMBER 30, 1918

By GEORGE H. HIMES

- Alford, Mrs. Martha Jane Rodgers, b. Mo., 1833; Or. 1850; d. Harribsurg, Or., June 26, 1918.
- *Allingham, David M., b. Ky., 1827; Or. 1852; d. Junction City, July 2, 1918.
- *Ankeny, Mrs. Jennie Nesmith, b. Oregon, 1848; d. Walla Walla, Wash., Sept. 29, 1918.
- *Arthurs, Mrs. Sarah, b. 1844; Or. 1845; d. at Olympia, Wash., Aug. 23, 1918.
- Bauer, Ferdinand, b. Ind., April 3, 1842; Or. 1848; d. July 2, 1918.
- Belding, Mrs. Sarah Perry, b. Me., 1836; Or. 1859; d. Portland, June 14, 1918.
- Benson, Sandford G., b. Ind., 1845; to Cal. 1849; Or. 1864; d. San Jose, Cal., June 15, 1918.
- *Blossom, James M., Ind.; Or. 1852; d. Hood River, July 2, 1918.
- Brady, Mrs. Letitia Jane Alexander, b. Mo., 1853; Or. 1854; Roseburg, June 19, 1918.
- Campbell, James H., b. Va.; Or. 1849; d. Umatilla county, Or., Aug. 4, 1918.
- Clover, James, b. Ind. 1844; Or. 1852; d. Clatsop county, Or., July 14, 1918.
- Coulter, Mrs. Harriet E. Tilley, b. 1837; Or. 1852; d. Seattle, June 10, 1918.
- Crossen, James B., b. Ireland, Aug. 11, 1838; U. S. 1840; Cal. 1859; Or. 1863; d. The Dalles, July 18, 1918.
- *Dimick, George W., b. Ill. 1837; Or. 1847; d. Oregon City, June 30, 1918.
- Douglas, Oswald T., b. Ohio, 1830; Or. 1850; d. Weston, Or., Aug. 5, 1918.
- Elder, Mrs. Parilla E., b. Iowa, 1843; Or. 1848; d. Olympia, Wash., June 7, 1918.
- *Espey, R. H., b. Pa., 1826; Or. 1852; d. Portland, Or., Sept. 5, 1918.
- Giles, Daniel, b. Pa., 1836; Or. 1852; d. Salem, Or., July 5, 1918.
- Gholson, Edward F., b. 1834; Or. 1852; d. July 3, 1918.
- Hall, Alfred C., b. Mo., 1843; Or. 1852; d. Sherwood, Aug., 1918.
- Hall, Daniel B., b. Ind., 1832; Or. 1852; d. North Bend, Or., Aug. 8, 1918.
- Hannah, John H., b. Iowa, 1838; Or. 1854; d. Scio, Or., June, 1918.
- *Hay, Miss Lucy, b. Ohio, 1848; Or. 1853; d. Portland, July 23, 1918.
- *Hayden, Mrs. Mary Jane Bean, b. Me., 1830; Or. 1850; d. Seattle, June 24, 1918.
- Hovey, Mrs. Emily B., b. Canada,; Or. 1854; d. Portland, Aug. 10, 1918.
- Hull, Mrs. Ellen Amelia Reasoner, b. Ill., Sept. 1, 1843; Or. 1852; d. Brownsville, Or., July 12, 1918.
- Jackson, Mrs. Harriet, b. Mo., 1848; Or. 1850; d. Canyonville, Or., July 27, 1918.
- Levelet, Mrs. Anna, b. Ind., 1838; Or. 1843; d. Portland, Aug. 20, 1918.
- Locke, Mrs. Malissa Perry, b. Ill., 1837; Or. 1845; d. Portland, June 23, 1918.
- Lucas, Mrs. Margaret Richardson, b. Or., 1853; d. Scio, June 16, 1918.
- Miller, Frank M., b. Ill., 1843; Or. 1850; d. Jefferson, Or., July 5, 1918.
- Morrill, Benj. G., early 50's; d. Thurston county, Wash., July 7, 1918.
- Morrow, Geo. W., b. Clark county, Wash., 1849; d. Vancouver, Aug. 24, 1918.
- *McFarland, Ebenezer B., b. Ohio, 1849; Or. 1852; d. Seaview, Wash., July 5, 1918. (President Oregon Pioneer Association at this date.)
- McIntire, Mrs. Mary A. Rodgers, b. Or., 1858; d. Salem, July 25, 1918.
- *McKinney, Wm., b.; Or. 1848; d. Amity, Or., May 29, 1918.
- *Nicholson, Wm. T. B., b. N. Y., 1836; Or. 1859; d. Portland, Sept. 18, 1918.
- *O'Neill, Mrs. Minnie A. Holmes, b. Ark., 1836; Or. 1843; d. Oregon City, June 30, 1918.
- Philliber, Richard, b. Mo., 1834; Or. 1851; d. Baker, Or., June 9, 1918.
- *Pitlock, Mrs. Georgiana Burton, b. Iowa, 1845; Or. 1852; d. Portland, June 12, 1918.
- Price, A. A., b. Ind., 1837; Or. 1852; d. in Washington, Sept. 10, 1918.
- Rice, Richard Franklin, b. 1838; Or. 1859; d. Hillsboro, Or., July 15, 1918.
- Sain, Thomas Wilmer, b. Iowa, 1851; Or.; d. Scoggin Valley, June 25, 1918.
- Sanders, Mrs. Abbie L. Woodward, b. Conn., 1838; Or. 1851; d. Salem, July 22, 1918.
- Schofield, Mrs. Sarah V. Hall, b. Mo., 1847; Or. 1847; d. Gaston, June 12, 1918.
- Smith, Albert J., b. Me., 1823; Or. 1851; d. Port Townsend, Wash., June 9, 1918.

- Smith, Mrs. Katherine L., b. Mass., 1835; Cal. 1855; Or. 1868; d. Portland, June 9, 1918.
 Solis, D. B., b. N. Y. 1830; Or. 1850; d. Medford, Or., July 2, 1918.
 Stout, Mrs. Lewis, b. Iowa, 1845; Or. 1853; d. Mehama, Or., June 18, 1918.
 Sullivan, Miss Josephine, b. Cal., 1859; Or. 1860; d. Portland, May 18, 1918.
 *Tomasini, Mrs. Alice, b. Oregon City, 1854; d. Oregon City, March 19, 1918.
 Tripp, Mrs. Catherine Francis, b. Iowa, 1847; Or. 1852; d. Lebanon, Or., Aug. 4, 1918.
 White, Mrs. Nettie M., b. Mass., 1842; Or. 1852; d. Portland, March 3, 1918.
 1/2 Wilson, Dr. Holt Couch, b. Portland, 1854; d. Portland, July 7, 1918.
 Only those marked * were ever members of the Oregon Pioneer Association.

DEATH LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JUNE 1-SEPTEMBER 30, 1918

- *Wilson, Dr. Holt Couch, b. Portland, 1854; d. Portland, July 7, 1918.
 Laughlin, Ara W., Eugene, August 25, 1918.
 Mayer, F. J. Alex., Portland, September 10, 1918.
 *McFarland, Ebenezer B., Portland, July 5, 1918.
 Wilson, Dr. Holt Couch, Portland, July 7, 1918.





Mem^o of the Number and descripⁿ of the Population

- James Keith Esq^r }
 3 Clerks } exclusive of
 Surgeon }
 Overseer — }
 17 Whites, including Canadian Mechanics
 26 Natives of Orokyhee
 1 Native of the place
 5 Trappers & Canadian Rogues employed in gathering furs
 Women and Children

Mans of Property.

The dry goods fees of £ 30.000 Sterling

Also of also private Property

2 heavy 18 p^d mounted in the square
 5. 5 p^ds

4. 4 p^d Canonades

2. 6 p^d Cohors

7. Privals —

M. mt. Prevost of 11 Nov

1818

with all necessary ammunition &

B. Plan of Settlement on the
 Columbia Fort George



THE QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME XIX

DECEMBER, 1918

NUMBER 4

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

THE SURRENDER AT ASTORIA IN 1818.

By T. C. ELLIOTT.

With what thrills of patriotic feeling have the people of this republic watched the forward progress of the American flag on the battle fields of France during this year 1918!! So intense has been the interest in the outcome of our national participation in the greatest war of all history that we have all but overlooked the historic event on the Pacific Coast one hundred years ago, when the American flag was first raised by national authority over the country drained by the waters of the great Columbia river. In the next previous number of this Quarterly the writer contributed a brief narrative of the visit of Captain James Biddle to the Columbia river in August, 1818, to, in the capacity of special commissioner of the United States, publicly proclaim sovereignty over the Columbia River Country. It is proposed now to relate the circumstances leading to and connected with the visit during the first week of October, 1818, of Mr. J. B. Prevost, the other commissioner appointed upon this mission.

It is a fortunate coincidence, however it may have come about, that at Astoria, Oregon, the new city hall, a permanent public structure, directly adjoins and faces the site of the original stockade built by the Pacific Fur Company in 1811 and afterward enlarged by the North-West Company, where stood the pole from which the stars and stripes were unfurled to

the breeze on October 6th, 1818; an event of more than local interest. The ceremonies of that day in 1818 were of a friendly, even cordial nature, and are related in so many histories of easy reference that repetition is not necessary here. Mr. Prevost was, as far as the record discloses, the only American present. He arrived in a British naval vessel as the guest of the British officer appointed to represent that government, and during their stay of a week was given every facility and assistance in gathering information. When he sailed away no American was left to see that our flag continued to wave over the establishment then known as Fort George, and tradition tells us that it did not continue to wave long; hardly until the 11th of November following when Mr. Prevost was writing his report at Monterey. A few years later the only flag to be seen on that pole was that of the Hudson's Bay Company, a blue field with the motto *Pro Pelle Cutem*.

The selection of John Bartow Prevost as one of the commissioners on this mission was by President Monroe personally and his appointment was primarily for government service on the South American coast. There is a suggestion that he was a political or social favorite of President Monroe; John Quincy Adams in his diary entries intimates as much. Mr. Prevost's first set of instructions covered only his duties as "Agent for Commerce and Seamen" in Chile or Peru, with which this discussion is not concerned. His later instructions were the following:

"MEMORANDUM OF INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. PREVOST.¹

"The following were the views communicated to me by the President on the evening before his departure, in relation to Mr. Prevost; in conformity with which he requested me to make known to Mr. Adams his wish that he would be so good as to prepare instructions forthwith, or as soon as may be.

"Mr. P. to embark as soon as practicable, in the Ontario,

¹ State Department, Washington, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Mss. Vol. not numbered and lettered on the back "*Letters of J. B. Prevost, 1817-1825.*"

Captain Biddle, now in New York (the sloop lately destined to take commissioners to South America).

"To touch at Rio Janeiro (sic) and deliver such dispatches to Mr. Sumpter as he shall be charged with. To proceed round Cape Horn and afterward touch at the principal port in Chili (name not recollected), and also at Lima in Peru. * * *

* He will thence proceed to the River Columbia, with a view to assert there the claim of sovereignty in the name and on behalf of the U. States, by some symbolical, or other appropriate, mode of setting up a claim to national authority and domination but no force is to be employed by Captain Biddle if, in the attempt to accomplish this object any unexpected obstructions should occur. The ship will then return to the United States, stopping at Lima to leave Mr. Prevost, where, and in the adjoining province, he will remain and act under the instructions already made out for him and now in his possession.

"It is the desire of the President that Mr. Astor, of New York, be informed of the measure contemplated in relation to Columbia River. * * * * *

"A copy of the instructions, or as much of them as will be necessary, to be furnished the navy department, in order that the proper naval orders may be given to Captain Biddle for the voyage.

"September 25, 1817.

R. R."

President Monroe spent the summer of 1817 on an extended tour of the New England states and Mr. Richard Rush was Secretary of State pro tem during March-September, 1817, waiting the return of Mr. John Q. Adams from England to enter upon the duties of that office. Mr. Adams reached Washington on September 20th and a note of Mr. Adams to President Monroe dated September 29th, says: "After I had prepared from the minutes furnished me by Mr. Rush the new instructions for Mr. Prevost a question was started by Mr. Brent whether it had not been your intention to associate Captain Biddle with that gentleman, in the authority to assert the claim of territorial possession at the mouth of the Columbia

river."² Under date October 4th, Mr. Prevost wrote from New York that Captain Biddle had received his orders and the Ontario left New York October 5th, 1817.

Omitting Mr. Prevost's correspondence as to conditions in Peru and Chile during five months following arrival at Valparaiso (on January 25th, 1818,) his next letter which concerns us is dated June 20th at Santiago de Chile and begins as follows: "The Ontario sailed from Valparaiso on the 14th inst. to proceed to Lima and from thence to the Northwest Coast, where Captain Biddle will have to perform the office contemplated by the President to have been joint. Prior to his departure I enclosed a copy of the instructions on this head and enjoined it upon him to adhere strictly to the pacific course indicated in your note. I am persuaded that no difficulty will occur as I have taken pains to discover whether any force has been sent hither (thither?) either Russian or English and am satisfied that none has been. Some subjects of collision having lately occurred I could not consent to place myself at the discretion of Captain Biddle on the return of the ship to Lima; the instructions from the navy department direct him to leave me at that place, while those from your department give me a discretion as to residence which it may be all important to exercise at that moment."

This then was Mr. Prevost's excuse for not accompanying Captain Biddle to the Columbia and it is confirmed by John Quincy Adams in his diary entry of November 3rd, 1818, where he stated that Bland, just returned from Valparaiso, "gave me some account of the misunderstanding between Mr. Prevost and Captain Biddle, of the Ontario, which occasioned Prevost to leave the ship, and which is barely hinted at in Prevost's letters. All these things tend to confirm what the experience of this country has invariably proved—the extreme difficulty of maintaining harmony in joint commissions." Neither Mr. Adams or Mr. Prevost indicate the entire differences of opinion between the commissioners, but the stronger presumption is that these concerned activities in South America

² *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, VI, 205.

and not at the Columbia; and the commonly stated version³ that Mr. Prevost insisted upon waiting for word from England before proceeding northward may be put down as incorrect. He had no reason to expect any such word.

But the fates proved propitious for Mr. Prevost after all. Writing again to Secretary Adams from Santiago de Chile on July 8th he said: "Captain Hickey of the British navy commanding the Blossom yesterday submitted to my inspection certain orders from his government addressed to the officer commanding on this station, instructing him to proceed forthwith to the Columbia River for the purpose of surrendering that place in conformity to the first article of the Treaty of Ghent to anyone authorized on the part of the U. States to receive such possession. This intelligence was so grateful to me as furthering the views of the President that in order to give immediate effect to the act I proposed to Captain Hickey to accompany him thither for the purpose. This Gentleman met the offer with a cordiality that does him honor and I shall accordingly proceed tomorrow to the port, there to embark for the contemplated voyage." And his next, from Lima, Peru, on July 27th, says: "In my last of the 8th of July by Captain Rea of the American I. acquainted you of my intention to proceed to the Northwest Coast on board of his Britannic Majesty's sloop of war Blossom, in order to receive the surrender of the establishment on the Columbia River and there to hoist the American flag. I have now the honor to transmit a copy of the order to Captain Shireff on that subject and to announce to you my arrival at this place on my way thither."

Before following Judge Prevost (as he was known at Washington and New York) to the Columbia it is in order to mention such brief biographical information⁴ as is available about him. It will be new to most readers to connect even in the spirit of romance or gossip the distasteful name of Aaron Burr with Oregon history, but the record discloses that when

³ See *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 184.

⁴ See "*The Prevost Family in America*" in *N. Y. Genealogical & Biographical Record*, Jan., 1883, Vol. 13; 27-28.

sixteen years of age Mr. Prevost became the stepson of Aaron Burr and was reared to manhood in the Burr family, attended and in due time married a daughter of the president of Princeton College of which Aaron Burr had been a brilliant graduate. And in the year 1804 he was appointed District Judge of the United States for Louisiana, and in all probability was in New Orleans during the period of Aaron Burr's questionable activities thereabouts. He also for a term of years held the position of Recorder of the City of New York. His own father, James Marcus Prevost, was a native of Geneva, Switzerland, but with a brother, General Augustine Prevost, became an officer in the British army and served as such during the war of the revolution and died in 1779 in the West Indies. His mother, Theodosia Bartow Prevost⁵, was one of the most talented women of the Revolutionary period, and her home, near Paramus, New Jersey, was widely known as the Hermitage. There John Bartow Prevost was born in March, 1766, and he died in March, 1825, in Upper Peru after seven years of government service.

The arrival of the "Blossom" at the Columbia River and the proceedings at Fort George are narrated in the official report of Judge Prevost to Secretary Adams, now reproduced. (The exhibits mentioned in it are not reprinted because already easy of access).⁶ The spirit of friendliness and conciliation on the part of the two commissioners was in accord with the instructions of the respective governments; and it may be remarked that the same spirit continued through all the years of negotiation which resulted in placing the boundary line at the forty-ninth parallel of North Latitude.

There is reason to believe that the manner of participation in the act of surrender, if not the act itself, was in private deprecated by the British diplomats of later years, although argued as inconsequential.⁷ As early as 1823 His Honour George Canning, British Foreign Secretary, requested the

⁵ See "*Theodosia*," the first gentlewoman of her time, etc., by Chas. F. Pidgin, Boston, 1907.

⁶ See Bancroft, Greenhow, Lyman and other histories.

⁷ See Greenhow, 1845, Edit. pp. 309-313; also *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Vol. 19, p. 206-7.

governor of the Hudson's Bay Company to remove their Columbia River headquarters from Fort George on the south side to some point on the north side of the river, which was done;⁸ and even in 1821 Lord Castlereagh intimated the willingness of Great Britain to accept the Columbia River as her southern boundary. This much the surrender at Astoria may be said to have positively accomplished; and this concession disturbed the argument for the whole of the Columbia River or Northwest Coast country.

Mr. J. B. Prevost to the Secretary of State.

Monterey, New California,⁹

November 11, 1818.

Sir: In conformity with mine of the 27th July, which I had the honor to address to your Department from Lima, I proceeded to His Britannic Majesty's sloop of war Blossom to the mouth of the Columbia, and entered the river on the 1st of October following. A few days thereafter, to wit, on the 6th, as you will perceive by referring to a copy of the act of surrender, (marked A), I received in the name, and on the part of the United States, the possession of the establishment at Fort George, made under the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, by Captain Hickey, of the royal navy, in compliance with the orders of the Prince Regent for that purpose, signified to him through the medium of Earl Bathurst. The British flag was, thereupon lowered, and that of the United States hoisted in its stead; where it now waves, in token both of possession and of sovereignty.

The establishment, of which the annexed sketch (marked B) will give you a correct idea, has been considerably extended and improved by the agents of the Northwest Company of Canada, who will continue to occupy and protect it, under our flag, until it shall please the President to give orders for their removal. I will, however, suggest that, when such disposition shall take place, time ought to be granted, in a ratio with the distance, to enable them to obtain the means of transporting

⁸ See letter of J. H. Pelly, Gov. of H. B. Co., to George Canning dated Dec. 9, 1825, in *H. B. Co. Journal* No. 721, p. 255.

⁹ *Annals of Congress*. 17th Cong., 2d Sess., 1822-1823, col. 1206-1210. Copied through the courtesy of J. Franklin Jameson.

the private property deposited there, consisting of dry goods furs, and implements of war, to a large amount.

Shortly after the ceremony of surrender, I received a note on this subject from Mr. Keith, the gentleman whose signature accompanies that of Captain J. Hickey, which, together with a copy of my answer (also marked B), is submitted for your inspection. A sense of justice would have dictated the assurances I have given him in reply; but I had a further motive, which was that of subsiding the apprehensions excited by the abrupt visit of the Ontario. It appeared to me prudent, in this view, to take no notice of the suggestion relative to the discussion of boundary, and, in answering, to avoid any intimation of immediate or of future removal; as either might have induced him to form a settlement elsewhere on the river, and thus have given rise to collisions between the two Governments, which may now be wholly avoided.

The bay is spacious; contains several anchoring places, in a sufficient depth of water; and is, by no means, so difficult of ingress as has been represented. Those enjoying the exclusive commerce have probably cherished an impression unfavorable to its continuance, growing out of the incomplete survey of Lieutenant Broughton, made under the orders of Vancouver in 1792. It is true that there is a bar extending across the mouth of the river, at either extremity of which are, at times, appalling breakers; but it is equally true that it offers, at the lowest tides, a depth of twenty-one feet of water through a passage, exempt from them, of nearly a league in width. The Blossom, carrying more guns than the Ontario, encountered a change of wind while in the channel; was compelled to let go her anchor; and, when again weighed, to tack and beat, in order to reach the harbor; yet found a greater depth, and met with no difficulty either then or on leaving the bay. The survey (marked C)¹⁰ may be relied upon for its accuracy. The bearings, distances, and soundings, were taken by Captain Hickey, who was kind enough to lend himself to the examination, and to furnish me with this result. It is the more inter-

¹⁰ This exhibit is not yet to be found among the State Papers.

esting, as it shows that, with the aid of buoys, the access of vessels of almost any tonnage may be rendered secure. In addition to this, it is susceptible of entire defence; because a ship, after passing the bar, in order to avoid the breaking of the sea on one of the banks, is obliged to bear up directly for the knoll forming the cape; at all times to approach within a short distance of its base; and most frequently there to anchor. Thus, a small battery erected on this point, in conjunction with the surges on the opposite side, would so endanger the approach as to deter an enemy, however hardy, from the attempt.

This outlet, the only one between the thirty-eighth and fifty-third degrees of latitude, embraces the entire range of country from the ocean to the mountains; and its interior unites the advantage of a water communication throughout, by means of the many streams tributary to the Columbia, two of which disembogue opposite to each other within twenty-five leagues of the port, are navigable, and nearly of equal magnitude with this beautiful river. The ocean teems with otter, (*mustela lutica*), the seal, and the whale; while the main land affords, in innumerable quantities, the common otter, (*mustela lutica*), the bear, the buffalo, and the whole variety of deer.

