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THE ADOPTION OF THE RESERVATION POLICY IN
PACIFIC NORTHWEST, 1853-1855

By C. F. COAN

State University of New Mexico

The Formation of a New Indian Policy for Oregon Territory.—Anson Dart's failure to secure treaties that the Senate would ratify resulted in his resignation. Joel Palmer was appointed March 17, 1853, to succeed him in the work of forming and administering an Indian policy in Oregon. Palmer had settled in Oregon in 1845, and had taken an active part in the Cayuse Indian War. He was generally respected by the Indians and the settlers. It was his belief that, since the settlers had occupied the valley lands, the only means of saving the Indians was for the government to provide reservations and assistance for them, in order that they might become a settled people. This plan was adopted, although not without an armed effort on the part of the Indians to prevent it.*

At the time Palmer took charge, he stated that the Indians of the Willamette Valley were restless and in a deplorable state. The causes for this state of affairs were: the non-ratification of the treaties, which had been made with them; the belief among the Indians that the treaties would not be ratified until they had wasted away; the settling of the lands which the Indians claimed under the treaties; the decrease in the supply of roots and game due to the increasing settle-

* Washington Territory was created, March 2, 1853, out of the northern part of the Oregon country, as limited by the treaty with Great Britain, June 14, 1846. From 1853 to 1859, the boundary between the Territory of Washington and the Territory of Oregon was the Columbia River and the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, from the Pacific Ocean to the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains.

ments; and the pauperization of the Indians by unprincipled whites.¹

The Willamette Valley Indians had never made any serious opposition to the settlement of their country, but the Indians of the southwestern coast of Oregon, of the upper Rogue River Valley, of the Klamath Lake region, showed a decided determination to prevent the settlement of their districts. Offences by the Coquille Indians were committed in 1851, such as the attack upon T'Vault's party. In the winter of 1853-54, Indians were killed along the Illinois River, at the mouth of the Chetco River,² and at the mouth of the Coquille River.³ According to some reports the settlers were the aggressors. They claimed that the Indians had threatened to destroy the settlements. In August, 1853, the Rogue River Indians attacked the settlements in the upper Rogue River Valley.⁴ (The mounted rifle regiment had been attacked at the crossing of Rogue River in the fall of 1851, and there had been trouble in 1852 with these Indians.) After an armed conflict the Indians sued for peace and agreed to cede their lands. Joseph Lane, who commanded the volunteers, made a treaty with them that became the basis for the first treaty made with the Oregon Indians. Later, during the winter, the Indians were attacked on Cottonwood Creek on the ground that they were planning to destroy the settlements.⁵ The emigrant parties of 1853 and 1854 passed through the Klamath Lake region without being attacked, due to military protection of the volunteers. In January, 1854, four men were killed near lower Klamath Lake, and in May the settlers attacked the Indians at Klamath Ferry.⁶ In almost every case the Federal authorities reported that the whites were entirely responsible for the outbreak, and that the Indians were being exterminated. These reports of army and Indian officers, accusing the whites of attacking the Indians, mark the beginning of the quarrel between the people

¹ Joel Palmer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 23, 1853, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 26, 1853 (Serial 710, Doc. 1), p. 449.

² Palmer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 11, 1854, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 25, 1854 (Serial 746, Doc. 1), p. 467.

³ F. M. Smith to Joel Palmer, Feb. 5, 1854, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 25, 1854 (Serial 746, Doc. 1), p. 476.

⁴ Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 308.

⁵ A. J. Smith to George Wright, Jan. 31, 1854, in *Message from the President . . . communicating . . . the instructions and correspondence between the government and Major General Wool, in regard to his operations on the Coast of the Pacific*, Dec. 26, 1854 (Serial 751, Doc. 16), p. 18.

⁶ J. C. Bonnycastle to John E. Wool, May 28, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 76.

of Oregon, and the officers of the military and the Indian department.

Difficulties with the Indians in the interior were expected by the military and Indian authorities unless some change was brought about in their attitude toward settlements that were being made. Major Rains stated that five Indians had been killed in the vicinity of Fort Dalles during a short period prior to January 29, 1854, and that the Indians were so enraged by the actions of the settlers in taking their lands and committing crimes that prompt action would be required to prevent an Indian war, with all the tribes between the Cascade Mountains and the Rockies united.⁷ The Indian agent at The Dalles, R. R. Thompson, wrote that conflicts between the settlers and the Indians were on the increase caused by; the whites taking up claims which included the lands actually occupied by the Indians, the robbing of the emigrants along the trail, and the presence of whiskey dealers, who under the guise of settlers, were carrying on their trade.⁸ The most serious Indian attack, that occurred during the period under consideration, happened near Fort Boise. The Shoshoni Indians along the Snake River were said to have threatened to kill all those who might fall into their hands, and the fate of the Ward party, and several men of another party, in the fall of 1854, seemed to be the carrying out of this threat. Nineteen of the Ward party were murdered, August 20, 1854, on the Oregon trail, twenty miles east of Fort Boise.⁹

It will be seen from this brief survey of the Indian situation, that difficulties were more numerous, and scattered over a larger area than in previous years. The obvious reason for this was the increase of settlements outside of the Willamette Valley. There were two other causes for the dangerous Indian situation that existed in the fall of 1854. These were: the failure of the courts and police to punish offences by the Indians and the settlers; and the failure of the military department to inspire the Indians with sufficient fear of the Americans, to prevent attacks.

The Indian policy in Oregon which was adopted in 1854

⁷ G. J. Rains to E. D. Townsend, Jan. 29, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸ R. R. Thompson to Palmer, Sept. 3, 1854, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 25, 1854 (Serial 746, Doc. 1), p. 486.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 487.

was based on the recommendations of agents and the superintendent of Indian affairs, in Oregon, and those of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The formation and the adoption of the reservation policy in Oregon, and in Washington, was largely the work of Joel Palmer. The plan of removing the western Indians to eastern Oregon had failed, and the plan of extinguishing the title, and leaving the Indians to roam as they pleased, which had been adopted in the treaties of 1851, had been rejected by the Senate. In commenting on the Indian situation in California and Oregon, November 30, 1852, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs said:

"Regarding the policy of the rejected treaties [in California] as finally abandoned, and considering the removal of the Indians from the State as impossible, I suggest, as worthy of consideration, the plan of forming them into two grand colonies, to be suitably located; one in the northern and the other in the southern portion of the State. Like circumstances recommend a like policy in relation to the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon."¹⁰

Palmer's first recommendations were made, June 23, 1853, in which he outlined an Indian policy and suggested a region which he considered would make a good reservation for the Indians of western Oregon. He stated that the system adopted by Gaines and Dart of allowing the Indians to mingle with the whites would, if put into effect, speedily result in the extermination of the Indians. He laid down four principles of policy necessary for the preservation of the Indians, namely: a home remote from the settlements; laws guarding them from degraded whites; laws governing the Indians in their relations with one another; and the aid of schools, missionaries, and instruction in agriculture.¹¹ With the above views in mind, Palmer proposed that the Willamette Valley Indians be located in the small valleys along the Pacific Coast between the Yaquina and the Alsea River. A number of reasons were given for considering this a favorable location. These were: the friendliness, free intercourse, and similarity in customs and languages, of the Indians inhabiting the Coast region and the Willamette Valley; the abundance of game and fish west

¹⁰ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, Nov. 30, 1852 (Serial 658, Doc. 1), p. 301.

¹¹ Palmer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 23, 1853, C. I. A., *A. R.*, Nov. 26, 1853 (Serial 710, Doc. 1), p. 450.

of the Coast Range; the prevalence of small valleys adaptable to cultivation; the complete separation of the country by the Coast Range from the Willamette Valley; the uninviting coast which repelled ingress from the sea, and the unattractiveness of the small valleys for white settlements. These recommendations were concluded by the following statement which described the status of the Indian policy in the summer of 1853:

"It is evident that a delay in coming to a full and definite understanding with the Indian bands residing in the settlements serves greatly to increase the difficulty of final adjustment. In the absence of instructions from the department, I feel much embarrassed how to proceed in adjusting difficulties. My conviction, from what I have said, may be easily inferred, that these evils can scarcely be mitigated by any means in my power, and only abated by the removal of the Indians. The peace of society, the security of property, the welfare of the Indians, demand it.¹²

Further recommendations were made by Palmer, October 8, 1853. They were included in his annual report which was received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs too late to be printed in the annual report of the Commissioner for 1853. This communication has not previously been printed.^{12'} The importance of the document is, that the recommendations made in it became the basis for the reservation Indian policy for the Pacific Northwest. That there were recommendations in the report urging that treaties be negotiated for the purchase of the lands from the Indians of Oregon Territory which would provide reservations for the Indians, and assistance to them in establishing themselves as settled peoples, is shown by the reference to them in a special report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 6, 1854, which will be discussed a little later.¹³

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1853, pointed out the necessity of adopting some systematic policy in dealing with the Indians of the Far West. He stated that no plan had been decided upon for any part of the region. It

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 451.

^{12'} Joel Palmer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 8, 1853. Indian Office, *Archives*. (Dr. J. Franklin Jameson procured for the writer photostats of this report, a copy of which is reproduced in the appendix.)

¹³ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, Feb. 6, 1854, *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior transmitting a report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommending the speedy making of treaties with the Indian tribes of the Territories of Oregon and Washington*, Feb. 9, 1854 (Serial 721, Doc. 55), pp. 1-3.

was recommended that a commission be appointed to report on the subject of Indian policy in the territories of New Mexico, Utah, Oregon, Washington, and the states of Texas and California. The reasons for urging the immediate adoption of a plan for dealing with these Indians were: the increase in the number of depredations committed by the Indians on the settlers; the losses sustained by the government, which was responsible to the settlers under the law, since it failed to restrain the Indians; the necessity for the colonization of the Indians if they were to be saved from extermination; and the inexpensiveness of the reservation system as compared with the constant use of the military force to keep the peace. The Commissioner was, quite evidently, in favor of colonizing the Indians.¹⁴

A special report was submitted to Congress, February 9, 1854, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in which he advised that treaties be speedily made with the Indians of Oregon and Washington, both east and west of the Cascade Mountains. It was this report, based on Palmer's report of October 8, 1853, that determined the policy of treaties and reservations for the Indians of Oregon and Washington. The report recommended that Congress appropriate \$68,000 to pay the expenses of negotiating the treaties and to pay the first installment of the annuities. This action was stated to be necessary; because the lands of the Indians were being taken by the whites; because the government had encouraged the settlement of the region; because the prosperity of the country was delayed by the uncertainty of peace; because an extensive outbreak was probable unless the Indians were pacified; because hostilities were caused by the absence of treaties; and because it was desirable that there be peace with the Indians along the routes of the railroad projects.¹⁵ This recommendation led to the decision on the part of the government to make treaties with the Indians of Oregon and Washington. Later recommendations only tended to strengthen the belief on the part of the Indian office that the situation

¹⁴ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, Nov. 26, 1853 (Serial 710, Doc. 1), p. 260.

¹⁵ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior, Feb. 6, 1854, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

was serious and that the proper means had been adopted to remedy it.

J. L. Parrish, the agent for the Oregon coast district, recommended, July 20, 1854, that the Indians be treated as wards, placed on reservations, protected, and taught the customs of civilized life; that they be trained to understand the laws of the land; and that they be persuaded to give up their tribal relations and customs, in order that they might become capable of exercising the rights and duties of citizenship.¹⁶

The Indian agent for eastern Oregon, R. R. Thompson, expressed the belief, July 20, 1854, that the existing unsatisfactory conditions could only be remedied by purchasing the Indian title and placing the Indians on reservations.¹⁷

Palmer visited the coast district, between the Yaquina and the Alsea River, in the spring of 1854, and found that it was less desirable for an Indian reservation than he had supposed. He stated that it would be possible to locate the Indians in that region if the Indian department would furnish sufficient employees to manage the Indians in the isolated valleys which characterized the country.

In the summer of the same year, Palmer visited the Klamath Lake region and reported that it would be a good location for the Indians of the Willamette and the Umpqua Valley. The advantage of this district was its remoteness from other lands useful for settlements. Objections were found to the plan, in the cold winters of the Klamath Lake area, and the unwillingness of the Indians to move east of the Cascade Mountains. These, however, were not considered serious hindrances to the plan.

Palmer again recommended, September 11, 1854, that treaties of purchase be made with the Indians of the Territory of Oregon. This was an unnecessary repetition of earlier recommendations but he had not been informed that Congress had passed an Act authorizing the making of treaties and appropriating money for that purpose, July 31, 1854.¹⁸ The recommendations, however, were important because the policy

¹⁶ J. L. Parrish to Palmer, July 20, 1854, C. I. A., A. R. Nov. 25, 1854 (Serial 746, Doc. 1), p. 498.

¹⁷ Thompson to Palmer, July 20, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 485.

¹⁸ The Indian Appropriation Act, July 31, 1854, *Statutes at Large*, X, 330.

was not determined in detail by Congress or the Indian bureau but left to the discretion of the superintendents of Indian affairs in Oregon and Washington. Palmer advised that the Indians be placed on reservations where they should be governed, at first, by agents of the government; and later, when they became capable, by members of their own race under the laws of the United States.¹⁹

Several treaties were made by Palmer before the authorization by Congress, July 31, 1854. After the conflict in the upper Rogue River Valley during August and September 1853, Joseph Lane, the commander of the Oregon volunteers, made a peace treaty, September 8, 1853, with the Upper Rogue River Indians. It defined the boundaries of the lands claimed by these Indians, and provided that they should accept a reservation to be designated in the future. They agreed to surrender their arms, and pay for the destruction of property in the late conflict with the whites, out of their annuities.²⁰ Palmer made a treaty with these Indians, September 10, 1853, one provision of which was that \$15,000 was to be retained for the payment of property destroyed as provided in Lane's treaty of September 8, 1853. The other provisions of the treaty were, as follows: the Indians agreed to cede the lands of the upper Rogue River Valley and accept as a temporary reserve the Table Rock region, with the understanding that this reservation might be exchanged for another, or divided into farms for the Indians. They were to receive, \$55,000 in twenty annual installments—in addition to presents received at the time the treaty was made—and houses for the chiefs. The Indians also agreed to protect travelers; restore stolen property; and to submit their grievances among themselves and with the whites, to the Indian agent for settlement.²¹

The Cow Creek band of Umpqua Indians, on account of having participated in the attacks on the settlements in the upper Rogue River Valley in August and September, 1853, were forced to cede their lands, September 19, 1853. The cession was a small region in the central part of southwestern

¹⁹ Palmer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 11, 1854, C. I. A., *A. R.*, Nov. 25, 1854. (Serial 746, Doc. 1), p. 473.

²⁰ C. J. Kappler, comp., *Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties*. (Serial 4624, Doc. 319), II, 1049.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 603-5.

Oregon. The Indians agreed to remove to the temporary reservation at Table Rock. They were to receive in payment for the cession \$11,000 in twenty annual installments of beneficial objects, and \$2,000 in presents and buildings. The other provisions were the same as those of the treaty with the Upper Rogue River Indians. These treaties were ratified by the Senate, April 12, 1854, but, due to the Senate amendment which was not agreed to by the Indians until November 11, 1854, they were not proclaimed until February 5, 1855.²²

The Indian Policy for Washington Territory.—The Indian policy for Washington was identical with that adopted for the Territory of Oregon. This was not due to the action of the government but rather to the fact that Palmer and Stevens were, in general, of the same opinion as to the proper manner of conducting Indian affairs. The situation north of the Columbia River and the forty-sixth parallel of latitude was similar to that south of the line except that there were fewer settlements and more powerful Indians, in Washington Territory.

The Indian situation in Washington Territory in 1853 was more serious east of the Cascade Mountains than west of those mountains although the settlements were almost exclusively in the western part of the territory. There was a movement, in this year, to make settlements in the interior of the territory. The region had been practically closed to settlement since the Cayuse Indian War. The military commander in the Puget Sound region stated that the settlers were unjustly taking lands cultivated by the Indians.²³ Colonel Bonneville, Father Pandory, and Major Alvord, wrote that the Indian situation in eastern Washington was threatening the peace of the Pacific Northwest. Bonneville stated, February 23, 1853, that settlements were to be attempted in the Walla Walla Valley during the coming summer and that there would probably be trouble with the Indians as they would not peaceably submit to the occupation of their lands.²⁴ It was stated by Father Pandory, April 1853, that during the winter of 1852-

²² *Ibid.*, II, 606-7.

²³ Floyd Jones to Townsend, Sept. 1, 1853, *Message from the President transmitting report in regard to Indian affairs on the Pacific*, Feb. 14, 1857 (Serial 906, Doc. 76), p. 9.

²⁴ B. L. E. Bonneville to Townsend, Feb. 23, 1853, *ibid.*, p. 76.

53, there had been rumors that the Cayuse and the Nez Perces were in favor of a war against the American settlers, and that feasts had been held by the Nez Perces and the Cayuse in the spring of 1853 for the purpose of uniting all of the interior Indians against the whites. Places had been designated for the gathering of the warriors of the various tribes. The reason for these plans for hostilities was that the settlers were taking their lands.²⁵ Major Alvord reported, July 17, 1853: that the Cayuse were afraid that the Americans would dispossess them of their lands; and that if settlements were attempted in the Walla Walla country, under the existing conditions, as had been planned, war would likely result with the Cayuse and their sympathizers, the Yakima. These men believed that some provision should be made for the Indians before the settlement of the region was attempted.²⁶ Bonneville advised that the Indians be given reservations, and that Indian agents be appointed to look after their interests. Alvord recommended that the Indian title to the lands along the Columbia River between The Dalles and the Cascades be extinguished and reservations provided for the Indians of that region. He also suggested that the northeastern part of the Territory of Washington—which at that time extended to the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains—be reserved as an "Indian Country." These opinions, with the exception of the last, were in line with the later policy as developed by Stevens.

It seems evident from the above statements that the Indian situation in the eastern part of Washington Territory had reached a critical stage in the fall of 1853. The movement of settlement had started east from the Pacific, and settlers, coming from the "States," were beginning to stop east of the Cascade Mountains, due to the occupation of all the lands thought desirable west of those mountains. Isaac I. Stevens, the governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory, faced, from the beginning of his administration in the fall of 1853, the difficult problem of adopting measures that

²⁵ Father Pandory to Father Mesplie, April 1853, *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior transmitting . . . the report of J. Ross Browne, on the subject of the Indian war in Oregon and Washington Territories*, Jan. 25, 1858 (Serial 955, Doc. 38), p. 64.

²⁶ B. Alvord to Townsend, July 17, 1853, *Message from the President . . .*, Feb. 14, 1857 (Serial 906, Doc. 76), p. 11.

would give the settlers the lands, and that would satisfy the Indians and thus prevent hostilities. This proved to be an impossible task.

In the fall of 1853, the Indian service for Washington Territory was organized. The superintendent visited the Indians under his charge as he proceeded westward as chief of the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey, and became acquainted with the tribes which he was to manage until 1857. The Act which created the territory, March 2, 1853, reserved to the Federal government the control over the Indians; and to the Indians all the rights that they had had prior to the formation of the territory. It provided that the governor should be, ex-officio, superintendent of Indian affairs.²⁷

The instructions issued to Governor Stevens by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 9, 1853, were of a general nature. The Commissioner stated that the information in the hands of the bureau concerning the Indians of the new Territory of Washington was of very little value. Stevens was instructed: to obtain all the knowledge relative to the various tribes that he could; to report all the informal treaties that had been made between the Indians and the settlers; to state the needs of the Indian service in Washington Territory, after having surveyed the field; to submit estimates of the expenses necessary for the efficient conduct of the Indian affairs of the region; and to make recommendations relative to a change in the laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians. The Commissioner urged that the report on these matters be made as soon, and as full, as possible in order that he might make recommendations to Congress, since no money had been appropriated for the Indian service in the territory. Economy was necessary because funds appropriated for other purposes were being used for the Washington superintendency. Stevens was authorized to appoint temporary special agents.²⁸

The report of Isaac I. Stevens, December 26, 1853, was received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prior to the report of the latter of February 6, 1854, and influenced

²⁷ An Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Washington, Mar. 2, 1853, *Statutes at Large*, X, 172.

²⁸ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs to I. I. Stevens, May 9, 1853, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 26, 1853 (Serial 710, Doc. 1), p. 453.

the Commissioner to include Washington in his recommendation that treaties be speedily made with the Indians of Oregon. As in the case of Oregon, the formation of the Indian policy was placed in the hands of the superintendent. Recommendations made after the policy of making treaties had been adopted by Congress, July 31, 1854, were, therefore, important in determining the policy. In December, 1853, Stevens stated: the general policy which he believed should be followed in dealing with the Indians of Washington Territory; the cost of making the treaties; and a plan for the organization of the Indian service. It was asserted that it would be impossible to accomplish anything for the Indians unless they were paid for their lands and placed on reservations where they could be cared for. This situation was the result of the "Donation Act," passed by Congress September 27, 1850, which gave the lands to the settlers without regard to any claim that the Indians might have. The superintendent urged that the reservations be made immediately, because suitable lands for this purpose would be difficult to obtain if the matter was delayed, particularly west of the Cascade Mountains, as that part of the territory was rapidly filling up with settlers; and that the reservations be surveyed at once, in order that land disputes, a common cause of conflicts, between the whites and the Indians, might be settled more readily. It was estimated that \$30,000 would cover the cost of making the treaties with all of the Indians of the territory. The superintendent recommended that Washington be divided into five districts for Indian administration purposes; three of which were to be agencies, and, two sub-agencies. The agencies were to be the Puget Sound region, the Yakima and the Spokane country, and the St. Mary's Valley. The sub-agencies were to be southwestern Washington and the Spokane country. These were definite opinions as to what should be done, and how it should be done.²⁹

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended, Novem-

²⁹ Stevens to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 26, 1853, *Communication from the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs . . . recommending certain appropriations for the Indian service.* . . . , Feb. 9, 1854 (Serial 698, Doc. 34), pp. 7, 15; Stevens to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 16, 1854, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 25, 1854 (Serial 746, Doc. 1), pp. 415-62.

ber 26, 1853, that some plan be adopted for dealing with the Indians of Washington Territory. On the basis of Stevens's report of December 26, 1853, and the policy outlined by Palmer for Oregon, the Commissioner urged, February 6, 1854, that treaties be made with the Indians of Washington and Oregon. Congress authorized, July 31, 1854, the negotiation of treaties in these territories and appropriated \$45,000 for the making of presents to, and treaties with, the Indians of Washington. Congress, however, did not determine the policy, except to the extent of authorizing the making of treaties and of providing the money for accomplishing that work.

In a message to the territorial legislature, February 28, 1854, Governor Stevens urged that a memorial be addressed to Congress requesting that treaties be made with the Indians both east and west of the Cascade Mountains in the Territory of Washington. Concerning the subject, he said:

"The Indian title has not been extinguished east of the Cascade Mountains. Under the land law of Congress, it is impossible to secure titles to land, and thus the growth of towns and villages is obstructed, as well as the development of the resources of the Territories."³⁰

The Washington legislature accepted the suggestion of the governor and memorialized Congress, April 12, 1854, relative to the situation in eastern Washington. The memorial stated in part:

["The district east of the Cascade Mountains] is occupied by numerous tribes of Indians, who, although at present are on friendly terms with the citizens of this territory, yet are warlike in their dispositions, and may become still more so should further settlements be made among them without previous arrangement, and that the interests of this territory require that its citizens should be allowed at once to occupy that portion of this territory for agricultural and especially for grazing purposes, without molestation."³¹

In a report, September 16, 1854, Isaac I. Stevens laid down certain principles of Indian policy which he believed should be followed in making treaties with the Indians. He stated that the aim of the Indian policy should be to prepare the Indians

³⁰ Stevens to the Legislative Assembly, Feb. 28, 1854, Washington Legislature, Feb. 1854, 1 Sess., *House Journal*, p. 16.

³¹ "Memorial of the Legislature of Washington Territory relative to the extinction of Indian titles to lands in the Territory of Washington," April 12, 1854, Washington Legislature, Feb. 27, 1854, 1 Sess., *House Journal*, p. 148.

to become citizens of the United States. In order to accomplish this they should be provided with reservations of good lands of sufficient size to allow each head of a family a homestead. The Indians should be supplied with farms, and farmers to instruct them in agriculture. Many bands should be concentrated on one reservation in order that the control of the government over them might be more easily effected. The authority of the chiefs of the tribes should be increased so that they could be held responsible to the government for the conduct of their bands. The Indians should not be excluded from the fisheries. This plan of concentrating the Indians was probably the best but was difficult to effect without the use of force, as Stevens must have known.³² In the previous year, while among the Pend d'Oreille, he had been told of the effort of the Jesuit missionaries to persuade the Indians to move to a better region, and of their refusal on the ground of ancestral ties to their own country.³³

Thus, during 1853 and 1854, as a result of the increased settlements in Washington Territory, the Indian service had been organized; appropriations had been made for making treaties with the Indians; and Indian policy recommendations had been made by the superintendent of Indian affairs for Washington Territory. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 25, 1854 and the superintendent of Indian Affairs, for Washington Territory, February 28, 1854, expressed the belief that the time had come for the final settlement of the Indian problem in Washington.³⁴

The Negotiation of the Treaties.—We have seen that during 1853 and 1854 a policy of making treaties with the Indians had, for the second time, been adopted. The two differences that marked the later from the early policy were: the absence of any plan for a general removal of the Indians to an "Indian Country" and the inclusion of the whole area of the Pacific Northwest in the plan for the extinguishment of the Indian title. Between November 1854 and January 1856, fifteen treaties were made which extinguished the Indian title to all

³² Stevens to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 16, 1854, C. I. A., A. R. Nov. 25, 1854 (Serial 746, Doc. 1), p. 421.

³³ Stevens to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 16, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 450.

³⁴ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, Nov. 25, 1854 (Serial 746, Doc. 1), p. 223; Stevens to the Legislative Assembly, Feb. 28, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 15.

of the Pacific Northwest except southwestern Washington, the Okanogan, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene region, and the Snake country. They were negotiated by Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, and Isaac I. Stevens, who held the same office, for Washington Territory. These treaties contained provisions for colonization and management of the Indians. It is hardly necessary to consider the details of each treaty as the general character of all of them is the same. This can be shown by an enumeration of the provisions which the treaties had in common. All of the treaties included: a cession of lands; payment for the cession in annuities of beneficial objects; assistance for the Indians in the form of buildings, mills, instructors, and physicians; a reservation which the Indians were to occupy within a year after the ratification of the treaty; provision for the granting of the reservation lands to the Indians in severalty; compensation to the Indians for granting rights of way for roads or railroads through their reservations; the acknowledgment by the Indians of the jurisdiction of the Federal government over them; the submission of disputes among the Indians of a band, or with other bands, or with the whites, to the Indian agent for settlement; the non-payment of the debts of individual Indians from the annuities; and the reservation of fishing rights to the Indians. In addition to these, the following provisions were common to the treaties made with the Indians of the Puget Sound region: the prohibition of slavery; provisions for a central agency; and the prohibition of trade with British Columbia.

The treaties were negotiated in the following order: three treaties were made by Palmer, west of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon, prior to June 1855; second, four were made by Stevens, west of the Cascade Mountains in Washington Territory, prior to June 1855; third, three treaties were made by Stevens and Palmer jointly, June 1855, east of the Cascade Mountains, the lands purchased lying partly in each territory; fourth, two treaties were made by Stevens after June 1855, one east of the Cascade Mountains, and one west of those mountains in Washington Territory; fifth, three treaties were

made by Palmer after June 1855, one east of the Cascade Mountains, and two west of the mountains in Oregon Territory. The course of the negotiation of these treaties will be followed according to this grouping.

The first treaty,—exclusive of the Rogue River and the Cow Creek treaty,—made by Palmer was with the Rogue River Indians, November 15, 1854, and was supplementary to the Rogue River treaty, dated September 10, 1853, which, as we have seen, was made prior to the authorization of the making of treaties by Congress. It provided that certain bands of Rogue River Indians, which had not been included in the original treaty, should remove to Table Rock, and receive \$2,150 in supplies, to be shared with the other bands of that reservation. In return, the bands of the supplementary treaty were to share in the provisions of the original treaty. The above amount was appropriated by Congress, March 3, 1855.³⁵

The Chasta-Skoton Indians were treated with by Palmer, November 18, 1854, at the mouth of Applegate creek on Rogue River. They agreed to cede their lands in the middle Rogue River Valley and to remove to the Table Rock Reservation. Congress appropriated \$35,780 for the execution of the treaty, March 3, 1855. It was proclaimed, April 10, 1855.³⁶

On November 29, 1854, a treaty was made with the Umpqua and Kalapuya Indians of the middle Umpqua Valley. The Indians ceded their lands and accepted a temporary reservation in the Umpqua Valley. Congress appropriated, March 3, 1855, \$23,980 for the first annual payments under the treaty, which was proclaimed March 30, 1855.³⁷

The Willamette Valley Indians were treated with by Palmer, January 22, 1855, under the title of the Confederated Bands of the Willamette Valley. The lands of the valley were ceded and temporary reservations were set aside for them within the cession. The first appropriation for the fulfillment of this treaty amounted to \$62,260 and was made by Congress, March 3, 1855.³⁸

³⁵ Kappler, comp., *Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties* (Serial 4624, Doc 319), II, 654-55.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 655-57.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 657-60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 665-69; Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Act, Mar. 3, 1855, *Statutes at Large*, X, 675.

It will be noticed in these treaties that the reservations were temporary. Palmer was instructed to make treaties first with the Indians in the vicinity of the settlements. It was necessary to make the above treaties, therefore, prior to treating with the Coast tribes, in whose cession the proposed Coast Reservation was to be located. The temporary reservations were to continue only until the superintendent was able to make the treaty with the Coast tribes.

During the winter of 1854-55, Isaac I. Stevens attempted to make treaties with all the Indians of the western part of Washington territory. He was successful in purchasing the Indian title to all the lands bordering on Puget Sound, but due to the failure of the Chehalis council, the coast district and southwestern Washington were not ceded. The first treaty was made with the Nisqually, Puyallup, and others, at Medicine Creek—now known as McAlister's Creek—December 26, 1854. The Indians ceded the lands of the headwaters of Puget Sound, and received three small reservations which were later changed, with the exception of Squaxon Island. The treaty was proclaimed March 3, 1855, and Congress appropriated \$16,500 for the first payment under the treaty on the same day.³⁹

The eastern side of the Puget Sound country was ceded by the Dwamish, the Suquamish, and other Indians, January 22, 1855, at Point Elliott. Four reservations were provided for the Indians. This treaty and those which follow were not ratified until March 1859, due to the Yakima Indian War.⁴⁰

The Clallam Indians were treated with at Point-no-Point, January 26, 1855, for the lands bordering on the western side of Puget Sound and the southern side of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. A reserve was set aside at the head of Hood Canal.⁴¹

At Neah Bay, the Makah Indians, January 31, 1855, ceded a small area in the vicinity of Cape Flattery, and received a reservation of a part of the cession. This was the smallest area purchased by any of the treaties in the Pacific Northwest.⁴²

A council was held by Stevens and his assistants with the

³⁹ Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 661-64.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 669-73.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 674-77.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 682-84.

Chehalis, Chinook, Cowlitz, and Quinaielt, February 25, 1855. It was the aim of this council to extinguish the Indian title to the coast area and southwestern Washington, and to set aside a reservation for these Indians between Grays Harbor and Cape Flattery. The Indians were offered \$44,000 in annuities, and the usual aids of a reservation establishment. One objection that the interior Indians made was that they did not wish to occupy a coast reservation, among "canoe Indians." After the early meetings Tleyuk, a young chief of the Upper Chehalis, influenced other chiefs to refuse to sign. Some of the members of the council thought that, had the reserve proposed been located upon the lands of the Upper Chehalis Indians and had Tleyuk been chosen head chief, he would have agreed to the treaty and it would have been accepted by the other chiefs. The council broke up without effecting anything definite, but the treaty with the Quinaielt, Quillehute, and others, was a direct result of this meeting, the treaty having been explained to them at this council.⁴³

Stevens and Palmer had thus made noticeable headway toward the extinguishment of the Indian title west of the Cascade Mountains in Washington and Oregon during the winters of 1854-55. In June 1855, all arrangements were completed for the beginning of treaty making east of the Cascade Mountains. It was planned to inaugurate the work in the interior by a council with the principal tribes of that region, namely: the Yakima, Nez Perces, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and the Umatilla, to be held by the superintendents Palmer and Stevens, acting jointly, because the lands claimed by the Indians were partly north of the Columbia and the forty-sixth parallel, and partly south of that line.

Three treaties were made at Camp Stevens, June 9 to 11, 1855, in the Walla Walla Valley, which were known collectively as the Treaty of Walla Walla. The original plan was to create two reservations, but in order to overcome the objection of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and the Wallawalla, they were allowed a reserve in the Umatilla Valley. The Yakima, and other Indians, ceded about one-half of the eastern part

⁴³ Hazard Stevens, *Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, II, 2-8.

of the present state of Washington and received a reservation of fertile lands in the Yakima Valley. The Wallawalla, Cayuse and the Umatilla ceded lands lying in the northeastern part of the present State of Oregon, and the southeastern part of the present State of Washington. They were provided with a reservation in the Umatilla Valley. The Nez Perces' cession included the region of central Idaho, lying between the Wallawalla cession and the Bitter Root Mountains. The reservation provided for them in the Clearwater Valley was one of the largest set aside by any of the treaties made with the Indians of the Pacific Northwest.

These treaties were not made without the expression of considerable opposition on the part of the Indians. The Yakima objected to being limited to a reservation; the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla demanded an independent location; and a part of the Nez Perces refused, to the last, to sign the treaty. The Indians were quite generally opposed to selling their lands, but almost all the chiefs were finally persuaded to sign the treaties. Just what the plans of some of these Indians were at the time of signing the treaty, it is difficult to say, but it is quite possible that the Yakima Indian War was agreed upon by some of the chiefs at the council.