It has been observed, by exploring this coast, that the climate, to the southward of fifty-three degrees, assumes a mildness unknown in the same latitude on the eastern side of the continent. Without digressing to speculate upon the cause, I will merely state, that such is particularly the fact in forty-six degrees sixteen minutes, the site of Fort George. The mercury, during the Winter, seldom descends below the freezing point; when it does so, it is rarely stationary for any number of days; and the severity of the season is more determined by the quantity of water than by its congelation. The rains usually commence with November, and continue to fall partially until the latter end of March, or beginning of April. A benign Spring succeeds; and when the Summer heats obtain, they are so tempered by showers as seldom to suspend vegetation. I found it luxuriant on my arrival, and during a fortnight's stay, experienced no change of weather to retard its course. The

soil is good; all the cereal gramina and tuberous plants may be cultivated with advantage; and the waters abound in salmon, sturgeon, and other varieties of fish.

The natives, in appearance as well as in character, differ essentially from those with us. They are less in stature, more delicately formed, and singular in the shape of the head, which, in infancy, is compressed between two small plates of wood or metal, so as in its growth to obtain the semblance of a wedge. They are inquisitive, cheerful, sagacious, possess fewer of the vices attributed to the savage, and are less addicted to cruelties in war. Scalping is unknown to them; and a prisoner suffers the infliction of no other punishment than that of becoming slave to the captor; but as they neither sow nor reap, an observer cannot easily discern in what the servitude consists. The wants of the one are supplied by his own address in the use of the bow and spear; while those of the other require the same efforts, and equal skill, for their gratification.

The language on this side of the falls bears a strong analogy with that of Nootka; so much so, that, with the aid of a Spanish vocabulary of the latter, accompanying the voyage of Valdez, I could, notwithstanding the imperfection in this mode of conveying and of obtaining sounds, express my wants and be perfectly understood. I met with several of the natives who had heretofore volunteered on board of some one of our vessels in their fur excursions; two of whom had acquired a sufficient knowledge of our language to speak it with some ease, and were extremely solicitous to embark with us.

I regret that I could not collect sufficient data upon which to ground an estimate of the furs gathered on the Columbia; it was impossible, for reasons that are obvious. Humboldt has undertaken to number those of the otter taken on the coast and shipped to China, of which he assigns five-sixths to the Americans. He may be correct as to the quantity, but I doubt whether the proportion be quite so great; as it frequently happens that the English adventurer confides his stock to our countrymen, in order to participate in the benefit of a market, from a direct intercourse with which he is excluded by the laws of his country.

Perhaps I have gone too much into detail; but it appeared to me that, by exhibiting the importance of the position only, I should not have fulfilled the object of the President; that it was equally incumbent on me to present a view of the country, of its inhabitants, of its resources, of its approach, and of its means of defence. I shall now conclude with the relation of an occurrence which may and ought to influence the course to be adopted and pursued as to this station.

The speculations of Humboldt, and his glowing description of the soil and climate of this province, have probably given new direction to the ambition of Russia, and determined its Emperor to the acquisition of empire in America. Until 1816, the settlements of this Power did not reach to the southward of $58^{\circ}11'$, and were of no consideration, although dignified by them with the title of Russian America.

In the commencement of that year two distinct establishments were made, of a different and of a more imposing character. The first at Atooi, one of the Sandwich islands; the other in this vicinity, within a few leagues of St. Francisco, the most northerly possession of Spain, in $57^{\circ} 56'$. The sketch I subjoin (marked D) was procured from a member of the Government at this place, from whom I also learned that its augmentation has since become so considerable as to excite serious alarm. Two Russian ships left this on their way thither a few days anterior to our arrival—one having on board mechanics of every description, together with implements of husbandry. We passed sufficiently near the spot assigned to it to distinguish the coast with some precision, and ascertained that it was an open road—a circumstance that renders the position liable to many objections, if intended to permanent; in other respects, the choice is judicious for an infant colony. It enjoys a climate still milder than that of Columbia; is environed by a beautiful country; and its proximity to an old settlement enables the Russians to partake of the numerous herds of black cattle and horses that have been there multiplying for the last fifty years. The port of St.

¹¹ Chart of the discoveries of Russian Navigators, published by order of the Emperor in 1802, referred to by Humboldt in his *View of of New Spain* (translation), page 270, ad vol. (note).

Francis is one of the most convenient, extensive, and safe in the world, wholly without defence, and in the neighborhood of a feeble, diffused, and disaffected population. Under all these circumstances, may we not infer views to the early possession of this harbor, and ultimately to the sovereignty of entire California? Surely the growth of a race on these shores, scarcely emerged from the savage state, guided by a chief who seeks not to emancipate, but to enthral, is an event to be deprecated—an event, the mere apprehension of which ought to excite the jealousies of the United States, so far at least as to induce the cautionary measure of preserving a station which may serve as a barrier to northern aggrandizement.

I have not been able to gather other information respecting the settlement at Atooi than that of an assurance of its existence—a fact corroborated by the visit of the two ships to those islands in their route hither. The Russians are not yet such enterprising navigators as to augment sea risks by extending a voyage several thousand miles without an object. Such was the case in this instance, unless connected with the settlement, as they had sailed from Lima abundantly supplied, a few weeks prior to my first visit to that city, in April last.

These islands yield the sandal wood, so much esteemed in China, and have been resorted to by our vessels, for years past, not only in search of this valuable article, but of the necessary stock of fresh provisions to supply the crew during their cruise on the Northwest coast. How far this intercourse may be affected, hereafter, by this encroachment, is also a subject for the consideration of the President.

I have taken the liberty to enclose a note (marked E) of the authorities, Spanish as well as English, that have fallen under my view, illustrating the discovery of the Columbia by Mr. Gray, in 1791. Its subsequent occupation in 1811, by which the sovereignty of the United States was completed, to the exclusion of any European claimant, is a fact of which the surrender of the sole establishment on the river is conclusive evidence.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

J. B. PREVOST.

THE FEDERAL RELATIONS OF OREGON—III.

By LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

CHAPTER V.

LINN AND THE OREGON TERRITORY.

In any study of Oregon in its relation to the government of the United States two names stand out most prominently among the members of Congress, those of Floyd and Linn. John Floyd was foremost in the agitation from 1821 to 1829, when he retired from active participation in national politics and confined his attention largely to Virginia. Senator Lewis Field Linn of Missouri was the leader of the Oregon forces from 1837 until his death in 1843.

It is not difficult to understand the causes of Dr. Linn's interest. He was of pioneer stock, born in Louisville, Ky., and taken to Missouri Territory in 1809. Here he was in close touch with all that life so imbued with the spirit of western expansion: General Ashley's expeditions into the Rocky Mountain country started from St. Louis; St. Louis was the *rendezvous* of all those who believed fortune for them existed somewhere across the frontier. Through Missouri went persons bound for the West.¹ Those going to the Northwest Coast perforce took the Oregon Trail which started from Fort Independence on the western edge of the State; whether they were missionaries, fur traders, trappers, or emigrants, they all passed through Missouri and drew in their train, as Oregon began to loom larger, many inhabitants of that State. Merely to state that Dr. Linn was a Missourian would be enough to explain his activity, and when one considers that most members of Congress are not altogether unmindful of the desires of their constituents one needs to go no further, for Dr. Linn became the personification of Missouri's "occupation of Oregon spirit."^{1-a}

¹ The statement by Prof. Shippee, line 16, that "all persons bound for the West" went through Missouri is erroneous. See *Or. Hist. Quar.* Vol. 15, pp. 285-299. I crossed the plains from Illinois in 1853, and saw wagons west bound by the hundred enroute to Oregon through Iowa, none of which ever entered Missouri.—George H. Himes, Curator Oregon Historical Society.

^{1-a} Linn & Sargent, *Life and Public Services of Dr. Lewis F. Linn* (1857) is the customary eulogistic "life" of the times. In the personal portion of the narrative, written by E. A. Linn, there is no reference to Dr. Linn's interest in Oregon, although the preface contains a statement calling attention to his "perse-

The time was more nearly ripe for agitation when Linn renewed the battle than it had been when Floyd left the cause, for the period between 1829 and 1840 was one in which a knowledge of the Pacific Coast was growing. To a great degree the work of Linn served to crystallize this knowledge and pseudo-knowledge into the popular demand which became one side of the most spectacular issue of the presidential campaign of 1844.

Dr. Linn entered the Senate in December, 1833, as junior to Thomas H. Benton. The Oregon Question had been dormant since 1829 and it was not until the special session in the summer of 1837 that he made his first move in the matter, when he secured a resolution calling upon the President to furnish at an early period of the next session "any correspondence that may have taken place between this Government and foreign powers, in relation to our territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and what, if any, portion thereof was in possession of a foreign power."² This call afforded one of the grounds for considerable activity in the Senate in the session of 1837-8. Missouri's interest was also manifest in the House for Harrison, one of the Members from that State, had introduced a resolution which was even more pointed than Linn's: he wished the President to inform the House at the next session "whether any foreign power, or the subjects of any foreign power, have possession of any portion of the territory of the United States upon the Columbia River, or are in any occupancy of the same, and if so, in what way, by what authority, and how long such occupancy has been kept by such persons."³

Another line leading the Twenty-fifth Congress to Oregon reached back to 1834. This was the petition of Mr. Reynolds

vering efforts." The second part of the work traces his connection with the various measures in which he was interested as a Senator, and gives long quotations from his speeches. Nothing more than Linn himself stated before the Senate, then, can be gleaned, for Mr. Sargent explains his interest in this way (p. 195): "One of the subjects which Dr. Linn took an early, deep and lively interest in, was the exclusion of the British from Oregon, and its exclusive occupation by the United States. He had a high appreciation of that country, in an agricultural and commercial point of view, and being well satisfied of the soundness of the title of the United States, was unwilling she should be even partially dispossessed of it, or share her possession with a country having no title there whatever."

² 16 October, *Globe*, V, 144.

³ *Globe*, V, 112.

presented by Pearce of Rhode Island, which was the immediate instigation of the act authorizing the exploring expedition in the South Sea. The delay in starting this expedition called forth a sharp resolution from the House which resulted in the placing before Congress a voluminous reply, setting forth all the reasons—smallness of the appropriation, need of building new equipment, departmental bickerings, trouble over the enlistment of men, and the like—which had prevented the departure of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition.⁴ Still another fact calling the attention of Congress westward was the statement of the Secretary of the Navy, in his report to the President, that the fleet in the Pacific had had a considerable increase but not greater than “due regard to commerce in the Pacific” called for.⁵ Still another finger pointing to Oregon was found in the memorial from Mr. Slacum for further compensation for expenses incurred while investigating the Oregon country;⁶ his report accompanying the memorial told what he had seen in Oregon.

In reply to Linn’s resolution the Senate received from President Van Buren in December, 1837, a message transmitting a letter from the Secretary of State containing the information that there had been no correspondence with any foreign power since that which resulted in the convention with Great Britain in 1827, renewing the third article of the Convention of 1818. In referring to the second portion of the inquiry Forsyth mentioned the sale of Astoria to the North-West Company, since absorbed in the Hudson’s Bay Company, and the fact that the latter had several posts in the region. He added,

“It appears that these posts have not been considered as being in contravention of the third article of the convention of 1818, before referred to; and if not, there is no portion of the territory claimed by the United States west of the Stony Mountains known to be in the exclusive possession of a foreign power. It is known . . . that the English company have a steamboat on the Columbia, and have erected a sawmill and are cutting timber on territory

⁴ *H. E. Doc.* No. 147, 25th Cong. 2d. Ses.

⁵ *Globe Appen.*, VI, 8.

⁶ See Chapter IV.

claimed by the United States and shipping it in considerable quantities to the Sandwich Islands."⁷

A few days later the House received an answer to its resolution in almost the same terms as that sent to the Senate, but not having the words of the first sentence quoted above. Furthermore this letter called attention to the fact that the Convention of 1827, by its own terms, could be annulled by either part on due notice of twelve months.

In both houses steps preliminary to action were taken at this session. In the Senate, in February, 1838, Linn introduced a bill to establish a Territory north of latitude 42° and west of the Rocky Mountains, to be called the Oregon Territory;⁸ it would authorize the establishment of a fort on the river and occupation of the country by military force; a port of entry at which the customs laws of the United States should be enforced was also provided. An appropriation of \$50,000 was included. After the second reading and when Linn moved its reference to the Committee on Military Affairs, Henry Clay raised the question whether the bill as it stood did not contravene the existing treaty stipulations with Great Britain. James Buchanan stated that he was glad Linn had acted for it was time that the United States asserted its claim or abandoned it forever. Upon Benton's suggestion Linn withdrew his motion of reference to allow one for the appointment of a special committee with himself as chairman. This committee busied itself with the matter until June when it presented to the Senate an elaborate report accompanied by an amended bill.⁹

The Report briefly reviewed previous action which had been taken, both diplomatic and Congressional, and then proceeded to point out the value of the territory to the United States, using Slacum's report as a text for this theme. It rejected the assertion that the Indians were especially hostile, as it did the argument that the mountains put an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of communication by land. A brief summary of the principal explorations led to the conclusion that the

⁷ Richardson, *Messages*, III, 397-8.

⁸ *Globe*, VI, 168,9.

⁹ *Sen. Doc.* No. 470, 25th Cong., 2d. Ses.

title of the United States was good at least to 49°. The committee closed the report with an expression of their hope that the Executive would take immediate steps to bring the controversy to a speedy termination. "In the meantime they have reported a bill authorizing the President to employ in that quarter such portions of the army and navy of the United States as he may deem necessary for the protection of the persons and property of those who may reside in the country." The bill which accompanied the report went over until the following session owing to the late date at which it was brought in.

In the House Caleb Cushing was the author of a resolution calling for information as to interference on the part of any foreign power, its agents or subjects, with the Indian tribes in Michigan, Wisconsin, or "the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains or elsewhere within the limits of the United States," and desired all correspondence relating to the title to the Oregon Territory.¹⁰ Although Forsyth's response stated that he could add nothing to what had already been communicated to Congress at various times, the "Message on the Title" was sufficient incentive to start the ball rolling in the House. The topic was opened by Cushing with a motion to refer the message to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to inquire into the expediency of establishing a port on the Columbia and making provision by law to prevent further intermeddling with the Indians. He supported his motion by a defense of the title to Oregon and by an assertion, which had no basis in fact, that Great Britain was then breaking the terms of the treaty of 1783 by which the British were precluded from making settlements south of 49°, and that the Convention of 1827 was being broken.¹¹ With modifications Cushing's resolution was adopted and the House thus completed its formal preparations for the expected Oregon activities of the next session.

¹⁰ March 19, *Globe*, VI, 242.

¹¹ Reported *Ibid.*, 380, *Appen.*, 565-81. Cushing, called upon Adams "as a living record of the diplomatic history of the country," to support his contentions. "Thus suddenly called out," says Adams in his *Memoirs* (IX, 535), "I took the floor, and rambled over the topics upon which he had touched for an hour or more, without order or method, as kind and courteous to him as I could be, and dissatisfied with no one but myself." The discussion took place on May 17 and 22.

At the third session of the 25th Congress, however, little was done beyond receiving the report of Cushing's committee. It was the short session and the press of other business crowded out the Oregon Question which had not yet come to be regarded to be of such a nature that it demanded action forthwith. Furthermore the delicate situation of the relations between Great Britain and the United States over the Maine boundary made it seem advisable, to those in positions of authority, not to add more fuel to the flames.

In the Senate Linn brought up and supported his bill in a short statement of the value of the country under consideration, a value which was being wholly absorbed by the British since they had driven out the American fur traders.¹² He complained that Great Britain had extended the operation of her laws even to the boundaries of Arkansas and Missouri. The Yankees were showing the proper spirit in opposing British encroachments in Maine and he hoped, if war ever should come, that Great Britain would be driven from the continent. He would, however, make no motion regarding the bill since "many esteemed friends around and near me seem to think that, at this critical moment, the passage of the bill might be misconstrued. But I pledge myself not to permit our claims to this Territory to slumber."

Twice before he dropped the cause for the session did Linn strive to keep these claims awake. He presented in January the Memorial from the Citizens of the Oregon Territory,¹³ and, in February, another from citizens of his own State requesting Congress to establish a customs house and port of entry on the Missouri River; the memorial pictured the former flourishing trade with the Indians of the Oregon country in contrast with its then languishing condition.

The House during this session received a report from Cushing's Committee on January 4th, and a supplemental one one February 16th, 1839.¹⁴ The first or main report is of interest, not because of its elaborate review of title and its presentation

¹² The matter was formally before the Senate on six different days in December, January and February. *Globe*, VII, 19, 22, 149, 210, 218; *Appen.* 221-2.

¹³ Whitcomb's of March, 1838, see Chapter IV.

¹⁴ *H. Rep.* No. 101, 25th Cong., 3d Ses.

of the advantages of the region, for in this there was little new, but from its view of the action which was deemed necessary and of the claims it put forth on behalf of the United States. It stated that "it is due alike to the interests and the honor of the United States to take immediate steps to assert and secure the national rights in this matter." The "national rights" are indicated in this way:

"The United States, then, claim title to the exclusive dominion, as against any foreign power, of the country extending east and west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and north and south from the limits of the Mexican republic in latitude 42, north of those of Russia in latitude 54 degrees 40 minutes north, with an offer to relinquish to Great Britain all north of latitude 49. They claim this on three grounds: 1. In their own right; 2. as successor to France; and 3. of Spain."

The report flatly announced that American traders had been driven out by the Hudson's Bay Company; "the plan of the British to put an end to American enterprise in the valley of the Columbia has succeeded." This statement, which was not founded on any good grounds, was no doubt caused by the advice McLoughlin gave all settlers to go into the Willamette valley. The bill accompanying the report was less pointed for it merely would direct the President to afford military protection to American citizens residing in or having business in Oregon. Nothing was done with this measure before the supplementary report appeared. This document was accompanied by a letter from Jason Lee, written from Connecticut, the Memorial from residents in Oregon, already presented by Linn in the Senate, a Memoir of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, Slacum's report to Forsyth, Hall J. Kelley's Memorial, and letters from the Secretaries of War and the Navy, giving estimates of the cost of military and naval establishments in the Oregon Territory. There was also a letter from F. P. Tracy, for the Oregon Provisional Emigrant Society, together with a copy of the constitution of that association. Deference to the same motives which caused the Senate to suspend action prompted the recommendation of the committee:

"The Committee do not consider it expedient to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon at the present time; nor do they propose, specifically, the formation of a military post there, in aid or token of exclusive possession of the country, because they are anxious to observe, in the letter as well as the spirit, the text of the treaties between the United States and Great Britain."

While their views regarding a military establishment do not seem in accord with the inclusion of estimates of the expense of the same, the general tone of the supplementary report was significant when compared with that of the first report. While the preliminary finding was not untouched with a bellicose spirit the second could give no offense to the most sensitive government.

In spite of the fact that neither house of Congress carried action very far, the attitude of the public was much different than had been the case in the early 'Twenties, when the previous agitation started. An editorial article in the *National Intelligencer* reflects this changed feeling as well as giving a hint that the Administration was not averse to having light thrown on the question.¹⁵

"We have embraced the earliest opportunity . . . to publish the able and instructive report . . . on the project of the Oregon territory. It is no more than fourteen years ago that a bill for the occupation of that territory was introduced by Mr. FLOYD then a representative from Virginia. . . . who supported it with great earnestness and zeal. The bill passed the house of representatives by a vote of more than two to one, but, in the senate, was, after debate, ordered to lie on the table, on the motion of Mr. LOWRIE, then a senator from Pennsylvania.

"Mr. LINN, of Missouri, has, with equal earnestness, recently pressed the subject on the attention of the senate; and now we have the elaborate report published today, understood to be the production of Mr. CUSHING, of Massachusetts. So that movements towards the occupation of the territory, and the organization of government therein, have been made successively, from the

¹⁵ 25 May, 1839.

south, west, and the east; which, though so far without success, can hardly fail to end in some decisive legislation on the subject by the next congress."

The prophesy of Messrs. Gales and Seaton was not fulfilled. Not only did the Maine boundary controversy caution reserve, but other matters of great weight demanded time and attention. The preliminaries leading to the presidential campaign of 1840 took first place in the minds of all politicians, and political agitation was at white heat all through the first session of the next congress, causing an early adjournment on that account.¹⁶ Nevertheless Dr. Linn, so far as his more cautious colleagues would allow, kept the issue alive not only by the introduction of petitions but by resolutions and at least one bill.¹⁷ The first move showed that Linn had decided to change his plan of campaign; instead of a bill for organizing a territorial government he introduced a set of resolutions consisting of five propositions: (1) that the title of the United States to Oregon was indisputable and would never be abandoned; (2) that the President should give notice to the British government that the provisions of the conventions of 1818 and 1827 should cease to obtain after twelve months; (3) that it was expedient to extend such portions of the laws of the United States over Oregon as should be necessary to secure the lives and property of citizens there; (4) that it was expedient to raise a new regiment of riflemen for use in the territory and on the route to it; and (5) that 640 acres of land should be granted any male white inhabitant of the Territory who would cultivate the same for five consecutive years. This last proposition was the origin of what later became the Donation Land Act.

The resolutions were referred to a select committee with Linn as chairman, and from this time until 1846 there was a special Oregon Committee in the Senate. Although they were made the special order of the day for late in the session they

¹⁶Benton protested against an early adjournment on account of the importance of the issues with Great Britain, including the Oregon Question.

¹⁷There were resolutions from Oregon itself, from Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Illinois legislatures; there were petitions by individuals and groups urging Congress to take action in settling the boundary, and many of them also requested grants of land.

were passed over and Congress adjourned without action on them. Linn's bill to extend a portion of the laws of the United States over Oregon met with a similar fate. His resolution calling upon the Secretary of War to furnish an estimate of the expense and his opinion of the utility of establishing a series of forts from the Missouri River to the Columbia valley produced from Poinsett an opinion favorable to Linn's notions.¹⁸

The second session of the Twenty-sixth Congress did not find Senator Linn more successful. The campaign was over and not only had the Whigs secured the presidency, but they would control both houses of Congress from March, 1841; this meant that the great topics to come up in the next Congress would be internal improvements, the tariff, the bank and other fiscal matters, and everything else not absolutely essential to the running of the government would be postponed. Moreover there were indications that the Maine boundary question might be settled and it was possible that Oregon might come in for consideration at the same time. Consequently when Linn again introduced resolutions to authorize the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of the Oregon Territory the utmost he could accomplish was securing their reference to the select committee. Apparently he felt that he was not being treated with exact fairness for he mentioned the fact that he had desisted at the last session on account of the negotiation with Great Britain. Such tenderness, however, would not avail; ever since the Treaty of Ghent Great Britain had step by step made her advance into the territory, which he understood she was ready to purchase in 1814; she was sending immigrants, building forts, extending her laws not only north but south of the Columbia. It was his opinion that the issue would never be settled in a peaceful manner and it was better for the United States to act then, combining all its claims against England, than to allow the insidious process to continue.¹⁹ But a bill, framed in accord with the recommendations of Secretary Poinsett, advanced no further than an introduction and reference.

¹⁸ *Sen. Doc.* No. 231, 26th Cong. 1st. Ses., 26 Feb., 1840.

¹⁹ *Globe*, IX, 71, 89, 90. *Appen.* 105.

When the Twenty-seventh Congress was convened in special session in the summer of 1841 by President Tyler, he referred to the millions of acres of public lands still waiting to be brought into market, including "the immense region from the base of those (Rocky) mountains to the mouth of the Columbia River. Petitions for congressional action on Oregon appeared in both houses, and in the Senate some indications of a desire for definitive steps were in evidence. Fulton of Arkansas, in speaking to an amendment of the military appropriation bill,²⁰ urged that a special appropriation be devoted to Fort Leavenworth in order to guard against an outbreak of the Indians; the tension between the United States and Great Britain might result in war, and in that case it was his belief that the British would incite the Indians to attack the frontier. "And what, sir," he asked, "is our present condition with reference to that nation (Great Britain)? Are they not in possession of our territory on the Pacific? They have such an intercourse with all the wild tribes, and throughout the whole country, from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, that the most ample measures of communication with all the Indian tribes of the West is now offered them."

It is to be noted that during the period beginning with the critical stage of the Maine boundary controversy and down to the ratification of the Webster-Ashburton treaty it was the firm conviction of many people of the United States, and of most of them in the frontier regions, that war was unavoidable; that it was the set purpose of the British government to make use of the Indians to harass the United States from the rear. The more one looks into this period the stronger becomes the feeling that this was a genuine fear on the part of the westerners, and was not brought forward merely to aid their plans for expansion to the Pacific. To those having such a notion the most innocent activities of the Hudson's Bay Company appeared fraught with the most sinister meaning.

Only the day before Fulton expressed his views on the danger, Linn, in the Senate, introduced another resolution to

²⁰ *Globe*, X, 287.

authorize the President to give notice to Great Britain that the convention should terminate at the end of the stipulated period, and tried to add force to the formal portion of the resolution by stating that the "territory is now in possession and used by the Hudson's Bay Company, to the ruin of the American Indian and Fur trade in that quarter, and conflicting with our inland commerce with the internal provinces of Mexico."²¹ Most Senators considered that this resolution, if adopted, would be a match to set off the powder keg upon which they were sitting, and while Linn insisted that war was inevitable and every day of delay put the British in a better position, he could not convert his colleagues to his views. As a result he was forced to modify his resolution into a request for the Committee on Foreign Relations "to inquire into the expediency of requesting the President" to give the notice.

If the Oregon proponents had difficulties with the Senate in the summer of 1841, even more of an obstacle was the inertia of that body when it met in the regular session of 1841-2. The nation was awaiting the outcome of the efforts of Secretary Webster and Lord Ashburton to tide over the Maine question, and had little patience with anything which tended to make the situation more critical. Even had no negotiation been in progress it is doubtful if either house would have taken time to discuss Oregon at this session. The Whigs controlled both branches of Congress and the President had been elected on a Whig ticket, therefore the most important matters were those relating to the economic planks of the Whig platform of 1840. Tyler, however, in his Annual Message called attention to the report of the Secretary of War where a chain of forts from Council Bluffs to some part of the Pacific Coast was recommended. A report from the House Committee on Military Affairs emphasized the same subject, at the same time going again into the question of the title to the Oregon country, and describing the climatic conditions, soil, resources and commercial opportunities of that region."²²

In the Senate Linn, for the special committee on the Oregon

²¹ *Globe*, X, 278, 292, 306, 326, 335-7, 341, 364.

²² *H. Rep.* No. 380, 27th Cong. 2d. Ses.

Territory, asked to be relieved from further consideration of memorials on Oregon; he had received hundreds and hundreds of letters from all parts of the Union inquiring what had been done and what was going to be done in the matter. His committee directed him to report a bill on the subject with the recommendation that it pass; the bill, he said, had not reached a place on the calendar before Lord Ashburton reached America, and he had felt it unwise and indelicate to urge the subject while negotiations were going on. Now, however, no such reasons prevented action and he should take up and press next session the bill which he was sure both houses favored.²³

He was as good as his word, and his efforts were rewarded by seeing the Senate pass his bill in the last session he was to be in Congress. President Tyler in his Annual Message of 1842 expressed his regret that the British treaty just concluded had not obtained a settlement of the question of title to the Northwest Coast, and explained that the matter had not been pressed for fear of too much protracting the discussion and so jeopardizing the main issue. He noted that citizens of the United States were beginning to seek and reclaim what was so recently "an unbroken wilderness," and that "in advance of the acquirement of individual rights to these lands, sound policy dictates that every effort should be resorted to by the two Governments to settle their respective claims. . . . Although the difficulty referred to (the Oregon title) may not for several years to come involve the peace of the two countries, yet I shall not delay to urge on Great Britain the importance of its early settlement."²⁴

Linn was not satisfied with this explanation and desired more information which he sought to obtain by a call upon the President as to the nature and extent of the "informal communications" which took place between the American Secretary of State and the British commissioner on the subject; he also wished to know what were the reasons which prevented "any agreement on the subject at present." Although

²³ *Globe*, XII. *Appen.* 736-7. 31 Aug. 1842.

²⁴ Richardson, *Messages*, IV, 196.

Senator Archer, for the Committee on Foreign Relations, questioned the utility of the resolution, since it was not to be supposed that the negotiations had been laid aside, he would not oppose it if the customary words "if not inconsistent with the public interest" were included. Benton sustained Linn and said no word appeared in the correspondence submitted to the Senate and there was no place in this country for state secrets; if Great Britain had a claim let her show what it was. All the satisfaction obtained from the resolution was the assurance that the President was already adopting measures in pursuance of his views as stated in the Annual Message and that it did not appear consistent with the public interest to make further communication at the time. A call for a report of Lieutenant Fremont's exploring expedition was intended to place still more information before the Senate to guide its action.

A clear field was allowed Dr. Linn when he was ready to carry out his plans as announced at the previous session. His bill was referred to a special committee which, two days later, returned it with minor amendments, so that about a week later the measure was before the Senate for discussion (December 30, 1842).²⁵ The first attack upon it was in the form of an amendment to strike out the preamble which read, "Whereas, the title of the United States to the Territory of Oregon is certain, and will not be abandoned, therefore, etc." Tappan of Ohio in moving the amendment said that such a statement was neither in good taste nor necessary, although he favored the bill in itself. Tappan was supported by Archer of Virginia and Crittenden of Kentucky as well as others, but Linn was unyielding; the preamble must stand. It was not until a vote of 17 to 17 on striking out the amendment, with the chair about to cast the deciding vote, was taken, that Linn saw the disadvantage of allowing a decisive division on this point; according he agreed to the amendment and the preamble was struck out by general consent.

The next point of attack was the land grant provision. West-

²⁵ The bill was before the Senate from December 30 to February 7, when it was discussed for parts of nineteen days. *Globe*, XII, 99 to 224 *passim*, and *Appen.* 74 to 134 *passim*.

ern expansiveness was manifest in Fulton's amendment to the original proposition that every white male inhabitant of the age of eighteen or over should have 640 acres of land; Fulton (Arkansas) succeeded in increasing this so that every married man should have 160 acres additional for himself, 160 acres for his wife, and 160 acres for each child under the age of eighteen which he might have or "which (might) be born within five years afterward." No other change was made and the essential provisions, when the bill was ordered engrossed for the third reading were these:

The President was authorized and required to provide for the erection of five forts from the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers to the mouth of the Columbia.

A land grant to inhabitants as indicated above was included.

The President was authorized to appoint two additional Indian agents to superintend the interests of the United States in Indian affairs "west of any agency now established by law."

An appropriation of \$100,000 was made to carry the act into effect.

The second section provided that the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme and District Courts of the Territory of Iowa should be extended over "that part of the Indian Territory lying west of the present limits of the said Territory of Iowa, and south to the 49th degree of north latitude, and east of the Rocky mountains, and north of the boundary line between the United States and the Republic of Texas, not included within the limits of any state; and also, over the Territories comprising the Rocky Mountains and the country between them and the Pacific Ocean, south of 54 degrees 40 minutes of north latitude, and north of the 42d degree of north latitude;" provided this jurisdiction should not extend to British subjects arrested on a criminal charge within the limits as outlined west of the Rockies, so long as the same should remain free and open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain.

Section three provided the details relative to carrying into effect the extension of the laws in the territory.

When the bill, as reported with amendments from the Senate as in Committee of the Whole, was before the Senate for third

reading and passage the real discussion took place.²⁶ While the debate naturally brought up the question of title this feature was not particularly emphasized. Those who were for the bill as it stood relied upon the assertion that the territory belonged to the United States at least as far as 49° and to them that point was not a subject for discussion. They supported this stand by the further assertion that it was the policy of Great Britain to let time work in her favor and strengthen her pretensions. To this end they made land grants, in fact if not in form, to the Hudson's Bay Company, an organization which was gradually bringing under its influence the whole region, even south of the Columbia. The western note was heard when Benton charged that the Ashburton treaty in effect pacified the North while it left the South and West in the lurch; that the American Secretary of State had been willing to sacrifice other parts of the nation provided he could secure commercial and other advantages desired especially by New England and then by the northern States generally. Scarcely consistent with this view was a point brought up both by Tappan and Benton: Great Britain had won what she wanted in the treaty, at least so far as territory was concerned; now it behooved the United States to see that she did not play the same game and oust her opponent from Oregon. Benton's criticism of the failure to have the Oregon Question settled by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was severe: he characterized it as the third blunder the United States in dealing with the Northwest Coast after the War of 1812.²⁷ No better time, he thought, would come to settle the matter because Great Britain was likely to have been in a compliant mood owing to her success in gaining a part of Maine for Canada.

The matter of the land grants provoked the most heated discussion. Those who were opposed to any action at all called this provision a palpable infraction of the convention, and even those who were not opposed to occupying the region

²⁶ Those active in opposition to all or part included Calhoun (S. C.), Choate (Mass.), Huntington (Conn.), McDuffie (S. C.), Berrien (Ga.), and Archer (Va.). Linn and Benton (Mo.), Tappan (O.), Sevier (Ark.), Young (Ill.), Phelps (Vt.), and Walker (Miss.), argued for the bill.

²⁷ The other two were the two conventions for joint occupancy. See his *Thirty Years' View*, II, 469.

were unable always to agree to the principle of the land grants. Choate and Benton argued this point at length and nearly all who took part in the debate ventured an opinion on one side or the other. The proponents of the feature urged that Great Britain had granted land through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company.²⁸

Most of the opponents of the measure were of the opinion that time would do more for the United States than legislation could; no emergency existed and it was better to be on the safe side of the treaty than to embark into expensive colonization schemes, a field to that time unentered by this country. Moreover it appeared that Great Britain as yet placed little value (McDuffie) on the disputed region, but if she thought the United States had violated the provisions of the convention she would be inclined to stand on the point and raise her estimate of the value involved.

The first actual trial of strength came when it was moved to refer the bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations, lost 24 to 22. By the same majority an amendment to strike out the land grant clause was lost, and the third reading and passage showed the same alignment. On the Monday after its passage Linn asked if the bill was still in the possession of the Senate, and if so by what rule. Archer, who had given notice that he would call for a reconsideration, said that the bill had not yet passed out of the possession of the Senate, and proceeded to move its reconsideration. On the next day, when there was a larger attendance of members, the vote was taken and reconsideration was refused by a vote of 24 to 24.

This vote involved a roll call hence it is possible to determine the party and sectional alignment of Senators on the measure. Of the twenty-four who voted for reconsideration all but three were Whigs; Mangum of North Carolina and Calhoun and McDuffie of South Carolina were the three Democrats who opposed the measure. Eighteen Democrats

²⁸ In answer to a resolution introduced by Morehead (Ky.), the Secretary of State stated that the United States minister to England had been assured by the British government that no land had been granted to the Company the only grant had been the exclusive right to trade with the Indians. *Globe*, XII, 175; *Appen.* 229.

and six Whigs voted against reconsideration, that is in support of the bill. Thus it was very nearly a party division. The Whigs who voted against reconsideration were Clayton (Del.), Henderson (Miss.), Merrick (Md.), Morehead (Ky.), Phelps (Vt.), and Smith (Ind.) Of the three eastern Whigs Phelps was a member of the special Committee on the Oregon Territory. Taking Benton's charge that the North was willing to sacrifice the interests of the South and the West, that is by opposing any definite action for Oregon, it is interesting to analyze the vote from that point of view, taking as South the States below Mason and Dixon's line and as West the three north of the Ohio River, and Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky. The result is this:

	For the bill	Against the bill
North	9	11
South	5	10
West	10	3

The only outstanding fact apparent is that the West supported the bill; the only westerners opposed were Crittenden (Ky.), and Porter and Woodbridge of Michigan, all Whigs. Crittenden's statement that he believed the bill contrary to the spirit of the treaty is a sufficient explanation of his stand. Neither Porter nor Woodbridge took part in the debate, and in the absence of direct evidence there can be only the surmise that party allegiance explains their vote. The charge that the North was against the proposition because it was willing to let the West pay for what it had gained by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty is not shown by the vote, and the South clearly did not look upon the Oregon Question as particularly its own.

It was not until the Oregon bill had made considerable progress in the Senate that the House took any formal notice of the Oregon issue. In the middle of January, 1843, Reynolds of Illinois moved an amendment, rejected without a division, to the appropriation bill whereby a sum of \$20,000, instead of being for "surveys west of the Mississippi" would be for a military survey from Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia. Nearly all agreed that this method of ap-

proach to the matter was not proper, especially since everyone knew of the bill at the moment before the Senate.

When the Senate bill was before the House Reynolds, chairman of the select Committee on Oregon, moved its reference to the Committee of the Whole House; Pendleton moved that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and Everett preferred the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Committee on Foreign Affairs got the bill. John Quincy Adams was chairman of this committee and it is to his *Memoirs* that we turn to ascertain the fate of the measure, for there was the knowledge in the House that if Adams received the bill there was little hope for it. "There is the end of that," said Andrew Kennedy, of Indiana, when the reference was announced. The Oregonians made one more attempt, however, to prevent the death of their measure; Adams describes it.²⁹

"10th. (Feb.) Several members moved resolutions of reconsideration of votes taken yesterday. Among them was one referring to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union a bill surreptitiously smuggled into the House by Reynolds, of Illinois, being the same bill which Dr. Linn, of Missouri, has been worming through the senate for the benefit of Tom Benton. The Senate bill had, after a double tug, been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Everett now moved to reconsider the reference of Reynolds' bill to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; which was carried without a division."

Both bills, that which had come from the Senate and Reynolds' which was identical, were taken up by the committee, with all members but Everett present. Without any discussion an informal vote showed that five members were against both bills, one for the Senate bill and one for the same bill with amendments. Adams moved to be instructed, in the event of the House's refusing to accept the recommendation of the committee, to move an amendment that there should be neither involuntary servitude nor slavery, in the Territory.

²⁹ *Memoirs*, XI, 314, 318, 321.

There the matter rested for three days until the committee again took it up. Everett, then present, agreed with the majority about rejecting both bills, but there was a unanimous rejection of Adams' motion for instruction on the slavery issue "as it was from the Northwestern Territory," although two of the committee, Granger and Everett, said they would support Adams if he moved the amendment as an individual. The recommendation of the committee was favored by the majority of the House, and the bill was not referred to again during the session. Nor did the Oregon Question appear again in any guise during the remainder of the Congress.

Very little newspaper comment was roused by the failure of Linn's measure to become law, although there were numerous references to other Oregon matters. The American press, however, was interested to print English comments upon the proposed law. Some of these indicate the feeling aroused on the other side of the Atlantic as reports of the progress of the measure were received. The London *Times* said:³⁰

"It is not easy to believe people in earnest in such a grotesque proposal. We should as readily expect Lord Ellenborough to establish a line of sentry boxes from Calcutta to Candahar, or Sir Charles Metcalfe from Montreal to the North Pole. But the truth probably is that it was never really intended. The whole affair was and almost professed to be, a discharge of blank cartridges to intimidate Lord Aberdeen. The speakers 'wanted to see the bill *passed by a unanimous vote*. * * * If this were done, we should never hear another word of the right of Great Britain to the Territory of Oregon.' This is the whole truth. They wanted it *passed*, though they knew its execution to be impracticable. They thought they could bully, and tried to do so to the best of their power; and Mr. McDuffie—honest man—has in the simplicity of his heart taken some pains to expose their simplicity . . ."

The *Scotsman* was less inclined to think that the whole thing had been a bit of empty thunder, but it considered that

³⁰ Quoted in *Niles Register*, 22 April, 1843. See also the violent article, "The North-West (American) Boundary," in *Fraser's Magazine* (Apr., 1843), 27:484-502; also one in the *Dublin University Magazine* (Mar., 1843), 21:377-94.

from the nature of things the whole question would be solved within fifty years and any treaty would be a dead letter. "From the rapid strides with which the American population are advancing along the Missouri, there is no risk in saying that masses of that population will have passed the Rocky Mountains before there is a single Canadian settlement within five hundred miles of them." But if the British people wanted a quarrel here was a pretty good pretext.

"That a proposition should be seriously entertained in America, and by her legislators, for sending an armed force to occupy the Oregon Territory, while her right to do it is under discussion, is such an act of insolence as one state can scarcely be supposed to offer to another, unless with the design of provoking war."

The "strong red line" incident, with the feeling in England that Lord Ashburton had been overreached by Mr. Webster in the Maine boundary settlement, served as a warning to some Britons. "Let us not negotiate with a people devoid of the commonest principles of honor;" said the *Times*. "We must act; and before we have any tricks played upon us in Oregon, let us send a fleet of heavy armed and well manned steam-boats to protect our rights in the fertile and valuable valley of the Columbia."³¹

It was not alone in the public prints that the action of the Senate aroused comment in England. Lord Palmerston, then leader of the Opposition, in a long speech in Parliament attacking the Washington (Webster-Ashburton) Treaty, referred to the Oregon bill. He saw in it and still more clearly in the speeches accompanying its passage an indication of an overweening arrogance which had been fostered by the weak yielding of the British government.

"It is impossible," he said, "I confess, that this bill should pass the other branches of the legislature; but, if it were to pass, and to be acted upon, it would be a declaration of war. It would be the invasion and seizure of a territory in dispute, by virtue of a decree made by one of the parties in its own favor. Thus, even before this vaunted

³¹ In *Register*, 11 Mar., 1843, from *Times* of 4 Feb.

treaty . . . has come into operation new differences have arisen, and old ones have been revived. A fresh proof how true it is that undue concessions, instead of securing peace, only increase the appetite for aggression."³²

Sir Robert Peel, replying to this charge by Palmerston, told the House that allowance must be made for the "position of a government so open to popular influence." He had received assurances that the executive government of the United States desired to come to an adjustment and he was convinced that, unless there was a revival of bitter feelings between the two countries, the attempt to settle the question by negotiation would be successful. Even if the bill should pass the other house, which he did not think possible, the president would not give his approval after expressing his desire to negotiate. Macaulay thought that the Senate was sufficiently removed from popular influences to make their action ominous; when such a body of men of greatest weight and distinguished for their ability could take such action it showed the state of public feeling in America resulting from the treaty.³³

There is absolutely no evidence to support the belief that the Senators responsible for the passage of the Oregon bill were, as the *Times* thought, doing it for effect and not in earnest. If they could have had their way all the terms of the measure would have been enforced at the earliest possible moment. On the other hand there is no support for the charge that those close to the Administration and those who were responsible in more than ordinary measure for the action of each house were deterred by fear of British displeasure. A variety of motives are to be found. Most of them believed that, when the moment for action had arrived, the proper step was to annul the treaties in accordance with their provisions, but they believed that the question could be settled by negotiation before that act should be necessary. Furthermore the whole matter was not an issue to be considered by itself alone; it was bound

³² 3 Hans. 67:1216-7.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1225, 6; 1264, 5. At a later date similar statements were made by Peel when Mr. Blewitt called attention to the insulting language of Mr. Linn in the Senate. Peel's jocose response seemed to meet with the approval of the House and showed no tension in Parliament.

up with the growing importance of the Texas question, and that in turn brought up the matter of the extension of slavery into the territories existing and prospective. A hint of this phase has been brought out in the account of Adams' report of the action of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The Oregon Question was rapidly coming close to the point when it would depart from the role of a diplomatic and legislative issue as such and become a pawn in the great political game which was already developing for the crisis of 1845-8. A corroboration of this point is shown by the action of the House in the matter of the report of Wilkes. In the early part of January, 1843, a resolution, from the Committee on Military Affairs, called for a report from Wilkes on the Oregon Question. A week later extracts from his report were produced, but on February first Pendleton introduced another resolution to rescind that one calling for the report. He explained, in answer to the expostulations from all over the House, that it would take a month to copy the report so that it could not possibly be produced before adjournment. The House was content with this explanation. That report, however, did not cover more than forty written sheets. It appears that the Whigs and Tyler were anxious to suppress the report which contained a strong plea for pressing the American claim clear to 54° 40', and this they did most effectively. It was not until 1911 that it was printed as an official document.³⁴

³⁴ See *Globe*, XII, 159, 231. *Cong. Record* XLVII, 3119 seq. Congressman Humphrey, who obtained the publication in 1911, said, "These public men (the Congressmen of 1842-3) could not have been ignorant of the report made by Lieut. Wilkes, and as we now read that report we are forced to the conclusion that some of the statesmen of that day were not more frank than are some at present and that they did not always give the true reasons for their action."