The first council was held, May 29, 1855, there being five thousand Indians present. On the first day, a speech was made by Stevens explaining the purpose of making the treaties, after which the council adjourned for the day. On the following day, the council was addressed by Palmer, and by Stevens who gave the details of the plan that was proposed in the treaties. On the third day, the superintendents stated the benefits that the Indians would obtain through the treaties and the reservations. During the next day, June 1, 1855, the Indians considered in an Indian council the propositions made by Palmer and Stevens. The Indians made speeches the following day in the council. On June fourth, Stevens and the Nez Perce chief, Lawyer, urged that the treaties be accepted, but the "Council adjourned without having made any sensible progress." On the following day, Stevens and Palmer made long explanatory speeches, and June sixth was occupied

by the Indians in consultation among themselves. The superintendents continued their explanations on the next day. Speeches were made on June seventh by the Indian chiefs. Lawyer agreed to accept the treaty for the Nez Percés. Looking Glass, a Nez Perce chief who arrived after this agreement by Lawyer, objected strongly and refused to sign. Young Chief of the Cayuse stated that he could not understand the treaties; the Wallawalla chief, Piopiomoxmox, said that he thought that Lawyer had given his lands away. The Yakima chief, Kamaikan, when urged to speak, replied, "I have nothing to say." Owhi, a chief of the Umatilla, said that his people were far away and, therefore, he could say nothing. When the council met on the following day, Palmer urged the Indian chiefs to accept the treaties. It was during this meeting that Looking Glass created considerable confusion by forcefully objecting to the Nez Percés accepting the treaty—which had been done by Lawyer. Looking Glass had not been present at the earlier meetings. These objections were met in part by agreeing to allow the newcomers an additional reservation. At this stage, all of the chiefs agreed to accept the treaties except Kamaikan. The papers were brought into the council on the following day to be signed. Stevens explained the reservations which were allowed in the treaties for the various tribes. This was followed by a speech from Looking Glass in which he urged the chiefs not to accept the treaties. The result was that Piopiomoxmox, Kamaikan, and Looking Glass refused to sign. When the council was called together on the following day, these chiefs suddenly changed their attitude, from what cause it is not known. After a short speech from Stevens, the chiefs signed the treaties. That these Indians were unwilling to be restricted to reservations, and were unwilling to have the settlers occupy the lands, seems evident from their general dissatisfaction with the treaties, their earlier relations with the whites, and their subsequent hostilities.⁴⁴

Stevens and Palmer separated after the signing of the treaties at Camp Stevens, Palmer proceeding to The Dalles

⁴⁴ Lawrence Kip, "The Indian Council at Walla Walla," *Sources of the History of Oregon*, I, pt. 2, pp. 4-28; Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 694-98; 698-702; 702-6.

to make a treaty with the Indians of that region under the title of the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and Stevens travelled eastward to make a treaty with the Flathead Indians. The council with the Flatheads and other Indians was held, July 16, 1855, at Hellgate. They ceded the region lying between the Bitter Root Mountains and the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, and agreed to accept a reservation lying south of Flathead Lake. It was also provided that a portion of the Bitter Root Valley should be temporarily withheld from settlement, the Flathead Indians desiring that this region also be made a reservation, and the superintendent agreeing to leave the matter open for final settlement at a later time.⁴⁵

Stevens negotiated a treaty with the Blackfeet, October 17, 1855, relative to common hunting grounds east of the Rocky Mountains for the Blackfeet, Nez Perces, and Flatheads. It was the intention of Stevens to treat with the Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Colville, and Okinagan on his return trip to Olympia, Washington, but when the Indian war broke out he decided to postpone the negotiation of these treaties, although he visited the Indians.⁴⁶

While Stevens was in eastern Washington in the summer of 1855, the treaty was made with the Quinaielt, and other Indians, July 1, 1855, by A. J. Cain. These Indians ceded the lands lying north of Grays Harbor, on the Pacific Coast of Washington Territory. A reservation was set aside for them along the Quinaielt River.⁴⁷

The treaty made by Palmer, at Wasco near The Dalles, June 25, 1855, with the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon provided for the cession of the lands lying between the Wallawalla cession and the Cascade Mountains. The Warm Springs Reservation was designated as the future home of these Indians. It was located about seventy-five miles south of The Dalles, on the west side of the Des Chutes River, and was probably the most isolated region designated in the Stevens-Palmer treaties as an Indian reservation.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 722-25.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 736-40.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 719-21.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 740-42.

During August and September, 1855, Palmer treated with the Indians along the Pacific Coast of Oregon from the mouth of the Columbia River to the California border. Several treaties were made by Palmer between August 11, 1855 and September 8, 1855, which contained a provision for a Coast reservation, and for the location of the other Indians of western Oregon upon it. The cession included all the lands west of the Coast Range in Oregon Territory. Although this treaty was never ratified, the reservation was set aside by an Executive Order, November 9, 1855, and the government took possession of the region.⁴⁹

The upper Umpqua Valley was ceded by the Molala Indians, December 21, 1855, in a treaty made with them by Palmer. The Indians agreed to confederate with the Umpqua and Kalapuya who had ceded the middle Umpqua Valley in a treaty dated, November 29, 1854. The Indians agreed to remove to the Yamhill encampment and to move later to the Coast Reservation, as soon as that location should be sufficiently improved to make it possible for them to obtain a living in that district.⁵⁰

The treaty with the Quinalt which has been negotiated by A. J. Cain on the Quinalt River, July 1, 1855, was signed by the Indians and by I. I. Stevens at Olympia, January 25, 1856.⁵¹ This was the last treaty made until 1864.

The Genesis of the Yakima Indian War.—During the period that the superintendents of Indian Affairs for Washington and Oregon Territory were making the above treaties, that is; between the fall of 1854 and the fall of 1855, the agents, in the various districts into which the territories were divided for purposes of Indian administration, were meeting with increased difficulties with the Indians. In the Fort Hall district, the agent for the Snake River country found it unsafe to remain in that area; in southwestern Oregon, the country was disturbed by continual robberies committed by the Indians; in western Washington, the Nisqually Indians were dissatisfied with their reservation; and the Chehalis and the

⁴⁹ C. C. Royce, comp., "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, II, 812-13.

⁵⁰ Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 740-42.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 719-21.

Cowlitz Indians were restless because settlers were taking their lands; in eastern Washington, the Klikitat and the Yakima were preparing to make an attempt to drive all the whites out of the Pacific Northwest.

Nathaniel Olney, the Indian agent for the Snake River district, accompanied a military expedition which was sent to punish the murderers of the Ward party and to protect emigrants who were entering the country in the early fall of 1855. The detachment under Major Haller was in the upper Snake Valley during August and September. The agent made presents to the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Hall, but returned to The Dalles with the military force as he considered that it was unsafe to remain at Fort Hall without military protection. At The Dalles the Indians were quiet.⁵²

The agent for southwestern Oregon reported that the month of September 1855 in the Rogue River Valley was passed, "In one continued series of aggressions." Two men were killed in the Siskiyou Mountains, September 25, 1855. It was stated that numerous thefts were being committed by the Chasta-Skoton bands that had left the reserve at Table Rock, and taken refuge in the Coast Range. The situation was so serious that the agent feared that the people would rise against the Indians unless the thefts were stopped.⁵³

In western Washington, the Chehalis and Cowlitz Indians were very restless and dissatisfied because the settlers were occupying their lands. Their situation was difficult because of their location between the Willamette Valley settlements and those on Puget Sound; and because, on account of the failure of the Chehalis council, no lands were set aside as a reservation for them. The Nisqually Indians were in an unsettled state due to the dissatisfaction with their reservation, and the stories circulated by the Nisqually chief, Leschi. J. Ross Browne stated that Leschi traveled among the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains during the summer and fall of 1855 telling them that the whites were planning to gather the Indians together on reservations in order to destroy them,

⁵² Nathaniel Olney to Palmer, Aug. 31, 1855, *Message from the President communicating information relative to Indian hostilities in the territories of Oregon and Washington*, April 17, 1856, (Serial 838, Doc. 93), pp. 96-7; Thompson to Palmer, Sept. 28, 1855, *ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

⁵³ G. H. Ambrose to Palmer, Sept. 30, 1855, *ibid.*, p. 62.

and appealing to the Indians to make a united effort to drive the whites from the country.

The Klikitat and the Yakima Indians desired to unite the Indians of Oregon and Washington in an effort to rid the country of the American settlers. The Klikitat refused to participate in the Walla Walla Council of June 1855. A portion of the Klikitat Indians had resided in the Willamette Valley for many years. These Indians, in the spring of 1855, were forced by Palmer to return to their own country east of the Cascade Mountains and north of the Columbia River. J. Ross Browne stated that from the time of their departure they were at war with the settlers, and that when the Yakima Indian war started they joined immediately with the Yakima.⁵⁴

During September 1855, some miners who were crossing from the Puget Sound country to the Colville region were murdered by the Yakima Indians. The Indian agent, A. J. Bolon, was in the Spokane country at the time arranging for the council which Stevens hoped to hold with the Indians of that region on his return from the upper Missouri where he had gone to treat with the Blackfeet. Bolon returned by way of The Dalles, to the Yakima Valley where he was murdered by some of the Yakima Indians. The Yakima chief, Kamaiakan, had been strongly opposed to the Yakima treaty made in June 1855 at Walla Walla, and was known to be dissatisfied with it. The Catholic missionary in the Yakima country stated that the Yakima Indians had been talking of nothing but war with the settlers from the time of their return from the Walla Walla council until September 1, 1855, after which time few of the Indians had been near the mission.⁵⁵ A. J. Bolon left The Dalles, September 18, 1855, and was not heard from after that time. Nathaniel Olney, sent out Indian messengers from The Dalles who brought back the information that Bolon had been murdered by order of Kamaiakan. About this time, messengers were sent out by the Yakima Indians to all the neighboring tribes urging the Indians of the country to join in the hostilities against the American settlers.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ J. Ross Browne to the Commissioner of the Indian Affairs, Dec. 4, 1857, *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior* . . . , Jan. 25, 1858 (Serial 955, Doc. 38), p. 11.

⁵⁵ Palmer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 9, 1855, *Message from the President* . . . , April 17, 1856 (Serial 858, Doc. 93), p. 56.

⁵⁶ Palmer to John Cain, Oct. 3, 1855, C. I. A., *A. R.*, Nov. 26, 1855 (Serial 840, Doc. 1), pp. 514-15.

The Yakima and Klikitat Indians were in arms by October 1, 1855. They were not joined immediately by any of the other tribes, although individual members of other tribes probably did join them. Opinions varied as to the cause of the outbreak. John Cain believed that it was due to rumors that were current among the Indians that Stevens's party and Haller's command had been murdered by the Blackfeet and the Shoshoni, respectively; that the whites were about to be overthrown in every direction; and that the time had come for the Indians to gratify their enmity against the whites.⁵⁷

Palmer believed that the outbreak was due to the dissatisfaction of the Klikitat and the Yakima with the treaty; the immigration of settlers into the country before the treaty had been ratified and carried out; the passing of miners through central Washington on their way to the Colville mines; and the stories told the Indians of the increasing value of their lands due to the discovery of gold.⁵⁸

The immigration into the eastern part of the territories of Washington and Oregon had been forbidden between 1848 and 1855. Mrs. Victor stated: "From the spring of 1848, when all the whites, except the Catholic missionaries, were withdrawn from the upper country, for a period of several years, or until Government had made treaties with the tribes east of the Cascades, no settlers were permitted to take up land in eastern Oregon."⁵⁹

James G. Swan, writing in 1857 stated that the Indian trouble began on a border where the Indians south of the line were under the control of a foreign company—by which was meant the Hudson's Bay Company. He believed that the under employees and the half-breeds in the pay of the company were guilty of inciting the Indians against the Americans. Upon this point, however, he admitted that there was no evidence. To what extent the company was guilty of selling ammunition to the Indians after the law was passed forbidding the sale of arms to Indians would be difficult, probably impossible, to determine. It is probable that Americans were

⁵⁷ Cain to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 6, 1855, *ibid.*, p. 513.

⁵⁸ Palmer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 9, 1855, *Message from the President*, April 17, 1856 (Serial 858, Doc. 93), p. 56.

⁵⁹ Victor, *The River of the West*, p. 497.

guilty of this same offence. The arms of the interior Indians were procured from the Hudson's Bay Company in large measure, but it is rather absurd to blame the company for having furnished the savages with arms. The fur trading period was common to all the northern parts of the continent, and only as a part of the natural course of events did the fur traders put guns into the hands of the Indians, although in some cases the guns were largely obtained by theft, as in the case of the mountain Snake Indians.⁶⁰ The Klikitat and the Yakima Indians were described by Robert Newell, October 13, 1849, as "friendly, warlike and well armed."⁶¹ When the treaties had been made and the settlers began moving into the country, along with a transient American population of miners, these Indians became unfriendly, warlike and well armed. Under such circumstances conflict was inevitable, or practically so. There were only two means of preventing trouble, namely; the presence of a strong military force that would inspire the Indians with a fear for the Americans so complete that the Indians would realize the futility of resistance; or a change in the attitude of the Indians through peaceful negotiations. The military force was not large enough to affect the conduct of the Indians, and the treaty method failed to prevent the conflict. The result was the Yakima Indian War, which did not end until the country had been occupied by a strong military force.

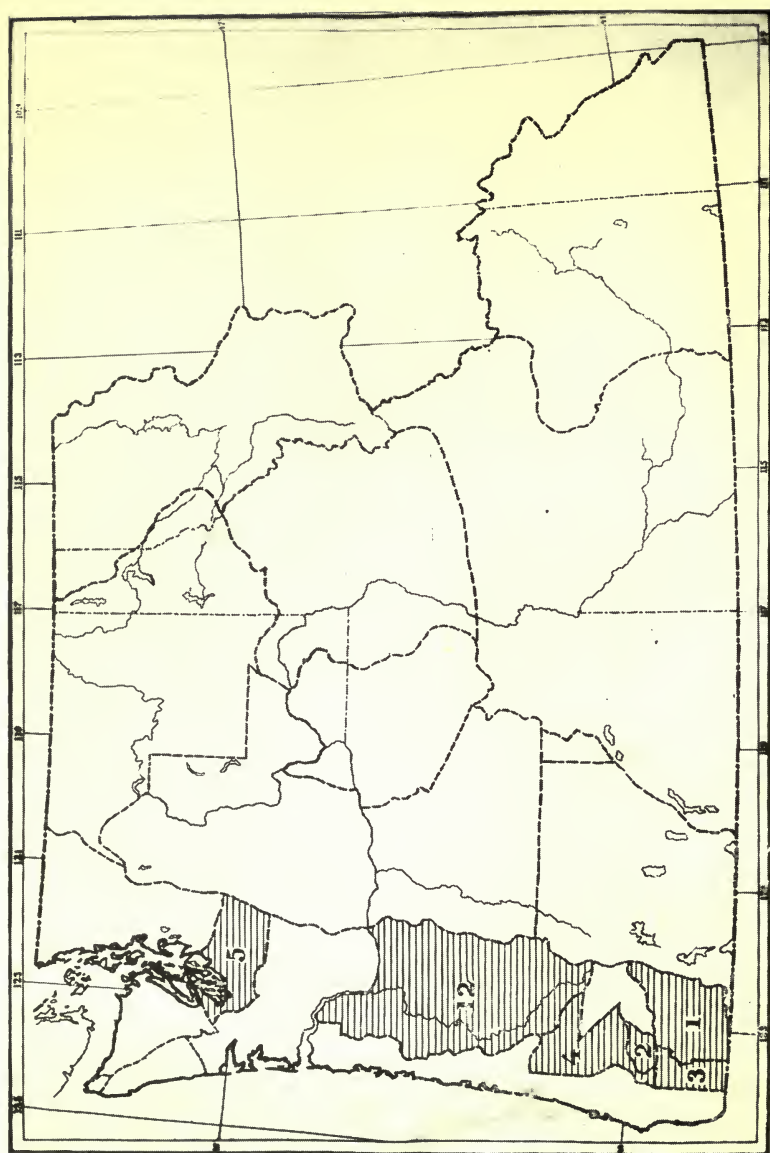
George Gibbs believed that the primary cause was not any immediate offences or policies, but that at the base of the whole trouble was the land problem. On January 7, 1857, he wrote, in concluding a letter on the subject of the Indian War, as follows:

"What I have meant to show was that the war sprung partly from ill-judged legislation, partly from previous unratified treaties, and partly from recent blunders. Much is due to the natural struggle between the hostile races for the sovereignty of the soil. The land is at the root of the war. Many outrages have been committed since it begun, it is true, but it was not private wrongs that led to it. The numerous

⁶⁰ Swan, *The Northwest Coast*, p. 384.

⁶¹ *Lane to the Secretary of War* Oct. 13, 1849, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 27, 1850 (Serial 595, Doc. 1), p. 159.

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outrages committed by Indians on whites have not been taken into account by those who bleat about the 'poor Indian'."⁶²

The new Indian policy adopted, in 1854, for the Pacific Northwest, was thus, put into effect by the negotiation of fifteen treaties. These provided for the cession of the greater part of the region; furnished reservations as homes for the Indians; and supplied twenty annual appropriations of, approximately, five hundred thousand dollars each, for the purpose of aiding the natives in becoming a settled people. This peaceful method of solving the problem did not satisfy some of the Indians, who, when settlers began moving into the interior in the fall of 1855, instigated a war, which, although it did not change the policy of the government, delayed the ratification of the majority of the treaties until 1859.

MAP I.

INLAND LAND CESSIONS PRIOR TO THE YAKIMA WAR, 1855.¹

- No. 1. 312—*Treaty with the Rogue River, 1853*; negotiated September 10, 1853, ratified April 12, 1854.
- No. 2. 313—*Treaty with the Umpqua-Cow Creek Band, 1853*; negotiated September 19, 1853, ratified April 12, 1854.
- No. 3. 343—*Treaty with the Chasta, etc., 1854*; negotiated November 15, 1854, ratified March 3, 1855.
- No. 4. 344—*Treaty with the Umpqua and Kalapuya, 1854*; negotiated November 29, 1854, ratified March 3, 1855.
- No. 5. 345—*Treaty with the Nisqualli, Puyallup, etc., 1854*; negotiated December 26, 1854, ratified March 3, 1855.
- No. 12. 352—*Treaty with the Kalapuya, etc., 1855*; negotiated January 22, 1855, ratified March 3, 1855.

⁶² Swan *op. cit.*, p. 429.

Note—The numbers designate either a cession, a region occupied by the government without a cession, a reservation, or a change in a reservation. The first numbers are consecutive for the Pacific Northwest. The second numbers are those adopted by Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*.

ANNUAL REPORT OF JOEL PALMER, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN
AFFAIRS FOR OREGON TERRITORY FOR 1853, PROPOSING
THE RESERVATION SYSTEM

Copy Office Supt. Ind. Affairs.

Dayton Oct. 8th, 1853.

Sir, In transmitting my annual report at so late a period, it is proper that reasons for the delay be given; especially in view of the positive instructions from the Indian Department at Washington requiring strict compliance with the 19th paragraph of Revised Regulations No. 3.

This "Circular" however, as you were informed by Mr. Geary Acting Superintendent during my absence to assist in quelling the disturbances between our citizens and the indians in the Rogue River country, did not reach this office till the 13th Sept.

Although aware of the importance of submitting my report at an early day, little toward its preparation was accomplished prior to my departure to the scene of Indian war in the South, as I desired to receive the reports of Agents, and Sub and Special Agents before its compilation. I also desired to visit the Coast region between Killamook and Umpqua rivers as was suggested in my letters of June 23 and August 23 in order to enable me to speak definitely of the propriety of colonizing the Valley Indians in that district.

On the eve of starting upon this tour, I was arrested in my purpose, by intelligence of the indian depredations, and imminent peril of our citizens, in the Southern part of the Territory. I at once abandoned the expedition and proceeded to the scene of difficulties, leaving Mr. Geary to perform the duties of Acting Superintendent during my absence. But, unfortunately in a few days after my departure Mr. Geary was prostrated by sickness and wholly disabled from the performance of duty.

I was detained until the 25th September, and on my return after spending a week in ineffectual efforts to procure a loan of funds whereby to meet the current expenses of the Office and the liabilities incurred in holding treaties with the indians, I was subpoenaed to attend the Court then in Session in Oregon City, as a witness in a suit therein pending against Anson Dart Esq. late Supt. of Indian Affairs where I was detained till the evening of the 7th instant.

I very much regret this delay as I fear it will tend much to the embarrassment of the indian [sic] department in Oregon

for the ensuing year; and I deeply regret the circumstances rendering necessary this long apologetic introduction to my report. I hope the reasons above detailed will prove sufficient to exonerate [sic] me from blame in the premises.

Peace at present exists with all the indian tribes in this Superintendency; but as heretofore intimated a general feeling of anxiety and distrust pervades the tribes and bands from the sea-board to the Rocky Mountains. This feeling is more owing to the conduct of evil-minded whites toward them, than to any desire on their parts to annoy or injure the whites. The non-ratification of treaties has done much also to destroy their confidence in the good intentions of the Government, and I may say, without expressing any opinion as to the provisions of these treaties, will tend much to embarrass the action of agents of the Government who may hereafter be designated to enter into treaty stipulations.

This want of confidence in the declarations of Government Agents, is not confined to the few tribes with whom treaties have been negotiated; it extends through the entire country nor is it presumed that even the ratification of those treaties at so late a day, would relieve the general distrust.

The importance of entering, at an early period, into treaties to extinguish the indian title to the lands belonging to the tribes residing along the Columbia River and the Northern Oregon road, or so much of said country as is within the Territory of Oregon, has been repeatedly presented to the attention of the Department. My convictions of the propriety and necessity of this course are daily deepened, and I am satisfied that unless early steps be taken to effect such treaties, serious difficulties, if not a general indian war with some of those tribes will be the consequence.

It is also important that measures to extinguish the indian title to the country bordering on the Southern Road extending from the Sierra Nevada to the summit of the Cascade Range of Mountains and as far north and south as to give security to our population constantly pouring upon the western shores of this Continent, should be speedily taken.

If it become the settled policy of the Government to colonize the tribes residing west of the Cascade Mountains on the east side of that Range, the necessity of early exploration and early treaties to extinguish the indian title to extensive tracts of land, is apparent. The vast district, between the Southern Oregon Road and the Columbia River—and between the Humbolt and the Cascade Range. is but little known, but is believed

to contain many valuable tracts of agricultural country of sufficient extent to invite settlers, and the rapid spread of our settlements render it more than probable that a brief period will exhibit those fertile tracts, the seats of a thriving population and blessed with the arts and usages of civilized and enlightened communities.

Experience moreover has taught us that the settlement of a country, prior to the extinction of the native title to the soil is, in most cases attended with serious difficulties and embarrassments to the Government, with annoyance and danger to the settler; and proves fatal to the best interests, the improvement and civilization, of the natives.

In connection with the subject of exploring the country and colonizing the tribes I would add that information derived from a party in search of gold who traversed the mountainous region in the neighborhood of Pitts' Peak and the country between Rogue River and middle Oregon between the 43° and 44° N. L. induced me to believe that quite extensive valleys, fertile, and well suited to the indian population of the southern part of our Territory, exist in that region. This statement is partially confirmed by the Rogue River Chiefs, who state that persons of their tribe visited some of those valleys many years ago. It is probable however that the valleys they refer to are east of the summit of the mountains. This evidence of the existence of such valleys, and of their suitability to be made the future and permanent home of the tribes of Southern Oregon would warrant their exploration as well as those of the interior of middle Oregon above indicated.

A full and complete examination of these portions of Oregon, besides enabling the Government, with a fuller knowledge of the facts, to fix its permanent policy in regard to the savage tribes of Oregon, will doubtless tend greatly to bring to light the vast and various resources of our Territory.

A policy in regard to holding treaties with the Indians of this Territory, different from that heretofore pursued, seems called for, not only as a matter of economy, but also on account of the influence exerted on the indians themselves.

The gathering of different bands and tribes from remote neighborhoods in mass, to be paraded, petted and feasted at the public expense, has a decidedly demoralizing influence on the indians, as it inclines them to indolence and extravagance, gives them an importance in their own esteem to which they are by no means entitled; and impresses them with the belief that our Government has a reckless disregard of expenditure.

At such places many congregate of a class interested in a large expenditure on the occasion; and for the purpose of present or ulterior gain, exert an improper influence over the minds of the indians, disinclining them to treat; or to demand an exorbitant price for their lands; to refuse to emigrate, and to demand modes of payment, suiting the sharper, but at variance with their own real interest.

In treating with the Indians, the season of the year has its influence. At some seasons their wants are so easily and abundantly supplied, that no proposition for purchasing their lands, or for their removal however extravagant would receive their favorable regard. At other seasons their wants are so numerous and pressing, that they yield a ready ear to terms, and comply with such as may be dictated. This remark applies only to the tribes of the Lower Columbia and of the Willamette and Umpqua Valleys.

I would only avail myself of their necessities the more effectually to promote their general welfare, thus conforming to that humane policy which has characterized the history of our Government, towards the Indians. They must be removed, and instructed in the arts of civilization and brought under the influence of wise and wholesome laws, in order to be perpetuated, otherwise they will speedily perish on the graves of their fathers; in order to make them the recipients of these benefits, the period of their most pliant mood must be seized upon, and all engagements made with them, promptly carried into effect.

As to the better mode of treating. Nothing I apprehend could be more ridiculous and absurd than pomp and display in treating with the miserable bands and remnants of tribes in the region last referred to. The most simple and economical approach on our part becomes their condition, and will alone secure the prompt completion of contracts with families, bands and tribes so feeble and so numerous. Let their usual places of residence be visited when practicable, and when they are so isolated and scattered as to render this impracticable, let them be collected at places as contiguous to their homes as possible and there treated with, not with a view of indulging their savage whims and fancies but with an eye to their real and permanent good and if possible their elevation in the social scale of humanity.

Much credit is due General Lane for the explicit and fair dealing which has always characterized his intercourse with the indians. He has ever scrupulously avoided making them promises beyond his confidence of being able to perform. His

statements are consequently regarded with confidence by the indians. The beneficial influence of this sentiment among them was manifest in the late treaty with the Rogue River Tribes; the Chiefs the more readily acceding to terms which they regarded as having his approbation and sanction.

The practice now so general of making presents to indians has I believe rather an injurious tendency than otherwise, as it has created the impression extensively among the indians, that the Government is bound to continue the practice as long as they remain among us, and while thus supplied they are less inclined to treat for the sale of their lands and submit to removal. It also tends to foster indolent habits, as they are not inclined to industry and economy while their wants can be otherwise supplied.

Presents in some instances appear necessary and proper to conciliate the good will of the Indian, reward his good conduct, or incline him to peace; but the practice has evidently been much abused, and is at best of little utility.

In the selection of a district of country for the colonization of the various bands and tribes of Indians who inhabit the country contiguous to the coast attention is required to their mode of subsistence. They may properly be termed fish-eaters, and to assign them a country destitute of this to them indispensable article of food, would be disastrous to their existence as a people.

The country between the Killamook and the Umpqua has already been suggested as among the most desirable locations for the settlement of the indians of the Willamette and lower Columbia. Those of the Umpqua may also be added; but it is somewhat doubtful whether the country is sufficiently extensive for the settlement of the Coast Indians inhabiting the country south of the Umpqua. The designation of an additional tract may consequently be necessary for the settlement of the Coast Indians, and two or more tracts east of the Cascade Mountains for the tribes inhabiting the interior.

I regard it as highly important to the successful maintenance of friendly relations with the Indians that in addition to the Agencies of Rogue River and the Uilla there be an agency established for the tribes East of the Cascade Mountains to include the Klamaths, Diggers, or Sho sho nes, the Snakes residing in this territory, and the Bonaks residing along the Lewis fork of the Columbia and Boise river; and untill the extinction of the Indian title to the country and the removal of the Indians, it is important that in addition to the Sub Agencies of the Willamette Valley Clatsop Plains and Port Orford there

be an additional Sub Agency including the Umpqua Valley and the country along the Co-ose and Coquille Rivers, now in the care of Special Agent William Martin Esq.

The subject of additional compensation to Agents and Sub Agents is respectfully submitted. That of Sub Agents is barely the pay of a common laborer and insufficient to secure the services of competent and reliable men.

A detailed account of the numbers and condition of the Indians of the Sub Agency of Port Orford is given in the report of Sub Agent Culver a copy of which is herewith transmitted. By the judicious and untiring attention of Mr. Culver supported by the military stationed at Port Orford the indians of that district though numerous and warlike have been kept quiet.

The recent discovery of gold in that region has induced a large number of persons to congregate in the vicinity of Port Orford which from the number and character of the Indians dwelling there, is more than likely without the most unremitting vigilance and care to result in difficulty and bloodshed.

Many of the adventurers in the mining region are of the most reckless and desperate character and affected with such feelings of hostility to the indians, that military restraint alone seems adequate to the preservation of peace.

My knowledge of the character and condition of these indians as well as of the character of the country they inhabit is so limited that I am unable to recommend any measure of policy to be pursued in regard to them. It is evident, however, that delay in assigning them an abode within fixed limits remote from the mining districts where they can be protected from encroachment and violence, must tend to their speedy extinction. Treaties therefore at an early day for the extinction of title to their lands and provisions for their colonization in a suitable country are of the utmost importance.

My letter of the first September informed you that F. M. Smith Esq. of Port Orford in the absence of a Sub-Agent, P. F. Thompson Esq. being on duty at the Uvilla Agency, was appointed Special Agent for the tribes of the Port Orford district.

No information as to his acceptance or refusal has yet been received. Mr. Smith is recommended as well qualified for the duties of the station, and I hope the appointment may meet your approbation.

On my return from Rogue River to this place I received

information rendering it necessary to dispatch an agent immediately to visit the Indians residing along the waters of the Co-ose River and Bay, situated some fifteen or twenty miles south of the Umpqua River. The necessity of the constant presence of an agent among the tribes in the Rogue River country rendered it imprudent to call away Agent Culver from his post though Co-ose Bay is attached to his district; I therefore deputed William Martin Esq. of Winchester as a special agent to visit the Indians of Co-ose Bay and on the waters of the Umpqua River. I transmit a copy herewith of his appointment and instructions.

While on my late expedition I came to the knowledge of the existence of a tribe of Indians inhabiting the country on the upper waters of the North and South Forks of the Umpqua and the headwaters of the Rogue River called the wild Mo-lal-las. The name so nearly resembles that of the Mol-al-las of the Willamette that they have been confounded with that tribe; but the information that I have obtained satisfies me that they are a distinct tribe, speaking an entirely different language and having no connection whatever with them.

They have had but little intercourse with the whites, being located in a remote and mountainous region off the line of travel from Oregon to California. They roam sometimes as far east and southeast as the headwaters of the Des Chutes and the Klamath Lake. Their subsistence is chiefly wild game with which their country abounds, while numerous mountain streams and lakes afford a rich supply of fish. Some of these lakes are said to be twenty miles in length, with considerable margins of fertile land, and surrounded with precipitous mountains. This information though chiefly derived from Indians, is so far corroborated that I put much confidence in its correctness.

The several bands inhabiting the Coast between Killamook and the Umpqua River, have never been visited by an agent of the Government. It was indeed represented that but few Indians dwelt there.

I have however conversed with several of a party who explored one of the streams emptying into the Ocean on that Coast, during the summer, who found a village at the base of the Mountains about 6 miles from the Ocean containing about two hundred souls.

In the comfort of their lodges and their abundant supply of provisions they are much in advance of the tribes generally along the Coast. They had but little clothing, no fire arms

and were of a lighter complexion than the Indians usually are. They subsist on wild game, fish, muscles and clams and have but little intercourse with the whites. The greater portion of the Indians fled on the approach of the exploring party.

No detailed report of the condition of the Indians in the Utilia agency has been received. A copy of a letter from Sub-Agent P. F. Thompson accompanying this report will give some idea of the petty annoyance to which the agent is subjected from that proud and haughty tribe.

No report has been received at this office from the Agency of Puget Sound. My letter of the 22nd August informed you of the designation of J. M. Garrison, Esq. to that Agency. Agent Starling was accordingly informed of the fact by letter from this office and directed to turn over to Mr. Garrison the papers and property belonging to the Agency upon his executing to him a proper receipt therefor. This Mr. Starling declined doing, on the ground that he was not subject to this Superintendency and was acting under instructions from Governor Stephens [Stevens] of Washington Territory. Soon afterward Mr. Garrison returned to this Territory and on the 15th instant notified this Office, that he had resigned his office of Indian Agent to take effect immediately.

No reports have been received from Sub-Agent W. W. Raymond of Clatsop Plains nor from J. L. Parrish of the Willamette Valley; but I believe the bands and tribes of these districts are at peace among themselves and sustain friendly relations to the whites.

It may not be improper to state that several letters from various sources have been received interrogating the Superintendent in regard to funds alleged to be due them for past services in the Indian Department, including salary, traveling expenses, etc., the amount of which I have no means of ascertaining as no regular bills have been presented.

Among the number of claimants is H. H. Spalding Esq. claiming one Quarter's salary. E. A. Starling Esq. for salary traveling and incidental expenses and pay of Interpreter and A. A. Skinner Esq. for traveling expenses and pay of Interpreter.

The pay of the salary of Superintendent and Agents, of Sub- and Special Agents, Interpreters, and all traveling and contingent expenses since I entered on the duties assigned me, are unpaid no public funds having been placed in my hands by which to discharge such liabilities. I will also add that for the expenses attending my recent trip to Rogue River

Country and of the treaties with the Rogue River and Cow Creek Indians, together with all expenses for the transportation of goods promised them, and the expenses incident to the duties of Superintendent I am now paying at the rate of five per cent per month interest.

The following estimate of expenses in this department for the year commencing July 1st, 1854 is respectfully submitted.

Pay of Superintendent, three Agents and four Sub-Agents	\$10,000.00
Pay of 10 Interpreters.....	5,000.00
Clerk hire, Office Rent, fuel and stationery for Superintendent, and house rent for Agents and Sub-Agents	4,200.00
Traveling expenses of Superintendent Agents and Sub-Agents, including exploration of country, in addition to similar expenses connected with holding treaties	10,000.00
For payment of annuities to Rogue River & Cow Creek indians and other grants as stipulated in treaties	7,500.00
Expenses of holding treaties—the purchase of teams to transport goods and provisions—for presents and first payment of annuities provided treaties be ratified	67,350.00

In the above estimates I have contemplated the appointment of one additional agent for this territory preserving the original number, and an additional Sub-Agent as being indispensable to the maintenance of peace, and to expedite the early extinguishment of the indian title to the country. It also contemplates the employment of one interpreter to each agent and Sub-Agent, and two for the Superintendent and two for the Agent stationed East of the Cascade Mountains.

The pay of the Sub-Agents and Interpreters is estimated as fixed by law, but should the compensation of these officers be increased, as in justice it should be, an additional amount will be required.

The amount for travelling expenses is intended to cover the cost of the purchase of animals and necessary fixtures for exploring the country with a view to the selection of permanent homes for the Indian tribes, the pay of employees to accompany those employed in such expedition, and the ordinary traveling expenses incident to the service.

The amount for the payment of annuities contemplates the ratification of the treaties of purchase recently entered into with the Rogue River and Cow Creek indians. That amount

being necessary to carry its provisions into effect, and will be needed previous to the first of Sept. 1854.

In the estimate for holding treaties is included a sum believed to be sufficient to pay the expenses of holding treaties for the extinguishing of Indian title to all the land west of the Cascade Range; and their assent to remove to such points as may be selected for them, provided a selection be made west of said mountains; it also includes an amount sufficient for presents and a first payment on account of purchase provided the treaties be ratified, for which purpose twelve of fifteen thousand dollars may be applied; it also contemplates the purchase of teams and animals for the transportation of Indian goods to such points as may be necessary, as well as treating with such of the tribes East of the Cascade Mountains as may be deemed necessary for the preservation of peace, and give security to our citizens passing from the Eastern to the Western boundary of this Territory, and open the way for a continuous chain of settlements upon the routes usually traveled by our citizens.