CHAPTER VI.

OREGON AND THE POLITICAL GAME: 1843-4.

The fairly strict party lines drawn in the poll of the Senate on the Linn bill early in 1843 cast a bit of illumination upon the situation which was already developing for the presidential campaign of 1844. Many factors entered into this situation and it will be necessary to point out the relative importance of the Oregon Question among them all, for it did not stand alone, nor yet was it the paramount issue before the people. Upon it could be founded a slogan which would draw votes in certain quarters and repel them in others; hence it was a problem for political managers to weigh the merits of Oregon as a political plank in the platforms of a national campaign.

It is not denied that there were men in public life who acted solely from motives influenced by the merits of the question itself; some either viewed as unquestionable the rights of the United States to all or part of the region, and believed sincerely that further delay in settlement would be inimical if not disastrous. Others held that a very grave doubt existed as to the secure foundation of the most extensive claim, and many of these continued to think that there was no need for immediate action in any case. So, too, were men who voted for presidential electors and for members of Congress divided in their opinions, in so far as they bestowed thought upon the issue. Throughout the West there was the feeling, pretty widely entertained, that the settlement of the Oregon Question on terms favorable to the United States involved the most vital factors of the nation's welfare. In the South Oregon paled into insignificance before Texas, and in the manufacturing and commercial centers of the North and East, Texas was a synonym for the extension of slavery, and Oregon but another of those wild as well as dangerous imaginings of a rude frontier people.

These elements, indifferent or keenly interested as the case might be, were ready for the hand of the political leaders who

sought and used them for advancing the fortunes of their own party while attempting to check the career of their opponents. For them Oregon was an instrument for attaining other ends, as well as, for a few of them, an end in itself. In other words, the whole situation was not unlike that which is to be found in every presidential campaign, although the properties of the action had been somewhat shifted.

During the preliminaries leading to the conventions of 1844 there were three clearly defined political groups to be reckoned with; the Whigs, the Democrats, and the Tyler men. The Whigs were smarting under the check administered to their plans by the death of President Harrison and the defection of Tyler. Tyler's vetoes had largely frustrated their high hopes for economic and fiscal change; the protective tariff, which took a foremost place in their campaign in 1840, had failed to materialize; the Bank had not been restored, and internal improvements were not being made at Federal expense. The Democrats were bent on recapturing the place of power which they had held uninterruptedly for many years before the inauguration of President Harrison. They were bound to prevent a radical change in the tariff policy of the United States, and the Southern Democrats were anxious for the immediate annexation of Texas, primarily for its supposed future importance in maintaining the balance of slave and free States. John Tyler had shown himself no Whig and had incurred the detestation of the party which elected him to the vice-presidency; on the other hand he was distrusted by the Democrats. Nevertheless he had a considerable personal following, which, as his enemies alleged, he was building up by patronage. He thought that on the strength of his record as chief executive for nearly four years he should be considered among the strong candidates in 1844.

Within both the Whig and Democratic parties there divisions, different leaders having their adherents. The Whigs, however, were not so badly off for unity as were the Democrats since at an early date Henry Clay was considered the most eligible standard bearer for 1844, as he had been by a large group four years before. He was a westerner and a

southerner, for Kentucky reflected the ideas of both sections; he stood well with the North and East on account of his protective tariff views. He could be counted on to draw votes from all parts of the Union. The Democrats, on the other hand, had two prominent leaders, Martin Van Buren, who was the favorite in the North, and John C. Calhoun, who could count on almost undivided Democratic support in the South. So closely were they matched that it was not until the national convention at Baltimore was actually in session that the real situation could be grasped.

Only in the light of this political situation can the Oregon activities of the first session of the Twenty-eighth Congress be interpreted. Most of the speeches which were delivered and many of the bills framed at this session were primarily aimed at influencing the coming election. Each faction tried to put itself on record in such a way as to commend itself to the country, and, at the same time, discredit its opponents, and all seized upon the references in the Annual Message to the Oregon Problem as points of departure.

The Message¹ announced in general terms that the "United States would be at all times indisposed to aggrandize themselves at the expense of any other nation, but while they would be restrained by principles of honor . . . from setting up a demand for territory, which does not belong to them, they would as unwillingly consent to a surrender of their rights." It noted that the United States had always contended that these claims appertained "to the entire region of country lying on the Pacific, and embraced within 42 degrees and 54, 40 of north latitude." The American minister at London had, under instructions, again brought the matter to the attention of the government of Great Britain, and "while nothing will be done to compromit the rights or honor of the United States, every proper expedient will be resorted to, in order to bring the negotiation now in progress of resumption to a speedy and happy termination." The President added his recommendation of the previous Message for an act providing a line of military posts and extending the laws of the

¹ Richardson *Messages*, IV, 257, 8.

United States over Oregon. He further stated that "under our free system of government" new republics were destined to arise on the shores of the Pacific at no distant day, thus linking in the thoughts of men Oregon and California.

Numerous petitions and memorials, among them one from Wilkes and members of his expedition for remuneration for losses, gave further occasion to make the Oregon Question prominent.

In the Senate Dr. Linn was no longer in his place to lead the Oregon forces; he had died the previous summer after the adjournment of Congress, and after he had been re-elected to the Senate.² Another Missourian, David R. Atchison, took his place as a leader among those urging the occupation of Oregon. Senator Atchison opened his campaign by introducing a bill which was practically the same as that which had passed the Senate at the last session, although the land grant clause was not included. Neither was there a clause extending the laws of the United States over its citizens in the Oregon Territory which was defined to "comprise all the country lying west of the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean and between the parallels of 42 degrees and 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude." Soon after the remainder of the proposed Oregon measures were introduced in the form of a bill for territorial organization.

It was neither of these messages, however, which became the immediate occasion of the Oregon discussions which took place in the Senate early in January. Senator William Allen, of Ohio, from this time one of the most ardent Oregon supporters, introduced a resolution calling upon the President for copies of any instructions given to the American minister in London on the subject of the title to and the occupation of Oregon since March 4th, 1841. Replying to an objection to the resolution Allen inquired what was the use of waiting for the information until the whole matter was settled; the Senate would recall the treaty of 1842 which had been accepted since

² See Benton's eulogy, *Globe*, XIII, 28-9; and Bowlin's, *Ibid.*, 31-2. In *Niles' Register*, 28 Oct., 1843, there is a sketch taken from the *Missouri Republican*.

the United States was already compromised. He called attention to the speeches which had taken place in Parliament the previous spring, when the Senate had passed the Oregon bill, which were in his opinion virtually a threat to force the United States into negotiations. But the Senate, since Mr. Pakenham had just arrived as minister from England, did not accept the views of Mr. Allen, although they were supported by Benton that it was the President's duty to consult the Senators before he acted, and defeated the resolution, 34 to 14, with only Democrats voting for it. On the same day Allen renewed his efforts in another manner by bringing in a resolution calling on the President to inform the Senate, giving details, whether any tribes of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States were in the pay of Great Britain, and to place before Congress copies of any correspondence relating to the subject. There was no action on the resolution.

Senator Semple of Illinois brought the real issue before his colleagues by a resolution calling upon the President to annul the convention, and this was the basis of most of the Senate's discussion during the session.³ The question of "giving notice" as it was thereafter called led to a skirmish between Semple and Archer, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations; Archer questioned the propriety of discussing such a topic when the British minister might draw the conclusion that the Senate did not intend to abide by the result of the negotiations, and he stated his intention of obstructing any such move until the negotiation should be completed or abandoned. The discussion of the resolution on its merits was postponed until late in February, in part to allow Greenhow's Memorial to be printed and placed in the hands of the Senators for their instruction about Oregon.⁴ Benton said, "We on this side want no books in this case," and, when Archer told him that the book would support his opinion, "I have seen and read and know more than can be written on this subject

³ *Globe*, XIII, 119-20; 151, 195-6.

⁴ On Jan. 16, Archer presented a memorial from Greenhow asking Congress to subscribe to a number of copies of his work on Oregon. Benton objected to spending public money for the work, but in April a bill appropriating the sum required was passed. *Globe*, XIII, 151; 299; 304; 553-60.

by Mr. Greenhow, or more than that gentleman ever heard of it."

From February 22d to March 21st parts of eleven days were devoted to discussing this resolution, many of the most able men of the Senate participating. Although the title was threshed out until the topic was threadbare, there was no new information, although considerable misinformation, adduced; the proponents of the resolution pictured in glowing colors the advantages certain to be derived from taking possession of the territory, while the opponents found little or nothing to praise there. The issue was essentially what it had been in the previous spring; the Oregon men would press the title immediately as far as $54^{\circ} 40'$, the other side inclined to the belief that as the matter had waited many years it would not be harmed by a little longer waiting.

War talk was frequently heard. The supporters of the resolution were nearly unanimous that Great Britain was getting ready to attack the United States; Buchanan pointed out the hostile tone of the British press during the past year, and scorned Clayton's (Delaware) insinuation that this was due rather to Pennsylvania's repudiation of her public debt than to Oregon. Some took the other tack by declaring that the opponents of Oregon were raising a war cry in order to prevent anything being done. Again and again was sounded the cry that some Senators would supinely allow the United States to be despoiled of more of its territory rather than lift a hand to prevent the robbery; Hannegan of Indiana went so far in the heat of debate as to say that he would see the dissolution of the Union rather than yield territory without war, although the next day he explained that his remarks had been misunderstood. The suggestion that, while the title of the United States to territory south of 49° was undoubtedly clear and indisputable, there was at least a question as to whether Great Britain might not have rights between 49° and $54^{\circ} 40'$ was repudiated by every western Senator as ignoble truckling to the British.

The political character of the whole discussion is revealed

by the roll taken when the resolution was defeated by a vote of 28 to 18.⁵ The eighteen who voted for the notice were Democrats all; twenty-four of those voting against it were Whigs; four Democrats, Crittenden, Huger and McDuffie (S. C.), and Haywood (N. C.), made up the number of opponents. Merrick of Maryland and Phelps of Vermont were both members of the special Committee on the Oregon Territory, but, as Whigs, they voted against the resolution. Of the eighteen affirmative votes five were from the North, four from the South, and the rest from the West. Six westerners voted against the measure, both Senators from Tennessee and Kentucky, and one each from Indiana and Michigan.

A further political aspect is seen in connection with the activity of Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania in supporting the resolution. Not only did he give his hearty approval to it, but he took particular pains to demonstrate the validity of the title to 54° 40'. He was the only Northern Senator who took the floor in support of the resolution. One must recall, however, that the Baltimore Convention was only a few weeks off, and however slight others might think his chances, Buchanan himself believed he was entitled to consideration as a candidate for president.

Such was the result of the trial of strength on the resolution for notice that the Oregon men were not anxious to press Atchison's bill, even had the Whigs been willing to allow it. The western Democrats were content to rest their cause on the stand of the Baltimore Convention and toward influencing that body they now bent all their efforts. Even Atchison stated that it was better to wait until the results of the negotiation were known before the matter was pressed. But the Senate desired to learn how this affair was progressing, for, in June, after the Convention had taken its stand for 54-40, a resolution requested the President to lay before the Senate confidentially "a copy of any instructions which may have been given by the Executive to the American minister in England

⁵ *Globe*, XIII, 427.

on the subject of the title to, and the occupation of the Territory of Oregon," also copies of the correspondence "which may have passed between the Government and that of Great Britain in relation to this subject." The President replied that he did not consider it expedient to communicate the desired information.

The activities of the House followed much the same lines as those of the Senate with perhaps a little more of outspokenness. Several measures relating to Oregon were introduced, but none passed or even reached the point where there was a division. As in the Senate the chief discussion took place respecting a resolution calling upon the President to give notice to Great Britain for the termination of the convention, but the debate was neither so long nor so able as that which took place in the upper house.⁶ This resolution, introduced by Robert Dale Owen of Indiana, received most support from Ingersoll of Pennsylvania and Wentworth of Illinois, but the discussion was desultory and not especially interesting to the House.⁷ Politics interfered more obtrusively in the House debate than had been the case with that in the Senate; moreover the House took more definitely the stand that it was the duty of Congress to strengthen the hands of the President as well as limit his discretion by some positive action. The "shame" of the treaty of 1842 was dragged forth and elicited from Winthrop of Massachusetts a denial of the allegation that Great Britain had gained a large amount of territory in Maine; Winthrop regretted the temper manifested on both sides, especially deprecating the disposition to sow seeds of perpetual war with England, as the Democratic party did with its habit of bringing out the "red lion" on all occasions.

Hughes of Missouri, with the aid of Duncan of Ohio, tried in vain to secure a hearing for a bill to create a territorial government, a bill which was essentially the Linn bill of the previous Congress. Twice the question was ordered on going

⁶ A modified resolution by Hughes of Missouri introduced before Owen's came up for discussion but was dropped. Owen's resolution in *Globe*, XIII, 106, 182-91, 409-12, 418. It occasioned the discussion in January and again in March.

⁷ Adams records, *Memoirs*, XI, 494, "I found Wentworth roaring like a bull buffalo, about the Oregon Territory; but nobody followed him."

into committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and each time the motion was lost. Commenting on the first of these motions J. Q. Adams says, "that Duncan moved to take up the bill in committee and called for tellers who returned a vote of 30 to 95.

"As I passed through the tellers in the negative," relates the veteran statesman, "I said to Duncan, 'Not quite yet, Doctor,' and I might have said, 'Not at all.'"⁸

The truth of Adams' prediction was manifest when Duncan, just as the House was about to adjourn for the session in the latter part of May, announced that he would call up the Oregon bill and was greeted with a laugh.

When it was seen that it would be impossible to get any affirmative action for Oregon in the House, either in the form of a resolution for notice, the passage of a bill for a territorial organization, or any other positive act, an attempt was made to secure an expression of opinion on a House resolution which read:⁹

Resolved, "1. That it is the opinion of this House, the United States has a clear and indisputable title to all the country on the northwest coast of America, commonly called the Oregon Territory, from the forty-second parallel of north latitude, to fifty-four degrees forty minutes of north latitude.

"2. That it is the imperious duty of the Government of the United States to take possession of all the country owned by it on the northwest coast and to organize such territorial government as will give ample and complete protection to our citizens in that quarter."

A third article was proposed as an amendment and accepted by the mover,

"3. That it is expedient and conducive to the best interests of the country, that Texas should be annexed to the United States as soon as annexation can be accomplished on fair and legitimate principles."

An attempt to separate the two propositions arose when it was moved to table the whole, but the Speaker ruled that a

⁸ *Ibid.*, XII, 30-1.

⁹ *Globe*, XIII, 443. 25 March.

motion to table was not divisible, so the resolutions were tabled by a vote of 106 to 66. The House evidently did not intend to frame a plank for the coming national conventions.

Throughout all the discussion in both houses of Congress in this session the animus of the discussions and attempted action was plain; it was intended to define an issue for political purposes. Those who desired immediate action in Oregon would have been glad to see their measure become law, but none of them had the slightest expectation of accomplishing anything at that session. Members of both houses not only shaped their action and pronounced their speeches with a view to its effect upon the choice of delegates for the national conventions and upon the subsequent election, but actively took part in the campaign wherever it was possible. The Whigs avoided taking a well-defined stand upon the issue and blocked all immediate action in Congress, while outside the legislative halls they emphasized other issues and ignored Oregon. Clay would make no positive statement as to his stand before the Whig national convention took place, and the platform of that convention was equally reticent. This seems to add weight to the belief that the Oregon Question was not, in the opinion of a majority of the people, a paramount political issue in 1844. The strength of the Whigs did not lie in the West; their stronghold was on the eastern seaboard where questions of tariff and fiscal organization overtopped all other issues. Not only did they insist that these economic issues must not be buried under an Oregon plank, but they felt that to press the question was likely to strain relations between Great Britain and the United States, possibly resulting in war which would be more disastrous to manufacturing and commercial interests than the maintenance of the tariff in its unsatisfactory shape. Whig sentiment on Oregon was expressed by Daniel Webster, in writing to Everett in January, 1844. After speaking of the abusive tone of the British press on the topic and the desire shown by many Americans of making trouble between the countries, he said:¹⁰

¹⁰ 29 Jan., 1844; *Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, II, 179-80.

"From present appearances it is not probable that either House will, at present, recommend to the President to give the necessary notice for the termination of the Convention of 1818. I believe Oregon to be a poor country, in no way important to England, except that she happens to have settlements in the region, and of very little consequence to the United States. The ownership of the whole country is very likely to follow the greater settlement, and larger amount of population, proceeding, hereafter, from whichever of the two countries."

Nor were the Whigs willing to allow their pet economic hobbies to be overridden by Texas, that firebrand which stirred the country and whipped Congress into fury during the preceding sessions. Here the Whigs were between the devil and the deep sea: if annexation sentiments were avowed it would cost votes in the anti-slavery North and East; if annexation was opposed it would mean the probable loss of support in the border States and the certain loss of the South and Southwest. Hence Clay, while he did not oppose the annexation of Texas since, on his record as to the treaty of 1819, he could consistently take the ground that it would be "re-annexation," would not go so far as to state that he favored action under any circumstances. Shortly before the adjournment of Congress and after his nomination at Baltimore Clay's stand on expansion in general was attacked by W. W. Payne of Alabama in the House.¹¹ Payne said that Mr. Clay's opinions were "in opposition to the annexation of Texas, and to an increase of territory from any quarter, whether Texas or Oregon," and he called on the friends of Mr. Clay to produce evidence that he was in favor of annexation, charging him with playing a "double game to mislead different sections of the Union."

Further evidence on Whig sentiment regarding Oregon is found in J. Q. Adams' note¹² relating to the reception of a proposition, in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to recommend an appropriation for a special and extraordinary mission to England, a project of Webster's. "Holmes," rec-

¹¹ *Globe*, XII, 680-1.

¹² *Memoirs*, XI, 327-30.

ords Adams, "was very warmly for it, with Cushing and myself. But Everett and Granger, peremptorily, Merriweather, bitterly, and Caruthers, with his bland and courteous smile, all opposed it." When the committee voted on the recommendation the next day six of the nine members opposed it, and all six were Whigs, while Adams was the only Whig in the three who approved it.

Adams' position was difficult in 1843 and 1844. He was convinced of the good title of the United States even to 54° 40', and considered the surrender of anything south of 49° as little less than treasonable. Yet he was a Whig and his party not only would not press the issue but used its power in Congress to prevent positive action. Furthermore Adams suspected some Whigs as well as the pseudo-Whig, President Tyler, of being willing to surrender a great deal to Great Britain in order to lessen tension in other directions, notably with Texas and the Mexican territory west of that republic. In March, 1843, he had been told by David Lee Child that Webster had proposed to Almonte, the Mexican minister, "a cession of a portion of territory on the Pacific ocean, including the port of San Francisco, so to allow the British Government to stretch their territory down to the mouth of the Columbia River."¹³ A few days later Adams told Webster that "all the questions about the right of search, the bill for the occupation of the Oregon Territory, Captain Jones's movement on California, and all the movements for the annexation of Texas, were parts of one great system, looking to a war for conquest and plunder from Mexico, and a war with England and alliance with France." He said that Henry A. Wise, a Tyler Democrat, of Virginia, in his speech in Congress about a year before (14 April, 1842,) "had blabbed the whole project;" while the taking of Monterey had corroborated his suspicions.

Webster assured Adams that the action of Ap Catesby Jones in seizing Monterey had been a freak of his own brain, and that Wise's speech had been vain and senseless bravado.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 340.

He did, however, confide to his aged friend that the matter had been talked over with Lord Ashburton, who thought that if England were allowed to come down to the Columbia she would not oppose a cession to the United States by Mexico of territory south of 42° to include San Francisco, if that could be obtained.

"What an abime of duplicity!" was Adams' comment in his diary, and a few days later noted that all these factors, including the Texan expedition to Santa Fe of the previous year, were all suckers of the same root. The original project of enlarging the territory of the United States by annexing Texas had grown so that it embraced a scheme to secure all New Mexico. "Ap Catesby Jones's occupation of Monterey, Dr. Linn's bill for the organization of the Oregon Territory, and, above all, the tampering of Webster with the Mexican minister here, Almonte, by a proposition that Mexico should cede to the United States the port of San Francisco and the parallel of thirty-six of north latitude across the continent, to buy the consent of Great Britain, with a cession to her from forty-nine to the Columbia River, represent altogether a spectacle and prospect truly appalling."

Webster had in fact discussed the situation with President Tyler who saw the political value of the suggestion. Tyler believed that if a treaty with Mexico could secure at the same time a recognition of the independence of Texas and a cession of California to the United States all sections of the country would be satisfied. "Texas might not stand alone, nor would the line proposed for Oregon. Texas would reconcile all to the line, while California would reconcile or pacify all to Oregon."¹⁴ Tyler recurred to this triangular arrangement when, after the publication of Polk's first Annual Message, he explained to his son his own attitude in the negotiations with Great Britain, referring especially to Polk's statement that he had offered 49° as a compromise. "I never dreamed," said he, "of ceding this country, unless for the greater equivalent of California, which I fancied Great Britain might be

¹⁴ Tyler to Webster, 23 Jan., 1843; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II, 261.

able to obtain for us through her influence in Mexico; and this was but a dream of policy which was never embodied."¹⁵

It is not necessary to go with Adams all the way in viewing Webster's "gigantic political profligacy," but certainly we are afforded light on the course which some leading Whigs would have adopted had they had the power. Compromise to prevent the outburst of any one faction, conciliation to tide over issues, such as marked the course of the Whig party from the beginning, appear here in the tangled web of the politics of the 'Forties. The South wished more territory to afford slave expansion; the North opposed such a plan. Annexation of Texas would not only arouse the antagonism of the more radical elements of the North but it threatened to jeopardize the profits of the conservative commercial and manufacturing classes by possible international complications. But both the North and the South might conceivably be won if a cession from Mexico could be obtained and at the same time produce no stringency in the relations with Great Britain. The Whig, however, was willing to let the West pay the bill, if we can take Webster's testimony, for Great Britain was to be consoled by being allowed to reach south to the Columbia and so would probably interpose no objections to American expansion at the expense of Mexico. While western men could not lay a finger upon the specific fact which would prove their suspicion, they felt that there was the intention to sacrifice what they had come to look upon as peculiarly their interest, and consequently they were bitter in their denunciation of the eastern treachery to their cause.¹⁶

The Democratic party took the same elements and turned them about. Although this party appeared more rent by internal dissension than its opponent, its leaders had the political penetration to enable them to gauge more accurately the political tension and to snatch a victory through a daring

¹⁵ Tyler to R. Tyler, 11 Dec., 1845, *Ibid.*, 447-8.