The estimates given above are believed to be the lowest possible adequate to accomplish the objects intended in the most economical manner. In the exploration of the interior a small military escort will be essential to the safety of the party, or the appropriation of an additional sum sufficient for the employment of a suitable number of persons for protection.

I would respectfully suggest to the Department the propriety and importance of placing at the disposal of the Superintendent in this Territory in addition to the above estimates a sum of not less than ten thousand dollars designed as a contingent fund to meet any sudden emergency, like that in the Rogue River Country, which might occur. Also that the sum of one thousand dollars be placed at the disposal of each agent and half that sum in the hands of each Sub-Agent as a contingent fund for similar purposes. This amount on hand to meet emergencies, might when judiciously expended, be the means often of preventing a protracted and bloody indian war, and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars in military operations.

The system which requires Agents of the Government to expend their private funds in meeting the current expenses incident to the duties of their office, upon this Coast, and await the auditing of their accounts at Washington City previous to payment, subjects them to great inconvenience and materially lessens their influence as Agents. Some arrangement by which

those employed in the public service may receive their salaries at the end of each quarter, together with the current expenses provided for by law, seems called for not only as a matter of justice to the employees of the Government, but as a means of insuring energy of action and efficiency in the service. What may have been the practice heretofore in this Department I have no means of ascertaining, but as Agents are still claiming salary due them since the quarter ending September 30th, 1852, and others claiming traveling expenses for two years past, great delay in the auditing and settling of accounts, is evident.

As further evidence of this H. H. Spalding Esq. claims one quarter's salary yet due him as Indian Agent in 1851.

In order that the Department may understand the data on which is based my estimate of the expense of treating with the Indian tribes of Oregon generally, I herewith transmit a table of the estimated expense of treating with the several tribes East and West of the Cascade Range so far as such treaties may be deemed necessary.

I am very respectfully,
Your Obt. Servant

Joel Palmer,
Superintendent.

Hon. Geo. W. Manypenny
Commissioner of Ind. Affrs.
Washington City D. C.

THE HISTORY OF THE OREGON MISSION PRESS

BY HOWARD MALCOLM BALLOU

Hawaiian Historical Society

The early impression of the first American missionaries to the Nez Perces tribe of Indians was that it would be unnecessary ever to reduce their language to writing, but instead that they might be instructed in English and so at once introduced to the Gospel.

In a letter to the A. B. C. F. M. dated Nez-Perces Mission House, February 16, 1837, Rev. H. H. Spalding, the missionary in charge of the station at Clear Water or Lapwai says :

"Judging from the present, this people will probably acquire the English, before we do the Nez-Perces language, though we flatter ourselves, that we are making good progress. If so, by the time we are ready to reduce theirs to writing, it will not be deemed expedient—For why should years be spent in reducing their language to a written state, which when done, must necessarily be increased one-third, or one-half, with new words, in order to embrace the scriptures. And if it is necessary for them to learn so many English words, of course the most difficult, by reason of having nothing in their language to explain them, why not learn the other half, easy to be learned, because they have corresponding words in their own language that will explain them, & then they are introduced at once into an inexhaustible fountain of religious & scientific reading. This is my present opinion, but what our duty will be, when we have acquired their language & are prepared to write and teach it, or to teach the English to better advantage than we are now, we wait the future leadings of providence & the better wisdom than ours, of yourself & coadjutors."

This course was soon found to be not only impracticable, but absolutely impossible, and at the general meeting of the Oregon Mission in 1838 it was formally voted :

"That we apply ourselves to the study of the Native Language & reduce it to writing."

The Rev. H. H. Spalding as a preliminary step had devised an artificial alphabet, in which the English consonants not needed in the Nez Perces language were used to designate the

different vowel sounds ordinarily expressed in English by the same letter.

He had also written to Honolulu requesting the donation of a second-hand press and that the Sandwich Islands Mission should instruct someone, to be sent there from Oregon, in the art of printing, and in the meantime print a few small books in Nez Perces.

On March 15, 1838, he reports as follows:

"I have completed an alphabet in the Nez-Perces language, & a spelling book with some 60 or 70 scripture & animal cuts explained, which I shall send to the Islands to be printed, by the first opportunity. I hope to complete a small elementary work to accompany it, & a large one during the year to be printed at Boston—

NEZ-PERCES ALPHABET

A	sound of a in Father	N	"	n in Note
B	" a in Hawk	O	"	o in Not
C	" a in Man	P	"	p in Paint
D	" e in Men	Q	"	qu in Question
E	" e in We	R	"	i in Time
F	" u in Sun	S	"	s in Small
G	" Soft	T	"	t in Time
H	" h in He	U	"	oo in Moon
I	" i in Pin	V	"	o in Note
J	" a in Name	W	"	w in World
K	" k in Hawk	X	"	u in Use
L	" l in Lamb	Y	"	y in Yoke
M	" m in Man	Z	"	ou in South.

I have given no character two sounds. I have taken the English alphabet, as I see no reason why characters very extensively used throughout the world, should be cast away & others substituted as in the case of the Chocktaw & Ojibwa. The sounds represented by nine characters, viz, b. c. d. f. j. r. v. x. z. are not found in this language. The sounds represented in English by the consonants—h k l m n p q u s t w y are found, & I have retained the characters. To the vowels a e i o & u. I have given the five vowel sounds that occur most frequently, for convenience sake, as these letters are most abundant in every printing establishment, especially, at the one we expect to get our printing done at present. I have taken 8 of the 9 consonants not required to represent the remaining 8 vowel sounds. There is but one diphthongal sound, which I have represented by the letter z. The hint, respecting the

importance of giving the most frequent English characters, to the most frequent sounds in the native language, by missionaries who have not the command of their printing, I received from a missionary east of the mountains. Mr. Pickering's objections to the c & x seem valid as their place can be supplied by k & s & ks. To Mr. P.'s objections of substituting the letter u, or letters oo, for w, another might be added, it would give those characters more than one sound, a fundamental principle laid down by him at the out set (see page 1 & 2) & a principle by which I have been guided. But his method of disposing of qu, in my opinion, conflicts with the above important principle, at least so far as this & the English language are concerned. It gives more than one sound to the letter u, an evil to be deprecated far more than the addition of dozen new characters to the alphabet, each having but one sound. Could you hear the Nez-Perces words, Kui & Qrfs sounded, you would see the impossibility of making ku take the place of Q & still the u retain its own sound—The following english words, Quiet & Kumiss may explain what I mean. To give the ku in Kumiss the sound of qu in Quiet would make a word which could not be pronounced or if pronounced would be a very different word from ku-miss. I object to points & dashes above or below letters, as such letters are always more difficult to learn & manage, especially by untutored eyes, than twice the number of new characters. For instance, a child will learn & read a word with a & l in it easier than with a & ä in it."

A spelling book and an elementary book were soon prepared by Mr. Spalding to be forwarded to Honolulu to be printed on the presses of the Mission there. According to the Rev. Myron Eells, Mrs. Whitman copied a book of seventy-two pages; which Mr. Spalding intended to send to the Sandwich Islands.

Meanwhile, at the delegate meeting of the Hawaiian Mission, in June, 1838, it was voted in reply to Mr. Spalding's communication:

"That we comply with his request to print small books for the Nez Perces missions and also forward a few copies of scripture and other cuts; also a Ramage press and small font of types from Lahainaluna, at the discretion of the printer there."

They discouraged Mr. Spalding's suggestion that he should send a man on from Oregon to be instructed in printing and

proposed rather to send one of their native assistants to him.

This offer was accepted at a general meeting of the Oregon Mission held immediately after the arrival on Aug. 29, 1838, of the reinforcement consisting of Messrs. Walker, Eells, and Smith, as reported to the A. B. C. F. M. by Mr. Walker in a letter dated Weiletpoo, Oct. 15, 1838, when it was voted:

"That the Press, Printer, Type, Paper & binding Apparatus offered by the Sandwich Island mission, be accepted."

Mr. Edwin Oscar Hall, a printer, who had sailed from Boston Dec. 5, 1834, in the ship *Hellespont*, with the sixth reinforcement to the mission, arriving in Honolulu June 6, 1835, had been stationed at the press in Honolulu, and it was finally decided that as the health of Mrs. Hall necessitated her temporary sojourn in a cooler climate, and Mr. Hall could well be spared for a while after the completion of the work then in hand, it would be best to send him to Oregon for a year to set up the printing establishment there and instruct those designated to carry on the work.

Although mention is made in letters of manuscripts sent on by the Oregon mission, and, as stated above, it was voted to print them on the mission press, no record of any such printing can be found in the very exact record kept of all printing done by the Hawaiian Mission press.

The cut shown of the Spelling Book (see plate I) is from a proof discovered in Hilo, island of Hawaii, a few years ago by Rev. W. D. Westervelt, in the possession of Mrs. Mary T. C. Hitchcock, the daughter of Mr. S. N. Castle, the assistant secular superintendent of the Hawaiian Mission in 1839.

It can only be regarded as a printer's proof, however, as the two pages are printed side by side in the wrong position as regards each other, the title page being to the left, and, as will be quoted later, Rev. A. B. Smith writes: "Respecting the book sent to the Islands to be printed, it came back as it was sent."

In a letter to the secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. dated Jan. 26, 1839. Mr. Hall writes from Honolulu:

"Mr. Spalding has sent me a small elementary book in the Nez Perces language in order that I could see the proportions of the various letters in putting up the type. He says also, that

42^a

NEZ-PERCES
SPELLING BOOK,

WITH
SCRIPTURE CUTS EXPLAINED.

NUMEPU
SPDLINTEMIS,

WO
PRPL KFTS WO IMASHNO KFTS.

Honolulu:
1839.



KEY TO THE ALPHABET.

A a,	aa	a	in	Father, far,	G g,
B b,		a	"	hawk, talk,	H h,
C c,		a	"	man, can,	K k,
J j,		a	"	hate, late,	L l,
D d,		e	"	men, ten,	M m,
E e,		e	"	we, he,	N n,
I i,		i	"	pin, tin,	P p,
R r,		i	"	time, die,	Q q,
O o,		o	"	not, lot,	S s,
V v,		o	"	boat, note,	T t,
F f,		"	"	sun, run,	W w,
U u,		"	"	bull, in moon,	Y y.
X x,		"	"	use, liberty,	
Z z,		ou	"	south, doubt.	

As in English, except g is always soft, and is introduced on account of Scripture names; and y is never used for i.

OREGON:

ROCKY MOUNTAINS.



he shall this winter prepare some others. so that they will be ready for me to print when I arrive. I have accordingly put up our old fount of Pica and Long Primer English, and also the new fount of English, received within a year or two. The two former are nearly worn out; but the latter is almost new. but a small fount, being all contained in one case. This latter we can dispense with, with some inconvenience; and the two former are supplied with new founts recently received. The Press designed to be taken is only a small hand card press. which was a donation to this Mission, and came out with us in the Hellespont. I have had it put in order, by adding a frisket, points, etc. and hope to make it answer the purpose till the wants of those missions shall require greater facilities for the prosecution of that branch of labor. The type, also, will probably do till the language is so far reduced to system that the proper proportions can be sent for of all the letters. This will be done in the course of year or two."

From Honolulu, Mr. Levi Chamberlain, the secular agent of the Hawaiian Mission, writes to the Rev. R. Anderson on February 11, 1839:

"The health of Mrs. Hall has been feeble for a long time. A voyage to the region of Columbia River has been recommended as a measure of promising benefit. An opportunity now offers of a passage to Vancouver in one of the Hudson Bay Company's vessels, and Mr. Hall has concluded to avail himself of it. He will take passage with his wife in the ship *Nereide* to sail in about a fortnight. We shall send by him about 50 reams of paper, a small assortment of types and a card press, being the one which was sent to this mission some years ago, and for which we have had no use.

Mr. Hall will make himself useful to the Mission in the Oregon Territory in various ways, and by putting up this press and printing such little works as the means which we are able to furnish will admit. His passage and freight of goods will be \$250 payable here."

Rev. Hiram Bingham had greatly interested his church, the Kawaiahao Church of Honolulu, in the matter of converting the Indians of Oregon, and the previous year it had made a small present to assist the missions there.

This year a subscription by the native women of the congregation was used to defray the expenses of sending Mr. Hall and the little press to Oregon.

In a letter written from Honolulu, April 19, 1839, he informs Mr. Anderson:

"The church & congregation of which I am pastor has recently sent, a small but complete printing and Binding establishment by the Hand of Brother Hall, to the Oregon mission, which with other substantial supplies amount to 444.00 doll.— The press was a small Hand press presented to this mission but not in use. The expense of the press with one small font of type, was defrayed by about 50 native females including Kinau or Kaahumanu 2d. This was a very pleasing act of Charity. She gave 10 doll. for herself & 4 for her little daughter Victoria Kaahumanu 3d."

The preceding extract can be found printed in Vol. 36, *Missionary Herald*, page 188, May 1840.

It is possible that this press is that described among the gifts to the A. B. C. F. M. in Vol. 29, *Missionary Herald*, page 296, August, 1833:

"Middlesex North and vic. Ms. A small printing press and apparatus, fr. char. so. \$50.00."

Mr. Hall and his wife left Honolulu March 2, 1839, arriving at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River about April 10, 1839.

According to Mr. George H. Himes in his article, *History of the Press of Oregon*, (*Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Volume 3, December 1902, pp. 327-370) an express was sent to Dr. Whitman at Wai-il-et-pu and to Mr. Spalding at Lapwai, Clear Water, that Mr. and Mrs. Hall, with F. Ermatinger as a guide, would leave Fort Vancouver on April 13 with the hopes of reaching Fort Walla Walla April 30.

Mr. Spalding, in a letter begun at Clear Water, March 5, 1839, informs Mr. Greene:

"April 22. Since writing the above, the Co's vessel has arrived from Honolulu bring Mr & Mrs Hall with a press, small font of type, binding materials & a quantity of paper all which I believe is a donation to this Mission from Rev Mr Bingham's church & congregation. Also a quantity of sugar, Molases & salt. Mr Hall has come to this country on account of Mrs H's health, & while he remains will put our press in operation & labor otherwise as he may find occasion.

Fort Walla Walla May 3. Mrs S & myself arrived hear

30 ult & Mr and Mrs Hall with the press &c safe 29, hope to start tomorrow, Mrs Hall in a canoe effects on horses."

After a week's rest the party started on May 6 for Lapwai, which was reached on the evening of May 13th.

The journey is thus described by Mr. Spalding in a letter to the A. B. C. F. M. dated, Clear Water, Oct. 2, 1839:

"My last date left myself & Mrs Spalding at Ft W. W. expecting soon to leave with Mr & Mrs Hall for this station. We had a pleasant journey up the river—Mrs Hall alone in the canoe polled by 3 men—the remainder of us on horses, obliged frequently to cut high points which presented impassable bluffs by the waters edge. We reached home in 7 days travel from W. W. Mrs Hall suffered no inconvenience from the journey Mr Hall arranged our little printing establishment & printed for us the first book in the Nezpercs language. A few copies are sent you—we hope to have other books ready for the press during the winter. Mr Rogers, who was employed at this station last year is to spend this winter with Revd Mr Smith—he is somewhat acquainted with printing & may be able to render us some assistance in this department of our labor—The whole donation from the First Native church at Honolulu to this Mission, consisting of the press, Type, paper, Ink, Binding apparatus & family supplies, amounted to about \$500 & will be acknowledged by the committee appointed to write to the Board on the subject, you will recollect that the same church made a donation to this mission last year of \$80, in money & 10 bushels of salt, with two of their No. a man & his wife who have given themselves to our work & are rendering Doct Whitman important assistance in his secular affairs. Others will doubtless come to our assistance next season. The same church has offered to sustain a missionary in this field, which offer has been accepted by our mission & directions suggested as to the best manner of contributing to this object."

On May 16th the press was set up and on May 18th the first proof-sheet was struck off. By May 24, 1839, four hundred copies of a small 8-page book in Nez-Perces in the artificial alphabet devised by Mr. Spalding were printed, this constituting the first book ever printed in the Oregon Territory.

In 1914, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library, discovered the four outer pages of this book used as a paper cover to a copy of the 20-page Nez Perces First Book

belonging to the library of Oberlin College, and the librarian at Oberlin afterwards discovered a second similar copy.

The writer has just discovered two more pages of this little book—pages 5 and 6,—two specimens of which were used in the binding of the copy of the 20-page First Book presented by Mr. Hall to Dr. Anderson of the A. B. C. F. M., and the Library of Congress has made a similar discovery in their copy, as has also the E. E. Ayer Library of Chicago.

The book is bound in blue paper, strengthened by printed paper, which on being steamed apart proved to be two copies of one leaf of the discarded book.

Specimens of the four outer pages have similarly been found by him at the Massachusetts Historical Society and by the librarian of Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon.

Other owners of the 20-page Nez-Perces First Book in the original paper binding may find by examination against a strong light that they too possess pages of the pioneer 8-page book which were utilized by Mr. Hall when binding his work of August, 1839. Pages 3 and 4 are as yet unknown.

The 8-page book was printed in one signature of eight pages. It was almost immediately abandoned, for reasons explained in letters following.

Mr. Himes' account, which was based on information furnished him by Dr. Myron Eells, purporting to be a condensation of a diary kept by Mr. Spalding at the time, continues:

"On July 10 the style of alphabet was agreed upon, it having been decided to adopt the one used in the Sandwich Islands. This was done at Kamiah by Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Spalding and wife, Rev. A. B. Smith and wife and Mr. Hall.

On Aug. 1 the printing of another book was commenced in the new alphabet and by the 15th, 500 copies were completed."

The statement that the Hawaiian alphabet was adopted by the missionaries stationed within the sphere of the Nez-Perces language is of course inaccurate. The Hawaiian alphabet consists of only 12 letters, a, e, i, o, u, h, k, l, m, n, p, and w, written in that order, while according to the statement by Mr. Spalding already quoted the Nez-Perces language required in addition the letters q, s, t, and y.

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NEZ-PERCES

FIRST BOOK:

DESIGNED FOR CHILDREN AND NEW BEGINNERS.



CLEAR WATER:

MISSION PRESS.

1839.



ah eh rh vh uh fh gh ch dh ih oh xh

al el rl vl ul fl gl cl dl il ol xl

am em rm vm um fm gm cm dm im om xm

an en rn vn un fn gn cn dn in on xn

ap ep rp vp up fu gp cp dp ip op xp

as es rs vs us fs gs cs ds is os xs

at et rt vt ut ft gt ct dt it ot xt

HIMTCKCSH I.

Naks ne washvlekit.

A	Cks	Chks	Em
En	Him	Hipsh	Ka
Kyhs	Kus	Ke	Kum



Mrh	Mfs	Meks	Lfh
Nun	Peps	Pesh	Prsh
Pisht	Paps	Pflh	Shyh
Shamh	Shjth	Shesh	Tyh
Tahs	Taks	Timsh	Tin
Tet	Tsep	Tiks	Tahsh

HIMTCKCSH, II.

Ldpet waskrlekit.

A tim	Ah wa	Csh a	C ten
A a	E tit	E tish	En im
Ba has	Ha ma	Ha ham	Hu shus
Hu ku	He kr	Hö tet	Him en
Him tyh	Hesh in	Het su	He yih
He shu	Hik tek	Ho is	In wint
Ca mtesh	Is kit	Ish kep	R ft
Ril a	Kg la	Ka has	Kuts kuts
Kup kup	Kim te	Kem tdm	Kah nv
Kr yi	La ka	La kfs	La tis
Lv kfs	Me ka	Meh shein	Min a



Nu kft	Nek a	Nush nu	Nuh shit
Neh shep	Nu kin	Al a	At wr
Am a	Fs ep	Pc chs	Pap r
Pap a	Pv hvl	Pes ket	Qr fs
Qfs qfs	Shek tit	Sr v	Shesh nim
Te mis	Taks pul	Tu a	Tu ye
Tv yem	Tv hvn	Ta mfin	Ta lfm
Ta pul	Tim r	Tit mr	Tik im

HIMTCKCSH III.

Kapish halih waskelekit.

E net	E met	E lvt	E sherm
In pim	Ka hal	Kv kal	Ka lvn
Ku nv.	Kv mrs	Kv pip	Ke ket
Ka ket	Krh krh	Kaush tet	Kush pu
Kó v	Lfm tr	La am	La hr
Me als	Mks mks	Na sv	Ko shft
Kep shseh	Ke pish	Keps keps	Kip kip
Tis ko	Se met	Ip shus	Yvs yvs
Mvl mvl	So wet	Tv pes	E she



HIMTCKCSH IV.



Ke hewesh Takmahl.

TAKMAHL dupitem. Dupite takmahl.
 Enchnim takmahl. Ennm ke takmahl?
 Shep nim telir: koa tatvsh tahspulm tehr,
 koa tatvsh kalashahum tehr, koa tatvsh pfp-
 teshnim tehr. Takmahl koa watu kmrs
 hushus. Koa watu clatenushksh. Salawe sro
 takmahl koa clatenushksh; taks enet pa asu,
 koa taks takmahl nekaqilku; tnuish tatvsh
 takmahl, yvh talis, enimn. Koa tatvsh pe-
 kfsuim takmahl, yvh he talis, trsmn, yvis
 koa watu hemuhlesa.

Eshen panca kina takmahlna wdpshnim?
 Kila panaks wdpsh tetvkan. Watu uyi-
 klan tetvkan pasukuisa.



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FIRST BOOK.

ALPHABET.

A	pronounced as <i>a</i> in father.
C	“ as <i>a</i> in man.
D	“ as <i>e</i> in men.
E	“ as <i>e</i> in he.
F	“ as <i>u</i> in hut.
G	“ as <i>a</i> in name.
H	“ as in English.
I	“ as <i>i</i> in pin.
J	only used in proper names.
K	} pronounced as in English.
L	
M	
N	
O	“ as <i>ou</i> in south.
P	“ as in English.
Q	“ as <i>qu</i> in question.
R	“ as <i>i</i> in time.
S	} “ as in English.
T	
U	“ as <i>oo</i> in moon.
V	“ as <i>o</i> in note.
W	“ as in English.
X	“ as <i>ew</i> in new.
Y	“ as <i>y</i> in you.

A plate is shown of the Pickering alphabet as it appears in the new book, which contained 20 pages.

The account also contains so many minor inaccuracies in direct contradiction to Mr. Spalding's statements in letters to the A. B. C. F. M. that the writer cannot accept it as a contemporaneous diary by Spalding.

Nor does the writer believe that the missionaries assembled at Kamiah on July 10 to change the alphabet. Dr. Whitman's little daughter was buried on June 29, at Waiilatpu, Messrs. Spalding and Hall attending the funeral, and while it is possible that Dr. and Mrs. Whitman accompanied them back to Lapwai and the party proceeded thence to Kamiah, it does not seem likely, especially as Dr. Whitman makes no mention of a visit to Kamiah in a list of six absences from his station during the year, though he does mention a visit to Lapwai to visit Mrs. Hall, the date not being given. Nor would Mrs. Spalding have left her bedridden guest, Mrs. Hall, to go with the others to Kamiah.

This book has a similar title page to that of the abandoned 8-page book, a little wider spacing between the words of "Designed for children and new beginners" showing that the page was reset by Mr. Hall.

It is $5\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches in size and printed in five unnumbered signatures of four pages each.

It is this second book that has commonly been considered as the first publication from the mission press.

In a letter written by Mr. Spalding to Mr. Walker, who had not been present at the annual meeting, dated Clear Water, Sept. 10, 1839, is found this sentence:

"We have taken Mr. Pickering's alphabet as you will see from the little book."

Dr. Whitman in a letter to Mr. Greene dated Waiilatpu, Oct. 22, 1839, gives the following account of the change of alphabet:

"We have settled upon the Alphabet recommended by yourself & the Board with the exception of *v* for short *u* which is represented by *a*—All had become weary of the first attempt at writing with the one fixed upon by Mr. Spalding.

I never consented to it—& on the accession of Mr Smith

to the Language, laid before him your views on the subject—After an examination—he said he preferred Mr Spaldings Method to Mr Pickering—or yourself—and this seemed to be the only prospect for a time, indeed one book was printed in that alphabet—But by the judicious advice of Mr Hall—an easy adjustment was made—& we now have a small book—printed—which we are teaching—written with Pickering's Alphabet—”

The Pickering alphabet mentioned by Dr. Whitman was based on John Pickering's "An essay on a uniform orthography for Indian languages of North America," Cambridge: 1820.

Mr. Spalding thus informs Mr. Greene from Clear Water, March 16, 1840:

“We found as you predicted, the alphabet which I had adopted, impracticable by reason of the short vowels. No two persons would spell alike & even the same person would always be in doubt what vowel to give to a short vowel sound in a given word—you perceive we have adopted the alphabet you proposed to Doct. Whitman before he left the States.

As to teaching the English language, a majority of the mission do not think it advisable to make the attempt & we have resolved to give our attention entirely to the Native as the only safe way of communicating religious truth to the mind.”

At the annual meeting of the Oregon meeting held at the house of Rev. H. H. Spalding, Clear Water, commencing on Sept. 2nd, 1839, and ending on the 5th, the following assignments had been made.

“Resolved That Mr Rogers be invited to prepare a small elementary arithmetic & Mr Smith his reviewer—

Also. That Dr Whitman be appointed to prepare a reading book & Mr. Rogers his reviewer—

Also. That Mr. Smith be appointed to prepare a book containing religious instruction or translation from the New Testament—& Mr. Spalding his reviewer—

Also. That Mr. Spalding be appointed to prepare a book containing religious instruction from the Old Testament & Mr. Smith his reviewer—

Also. That Messrs Spalding & Smith be a committee to translate the ten commandments to be published at the Islands under a cut.

Also. That Messrs Spalding & Smith be appointed to prepare Hymns in the native language & each other's reviewers—”

The records of the Sandwich Islands press do not give any evidence that the Ten Commandments referred to in the assignments were ever printed.

Mr. Himes' account continues :

"On Dec. 30th the press was packed with the intention of sending it to Doctor Whitman's station, Wai-il-et-pu, to print a book there. The next day it started on its journey and that evening the pack horse fell down a precipice and it was supposed that the press was dashed to pieces. On Jan. 1, 1840, Mr. Rogers rode to the scene of the accident, gathered all the material together and returned. By the 17th the press was again set up, and it was discovered that nothing was lost save a few type. By this experience it was found that it would be easier to send the manuscript to the press than the press to the manuscript. Printing was resumed on the 20th, and on the 28th, Mr. Hall having started for the Sandwich Islands, Mr. Rogers who had been taught to set type and operate the press by Mr. Hall, was employed to take charge of the press and do the printing for the mission for £30, English money per year and his board, thereafter, so long as the mission was sustained, the usual routine of work was pursued."

As Mr. and Mrs. Hall were spending the winter at Dr. Whitman's station at Waiilatpu, where Mrs. Hall had given birth to a child on Nov. 5, 1839, the reason for the attempt to send the press there was probably the better to accommodate the printer, rather than the manuscript, since Dr. Whitman had not written the book as originally planned, but had deputed the task to Messrs. Smith and Rogers at Kamiah.

To Mr. Hall's anxiety to return to his wife and infant daughter at Waiilatpu, must also be ascribed his haste in leaving the completion of the book in the hands of Mr. Rogers, for he did not leave Dr. Whitman's for Fort Vancouver, on his way back to the Islands, until February 29, Dr. Whitman accompanying him as far as Fort Walla Walla.

He embarked for Honolulu May 19, 1840, arriving home safely June 24, with Mrs. Hall's general health much improved.

Dr. Whitman in a letter to Mr. Greene from Waiilatpu, March 27, 1840, thus describes the new book and its printing :

"The Book which the Annual Meeting of the mission, appointed me to write I employed Mr Smith & Mr Rogers to

write as being better qualified to do it than myself & so much of my time being taken up in making Medical calls for the mission. It is now printed & makes a fine addition to our means of instruction, & must supercede the one written by Mr Spalding, as it is much more correct in language & orthography—*It contains fifty two pages & an edition of eight hundred copies are printed.*

Mr. Hall commenced printing it but being in haste to return to the Islands—Mr Rogers was employed to finish it.

At Mr Halls advise we have employed him to do the printing for the Mission at £30 sterling per anum, & his board—His knowledge of the Native language makes him very useful in any department of labour.

Mr Hall was with us at this station six months—but has now gone to Vancouver to return to the Islands.”

Rev. A. B. Smith, the missionary at Kamiah, in a letter to Mr. Greene dated Kamiah, Oregon Ter’y, Feb. 6th, 1840, writes:

“On pp. 387 of the Herald for 1838, it is mentioned that ‘an alphabet in the Nez Perces language’ is completed, & three books are mentioned as completed or hoped to be during the year. That alphabet has been thrown away, it being found before the reception of your letter, not only ‘unclassical & outlandish’ but also attended with such difficulties as to render it entirely impracticable to use it. Respecting the book sent to the Islands to be printed, it came back as it was sent. Mr. Hall came last spring with a press, which was kindly presented to us by the members of Mr. Bingham’s church, & all the printing that was done during the summer was a small work of 20 pp. prepared by Mr. Spalding. Before it went to press it was sent to me for correction. On examining it, I found scarcely a correct sentence of Nez Perces in the whole of it. I corrected it as well as I was able to at that time & sent it back. Some of the corrections were admitted & some rejected—The book was printed. The result is that the book is so incorrect as to be almost entirely useless, & has been used but little. This is all that has appeared of those books. At our meeting in Sept. last, assignments were made for the preparation of books as you will see from the minutes of the meeting, a copy of which I will send you, among which an elementary reading book was assigned to Dr. Whitman. This of course was the first book to be needed—In Dec. Dr. W—concluded that he was unable to prepare such a work, & applied

to Mr. Rogers & myself to do it for him. We have accordingly prepared matter for some 50 or 60 pages, which is now in press. Mr. Rogers with a little instruction from Mr. Hall is printing the work. He has sent me the first 28 pp. & it appears very well—This work, tho' not entirely correct, I think to be generally free from grammatical errors, & will answer our purpose tolerably well—I find my own style quite stiff & frequently not according to the idiom of the language—What Mr. Rogers has prepared, however, is in a more easy style & more according to the idiom of the language—By travelling with the people & being much with them, he is able to speak the language with great ease & propriety—He is a very valuable helper to us—”

As an assistant to Mr. Hall had been employed a young man named Cornelius Rogers, who had traveled out to Oregon with the re-enforcement consisting of Messrs. Eells, Smith and Walker, which arrived at Walla Walla, August 29, 1838.

According to Mr. Smith he was to have lived with him at Kamiah, for on August 27, 1839, writing to the A. B. C. F. M. he says :

“Br Rogers, a young man who came out with us from Cincinnati, is to be associated with me the coming year, & will engage in teaching & preparing some school books—He is a valuable helper in the language He has been with the Indians to buffalo this season & has made great proficiency in the language—He has a natural talent for acquiring language & it is probable that he has surpassed all other white men in the acquisition of the Nez Perces language.”

At the fifth annual meeting at Kamiah, Sept 2, 1840, by vote of the mission Mr. Rogers was formally placed in charge of the printing of the mission by the following resolutions :

“Resolved: That as soon as practicable a building, suitable for the printing establishment be erected at Lapwai, & such furniture provided as is necessary to carry on the department.

Resolved: That the printing establishment, together with the erection of a building be entrusted to Mr. Rogers, under the superintendence of the Pru. Committee—

Resolved: That £30 pr annum be appropriated for the support of Mr. Rogers according to previous arrangements.”

Mr. Rogers makes the following report of activities in the printing department, as quoted by A. B. Smith in his annual

report to the A. B. C. F. M. in a letter dated Kamiah, Oregon, Sept 28, 1840.

"Since I have had any connection with this department, a small book of 52 pages has been printed with the assistance of Mr. Hall, a copy of which accompanies this report. 800 copies were printed & 250 have been bound.

A room in Mr Spalding's house has been occupied with the press & types, but it is too small to do anything in to advantage.

A large font of Pica type has not been opened. It is the type needed for printing school books, but cannot be opened for want of cases, six pairs of which are needed.

In order to do anything to advantage a suitable building is needed, together with the furniture as recommended, by Mr. Hall."

The book is in size $5\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was printed in thirteen numbered signatures of four pages each.

The books mentioned as bound were furnished with a printed blue paper cover, a cut of which is shown herewith. (See plate —).

Mr. Rogers however did not do any further printing for the Mission, for before the next book was printed he resigned, in the spring of 1841, on account of disagreements with Mr. Spalding, causing his late associates much anxiety through the report that he was engaged to be married to a Catholic, the quarter-breed daughter of Mr. Pambrun, then recently killed by a fall from his horse.

Mr. Rogers, however, married the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Leslie, one of the Methodist missionaries, and on Feb. 1, 1843, was drowned while landing from a canoe at the falls of the Willamette.

[To be concluded]

JONATHAN CARVER'S SOURCE FOR THE NAME OREGON

By T. C. ELLIOTT

On the outer walls of the Public Library of Portland, a beautiful building which was constructed within the last twenty years and covers an entire city block in that metropolis of the state of Oregon, are carved names of men and women who have attained fame in the various fields of the world's progress; and in the group of names of noted explorers—Columbus, Balboa, Marco Polo, Livingstone, Mackenzie and others—appears the name Carver. The occasion for this honor was a book written by Jonathan Carver of Massachusetts, which has been printed in several languages and gone through more than thirty editions, and which, incidentally, introduced into literature and history the name OREGON.

At the time of its publication in London, in 1778, Captain Carver's book, entitled "Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767 and 1768," was one of the best sellers on the London market. That fact, and the prominence later awarded to it in literature, have occasioned much inquiry about its author, and opinion, pro and con, as to the sources of his information and reliability of his statements. The most prominent contributions on that subject are those of the late Edward Gaylord Bourne of Yale University, (printed in volume eleven—1906—of the *American Historical Review*), and of Mr. John Thomas Lee of Madison, (printed in the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* for 1909 and 1912), and of Dr. William Browning of Brooklyn (printed in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* in 1920). The present writer has recently added two chapters to that discussion, namely, "The Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon," and "The Origin of the Name Oregon," both printed in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* of December 1920 and June 1921. He now adds a third, in connection with which it is proper to explain that the documentary material

made use of has been cumulative, and was in part not even known to the writer when the first one was written.

Captain Carver's "Travels" is divided into two parts, and the extensive plagiarisms which make up much of the second or descriptive part have already been conclusively pointed out by Professor Bourne. The purpose of this contribution is to briefly refer to some statements in the first or journal part of the book, and to indicate the circumstances under which this journal came to be written by Carver, and to disclose his entire dependence upon Major Robert Rogers for the plans and means for his journey to the West, and for the name Oregon.