¹⁶ Benton (*Thirty Years' View*, II, 624-5) says in speaking of the defeat of the Senate resolution in 1844: "Upon all this talk of war the commercial interest became seriously alarmed, and looked upon the delivery of the notice as a signal for disastrous depression in our foreign trade. In a word the general uneasiness became so great that there was no chance for doing what we had a right to do, etc."

The relation of Great Britain to the United States-Mexican affairs is treated by E. D. Adams, *British interests and activities in Mexico*, 1838-1846.

policy from the apparently more careful and calculating Whigs. It would be easy here, as has been the case in so many general histories, to overestimate the value of the Democratic slogan "Fifty-four-Forty or Fight!" in the campaign of 1844. But the intensity of feeling *after* the election of Polk and especially after his Inaugural Address and first Annual Message seems to have been reflected back upon the situation before November of 1844. Certainly there was no intention on the part of those who framed the Baltimore platform to make Oregon anything more than the tail of the Texas kite. "Re-occupation of Oregon" would balance "Reannexation of Texas," and so remove the appearance of too-great sectionalism. This had been noticed some months earlier by the Texan minister to the United States who wrote his government:¹⁷

"The West are intent on the occupation of Oregon, in order to wrest it from the grasping power of Great Britain—it is believed that the interest of the two questions of the annexation of Texas and the occupation of Oregon can be combined, securing for the latter the south and southeastern votes and for the former some of the northern and entire western vote. Those presses which have discussed the matter have placed it above party grounds and unshackled with party trammels. This I think is highly advantageous for if it were made a strictly party vote, neither of the two great parties have sufficient members to carry it."

The Democratic leaders had gauged the power of the western demand for Oregon and the political possibilities therein with greater insight than the Whigs. The "Oregon fever" which raged in almost every part of the Union, as Niles thought, and which had started the real migrations of 1842 and 1843, had been the incentive of that intense fervor which manifested itself all up and down the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Public meetings were held and resolutions were framed, some for the benefit of Congress and some for public consumption alone.

¹⁷ Van Zandt to Anson Jones (Secretary of State for Texas), 16 Oct., 1843; Garrison, *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence*, II, 222. It is hardly necessary to state that Mr. Van Zandt's views of the partisan aspect were not upheld by the facts.

One of the most important of these gatherings, at the same time typical of that force which the Democrats saw and used, was held in Cincinnati in July, 1843. The resolutions framed by this convention and signed by "Col. R. M. Johnson,¹⁸ President, and 90 citizens of six states in the Mississippi valley," gave voice to the usual sentiments that "the right of the United States to the Oregon Territory, from 42° to 54° 40 north latitude is unquestionable, and that it is the imperative duty of the general government, forthwith, to extend the laws of the United States over said territory," establish forts and provide a naval force for the protection of the territory and the citizens of the United States living there. To make this declaration more impressive there was drawn up to be presented to the legislatures of the states from which delegates to the convention came and to Congress a formal statement headed as follows:

"A declaration of citizens of the Mississippi valley, assembled at Cincinnati, July 5th, 1843, for the purpose of adopting such measures as may induce the immediate occupation of the Oregon Territory, by the arms and laws of the United States of America."

Following this came the customary credo as to title and the necessity of checking the Indians, and the need of stopping Great Britain "in her career of *aggression with impunity, dominion without right.*"

General Cass, in a speech at the opening of the Wabash and Erie Canal, July 4, 1843, gave a good illustration of western sentiments tinged with that bellicose tone which easterners so deplored.¹⁹

"Perhaps, while I address you, measures are in progress to wrest from us our territory west of the Rocky Mountains. Island after island, country after country is falling before the ambition of England. . . . Our claim to the country west of the Rocky Mountains is as undeniable as our right to Bunker Hill or New Orleans; and who will call in question our right to those blood-

¹⁸ Richard M. Johnson; U. S. Senator, 1819-29; Vice President of the United States, 1837 to 1841. *Niles' Register*, 64:327.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 July, 1843.

stained fields? . . . And I trust it will be maintained with a vigor and promptitude equal to its justice. War is a great evil, but not so great as national dishonor. Little is gained by yielding to insolent and unjust pretensions. . . . Far better in dealing with England, to resist aggression, whether of territory, of impressment, or of search, when first attempted than to yield in the hope that forbearance will be met with a just spirit, and lead to an amicable compromise. Let us have no red lines on the map of Oregon. Let us hold on to the integrity of our just claims. If war comes let it be so. I do not myself believe it will be long avoided, unless prevented by intestine difficulties in the British empire. And woe to us if we flatter ourselves that it can be arrested by any system of concession; of all delusions this would be the most fatal; and we should awaken from it a dishonored, if not a ruined people."

Within the Democratic party prior to the eve of the Baltimore convention two leaders were contending for the first place, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Martin Van Buren of New York. Both were aspirants for presidential honors and each viewed the other as tainted with sectionalism. Calhoun's prospects of conducting a successful campaign against Clay, who had overtopped all other Whig possibilities long before the convention which nominated him, were looked upon as so slight that his friends recommended his withdrawing from the race at an early date. Van Buren, who was strong in the North, was against the annexation of Texas, and this damned him with the bulk of the southern Democracy. His followers believed, however, that this might possibly be offset in part by an Oregon issue. Accordingly about a month before the convention an open letter was addressed him to obtain a statement which might be used in the campaign.²⁰ It noted the disappointment which was widespread because Congress had failed to enact the Oregon measures, and then propounded to Van Buren three questions in substance as follows:

1. Have the United States a clear title to Oregon and would you be in favor of giving notice?

²⁰ A. C. Dodge to Van Buren, 30 Apr., 1844, House of Representatives, *Van Buren Papers*, Vol. 50, Mss. Div., Library of Congress.

2. Are you in favor of extending immediately to our citizens in Oregon the protection of the United States through extension of laws, sending of troops, erection of forts, etc.?

3. Would you, as President, approve and authorize the adoption of measures for settlement and occupation of Oregon such as those introduced by Senator Linn?

This open letter was accompanied by a private communication²¹ from A. C. Dodge, who was delegate in the House of Representatives from Iowa Territory, in which was stated the fact that the public letter was to elicit a reply intended to affect both the nomination and the election. "Give me as strong a *Western Oregon* letter," wrote Dodge, "as you can venture to write," and include something to counteract the machinations of the enemy. "Say as much in favor of the grants of land, &c., provided for in Dr. Linn's bill as you may deem expedient."

When he received these letters Van Buren wrote his political friends in the Senate to ask what he should do. Silas Wright, who had seen Dodge and Allen, told him it would be better not to reply then, for the letter was not only untimely but badly framed. If Van Buren should receive the nomination, thought Wright, then it might be well to call upon him, "not referring to any particular measure to be taken by our government."²²

This letter from Wright was dated 20 May, 1844, just a week before the Democratic national convention assembled, and it was on the same day that Van Buren wrote his letter in which he took a decided stand against immediate annexation of Texas, the only courageous political act, one of his commentators says, that marked his career.

Calhoun, who had negotiated the treaty for annexation which the Senate refused to ratify, believed that Texas was by far the most important issue before the country. When he had been approached early in 1844 on the subject of taking the State Department, after the death of Upshur, he wrote,²³

²¹ *Ibid.*, same date.

²² Wright to Van Buren, *Ibid.*

²³ To * * * (from a draft with corrections in Calhoun's handwriting)
Correspondence of Calhoun, 573-4. See also Calhoun to his daughter, 9 Mar. *Ibid.*, 576.

"The only possible reason I can see for accepting the Department, should it be offered, as far as duty is concerned, is limited to the pending negotiations relating to Texas and Oregon. They are both, I admit, of vast importance; especially to the West and South." Two months earlier he had written Thomas W. Gilmer that Texas must be annexed to the United States, otherwise it would become a bone of contention between the United States and Great Britain. His stand as taken in the Senate and in public addresses left no question as to his views. Since Calhoun entertained these views it is not surprising that he was unwilling that a Northerner opposed to Texas should head the ticket of the Democratic party. Since it was obvious that he would be defeated by the Whig candidate if the convention should select him, the problem was to eliminate Van Buren and secure the nomination of a "safe" man.

One of "two seceders from the Polk ranks" explained in a letter published in the New York *Tribune* in August how the plot to get rid of Van Buren was arranged.²⁴

. . . "Mr. Van Buren foresaw his inevitable defeat in the Convention as early as February last; and he accordingly prepared himself and his immediate friends for the event. . . . (He had been informed that delegates from twenty-two of the twenty-six States had been instructed for him.) Mr. Calhoun, sustained by President Tyler, determined that Mr. Van Buren should not receive the support of the southern and southwestern states, and therefore introduced that firebrand, the Texas question, with a knowledge of Mr. Van Buren's decided hostility to the measure of immediate annexation. . . . Mr. Van Buren determined that the trapsetters should fall into their own trap. He accordingly dispatched a confidential and faithful friend to the west, and the latter met at Cincinnati a distinguished member of the press, who immediately convened a meeting of the friends of Mr. Van Buren, on the 29th of March, and a letter was addressed to Mr. Polk requesting his views regarding the annexation of Texas and Oregon. This friend took with him a copy of that letter . . . went to Mr. Polk, and

²⁴ Quoted in *Niles' Register*, 26 Oct., 1844.

both gentlemen then consulted General Jackson at the Hermitage, where Mr. Polk's reply was arranged, but not furnished for two or three weeks thereafter. I have reason to believe that General Jackson did not approve the game about to be played, and wrote to his New York friend subsequently upon the subject. But it was settled by Mr. Van Buren that he or Mr. Polk should be the nominee. With Mr. Polk, he knew the party must be defeated; and this, then, was the alternative—nominate me, or down you go for your treachery."

In view of the letter of Silas Wright on 20th May as well as from other facts it is obvious that Van Buren had not given up all hopes of nomination by February. Moreover, Wright, who was looked upon as the probable candidate for vice-president, noted that the situation was better than it had been earlier in the session, although great activity prevailed in Washington. Members of Congress were seizing upon all delegates who appeared in the city; they took them to their homes, and worked upon them to make their action in the convention not "disagree with their (the Congressmen's) course. This was especially true of the Indiana and Illinois Congressmen, and "our friend Breese is one of these."

A letter written by H. M. Judge on March 1st, 1844, states that *Calhoun* and Polk had come to an understanding,²⁵ and this is much nearer the real situation than the account given in the "seceder's" retrospect. James K. Polk had been a representative in Congress for several terms and had been Speaker for one term; he was not widely known and was certainly not considered by the country at large as a possible candidate for the presidency. Four days before the Baltimore Convention there appeared in the Nashville (Tenn.) *Union* this paragraph:²⁶

"We guess the claims of Mr. POLK and others will be urged privately or publicly, and after two or three ballottings, there will be a cordial, harmonious and strong union upon one of them, who will be hailed as *the* candidate of the great democratic party with enthusiasm and unanimity."

²⁵ In *Crittenden Papers*, Vol. 9. Mss. Div., Library of Congress.

²⁶ Quoted in *Nat. Intelligencer*, 4 June.

From Nashville such an item was significant especially when it is recalled that just a month before there had appeared in some papers an open letter from Mr. Polk to S. P. Chase, Thomas Heaton and others wherein he said,²⁷

. . . "Let Texas be reannexed, and the authority and laws of the United States be established and maintained within her limits, as also in the Oregon territory, and let the fixed policy of our government be, not to permit Great Britain or any other foreign power to plant a colony or hold dominion over any portion of the people or territory of either. These are my opinions. . . ."

Making due allowance in the matter of cordiality and harmony the prophesy of the *Union* was carried out to the letter. Van Buren's name was withdrawn from before the convention after several ballots and there was a rush to the standard of Polk whereon was inscribed the sentiment of his April letter:

"Resolved, That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the union."

Astonishment is too feeble a term to indicate the feeling with which the news of Polk's nomination was received in the country. The *National Intelligencer's* comment, given with the quotation from the Nashville *Union*, shows the general attitude:²⁸

"This is the first, last, and only information which we remember to have seen from any quarter, prior to the Baltimore convention, of the probability, or possibility, of Mr. POLK'S being a candidate for the presidency. The inference is irresistible that the arrangement for withdrawing Mr. VAN BUREN and *bringing forward* Mr. POLK, was made at Nashville, or in the neighborhood of that city."

²⁷ See Niles' Register, 8 June. Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, ch. XVII. See also the story of how Polk's name was brought before the Baltimore convention by Bancroft, Bancroft to Polk, July 6, 1844, in Howe, *Life and Letters of George Bancroft*, I, 252-5.
²⁸ 4 June, 1844.

The Democratic platform, however, would have carried almost any candidate in both the South and the West. Mr. Polk's views on the tariff were in accord with the free trade sentiment of the South, and yet, in a non-committal letter, he seemed to indicate that a degree of protection might not be out of place, hence those Northerners who were attracted by the lure of expansion could also find a ground for hoping their economic beliefs might find a sympathizer. With both Texas and free trade the Democratic party had a clear path in the South while the West did not care what the position of Oregon was in relation to Texas so long as it had been the subject of a definite pronouncement in accord with its views. In the North Texas was not emphasized by the Democrats although that plank was made much of by the Whigs in their opposition, but the Oregon Question touched a chord which was always ready to vibrate in harmony, that of repelling British aggression. It could, therefore, be counted to bring votes from many who forgot the possibility of economic distress in their momentary enthusiasm.²⁹

The Oregon plank, then, was looked upon in the West as the most important single issue in the campaign; in the South it was the counterbalance of Texas and as such, irrespective of its own merits, important since it would bring votes for Texas; in the North it was languidly viewed except when some orator twisted the lion's tail to make him roar. It was, as John Quincy Adams said, "a mock enthusiasm for the territory of Oregon and a hurricane of passion for Texas, blown to fury by congressional and Texan bond and land holders."³⁰ The relative importance of Texas and Oregon is well indicated by the newspaper accounts of the progress of the campaign.³¹ Column after column of argument *pro* and *con* Texas appeared, but only here and there was there a reference to Oregon. As *Niles' Register* said, in November after the election was over, "Other topics have so monopolized the attention of both gov-

²⁹ See account of reception of Bancroft's speech when at a New York convention he eulogized the work of Silas Wright in connection with the Oregon report: "Terrific cheering—and shouts of 'Oregon is ours and must be ours'—'Yes, and Texas, too'." *Niles' Register*, 12 Oct., 1844.

³⁰ Letter in *Register* in answer to one from Jackson; 23 Nov.

³¹ See, e. g. *Richmond Enquirer*, 28 May, 4 Je., 5 Aug., 5 Oct., etc.

ernment and people for some time past that we have almost forgotten that a minister reached this country some months since, specially charged with the duty of negotiating in relation to the differences between that country and the United States in relation to the boundaries of the northwestern line separating the territories of the two countries."

Polk's victory was won by a narrow margin and did not depend upon the Oregon plank, although that undoubtedly drew votes especially in the West. Polk lost his own State, as well as Kentucky and Ohio, all closely contested; in several States the vote for Birney, on the abolitionists' ticket, was large enough to have turned the victory to Clay had there been no third candidate.³² Nevertheless the importance of this campaign and Polk's election to the Oregon Question must not be overlooked. It was all a part of the educative process which had begun in earnest with the later efforts of Linn; now, when Polk's Inaugural and later his first Annual brought up the question in a positive manner, the country was in a fashion prepared to form some opinion. Even if the merits of the question had been discussed in a biased way in the heat of the campaign people knew something of what was meant; some of them had seen and heard the slogan "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" although it had not played an important or even conspicuous part in the contest.³³ Furthermore it had prepared the public for the renewal of the Oregon discussion when the national legislators assembled for the second and last session of the Twenty-eighth Congress. Throughout the Union people had come to believe that some sort of settlement ought to come soon even though they might not agree with the recommendations of President Polk a little later.³⁴

On the other side of the Atlantic, too, the educative influence was working. Without in any way believing that the political activities either in Congress or during the presidential campaign had the effect of making Great Britain modify her stand

³² Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, ch. XVII.

³³ Except as a banner on some of the prairie schooners in the migrations of 1844 and 1845. Very few references to this phrase are found in the newspapers of the East.

³⁴ See, e. g. *Niles' Register*, 20 July, 1844. "Manifest destiny."

one comes to the conclusion that the agitation served to inform the British public that a settlement could not be long postponed. Add to this fact the further fact that the existing ministry (Sir Robert Peel's) was not pursuing a policy of imperialism, such as characterized the Tory ministries of Lord Palmerston, and the willingness of the Foreign Office to resume negotiations can be understood.

In December, 1844, after the election had shown in some degree the trend of public opinion, the attention of Congress was again called to Oregon by Tyler's last Annual Message; he expressed his conviction that the influence of "our political system" was destined to be as "actively and beneficially felt on the distant shores of the Pacific as it is now on those of the Atlantic ocean;" he said that negotiations were at the moment being carried on with the representative of the British government and that he would transmit the results promptly when they were brought to a definite conclusion. He renewed his recommendation for extending the laws of the United States over the territory and for erecting a line of military posts which would "enable our citizens to migrate in comparative safety to the fertile region below the falls of the Columbia, and make the provision of the existing convention for the joint occupation of the Territory . . . more available than hitherto" for the citizens of the United States.³⁵

In both houses of Congress bills for providing a territorial government for Oregon were introduced, on much the same lines as at previous sessions, but it was not until the Texas annexation was completed, so far as the Resolution of Congress could bring it about, that either branch was able to consider them. In the House the bill came up toward the end of January³⁶ and Democratic Representatives urged its passage on the same grounds which had forwarded the Texas Resolutions; namely, that the country had pronounced on the matter and it was the duty of Congress to respond to the mandate. The Whigs opposed immediate action on the ground that it

³⁵ Richardson, *Messages*, IV, 336, 337-8.

³⁶ *Globe*, XIV, 197. Debated from Jan. 27 to Feb. 1. Passed Feb. 3. *Ibid.*, 236.

would interfere with the negotiation then taking place; moreover some parts of the bill would seem to assert a greater degree of authority than the convention allowed. Some men raised the point of title as far as 54° 40' although no strenuous objections were made. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, touching upon the title, said that the United States had twice offered 49° hence the British government would not dare to take less and the American minister, in view of the late election, would not dare to accept that line if the British government would. He could, then, do no more than say that in the time of peace the nation should prepare for war, although, of course, he was opposed to war in itself.

The war note, however, was not heard often in the House debates. Instead there was a disposition to eliminate those sections of the bill which would be in flagrant violation of the spirit of the treaty. This was most clearly manifest in the adoption of an amendment whereby the President was authorized to give notice for terminating joint occupancy, although there were some who believed that the bill should be passed as it was and this be made the subject of a separate action. A motion by Winthrop to amend the bill, by prohibiting slavery within the territory was passed by a vote of 85 to 56 in the committee of the Whole House.

When the bill was reported to the House by the Committee of the Whole there was a demand for a separate vote on the slavery amendment which was supported, 131 to 69, and then, with no division on the other amendments, the whole measure was passed, 140 to 59. No roll was called at any stage in the proceedings, so it is impossible accurately to locate the opposition to the measure. From the discussion, however, it is obvious that the opponents were northern Whigs who based their action on the international situation.

In the Senate the House bill met with obstacles; it was referred to the special committee of the last session (that on the Oregon Territory) and by this committee was reported back with amendments. There the matter rested for nearly a month. On the closing day of the session Atchison moved to postpone all previous orders and take up the Oregon bill,

whereupon Archer, still chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, said that he was amazed at such a motion; had not the gentleman read the message of the President in relation to the negotiations, which were in favorable progress? By this time they would have been completed in all probability had not the American plenipotentiary fallen sick, for there was no disposition on the part of the British minister to retard them. Others expressed their surprise that such a motion could be made, and only Allen, of Ohio, who had been one of the most ardent Oregon men of the last session, could be found coming to the support of Senator Atchison. Allen said that friends of the measure had long been anxious to act but they had been held back against their wills; day after day they had implored that something be done to have time enough to give proper consideration to the measure. The tone of Allen's remarks was such as to call from Crittenden an inquiry whether he "was charging gentlemen on this side of the house" with obstructive tactics to avoid the subject. But the Senate refused to act, and the Oregon bill died with the Congress.

There is no doubt that Calhoun's presence in the Cabinet had a restraining influence upon members of his own party in the Senate, especially on those from the South. Daniel E. Huger, who took Calhoun's place in the Senate in 1843-5, indicates this in a letter to Calhoun in March, 1845.³⁷ "The course pursued by General McDuffie and myself on the Oregon question excited at first, unpleasant feelings, but before we parted, I think, even the gentlemen of our party had ceased to indulge even disapprobation of our course."

The restraining influence of Calhoun appears from another angle. Early in the session Allen had introduced a resolution calling upon the President for information about the negotiation, whereupon Archer informed the Senate that he had conversed with the Secretary of State who told him that prejudice to the public service would follow such a call. Mr. Allen said he did not care for informal information from the Secretary of State; he wanted official word from the President so that it might form a part of the archives of the country; further-

³⁷ *Correspondence of Calhoun* (24 March)), 1028.

more, the previous day they had voted for far more important resolutions on the subject of the correspondence with Mexico. No mystery, as far as he knew, attached to the matter and so he insisted upon his resolution. In spite of Archer's opposition the Senate supported Allen, but the information obtained consisted simply in the statement that the negotiation had made considerable progress.