Jonathan Carver earned his military title of captain through efficient, though not distinguished, service in the French and Indian War of 1755-1763. His enlistment and service were with various companies of infantry from the "Province of Massachusetts Bay", his home then being in the small town of Montague, near Greenfield and Deerfield, in the valley of the Connecticut river. Active fighting in that war was concluded, for the most part, at the time of the surrender of Montreal to General Jeffrey Amherst in the late summer of 1760. Both Major Rogers and Captain Carver were present at that occasion, and, immediately or soon after, the former was dispatched to the West to take over the French posts on the Great Lakes. Captain Carver was, as far as the record yet discloses, between that date and the disbandonment of the army in 1763, stationed in Canada and assigned to engineering work in the Province of Quebec. In proof of this Mr. Lee has brought to our attention the second (1776) edition of Thomas Jeffrey's AMERICAN ATLAS, in which there appears a finely executed map entitled "A New Map of the Province of Quebec, according to the Royal Proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, from the French Surveys connected with those made after the War, by Captain Carver, and other Officers in His Majesty's Service."

It should be stated here that the charge that Captain Carver was "an unlettered shoemaker" has been disproved by Mr. Lee and Dr. Browning (see page 344 of Vol. 21 of Oregon Historical Quarterly). Carver's education evidently was along

the lines of surveying and draughting, civil engineering we would now term it, and was quite equal to that of the youth of well-to-do families of the period.

When mustered out of the army in the summer or fall of 1763 Captain Carver probably found himself in a poor state of mind for again taking on the duties of civil and family life, especially in a country community where opportunity for lucrative practice of his vocation would have been small. He was not a man of prominence or of property, as far as has yet been disclosed; in fact he was impecunious. Mr. Lee has found certain petitions, by himself and by his wife, to the General Court of Massachusetts for relief; and in later years his wife was engaged in school teaching at Montague. As far as is known to us Captain Carver removed to Boston vicinity; at any rate there he was in May, 1766, quite ready to accept a proposition to journey to the West on an enterprise of adventure and exploration. This information comes to us in Carver's own words, in the petition he presented to the King's Privy Council in London in 1769, a copy of which has been printed on page 111 of Vol. twenty-two of this Quarterly. The offer came to him from one Robert Rogers, the newly appointed governor and commandant at the important frontier trading post of Mackinac on Lake Michigan.

At this date, apparently (May 1766), began the active relations between Jonathan Carver, civil engineer, age fifty-six, formerly captain in the English army but a comparatively obscure civilian, and Robert Rogers, major, age thirty-five, with national reputation as an Indian fighter, and a man of remarkable initiative, forcefulness and audacity. Major Rogers had only recently returned from London, where he had obtained appointment to the important position above mentioned. While there he had brought out two books, which had attracted favorable attention; one being the "Journals" of his career in the war, and the other being of a descriptive and historical character entitled "A Concise Account of North America." In his proposal to Carver he had in mind other activities than the mere administration of the office at Mackinac, as will later appear.

In the introduction to his "Travels," written just prior to 1778, Captain Carver sets up a claim to an original idea of Western exploration in the interest of his King and Country as early as 1763, and on that account has been awarded much credit as a man of vision and foresight. In the light of this association with Major Rogers in May, 1766, it is well, in a spirit of fairness at least, to inquire whether Carver may not at some time have inspired Rogers with this idea; for it will be remembered, by those who have followed this discussion, that, when in London in the summer of 1765, Major Rogers petitioned the King's Privy Council for permission and support to conduct an expedition across the continent to the Pacific ocean in search for the river "Ourigan" and the mythical Northwest Passage.¹ The proposal however did not receive official sanction.

It seems perfectly reasonable to presume that at times during the French and Indian War these two men fell into each other's company, though an intimacy is not probable. Carver served in an infantry regiment, while Rogers was the organizer and leader of an independent partisan command widely known as "Rogers Rangers," and was active in scouting duties and daring raids, after the Indian modes of fighting. In 1760 Rogers was sent, as already stated, to the Great Lakes region, and in 1763 was again sent to Detroit to assist in putting down the conspiracy under famous Chief Pontiac. Mean time he had been in service in the South against the Cherokees. But in the winter of 1764 he retired from active duty, on half pay, and spent all that year in land speculations in New Hampshire and Vermont, from Portsmouth as headquarters.² Future research may connect these men during that year, but it is easily recognized that Major Rogers was the dominating character, the one with knowledge of the West and inherent spirit of adventure. Carver's claim should be regarded as another of his methods of book writing.

Official records³ disclose quite clearly that Gen. Thomas

¹ For transcript of this proposal, see *Ore. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 2, p. 101.

² The authority for this is on pages 92 and 93 of "*Ponteach, Or the Savages of America*," Caxton Club Edit., by Allan Nevins.

³ Johnson Mss., 12, 22, which is quoted by Nevins on page 104 of "*Ponteach*."

Gage, then in command at New York of the British forces in America, and Sir William Johnson, Supt. of Indian Affairs in America, were not pleased with the instructions sent them to appoint Major Rogers to the important position at Mackinac. They did not consider that his career as a "Ranger" fitted him for garrison duty or that he had ability or self-control for making a safe administration of civil affairs, and they had knowledge of heavy personal indebtedness and other habits all too common among army officers. They also feared his influence among the Indians. They knew that the Indians of the West, as well as of New York and Canada, held the name of Rogers in high esteem, from his bravery, wonderful feats of endurance and daring, and narrow escapes during the late war. In the eyes of the Indians Rogers held a charmed life. Supt. Johnson in particular was very emphatic in his suspicions, and planned to keep the new governor within bounds by means of written regulations and instructions as to the conduct of affairs. These suspicions seem to have been justified, for Major Rogers remained in authority at Mackinac less than a year and a half, and the manner of his retirement was spectacular. This has been referred to in a previous chapter of this discussion. But it should be understood by the reader that Rogers' side to that story has not yet become fully known and final judgment of his acts and plans then should be withheld. The authorities used by the writer have already been mentioned and the theme is inviting for further research.

Major Rogers had returned from London in December, 1765, but consumed nearly six months with preparations for taking up the duties of his position. He needed to see others than Captain Carver in the development of his plans, and his wife had decided to accompany him. She was the daughter of a prominent clergyman of Portsmouth, N. H., and the undertaking was a considerable one for her. They probably traveled by the old Mohawk Trail from the Connecticut Valley to the Hudson so as to obtain final instructions from Sir William Johnson at the famous "Johnson Hall," not far from Troy, New York. Who "grubstaked" Carver for this journey is

unknown but small suggestions here and there indicate that someone of prominence near Boston did it.

Albany, in 1766, was important as the residence of some of the merchants who supplied goods to agents at Detroit, Mackinac, and elsewhere. It rivalled Montreal in the fur trade. The communication between Albany and those Western trading posts was by the Mohawk River, Oneida Lake, the Onondago river to the waters of Lake Ontario at Oswego, thence to the portage at Niagara and the waters of Lake Erie and Lake Huron. Carriage was by canoes and batteaus, except that on Lake Erie a single small sailing vessel, named the Gladwyn, made regular trips during the seasons of open water. By this route Major Rogers and his wife, and presumably his fellow-adventurers, traveled; presumably together although there is no proof of it. A large Indian council between the officers under Supt. Johnson and Indian chiefs was held at Oswego in July of that year, and Major Rogers had a part in that, but arrived at Mackinac early in August.

One of the early acts of Major Rogers after arriving at Mackinac was to put in motion his plans to send agents into the Mississippi valley to spend the winter. Such expenditure of British money was beyond the instructions of Supt. Johnson, but that was then of small concern to the Major. We are fortunate in being able to present as documents herewith some of the written instructions given by Major Rogers to his representatives. The first of these, in the order of printing, is that given to Captain Carver under date August 12th at Mackinac. It is proper to call attention to two items of Carver's instructions, namely, the absence of any mention of the name Ourigan, and the presence of direct orders that the journals kept by Carver should be delivered to Major Rogers.

One month later, Sept. 12th, 1766, instructions were issued to two other agents, and these interest us more directly because both make direct mention of the name OURIGAN, and outline the search for the river of that name and the Northwest Passage connecting Hudson's Bay with the Pacific ocean. Incidentally some deposit of treasure on one of the mythical rivers was to be visited. Captain James Tute was to be the leader of the

party. This man had been a neighbor of Rogers' in New Hampshire, and an officer in the "Rangers", and was well qualified for hardship and danger and dealing with Indians. Captain Tute's lieutenant was to be Mr. James Stanley Goddard, an Englishman who had been active in the fur trade already and was reported to be especially successful in influencing the Indians of Wisconsin. His name appears in other documents of that period. In one of these documents it will be noted that Captain Carver is described as being in the company of a "Mr. Bruce," near the Falls of St. Anthony. This reference probably is to one William Bruce, who had been going into that region for a number of years, but whose name is not mentioned in Carver's "Travels", as published.

In accordance with these instructions Captain Carver, in company with experienced traders, journeyed to the Mississippi valley and the Falls of St. Anthony, and wintered somewhere on the Minnesota river, which enters the Mississippi at Fort Snelling between the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. He made friends with the Sioux Indians there, and incidentally obtained from them a deed for a large tract of land which has become known in the history of Wisconsin as the Carver Grant; and in the Spring of 1767 proceeded down the river to Prairie du Chien, where many Indians then gathered every year to meet French and English traders from New Orleans and Mackinac and elsewhere and engage in an annual "rendezvous." Whether Captain Carver during the winter knew of Major Rogers plans for Western exploration may be an open question; the following quotation from his original journal will throw some light upon that subject. It is evident that he had ingratiated himself with the Sioux chiefs.⁴

Mention has been made in one of the previous discussions of the original manuscripts of Carver's book being deposited with the Sir Joseph Bank's papers in the British Museum at London. During the summer of 1921 the writer was fortunate in being able to secure a careful and critical examination of

⁴ He induced several of their chiefs to go to Mackinac to see Major Rogers, and also to sign a deed for a large tract of land, for evidence of which see Carver's "Travels," Third Edit.

these manuscripts by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, editor of the *American Historical Review*. Dr. Jameson's letter to the writer, dated at London on September 21st, 1921, contains, inter alia, the following excerpt from what seems to be the original journal of Captain Carver; "May 6 arrived at La prairie Chien or the Dog Plains here I found Capt. James Tute Mr. James Stanley Goddard and a Party with (sic) some Goods in order to proceed from this to Find out the Great River Ourigan that runs into the South sea and a Northwest Passage if possible their orders was from Major Robert Rogers Commandant of Michillimack-inac who sent orders by Capt. Tute for me to Joyn this party as a draughtsman" Dr. Jameson adds that the handwriting is plain.

Dr. Jameson reports this to be the only mention of the name Ourigan by Carver in this journal. The writer has since obtained from London a transcript of the journal from May 6th to its close and the following entries give the further story of this abortive search for the Northwest Passage: "May 21st. Took my Departure from Ottogaume Town⁵ in Company with Capt. Tute Commander of the Party Mr. Goddard a Lieutenant Mr. G—tier⁶ interpreter and Mr. Reaume having two cannoes and Eight working People one Chipeway Chief one guide—with these we proceeded up the Mississippi with a Determination to Winter at a Place Call'd by the french Fort Lapraire⁷ not far from Lake Winepeek it being the Furthest Trading post the French ever had in the Northwest." * * *

May 28th This day came to where the Chipeway River Joyns the Mississippi—the same evening we was given to understand that the Guide and the rest of the Indians with us declin'd Going any Further up in the Missisipi Capt. Tute call'd a Counsel to consult upon what method would be most expedient in that case it was Generally agreed to take our course up the Chipeway River the Reasons was first that we had not

⁵ Prairie du Chien.

⁶ Gauthier (or Gautier), a family prominent in the fur trade at that period.

⁷ Fort La Prairie, a trading post on the Assiniboine or Saskatchewan rivers in the plains country between Lake Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains, the exact location of which cannot be stated. See page 90 of Bryce's *Remarkable Hist. of the Hudson's Bay Company* for possible location. This reference opens a very interesting line of inquiry as to actual trade in the country west of Lake Winnipeg between 1760 and 1770, prior to the organization of the "Northwest Company."

with us preasents Sutable for to pass through the Naudowessee with—and secondly that as Major Rogers had by Letters informed us/ That he would send us a Supply by the way of Lake Superior and the Grand Portage of such Goods for Presents to the Indians when we should have occasion to Pass as we should stand in need of—thirdly that affirm'd as a Reason for their not being willing to go by the way of the Naudowessee was for fear of war parties towards the head of the Mississippi which often Pass there in the Summer Season—the 29 of May we set of up the Chipeway River. * * *

July 12 arr'd at a small Chipeway Village on the entrance of the River St. Louis at the Western Extremity of Lake Superior. * * *

July 14 took our Departure from this Town the 19 arrived at the Grand Portage, August 2nd. Came two canoes in the morning, in the afternoon four more, these being some traders bound to the Northwest of the (sic) we procured some supplies till the Succours Expected from Maj'r Rogers should come. Aug'st 7th This day Mr. Francis a Trader Bound to the Northwest Came in and Brought some Letters from Major Rogers by which we understood we was to have no supplies this year from him at the same time desired us to Push on for our Discovery the same day Capt. Tute Call'd a Counsel to know what was to be done in our then unhappy Condition No provision or goods to get any with, when it was universally agreed to Return to Michillimackinac and give over our intended Expedition accordingly the next day took our Leave of the King of the Christinoes Came Round on the North and East Side of Lake Superior and arriv'd to St. Mary's⁸ August the 27th. Lake Superior from the Western end which is properly a Bay from the Islands call'd the 12 apostles westward around on the North North East and East to the Straits of St. Maries it seems to Lye in one Continued Jungle of Rocks the Land very mountainous for Thousands of acres together in many places a firm Rock except some chasms where grow some small scrubby Trees.—the Land about St. Mary's is tolerable good the Fort consists of only some old Stockades round a house the whole very much decay'd and Gone to Ruin

⁸ Sault Ste. Marie.

since the French Lost the Command at (sic) the falls of St. Marys is calld the Best place in all these Lakes on account of the white fishing Especially in the fall where any Supplys Might be had—

Augst 29 this Day arrived at Michilimackinac here Ends this attempt to find out a Northwest Passage.

The entries in this journal were not made every day but every few days, and in some instances are quite voluminous in their descriptions of the country or events. Comment and comparison with the text of Carver's "Travels" belongs more properly to the history of Wisconsin than of Oregon and may be undertaken at another time. It is noticeable that Carver made no entries at all while returning from Grand Portage to Sault Ste. Marie although his book contains generous accounts of the north shore of Lake Superior; also that he was then merely one of the Tute-Goddard party.

For the better understanding of real conditions something should be said here as to the delay of Capt. Tute and Mr. Goddard in their movements. In the months of June and July, 1767 there assembled at Mackinac one of the most imposing and numerous attended Indian councils ever held in that romantic locality.⁹ Indians came from all the regions around to meet the man whose life had been protected by the Gods of War and who had now come to live among them. This was a part of Major Rogers' scheme to extend the influence of British authority and increase the trade and he made special effort to reach the chiefs of the Mississippi valley and of the country beyond which was still under Spanish authority. These agents were evidently instructed, verbally or outside the lines of their letters, to spend the winter in promoting the attendance at this council; and their attendance at the rendesvous at Prairie du Chien was necessary to assure the results.

In these three contributions sufficient evidence has been compiled to indicate that Jonathan Carver was not an independent traveler or an independent writer. He did not travel to the West on his own initiative or according to his own plan, he

⁹ See "Ponteach," page 129, for mention of this.

did not travel unaccompanied, he did not travel into any unknown country and he did not record geographical information not already known through the French.¹⁰ He also took the plan for his book and some of the contents thereof from the two books by Major Rogers which had been published in 1765. Of special interest is the tracing back to Major Rogers of the name OREGON.¹¹

But in spite of these disclosures and conclusions, and his rather low moral standards in respect to some things, let us not, at this late day, decline to give Jonathan Carver credit for producing a book which is interesting in its narrative and attractive in its style and which served to bring to public notice information about America at a time when such information was in popular demand but hidden in the leaves of other writers. Jonathan Carver was just then living in London in conditions of dire distress and want and it is strange if he avoided detention in the debtors prison at times. There is no suggestion of such disgrace and he retained a degree of respectability sufficient to insure the publication of this book and the placing of his name in the pages of literature and history. This distinction comes, in part, from such sentences as the following, which appears in his introduction. "But as the seat of Empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressive toward the West, there is no doubt that at some future period, mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching to the skies, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies." On the cover of one of the editions of the histories of George Bancroft this sentence was paraphrased as "Westward the star of empire takes its way," and had been used in similar verbiage by Bishop George Berkeley of England in 1825.

N. B. The documents immediately following are from the Public Record Office, London, and were copied by B. F. Stevens and Brown.
T. C. ELLIOTT.

(Document Number One)

P. R. O. Treasury Solicitor. General series 4957

¹⁰ The map in Capt. Carver's book could easily have been an adaptation of the following map, which the writer has examined at the Legislative Library at Victoria, B. C.; "A Map of North America," by J. Palairt, with considerable Alterations and Improvements from D'Anville, Mitchell & Bellin by L. Delarochette, 1765.

¹¹ For origin of this name see page 100 of Vol. 22, No. 2, of the *Oregon Hist. Quarterly*.

(In papers rel. to the suit Rogers vs. Gage).

No. 4

*Copy of Major Rogers's Commission to Mr. Jonathan Carver
Micha 12 August 1766*

By Robert Rogers Esqr. Agent to the Western Indians and Governor Commandant of His Majesty's Garrison of Michilimakinac and it's Dependances.

TO CAPTAIN JONATHAN CARVER, ESQR.

Whereas it will be to the Honour and Dignity of the Nation as well as for the good of His Majesty's Service to have some good Suravies of the Interior parts of North America Espeesely to the West and North West of this Garrison

I do by Vartue of the Authority given me apoint you for that purpose at eight Shillings Starling p Day until Discharged. And you are heareby direkd to set out from this Post Emmediently and proceed along the North Side of Lake Missigan to the Bay,¹ and from thence to the falls of St. Antinoies on the Missipee, taking an exact Plans of the Countrey by the way marking down all Indian Towns with their Numbers, as also to take Survaies of the different Posts Lakes and Rivers as also the Mountains.

And at the Falles of St. Antoinies and about that as far as you can explore this Winter. And make your Reports to me early in the Spring. Should you receive Orders from me to March further to the Westward with any other Detachment that I may send this fall or winter you are to do it And send back your Journals by Mr. Browe (Bruce?) or some other safe hand—but should you not receive any you are to return by the Ilun way² River And from thens to Saint Joseph And from thence along the East side of Lake Misigan to this place taking all the way exact Plans of the Country and for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given under my Hand at

Michilimakinac ye 12th August 1766

ROBT. ROGERS.

(Document Number Two)

P. R. O. Treasury Solicitor General series 4957

(In papers relative so the suit Rogers vs. Gage)

N 5

Copy of Major Rogers's Instructions and Orders to James Stanley Goddard, Micha 12 Sepr. 1766.

¹ Green Bay, Wisconsin.

² The Illinois river.

By the Honourable Robert Rogers, Major & Governor of the Lakes Huron, Missigan & Superior and the Surounding Country to the heads of the Several Bays & Rivers that Discharge their waters into the said Lakes, Subordent Agent and Superintendent to Sr William Johnson for the Western Indians Captn Commandant of Michilimakinac and its Dependencies &c. &c.

To JAMES STANLEY GODDARD ESQ.

I do by virtue of the Power and authority to me given appoint you secretary to a Detachment under the Command of Captn James Tute (as also one of the Consill to the said Detachment) ordered for the Discovery of the River Ourigan and the Northwest Passage at Eight Shillings Sterling p day and over & above an equal Share of the reward offered by the Government for that Discovery and you are hereby order'd to do Act & perform the Office of Secretary for the detachment to the utmost of your power by keeping exact journals and entering every useful remark that you think can attend to future knowledge of the Cuntry which you pass through as also to take down the Talks of the Indians, their numbers &c.

And for so doing this shall be your Sufficient Warrant and authority to Demand your Payment at your return

Given under my hand and Seal this Twelfth day of Sept. 1766 at Michilimakinac

ROBT ROGERS

Recd the 29th Sept. 1767 of Major Rogers a Sett of Bills of Exchange value One Hundred & forty Sixteen Shillings Sterg when paid will be in full for Subsistence due to me for the within warrant the Bills are drawn by Major Robert Rogers in my favor on Mr. Benjmn Hammet Mercht in London Street, London

JAMES STANLEY GODDARD.

(Document Number Three)

P. R. O. Treasury Solicitor General Series 4957

Suit. King's Bench. 1768

Major Robert Rogers versus Genl. Gage

(Amongst the papers is the following: —)

No. 6.

Copy of Major Roger's Instructions and Orders to Captn. Tute, Micha, 12th Sept. 1766.

By the Honourable Robert Rogers Major & Governor of the Lakes Huron, Missigan & Superior and the Surounding Country to the heads of the several Bays and Rivers that dis-

charge their waters into the said Lakes, Subordent Agent and Superintendent to Sr. William Johnson for the Western Indians Captn. Commandant of Michilimakinac and its Dependencies &c. &c..

Instructions to Captn. James Tute Esqr. Commanding a Party for the Discovery of the North West Passage from the Atlantick into the Passifick Ocean if any such Passage there be, or for the discovery of the great River Ourigan that falls into the Pacifick Ocean about the Latitude Fifty.

You can set out immediately with this Detachment and with them proceed to La Bay from thence to the Falls of St. Antonies and further up the said River to a convenient place to Winter amongst the Souex carrying with you the necessary Artickles now delivered to your Care for Boons to gain the friendship of they Indians and to retain and dismiss them from time to time as you approach on your way and pass the Curtry they are best acquainted with. You are when you arrive at the Falls of St. Antonies to endeavour to find out where Mr. Bruce Winteres and from him take Captn. Jonathan Carver under your Command who is to be Draftsman for the Detachment. He with Mr. James Stanley Goddard and the Interpreter is to make up a Consull, which you may on every occasion that appears necessary Order, that they may with you consult the Expediency of the Voyage by which with these Instructions you are to gard yourselves. Mr. Goddard has an Appointment as your Secretary for Indian Affairs. He is to be second in Command, Mr. Carver third, Mr. Reaume has my appointment for your Interpreter & fourth in Command.

You will from where you Winter early in the Spring endeavour to get some good guides from the Souex's and proceed with your Party to the Northwest and make what discoveries you can during the Summer and at the Close of which you will fall in with your Party to Winter at Fort La Parrie¹ at which place you shall have sent you a further Suploy of Goods next Fall, that you may take them what is necessary to carry on the Expedition, & from Fort La Parrie you will travel West bearing to the Northwest and do you endeavour to fall in with the great River Ourgan which rises in several different branches between the Latitudes Fifty six and forty eight and runs Westward for near three hundred Leagues, when it is at no great distance from each other join'd by one from the South and a little up the Stream by one from the North; about these forks you will find an Inhabited Country and great Riches, the Gold is up that River that comes in from the North at about three Days Journey from their great Town, near the mouth of it at

¹ Fort La Prairie, for which see previous note No. 7.

the South West side of a large Mountain, but there is not any Iron Ore that is known to be work't among them, from this Town the Inhabitants carry their Gold near Two thousand Miles to Traffick with the Japancies and it's said they have some kind of Beasts of Burthen.

From where the above Rivers join this great River Ourigan it becomes much larger and about four hundred Leagues as the River runs from this Town abovementioned it discharges itself into an Arm or Bay of the Sea at near the Latitude of fifty four and bends Southerdly and entys into the Pacifick Ocean about forty eight, nine or fifty, where it narrow, but to the Northwest where you join this Bay of the Sea at the Entrence of the River Ourigan the Bay is wide, and supposed to have a communication with the Hudsons Bay, about the Latitude of fifty nine near Dobsie's point,² from the above description you will do your utmost endeavour to find out and discover the said Country, and take all possible means to obtain a Draft of it, as well as by the Way reporting from time to time to me all your proceedings at every opportunity sending such Scetches or Plans as your Draftsman has taken, and you are further desired to make all the Interest you possibly can with the different Nations that others may pass after your return to open a Trade across the Continent to those People equally advantageous to themselves as to us; On your way should have occasion you may draw Bills on me at any time for the purchase of Goods and Merchandize of Traders that you may meet or for the payment of Indians that you may employ for carrying on the Expedition shou'd your Goods that you have with you, and those I will send you next Fall to Fort La Parrie not be sufficient, and such Drafts as a small Sight shall meet with due Honor. And hen you have any thing to send back, as no doubt they Indians will give you Presents, take care to convey them to me by some careful person, that will Honorably deliver them here. And over and above Eight Shillings Sterling p day, you are intitled, if you discover a North West Passage from the Atlantick to the Pacifick Ocean, Twenty thousand Pounds³ Sterling to be paid to the Detachment which is equally to be divided amongst them by the Honorable Lords of His Majestys Treasury of England and for the other Discovery of the River Ourigan you will be considered by the Government and paid according to the value of the discovery that you may make, to be likewise divided amongst the Detachment.

You must take great care not to be deceived by the Rivers Missisurre or by that falls into Hudsons Bay or by other Rivers that Emty into the Gulf of Californie as every attempt of this

² Evidently refers to some statement by Arthur Dobbs, an Englishman who wrote much upon the subject of a Northwest Passage.

³ No such reward was ever offered for a land discovery; it was limited to a discovery by naval vessel or private navigator.

kind is attended with som difficulty whenever that appears to you call to mind your Courage and resulation and not let that faile you in the Attempt. Consider the honor it will be to you and the Detachment with you besides the Great advantages that much arrive to the undertakers of it. Believe in it like a Man that is Devoted to his King and Brave out every difficulty and you may be sure of Success.

You are to take great care not to leave the least suspicion among the many different nations of Indians that your design is any other than to open a Trade with them. Beware of their Women not to take them without consent of their Chiefs pay them puntually for what you have of them which is the Sure way to have Success.

And when you have made all the discovery you can you must return to this place in the way and manner you think most conveyant and easy for yourself and party either by Hudsons Bay, or back the way you go out, across the Country observing proper places for posts going and coming, but I strongly recommend it to you not to touch at any of our Hudson Bay Posts as they may detain you and make advantages of your Journey to themselves—but should you find out a North West passage as I do not doubt but you will or a Short carrying place cross over to Fort la Parrie where you may be assured to meet relief.

I heartily wish you Success and that God may preserve you and the detachment through this undertaking and that you may meet the reward of a deserving officer at your return over and above the Money offered for the discovery to effect which may good offices shall not be wanting to every Individual. You are Strictly commanded to make your report to me at your return wherever I may be, or in case of my Death to the Honourable Charles Townsend or in case of both our Deaths to the Honorable Lords of Trade and Plantations and for so doing this shall be your Sufficient Warrant and Instructions.

Given under my Hand and Seal at
Michilimakinac this 12th Septembr. 1766.

ROBT. ROGERS.

No. 7

*Copy of Major Rogers's letter to Captn. Tute Micha. 10th
June 1767*

Michilimakinac Ye. 10th June 1767

Dear Sir:

I had the pleasure to Receive your Letter dated sometime

last winter and am obliged to you for the Intelligence. I have sent Mr. Boyce to be Stationed at the Lakes La Plu De bocue to keep that passage open from Lake Wennepeck to Lake Superiour. Mr. Francois is to follow him with ten Canoes. he sets out the begining of next Month, those last Canoes is to go to Fort La Pierre and Lake Wennepeck So that you and your party will have Plenty of Suploys And Mr. Boyce as allso Mr. Otherington is to give you any Immediate Assistance that you may stand in need of before Francois Arrival. By Francois you shall have all the News of every kind at present every thing is Quiet hear I am Sir with Esteem

Your most Obedient

Humble Servant

To Captain Toute.

ROBT. ROGERS.

THE FIRST INDIAN SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

By ROBERT MOULTON GATKE

The first Indian School of the Pacific Northwest was the child of the Oregon Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was conducted at their original station on the banks of the Willamette River, about ten miles north of the present city of Salem.

No portion of the Mission work was more important than its schools. While the work of daily instruction was not begun until the Fall of 1835, one year after the station was established, the actual work of teaching had been in progress for some time. In a letter written on September 24th, 1835, Cyrus Shepard speaks of his plan to teach every day and also mentions the fact that for some time he had been teaching the halfbreed children every other day, while their Sabbath School, which had been opened almost as soon as the mission was established, had taught reading as well as religious subjects. Even tho the missionaries had not planned to take up the teaching work it would have been forced upon them by the conditions they faced. They had scarcely erected their first shelter when Christian love and charity demanded that they receive under their care Indian children who had no one to care for them, or who were brought to the Mission by their parents that they might be instructed in matters relating to the white man's religion and life. Daniel Lee tells us that the first Indian lads were left in their care during the Spring when they were busy planting their first crop upon the Mission farm,¹ but he must have had in mind the work on the field during the winter, for a letter from Cyrus Shepard, dated Dec. 20, 1834, tells of the mission having the care of three orphan children. By the fall of that year, (1835) the mission wards had increased to five, one having died during August, and Shepard writing to his brother tells him that they are expecting seven more soon.²

¹ Lee & Frost, p. 130.

² *Letter from Cyrus Shepard dated September 24, 1835, quoted by Mudge, pp. 156-7.*

These seven were the three orphan children and four Indian slaves of one of the French Canadians, who had died a few days before, and whose estate Jason Lee took charge of when urged to do so by Dr. McLoughlin. As the one stipulation insisted upon by Lee was that the slaves should be freed, Lee and McLoughlin united in a very practical way to try to overcome the somewhat common condition of Indian slavery. A taste of freedom proved so pleasing to two of these young Indian slaves that they did not wish to live even under the kindly control of the Mission home and school and so left after the proverbial French manner.³

Indeed, from the first, the Mission partook of the nature of an orphanage. The condition of the orphans among the Indian tribes was very pitiful. Turning to one of the interesting letters of Shepard, we find an account of the first Indian children received at the Mission. In a letter to his brother dated December 20, 1834, and written just after a preliminary visit to the mission, he says: "We have already three poor Flat-heads, orphan children, and as soon as circumstances will permit, shall have a great many more. One of these is a lad of fourteen or fifteen years of age. After he had been with us for a short time, news came that his mother was dead; and his little sister, about seven years of age (these being the only children) was left without a friend to take care of her. Brother Lee, therefore, sent for her and she has since been one of the mission family. When she arrived she was almost entirely naked, as were the other children. My first business was to make her a gown of some tow cloth, which had been used to cover our goods while on the journey. Though it was piece upon piece, I finally succeeded in making a considerably good dress, but not with 'Bishop Sleeves' as my present means were only adequate to make them about the size of the arms. Having completed this garment, we cast off her former covering, which was only a small piece of deer-skin, tied over her shoulders, and another, in strips, tied around the waist, and clothed her in the dress above described. A day or two after this, a poor little orphan, with a very flat head, who had neither

³ Lee & Frost, pp. 132-3.

brother nor sister, came and in the most innocent and imploring manner, asked to stay and live with us. He is about seven or eight years old. His request, as you may suppose, was readily granted. An Indian, soon after, came and claimed the only article of clothing which the little fellow had, which was nothing more than a leather shirt; and, while we were busily engaged at our work, he actually made the boy take it off, and thus left him entirely naked. Ascertaining that the shirt probably belonged to the man, brother Lee bought it of him, and he went away apparently satisfied. Finding that the new members of our family were covered with vermin and filth, brother Lee and myself undertook to cleanse them. This was no desirable task, but we felt happy in the discharge of duty, and succeeded quite well.

"The only obstacle, to appearance, to prevent our having a large family of these destitute sufferers, is the lack of the means to feed them, as provisions are scarce; but, by the smiles of kind Providence, we hope, next season, to raise enough to meet these demands of humanity. . . . A great difficulty in the way of taking these children is that we have not the suitable means of clothing them; though we shall endeavor to do the best we can in this way, until our friends and the friends of humanity in the States, can send us children's clothing ready made."⁴

The death of one of the Indian wards of the Mission during the first summer brought to the attention of the workers the problem they faced by attempting to work among a dying race. Tuberculosis had fixed its grip upon an alarmingly large percentage of the Indians of the valley and venereal diseases were common, even among very young children. Fifth, lack of proper shelter and food, lack of medical knowledge, and the introduction of many of the diseases common to the white race, all tended to place the death seal upon the Indians in the Willamette valley, as well as in many other sections of the country. Not a few words of severe censure have been applied to the missionaries by some writers of Oregon history because these diseased children were housed within close quarters, and

⁴ Quoted by Mudge, pp. 177-8.

undoubtedly the death rate increased. It was certainly unfortunate that the mission faced the necessity of receiving more of these poor unfortunate children than it could properly care for, but any suggestion, even of the most remote kind, from which it might be inferred that these children would have been better off if they had not passed into the care of the mission is too absurd for serious comment. The children came to the mission diseased. There they were cleansed of their filth, clothed, and given simple but healthful food. If they had been untouched by the mission influence, they would have remained under conditions of filth, exposure, and lack of proper food, constituting a perfect medium for the development of their diseases. Until May of 1837, no medical care could be given to the children of the mission family other than the simple remedies known to the average household of that day or such as the doctor at Vancouver might suggest; but after that date the mission had its own physician, Dr. Elijah White being the first to serve in that important work.

No intimate picture of the life of the school will ever be written, for the sources are lost. The best we have is a few letters of Cyrus Shepard and his co-laborers.⁵

Perhaps the first thing for us to keep in mind is that the school was more than a mere educational institution teaching the ordinary branches of elementary knowledge. Most of the pupils lived at the mission and constituted part of the "mission family." The life with its new elements of order, its common obligations and duties, its emphasis upon the necessity of personal cleanliness, and other things which are inherent in the Christian home were elements of education to the Indian and half-breed children which even surpassed in value those more formal elements taught in the class room. The Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, a member of the mission stationed at The Dalles, frequently visited the Willamette station, and gives us a description of the home and school. In speaking of the missionaries' care of these children, he says: "They housed them, fed them, clothed them, instructed them, prayed over them, and made them as their own children, when they had scarcely food, and shelter, and clothing for themselves."⁶

⁵ "The Missionary teacher: A Memoir of Cyrus Shepard," by the Rev. Z. A. Mudge.

⁶ Quoted by Mudge, pp. 177-8.

"I wish I could make you acquainted with brother Shepard's school," says Mr. Perkins, "as it was when I first visited the country. I wish I could make you see the very log house, the school-room, the chambers where the children slept, the little clapboard bedsteads, if bedsteads they could be called, the loose straw in which they nestled, the dining-room, the table, the bits of coarse bread, and basins of soup, as they used to be placed regularly along from one end of it to the other, and last, though not least interesting, to see the good man quietly seated at the board, sharing the fare with them. I wish I could introduce you to them, as he knelt with them and offered up evening and morning prayers, that you might hear them while they sing, and listen to the simple, artless instruction which they receive. The scene would impress upon your mind a vivid idea of the beauty of goodness."⁷

The effectiveness of the home training was greatly increased at the time of the first and second reinforcements of the mission in the year 1837, through the helpful presence of Christian women. This touch was needed not only to make the home influence ideal but also to relieve Shepard and the others of work, which even with all of their great effort, they could do but poorly as compared with those fitted by nature and training for such work. The marriage of Jason Lee to the cultured and beautiful Anna Pitman, and of Cyrus Shepard to the devoted and inspiring Susan Downing caused two Christian homes to be added to those just established by Alanson Beers and his wife, and Dr. and Mrs. White. Miss Margaret J. Smith became the assistant teacher for the mission school and took charge of the girls of the mission home.

Some realization of the new elements introduced is forced upon us when we read the story of the life and death of one of the little Indian girls, Sally Soule (so named by the missionaries in honor of the wife of one of the bishops of their church), who, like so many of the other Indian children entered the school afflicted with tuberculosis. Miss Smith tells us that the child was so neat and prim that her school mates termed her "the old maid," and yet she was so much loved

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

by her rough and tumble friends, that even tho she did not care to hunt for wasp's nests (that she might enjoy the Indian delicacy, toasted wasp larvae) or the "gum" from the ever-green trees, they still sought her company and would even almost fight to secure her as partner in their games. Her delight in sewing for her beloved doll knew no bounds, and she treasured all of the scraps of cloth her teacher could furnish her. But this child had been rescued from the filth and neglect of the Indian camp too late, as a deadly disease had already griped her. The Christian love which ministered to her needs in her new home and cared for her during her last sickness stands in sharp contrast to the earlier neglect of the Indian encampment.

Another condition under which the mission was laboring introduced a feature of education which was perhaps more important than the organized instruction of the school room. This was the necessity of producing most of the provisions used for the support of the large mission family. The work of the mission farm was very exacting upon the men who had expected to devote most of their attention to religious teaching and ministry. It was necessary for all of the older boys to help with the farm work even as the girls gave their aid in the work of the household, and in both cases they were more benefited than by an equal amount of time spent in the class room. In the report of the government explorer, William A. Slacum, on the conditions he found in the Oregon country, presented on December 18, 1837, he gives a brief, but highly favorable, account of the mission as he found it. In regard to this feature of the work of the mission school, he says: "The larger boys work on the farm in fine weather. They can plow, reap, and do the ordinary farm work well. Several of them evince good mechanical genius. Mr. Lee assures me that most of the boys have earned their board, clothing and tuition, estimating their labor at the lowest rate of wages allowed by the Hudson Bay Company. Their school and family could be much increased, but they do not wish to add to their number until they receive further assistance, thinking it the wisest plan

at present, for the sake of example, to attend strictly to the mental and physical instruction of these 'Neophytes'."⁸

While it appears that this custom arose, in part at least, from the necessities of their situation, there can be no doubt but that the missionaries had a true appreciation of the importance of this type of training for the Indians. In view of the Westward movement of the white man it was evident that the Indian would have to meet new conditions of living. Hence, a change from the hunting state of society to that of agriculture was very essential for the Indian if he was to have a chance to rise above the uncertainties of his mode of existence and to enjoy the greater security incidental to entering upon a higher plan of physical living and well being.

Their appreciation of the need caused this phase of the work to be given a very definite part of their attention. This feature was observed by Jefferson Farnham during his visit in 1839. He says: "Every one [at the mission] appeared happy in his benevolent work: Mr. Daniel [David] Leslie, in preaching and superintending general matters [This was during the time Jason Lee was on a trip east seeking mission reinforcements]; Mr. Cyrus Shepard, in teaching letters to about thirty half-breed and Indian children; Mr. J. C. Whitecomb, in teaching them to cultivate the earth; and Mr. Alanson Beers, in blacksmithing for the mission and the Indians, and instructing a few young men in his art."⁹

These mission leaders did not work out the theories of industrial training from the view point of scientific educational theory, for such theories belong to a more recent generation, but they truly met the educational need of their field. Both the fact that the missionaries had come to regard the industrial teaching as part of their mission, and the effectiveness of their work, was shown in the impression made upon Mr. Slacum who expressed his feelings in a formal letter addressed to the members of the mission just before he left the Oregon country in January 1837. Part of his letter reads: "I shall not hesitate to express my humble opinion that you have already effected a great public good by practically showing that the

⁸ *Report on Oregon*, by Wm. A. Slacum, given to Congress December 18, 1837, (Reprinted by Ore. Hist. Quart.).
⁹ Farnham: *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 210.

Indians west of the Rocky Mountains are capable of the union of mental and physical discipline, as taught in your establishment. For I have seen with my own eyes, children, who, two years ago, were roaming their own native wilds in a state of savage barbarism, now being brought within the knowledge of moral and religious instruction, becoming useful members of society, by being taught the most useful of all arts, agriculture, and all of this without the slightest compulsion."¹⁰ The total lack of discernment as to mission methods and aims is often shown in the Victor-Bancroft work on Oregon. Their comment on this phase of the mission work is as follows: "But from pupils the wards of the mission were likely to become servants, while so much labor was required to make their teachers comfortable, and as the savage is by nature adverse to labor, the demands made upon the children at the mission were sure to operate against the success of the school."¹¹

Until the year 1839 the school was conducted within the mission house, but during that year a special room was added which became the school room proper. The equipment consisted very largely of the slates and books furnished by the Eastern friends of the mission. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography constituted the formal studies of the class room. Mr. Shepard was a teacher of some years standing, having taught in various villages in New England. We have no detailed knowledge as to what his methods of teaching were, but considering that he actually accomplished a great deal with the untutored minds of his Indian children, who respected and loved him, we know that he must have had considerable natural ability as a teacher, great patience and perseverance, and great affection for those he taught. Some things which Shepard wrote to one of his former pupils in his home state concerning the love of his Indian pupils for picture books and "pretty" stories, rather suggests that perhaps he had wisely departed from the rather stern and rigorous ways which almost universally prevailed in the schools of that day, a suggestion which is well sustained by all that we know of the man's great love, and affection which his pupils manifested towards him.¹²

¹⁰ Quoted by G. Hines: *Oregon*, pp. 22-3.

¹¹ Bancroft: *Oregon*, Vol. 1, pp. 162-3.

¹² Quoted by Mudge: p. 183.

When we have spoken of the influence of the home, of the training in agriculture, and the formal instruction within the school room, we have touched only a part of the training offered in the mission and home. The religious and moral help given to the children far surpassed the other phases of their instruction. In all that they did, this was the chief aim of the mission workers. When we consider this major interest it does not appear strange that in the winter of 1837 six of the students were converted almost at the same time. Likewise, since we know of the burning religious zeal of Shepard and others, it seems most natural that the expression of the newly experienced truth should have taken the high emotional form which was typical of the religious expression of that day, and which was expected by their teachers. Mrs. Shepard tells us that boys and girls who had been almost too timid to speak to their teachers, now spoke, prayed, and exhorted in meeting "with great propriety."¹³ The newly aroused religious feeling was so intense that its expression was in what some would today call an unnatural manner, perhaps even terming it morbid. At the close of school, Mr. Shepard observed that one of the lads was still at his bench and sobbing. He sought, in his usual kindly way to discover the reason. The lad replied that his "heart had become bad"; that he "got angry with his enumeration table, and called it a dog." He wanted Mr. Shepard to pray with him, which he did.

The children sought their teacher, Cyrus Shepard, when they were perplexed and troubled. This we can readily understand when we consider his great love, and also recall his prayer life, of which Mrs. Shepard reminds us when she says: "The little grove on the Willamette River had witnessed Mr. Shepard's frequent supplications with and for his pupils. No parent could manifest more interest for his child than he did for these poor Indian youth."¹⁴

It is fitting that we should know something about the teachers of the mission school. Because the school constituted such

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

¹⁴ Quoted by Mudge: p. 185.

an essential part of the mission work, and involved so many phases other than merely formal class instruction, we might well count all of the first missionaries as teachers. But the one who was especially chosen for that work, and the one who devoted all of his time to it, was Cyrus Shepard.

This missionary teacher was born at Acton, Massachusetts, August 14th, 1798, of sturdy American farmer parents. His father was a veteran of the Revolutionary War. Most of his youth was spent in the village of Philipston, where he sought to secure an education in the common district school under far from encouraging conditions. But his love of learning caused him to make the best of his circumstances to the extent that after fitting himself to teach, he took one of the small district schools near his home town. His friend and biographer, Z. A. Mudge, says of him: "Mr. Shepard's literary qualifications for teaching were not eminent, but sufficient for all that he engaged to do . . . for his extreme conscientiousness and great industry led him thoroughly to investigate whatever branch of education the good of those placed under his care required him to know; and what he himself knew, he toiled unsparingly to impart to others."¹⁵ He was so conscious of the great weight of responsibility which rested upon him as a teacher who had power to influence young life as he would, that he spent much time in prayer, seeking divine guidance; that his influence would mold worthy lives. No small part of his success as a teacher is due to those elements of his character which caused one who knew him to say: "He was one of those few who retained in manhood the artlessness, the sympathy, and kind feelings of a child, combined with the maturity and energy of a man."¹⁶

The journey to Oregon was not undertaken from any desire for adventure on the part of Cyrus Shepard. He literally tore himself away from those that he loved because he felt that Christian duty called upon him to make that needful sacrifice.¹⁷ At the time of his leaving for the Oregon country,

¹⁵ Mudge: p. 21.

¹⁶ Mudge: p. 23.

¹⁷ Most of these details are drawn from the book written by Mudge, which has been so often quoted in this work. While written primarily for children, its source value is large, for Mudge knew Shepard personally, knew his family and a number of his associates. He had the use of Shepard's diaries and letters, and those of some of his co-workers. One of the original diaries is in the keeping of Willamette University.

Shepard was thirty-six years of age, is described as a tall, handsome, pleasant appearing young man, who gave the impression of having plenty of strength of character, but not of physical health. The readings of his journal reveals a man who was a great lover of nature and keen to observe all of its changing phases. It also strengthens the impression that he was cast in the mold of a religious mystic. His aspirations impressed themselves upon almost every page of the record of his daily life. Its expression was that of his day, for we find that despite the hardships of the journey across the plains, and despite his physical weakness, he continued to observe regular days of fasting. His great periods of uplift were times when he was able to withdraw from the camp to some quiet nook and alone spend hours in prayer and meditation. Regardless of the excessive weariness due to his hard life and ill health, he always found time for Bible study. He even added the reading of the life of Mrs. Judson, the missionary, and one or more books on philosophy. Nature had endowed him with the tastes of a scholar, even if his circumstances had prevented their full exercise.

In the work of the mission school no small amount of the labor fell upon him, and yet in spite of all the wearying drudgery and the abiding condition of ill health he kept cheerful, and if perchance the strain occasionally proved too much and he yielded to the feeling of irritation, none could be more quick than he to seek humbly to make amends.

The brightest hours of Shepard's life in Oregon are connected with the little home that he established at the mission at the time of his marriage to Susan Downing who came to Oregon with the first reinforcement of the mission in 1837. She had been one of his co-laborers in the work of the Sabbath school at Lynn, and they were engaged to be married before he left for Oregon. She was a noble and sympathetic helpmate, and the few years spent together were happy ones. Beside his interests in the school and its home, and in the Indians of the valley, he found enjoyment in his garden, which produced the vegetables needed for the table of the mission family beside the loved old-fashioned flowers of New England.

Near the close of the year 1839 Shepard was overcome by the scrofulous disease with which he had long been afflicted. Drs. White and Bailey of the mission gave what treatment they could, and finally decided that amputation of a leg was necessary. He lingered for a number of weeks, suffering intensely, but keeping cheerful in spite of the pain. Even a sense of the humorous,—tho rather grim—, appeared above the agony of the sick bed, as evinced by a postscript added to a letter his wife was writing for him to Daniel Lee, which was signed, "A part of Cyrus." The spirit left his afflicted body on the first of January, 1840. He lived and died the most beloved member of the mission group. We may be proud that the first real teacher of the Oregon country was one of such noble and self sacrificing character. We say first, for while both John Ball and Solomon Smith taught for a short time before Shepard opened his work at the mission school, it was with them merely a chance to obtain employment during a period when they were not engaged at their regular occupations. Shepard was a teacher by profession who came to the Oregon country for the purpose of teaching. As Oregon's first real teacher, his name should be given a highly honored place in the list of educators of the State.

The other member of the mission who gave considerable time to teaching was Philip L. Edwards, whose work some writers have confused with that of Shepard. He rendered help at the main school, and during the late fall and winter of 1835-6 taught a small school near Champoege,¹⁸ but most of his time was necessarily taken up with the work about the mission farm. Teaching was largely an incidental part of his work. During his short stay in the country his part was a most honorable one, his trip to California as treasurer of the Wallamet Cattle company being of itself alone no mean service to the pioneer state. He returned east in the spring of 1838 in company with Jason Lee who was going to seek reinforcements for his work. He studied law and later served with the military forces against the Mormons, for which service he received the title of Colonel. In 1850 he emigrated to Cali-

¹⁸ Lee & Frost, pp. 139-40.

fornia where he was prominent in political life. His death occurred in 1869.¹⁹ While not primarily a missionary, his relations with the other members of the Oregon mission were most cordial. He served splendidly the cause with which he was temporarily connected, and even sacrificed his privilege of an early return to the States, in order that one of the members, Daniel Lee, might visit the Sandwich Islands in an effort to overcome a threatening disease of the throat. His place in the educational history of early Oregon is a worthy one.

Solomon Howard Smith was another teacher who helped for a short time with the work of the Mission school. Smith had come to Oregon as a member of Captain Wyeth's first party. After teaching the school at Vancouver for a short time, he opened a little school for the French Canadian half-breed children living at French prairie, in which work he was engaged at the time the missionaries arrived to establish their station. Smith was a pioneer of the enterprising Yankee type. To teach school, open a little farm, to aid in establishing one of the first grist mills of the valley, to develop a new farm at Clatsop plains, to take the work horses that he needed on his new farm for almost a hundred miles down the Columbia River on a raft made of boards fastened between two Indian canoes, all seemed a natural part of his enterprising life. In his work of teaching at the mission he was assisted by his wife, Helen Smith, a member of the Clapsop tribe of coast Indians. She had learned to read in an elementary way, and proved to be an able assistant in teaching the Indian children.²⁰

This paper can not give space to the others who taught in the school from time to time, some six or more faithful teachers who gave their best to try and elevate the Indian youth. Nor yet can we give time for an account of the removal of the school in the year 1842 to the present site of Salem, where in what was then the most pretentious structure in the Pacific Northwest a renewed effort was made to save the native children. Many unfavorable conditions, partly of a temporary nature, made its prospects appear so unpromising that in

¹⁹ Bancroft. *Oregon*, Vol. I, p. 109.

²⁰ For account of Solomon Smith see Clarke: Vol. I, p. 343, and Vol. II, pp. 418-22.

June 1844 it was closed. The change occurred during a period of mission discouragement and at the time of a change in mission leadership. Well for Jason Lee that he did not live to see the work nearest his heart abandoned! Its discontinuance came during dark days, and many writers of Oregon history have failed to appreciate what was involved in this heroic undertaking. They have not applied the acid test of fair criticism to Wilkes' report on conditions at the mission, and most of them have been willing to accept the careless account of the school given by Victor-Bancroft. This is a grave injustice to a truly heroic effort upon the part of a little band of missionaries to bring elementary and agricultural education, moral uplift, and spiritual enlightenment to the Indian youth of the Pacific Northwest.

REVIEW

Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1838-1846. By JAMES CHRISTY BELL, PH.D., [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, Public Law, vol. XCVI., no. i.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921. (Pp. 209. \$2.25.)

The author tells in the preface:

The present monograph has grown out of a wish for more light on one early phase of this expansion [to the Pacific] . . . The pioneers opened a road across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast—the preface to territorial expansion—because they wished to realize the benefits from its geographical position in opening a new market for agricultural produce, and because they could not await but must have a hand in making their own destiny.

The above quotations give by far the clearest statement of purpose which the book affords, and the reader does well to keep this declared purpose clearly in mind as he reads.

The author departs widely from the method of exposition through narrative, traditional with writers of histories on the scale of this one. His is pronouncedly a monographic "disquisitionary" method. By this we do not mean that he fails to display a sufficient grasp on facts and incidents bearing on his theme. He has an abundance of these, but instead of causing them to stand up and tell their own story he, so to speak, makes them lie down while he explains what happened. This method always involves the temptation to subordinate the facts to the discussion of their meaning, and it is to be feared the author has not always been able to resist that temptation. One of the outstanding merits of the book is the thoroughness of his search for the printed sources, and the author has used some unprinted material in addition.

As interpretation the book seems needlessly long and repetitious. The interpretation, in fact, is given practically in chapter IX., which is a review and restatement of what has gone before and is far clearer than the argument of the body of the book. Another partial restatement occurs in the appendix which follows chapter IX. And there is in the main section of the book much repetition of ideas and facts, and much "cutting and fitting" of facts to new turns in the discussion.

This last tendency is particularly disheartening to the reader.

The author's statements have an inveterate habit of modifying themselves from chapter, and page to page, as the discussion proceeds on its easy, leisurely course.

On some points, however, he is very decided. He is convinced that the Lewis and Clark expedition was "almost negative as far as commercial exploitation and settlement were concerned" (p. 22), therein denying that the succession of American events following that expedition, the attempted exploitation of the upper Missouri trade from St. Louis, the Astor enterprise, and the restoration of Astoria, were related to it as affects to a cause, which is the usual view. He is clear that the "earliest effort made by any group of American citizens with material interests in the country west of the Rocky Mountains to terminate the joint occupation status of Oregon and determine upon a definite boundary, came from these St. Louis fur traders" (Rocky Mountain Fur Company). In this he denies the facts brought out by Professor E. G. Bourne in regard to the Astor influence behind Floyd's efforts. He minimizes the significance of Floyd's pioneer agitation in Congress, charging that "the purpose of the move was probably to lend dignity to his opposition to John Q. Adams" (p. 64 n.), as if motive and result were in such a case interchangeable terms.

Students will be grateful to Mr. Bell for giving us a new interpretation of the beginnings of Pacific Coast history, and this gratitude would be all the greater if we could agree that the new is also a true interpretation in its general scope, as it assuredly is in some subordinate particulars. He has presented a perfectly sound view of the Rocky Mountain fur-trade; has shown with a clearness never before equalled how large a part the mountain trappers assumed in the emigration movement, and in chapter VI (Agrarian Discontent) he has brought together a good many interesting historical facts not heretofore fully considered in determining the motives of the Oregon emigrants. But the present reviewer cannot convince himself, on the basis of that showing, that it was economically prudent for a few thousand to go to the Pacific at a time when many thousands were making shift to find suitable new homes along the older frontier; nor can he agree that the search for a new market probably constituted the dominant motive behind the Oregon movement. Of course the question is incapable of evidential solution. But it seems incongruous to assume that the Oregon emigrants had so reflected on the subject of world markets as to convince themselves of the inadequacy of exist-

ing markets for farm produce and the adequacy of the markets on the Pacific.

The book is an attempt, not altogether successful as I think, to prove an hypothesis—that stated in the words at the beginning of the review. But it is a well documented effort, it abounds in penetrating observations, and there is in it much that any student of western history needs to know. Some minor errors occur in the text, as is always the case; but these can easily be corrected.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE PREHISTORIC MOUNDS OF
OREGON

By GEORGE WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL.B.

It is appropriate to show the probable relationship of the mound builders of Oregon to the primitively ancient people of northeastern Asia and Japan, who existed there prior to the Bronze and Iron Age. In other words, the things exhumed from the Willamette and Calipooia mounds are clearly products of the Neolithic Age; and the skulls and relics therein found indicate a relationship to a people anterior to the modern Mongolian. From Finland to Japan there stretches an almost continuous belt of prehistoric mounds that apparently have no connection with any of the races now occupying that region.

Burial mounds fairly line the way from Tashkend to Semipalatinsk along the fertile irrigated belt which borders Alatau range, and are conspicuous in Mongolia outside of the great Chinese wall not far from Kalgan. Quite similar to those in Mongolia are those south of Lake Balkash, in Turkestan, and similar mounds are to be found around Kiato, the ancient capital of Japan. In Siberia these mounds are called by the present inhabitants "chudski kurgani" or "chudish graves"; the term "chude" indicating a vanished and unknown race. A probable connection of these mounds with the men of the

stone age is shown by the fact that some of the skulls found in them, notably two from a mound near Kiahkta, south of Lake Baikal, are of the prehistoric rather than of the Mongolian type. Mongolian skulls belong to the brachycephalic type, in which the breadth is more than 80 per cent of the length, but the two mentioned were distinctly dolicho-cephalic type, the breadth being a trifle over 73 per cent only of the length. In the Irkutsk museum may be seen many implements of stone, bone, and of hand-beaten copper ornaments which have been found in the burial mounds of Siberia. Implements of stone, bone, and rude hand-wrought native copper are precisely what was found in the burial mounds of the Calipooia, as will be later shown.

A mound having no bronze or iron implements or coins, and no manufactured article of modern times, having only the products of the stone age, and its builders of an unknown and vanished race, is termed a prehistoric mound, and that is the term to apply to the mounds of Linn county and of the Willamette valley. The museums of Siberia, and particularly that at Vladivostok, are rich in materials taken from the prehistoric burial mounds of that section. All things point to a line of migration open in prehistoric times through Siberia across Bering strait into North America, over which there was free movement both for man and for the unwieldy mammoth, whose remains are found with man's all around the northern hemisphere, from Alaska eastward to Great Britain, and on through northern Europe and Asia back to Alaska. Mounds along the Willamette river and its tributaries, including the Calipooia river, have been known as Indian mounds since the first arrival of white settlers in Oregon, but the Indians here, as well as those in other places, disclaim any knowledge of the origin of the mounds.

The only inhabitants found here by the white race were uncivilized Indians.

They found no ancient cities of stone or brick, or other structures, such as were found in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. They discovered no magnificent ruins of ancient architecture rivaling that of Egypt; no buried cities with stuccoed walls of once beautiful temples; no pyramids standing out as silent memorials of a vanished civilization, as in Mexico, Central America and Peru. They found here Indians, called then the Callapuyas, and others in the Oregon country, apparently a cross between Japanese or northeastern Siberian savages, and some unknown race, and having no knowledge whatever of the mounds which dotted the plains of the Calipooia or of those along the Willamette. At the advent of the white men here the Callapuya Indians roamed from the headwaters of the Calipooia river in the Cascades in eastern Linn county, to the Great Falls of the Willamette, now the present site of Oregon City. Northward and eastward from the Great Falls were the Chinooks, Cowlitz, Walla Wallas, Chickeeles, Clalams, Nisquallys, Piscoos, Flatheads, Kootamies, Nez Perces, Cayuses, Shoshones, Snakes, Punosh and Boonacks, while along the coast of the Pacific were the Kilamukes and Janocs. Southward from the Callapuyas were the Umquas, Shastes, Klamets, Lutuans and Poliaks. The Oregon country then, in 1842, comprised all the land between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific ocean lying north of the forty-second parallel, and extending to 54 degrees and 40 minutes north latitude, but afterwards reduced by compromise between the United States and Great Britain to the forty-ninth parallel.

From an exhaustive Smithsonian publication edited by Dr. H. C. Yarrow, we learn the mortuary customs of all the Indians of North America, with numerous illustrations giving pictures of their different modes of burial

but no modern Indians erected mounds to their dead, although many prehistoric burial mounds are found east of the Rocky mountains.

To write of the various prehistoric burial mounds found over the surface of the earth would make several volumes, but this essay is intended only to establish the origin of the prehistoric mounds of Oregon.

The aborigines who built the prehistoric mounds of Siberia and of Japan could easily have come to America by crossing Bering strait, which is only about 30 miles wide between the East Cape of Asia and the Cape of Prince of Wales in North America; and the island of Diomedé, situated in Bering strait about half way between the capes, with other smaller islands adjacent, makes the connection practically only a swimming distance for man or beast. Again canoes from Japan have been known to drift to the Pacific coast with the Japanese gulf stream, a mighty river of warm water, which plows from near Japan across the Pacific ocean to the Oregon and Alaskan shores. Geologists inform us that not many years ago, where now the northern islands of Japan and the promontory of the Peninsula of Kamchatka nearly connect, there was then solid land which extended by the way of the Aleutian archipelago to North America. I now conclude by pointing out the similarity of the prehistoric mounds of Oregon with those of Siberia and Japan.

Several mounds along the Calipooia and Willamette rivers near Albany have been explored sufficiently to state that they are prehistoric burial mounds. They are not as high as some in Japan or Siberia, but there are prehistoric burial mounds, both in Siberia and in the northern islands of the Japanese empire of the same size and dimensions as found here. The rude stone hoes or wooden implements to dig or convey dirt in the Neolithic age were doubtless one drawback to building mounds of

very great height, and again burial mounds for the ordinary chief were not constructed so high as for a king or a mikado. The burial mounds of Oregon are only about four feet above the level and are from 75 to 150 feet in diameter. These mounds in western Oregon were probably much higher when first built, but being composed of the rich soil of the land adjoining, soon settled and the storms of centuries have leveled them to their present low elevation, but the remains therein found prove them to be the burial mound of a chief of the stone age. The fire beds showing remains of ashes and charcoal over the chief skeleton in the mound furnish the reason for the preservation of the skeleton of him in whose honor the mound was erected.

On some of the larger mounds along the Willamette river great fir trees have grown with rings indicating an age of more than 300 years, one in a mound close to the Calipooia river having 275 rings by actual count. To describe one of the burial mounds of the Calipooia will be sufficient to serve as an index of what may be found in others. In one of the mounds up the Calipooia river not far from Albany was found near the center, at the base or extreme bottom, a human skeleton buried in clay and over it the remains of charcoal, ashes, burnt soil, mingled with pieces of burnt or scorched fragments of bone of animals, indicating a sacrificial fire and feast. Some well executed obsidian arrow heads, evidently of the secondary Neolithic age, and several pieces of the antlers of deer were found in the mound, about 15 pieces of native copper beaten thin and rolled into hollow tubes each from two to about four inches long, and with a hole passing through lengthwise, the whole fastened or held together by means of a small buckskin string, there being two strings of these copper ornaments, the whole constituting a double necklace, and while the string in places

had decayed, yet where it lay in the copper tubes or beads it is well preserved.

This double necklace must have been a badge of distinction marking this central skeleton as the chief in whose honor the mound and sacrificial fires were made. On the skeleton was found woven matting made of fine strips of bark or some material resembling reeds or cat-tails, while the cross braid was of finer texture and appears to be lake or marsh grass. This matting may have served both as a mattress and as a funeral robe for the body of the deceased. There was evidence also that the body had been dressed in some garment of deer, buffalo, or bear skin presumably with the hair on, from the amount of short darkish red hair found with the bones, as we concluded if the deceased had been of the hairy Aino tribe of the island of Yezo, he could hardly have had so much hair on his body as was found, and so we attribute the hair to that on some dress the deceased had on of deer or buffalo skin at the time of his being deposited in the grave. There were also found three small sticks, each dressed smoothly and about five inches long, of the size of a lead pencil, pointed on one end, and of light colored wood, and which may have served as fasteners or buttons to hold the folds of the funeral robes together or else to pin the matting closely around the body. They have the appearance somewhat of wooden needles. The most interesting and unusual find was that of a beautiful perfectly constructed canoe paddle, the blade and carved handle being all made of a piece of large bone of some animal. If it was not such a perfect canoe paddle it would be termed a sword or sacrificial knife. The symbol measures 22 inches in length and the blade at the widest place in its middle is nearly four inches; the thickness at the middle is nearly one inch and it gradually tapers to a thin edge on each side like a dagger. The handle is shaped somewhat like

the handle of a dirk or short sword, at the place made for the hand to grasp it is nearly three-fourths of an inch thick and nearly three inches wide, the butt end of the handle being somewhat rounded and on each of the flat sides thereof is carved a design that resembles to some extent a face of Alaskan art. The above articles have been preserved throughout untold centuries, perhaps for a thousand years, by virtue of the burnt clay soil and charcoal overlaying this skeleton. The canoe paddle may have been a personal treasure of the deceased prized as a token in memory of the days when he and his men crossed in their canoes the peaceful Pacific from their homes in Japan and Siberia, via Alaska, to the game-laden paradise of the valley of the Calipooia.

The remains of twelve other skeletons were found in this one mound, but none of them had any ornament or covering of any kind or any semblance of authority, thereby indicating that they may have been the remains of sacrificial victims. They were evidently buried promiscuously in the mound but not close to the chief skeleton. In and on some mounds are found bowls, pestles, paint cups, war clubs, hammers, and ceremonial emblems and other relics, all of stone, while knives, awls, punches, and scrapers, of flint, are found. No coins, or bronze or iron articles of any kind are found in these prehistoric burial mounds, and only such relics as are made of stone, bone, and copper are found, which is proof that the builders were of the stone or Neolithic age of mankind. In the judgment of the writer, the prehistoric mounds of Oregon were built by immigrants from the island of Yezo or from the coast of Siberia. The skulls found in these mounds are of the dolicho-cephalic type, and not of the Mongolian type, but are the probable remains of the old Asiatic race which ancient writers aver were driven by the Mongolians into the northeastern part of Asia next to Bering strait. Their small stature, only about

five and one-half feet, as revealed by the skeletons, is further proof of kinship to the Ainos or nearby tribes of Kamchatka. All of the relics above mentioned can be seen at the private and free museum at the photograph gallery of James G. Crawford in Albany, Oregon. Not only those but numerous relics from other burial mounds are in Mr. Crawford's museum, and comprise an instructive study of the prehistoric races. Among the most interesting are emblems of phallic worship also found in the burial mounds of the Willamette valley. The most conspicuous being a Phallus and a Yoni, emblems of procreation, and earthly symbols of the Sun God, the father of all life, as the devotees of sun worship believe. Phallacism is still a religious faith and now in practice in the remotest parts of India.

94^a-

NEZ-PERCES

FIRST BOOK:

DESIGNED FOR CHILDREN AND NEW BEGINNERS.



CLEAR WATER.

MISSION PRESS

1839.



ETSHIIT THL SITSKAL

Key to the alphabet

A pronounced as *a* *o* and *n* in the following words: - father, - haH, man, what, not and hut.

E pronounced as *a* in *hute* and *e* in *men*.

I " as *e* in *we* and *i* in *pin*.

O " as *o* in *note*.

U " as *oo* in *moon*.

The following are pronounced as in English: - Y B D F G H J K L M N P R S T V W Z.

AI pronounced as *i* in *pine*.

AU " as *ov* in *our*.

IU " as *u* in *pure*.

C " as *tsh*.

A E I O U Y B C D F G

H J K L M N P R S T V

W Z

a e i o u y b c' d f g h j k

l m n p r s t v w z.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 30 10

THE HISTORY OF THE OREGON MISSION PRESS

By HOWARD MALCOLM BALLOU

II.

The plates mentioned as illustrating the Pickering alphabet, adopted for the second edition of the Nez-Perces First Book, and the cover of the reading book, were inadvertently omitted from the preceding portion of this article but are here shown.

The writer can find no authority for the statement of Dr. Myron Eells that an eight-page book was printed in 1840. Mr. Rogers' report to the Mission is conclusive that no such book was printed prior to September of that year, and Mr. Walker is authority that the press was not used after the printing of the 52-page book until November, 1842.

It seems most probable that Dr. Eells had in mind the small book of select portions of scripture which Mr. Spalding mentions printing in 1843, of which no copy is known to exist.

At the sixth annual meeting of the Oregon Mission at Waiiletpu, Monday, June 14th, 1841, it was voted:

"Resolve That it be made the duty of the Committee to use their discession as to the finishing the printing office or not, and whether it shall be completed at Clear Water or at any other suitable place, or station, and also for hiring a printer."

The printing of any book for the benefit of the Spokan or Flat Head Indians was much longer delayed, as no other book was printed until December, 1842.

At the annual meeting of the mission at Clear Water, September 2 to 5, 1839, the following assignments had been made:

"Also. That Mr. Walker be appointed to prepare an elementary book in the Spokan language & Mr. Eells his reviewer—

Also. That Mr. Eells be appointed to prepare a small arithmetic & Mr. Walker his reviewer—"

Mr. Walker writes to the A. B. C. F. M., in a letter dated Chimakine Plain, Sept. 12, 1839:

"We have not as yet formed an alphabet We are desirous of doing it as soon as we can so that we can be teaching the children The probability is we have all the sounds in the language"

A year later Rev. Cushing Eells informs the Board in a letter dated Tshimakain, Sept. 11, 1840:

"We are now preparing a small book which we hope to have printed and ready for the winter school."

He again writes from Tshimakain, March 8, 1841:

"The book of which I made mention in my last was prepared and a journey performed to get it printed, but the press and type were in an unfit state for use and the printer fully occupied in superintending the erection of a printing office, and besides the book was not written in a proper form consequently it was not printed."

The book was finally printed in December, 1842, as related by Mr. Spalding to the A. B. C. F. M. from Clear Water, 26 Feb. 1843:

"Mr. Walker arrived the last of Nov & with my poor assistance fitted up the press & printed a small book in the Flat-Head language."

Mr. Walker's account of the printing of the book is found in a letter dated Tshimakain, 28 Feb'y, 1843:

"Since you were last written to from this station a small book of sixteen pages has been printed in the native language The type was mostly set by myself The printing of this book detained me at Clear Water about eleven days You will readily suppose that it was slow work as it was wholly new business both to Mr Spalding & myself Mr S understood working the press It required no little time to arrange the press as it had been taken down and laid aside since Mr Hall left the country Among the most difficult things to be done was the making of a new roller which we succeeded in after three or four attempts We not only succeeded in making one but we made a *good one*.

ETSHIIT

THLU

SITSKAI

THLU

SIAIS

THLU

Sitskaisitlinish.



LAPWAI:

1842.

Key to the Alphabet.

A pronounced as *a* *e* *o* and *u* in the following words:—father, hall, man, what, men, not and hut.

E pronounced as *a* in hate.

I “ as *e* in we, *i* in pin and *y* in you.

O “ as *o* in note.

U “ as *u* in bull, *oo* in moon.

H	}	pronounced as in English.
K		
L		
M		
N		
P		
S		
T		
W		

AI “ as *i* in time.

AU “ as *ou* in south.

B D F G R V Z used only in proper names.

The book as you will expect, is very imperfect in every respect but has been of much service. We were compelled to press it forward as fast as we could & spent much less time upon it than was desirable & much less than we ought to make it as correct as we might; owing to the lateness of the season. It was past the middle of Nov when I left home for Clear Water"

A plate showing two pages of this little 16-page book, the only publication by the missionaries in the Flat Head or Spokane language, photographed in 1892 by Mr. Pilling from the only complete copy known,—one in the library of Tualatin Academy and Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, is shown herewith.

Several imperfect copies, consisting of the last twelve pages, are in existence.

The book was printed in signatures of four pages each, and it was Mr. Pillings' impression that the first four pages were a kind of primer and so were probably nearly or quite all distributed quickly to the Indians.