In addition to the ways enumerated Oregon came up in both houses in various guises. The Senate had its own bill for territorial organization which was referred back from committee and placed on the calendar but progressed no further toward enactment. Greenhow's Memorial had been ordered purchased; Douglas brought in a bill for erecting military posts in Nebraska and Oregon; Pratt of New York presented a memorial from Eli Whitney asking a grant of lands to enable him to construct a railroad from Lower Michigan to Oregon,³⁸ with a view of creating a great thoroughfare to China. From the legislatures of Missouri, Indiana and New Hampshire came resolutions urging Congress to act on Oregon.

Outside of Congress, apart from those who felt themselves personally affected by the situation, there was a disposition to view the passing over of the question as the most satisfactory thing which could be done at the moment; it was felt that the negotiation should terminate before legislative action occurred. If the diplomatic efforts were successful Congress could proceed legally to the organization of a territorial government; if they failed then Congress could call upon the President to annul the convention of joint occupation. After all, there would soon be in office the party which had pledged itself to the reoccupation of Oregon, a party headed by a President who had taken a positive stand on the issue, and a few months of waiting would not seriously injure the cause.³⁹

³⁸ This is the first appearance of Whitney's scheme in Congress. It was almost universally considered wholly impracticable.

³⁹ *National Intelligencer*, 3 Mar.: "One bill is too important to be overlooked. (The editors were summarizing the session's work.) The Oregon bill lies over until next session. We hope the question will be settled by negotiation before that time. *Ibid.*, 4 Mar.: "The Oregon bill came up. Fortunately the Senate voted not to take up the matter." Hence the Senate was again the "protector of the national faith, honor, and peace, all of which were compromised" if the House bill had passed the Senate in unchanged form.



NEWS AND COMMENT

By LESLIE M. SCOTT.

FIRST ROADS ACROSS CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Ox-team pioneers found the Cascade Mountains the worst obstacle in their journey to Oregon. The Columbia River gorge through the mountains was too difficult, dangerous and costly a route for transport of families, wagons and cattle. The opening of the Barlow Road south of Mount Hood, in 1845-46, afforded an avenue of transit, although full of hardship. Next came the Scott-Applegate road between Rogue River and Klamath Lake, in 1846, and then the Naches Road to Puget Sound and the Middle Fork Road of Willamette River, both in 1853.

An article by Professor W. D. Lyman, of Whitman College, entitled "The First Roads Across the Cascade Mountains," appearing in *The Walla Walla Union* of December 15, 1918, suggests this brief review of mountain highway beginnings in the Pacific Northwest. Professor Lyman does not mention the Southern Oregon road of 1846 or the Middle Fork road of 1853, although their hardships and achievements fully equalled those of the Barlow Road and the Naches trail. It is pleasing to note that Professor Lyman gives a full measure of praise to Joel Palmer for leadership in the Barlow Road enterprise of 1845. Palmer went ahead of the Barlow party to lay out the route and did this work with perseverance and precision. His energy took him high up the steeps of Mount Hood to view the mountain contours, in this venture being probably the first precursor of the present-day Mazama mountain climbers. Viewing with alarm the rapid approach of Winter (October, 1845), he pressed the party forward without the wagons and brought to it relief supplies which Willamette Valley settlers had provided. This recognition of Palmer does not disparage the work of Samuel K. Barlow, the organizer of the main party and the chief builder of the road. And it may be important here to record the name of the man who

drove the first ox-team and wagon over the route in the Summer of 1846, Reuben Gant, later of Yamhill County, who died December 6, 1916, at Philomath, Benton County, where he had lived for many years.

Professor Lyman's narrative is largely that of Palmer's *Journal of Travel Over the Rocky Mountains*. His narrative of the Naches trail party of 1853 is chiefly that of George H. Himes, a member of the party.

We assume that, had Professor Lyman's space permitted, he would have included in his review the Southern Oregon and the Middle Fork roads.

NARRATIVES OF THE "SOUTHERN" ROUTE

The "southern" route to Rogue River Valley, first opened in 1846, is well described in the narrative of Tolbert Carter, a member of that year's migration, and in the extant journal of the Stearns party of 1853. The Carter narrative appears in the published *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1906; the Stearns journal has recently come in possession of the Oregon Historical Society, amplified by Orson A. Stearns of Corvallis, Oregon, who was ten years old at the time of the journey. These narratives are probably the best extant records of the "southern" route. The Carter narrative shows much severer hardships than the Stearns diary of seven years later.

A BARLOW ROAD MONUMENT

Dedication of a Barlow Road monument at Rhododendron, made July 4, 1918, by Multnomah Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, should have been mentioned in the preceding issue of *The Quarterly*. This monument consists of a stone, inscribed with a bronze tablet, "The Oregon Trail, 1845." The site is near the confluence of Zig Zag and Sandy Rivers, thirteen miles below the summit of the Cascade Mountains. Participants in the ceremonies were: Mrs. John A. Keating, regent of Multnomah Chapter; Rev. E. E. Gilbert, of Oregon City; W. H. H. Dufur, formerly president of the Oregon Pioneer Association; George H. Himes, secretary of

that association and curator of the Oregon Historical Society; Mrs. James N. Davis, past regent of Multnomah Chapter, who read a congratulatory letter of Leslie M. Scott; Mrs. A. H. Breyman, vice-regent, who read a brief statement of her daughter, Mrs. O. M. Ash, regarding selection of the site; Mrs. Mary Barlow Wilkins, past regent, who made the principal address of the occasion; Mrs. Nieta Barlow Lawrence, granddaughter of Mr. Barlow. Imogene Harding Brodie, great-granddaughter, both of Oregon City, who led the singing; little Miss Madeline Brodie, great-great granddaughter of Mr. Barlow, who unveiled the monument; Mrs. Emily Lindsley Ross, of Portland, state historian of the D. A. R., who represented the state organization in the exercises.

One other monument of stone and a bronze tablet marks the Barlow Road, at Abernethy Creek near Oregon City, dedicated October 13, 1917, by Willamette Chapter, D. A. R., of Oregon City. For further details of these markers and of others erected by the D. A. R., in memory of pioneers in Oregon and Washington, see *The Quarterly*, September, 1917, Vol. XVIII., pp. 225-26.

"FIRST" ASCENT OF MOUNT RAINIER

This honor has been commonly accredited to Hazard Stevens and Philemon B. Van Trump, who scaled the peak August 17, 1870 (narrative in *The Oregonian*, July 16, 1905, p. 39), but several recorded ascents were made prior to the Stevens-Van Trump expedition in 1870. Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, together with four Indians and horses and pack animals, climbed up the north side in September, 1833. Again in 1852 Colonel Shaw and others ascended the mountain. Colonel Shaw related the episode to Mr. Himes some fifteen years ago. Mr. Himes says that Colonel Shaw related that no other point seemed higher than the one on the mountain where the party stood. An account of this expedition of 1852 is contained in the *Columbian*, Olympia, Puget's Sound, O. T., September 18, 1852, as follows:

"About four weeks ago, a party of young men, consisting of Messrs. R. S. Bailey, Sidney S. Ford, Jr., and John Edgar undertook an expedition to Mt. Rainier, for the purpose of ascending that mountain as far as circumstances might warrant. Rainier, as all are aware, is situated in the main Cascade range, distant from its base to Olympia about 55 miles. On arriving at the foot of the mountain the party secured their animals, and pursued their way upward by the backbone ridge to the main body of the mountain, and to the height of as near as they could judge, of nine or ten miles—the last half mile over snow of a depth probably of fifty feet, but perfectly crusted and solid. The party were two days in reaching their highest altitude, and they described the mountain as extremely rugged, and difficult of ascent; on the slopes and table land they found a luxuriant growth of grass, far exceeding in freshness and vigor any afforded by the prairies below. On some of these table lands they found beautiful lakes—from a half to a mile in circumference—formed from mountain streams, and the melting of snow. The party remained at their last camp, upward, two days and two nights, where they fared sumptuously on the game afforded by the mountains, which they found very numerous, in the shape of brown bear, mountain goat, deer, etc., with an endless variety of the feathered genus; the side of the mountain was literally covered with every description of berries, of the most delicious flavor.

"The party had a perfect view of the Sound and surrounding country—recognizing the numerous prairies with which they were familiar, to which were added in their observations, several stranger prairies, of which they had no knowledge, and which, probably, have never been explored. The evenings and mornings were extremely cold, with wind strong and piercing—the noonday sun oppressively warm.

"They describe their view of the surrounding country and scenery as most enchanting, and consider themselves richly rewarded for their toil in procuring it. This is the first party of whites, we believe, that has ever attempted to ascend Rainier.

"Not being provided with instruments for taking minute observations, and there being a constant fog and mist along the range of mountains, the party were unable to make any very satisfactory discoveries in relation to a practicable route across them; yet Mr. Ford informs us, that he noticed several passes at intervals through the mountains, which, as far as he could see, gave satisfactory evidence, that a good route could be surveyed, and a road cut through with all ease."

This was before a road had been opened across Cascade Mountains north of Columbia River. The Naches Pass route was opened next year in 1853. While doubt has been raised as to whether these climbers of 1852 reached the summit, it is fair to interpret the testimony in a literal sense and assume that they climbed to the topmost elevation. Mount Rainier is difficult and laborious to climb, but the feat was within the prowess of the early pioneers, and they were not the kind of men to attempt the feat without making it successful and complete.

A celebration in honor of the Stevens ascent was held near Paradise Inn on the eve of the forty-eighth anniversary of the event, August 17, 1918. General Stevens was present and related the ascent made by Van Trump and himself in 1870. Other participants were William P. Bonney, secretary of the Washington State Historical Society, Edmond S. Meany and O. B. Sperlin. Next day an anniversary ascent was led up the mountain by Mr. Sperlin.

BROSNAN'S HISTORY OF IDAHO

A brief and rapid narrative, entitled *History of the State of Idaho*, and written for school reading by C. J. Brosnan, superintendent of schools of Nampa, is one of the year's notable publications of the Pacific Northwest. This book of some 230 pages is not only a history of the growth of the commonwealth but also a description of topography, resources and industries. Topical arrangement is unusually good, condensation is skilfully accomplished and dry-as-dust recital is properly avoided. The author has steered clear of pioneer prejudices such as those involved in controversies about the Hudson's Bay Company, Whitman, the missionaries, treatment of Indians, etc. As a good chronicler he has carefully withheld his own personality from the pages. His chapters on geological history and physical contours are especially interesting; also those on the Indians and their wars, the fur traders and the western trails. He recognizes the work of Roman Catholics, Protestants and Mormons without prejudice. As life in the mining camps started the real progress of the inland country that subject is appropriately treated in a special chapter. The cattle days and the sheep era, as distinctive periods of progress, are faithfully portrayed.

Professor Brosnan received much aid and suggestion from contemporaries and it is unfortunate that mention of them by name was omitted in the preface. It is understood, however, that this omission will be corrected in the next edition. The author worked hard for accuracy and cast away pride of composition to rewrite the book in many parts so as to conform with ideas of his critics and to meet his own changes of view. A criticism that may be expected is that the author should have served a longer time in the historical vineyard before assuming the authority of a historian, but, on the whole, he has done his work well and produced the best short history of Idaho yet written, a pleasant contrast to the customary histories of reminiscence. The book is published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

DEATH OF HAZARD STEVENS

Hazard Stevens, who died at Goldendale, Washington, October 11, 1918, was a distinguished son of a distinguished father. He rose to the rank of brigadier-general in the Civil War at the age of twenty-three years. His two volumes, *Life of General Isaac I. Stevens*, besides being a laudable tribute to his father, the first governor of Washington Territory, are a highly valuable contribution to the history of the Pacific Northwest. Hazard Stevens was not only a soldier and author, but also a lawyer, a business man and a farmer, possessing recognized merits, in all these activities. His Cloverfields Farm, near Olympia, contains a model dairy. He was president of the Olympia Light & Power Company. He had served in the house of representatives of Massachusetts. A poem written in his honor by Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, entitled "General Hazard Stevens," was dedicated to the class of 1917 on Junior day, May 6, 1916. The funeral took place at Cloverfields Farm, October 16, 1918. It was attended by the Thurston County Pioneer and Historical Society, of which the deceased was an active member, and by officers of the Washington State Historical Society, of which he was vice-president. Professor Meany delivered the eulogy.

General Stevens' death followed five days after the dedication of the monument to Andrew J. Bolon, near Goldendale, October 6, 1918. As vice-president of the Washington Historical Society, General Stevens delivered an address in honor of Bolon, but spoke with difficulty, and alarmed his friends with signs of approaching sickness. Next day he suffered a stroke of paralysis. The body was buried at Newport, Rhode Island, beside those of his father and mother.

MONUMENTS TO ANDREW J. BOLON

Two monuments in honor of Andrew Jackson Bolon, Indian agent among the Yakimas under Governor Stevens in 1855, were unveiled Sunday, October 6—one at the scene of Bolon's murder by Indians September 22, 1855, 24 miles from Goldendale, the other at a conspicuous crossroads near the place of

the tragedy, some 19 miles from Goldendale. Bolon had investigated Indian depredations in the Yakima country and was returning to The Dalles when he was killed probably for the purpose of destroying evidences that would have led to punishment of friends or kin of the Indians who were accompanying him. Bolon's body, his horse and personal effects were burned. Aged Indians have pointed out the scene of the tragedy. Bolon was well liked by the Yakimas, and General Hazard Stevens, in his dedication address, said Bolon was their best friend among the whites. The Washington State Historical Society conducted the exercises.

DIARIES OF MATTHEW P. DEADY

Oregon's famous jurist wrote daily comments on men and affairs and these comments will carry a lasting interest for readers of Northwest history. These intimate relics of Judge Deady have just come into possession of the Oregon Historical Society, presented by his widow, Lucy A. Henderson Deady. The writings cover the periods January 9, 1871, to September 28, 1872; October 2, 1872, to November 16, 1878; November 17, 1878 to September 19, 1883; September 22, 1883, to April 17, 1886; November 26, 1889, to November 4, 1892; a voyage from Portland to Sitka, July 31, 1880, to September 4, 1880; a journey to the Atlantic Coast by rail, September 19, 1881, to November 16, 1881, and a trip to New York and the general convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church September 30, 1889, to November 9, 1889. Judge Deady died March 24, 1893. He came to Oregon in 1849. Four years later he became a judge of the territorial supreme Court of Oregon. The constitutional convention of Oregon, in 1857, made him its president. When Oregon was admitted as a state in 1859 he was named United States district judge, which place he held until his death. The private views of Judge Deady of contemporary men and things have not until now been available to readers of Northwest history.

DEATH OF REV. C. A. WOODY

In the death of the Rev. Claiborne Alphonso Woody, November 9, 1918, the Pacific Coast lost an active religious worker, and Oregon lost one of its conspicuous native sons. Mr. Woody served as general superintendent of the American Baptist Home Mission Society from 1899 until his death. A special number of the *Pacific Baptist*, of which he was editor in 1890-1902, contains numerous tributes to his memory. He was born near Brownsville, Oregon, February 8, 1856, attended the Baptist college at McMinnville, and graduated from University of Oregon at Eugene in 1881, and from Rochester Theological Seminary in 1884. He was pastor at Weston, Oregon, in 1886-87, and at Amity in 1888-90. In 1887-88 he served as principal of the Indian school at Chemawa. He attained a ripe theological scholarship and was a foremost leader of the Baptist denomination on the Pacific Coast.

DEATH OF MIANDA BAILEY SMITH

Reminder of many episodes of early Oregon occurred October 4, 1918, at the death of Mianda Bailey Smith, widow of Sidney Smith, a member of the Peoria party of young men who started for Oregon in 1839. Mrs. Smith died in Chehalem Valley at the age of nearly 90 years. Her marriage took place in 1846. Sidney Smith was a friend and employe of Ewing Young, who headed the enterprise that brought Mexican cattle to Oregon from California in 1837. Young's death in February, 1841, started the movement for the provisional government, consummated in 1843, for probating of his estate. The great oak tree on his grave was planted in an acorn by Mr. and Mrs. Smith before their marriage. The husband was a member of the American party at Champoege. He died September 18, 1880. He spent most of his life on his farm in West Chehalem, purchased by him from the estate of Ewing Young. His wife was a daughter of Daniel Dodge Bailey, who brought his family to Oregon in 1845 by way of Meek's cut-off. The family arrived in Che-

halem Valley badly worn and bedraggled and were befriended by Sidney Smith, who gave them the use of his cabin.

A KLIKITAT WAR MEMORIAL

A memorial to Klickitat soldiers and sailors of the World War was dedicated at Maryhill on the Columbia River, July 4, 1918. Participants in the exercises were Samuel Hill, who presided; R. H. Thomson, of Seattle, who gave the invocation and the opening address; Edmond S. Meany, of Seattle, who received the memorial in behalf of the Washington University State Historical Society; Frank Terrace, of Orillia, who spoke for the sailors; David M. Dunne, of Portland, who spoke for the soldiers, and Frederick V. Holman, of Portland, president of the Oregon Historical Society. The memorial is to be patterned after the Stonehenge, of England, and later to be completed.

OREGON'S WAR WORK.

Oregon's participation in the nation's war work was distinguished by promptness and thoroughness. In the raising of the several funds, this state each time was foremost with its quota. The contributions to the various funds and Liberty Bonds amounted to \$126,000,000, which, for 800,000 people, means \$157 for each inhabitant. According to *The Oregonian* of January 1, 1919, the contributions amounted to the following totals:

Liberty Bonds, four issues	\$103,546,600
War Savings Stamps	18,000,000
Red Cross (not including \$400,000 Christmas memberships)	2,232,253
United War Work	1,168,135
Y. M. C. A.	435,758
Y. W. C. A. and Fosdick Commission	110,000
Armenian Relief	160,000
Knights of Columbus	97,000
Salvation Army	57,500
Boy Scouts	30,000
War Camp Community Service	24,930
War Library	19,965
Smileage Books	18,000
Total	\$125,981,091

The number of men who entered the army and navy from Oregon aggregated some 32,000. The number enrolled in the

three drafts were: June 5, 1917, 68,000; June 5, 1918, 5,672; September 12, 1918, 108,373; total, 182,045.

The history of the war work in Oregon is in compilation under the direction of Miss Cornelia Marvin, of Salem, State Librarian, who has been named by the State Council of Defense as State Historian. As this work has proceeded its scope has enlarged and its importance has grown in the estimation of all who have given it attention.

DOCUMENTARY

PUGET'S SOUND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY. PROSPECTUS.

The soil and climate of the country on the Columbia river, particularly the district situated between the headwaters of the Cowlitz river, which falls into the Columbia river, about fifty miles from the Pacific and Puget's Sound, being considered highly favorable for the raising of flocks and herds, with a view to the production of wool, hides and tallow, and also for the cultivation of other agricultural produce, it is proposed—

1st. That an association be formed, under the protection and auspices of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, for the purpose of rearing flocks and herds, with a view to the production of wool, hides and tallow, and for the cultivation of other agriculture produce on the west side of the Rocky mountains.

2nd. That the said association be styled "The Puget's Sound Agricultural Company," and shall consist of persons who shall become shareholders as hereinafter mentioned.

3rd. That the capital stock of the said Association shall be £200,000 which shall be divided in 2000 shares of £100 each.

4th. That a deposit of £10 per share be paid on subscription, and that the calls for the residue to be hereafter made shall not exceed the sum of £5 per share at any one time, and that at intervals of not less than three months.

5th. That the non-payment of any call shall incur a forfeiture of the shares and all previous deposits, to be declared at a general meeting of share holders.

6th. That until the sovereignty of the tract of the country, which in the first instance is proposed to be the seat of the Company's operations, be determined, and in order to guard against any legal difficulties in England, the management of the business, including all purchases and sales on account of the Company and the contracting on behalf of the Company, with clerks and servants, and all correspondence, may be exclusively conducted by, and shall be confided to, agents in Eng-

land to carry on the same in their names, and generally in all matters, to act as agents of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, and for such services be allowed the usual mercantile commission.

7th. That no person shall be qualified to be such agent unless he shall at the time of his appointment, bona fide hold, and continue to hold, and be possessed of at least 20 shares.

8th. That John Henry Pelly, Andrew Colville and George Simpson, Esqrs., be the agents, and that in all questions relating to the conducting of the business of the said Association, the majority of the said agents shall be conclusive.

9th. That in case of the death, resignation, or disqualification of any one or more of the said Agents, a meeting of the proprietors shall be called in London in the manner hereinafter mentioned, for the purpose of appointing one or more agent or agents, qualified as aforesaid, to fill such vacancy or vacancies, and with the like powers and authorities as the person or persons so dying, having resigned or become disqualified as hereinbefore mentioned.

10th. That a general meeting of the proprietors of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company be held in London, in the month of December, in the year 1840, and also within the said months of December in every succeeding year, of which meetings 14 days' notice at least shall be given by advertisement in two or more of the public daily newspapers published in the city of London or county of Middlesex, at which said meeting the said agents shall produce their accounts and report their transactions on behalf of the Company for the past year, and the state of affairs of the Company generally; and at such meetings the agents shall be annually elected, (the existing agents being eligible for re-election), the proprietors to vote at such meetings in person, or by proxy to another proprietor, in the proportion of one vote for every share, respectively.

11th. That no proprietor shall be allowed to vote, or to receive any dividend, profit, or bonus, or exercise any other right in respect of any share he may hold, until he shall have paid the amount of any call made on him in respect of his said share, and shall have executed the deed of settlement, or other

instrument which shall be executed by the proprietors in respect of these presents.

12th. That in the event of any proprietor being at any time desirous of selling or disposing of his or her share or shares, the same shall, in such case, be offered to the agents of the said Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, for the said Company, and in case the said agents shall decline to purchase the same, then such proprietor shall be at liberty to sell or transfer such share to such other person or persons as shall be approved by the said agents or any two of them.