Though the preparation of the Flat Head reading book had been assigned to Mr. Walker at the General Meeting of 1839, and it was set up and printed by him with Mr. Spalding's assistance, the writer feels compelled to attribute the authorship of the book to his coadjutor, Rev. Cushing Eells, after reading a long letter written by Mr. Walker from Tshimakain, Oct. 1841, in which he repeatedly admits the difficulty he finds in acquiring the language and reducing it to writing and in which he says, referring to the harmonious relationship existing between himself and Mr. Eells:

"But I am happy to say that as a general thing we agree & if there is any point where we have different views we can agree to disagree. Probably there is no point where we disagree so much as on the language. But here I have given him my full consent to go on & write the language & I will submit & I think I ought to as he has had a better education than I have & is far better acquainted with the philosophy of language.

I am still very ignorant about the language & am at

times ready to give it up It will require much hard study before I am able to do anything like preaching

Nothing has yet been printed in this language & we know not when we shall as we are destitute of a printer"

This opinion is expressed notwithstanding that Dr. Myron Eells does not claim the credit for his father, but says:

"In 1842, one of sixteen pages in the Spokane language was printed. This was prepared by Messrs. Walker and Eells, chiefly by the former, who may properly hence be called the pioneer book writer of the State of Washington, as Mr. Spalding was of Idaho."

The fifth book printed on the press was an eight-page book of laws.

In a letter to Mr. Greene dated Clear Water, 26 Feb., 1843, Mr. Spalding says:

"Doct White Agent of Indian affairs in this region, who visited me in Dec. last, expressed himself highly gratified at the prospect of the school & the advancement the people have made in civilization—

Doct White & party remained with us 8 days laboring with the people—Assembled all the chiefs & principal men—proposed a simple code of laws which was unanimously adopted by this people. A principal chief was chosen—He is a young man who spent several years in the church mission school at the Red River Thus far the laws promise much good to the nation & important aid to the Mission. I have printed the laws & introduced them into the school. They were soon committed to memory by hundreds—I send you a copy."

It is interesting to notice the spelling of Dr. White's name in these laws as Takta HWAIT (see plate), in accordance with Pickering's rule to use the letters "hw" to represent the sound expressed in English by "wh".

In the same letter Mr. Spalding writes:

"Having received permission from Messrs Walker & Eells to use the press & paper as I should judge the interest of the School would demand, I have printed the Laws which this people have adopted & am now printing a Hymn-book."



Wilupupki 1842, Lapwai hipaina
Takta HWAIT Tamawiwawat hinah-
kespkinih, SUIAPU-MIOHAT-upkinih.

Wiatwama oka Mr. MAKAI Mr. LASHIS
wah pahlo isimkai mutatkinih.

Takta HWAIT-nim hinashmuna uii-
kalona mimiohatuna. Kuno wah Lapwai
piamuhna uiikalo.

*Kaua hinashtanuwiaka kunma pasha-
pawihnama kinaq tilokap.*

Kuna kaua hipania naks MIOHAT
INOKTIAWAT: kaua wiwatashpa
MIMIOHAT hipanashwiwanika.



Key to the NEZ-PERCES Alphabet.

A pronounced as *a*, *o*, and *u*, in the following words: — father, fall, man, what, not and hut.

E pronounced as *a* in hate and *e* in met.

I “ as *e* in we, *i* pin and *y* in you.

O “ as *o* in note

U “ as *u* in bull, *oo* in moon.

H	}	pronounced as in English.
K		
L		
M		
N		
P		
S		
T		
W		

AI “ as *i* in time.

AU “ as *ou* in south.

IU “ as *ew* in new.

B D F G R V Z used only in foreign words.



48³

13.

S.

M.

1

Kos wakas nun washi,
 Kos nun wiahashi.
 Wako nun pakulawitin,
 Kos shapalahainin.

2

Kia pinmiktatashi,
 Kuh wakas pakaaenu.
 JEHOVA nashwailahnukum,
 Kainah taks patnuhnu

3

JEHOVA nunim Pisht,
 Hinashyiyautatum.
 Watu nunih wialahaisi,
 Kala Ipnim yiysuki.

4

Tota nashyiyaunim,
 Kakapsis nun washi,
 Nunim kakapsis timina
 Taks nashwakainanin.

14.

7's.

1

Wako lahaih hikokaun,
 Wako pasikaitin nun.
 Nashmish timipnishinah
 Tinukim kia kiwaukunisham

2

Wako pinimikitpa
 Inawukaisa, kustit
 Tinukim wakaswina
 Pawahwiimktatasham.

3

Ka kaua in pinimiku
 Lord im awalahnukum,
 Im haangelki kaaupa
 Anashapulahnukum.

4

Ka kaua in waktanu,
 Hisamtuksna amtaku,
 Kaua uyikalana
 Uyahnanu wataskitpa.

31 TINDUNISALIN.

Ithupkinih kaua awahnei

²
Kasbi e wakelpaiikshaka,
Wah wako kia piuyusi
Etiwas kia nun piuyusi
Kaua kia pihahau,
Shapumatki Shapumatki
Kaua kia pihahau.

³
Kunam wat kuaa pihahau
Jesusnim yiyauki kunku
Ishta kuanam wat pihahau
Jesusnim timukiki,
Timukiki Timukiki
Kia pihahau wash.

⁴
Kunam wat kuaa piayunu
Kunku nuna kapsiwitki
Matu kia pishapaishnash
Jesusnim timukiki,
Timukiki Timukiki
Pishapaishnash kia wash

TALAPUSAPALAIN.

WANIPT

TIMAS.



Paul wah Siles biwanphina
GODNIM wataakitph. *Luk.*

Kauo wanpith LORDIPH timnaki.
Paul.

LAPWAI:



1842.

Although the title page of this hymn book (see plate) bears the date 1842, it was commenced so late in December that it could not have been finished until well into 1843. Dr. White and party left on December 20th, so the title page of the book must have been set up between then and January 1st, 1843.

The seventh book printed was the small book of select portions of scripture. No copy of this work is known to exist, so its exact size is unknown, unless it be considered the same as that incorrectly mentioned by Dr. Myron Eells, "another in 1840 of eight pages."

On August 26, 1843, Mr. Spalding thus mentions this book to Mr. Greene:

"My days were spent in preparing & printing (in the press) a small Hymn-book of 32 pages a small book of select portions of scripture is commenced, type partly set, but being not acquainted with the business I make slow work."

The eighth and ninth publications of the mission are thus alluded to by Mr. Spalding from Clear Water, Oct. 17, 1845:

"Last winter, I finished translating the gospel of Matt. which was printed at this place, by a young man from St Louis—also a small book in English & Nez-perces."

This young man was Medare G. Foisy, a brief account of whom is related by Mr. Himes in his article, who came across the plains from St. Louis early in 1844.

Mr. Spalding also refers to this vocabulary in a letter dated Clear Water Feb. 3, 1847:

"I prepared & had printed a small book in Native & English, but it was labor thrown away."

The only copy of this Vocabulary known to the writer belongs to the Oregon Historical Society and consists of 24 pages, with a printed cover, having a calendar for 1845 on the back.

In an inventory of "Property pertaining to the Mis-

sion Station at Lapwai caused to be destroyed, sacrificed or lost in consequence directly or indirectly by the Massacre at Waiilatpu" and sworn to by Mr. Spalding on September 1, 1849, are listed the following supplies of native books:

"400 coppies of Gospel of Matthew not Bound	
Native	\$100 00
300 coppies Small Book English & Native	50 00
200 Elementery Book Native	45 00
300 coppies Hymn Book Native	40 00"

The abandoned printing office is thus described in the same inventory, the press having been removed to the station at The Dalles before the massacre:

"one printing office 28x16 weather boarded, Shingled Roof	
Timber & Framing	92 00
Shingles & Putting on	25 20
Lumber & inclosing	67 50
9 windows with Frames & casings	72 00
3 Doors with do do	17 50
1 Chimney	18 00"

At the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Oregon Mission, at Waiilatpu, commencing on May 9th, 1845, the following resolutions and assignments relating to translations were passed:

"Resolve. That Dr. Whitman & Mr. Spalding be appointed a committee, to communicate all necessary information, in relation to the translation of the Gospel according to Matthew, in accordance with a letter received from Rev. Mr Hallock Secty of American Tract Society.

On Motion Mr Spalding was requested to translate, and prepare for the press, as much of the Acts of the Apostles as may be.

On Motion Mr Walker was requested to translate, and prepare for the press as much of the Gospel according to Matthew as circumstances will admit, and that Mr Eells cooperate with him, in the review.

On Motion Dr Whitman was appointed a Committee to make provision for printing."

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MATTHEWNIM TAAISKI.



PRINTED AT THE PRESS OF THE
OREGON MISSION, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF
THE AMERICAN
BOARD, C. F.
MISSIONS.
CLEAR WATER:
M. G. FOISY, PRINTER.

1845.



MATTHEWNIM TAAISKT.

WANAHNA I.

<p>TIMASH hiwash Jesus Christpkinih wiautsath kuph. Davidnim miahs awaka Jesus Christ, Abrahamnim miahs awaka David.</p> <p>2 Abrahamnim miahs autsama Isaac; Isaacnim miahs autsama Jacob; Jacobnim mamais autsama Judas wak askama;</p> <p>3 Judasnim autsama mamais Phares wah Zara, Tharmapkinih; Pharesnim miahs autsama Esrom; Esromnim miahs autsamu Aram;</p> <p>4 Aramnim miahs autsama Aminadab; Aminadabnim miahs autsama Naason; Naasonim miahs autsama Salmon;</p> <p>5 Salmonim miahs autsama Booz Rachabkinih; Booznim miahs autsama Obed Ruthpkinih; Obednim miahs autsama Jesse;</p> <p>6 Jessenim miahs autsama David, Miohat; Davidnim Miohatom miahs autsama Solomon, ka yoh awaka iwapua Urianin, kunimpkinih;</p> <p>7 Solomon miahs autsama Roboam; Roboannim miahs</p>	<p>autsama Abia; Abianm miahs autsama Asa;</p> <p>8 Asann miahs autsama Josaphat; Josaphatom miahs autsama Joram; Jorannim miahs autsama Ozias;</p> <p>9 Oziasnim miahs autsama Joatham; Joathamnim miahs autsama Achaz; Achaznim miahs autsama Ezekias;</p> <p>10 Ezekiasnim miahs autsama Manases; Manasesnim miahs autsama Amon; Amonnim miahs autsama Josias;</p> <p>11 Josiasnim mamais autsama Jechonias wak askama, ka knua Babylonpa pauahnas ankika immua.</p> <p>12 Ka kaua panahpaiksankika Babylonpa immua, kaua Jekoniasnim miahs autsama Salathiel; Salathielm miahs autsama Zorobabel;</p> <p>13 Zorobabelm miahs autsama Abiud; Abiudnim miahs autsama Azor;</p> <p>14 Azornim miahs autsama Sadoc; Sadocnim miahs autsama Achim, Achimnim miahs autsama Eliud;</p> <p>15 Eliudnim miahs autsama Eleazar, Eleazarnim miahs</p>
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In regard to the translation of Matthew into the Flat-head or Spokane language, Rev. Cushing Eells, in a letter dated Tshimakain, Near Fort Colville, Oregon Mission, 3d March 1846, writes:

"By the records of the last meeting of this mission you may have noticed that Mr Walker was appointed to translate, and prepare for the press as much of the gospel according to Matthew as circumstances would admit. Having obtained the assistance of the only indian among those encamped near us competent for the task a commencement was made. Just as the first four Chapters were completed, the teacher left abruptly, to engage in their heathen customs & superstitions. When those were past he was asked to assist again in translating, but excused himself by saying he wished to join a party just about starting to hunt deer. Soon after an indian, by name Garry who was educated at Red River, passed this way.

Application was made by him to assist in giving to this people a portion of the Holy Scripture. But any expectation that was raised at the time in relation to assistance from him has been disappointed."

This account agrees perfectly with the description given by Dr. Myron Eells to Mr. Pilling, and printed on page 73 of Pilling's Bibliography of the Salishan Languages, of a manuscript of 20 pages, octavo, in his possession in Union City, Washington:

"Translated from the original Greek by Rev. Elkanah Walker, missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in accordance with a vote of the Oregon mission passed at a meeting held in May, 1845, Jan. 1st, 1846. I copied it from an older manuscript, which I believe my father had, and which I presume has been burned. It contains only chapters 1-3 and chapter 4, verses 1-23. It was never printed, I believe, nor am I aware that the translation was ever finished."

Mr. Spalding labored on his assignment of translating the Acts of the Apostles, as we learn from a letter

written from Clear Water Jan. 24, 1846, in which he states:

"And 4 or 5 of the only quiet hours in 24 arrive from sunset till 11 oclock at night which last winter I occupied in translating Matthew & this in translating Acts of the Apostles, And so the day ends.

* * * * *

In the midst of cares I am making slow progress in translating the Acts of the Apostles over 20 mostly adults are daily printing & reading the translation in connection with the gospel of Matthew printed at our press last winter."

But the translation, if ever finished, was never printed, for the missionaries voted to abandon the use of the Roman alphabet, as we learn from a letter dated Waiilatpu, June 15, 1847, signed by Mr. Spaulding "on behalf of the members of the mission present."

"It is the opinion of all the members of the mission now present that the Natives do not possess perseverance sufficient to hold them to study a sufficient length of time to enable them to read by the Roman Alphabet. We have come to this conclusion after much labor & experience in teaching in the Roman Alphabet. Consequently we have no encouragement to proceede in our translations. We have no hope that they will be read."

The missionaries state that they have heard of the astonishing success of the Cree syllabic alphabet, and ask that it be sent to them with instructions for its use and advice as to its employment.

The Whitman massacre and the abandonment of the Oregon missions prevented any further translations.

In 1871, the American Bible Society reprinted Spalding's Gospel of Matthew, and it is interesting to note that but one typographical change was indicated in the book sent on as copy (now preserved in the New York Public Library), which was therefore printed exactly as written by Spalding 26 years earlier; whether a tribute to the excellence of his translation or due to

the ignorance of the Nez Perces language on the part of those having the matter in charge, few now are competent to judge.

No mention is made in any of the letters from Mr. Spalding now in the archives of the A. B. C. F. M. in Boston of any of the hymns or translated passages of the Bible, said by Mr. Himes to have been set up and printed by a tramp printer named Turner in 1839.

It is quite possible that all of Mr. Spalding's letters to the Board are not now extant, or that Mr. Spalding did not deem the matter of sufficient importance to mention.

Rev. H. H. Spalding was the author of seven of the eight books printed in Nez Perces, but it must not be inferred from this that his knowledge of the language was superior to that of his associates. On the contrary his brethren held his linguistic capabilities in very low esteem.

Dr. Whitman, writing from Wailatpu, March 28, 1841, states:

"Mr Smith & Mr Rogers are the best linguists in the Nez Perces language but although Mr R is the best yet he cannot supply Mr S. place in the classification of the language for want of a more extended education. Neither Mr Spalding or myself are properly able to write the language & Mr Gray is far behind. It is our joint opinion that Mr Spalding cannot master it so as to be able to translate, or be relied on for books, or as a standard in any sense."

Rev. A. B. Smith, who seems to have studied the Nez Perces language more scientifically than the other missionaries, sending a long grammar of the language to the A. B. C. F. M. in 1843, says in a letter to Mr. Greene, dated Kamiah, Oregon, Sept. 3d, 1840, regarding Mr. Spalding:

"The views which he formerly entertained respecting the Nez Perces language, he had now found to be incorrect & has given them up. His views were these. That

the language was destitute of regularity, that it was varied without any rule or reason, that it was in vain to attempt to find out its grammatical construction, but we must ourselves settle the language & bring the people to it. Such were the views thrown out at the time of our arrival here. Such notions led Mr Rogers & myself to search into the grammatical construction of the language & our efforts have been attended with so much success that we have been enabled to find out some of the most important principles of grammatical construction. The construction is indeed intricate, but as to regularity it will not differ by a comparison with other languages. Mr Sp. held on upon his peculiar notions with such a wonderful tenacity, that he would not give up untill long after he found himself far in the rear of every other one who pretended to learn the Nez Perces. He seems to have no taste for philological inquiries."

Mr. Hall, writing to the Rev. Rufus Anderson from Fort Vancouver, March 16, 1840, says:

"I should have been happy to have done more in this department, and, after the expectations held out by Mr. Spalding, was greatly disappointed in not finding more ready. But I believe Mr. Spalding did not discover, till within the past year, that he knew very little of the language; and not then till he saw those who came two years later, going far ahead of him in its acquisition. The book now printing was prepared by Dr. W. Mr. Smith & Mr. Rogers, who has, probably, as good if not the best knowledge of the language of any in the mission."

An important misconception has been perpetuated regarding the identity of the press, which is still in existence, and exhibited in the rooms of the Oregon State Historical Society in Portland.

The little press for many years bore a placard claiming that it was not only the pioneer press in Oregon, but was also the identical original Hawaiian mission press sent out to the Sandwich Islands in 1819 with the first missionaries in the brig Thaddeus, and first operated there in 1822.

As recently as 1917 a replica of the press was paraded

in Honolulu in the Washington's birthday carnival with that statement. Mr. Himes, the curator of the Historical Society, states to the writer that his authority for the assertion is Rev. Myron Eells, "who obtained the statement from his father, Rev. Cushing Eells, who had it from Mr. Hall himself, who certainly must have known."

Rev. Myron Eells' description of the press is printed in his *Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot*, Seattle: 1909, page 106, as follows:

"In April, 1839, a printing press arrived from the Sandwich Islands, for the benefit of the mission. It was the first one on the Pacific Coast, and on it was done the first printing on the coast. It had been sent by the American Board in 1819 to the Sandwich Islands to be used by the mission there. That was the year when the first missionaries were sent to those islands, and, in 1822, their language had been so far reduced to writing that the press came into use. It was the pioneer press there as well as now on the Pacific Coast. It was a Ramage writing, copying and seal press, No. 14. After using it for twenty years the Hawaiian mission had grown so that it needed a larger press, and consequently, the native church at Honolulu bought it, with type, furniture, paper and a few other articles, altogether valued at five hundred dollars, and donated it to the Oregon Mission of the American Board. E. O. Hall, a practical printer, at the Islands, came to Oregon with it. His wife's health was quite poor, and it was hoped that the voyage and change would do her good, and as there was no printer in Oregon, he came also to teach the art of printing. On April 30th Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and Mr. and Mrs. Spalding met it and Mr. and Mrs. Hall at Fort Walla Walla. By common consent it was taken on horse back to Lapwai, where, on the sixteenth of May, it was set up, and on the eighteenth the first proof sheet was struck off. On the twenty-fourth a small booklet of eight pages in Nez Perces was printed."

The statements previously quoted from Messrs. Bingham, Chamberlain and Hall of the Sandwich Islands Mission ought to be sufficient authority to disprove the

identity of the Oregon press with the original Sandwich Islands press, but the following arguments may aid.

The serial number 14 borne by the press now in Portland is not a proof of the very early origin of the press, as it can readily be proved not to be, as claimed, the fourteenth press manufactured by Ramage, but only the fourteenth press of that particular small type, which was the third style of press designed by him, patented May 28, 1818, and so not put on the market until the latter part of the first quarter of the last century, certainly too late for it to have been in the worn-out condition that the first Hawaiian press was when sent out by the Thaddeus in 1819.

The writer is informed by Mr. Henry L. Bullen, manager of the American Type Founding Company, and librarian of the Typographic Library and Museum at Jersey City, N. J., that during the early years of Ramage's manufacture of presses he did not construct any presses of so small a size, but had constructed hundreds of larger presses before he began to make any of the type of the Oregon press.

In a letter dated February 17, 1917, he writes:

"Ramage in the beginning made what is known as a two-pull press, a large wooden press, with stone bed, suitable for newspaper and book work. The area of type covered would be 18x24 in., but press would accommodate paper 1½ in. larger each way. The paper used was usually demy, the size of which is 17½x22½ in. About 1816 Ramage met the growing demand for commercial printing with a foolscap press, the area of type covered, 12½x16½ in., but capable of taking paper 16½x18 in. The advertised price of this press in 1845 was \$60; doubtless it cost more in 1816. In 1845 he also advertised a job press for \$30. Of this we have no particulars, nor have we seen any.

Doubtless each style of press had its own consecutive series of numbers."

The first Hawaiian press was worn out long before 1839.

As early as August 18, 1825, the printer at Honolulu, Mr. Loomis, informed the corresponding secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.:

"Our printing press is materially damaged and may fail utterly at any time. The nut in which the screw plays is cracked quite in two."

And on August 20, 1825, Mr. Bingham writes to the same effect:

"The one we now have is so much worn in the screw as to render it impossible to take an even impression; and as the screw is cracked we know not how soon it may become useless."

The second Hawaiian press arrived at Honolulu, March 30, 1828. On June 5, 1828, Mr. Shepard, the newly arrived printer, writing to Mr. Evarts, thus describes the condition of the first press:

"The press itself is in better order than was expected. The crack of the screw is of such a nature as not to injure it materially. It is not, however, sufficiently powerful to do justice to the close heavy forms of Luke;—We have not tried the one received by the Parthian; but intend to put it up soon.

If the Committee decide to send an *iron press* for the printing of the Scriptures, one of the presses now here might be sent windward. * * * If an iron press should be sent I would recommend either *Wells' patent*, or that known in New York by the name of *Rust's press*."

This appeal and others for an iron press clearly indicate that the Hawaiian press was one of Ramage's wooden presses.

The printers at Honolulu also made frequent requisitions for demy paper, a size too large to be of use on the press now in Portland.

The writer is assured by Mr. Bullen that the injuries related by the missionaries, as quoted above, are not at all applicable to an iron, arched press such as the one exhibited in Portland, but are such as might befall Ramage's first type of wooden presses.

On Nov. 23, 1831, the Hawaiian missionaries wrote:

"We have now but one press which can be used to any purpose and Mr. Shepard thinks we ought not to rely upon this, as it may give out."

Again on Oct 10, 1832, they complain:

"The two old presses which we have here were both second hand presses when they were sent out. The one which was first sent is of little use, and the other is liable to fail us."

Rev. A. Bishop, speaking of a new press which had recently arrived, says on Oct. 3, 1832:

"The press is now in successful operation at Oahu. It is the only good press in the islands, the two old ones are Ramage presses and nearly worn out."

This opinion is confirmed by two of the printers, writing at about the same date. Mr. Rogers, on October 2, 1832, and Mr. Shepard on November 12, 1832, say respectively:

"We have but one press fit to do heavy work on—the two Ramage press are most worn out."

"We have only one press in which we put any confidence for doing good work."

It is evident, seven years after the latest of these reports of the uselessness of the original press, how unlikely it is that such a worn-out article should have been presented to the Oregon mission as any part of a gift valued by them at \$500.

The last book to be printed in Honolulu before the arrival of the second press was the Gospel of Luke, printed duodecimo in half-sheets or six pages to the form. It can readily be proved by actual measurement that such a form of six pages could not have been printed on a press which would admit nothing larger than 10x14 inches.

None of the other earlier publications at Oahu exceed the limits of size of the Oregon press, but this was due to a scarcity of paper. In fact, as related in the writer's

"History of the Hawaiian Mission Press" as described in a manuscript, "Memorandum of Printing," preserved in the archives of the Hawaiian Board at Oahu, in two different cases four-page books were arranged to be printed on the same demy sheet with an eight-page book when obliged to use demy paper for that purpose,—the six-page form of the two combined books easily exceeding the limits of the Oregon press.

Finally, as mentioned, we have the explicit statements already quoted from Messrs. Hall, Chamberlain and Bingham, respectively :

"The press designed to be taken is only a small, hand, card press, which was a donation to the mission and came out with us in the Hellespont."

"We shall send **** a card press, being the one which was sent to this mission some years ago, and for which we have had no use."

"The press was a small Hand press presented to this mission but not in use."

The final history of the press is thus related by Dr. Myron Eells in his book, *Marcus Whitman* :

"Lapwai remained the home of the press until 1846, and during that time, as near as can now be learned, there were printed an elementary book of twenty pages, another of fifty-two pages of 800 copies, another in 1840 of eight pages, some simple laws adopted through the influence of Dr. E. White, U. S. Sub. Indian Agent, in 1843, a small Nez Perces and English vocabulary, a hymn book, 1842, and a translation of Matthew. All of these were in Nez Perces language. Dr. Whitman was appointed by the mission to prepare the one of 800 copies, but he was so busy professionally and felt that Messrs. Smith and Rogers were so much better qualified in the language that he employed them to prepare it. The rest were prepared, as far as can be learned, by Mr. Spalding. In 1842 one of sixteen pages in the Spokane language was printed. This was prepared by Messrs. Walker and Eells, chiefly by the former, who may properly hence be called the pioneer book writer of the State of Washington, as Mr. Spalding was of Idaho. Mr. Hall remained in the country until 1840, when he returned

to the Sandwich Islands. By that time he had taught Messrs. Spalding and Rogers the art of printing so well that they carried it on with the help of some of the Indians. In 1844 M. G. Foley [sic], an emigrant of that year, was employed to take charge of it, and his name appears as printer on some of the booklets. In 1846, six persons in Salem, Oregon, wished to publish a paper: Daniel Leslie, Joseph Holman, W. H. Wilson, J. B. McClaine and Messrs. Robinson and Judson. They sent A. Hinman to see if the mission press could be obtained. Having interviewed all the missionaries, he obtained it on certain conditions, and packed it on horseback to The Dalles. The conditions were such, however, that the company declined to accept them, and the press remained at The Dalles until after the Whitman massacre, when, with the consent of Mr. Spalding, Rev. J. S. Griffin took it to his home near Hillsboro, and printed on it eight numbers of the 'Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist.' It remained with Mr. Griffin for a score or so of years, when it was taken to Salem and deposited in the State Historical Rooms. Afterwards the Oregon Historical Society obtained it, and removed it to their rooms for historical relics at Portland, where it now rests. It has not been used since about 1849."

All the letters quoted in the preceding article have been carefully copied from the originals on file in the archives of the A. B. C. F. M. in Boston. As far as possible all peculiarities of spelling, punctuation and capitalization have been retained.

These little publications of the Oregon missionary press must be excessively rare and it is not known how many are in existence. If collectors or librarians who are the fortunate possessors of any of them would make the fact known to the writer, he would be glad to compile and publish a list showing their number and locations.

HOWARD M. BALLOU.

Honolulu, Hawaii.

DOCUMENTARY

The Case of Robin Holmes vs. Nathaniel Ford

The Quarterly is indebted to Mr. Fred Lockley for the following documentary record of the judicial proceedings in the case in which Robin Holmes, a former negro slave of Nathaniel Ford of Polk County, sued Mr. Ford for the freedom of three of his children. Mr. Lockley in Vol. XVII, pp. 107-115, of The Quarterly first contributed "Some Documentary Records of Slavery in Oregon." Since then in his gleanings of historical data in journeys up and down the State the stock of information pertaining to ex-slaves in Oregon has been constantly added to. He says:

During the past 25 years I have met a number of interesting ex-slaves in Oregon. Some years ago I interviewed Lou Southworth near Waldport. He told me of his childhood days as a slave and of his trip to Oregon. A few months ago I interviewed at Albany, Amanda Johnson, who was born at Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, August 30, 1833. When I asked her if she had ever been sold as a slave, she said, "No sir, I was never sold nor bartered for. I was given as a wedding present to my owner's daughter. I belonged to Mrs. Nancy Wilhite. Mrs. Wilhite later married Mr. Corum. When her daughter, Miss Lydia, was married, she gave me to her as a wedding present. I have known seven generations of the family. I had five brothers and six sisters; none of us were sold like common negroes. We were all given away as the different young folks got married. In 1853 my owners came to Oregon. A man offered my master \$1,200 for me. I was 19 years old then. My owner said, 'Amanda isn't for sale. She is going across the plains to the Willamette Valley with us. She is like one of the family. I don't care to sell her.' It took us six months to come from Liberty, Missouri, to Oregon City. We reached our destination on September 13, 1853. Lou Southworth, also a slave, crossed the plains the same year I did. So did Benjamin Johnson, another slave, who later became my husband."

On the street in Portland recently, I met a white-

1852. Returnable before the Dist. Court of Polk County at the next term.

O. C. PRATT,
2. Jud Dist.
O. Territory

HABEAS CORPUS

The Territory of Oregon	)	District Court of the Unit-
on the Relation of	)	ed States of America for
Robin Holmes	)	the Territory of Oregon
vs.	)	within and for the County
Nathaniel Ford	)	of Polk.

Polk County P.

Nathaniel Ford the respondent in said writ makes the following return thereto, to-wit, That he has the bodies of the said individuals described in said writ in his care and prosession [sic] and under his control, to-wit Jenny or Mary Jane Holmes, Roxanna Holmes and James Holmes.

That the father and mother of the said Jenny, Roxanna and James, are of the negro race and were the slaves of and owned by this Respondent for many years in the State of Missouri,—That the said Jenny, who is now about twelve years of age was born in said State of Missouri, and states the said father and mother were the property of this Respondent, and house, that the said Jenny was the property of this Respondent. That in the year 1844 this Respondent brought the said slaves, father, mother and child, to this territory as his servants and slaves.

That the said James was born in this territory in February 1845, and the said Roxanna somewhere about February 1847 and the parents of the said children were till after the birth of the last child in the possession of this Respondent, as his servants and slaves, and so continued till in or about the year 1849. That about the spring of 1849 the said Robin Holmes the father of said children left this Territory and went to California, and the mother of said children remained at the residence of this Respondent, till the spring of 1850, but not controlled as a slave.

That about the first of March 1850 the said Robin having returned from California, and his said wife having given birth to another child, an agreement was en-

duly sworn doth depose and say that the facts set forth in the foregoing sentences are true.

NATHANIEL FORD.

Subscribed and sworn to in open Court before me this 5th day of April A. D. 1853.

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

HABEAS CORPUS

Territory of Oregon,)	District Court of the United
) ss.	States for the territory of
Polk County,)	Oregon within for the County
	of Polk
Nathaniel Ford)	
ads)	
The Territory of Oregon)	
on the Relation of Robin Holmes)	

Nathaniel Ford the said Respondent being duly sworn doth depose and say that General Joseph Lane is a material witness for him on the trial of the above entitled cause without whose testimony he cannot safely proceed to the trial thereof as he is advised by James Halabin his counsel to whom he has fully and freely stated his case which advice he truly believes to be true—that said Joseph Lane is a resident of Oregon as deponent believes, and is delegate in Congress from this Territory and is now at or near the City of Washington D. C. as deponent believes, though he may now be on his way to Oregon.

And this deponent further says that he expects to prove by said Lane that the said Robin made the agreement set forth in the witness to said writ—to wit, that the said Robin and his wife and youngest child were to go free and that this Respondent was to keep the other children of said Robin until they become of age, to wit the females 18 and the males 21 years of age—and that deponent knows of no other witness or person by whom he can prove said facts—and that he expects said Lane will be in this Territory so that his testimony can be taken by the next term of said Court—and that this application is made, not for the purpose of delay merely but that justice may be done.

NATHANIEL FORD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16 day of
April 1853

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

[ENDORSED]

Polk District Court
Nathaniel Ford
The Territory of Oregon
Ex Parte Robin Holmes.
D.

Robin Holmes	)	District Court of the United States
vs.	)	for the County of Polk vs.
Nathaniel Ford	)	April 1853

HABEAS CORPUS

Robin Holmes the petitioner in this case respectfully shows and states to the Court the following answer to said Respondents return to said writ of Habeas Corpus to wit. That some time in the year 1841, Said petitioner and his wife Polly were the slaves of Mayor Whitman a Paymaster in the United States Army in Howard County Missouri and had been the slaves of said Whitman for the space of twelve years next proceeding said last mentioned date. That some time in the year 1841 said petitioner and his wife Polly were taken on a writ of execution by said Respondents, who was then sheriff of said Howard County, and sold at public vender by said Respondent to satisfy certain debts of said Whitmans. That said petitioner and his wife Polly were bid off and purchased at said sale by a merchant then resident of said Howard County whose name is not now remembered by your petitioner. That the next morning after said sale Respondent sent your petitioner to the house of said purchaser to procure a waggon to take your petitioner and his family to the residence of said purchaser. That when your petitioner arrived at the house of said purchaser he was informed by the wife of said purchaser that he had gone away to purchase goods, and that she knew nothing about aforesaid purchase of your petitioner and wife Polly. Your petitioner then returned to the house of said Respondent, and informed him of what had transpired at the house of said purchaser, that said Respondent, replied to your petitioner that the respondent

had made an arrangement to keep him and his wife Polly and to remain with him. That your petitioner and his wife Polly remained in the service of said Respondent in Howard County aforesaid until the spring of 1844, but does not know positively whether he and his said wife were the property and slaves of the said Respondent or not, but believed at the time that he and his family were the property of Respondent, but now believes from what he has heard respondent say since that they were not the slaves of said Respondent.

That in the spring of 1844, Respondent became very much embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and determined to emigrate to Oregon. That Respondent solicited your petitioner and his wife Polly to go with him to Oregon, and represented to your petitioner that Oregon was a free country, that slavery did not exist there, and he did not think it ever would. That Respondent would take your petitioner and his wife Polly to Oregon if your petitioner and his said wife would on Respondents arrival in Oregon, assist said Respondent to open a farm, and that when your petitioner and wife had assisted said Respondent as aforesaid your petitioner and wife Polly and family should be liberated and discharged absolutely from the service or control of said Respondent. That your petitioner agreed to proposal of Respondent as aforesaid and in pursuance of said agreement came with his wife and said Jenny to Oregon with said Respondent in the year 1844. That your petitioner and family continued in the service of Respondent until the spring of 1849 a period of five years, when your petitioner requested to be discharged from the service of said Respondent. That said Respondent desired your petitioner to go to the Gold mines in California and dig gold for Respondent, with Respondent's son, Mark Ford, who was then in California. And that upon the return of your petitioner, Respondent would comply with his agreement aforesaid as made in the State of Missouri and discharge and liberate your petitioner and family from the service and control of said Respondent, and further that said Respondent would give your petitioner a share of the gold that he might dig in California.

That your petitioner desirous of obtaining his family without difficulty with Respondent, consented to the proposition of Respondent, and in pursuance of the same

did go to California in the spring of the year 1849 and worked in the Gold mines for said Respondent under the control and discretion of Mark Ford, aforesaid, until the spring of 1850, when he returned to the house of Respondent in Oregon Territory. That during the time your petitioner was in California aforesaid, he was informed by said Mark Ford that he your petitioner had dug and placed in his (Mark Ford's) for Respondent, about the sum of Nine Hundred Dollars in Gold dust.

That when your petitioner returned in the spring of 1850 as aforesaid Respondent refused to liberate the said Jenny or Mary Jane, Roxanna and James, children of your petitioner and his wife Polly, but permitted your petitioner and his wife and one infant child of your petitioner to leave the service of said Respondent.