13th. That no sale, transfer or disposal of any share shall be made, so long as any sum of shall be due or unpaid to the said Company for, or on account of any call or otherwise, in respect of such share.

14th. That the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company shall purchase from the said Governor and Company, at a fair valuation, to be made in the usual way, or on such other terms as may be agreed upon, such portions of their stock of sheep, cattle, horses and such implements of husbandry and other articles as the said Governor and Company can dispense with.

15th. That the said agents be empowered to appoint managers, agents or attorneys, for the purpose of transacting the business of the said Company in the district in North America aforesaid, or wherever else may be necessary, and to enter into engagements with such managers, agents or attorneys as may be necessary for carrying on the business, and to allow them such salaries or other consideration for their services as may be necessary or proper, and to revoke such appointments or engagements, and likewise to make agreements with, and advances to persons desirous of becoming agriculturists; Provided, always, that the principal direction or management of the affairs of said Company in the said district, be under superintendence of an officer attached to and interested in the Fur Trade of such Governor and Company.

16th. The Chief Factor, or other officer who may be appointed to the direction or chief management of their affairs in the district aforesaid, shall in all things relating to the management of their affairs, be subject to instructions from time to time, to be issued by the said agents in London.

17th. That the agents shall on behalf of the Company give a bond of £—— to the said Governor and Company of Hudson's Bay, that neither the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, nor any person in their employ, nor by them taken into the district aforesaid, shall in any way, either directly or indirectly, trade in furs or peltries while in the employ or under agreement with the said Puget's Sound Agricultural Company; and also that they (the said agents) shall make it a condition in every agreement to be entered into by them, with any person or persons to be employed by them in the district aforesaid, that the said agents shall be at liberty at any time to dismiss them from the service of the said Company, and to remove them from the said district to wherever such persons may have been originally engaged; and that such persons shall, in every respect, be subject to the like conditions, restrictions and regulations as the servants of the Governor and Company now are under, and particularly to the condition contained in the grant from the Crown under which the said Governor and Company are entitled to the exclusive trade within the said district.

18th. That whenever the Crown of Great Britain may become possessed of the sovereignty of any part of the district in which the operations of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company may be carried on, application shall be made to the Crown for a grant of land, and to incorporate the said Puget's Sound Agricultural Company.

19th. That a proper deed of settlement shall be prepared under the superintendence of the said agents, in such a form, and containing all such clauses, covenants, powers and stipulations as counsel shall advise for properly and effectually carrying on the business of the said Company, and for indemnifying and saving harmless the said agents in respect of their acting in the management and conducting of the said trade as aforesaid, and relating thereto; and that the same or a counterpart thereof shall be executed by the several proprietors for the time being.

20th. That an absolute and entire dissolution of the said Company may lawfully take place, and be made with the con-

sent and approbation of three-fourths at least of the proprietors to be testified by some writing signed by them or their attorneys or proxies, and thereupon the affairs of said Company shall with all convenient speed be wound up, and after payment of all claims on the said Company, the balance shall be divided amongst the persons who shall be then proprietors, in proportion to the amount of their respective shares.

We approve the above proposals and regulations, and mutually agree upon any request to execute such deed or deeds for carrying the same into effect as therein mentioned, and in the meantime to perform and abide by the same as our respective parts.

WM. FRASER TOLMIE,
FORBES BARCLAY,
GEORGE B. ROBERTS.



CORRESPONDENCE OF REVEREND EZRA FISHER

Edited by SARAH FISHER HENDERSON, NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT
LATOURETTE

(Continued from Page 261 in *Quarterly* for September, 1918)

Oregon City, O. Ter., Feb. 24th, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br.:

Yours under date Dec. 5th, 1853, giving notice of the appointment of Rev. A. B. Cramb for this place, was received last mail. Should he prove adapted to this place, he must be a valuable acquisition to Oregon.

In this I have to announce both afflictive and merciful dispensations of an infinitely wise providence. God has seen fit to remove my beloved wife from a state of probation to one of ineffable bliss. At the time I last wrote you I was sorely afflicted with boils and detained, much against my inclinations, from a tour into the upper part of the Willamette Valley. On Thursday I told my wife I thought I could possibly ride, but the roads were bad, the waters high, and she persuaded me to stay till the first of the week. On Sabbath morning before we rose she told me that her stomach did not feel right. Before meeting time we consulted whether all should go to meeting, as the roads were bad and we had a mile to walk. I advised her to stay with our little son, not yet six years old. When we returned from meeting about 5 P. M., I found the table spread and, as the family came around the table, she took her seat by the fire. I asked her if she was not intending to come to tea. She replied she was quite unwell and could eat nothing. As I turned my attention particularly to her, I discovered that she was very pale. I was instantly impressed that her sickness would be attended with serious results. (I have never known her to complain of being sick until she was no longer able to sit up.) She went immediately to her bed. . . . Inflammation of the stomach and bowels progressed with a slow but deter-

mined pace till the terrible King removed her from all her earthly relations on Friday, the 20th of January, at five minutes past eleven A. M. I do not design to write her obituary now, if ever. She has made her own impression in the silent sphere where the retiring pioneer missionary's wife is always mostly needed. The most important sphere of her Christian usefulness was at home, aiding and ever encouraging her husband in his labors, when his field lay far from home, which occasioned weeks and sometimes months of separation, cheerfully assuming the family responsibilities, with no complaints and few intimations that ours was a mission of privations and trials unknown to pastors' families in the older churches. Here she always saw that the incense was daily burning on the family altar, so that for almost twenty-four years there has not to my recollection been a day in which the morning and evening prayer had not been offered in my family, our protracted journeys not excepted. As an illustration of her influence in this respect in the family, the night after we deposited her remains in the grave, my little son, to whom I have alluded, after we retired to our lonely lodging, asked me, "Who will pray in the family now when you are gone?" Next to her family, she was ever found taking along with her the entire family to the house of God as often as the Sabbath returned. Thither she repaired as much to honour God in His institutions as to be delighted with an eloquent discourse. The Sabbath school has ever been a sphere of Christian action in which she seemed at home and she has never, except at short intervals, from ill health or causes beyond her control, left her seat as a teacher vacant. I need not state to you, dear brother, that she ever took a deep interest in all the meetings of the church, especially the covenant meetings. The women's prayer-meeting found in her a warm advocate and personal supporter. Although she ever delighted to learn of the progress of missions, both at home and abroad, yet her mind seemed peculiarly formed to exert a maternal influence. The proper education of her own family, in the most general sense of the term, as well as that of the rising generation around her, occupied a large place in her thoughts

and labors. Hence she has for years manifested a growing interest in religious education and, with other periodicals which advocate this cause, she manifested a great fondness for the Mothers' Journal. But she is done with her earthly labors and I doubt not but she is now reaping the rewards of those who come up out of great tribulation, although hers was not a martyr's death. But in her last illness her Christian character shone resplendent. From the first day of her illness she expressed doubts of her recovery and frequently conversed freely respecting the interests of religion in Oregon City, and especially in her own family. On Wednesday she called her three children who had arrived at years of understanding, one by one, into her room and urged upon them the necessity of immediately attending to their souls' salvation and obtained a solemn promise from each one of them that they would immediately seek for pardon through a crucified Redeemer. On Friday morning, about four, she discovered that she was failing and asked me if I thought she was dying. I told her she was evidently failing and unless some favorable change soon took place she could not live long. She immediately called her family, said she must once more recommend the religion of Jesus and give them all the parting kiss. They were called up and came in. She counseled us all, gave us the parting kiss and again obtained the promise from our son, 19, and our daughters, 14 and 11 years of age, that they would immediately seek the salvation of their souls. About this time she said, "Oh, how unfaithful I have lived! Would to God that I could be instrumental of doing more in my death than I have in my life!" She continued in the agonies of death from about half-past four till five minutes past eleven, yet in the exercise of her reason and able to converse at intervals till within a few moments of her last. If she lived a Christian, she emphatically died a Christian and a soldier of the Cross. Death seemed to be disarmed of his terrors. She seemed to have her feet planted firmly on the Rock of Ages and there she rested and waited patiently for her change, with a calm, firm reliance on the righteousness of Christ for her shelter from the storm that must overtake the impenitent and the

Grace of God in Christ for her acceptance with Him. While I found myself bereft of my dearest, best earthly friend, with two daughters and a son, all under the age of fifteen, on my hands, my field of labor seemed closed. All my prospects for the future seemed for the present closed. My path was darkened. It seemed to me that I could do nothing but wait on God. I could not think of breaking up my family. To leave the agency at this period, it seemed to me, would be attended with consequences far from being desirable. On the evening of the burial of Mrs. Fisher I called my family around me and inquired after the state of their minds and found three of them convicted of sin; also a lad of fourteen then boarding with us.³⁴⁰ The following Sabbath Br. Chandler preached the funeral sermon on the occasion of Mrs. F.'s death. The congregation was large and solemn. Br. C. preached on Monday and Tuesday evenings at 7 and then left for his appointment on the Santiam. By this time the interest was so apparent that it was judged expedient that we keep up nightly meetings. I then entered the work and, with the assistance of Br. Post, who preached frequently evenings, and Br. Johnson, who preached once each Sabbath, the church continued her meetings nightly for something more than two weeks, and, during the present week, we have meetings every night except two. I have already baptized nine, three more are received as candidates for baptism and two more will relate their experience to the Church tomorrow; two of the converts have joined the Congregational Church, being forbidden by their guardians to join the Baptist. Their guardians are a Congregational deacon and wife.^{340a} Among those who were baptized, three were my own children, one the lad who boarded at my house at the time of Mrs. F.'s death, and one the son of Elder Johnson.³⁴¹ Mrs. F.'s physician³⁴² and wife are received for baptism. We still have a number of inquirers who are regular members of our congregation. The

³⁴⁰ This was Charles W. Shively, son of the first postmaster at Astoria.

^{340-a} Peter H. Hatch.

³⁴¹ This was Hon. William Carey Johnson (1833-1912). He was for many years a prominent attorney and member of the Baptist Church at Oregon City.

³⁴² This was Dr. W. B. Magers.

work has extended into the Methodist and Congregational churches and they are holding interesting meetings at this time. This is the first revival of religion that Oregon City has witnessed. Our prayer is that it may pervade the whole town and vicinity. With this state of things and the church having no minister to perform pastoral labors and knowing of no prospect of obtaining a pastor, it resolved to invite me to take the pastoral charge and to ask the Home Missionary Society to appoint me to this place with a salary of \$600, the church to raise \$100 of it. I never have got my consent to accept of the call on account of the importance of the general work which must be performed for Oregon. Yet, from the importance of sustaining this point, my own sympathies for my little, motherless family, of girls in part, who need and must have counsel at this period of life, together with the dying request of my wife that I keep the family together and, added to all the rest, these young disciples who are promising and very much need proper religious training, I have thought your Board would allow me to watch over the interests of this church for a few months and perform such agency labors as I can, and is much needed, in the vicinity till the time of the meeting of our association which occurs in June, after which I hope to be able to leave my family and explore Washington Ter. in the latter part of the summer and fall. By the time our association closes, I hope the work necessary to give our school a vigorous growth will be accomplished, at least so far that Br. Post can manage the financial affairs, in addition to the labor of teaching, for a few months. I trust also that Br. Cramb will be on the ground and meet with a favorable reception with the church and people. In this whole matter I desire to submit myself with prayerful resignation into the hands of Infinite Wisdom. From all I can gather by the opening providences of God, I now think I shall pursue the course above suggested and make a formal application for a reappointment as exploring agent by the next mail. I think this is the judgment of all the brethren, except so far as relates to the members of this church; and even here, their desires for pas-

toral labor and personal sympathy for me and my family may perhaps sway their judgment. If there is any reasonable prospect of a pastor for this place soon, I am quite sure I shall be the last man to preoccupy the place. The mail must leave before I shall have time to write more.

The good work of Grace has been progressing through the winter in the Shilo church under the labors mostly of Br. Davis³⁴³ from Indiana. Clackamas³⁴⁴ church had an addition of five last Sabbath by baptism. Elder Hubbard will probably settle with that church.

Affectionately your afflicted brother,
Received April 10, 1854. EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Mar. 9th, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Yours of Jan. 18, '54, was received by last mail. I regret to learn that the principal bill ordering goods was lost, as it will occasion some ten months' delay from this time before my family supplies will reach us, some of which are now needed. But God's ways are all right and we shall soon enough find it true. I will now proceed to order another bill as near like the other as I can by my old memorandum.

* * * *

Respectfully yours, EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Mar. 10, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send you an application for reappointment as Exploring Agent and General Itinerant for Oregon Ter., with

³⁴³ This was Rev. William M. Davis, who came to Oregon in 1853 from Indiana, and settled near Turner.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:10. (See note 352.)

³⁴⁴ The Clackamas Church, about six miles north of Oregon City, was organized Nov., 1853, by the author and Rev. David Hubbard. The latter was born in Kentucky in 1795, moved to Oregon in 1853, and died in 1866.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:14, 104.

a consent to make the necessary explorations in Washington Ter. during the summer and early part of the fall.

To the Executive Board of the Am. Bap. Home Mission Society: The subscriber desires reappointment as Exploring Agent and General Itinerant for Oregon Ter. for the term of one year from the first day of April next, with permission to spend three or four months mostly in Oregon City and vicinity, in view of the present peculiar condition of the church and the afflicted and unsettled state of my family in the removal of Mrs. Fisher by death, with the same salary as the present year.

EZRA FISHER,
Exploring Agent.

N. B.—The undersigned concurs in all the terms and statements of the foregoing application. Yours,

JOHN D. POST.

Rev. B. M. Hill,

Oregon City, Mar. 10, 1854.

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

Dear Brother:

The last week has been one of interest to the little church in this place. Our meetings were continued during four intervening evenings of the week. On Saturday at our covenant meeting, four interesting young persons came before the church, related their Christian experience and were received for baptism, and on Sabbath, after the morning services, we repaired to the banks of the Willamette where I was permitted to baptize seven converts. These make sixteen that I have baptized into this church within the past four weeks; one more is received for baptism and we have an interesting state of things in our community at present. The converts are mostly from the youth and are very promising. We have established a weekly church prayer meeting, a young men's weekly prayer meeting, a female prayer meeting, the young ladies' weekly prayer meeting and the monthly concert of prayer, in which a collection for the cause of missions is to be taken up at each meeting. All the converts take part in these religious exercises, and it seems to me that I cannot consistently leave the lambs of the fold long at a time till

Br. Cramb arrives, or the church is otherwise supplied with pastoral labors. Other ministers are active in the place and I think your Board would heartily approve of the course I have been led to pursue, if they were here. Indeed I have not directed my steps for the last eight weeks, neither have I tried. Providence in a peculiar manner has marked my way and, although in some respects deeply afflictive, I have not ventured to say more than this, Lord direct, I will try and follow, although bowed down with grief.

Yours truly,

EZRA FISHER.

* * * *

Received April 26, 1854.

Oregon City, Apr. 1st, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society as General Itinerant for Oregon for the fourth quarter ending March 30th, 1854.

I have labored 13 weeks; preached 35 sermons; delivered two temperance lectures, and 23 addresses at the special meetings of Oregon City church and Clackamas church; attended 34 prayer meetings and six other religious meetings; visited religiously 124 families and other persons; visited two public schools in Oregon City; baptized 16 persons in the Oregon City church; traveled to and from my appointments 48 miles; received one person by letter; 22 persons have been hopefully converted in Oregon City in connection with my labors; monthly concert is established at Oregon City church; took up a collection at the monthly concert for March of \$3.75 for missionary purposes, object not yet specified; connected with the church is a Sabbath school, and Bible class of about 25 scholars; more than half of the school are in the Bible class. Three teachers; about 75 volumes in the library.

Our meetings continue interesting. We have a few enquirers and shall probably soon baptize others. I remain most of

my time in this place and vicinity, it seeming my duty to look after the interests connected with this church and school, while I can render some service in the important towns on the river and attend two yearly meetings, namely, at Marysville and West Tualatin churches, before the meeting of the association, which will occur the last of June. I trust by that time Br. Cramb will reach this place, so that I can feel it my duty to proceed to Washington Territory without delay. I have no doubt of the importance of an early exploration of that Ter., yet so providential have been the demands for my services in this valley that I have acted up to a conviction of duty and I believe with the cordial approbation of every brother conversant with our wants in Oregon and Washington territories who is on the ground. I am quite sure that your Board would approve the course, if they were on the ground and explored the field for themselves.

I feel no disposition to undervalue the judgment of your Board or to disobey their instructions, but have endeavored to do as nearly as I believed they would, if they were individually in my place acting for Christ's interests on the Pacific Coast for all coming time.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Apr. 1st, 1854.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society as Exploring Agent for Oregon and Washington territories for the fourth quarter ending March 31st, 1854.

I have visited Portland once, Clackamas church twice and spent a large portion of my time in Oregon City with the church and co-operating with the college, when I could do it without materially interfering with my specific duties.

I have traveled 48 miles to and from my appointments, exclusive of my labors with the O. City church; have labored 13 weeks during the quarter; have preached 35 sermons and

addressed the people 23 times, in connection with the special meetings in the O. City and Clackamas churches, having the conducting of all the meetings at O. City church; delivered 2 temperance addresses; have baptized 16 persons in the Oregon City church.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,

Exploring Agent.

N. B.—Our young members are of more than usual promise and, although mostly youth, seem to be enquiring for the line of duty and willing to do it. I have never enjoyed so much consolation with the same number of young disciples as I have with these.

Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Apr. 2d, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br. Hill:

In reviewing my labors for the past year in connection with the Zion of God in Oregon, while I have to deplore my great unfaithfulness as a minister of the blessed gospel, I have been led to rejoice that the spirit of the Lord has not been entirely taken from me. God has been graciously pleased to grant me the privilege of laboring with five churches in the time of more than usual manifestations of Divine favor, where the enquiry has been made, "What must I do?" and the sinner has been pointed to the Lamb of God as the only cure for the sin-sick soul. Another church within our association, with which I have spent numbers of Sabbaths, has also been highly blessed with a work of grace. In these churches, as near as I can estimate, one hundred and two hopeful converts have been added by baptism. Of this number I baptized twenty-six, three of whom were my own dear children, rendered doubly dear by the recent death of their mother, and have witnessed the baptism of thirty-seven more. When we take into account the

scarce population of the country and the small numbers in each church, so that most of these churches have been more than doubled in numbers and the cultivation of the means of grace quadrupled, we feel that this year has been emphatically the time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Most of the accessions have been children and youths from eight to twenty-four years of age and a large proportion are lads and young men of more than usual promise, some of whom I trust will be found among the future ministers of Oregon, perhaps of Asia. To be sure we are subject as churches to all the changes and many of the discouragements of a frontier country, yet our prospects are surely becoming more and more bright. While our churches have been blessed with a harvest of souls, God has not been unmindful of our school, the Oregon City College. Br. Post's arrival was hailed with gratitude to Almighty God by some of the friends at least. I shall not soon forget the feelings that came over my mind when I learned in Portland that he and his family were at my house. Our school was at a low ebb. He has entered upon his labors with the energy of a man in earnest. His labors have been appreciated by the public and the school for the last four months has been as prosperous as could have been reasonably anticipated under the circumstances. Thus you see that God is graciously pleased to prosper thus far, but with our prosperity, new responsibilities and new wants are multiplying. We now more than before need pastors for these churches and missionaries to enter upon other important fields opening in every direction. Our school building must be put in a condition to meet the pressing wants of Br. Post's family and the school, which we hope to do, God favoring, but we feel that we must have immediately a chemical and philosophical apparatus to meet the public wants and we feel that we must look to the friends at home to furnish it. I trust you will second Br. Post's efforts to accomplish this so desirable enterprise. On the whole, although the hand of the Lord has been laid heavily upon me in the removal of my beloved wife, I think I can see the Lord is on our side and will assuredly bless us although He prepares the way by severe trials of our faith. We will take

courage and submit our whole cause to the Lord and trust in Him for His future blessings by waiting in the spirit of humble confidence for the openings of His providences.

Yours affectionately,

EZRA FISHER.

Received May 25, 1854.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., April 7th, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother Hill:

Last week, at the request of Br. Newell,³⁴⁵ our teacher of music, formerly from New York, I visited Portland, with a view of stirring up their minds to immediate action on the subject of raising the standard in that place, preached on Wednesday evening to a large congregation in the Congregational house, and visited Wednesday in the afternoon and Thursday morning with the members. I found the following members, some of whom you know personally: Br. Josiah Failing, formerly deacon in the 10th St. Church, New York, his wife, two sons and a daughter; Br. Coe,³⁴⁶ formerly postal agent for Oregon, and wife; Br. Leland,^{346a} Postmaster at Portland, and wife; Br. Simmonds, merchant, and wife, from Boston, . . . Sister Burnell, from Ninth Street Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, an enterprising, intelligent sister (her husband is in the steam saw mill business), and Sister Mosier, a widow, in the millinery and fancy clothing business. Since I left, I learn that Br. Pine and wife from San Francisco have located there. Br. Pine is in merchandising and he and wife have come highly recommended as active young Baptist members. I have little doubt there are other Baptist members in

³⁴⁵ George P. Newell.

³⁴⁶ This was Nathaniel Coe (1788-1868). He was appointed postal agent for Oregon in 1851. He later settled near the present Hood River.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:180.

^{346a} Pioneer of 1845; was born in Rhode Island in 1845; surveyor; postmaster, Oct. 12, 1853-Nov. 3, 1854; editor Democratic Standard, July 13, 1854, and year following. Editor Portland Daily News—first daily in Portland—April 20, 1859—for a few months. After that he was editor of the Daily Times in 1863, for awhile, and during that year went to Idaho Territory and spent the remainder of his life in newspaper work, mining and surveying. He died Oct. 25, 1891.

the city who would co-operate with the church if one should be constituted. Really they have double the numbers and quadruple the ability the church at Oregon City had before our late revival. I urged upon the leading members to establish weekly religious meetings for prayer and conference, look directly to God for His blessing and then make their wants known to the Home Missionary Society's Board. I am satisfied that, with a comfortable place of worship and a good, faithful, acceptable minister, the Baptists might expect, under God, to exert as much influence in the place and prosper as much as any religious denomination now in Portland. I felt peculiarly impressed that now is the time to strike in Portland. There seemed to be a good religious atmosphere with the brethren and especially with the sisters. They want to see the standard raised there, but they say they must have a house and a minister at once and build their own houses, and they say they do not see how this all is to be done unless they can get more foreign aid than they can reasonably expect. I urged them to make their wants known to you as soon as they could get to understand what they wanted and what they can do. They said they would call a meeting soon and deliberate on the subject. I assured Br. Failing that I should be down and stir them up in five or six weeks, if they did not act promptly in the mean time.