That your petitioner did not at that or any other time make an agreement with said Respondent or any one for him, by which said Respondent was to keep said minor children and be entitled to their services until they became of age or for any period of time, but on the contrary claimed that they should be then liberated and delivered to your petitioner, and has ever since sought to obtain the custody and control of said children.

Your petitioner further answers [sic] and says that Respondent has no legal or equitable right to the service or control of said minor children. That your petitioner does not know whether said Respondent has ever been advised to take your petitioner and his family back to Missouri and sell them into slavery or not, but he does know and states the fact to be that Respondent has often threatened so to do, for the purpose of deterring your petitioner from seeking to obtain the custody and control of said children as your petitioner believes.

That your petitioner is as well able in a pecuniary point of view to take care of said and raise said children as Respondent, and denies that he is unfit by reason of his poverty and ignorance to have the care and custody of his own children, but on the contrary avers that his character for honesty, society and industry is good, and this he prays may be inquired of by the Court.

his
Robin X Holmes
mark

Oregon Territory)
 Polk County p.)

On this 6th day of April A. D. 1853 Before the undersigned personally appeared Robin Holmes and being by me first duly sworn says that the statements and facts in the foregoing affidavit are true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Filed in open Court this 6th day of April A. D. 1853.

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

Subscribed and Sworn to before me.

J. E. LYLE, Clerk,

Dist. Court

E

[ENDORSED]

Filed in open Court this 6th day of April A. D. 1853.

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

Know all men by these presents that we Nathaniel Ford as principle and as surity are held and firmly bound unto Robin Holmes of Polk County Oregon Territory in the penal sum of three thousand dollars, to the payment of which will are truly to be made we bind ourselves our heirs executors and administrators firmly by these presents

The conditions of this Bond is such that, whereas a writ of Habeas Corpus, was sent out of the District Court of said County by said Holmes and issued to said Ford to bring up the bodies of three children named in said writ, the children of the said Holmes, and whereas said cause has this day been continued by said Court, and ordered that said children remain in the hands of said Court, till the further order of said Court, and that said Ford with good security give bond in the sum of Three thousand dollars to keep said children within the jurisdiction and subject to the order of the Court, and surrender them up if the Court so order. Now if the said Ford do not remove the said children nor either of them from said jurisdiction of said Court, and if the said Court order him to deliver them up to the said Holmes, and he the said Ford do deliver them up, and obey the order of the Court then this bond to be null and void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

NATHANIEL FORD Seal.

[ENDORSED]

In the matter of the application of Robin Holmes for a writ of Habeas Corpus or Bond of N. Ford.

C.

Filed this 9th day of April A. D. 1853.

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

Filed July 1,

J. E. LYLE, Clerk

In the matter of the children of Robin Holmes a negro brought before Cyrus Olney Associate justice of the Territory of Oregon at chambers upon a writ of Habeas Corpus directed to Nathaniel Ford.

Upon the return of the writ it is ordered that the hearing and determination of the matters arising upon the pleadings and the final disposition of the said children be postponed until and to the next term of the Supreme Court to be held at Salem on the first Monday of December 1853 unless a term of the District Court for the County of Polk shall be sooner held in which event it will stand for hearing and decision at such District Court. And the Chief Justice shall arrive in the territory and appoint a time and place to hear the same before himself prior to the setting of either of said Courts the same shall be heard at such time and place. And in the mean time the said child Jenny who has arrived at years of discretion is not awarded into the custody of any person but is left free to remain where she now is or to depart thence at pleasure free from restraint coercion or undue influence, the said Ford and his family being permitted by kind treatment, and not otherwise to induce her to remain with them as her voluntary choice until the hearing or further order. And the said child Roxanna is awarded to the custody of the said Ford until the hearing or further order. And the said child James is awarded to the custody of the said Robin until the hearing or further order. And it is ordered that the said Robin may present himself at the residence of the said Ford and thereupon the said Ford or if absent some member of his family shall forthwith and without request deliver to the said Robin the said child James. And at all reasonable times the parents brothers and sisters

of the said Roxanna shall have free access to her abstaining from everything calculated to make her discontented. And the said Robin and all others are forbidden to use any influence to induce the said Jenny to leave her present abode or to make her discontented but may apply for other and further order respecting her upon affidavit of restraint authority or any other means than kind treatment being used to induce her to remain. And the said Ford and the said Robin shall in ten days and before they shall be entitled to the children awarded to them respectively enter into bond each to the other with sureties to be approved by the Clerk of the District Court aforesaid and filed in his office in the penal sum of one thousand dollars to produce the said children respectively when and where either of the said Courts or any of the Judges shall order and to abide by and perform all the orders and directions above written and such further orders as may be made prior to the final hearing. And the parties are permitted to take depositions and also to apply for attachments to enforce these orders and all others that may be made.

CYRUS OLNEY,

Associate Justice of Oregon.

Dated at Portland June 24th 1853.

Territory of Oregon on the)	
Relation of Robin Holmes)	Supreme Court
vs.)	HABEAS CORPUS
Nathaniel Ford)	
Respondent)	

Washington County ss. Nathaniel Ford the respondent in said writ makes the following return thereto to wit, That he has the bodies of the said children described in said writ in his care and possession and under his control to wit, in the County of Polk in said Territory.

That the father and mother of the said children are of the African or negro race and were the slaves of and owned by the Respondent, for many years in the State of Missouri, where the right to hold slaves exists by the laws of that State. That the said Jenny, who is now

about twelve years of age, was born in said State of Missouri, and whilst the said father and mother were the property of this Respondent, and hence the said Jenny was the property of this Respondent—That in the year 1844 this Respondent brought the said slaves—father, mother and child, to this territory as his servants and property—

That the said James was born in this Territory, in February 1845, and the said Roxanna somewhere about February 1847—and the said parents of the said children were till after the birth of the last mentioned child in the possession of this Respondent as his servants and slaves, and so continued till in or about the year 1849—That about the spring of the year 1849 the said Robin Holmes the father of the said children left this Territory and went to California—and the mother of said children remained at the residence of this Respondent, till the spring of the year 1850, but not controlled as a slave.

That about the first of March 1850 the said Robin having returned from California, and his said wife having given birth to another child, an agreement was entered into between the said Robin and this Respondent, to the effect following, to wit:—

That the said Robin and his wife were to be and remain henceforth free—that they were to take their youngest child and keep it—And that this Respondent was to keep all the rest of the said children (together with one which has since died, and which was the oldest of the said family of children) and to hold them until they respectively became of age according to the laws of this Territory, to wit, the males twenty one years of age and the females eighteen years of age—to hold them not as slaves but as wards.

That this Respondent has kept the said children at a heavy expense while they were young and their service of little or no value—And now, since they have arrived at an age when their services will be of some benefit the Respondent insists that he has a right to retain the said children during their minority, as a part compensation and remuneration for the expenditures made by him in their behalf.

That this Respondent was advised after it became settled that the people would not be permitted to hold

slaves in this territory, to take the said Robin and his wife and said children back to Missouri, and there sell them—and he might have done so, but chose not to—and that from this fact, together with the fact that said children have always lived with him this Respondent, he the Respondent had reason to believe and did believe that the said Relation, Robin, would have abided by his said agreement, and left said children with this Respondent until they should have become of age as aforesaid.

And the Respondent insists that he has, not only a legal and an equitable right to retain the said children in his possession but also that it would be far better for said children to be so retained by him the Respondent than placed in the hands of the said Robin who is poor and ignorant and unfit to have the care and custody and bringing up of said children.

And this Respondent further says that the said children have always been well and kindly treated and used by the Respondent and his family—But that the said Robin is somewhat harsh and his wife is very cruel to their children.

And this Respondent further says he holds said children by no other authority than that above set forth.

And this Respondent further says that proceeding on Habeas Corpus in the above matter was heretofore commenced in the District Court for the County of Polk wherein the Honorable M. P. Dady and A. G. P. Wood Esq. were counsel for the Relation, and the Honorable Cyrus Olney and James Malabin were counsel for this Respondent and that at the last terms of said District Court an issue of fact was formed in said proceeding—And an order was made in said matter by said District Court continuing said cause for the purpose of taking testimony upon the issue therein raised—And this Respondent then expected that said testimony would have been taken and said matter have been decided before this time without subjecting him to the additional expense of another similar proceeding.

And this Respondent further says that he intended to have brought the said writ in this cause served on him with him to return the same to this Honorable Court, and had the same together with other papers which he wanted to use at the Surveyor Generals office in his coat pocket, but in changing coats he forgot to take out the

said papers and they were thus unintentionally all left at the Respondents residence in Polk County aforesaid— But Respondent believes that the copy of said writ, be among the return of B. F. Nichols Sheriff, and is now on file in this Court is a true copy of said writ. And the Respondent consents that the said copy be in all things treated as the original writ.

And this Respondent further states that it is some sixty miles from here to his the Respondents place of Residence that the distance was so great and the expense which would follow the bringing of said children to this place so heavy that the same would have been a great hardship upon the Respondent, and the same is the only reason why they were not brought here. And this Respondent denies that he now has or ever had any intention of taking said children or either of them out of this Territory, or even out of said Polk County (unless by order of the Court) and this Respondent further says that he will not remove the said children or either of them (unless by order of the Court) but that they will at all times be free at his place of abode aforesaid, unless removed without his knowledge or consent, and against his will.

NATHANIEL FORD.

Territory of Oregon
Washington County ss.

Nathaniel Ford the above named Respondent being duly sworn doth depose and say that the facts set forth in the foregoing return are true.

NATHANIEL FORD

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23 day of
June A. D. 1853

ANTHANY S. DAVIS,
Justice of the Peace.

[ENDORSED]

The Supreme Court, Territory of Oregon, on the Relation of Robin Holmes vs. Nathaniel Ford, Respondent. Return to Writ of Habeas Corpus.
Filed June 23, 1853. R. WILCOX, Clerk.

Robin Holmes,)
 vs.)
 Nathaniel Ford.)

In the matter of the Habeas Corpus for the children of Robin Holmes a negro.

It is agreed by the parties that the depositions of Gen Lane may be taken before one of the justices of the Supreme Court, or other competent authority, at Salem, on one days notice by either of the parties, if taken elsewhere notice shall be under the statute regulating the taking of depositions in the Territory. Notice for the taking of depositions on the part of the defendant to be given to A. G. P. Wood, Attorney for Holmes.

A. G. P. Wood,
 Attorney for Holmes.

Dated at Portland, June 25th A. D. 1853.

[ENDORSED]

In the matter of the Application of Robin Holmes for a Writ of Habeas Corpus vs. Nathaniel Ford. Notice to take Deposition. Filed June 26, 1853.

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

Robin Holmes)
 vs.)
 Nathaniel Ford)

The said Robin Holmes makes solemn oath and says, that at the April term of the U. S. District Court within and for the County of Polk and Territory of Oregon A. D. 1852 a Writ of Habeas Corpus was at that time from said Court issued, and made returnable at the next term of said Court, commanding one Nathaniel Ford to have before said Court on the return day of said Writ, deponents children, Mary Jane, James and Roxanna Holmes who were at that time and now are illegally detained and restrained of their liberties by said Ford. And deponent further says that from causes unknown to him the term of said Court last mentioned was never held, and that no return was made by said Ford to said writ till April term A. D. 1853 of said Court, at which time the cause was heard before the Hon. Thos. Nelson, Judge of said Court. And deponent further says that the said Thos. Nelson, after having said cause fully tried refused to give

an opinion or make an order in the case, but said that at some future day, not to exceed five weeks, he would make an order in the case, which the parties agreed to abide. And deponent further says that said order has never been made and that the said Nelson has refused to make the same. Deponent has been informed and verily believes that said Nelson sent word to deponents attorney that he would make no order in the case, but would turn it over to his successor to do. Deponent further says that neither him nor his wife, the mother of said children, are allowed to visit them or hold any intercourse whatever with said children, and that although residing within five miles of said Ford, the mother of said children has not exchanged a word with, nor even seen them for the last two years. Deponent further says that he has been informed and verily believes, that said Ford ill treats Deponent's children, that he does not furnish them with sufficient meat, drink or apparel and that Deponent is fearful that unless said children are placed in a situation that they may be provided for by their parents, that the treatment that they now receive will materially injure their health, and eventually cause their death, or be the cause of their enduring great suffering. And Deponent further says that he has good reasons for believing that it is the intention of said Ford to leave this Territory, that it is his intention to run said children out of the Territory and sell them into perpetual slavery, and Deponent verily believes that the further detention of said children by said Ford will put in jeopardy their life, liberty and happiness. Deponent therefore asks that his said children be put in the charge of the sheriff of Polk county, or of some other proper person, untill judgment be given on the Writ. Further deponent sayeth not.

his
Robin X Holmes
mark

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9 day of
June 1853

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

To the Honorable Cyrus Olney, Associate Justice of the
Supreme Court of Oregon Territory.

The petition of Robin Holmes of said County in the aforesaid Territory, represents, that he is the father of Mary Jane Holmes, James Holmes, and Roxanna Holmes, minors, who are under the age of twenty one years, to wit, Mary Jane being about the age of eleven years, James about the age of nine years, and Roxanna about the age of seven years; that said minors are now imprisoned and restrained of their liberties in the county of Polk and Territory aforesaid, by one Nathaniel Ford, or by some other person, or persons, under the command and controll and by the authority of the said Nathaniel Ford, against the will and without the consent of the said Mary Jane, James, and Roxanna Holmes, as well as of your petitioner, that the restraint held over said minors by the said Nathaniel Ford is illegal it being without the authority of law or the process of any court. That your petitioner believes said minors are imprisoned and restrained of their liberties under the pretence that slavery is tolerated by the laws of this Territory, and that they the said Mary Jane, James and Roxanna are the slaves of the said Nathaniel Ford. That the said Nathaniel Ford has for a long series of years held said minors under a most galling and degrading servitude, has, and still claims them as his chattles, and that your petitioner has been informed and verrily believes that the said Nathaniel Ford intends ere long to depart this Territory, and your petitioner has reason to believe that it is the intention of the said Nathaniel Ford to take along with him the said minors for the purpose of selling them into perpetual slavery in counties beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts of this Territory thereby forever debarring your petitioner from the pleasure of their society, and the benefit to be derived from their services, which rightfully belong to him. That your petitioner has often made application to the said Nathaniel Ford to have the said Mary Jane, James and Roxanna given up to him, which the said Nathaniel Ford has as often refused to do. Wherefore your petitioner prays that a writ of *Habeas Corpus* may be issued to have the bodies

Ford may take depositions on one day's notice, to be used at the hearing, by allowing the other party the same knowledge, and that the Judge may take the testimony of Gen. Jos. Lane at any time and place without notice, so as to prevent the loss of his testimony. June 13th 1853.

CYRUS OLNEY, Judge.

Served the above order on the 14th day of June A. D. 1853, by giving to Nathaniel Ford the original order.

B. F. NICHOLS,
Sheriff of Polk County.

The United States of America, to
NATHANIEL FORD.

You are hereby commanded to have the bodies of Mary Jane, James and Roxanna, negro children by you detained as it is said, together with the time and cause of their caption and detention, by whatsoever names they may be called, before the Supreme Court of the Territory of Oregon, to be commanded and proven at Portland on the Third Monday of June instant, to do and receive what shall then and there by the said Court, or by one of the Justices thereof, upon a hearing at chambers be considered concerning them, And have you then there this writ.

Witness Cyrus Olney one of
the Justices of said Court
the 13th day of June 1853
CYRUS OLNEY, Judge.

[ENDORSED]

Filed June 21, 1853.

R. WILCOX, Clerk.

I hereby certify that I served the above writ on the 14th day of June A. D. 1853 by giving the original writ to Nathaniel Ford.

B. F. NICHOLS,
Sheriff of Polk County.

Robin Holmes)
vs.)
Nathaniel Ford)

The following interrogations and cross-interrogations to be propounded to Joseph Lane and his answers thereto to be used as evidence on the trial of the above case. The same being done by consent of Counsel.

First Interrogation

Do you know the parties in the above suit. Answer, yes

Second

Had you ever any conversation with the said Holmes touching the conditions under which his children viz. Jenny, James and Roxanna were held by the said Ford or under his control?

Third

If you answer affirmatively please state the time, place and substance of that conversation

GEORGE K. SHEIL
of Counsel for Deft.

Answer to Interrogatory 2nd

Recollect being at Col. Fords March 1850, heard a conversation between Ford & Holmes which left the impression on my mind that Holmes was to go where he pleased, but that the children were to be left with Ford, this however is only an impression as I do not recollect the words which passed between them.

Third

The conversation took place at Col Fords in March 1850 Had a conversation with Holmes about keeping house for me in Oregon City, that is I proposed to employ him and his wife to work, her to cook and him to work about the mills. My proposition to Holmes, brought about the conversation between the parties.

JOSEPH LANE

Sworn and subscribed before me this fifth day of July A. D. 1853

LEONARD WILLIAMS,
Justice of the Peace

Cross Interrogatory 1.

If you answer affirmatively, to interrogatory 2nd, please state what led to such conversation; state also what was Robin's purpose in such conversation in your opinion. Answer. By proposition to employ Robin and his wife, do not recollect the words, impression as above stated.

Cr. Int. 2nd.

If such conversation happened state as to which and how many of the children specified, any admission was

made, and what if anything, was said concerning each.

JOS. C. WILSON
for Counsel for Pltff.

Answer to Cr. Int. second.

Do not recollect any one of the children being named, nor do I recollect distinctly any word or words spoken; further than that the conversation between the parties left the impression on my mind that the children were to remain with Ford.

JOSEPH LANE

Sworn and subscribed before me this fifth day of July A. D. 1853

LEONARD WILLIAMS,
Justice of the Peace

[ENDORSED]

Robin Holmes vs Nath. Ford. Interrogatory. Filed
this 13 July 1853

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

Robin Holmes	)	In the matter of a writ of Habeas
vs.	)	Corpus. District Court of the
Nathaniel Ford	)	County of Polk at Chambers.

Robin Holmes the petitioner in this case respectfully shows and states to the Court the following answer to said Respondents return to said writ of Habeas Corpus, to wit: That sometime in the year 1841, said petitioner and his wife Polly were the slaves of Major Whitmore a Paymaster as petitioner was informed, in the United States Army in Howard County, Missouri, and had been the slaves of said Whitmore for the space of twelve years, next proceeding said last mentioned date. That sometime in the year 1841, said petitioner and his wife Polly were taken on a writ of execution by said Respondent who was then Sheriff of said Howard County, and sold at public vender by said Respondent, to satisfy certain debts of said Whitmores. That said petitioner and his wife Polly were bid off and purchased at said sale by a merchant, then resident of said Howard County, whose name is not now remembered by your petitioner. That the next morning after said sale, Respondent sent your petitioner to the house of said purchaser to procure a

waggon to take your petitioner and his family to the residence of said purchaser. That when your petitioner arrived at the house of said purchaser, he was informed by the wife of said purchaser that he had gone away to purchase goods, and that she knew nothing about the aforesaid purchase of your petitioner and wife Polly, your petitioner then returned to the house of said Respondent, and informed him of what had transpired at the house of said purchaser. That said respondent replied to your petitioner that he, respondent had made an arrangement to keep him and his wife Polly, and to remain with him. That your petitioner and his wife Polly serving in the service of said Respondent in Howard County aforesaid until the spring of 1844, but does not know positively whether he and his said wife were the property of and slaves of said Respondent or not, but believing at the time that he and his family were the property of Respondent, but now believes from what he has heard respondent say since, that they were not the slaves of said Respondent. That in the spring of 1844, Respondent became very much embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances and determined to emigrate to Oregon, that respondent solicited your petitioner and his wife Polly to go with him to Oregon, and represented to your petitioner that Oregon was a free country, that slavery did not exist there, and he did not think it ever would. That Respondent would take your petitioner and his wife Polly to Oregon if your petitioner and his said wife would on Respondent's arrival in Oregon assist said Respondent to open a farm and that when your petitioner and wife had assisted said Respondent as aforesaid your petitioner and wife Polly and family should be liberated and discharged absolutely from the service and controll of said Respondent. That your petitioner agreed to proposal of Respondent as aforesaid, and in pursuance of said agreement came with his wife and said Mary Jane to Oregon, with said Respondent in the year 1844. That your petitioner and family continued in the service of Respondent until the spring of 1849, a period of five years, when your petitioner requested to be discharged from the service of said Respondent. that said Respondent refused to let your petitioner and family go free, but desired your petitioner to go to the Gold mines in California and dig gold for Respondent

with Respondents son, Mark Ford, who was then in California, and that upon the return of your petitioner, Respondent would comply with his agreement aforesaid as made in Missouri and discharge and liberate your petitioner and family from the service and control of said Respondent, and further that said respondent would give your petitioner a portion of the gold that he might dig in California. That your petitioner desirous of obtaining his family without difficulty with Respondent consented to the proposition of Respondent's and in pursuance of the same did go to California in the spring of the year 1849 and worked in the gold mines for said Respondent under the control and authority, or direction, of Mark Ford aforesaid until the spring of 1850, when he returned to the house of Respondent in Oregon Territory, That during the time your petitioner was in California aforesaid, he was informed by said Mark Ford, that he your petitioner had dug and placed in his Mark Ford's hands, for Respondent about the sum of Nine hundred dollars in gold dust, besides cooking for the mess to which he your petitioner belonged.

That when your petitioner returned in the spring of 1850, as aforesaid, Respondent in violation of good conscience and the contract as afore said, refused to liberate the said Mary Jane, Roxanna, and James, children of your petitioner and his wife Polly, but permitted your petitioner and his wife and one infant child of your petitioner to leave the service of said Respondent, that your petitioner did not at that or any other time make an agreement with said Respondent or any one for him, by which said Respondent was to keep said minor children and be entitled to their service until they became of age, or for any period of time, but on the contrary claimed that they should be then liberated and delivered to your petitioner, and has ever since sought to obtain the custody and control of said children.

Your petitioner further answers and says, that said Respondent, has no legal or equitable right to the service or control of said minor children. That your petitioner does not know whether said Respondent has ever been advised to take your petitioner and his family back to Missouri and sell them into slavery or not, but he does know and states the fact to be that Respondent has often threatened to so do, for the purpose of deterring your

and cost that may accrue. And if you shall levy and make said costs do you have the same before the Judge of your District Court within and for said County of Polk on the first day of the next term of said Court, to render unto the persons entitled to the same; and have you then and there this writ.

Witness J. E. Lyle, Clerk of said Dist. Court and the seal of said court hereunto affixed Dallas, this 15th day of July A. D. 1853

J. E. LYLE

Served the within execution by collecting of Nathaniel Ford, the within amount (\$21.50) on the 9th day of November A. D. 1853.

B. F. NICHOLS
Sheriff Polk Co.

[ENDORSED]

Robin Holmes Habeas Corpus vs Nathaniel Ford.
Execution for costs.

Robin Holmes)
vs.)
Nathaniel Ford)

In the matter of a writ of Habeas
Corpus
Nathaniel Ford

You are hereby notified that I will be in attendance at the office of John E. Lyle, Clerk of the U. S. District Court for the County of Polk, on Thursday one o'clock P. M. 16th June instant, before him to take such depositions as may be required by either of said parties, to be used on the hearing of said cause before the Supreme Court of Oregon Territory, to be commenced and holden at Portland, on the third Monday of June instant. June 14th 1853.

ROBIN HOLMES
Per S. B. WOOD
His Atty.

Served the within notice on the within named Nathaniel Ford by delivering to him a true copy of said notice, June 14th A. D. 1853.

[ENDORSED]

Robin Holmes vs Nathaniel Ford. Notice to take Deposition. Filed July 13, 1853.

J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

Robin Holmes)
 vs.)
 Nathaniel Ford)

Habeas Corpus
 12th District.

This day this case came on to be heard before the said Judge at Dallas Polk Co. by the consent of parties, upon the pleadings heretofore made in the case and said Judge having heard the allegations and evidence of the petitioner and Respondent orders and decrees that the said children Jenny or Mary Jane, James and Roxanna be and they are hereby awarded to the care and custody of their parents Robin Holmes and his wife to be and remain with them as their children as fully in all respects as though they the said children had not been in the custody of the said Ford, and it is ordered and adjudged that the said Ford pay the costs of these proceedings and execution therefor.

GEO. H. WILLIAMS,
 Judge.

Robin Holmes)
 vs.)
 Nathaniel Ford)

Habeas Corpus heard before Judge
 Williams at Chambers July 13th
 1853

CLERK'S FEES

For filing 10 papers in the cause.....	\$ 1.00
Taking 4 affidavits at 50	2.00
Swearing 10 witnesses on trial	1.00
Taxing costs and drawing cost bill.....	1.00
Issuing execution	1.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 6.00

SHERIFF'S FEES

For serving writ of Habeas Corpus.....	\$ 1.00
For serving order of the judge.....	1.00
For serving copies of the above papers.....	.50
Milage for above service	1.00
Serving notice to take depositions.....	1.00

Serving copy notice to take depositions.....	.50
Milage for same .....	.50
	<hr/>
Docket fee	\$ 5.50
	<hr/>
Total	\$21.50

Hereby certify that the above is truly taken and copied
from the book.

[ENDORSED]

Robin Holmes vs Nathaniel Ford. Habeas Corpus. Order
& Decree of Judge Williams. Filed 13th July 1853.
J. E. LYLE, Clerk.

MINING LAWS OF JACKSON COUNTY, 1860-1876

With Introduction and Notes

By VERNE BLUE

One example of the interesting subjects for research that county archives offer is the mining records in those counties where mineral wealth has been an important or controlling factor in their civilization. Nowhere in the state is this more apparent than in Jackson County. It found its origin in the gold mining camps of the early fifties, a county government being erected in 1852. All interests centered in the mines and if in the passing of seventy years they have lost their dominance, the mines still remain one of the important sources of wealth to the county and of livelihood to a large portion of its people. The early history of the county could be written from the records of its mines; they are extremely valuable, usually interesting, and sometimes curious documents. A short digression describing them will not be out of place.

They consist of a series of small volumes not uniform in size, bound in board covers. The series is not complete, but it covers about twenty years from 1860 to 1880 with references to earlier dates. Volume one is one of those missing, but a large and essential part of it appears in a later volume of copies of Conveyances of Mining Property made from these general records by an order of the County Court in 1889.¹ Two or three volumes appear in the Recorder's office while the rest were dug up, here one and there another, from under the eaves of the attic in the wood shed, mingled

¹ Mining Locations and Water Rights Records, No. 1, page 1. In vault at Recorder's office. County court order for January term, 1889. The county clerk was instructed to copy into "a suitable record book all the records of mining claims and water rights which are now contained in the old volumes of such records and carefully index the same." The copies were made and the files of mining records under the title given at the first of the paragraph are complete to date, but the interest and importance of the old records which were then tossed into the discard and which only chance has preserved from destruction, is in the fact that the Mining District Laws were not copied into the new records. If there were any other important omissions only a careful reading would show, but it would seem that nothing but that for which the title called was copied.

with the chaos of other records there found. They contain Locations of Mining Property,² Water Rights, Tunnel Rights, Claims to River Bed, Bills of Sale, and Laws of Mining Camps. Here is a more informative record as to the population than the early census records give. Americans, French, Chinese, Hawaiians,³ a cosmopolitan throng, individuals and companies, march through the pages of these books. The prices of property and the rise, decline and desertion of camps can be read there. The driving of the foreigners from the mines is an important social and economic change.

The first recorded bill of sale⁴ is dated October 19, 1854. It is for mining property on Foot's Creek transferred from A. McNeil and Benjamin Armstrong to E.

² The first regular entry of which there is any record is given on page 2, Mining Locations and Water Rights Records, No. 1, and must therefore be a copy from volume one of the original Mining Records which has disappeared. It is dated Oct. 29, 1857.

"We, the undersigned, claim six claims of one hundred yards each of the Ravine running up from the notice lying southwest from Fort Lane, half way between Haynes and Evans. We intend to work said claim as soon as water will permit."

F. BEEDLE,
L. LOINE,
H. MARBLE,
T. SNYDER,
T. BOLTER,
W. STARCK.

This entry is important, for it indicates a gap of five years after the organization of the county and of six since the discovery of gold, for which there are no official records. What might be called a "freak entry" appears on the first page of Mining Conveyances and Bills of Sale Records No. 1; this is the Magruder purchase of Oct. 19, 1854. The second entry is dated 1866 and is the first of an unbroken chronological series. It was a bill of sale from Poy, a Chinaman, to a fellow countryman, Hin Hang, for property on Jackson creek; price, \$150.

³ Conveyances and Bills of Sale, Mining Record No. 1, page 29: Bill of Sale from Simon McCalester to Kanaka Jo. Sterlingville, Oregon, Nov. 21, 1862.

"This is to certify that I have this day sold and received pay for my six mining claims and my full interest in the water Ditch claims known as the Hendricks claims to Kanaka Jo for the sum of Thirty Dollars."

Same source, p. 27: To T. H. Gilson from owner of doubtful name, a claim "situated in Negroe Flat starting with diggings known as the Negroe Flat claim: Also the undivided one-half of the water ditch sold to the Kanakas by William and Simon McCalester in November, 1862." Dated Jacksonville, 1866.

In Mining Records (original), volume 2, Oct. 20, 1860: "300 yards of mining claims on Kanaka Flat adjoining the claim of Manuel (Portugee) on the lower side of his claim . . ."

Vol. 9, p. 19: "Notice is hereby given that the undersigned claims a mining claim situated on Kanaka Flat and about twenty yards from the house now occupied by us. Said claim being in a gulch and is about two hundred yards in length. Said claim is held by purchase. July 31st, 1866."

KELEIKIPI (KANAKA) AND CO.

⁴ The record of this transaction is found in a volume entitled "Mining Conveyances," Vol. 1. This first volume has on its first page the bill of sale mentioned in the text, dated 1854. On the second page the bill of sale there recorded is dated 1866, and from there on the record runs in unbroken chronological succession to 1881. Volume 2, being the same title, carries the record to 1893.

This one instance seems to indicate the peculiar things that often appear in these old documents.

Magruder for \$20. In 1866, Magruder donated the entire property to his three sons. Throughout the sixties and earlier, there were a great many sales to Chinese companies as well as to single Chinamen; for example:

Wolf Creek, August 20th, 1859.

Know all men by these presents that I the undersigned have this day sold one mining claim 150 yards together with 8 sluices, 2 picks, 2 shovels, 2 hatchets, 1 root ax, and one cabin to one Chinaman by the name of Chick, for the sum of thirty dollars.

EPHRAIM ALLEN.

Paid by cash \$4.

The other \$26 to be paid in five days.

The expansion of the mines, that is to say, the rush to a new field, can be traced in the sudden increase of notices recorded to hold claims by discovery, attended by a flock of notices claiming holdings adjacent. Into the formal legal phases one can read something of the fever of rivalry in which the golden grounds were sought and held in that frontier time. It is apparent from the records that the main interest in the sixties, particularly at the beginning, was in quartz.⁵ Some claims were held both for "mining and building purposes." Also others were taken for "mining and agricultural purposes." Along many of the creeks still linger the hillside farms and cabins of those whose grandfathers seized upon the land for mining.

Gold was not the only mineral which interested the pioneers. In volume 3, which covers 1860 from June

⁵ Vol. 3, Mining Records (original), p. 1. Notice to hold one quartz mining claim by discovery. "Notice is hereby given that the undersigned claims one quartz mining claim of 100 yards by right of discovery situated on a quartz lead known as the Spring lead on the right hand side of the road leading from the Dardanelles, about 250 yards north of the cabin belonging to Michael Moran in the Blackwell diggings commencing on the eastern side of my prospect hole on said lead and running from thence in a westerly direction with said lead 100 yards including all the dips, angles and outcroppings belonging to the same, taken under the provisions of the act of the Legislature regulating quartz mining."

June 18, 1860

PATRICK LYNCH.

Filed and recorded June 18, 1860.

WM. HOFFMAN, Recorder, Jackson County.

18, on page 59 is a notice for three claims of iron ore.⁶ A notice to hold a limestone quarry is dated Sept. 18 of the same year, the claim being somewhere "above the mouth of Dutch Creek." In the same year Sam Newhall took up a soapstone quarry on the "right hand fork of Jackson Creek and running across Kanaka Flat." Then in May and June of 1861 there was a veritable silver boom.⁷

In 1864 an Act⁸ was passed by the legislature giving authority to miners to make laws for their districts. Associations of men seem inevitably to tend to become units of government, even though these be ephemeral. There are, moreover, laws recorded or referred to for five years preceding this act of 1864. If volume one of Mining Records could be found, mining laws of the territorial period would probably appear. It is altogether likely that such laws, if sufficient unofficial sources could be uncovered, would be found to antedate county government itself. The first laws which have been found so far begin in volume 2, page 112, and bear the unattractive but suggestive name of Humbug Creek.

Some of the laws are drawn with much simplicity, others make an obvious effort to sound technically legal in phrasing, but they all show considerable perspicacity

6 Same source, p. 59: Three claims of iron ore are described in the location notice as on the "North side of Bear Creek . . . upon the trail leading from Bear Creek to the head of what is called Dry Creek. The general bearing of said Iron Ore is S E from a certain Red Oak tree marked J. H. near a Gulch." The claims belonged to James, William and George Hamlin.

7 Pages 221-226 of volume 3 are a solid silver record. The big silver lead was discovered at the head of California Beaver Creek, by A. G. Hatch, May, 1861. Shortly afterward another was opened "about one mile south of the headwaters of Elliott Creek," and a third "on Siskiyou Mountain on the divide between Elliott Creek and Beaver Creek." These three discoveries were probably the result of effort excited by the filing of a silver claim the preceding February, on Spring Gulch, running along the crest of the mountain toward Applegate creek. It was to be known as the Emerald Ledge in the Mining District of "Thompson's Creek." In all, 28 silver claims were recorded in May and June. There were more later on in the summer.

8 General Laws of Oregon, 1843-1864 (Deady), page 814, section 6. Law of Oct. 24, 1864 (in part): "Miners shall be empowered to make local laws in relation to the possession of water rights, the possession and working of placer claims and the survey and sale of town lots in mining camps, subject to the laws of the United States."

This act was entitled "An Act to establish and regulate quartz mining claims and in relation to placer claims, town sites, and water rights in mining camps." It superseded the Act of Oct. 19, 1860, which had superseded that (the first) of Jan. 21, 1859.

in meeting the needs of the makers. It is plain that there were among these early miners men with the knowledge to construct appropriate and inclusive rules for an existing situation; it would seem that it were a part of American folk-genius not to feel at home without the tangible presence of constitution and by-laws.

MINING LAWS OF HUMBUG CREEK (Vol. 2, p. 112)

Article 1st *Size of Claims*

Each man shall hold a claim 100 yards square by pre-emption and as much by purchase as he represents.

Article 2nd *Priority of Water Rights*

The oldest claim shall have the first right to the water but shall run no water by unnecessarily to keep others from using it.

Article 3rd *Necessary Work to Hold Claim*

No claim shall be considered forfeited if worked one day in every five during the time there is a good ground sluice head in the creek.