This is the most important place in the territory to be occupied by the Baptists, after Oregon City, and, but for our educational interests, it would be much the most important place of the two, at least at present. A minister ought to be appointed forthwith to that place with a salary of \$700 to \$800. A man worth that money to that place would build a house in one year there, hard as the times are, with three or four hundred dollars from the building funds of the Home Mission Society, if he went to his work trusting alone in the Owner of the Universe and the Disposer of men's hearts, and money too. God grant that you may find the man and put him into that field. Portland is the New York for Oregon at present, at least for the trade of the Willamette and Columbia River valleys. My soul is pained when I think of the delays of the Home Mission

Society to occupy this town, or I might say city, and Oregon City. I trust we shall soon see Br. Cramb, and that man of God will soon be on his way for Portland.

Yours in the bonds of the gospel,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—I shall order you to pay three or four dollars to the editor of the Mothers' Journal soon, also to pay my subscription for the Christian Chronicle to the end of the present year. Received May 25, 1854.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., June 17th.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Br. Hill:

Yours of Apr. 3d, announcing my reappointment, and one a few days later, condoling me on account of my late bereavement and answering my request to remain at Oregon City a few months, came duly to hand. I now take my pen to present before your Board the importance of immediately occupying Portland, but before stating my views I would refer you to Br. Taggart, Br. Failing's old pastor, for information on that subject, as I understand that he has written a long letter to said Taggart, giving a general view of things in Portland. Br. Failing was deacon in 10th St. Church, N. Y. There sometimes are times in the history of a town in the new portions of our great missionary field where it really seems that things form a crisis, and one opportune movement of a religious denomination may give them all the advantage of years of hard labor in establishing a permanent interest. Such appears to be the door now opened in Portland.

I have it from the Methodist minister in charge at Portland that he wonders why the Baptists do not occupy Portland. Why, he says that the Baptists have more wealth and influence in Portland today than any other denomination of Christians. Yet the Methodists have expended within the last four years more than \$8,000 on that place and the Congregational Church

have had a stated ministry in the place almost five years.³⁴⁷ Yet all the Baptist preaching they have had has not exceeded thirty-five or forty sermons, and that mostly by myself. I can now sit and enumerate 17 Baptist members in Portland, five of whom are in Br. Failing's family, two in Br. Coe's, our former postal agent, two in Br. Leland's family, the post master of the place and a graduate of Brown's University, and others of respectable standing in Baptist churches in Boston, Cincinnati and San Francisco. But they feel now that they must have a minister on the ground adapted to secure an influence and then they can commence and build a house by the aid of the amount they might receive from the building fund connected with the Home Mission cause. They say it is no use to do anything by way of monthly preaching in other denominations' houses. It is labor bestowed to build up other churches and hold back the very cause most dear to us as Baptists. Br. Failing says (and what he says they all say, and I suppose he says what Br. Thomas in your city thinks), that, if the Home Mission Society will send them a suitable man and pay him \$600 salary, the people of Portland will do the rest. I say there is no doubt they will pay from \$100 to \$200. The man should be adapted to carry along at once the work of building a good house of worship. Br. Failing will be active in the work. It would be very desirable that such a man should be appointed as would meet the approbation of Br. Thomas, and especially the approbation of the Lord Jesus Christ. I do not believe such a man can be sustained in that place for less than \$800 per annum.

Yours,

E. FISHER.

Respecting Br. Post, I think all things are about right and trust his school will give him a support. This school has averaged 40 scholars since the first two weeks. We are finishing the building as fast as we can in these hard times for money, while I am detained at Oregon City. I shall write you imme-

³⁴⁷ Rev. Horace Lyman, who came to Portland in 1849, was settled there until the spring of 1854. The church building was dedicated on June 15, 1851.—George H. Himes.

diately on the close of the meeting of the association, which takes place next week.

As ever yours in Christ Jesus,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—I sent you a bill for goods to be filled by you, I think in the month of February. I have heard nothing from you on that subject yet and am becoming somewhat anxious, as the first bill forwarded in October was lost and my family supplies are becoming pretty well exhausted. I think I shall hear from you however by the next mail on that subject. If my second bill has not been received please inform me immediately.

Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received July 24.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., July 8th, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

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

Dear Brother:

The Willamette Baptist Association closed its session last week on Monday. The sessions were harmonious in the main and exhibited strong evidence that the churches are becoming more impressed with the importance of a devoted ministry and of united Christian effort for the suppression of vice and the diffusion of the gospel of Christ. During the last associational year most of our older churches have enjoyed pleasing revivals and the account of the Christian character of the young members is truly pleasing. The churches have received by baptism since the last anniversary 106.³⁴⁷ Four small churches were received into the association this year. Our net increase is 197, and our total number 442. The association raised a subscription of \$165 to employ a man to travel and preach in Lane County, which lies at the head of the Willamette Valley and north of the Calapooia Mountains. \$60.50 was paid on the spot. On Sabbath a collection of \$13.10 was taken up

³⁴⁷ At least one of these men, Rev. A. J. Hunsaker, became a minister. Another, C. C. Sperry, who had been previously baptized, but who was aroused in 1853, was later ordained.—Mattoon, *Bapt. An. of Ore.*, 1:106, 108.

for the same object. Elder Robert D. Gray³⁴⁸ was employed to enter that field immediately. In this field is one small, languishing church, and there are now materials for one or two churches which we trust our missionary will organize the present season.³⁴⁹ Br. Gray will be kept in the field till winter, perhaps the entire year. In addition to the above named funds, we have \$7.00 in the treasury designated to the preaching of the Word in this valley. The churches in Yamhill and Polk counties have agreed to sustain Br. Riley³⁵⁰ the coming year to travel in those counties, supply monthly the three churches in that field and spend the remainder of the time in supplying destitute settlements a part of the time. During the sessions of the association reports were made on the subjects of establishing a religious press in Oregon and on ways and means for supplying our churches and destitute towns and settlements with preaching. Resolutions were passed favoring the general objects of the denomination, such as the Home Mission cause, Publication Society, the Sunday school effort and the circulation of religious periodicals. During the time, the friends of education held a meeting in which an informal report of the trustees of the Oregon City College was made. The school was found to be in a prosperous condition under the tuition of Rev. J. D. Post. Since Professor Post entered upon his labors, it was found that the average number of scholars in attendance was 40. By the treasurer's report it was found that \$4611.13 had been collected and expended on the building for the school since the commencement of the work, and that the building was about \$150 in debt. A resolution was passed recommending the trustees to complete the building as soon as practicable. On Thursday, before the meeting of the association, an interesting ministers' meeting was held, a constitution and rules of decorum for a permanent organization adopted and the ministers' meeting regularly

³⁴⁸ Rev. R. D. Gray (1850-1871) was born in Tennessee and came to Oregon from Arkansas in 1853.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:105.

³⁴⁹ The existing church was the Willamette Forks Church, which had been organized in 1852. Two others, the Palestine and the Mount Zion churches were organized later in 1854.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:16.

³⁵⁰ This was Rev. Cleveland C. Riley. He was born in Tennessee and came to Oregon from Missouri in 1853, settling near the LaCreole Church.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:100.

organized to meet annually, the day preceding the meeting of the said association. You will be furnished with the minutes of the association as soon as printed. On the whole, while we deplore the miserable inadequacy of ministerial talent appropriated and the almost entire destitution of Baptist preaching in most of our important towns, we are led to rejoice with exceeding great joy that the progress of the cause of our blessed Redeemer is onward and we trust the time is not far removed when all churches will be supplied with an efficient, devoted ministry, and flourishing churches will be raised up in all our growing towns. For this we will labor and and sacrifice and pray till the good Lord shall make our Zion a name and a praise in the land.

Affectionately yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Aug. 12, 1854.

Oregon City, O. Ter., July 19th, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Yours of May 30th was received by the last mail. No doubt God's providences are all right. Yet we are so short-sighted creatures that we often wish for the time they might be otherwise. I seriously regret that Br. Cramb is delayed till fall. It appears to me that it is a final failure, yet we may be as happily disappointed in his case as we were in Br. Post's. I will not despair of his coming till I am obliged to give up all hope. But how shall I dispose of my time in the mean time? It seems exceedingly desirable that I be among the churches and new settlements through the fall months during the time of their yearly meetings, most of which come off in Sept. and Oct. The rising towns on the Columbia River, from its mouth to The Dalles, just at the east base of the Cascade Mountains, should be visited; and then there is Pugets Sound in Washington Ter., which I have promised you that I would visit this season, and then the church in this place, and the outdoor work for the school should be attended to immediately.

It seems to me that I cannot stay at home any longer. If there is any prospect that your Society can occupy the Sound by two practical, common sense, pious ministers, I would not fail to explore that region this fall. But if I must spend six or eight weeks of the best of the season in exploring the country, perhaps preach twelve or fifteen sermons and leave the territory two years more before a man is sent to break up the ground and preach the gospel of the Kingdom, it would seem that we had better attempt to cultivate the already too wide and neglected field in the Willamette Valley. In the absence of any positive instruction from you on the subject, I shall try and look to the Great Head of the church for direction, and you will not be surprised to hear from me in Washington Ter. in six or eight weeks after the receipt of this. I may be able to receive all the reliable intelligence necessary to enable me to give you a general view of the demands of that very important portion of the country, but as yet I have nothing reliable since I last wrote you on that subject. The Dalles is fast coming into importance and, although at this time there is not more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty white people in its vicinity, it is an important trading point and must ever be the key to the whole country of the Columbia River above the Cascade Mountains, and at no distant day must become a populous city. At this time there are five dry goods stores at that place. I think I shall try and visit that place this fall, while the immigrants are there, and spend one or two Sabbaths. This place has such a commanding position that I know of no place where an effort will be so sure to be attended with permanent results. Another important town will rise up at the Cascade Falls of the Columbia, 40 miles below The Dalles, and at the head of ship navigation on the Columbia,

Respectfully yours,

EZRA FISHER.

July 19th, 1854.

Dear Brother Hill:

I am in need of some funds to defray my traveling and family expenses and have an opportunity of exchanging \$150

or \$200 with Brother Post by drawing an order on you. I have therefore agreed to make the exchange with Br. J. D. Post. The order will probably be drawn in favor of Br. Pike, the manufacturer of mathematical instruments in N. Y. I shall send the order in two or three weeks. When you send me the bill of the goods, please let me know how my account stands on your books.

Yours respectfully,
EZRA FISHER.

Received Aug. 24.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Sept. 26th, 1854.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. Am. Bap. Home Mission Society.

Dear Brother:

As yet I have heard nothing from the goods I ordered you to put up for me, except a line from you stating that you would fill the bill and ship the goods the first opportunity. It is now almost a year since I made the first order. My family had depended upon them for their summer clothing and now we are looking with anxiety for them for our winter supply. We fear the bill of lading has been miscarried. I have heard nothing from you, except by the Record, for two months. Please inform me at your earliest convenience whether you have shipped the goods; also when we may expect them, if they are not already shipped. I presume you have done as well as you could in this matter, but, if I could have anticipated the results, I think I should not have ordered the goods, but made my drafts and clothed my family here. But no doubt God designs all for the best. . . .

Your unworthy brother in Christ,
EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—The yearly meetings will soon be over for this season. You will then hear from me respecting our towns; also respecting Washington Territory, or I shall visit and report my actual explorations. Yet our brethren here are very unwilling to have me leave the Willamette Valley, in view of

the great scarcity of laborers and the pressing calls from the churches and destitute places where important Baptist interests might be built up if we had the laborers.

Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Nov. 10.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Oct. 1st, 1854.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. of Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society as Exploring Agent for the 2d quarter ending September 30th, 1854.

I have visited the La Creole Church in Polk County, ten miles west of Salem, Santiam Church, Lynn Co., 35 miles south of Salem, and Yamhill Church, 7 miles west of Lafayette, seat of justice for Yam Hill County and 40 miles southwest from Oregon City. Traveled 205 miles to and from my appointments. Have labored 13 weeks during the quarter. Have collected \$5.50, it being a collection taken up in the Oregon City Church on the first Sabbath in July. Paid for traveling expenses \$1.50; for postage \$.25. Preached 30 sermons. Have attended three yearly meetings in the above-named churches, all of which were blessed with more than usual manifestations of Divine favor.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,

Exploring Agent.

* * * *

P. S.—I have made out this report on the 26th of Sept. on account of my leaving tomorrow for a yearly meeting on the Calapooia River with the Pleasant Butte Church,³⁵¹ Lynn County, 42 miles south of Salem. Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

³⁵¹ The Pleasant Butte Church, Linn County, was organized Nov. 16, 1853, by Rev. G. C. Chandler and others.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:16.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Oct. 1st, 1854.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. of Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.

Dear Br.:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society as General Itinerant for the second quarter ending the 20th day of Sept., 1854.

I have labored thirteen weeks in the quarter; preached 30 sermons; attended 10 prayer meetings, three church covenant meetings; spent three weeks wholly in three yearly meetings, preaching, praying and exhorting as the cause of Christ seemed to demand; visited religiously 51 families and other persons; traveled 205 miles to and from my appointments. In connection with the labors of my associates in the ministry, 1 has been baptized into the Santiam Church, 22 into the La Creole Church and 4 received by letter, and 4 were baptized into the Yam Hill Church, all of whom were baptized by the respective pastors of said churches. There have been 30 cases of hopeful conversions in these churches. I have visited the LaCreole Church in Polk Co., ten miles west of Salem, Santiam Church, 35 miles south of Salem, Lynn Co., and Yam Hill Church, 7 miles west of Lafayette, the seat of justice for Yam Hill Co. The Church at Oregon City sustained the monthly concert of prayer and have taken monthly collections at the same, amounting to about \$9.00. The church at Oregon City took up a collection on the first Sabbath in July of \$5.50 for the Home Mission Society. Sabbath schools, one with the Oregon City Church, the same as last quarter reported, one with the LaCreole Church.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,
General Itinerant.

Received Nov. 10.

DEATH LIST OF OREGON PIONEERS OCTOBER 1 — DECEMBER 31, 1918

Compiled by GEORGE H. HIMES.

- Alphin, Mrs. Sarah J., b. Ind., 1827; Or. 1848; d. Independence, Nov. —, 1918.
Applegate, Ivan D., b. Mo. 1840; Or. 1843; d. Ashland, Dec. 28, 1918. (Accidentally burned.)
Bennett, A. T., b. Mo. 1842; Or. 1854; d. Eugene, Dec. 25, 1918.
Bilyeu, Jackson A., b. Mo. Feb. 12, 1851; Or. 1852; d. Sept. 14, 1918.
Beagle, Mrs. Maria Mauzey, b. Washington co., June 20, 1852; d. Sept. 14, 1918.
Blakeney, J. W., b. Ill. 1850; Or. 1858; d. Dec. 20, 1918.
Canada, Dr. M., b. — 1831; Or. 1852; d. Dec. 14, 1918.
Cannon, Mrs. Virginia F., b. Ky. 1838; Or. 1854; d. June 7, 1918.
Chute, Mrs. Clara, b. Nov. 11, 1840; Or. 1844; d. Dec. 18, 1918.
Cooper, Joel, b. Linn co. 1852; d. Sept. 21, 1918.
*Cornwall, Rev. Joseph Harding, b. Ark. Oct. 8, 1832; Or. 1846; d. Dallas, Nov. 9, 1918.
Crowley, Mrs. Jane Weddle, b. 1846; Or. 1853; d. Sept. 1918.
Croxtan, James Henry, b. Jackson co. 1855; d. Oct. 2, 1918.
Cruzan, Mrs. Caroline, b. 1847; Or. 1852; d. June 13, 1918.
Cuttler, Benjamin, b. 1824; Or. 1852; d. Oct. 22, 1918.
Darneille, Jasper, b. Or. Sept. 1, 1853; d. Aug. 12, 1918.
Davis, Lycurgus, b. Ind. April 6, 1839; Or. 1846; d. Dec. 27, 1918.
Dougherty, John Cecil, b. Tillamook co. Feb. 12, 1858; d. June 4, 1918.
Douglas, Levi, b. Ohio, July 28, 1832; Or. 1852; d. July 16, 1918.
Ennes, Mrs. Riley K., b. Ark. Sept. 10, 1840; Or. 1852; d. October 23, 1918.
Epperly, Albert b. Va. 1833; Or. 1852; d. Dec. 13, 1918.
Epperly, Albert, b. Va. 1833; Or. 1852 d.; Dec. 13, 1918.
Fryer, Alexander Lafayette, b. Ky. 1820; Or. 1852; d. Oct. 19, 1918.
Graves, James Alfres, b. Ohio, 1830; Or. 1852; d. Vancouver, Wash., Oct. 12, 1918.
Hamblin, Dunton E., b. N. Y. 1832; Or. 1859; d. Portland, Oct. 30, 1918.
Hamilton, Clarence Marsfield, b. 1847; Or. 1851; d. Dec. 22, 1918.
Harris, Mrs. Eliza, b. Mo. June 7, 1850; Or. 1852; d. Sept. 11, 1918.
*Hayter, Thomas Jefferson, b. Mo. 1830; d. Dallas, Oct. 30, 1918.
*Johnson, Mrs. Martha Barnes, b. Mo. April 6, 1846; Or. 1847; d. Portland, Nov. 9, 1918.
Karr, Mrs. Abigail Walker, b. Or. 1840; d. N. Yakima, Wash., Nov. 9, 1918.
Landess, George, b. Or. Feb. 1854; d. Carlton, Oct. 2, 1918.
Larkin, Able, b. Ill. 1839; Or. 1852; d. Bellefontaine, Oct. 12, 1918.
Lewis, Mrs. Martha Ann, b. Ind. —; Cal. 1850; d. Sand Point, Idaho, Aug. 21, 1918.
Mack, Mrs. Alice Matilda White, b. Or. April 23, 1857; d. Nov. 20, 1918.
McCormick, John, b. Marion co., 1854; d. Aug. 8, 1918.
Miller, Mrs. Harriet, b. Ill., 1840; Or. 1850; d. Scio Nov. 1918.
McGeary, Thomas W., b. Mex. 1846; Or. 1852; d. Tacoma, Wash., Dec. 1918.
McKay, Capt. Charles, b. Nova Scotia, 1828; Cal. 1849; Or. 1859; d. San Juan Island, Wash., Dec. 1, 1918.
Murphy, Henderson W., b. Ill. 1835; Or. 1852; d. Dec. 31, 1918.
*Nicholson, Wm. T. Bryhan, b. N. Y. 1836; Or. 1859; d. Portland, Sept. 18, 1918.
Olds, Jay C., b. Yamhill co. 1854; d. Portland, Dec. 29, 1918. (Member of the Oregon Historical Society.)
Owen, Mrs. Millie A., b. 1851; Or. 1852; d. Nov. 6, 1918.
Palmer, Mary Ann Boyd, b. Ill. Nov. 28, 1838; Or. 1844; d. Sept. 14, 1918.
Parker, Daniel George, b. Mich. Aug. 21, 1842; Or. 1852; d. July 7, 1918.
Pochert, Mrs. Rachel R. Deakins, b. —; Or. 1852; d. Tacoma, Wash., Dec. 4, 1918.
*Porter, Mrs. Emily Agar, b. Ireland 1836; U. S. 1842; Or. 1852; d. Nov. 9, 1918.
Reynolds, Alva I., b. N. Y. 1832; Or. 1852; d. Sept. 5, 1918.
*Richey, Edgar, b. Ill. 1840; Or. 1852; d. Portland, Nov. 9, 1918.
*Rinehart, William Vance, b. Ind. 1835; Cal. 1854; Or. 1860; d. Seattle, Wash., Oct. 16, 1918.
Ruch, George, b. Mo. March 29, 1839; Or. 1856; d. Nov. 16, 1918.

- *Smith, Mrs. Mianda Bailey, b. Ohio, 1829; Or. 1845; d. Chehalis, Wash., Oct. 4, 1918.
 Smith, Mrs. Nancy Maxwell, b. 1838; Or. 1847; d. Condon, Nov. 19, 1918.
 *Stevens, Gen. Hazard, b. R. I. 1842; Wash. 1854; d. Goldendale, Oct. 11, 1918. (Honorary member of the Oregon Historical Society.)
 Veatch, Sylvester E., b. Ill. March 27, 1831; Or. 1853; d. Oct. 19, 1918.
 Ward, Moses, b. Ind. 1829; Or. 1852; d. Lakeview, Wash., Dec. 23, 1918.
 Whitney, George, b. Oregon Dec. 28, 1852; d. near Woodburn Dec. 3, 1918.
 *Woody, Rev. C. A., b. Linn co. 1856; d. Nov. 7, 1918. (Member of the Oregon Historical Society.)
 *Taylor, Douglas William, b. Iowa, Jan. 23, 1851; Or. 1854; d. Portland, Dec. 12, 1918.
 Only those marked with a * were ever members of the Oregon Pioneer Association which was organized in 1873.

OMITTED IN PREVIOUS REPORTS FOR 1918

- Bewley, Mrs. Margaret Elvina Dawson, b. Yamhill county, May 16, 1851; m. John M. Bewley, pioneer 1847, May 26, 1870; d. Spokane, Wash., Jan. 7, 1918.
 Osborn, Alexander R., b. on summit of the Rocky mountains, August 5, 1845; d. Bandon, Or., Dec. 9, 1918.
 Thomas, Lorenzo S., b. 1840; Or., 1848; d. Hubbard, Feb. 27, 1918.

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