Article 4th *Restriction on Dams, Etc.*

No person or company shall put a dam, reservoir or any obstruction in the creek, provided it is a damage to those above said obstruction.

Article 5th *Flood-gate for Dams to Be Kept Open*

Any person or company putting in a reservoir shall have a flood gate five feet in breadth and three feet high [sic] which shall be kept open as long as there is a good sluice head in the creek for washing up.

Article 6th *Recorder; Fee; When Claim Must Be Recorded*

There shall be a recorder elected and he shall be allowed One dollar per claim for recording. Any person leaving the Creek to be gone two months shall have their claims recorded.

Article 7th
Judicial Power

Any person or persons violating any of these resolutions or by-laws shall abide the decision of a miners' meeting.

Article 8th
Chinese Excluded

No Chinaman shall be allowed to purchase or hold any claim on this Creek.

Article 9th
Adoption of Resolutions

Resolved, the foregoing articles shall come into effect as Laws of this Creek on or after and from the twentieth day of March A. D. 1860.

J. F. HEADRICK, Chairman,
V. P. COMSTOCK,
JAS. W. MEE,
E. THOMPSON,
Committee on Resolutions
FRANCIS SACKETT, Secretary
JOHN GOFF, Recorder.

[Filed and recorded with County Clerk, Mar. 24th, 1860]

MINING REGULATIONS OF JACKASS CREEK DIGGINGS
(Vol. 2, p. 164)

Resolutions and By-Laws of Jackass Creek from its head to the junction with Poor Man's Creek, Mar. 17, 1860. The foregoing [?] resolutions shall take effect from the 19th day of Mar. 1860.

Article 1

Each miner shall hold a claim one hundred yards square and as much by purchase as he represents.

[Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are verbatim duplicates of the Humbug Creek laws.]

After due consideration the above resolutions have been unanimously adopted.

SAMUEL HINKLEY, Chairman.
JOHN D. BUCKLEY, Secretary.
Recorder, FRANCIS LOGG.

[The interesting omission of Article 8 of the Humbug Creek Laws, that excluding Chinese, should be noted. Jackass Creek was the cosmopolitan area of Jackson

County; its records (locations, bills of sale, etc.) are a riot of foreign names. The Chinese and French element was very large. On December 25, 1861, Baptiste Escudé and B. Dusselin [?] of Jackass and Poorman's Creek are recorded as selling their mining claim, "two cabins, chickens, shovels, picks, two wheelbarrows, pans, floom [sic] and sluice boxes, etc." to China Cook and Co. for \$145.]

MINING LAWS OF KANES CREEK AND TRIBUTARIES
(Vol. 3, p. 119)

Meeting

Pursuant to a call of the miners of Kanes Creek they met at the claim of Theodore Henry, Electing James Lawler President, Theodore Henry Secretary, J. Saffell, Clerk.

Article first

Creek Claims; Working Period

Each miner shall hold one hundred yards square of the creek for mining purposes, and that it shall be worked within five days after there is a sluice head of water in the creek.

Article second

Number of Claims to Be Held

A miner shall hold one claim by location and one by purchase.

Article third

Gulch Claims

A gulch claim shall be one hundred yards long and to extend from bank to bank.

Article fourth

Bar and Hill Claims

Each miner shall hold a bar or hill claim fifty yards front and running back to the summit of the hill.

Article fifth

Ditch Restriction

No ditch shall be enlarged or dug out of the creek.

Article sixth

Sickness Privilege

No miner shall lose his claim by sickness.

J. SAFFELL, Clerk.

Nov. 15, 1860.

MINING LAWS OF FOOT'S CREEK DIGGINGS (Vol. 3, p. 153)

Jackson County, State of Oregon.

Jan. 21st, 1861.

A miners' meeting was called on the Right hand fork of Foots' Creek for the purpose of making mining laws.

Whereas W. J. Matney was elected President and G. S. Moore Secretary and Clerk.

The following resolutions were adopted

Size of Claims

1st That each and every man shall be entitled to one hundred yards up and down the Creek and fifty yards on each side up the channel of the Creek.

Discovery Claims

2nd That the discoverers G. S. Moore, J. C. Ryal and M. O'Hara shall be entitled to one discovery claim.

Necessary Work

3rd That each man or company shall hold their claim or claims by renewing their notice or representing it by work every twenty-fifth day.

Claims to Be Recorded

4th That each and every man shall have his claim recorded on the day of which he puts up his first notice, to be recorded by the clerk elected on the Creek for that purpose.

Clerk's Fee

5th It is the duty of the Clerk to record all claims for which applications may be made on said right hand fork of Foots Creek for which service he shall be entitled to One dollar for each and every claim so recorded by said Clerk.

Change of Laws

6th That the above laws shall not be changed except by unanimous consent of all the miners on said right hand fork of Foots Creek.

The above laws passed by unanimous consent of the following named persons

H. D. MATNEY
G. S. MOORE
J. C. RYAL
ISAAC TATOM
MONROE O'HARA
I. D. OSBORNE
PETER S. ENYART
JAMES TATOM
JOHN OSBORN
A. WHITSER
J. M. MATNEY

MINING LAWS OF LOWER JACKASS CREEK (Vol. 4)

Pursuant to notice the Miners met at the house of Wm. Bryce & Co. for the purpose of enacting laws for the Lower Jackass and adopted the following.

Article 1st. This creek from the forks of Jackass & Poor Mans Creek near Logtown to its Junction with Applegate shall be called Lower Jackass.

Article 2nd. Creek claims shall consist of one hundred yards running up and down the stream and two hundred yards wide.

Article 3rd. Any person or persons may be entitled to only one claim by location and one or more by purchase, said claims may be attached together and held as one claim.

Article 4th. A claim shall not be considered jumpable if worked one day in ten from the first December to the first of April, and shall not be considered jumpable the volume of the year if not represented.

Article 5th. Each company shall have the right to a claim, run through next claim or claims below.

Article 6th. All miners shall have the right of any fantail boom or sluices through the next claim, or claims below, Provided it does not interfere with the working of said claims.

Article 7th. No miner or company of miners shall have the right to put in a dam or other obstruction in the Creek.

Article 8th. All miners when leaving the claims shall be required to post a notice on their claims stating the boundaries of said claims.

Article 9th. Motion that the President appoint a Recorded for this Mining District, which he proceeded to do by appointing Wm. Ray as Recorder.

Article 10th. All former laws of this Creek are hereby repealed.

Resolved that these laws take effect from and after the 20th day of Feb. 1863.

J. B. IRVINE,
Chairman.

D. K. HENDERSON, Secretary.

[It would be interesting to know if this represents a secession from the "Jackass Creek Diggings" district. Article 10 could be a "secession ordinance" as much as it could indicate previous laws of a separate district. It is quite certain that by 1864 Jackass Creek seems to have been almost completely given up to Chinamen; almost the only names appearing are such as Lin and Co., Tan and Co., Wong and Co., Lo and Co., Hing Foo and Co. But in that case it is odd that no definite article was made excluding Chinese, if this were an effort to save a portion of the creek to the white men.]

MINING LAWS OF WINES CAMP (Vol. 9, p. 121)

Mar. 18, 1867,

Art. 1. Resolved that this camp be called Wines' Camp.

Art. 2. Resolved that the boundaries of this Mining Camp shall commence at the mouth of Fall Creek and include all of the upper waters of Jump Off Jo.

Art. 3. Resolved, the size of a claim in the Creek and the Gulch shall be one hundred yards up and down the creek and one hundred yards wide, also the same size in the Gulch, a Hill claim shall be one hundred yards front on the Creek or Gulch and run back to the summit of the hill.

Art. 4. Resolved, a miner shall be entitled to three claims in this camp, one in the Creek, one in the Gulch and one in the hill.

Art. 5. Resolved, [when] a company of two or more persons take claims in this camp, each member shall be present when his notice is put up.

Art. 6. Resolved that all bills of sale given prior to the adoption of these mining laws shall be void in this Mining Camp with the exception of the bill of sale

passed between M. Osterberg and H. Wines, on the tenth day of December eighteen hundred sixty six.

Art. 7. Resolved, All claims in this camp shall not be considered workable until the 15th day of May 1867.

Art. 8. All claims when workable shall be held by one days work in ten being performed on each claim.

Art. 9. And all claims shall be considered workable when there is a sluice head of water on them after the fifteenth day of May 1867.

Art. 10. And every miner shall be entitled to a drain to his claim through the claim below his if necessary.

Art. 11. All tailings thrown upon another miner's ground shall be removed if necessary by the owners of the claim that put them there.

Art. 12. Resolved, there shall be a recorder elected for this mining camp, whose duty it shall be to record all bills of sale and claims.

Art. 13. And it shall be the duty of every man taking up claim or claims, to have his claim or claims recorded within fifteen days after taking them up, except the claims taken prior to the adoption of these laws which shall be recorded within twenty days after taking up.

Art. 14. Resolved that the sale or transfer of a claim in this miners camp shall not be valid unless said claim is first recorded, except the sale of M. Osterberg to H. Wines.

Art. 15. Resolved that the Recorder shall receive one dollar for each claim and each bill of sale he shall record.

Art. 16. Resolved that Henry Wines, the discoverer of this mining camp shall be entitled to a Discovery claim in the Creek and one in the Gulch.

Art. 17. Resolved that these mining laws be recorded on the Records of Jackson County Oregon.

President, NELSON McDONALD.

Secretary, D. H. SEXTON.

[See "Record of meeting to repeal or revise the Mining Laws of Wines Diggings."]

MINING LAWS OF BOARDMAN'S DIGGINGS

(Vol. 9, pp. 154-156)

State of Oregon, Jackson County,

Louse Creek, April the 16, 1867.

Pursuant to a public notice a meeting of the miners on Louse Creek was held in the house of Boardman and

Van Peer, Apr. the 6, 1867, for the purpose of enacting laws to govern the mining camp, when the following proceedings were had. On motion of Mr. Plymale, J. B. Wrisley was elected President of the meeting and on motion of Mr. Wheeler, Henry Van Peer was elected secretary.

Resolved, that this camp be called Boardman's Diggings;

Art. 1. The jurisdiction of this mining camp shall extend from the crossing of the old state road of Louse Creek up Louse Creek to its source, including all of its tributaries, gulches, hills, and Ravines to the summit of the mountain on each side.

Art. 2. All creek claims shall be 100 yards long extending on the Creek and 100 yards wide.

Art. 3. Each miner shall be entitled to three claims, a creek claim, a bank claim and a gulch claim.

Art. 4. All bank or hill claims shall be 100 yards square.

Art. 5. Gulch claims shall be 100 yards long, extending on the gulch and 75 yards wide.

Art. 6. Miners or companies owning claims of each class, either of them working on one claim should represent all.

Art. 7. All creek claims shall be workable from the first of June until the first of December. All other claims shall be workable when there is water to work the same.

Art. 8. Miners owning more than one claim of each class by purchase shall represent all their claims by working on any one of them.

Art. 9. All claims shall be recorded in thirty days after it is located, or it shall be void after this date.

Art. 10. No person shall put tailings on another's claim without their consent.

Art. 11. Each miner shall have the privilege of cutting a drain or race through another's claim.

On motion Henry Van Peer was elected Deputy Recorder, whose business it is to record all claims and transmit a copy to the County Clerk.

On motion of Mr. Wheeler the meeting adjourned.

J. B. WRISLEY, President.

HENRY VAN PEER, Sec't.

MINING LAWS OF LOWER STERLING CREEK DIST. (Vol. 9)

At a meeting of the miners of Lower Sterling Creek District. Met pursuant to previous notice. Met on the fifteenth day of January 1867. When the laws of Oct. the first 1859 were declared null and void and the following laws were enacted.

Sec. 1. The title of this Mining District shall be known as the "Lower Sterling Creek District" and lying from the mouth of Demming Creek to the mouth of Sterling Creek.

Sec. 2. Each miner is entitled to hold by preemption one Creek claim one hundred yards long including the flats or bars of said creek on each side of the creek.

Sec. 3. Flat or hill claims to be one hundred yards square.

Sec. 4. Each miner is entitled to hold by preemption in addition to the said Creek claims, one flat, hill, or gulch claim, the gulch claim to be 100 yards long and 60 yards wide.

Sec. 5. Any man holding claims in this district is required to put up notices describing the same and if he does not work them, he is required to renew the notices once a month.

Art. 6. Any man can hold claims by purchase by renewing the notices once a month, in addition to his preemption claim.

Sec. 7. Any change in the laws of this district must be made by giving ten days notice.

Signed by

LYMAN CHAPPELL
R. I. CAMERON
NEWTON O. HASKINS
WM. HASKINS
THEODORE CAMERON
L. PHILLIPS
R. PHILLIPS

RECORD OF MEETING TO REPEAL OR REVISE THE MINING LAWS OF WINES DIGGINGS (Vol. 9, p. 195)

Pursuant to notice a miners meeting was held in Wines Diggings May 1, 1867 for the purpose of revising or repealing section "8" of the existing laws, at which the following proceedings were had.

On motion J. P. Blalock was appointed president of the meeting and John M. Roberts secretary. On motion a committee of three was appointed to draft resolutions.

Messrs [?] Manry, Risley, and Spaulding (the committee) offered the following Resolutions which were read and adopted—yeas 24, noes 16.

Resolved that any persons holding claims in the camp by location and continuously working one claim of either class shall renew their notices on the others every thirty days, counting from the 15 May 1867. The renewal shall be by writing upon said notice "Renewed" with the date of so doing, and it shall be sufficient to hold the same.

Parties holding claims by purchase in excess of the number they have a right to locate shall work upon each one day in ten—except when claims so held join—when the working of one shall apply to the others.

J. P. BLALOCK,
President.

JOHN M. ROBERTS,
Secretary.

WINES CAMP, MINERS' MEETING (Vol. 10, p. 20)

At a Meeting held in Wines Camp at Messrs [?] Plymale and Co. House, pursuant of notice of the 7th of May 1867 by the miners of said camp, Geo. T. Sullivan was called to the chair and C. P. Pendleton chosen secretary to decide whether this camp is an old or a new one. After hearing the evidence the meeting passed the following resolutions by voting by ballot.

1st. Resolved that Henry Wines the reputed discoverer of this camp is not entitled to discovery claims.

2nd. Resolved that a minor under the age of Fifteen years is not entitled to hold mining claims in this camp.

3rd. Resolved that article 14 in the present laws of this camp is hereby repealed.

There being no further business before the meeting on motion it was adjourned sine die.

Wines Camp, Ogn
May 11, 1867

GEO. T. SULLIVAN, Chairman
CHAS. P. PENDLETON, Sec.

MINING LAWS OF COYOTA [COYOTE] CREEK, OREGON
(Vol. 10, pp. 97-99)

Aug. 10, 1867.

Pursuant to call the miners of Coyota Creek met at MacWilliams and Co's cabin to make laws concerning said District—Charles Benson in the chair, J. B. Hannum [or Hannam ?] Sec.—Joseph Moran, Recorder.

Resolved—That this district be confined to the portion of Coyota Creek in Jackson Co. and its tributaries.

Article 1st

Creek claims shall be one hundred yards long and from bank to bank.

Article 2nd

Gulch claims shall be one hundred yards long and fifty yards from the center of the gulch on each side.

Article 3d

Bench or flat claims shall be one hundred yards front and two hundred yards back into the flat.

Article 4th

Hill claims shall be one hundred yards front running back to the center of the hill.

Article 5th

Creek claims shall be represented from the 1st Dec. to the 1st June.

Article 6th

Gulch claims shall be represented from the 1st Dec. to the 1st April.

Article 7

Bench or flat claims shall be represented from the 1st Dec. to the 1st June.

Article 8

One person can hold two claims by location provided they are not both of the same class of the above mentioned claims.

Article 9

No person or persons in this Dist. shall sell his or their claims unless they have done work on the same to the amt. of fifty dollars.

Article 10

Any person or persons leaving their claim or claims for the period of ten days, unless in the case of sickness,

when the laws require the claims to be represented shall thereby forfeit the same.

CHARLES BENSON, President.

JOHN B. HANNAM, Secretary.

Filed and recorded in Mining Records of Jackson County Oregon at 10 o'clock A. M. August 13, 1867.

MINING LAWS OF COYOTE DISTRICT (Vol. 10, p. 161)

1st Resolved each miner can hold one Hundred yards up and down the Creek and one hundred yards from the center of the flat by preemption.

2nd Resolved, claims must be worked when water will permit, or if left more than ten days shall be considered deserted unless in case of sickness.

3rd Resolved, all Gulches in this District shall be the same as the Creek claims.

4th Resolved, the Discoverer of new Diggings shall be entitled to one Claim Extra.

5th Resolved, all claims bought or preempted previous to the adoption of the above laws shall be considered right and respected.

6th Resolved, Each miner can hold a hill claim apart from his Creek claim until it can be worked.

Adopted at a miners' meeting held at the Store on the 21st April 1860.

HENRY SMITH, Chairman.

DAVID FERGUSON, Sec't.

At a Miners' Meeting held at the store May 4th 1861, Mr. Lindskeog in the chair it was resolved that claims lay over from June the first until Dec. the first.

D. FERGUSON, Sec't.

Filed for record, Aug. 26, 1867, and recorded the same day.

W. H. HYDE, Co. Clerk.

MINING LAWS OF COYOTA CREEK (Vol. 11, p. 81)

Coyota Creek, Mar 13, 1867

At a Meeting held by the miners of Coyota Creek

Article 1st

Be it resolved that the mining law in regard to Gulch, Hill, and Bench claims be represented from the first of December until the fifteenth of March.

Article 2

Be it resolved further that all laws in relation to laying aside Gulch, Hill and Bench claims be, and the same hereby are, repealed.

Article 3

On motion the foregoing Laws were made a part of the Mining laws of Coyota Creek passed on the tenth day of August 1867. On motion meeting adjourned.

C. BENSON, President.

WM. C. HOLMES.

MINING LAWS STEAMBOAT MINING DISTRICT
(Vol. 11, pp. 82-86)

At a miners meeting held Steamboat City, Jackson County Oregon April 30, 1869, M. F. Alcorn was elected President and H. W. Tuttle, secretary.

The following mining laws were adopted.

Art. 1st

This District to be known as the "Steamboat Mining District" comprises the following territory, to wit:—Beginning at the head of the Cañon on Carberry Fork of Applegate River about two and one-half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) miles below the mouth of Brush Creek including all of said Carberry Fork, and its tributaries from said cañon to its head.

Art. 2

A mining claim to comprise one hundred (100) yards in length up and down the stream, flat, or channel. River or creek claim to consist of the present bed, low bars, and low channels, flat or high bar claims (in width) from the high bedrock out of the river or creek to the raising bedrock of the mountain or hill. Gulch claims. the bed, bars, and banks. Hill claims, all the channel or wash.

Art. 3

A person is entitled to three claims by preemption as follows: One (1) in the bed of River or creek, One (1) on a Flat; One (1) in a gulch or hill, as many by purchase as he wishes.

Art. 4

All claim or claims shall be taken up by notices and Recording. There shall be two (2) notices, one for each end of the claim or claims, placed as conspicuous as

possible with the date and name or names or the preemptor or preemptors thereon. Said notice and recording to hold good for ten (10) days if the ground is workable at the time of preemption. If not workable until it is workable and ten (10) days thereafter.

Art. 5

Each claim to be represented by one day's labor in ten (10) days if workable unless said claims have been opened and worked with sluices or other machinery, by leaving the sluices or machinery on the claim or claims, holds them good for three (3) months, provided the owner or owners are not working a similar class of claim or claims elsewhere by preemption. Any person or persons having river claim or claims have a right to remove their sluices and to work the same during low water but shall state the case by a written Notice in the vacated works. When two or more claims lay together and are owned by the same owner or owners work on any one of said claims is equivalent to working on all. All claim or claims when water is to be brought on by damming, ditching, or by other artificial means for their working, to be considered workable at all times. All ditching or other preparatory works toward mining to be considered as working on the claim or claims.

Art. 6

No person or persons have a right to put in dam or dams, dump or obstruct any claim or claims in any manner whatsoever if it be possible without too much expense to work their claim or claims in any other way with equal facility and profit. Where any person or persons owning claim or claims and are dumping or have in dams or other works necessary for the working of their claim or claims such ground as such dams or other works obstruct to be considered not vacant.

Art. 7

The oldest claim to have prior right to water, dumping, damming, etc.

Art. 8

All disputes arising in regard to title or the working of any claim or claims to be left to referees, each party choosing one, a miner; the two chosen ones to choose a third. All of said referees shall reside and have a claim in this Mining District. The duty of said Referee shall

be to hear the evidence and statements bearing upon the case before them and decide the question or questions involved. If either party feel aggrieved at the decision rendered, have a right and can appeal to a general miners' meeting of the district. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to write out three notices calling said meeting giving at least two days notice.

Art. 9

No deed or sale of a claim to be considered valid unless the claim or claims have been preempted in accordance with the laws and customs of the mining district and further said preemptor or preemptors shall have worked or cause to be worked to the amount of Twenty (20) Dollars on said claim or claims.

Art. 10

Any person or persons Discovering New Diggings in any River, Creek, Gulch, Flat, or Hill in this District shall be entitled to an Extra Claim of One hundred (100) yards.

Art. 11

All mining laws or customs heretofore Existing in this Mining District not in accordance with the above laws are hereby repealed and are now and henceforth null and void.

Steamboat City April 3, 69.

M. F. ALCORN, Prest.

H. W. TUTTLE, Sec.

H. W. Tuttle was elected Recorder for one year.

MINING LAWS OF UNION TOWN (Vol. 12, pp. 64-66)

July 2, 1870

Agreeable to a call issued through the notices duly posted on the 19th ultimo a miners' meeting organized at T. Cameron's store and elected J. W. Burrill chairman, and W. A. A. Hamilton, Clerk. A motion was made and carried that a new Mining District be organized and named and known as the Union Town Mining District.

It was moved and carried that said Mining District will be bounded on the north by the Jackass Mining District, on the East by the Lower Sterlingwell District, on the South by the Comstock Ditch Dam, and on the

West by the summit of the mountains bordering on the main stream of the Applegate.

A motion was made and carried that a Recorder be elected for said Mining District; in conformity with the above F. M. Smith was put in nomination and duly elected.

It was moved and carried that the following articles be and are adopted as the By-Laws of said Union Town Mining District.

Article 1st

The Hill or gravel lead claims shall consist of two hundred yards in length, and to comprise the entire width of the channel or gravel lead.

Art. 2

That Bar claims bordering on the main streams shall consist of two hundred yards in length and comprise the entire width of said Bars.

Art. 3

That creek claims shall consist of two hundred yards in length and comprise the width of the bed of the Creek.

Art. 4

That Gulch claims shall consist of two hundred yards in length and fifty yards in width on each side from the center of said gulches.

Art. 5

That all miners shall be entitled to hold one Hill claim, one Creek claim, one Bar claim, and one Gulch claim, and that any miner shall be entitled to hold by location one claim (in addition to those that the above articles allow) for the discovery of new mines.

Art. 6

That miners shall hold their claims of all classes by posting up one notice on said claims in a conspicuous place and by having said claims recorded in the Recorder of the said Mining District office and that a renewal of said notices at said Recorder's office once in every six months will hold said claims and that neglect to comply with said requirements will show by Records Books that claims so neglected are abandoned.

Art. 7

That the Recorder of said Mining District shall be entitled to receive as fees fifty cents for recording each claim of two hundred yards in length and twenty-five cents for each renewal.

[No signatures.]

BOUNDARIES OF CAMPBELL MINING DISTRICT "GOOSE LAKE VALLEY" (Vol. 12, p. 119)

Goose Lake Valley Oregon
Dec. 25, 1871.

Silas J. Day Co. Clerk

Jackson Co. Ore. Sir

You are hereby notified that at a miners' meeting held this day at the residence of Joseph Cooksey at which twenty persons were present who are interested in mines—a mining district was formed to be known as the "Campbell Mining District," and bounded as follows viz. Commencing at the mouth of Drews Creeks and running due west to the mountains beyond Sand Creek, thence northerly along said summit to a point due west of the summit between Chewacan and Goose Lake valley, thence to said summit and along the same easterly to the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains, thence southerly along said summit to Bullard's canyon; thence westerly down said canyon to the foothills of Goose Lake valley, thence along said foothills southerly to the south side of Martin Creek, thence down the south bank westerly to Goose Lake and across said Lake to the mouth of Drews Creek [to] the place of commencement, being all in Jackson county, State of Oregon.

In witness whereof we have set our hands this 25th Day of December, 1871.

JAS. SMITH, President.

CHAS. A. COGSWELL, Recorder.

Goose Lake Valley, Jan. 8, 1872.
(Vol. 12)

Silas J. Day, Co. Clerk

Jackson Co. Oregon Sir

You are hereby notified that at a miners' meeting held at the residence of Ira Cogswell, Esq., on the 23 Inst [something very odd about dates: Marginal note by County Clerk reads, "Filed for record Jan. 2, A. D.

1872"] a miners district was formed to be known as the Goose Lake Mining District and bounded as follows, viz., commencing at the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains on the California and Oregon State Line and running due west to Goose Lake along the Lake westerly to the mouth of Barton Creek, thence along the south branch of said creek to the foothills of Goose Lake valley, thence northerly along said foothills to Bullard's canyon, thence easterly up said canyon to the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains, thence southerly along said summit to the State Line to the place of commencement, being all in Jackson county, State of Oregon. In witness whereof me have set our names this 8th day of Jan. A. D. 1872.

CHAS. A. COGSWELL, President.

M. J. COGSWELL, Recorder.

LOUSE CREEK MINING LAWS (Vol. 14, p. 62-63)

In pursuance to a call made Feb. 3, 1875

The Miners of Louse Creek and vicinity met at W. Kahlers for the purpose of organizing a Mining District and electing a local Recorder. On motion of E. Dimick, William Kahler was chosen chairman. On motion of H. Van Pier E. Dimick was chosen secretary.

It was moved and carried that the boundaries of our District be as follows: Commencing at the mouth of Evans Creek Jackson County, Oregon, running up Evans Creek taking in the west tributaries of Evans Creek to the mouth of Pleasant Creek, thence up Pleasant Creek to the mouth of Ditch Creek, thence up Ditch Creek to its head taking in the west tributaries of Ditch Creek; thence north to the headwaters of Jump Off Jo, thence down Jump Off Jo to the county line, taking in the south tributaries of Jump Off Jo, thence following the county line to Rogue River, thence up Rogue River to the mouth of Evans Creek, to be called the Louse Creek District.

On motion H. Van Pier was elected Recorder.

It was moved and carried that the lower ledge be called the Boardman ledge, and the upper ledge be called the Van Pier, the third and lowest ledge be called the Last Chance, all of the above ledges being situated on the northwest side of Elk Mountain.

It was the request of the meeting that the County

Clerk appoint H. Van Pier Deputy Clerk for this District. Grants Pass, Feb. 11, 1875.

WM. KAHLER,
Chairman.

E. DIMICK,
Secretary.

MINING LAWS OF JACKASS AND POORMAN'S CREEK
(Vol. 15, p. 165)

Miners' Meeting

House of Miller and Savage

Jackass Creek, Feby. 21st, 1876.

Pursuant to public notice the miners of Jackass and Poorman's Creek, Jackson County, Oregon, met at the above named place for the purpose of revising and amending the mining laws of Jackass Mining District and organized by the election of Wm. Miller as chairman and Jesse Titus, secretary.

The object of the meeting having been stated on motion a committee of five consisting of Francis Logg, James McDonnell, John McKee, Daniel Hopkins and Jesse Titus were appointed to draft By-Laws and regulations to govern said Mining District, who after a short recess submitted the following report, which was on motion received and the committee discharged.

Sec. 1. That the Mining Districts of Poorman's Creek and Jackass Creek shall be consolidated and the same shall include these creeks and all the tributaries and gulches from their source in the mountains to their confluence with Applegate.

Sec. 2. All the rules and regulations and By-Laws of the Districts of Jackass and Poormans Creek are hereby repealed and the following passed in lieu thereof:

Sec. 3. A mining claim in this district shall be one hundred yards square.

Sec. 4. Each person shall be allowed to hold one creek claim and one bank claim by location.

Sec. 5. Any eligible miner shall be allowed to hold as many claims by purchase as he will represent and work according to these rules and Bylaws.

Sec. 6. No Mongolian or alien who has not declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States shall ever hold or work any mining claim in this district.

Sec. 7. If any person or company or corporations shall employ Mongolians or aliens until he declare his

intention to become a citizen of the United States to work any mining claim for one month it shall be forfeiture of the claim and any citizen of the United States or eligible foreigner who has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States may locate and hold the same at any time before the entry is made at the land office for a patent.

Sec. 8. If any person or company or corporation shall employ a Chinaman who was not in Oregon at the time of the adoption of the constitution of Oregon to work any mining claim or claims for ten days before the entry of the same at the land office it shall be a forfeiture of the claim or claims and the same may be located and held by any citizen of the United States or any eligible foreigner who has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States.

Sec. 9. Every person or persons owning a mining claim or claims shall do or cause to be done one day's work in each and every week for each and every mining claim he or they claim as long as there is a sluice head of water in the creek, provided the claim or claims are so situated that the water can be got upon them; and provided, if the claims are together the work may be done upon any one of them.

Sec. 10. No person shall divert the water of either creek to the injury of the claim or claims of any person below.

Sec. 11. No person or company or corporation shall erect a dam or reservoir or other obstruction in the creek which shall work any injury to claimants.

Sec. 12. Any person or company or corporation putting in a reservoir shall have a floodgate which shall be five feet in breadth and three feet in height and shall keep the same open as long as there is a ground sluice head of water in the creek.

Sec. 13. As there is a dispute in regard to bank claims these rules and regulations shall take effect and be in force from and after their passage.

Sec. 14. These rules and regulations shall not be amended or repealed until after notice of the miner's meeting shall be published in the Jacksonville papers for four consecutive weeks and the notices also posted up in three conspicuous places in the district.

On motion the rules and Bylaws reported by the committee were adopted by a unanimous vote. On motion the proceedings of this meeting were ordered published in the Oregon Sentinel and Democratic Times for four weeks and that copies of the same be posted in the District at three conspicuous places.

On motion it was ordered that a copy be furnished the County Clerk to put upon record in his office.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

W. C. MILLER, Chairman.

JESSE TITUS, Secretary.

LETTERS OF THE REV. WILLIAM M. ROBERTS
THIRD SUPERINTENDENT OF THE OREGON MISSION

Third Installment

Edited by ROBERT MOULTON GATKE

To the Cor Secy of the Missy Socy of the M. E. Church
Salem Oregon Territory April 24, 1849

Rev Dr. Pitman

Dear Bro.

Your letters of Sep 30th Oct 12th, Nov 16 & 24th 1849 were received on the 10th Inst. I now desire to answer such parts as relate to the Oregon Institute. I learn a resolution was passed by the Board Sep 21st, 1848. "That provided the Oregon Institute comes into the possession of the Missy. Socy. A teacher be sent out as soon thereafter as practicable" and that Bro. Roberts be instructed "to repurchase free from restrictions." At a subsequent meeting. It was resolved "that it was inexpedient at present to make the purchase". and that this last action was brought about by the representations of Captain Gelston who had been on the ground and had seen the building. You most cordially invite me to express my mind on this question at the earliest opportunity. I shall certainly do so without reserve. And I desire first of all to say I am *extremely sorry* the board passed this last resolution, and *extremely mortified* that it done so for such a reason. Our cherished hopes in regard to this Institution are seriously interfered with for months to come, and that interference effects our general work. We had hoped, that a teacher would have reached us this summer or at latest by autumn, but now we can entertain no hope of relief until these dispatches reach the states, and then almost any thing but *prompt* and available relief. I said it was mortifying that such a resolution was passed for such a reason. In previous communications I have referred to the repurchase and occupancy of the Oregon Institute in terms of such unmistakable plainness as fully to commit myself in favor of both. Perhaps I have perpetrated no special pleading in the case, because I did not deem it necessary. But you are entirely correct in understanding me to be favourable to its repurchase, and being placed under the control of the Missy. Board or an annual conference if one is established.

Nor were these conclusions made hastily. I am on the ground, and here for the express purpose of examining into this vital matter, instructed particularly by the Board on this very subject to enquire and report. Such enquiry was made and the report acted upon by the Board favourably. But presently along comes Captain Gelston his representations differ from those of the Superintendant as darkness from light and the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal take his *hasty illadvised representations* in preference to those of the Superintendant and immediately retraces its steps. This is wrong, and these lines are penned with the sincere hope that this thing will come to a "perpetual end." Captain Gelston is a good brother in my opinion, and honest, talented, pious man but he *prejudges everything*. The majority of men would not come to their *conclusions*, more correctly than he, if they all travelled the same road. He arrives at them all by the process that Logicians call a "*Jump*" no man will regret more than he the evil results of his blunder in this case; I received a letter from him when I received yours in which he details his representation before the Board. I have replied to him expostulating with and telling him I want no better advocate than he, provided he will come and patiently investigate the entire subject.

You will be surprised when you learn the Captain was never in the building at all, and not within a hundred yards of it. He started from Oregon City with Capt. Crosby rode to the house of Brother Wilber (which is within 300 yds of the Institute) a distance of 50 miles in less than a day rested a while and just before night the horses were again saddled they rode down to Salem, and around a little while looking at a distance from their horses (and the Capt had't his glass) at the Institute returned at dark, and next morning rode down to Oregon City and that is all the Captain was ever on the ground or saw of the buildings. But enough of the Captain. It is a question of grave importance as to what the Board ought to do when some transient letter-writer who goes through the country on a gallop, expresses views that are contrary to the representations of their otherwise agent. Doubtless there are and will be letter-writers whose communications are by no means intended to edify Methodism in Oregon. If our friends occasionally miss

the mark what may be expected from others. And if these reports are to have an influence similar to this our Situation will be sufficiently embarrassing If in all this plain expression of plain truth I am in error "Let the Righteous smite me; it shall be a kindness; and him reprove me; It shall be an excellent Oil which shall not break my head."

I will now proceed to give the "fullest elaboration" of the whole subject my time will allow. Accompanying this letter is a rough pencil sketch of the building presenting a ground plan simply of the 1st 2nd and 3d stories, and the dimensions of the building. You will see what parts are finished the uses to which the building is appropriated &c I think it was erected in 1842 or 3. Broth Hines I think was the architect or had a principal hand in superintending it. It is a good building, good frame so far as I can judge, and well put together It may well be doubted if there was any considerable exhibition of economy in the erection. Where the Ls or wings join the main building the pitch of the roof is thrown against the main building most unwisely and this occasions some leakage in the heavy rains of winter. The belfrey leaks a little also. The gables are not regularly finished & painted as is the rest of the building only roughly boarded up; the cornice is not done There is no base-board and full half of the sash for the third story is missing.

There is no lime and mortar on any wall in the house. Those parts which are finished are ceiled with boards and some considerable expenditure will be necessary to finish the building but I should think from one to two thousand dollars would be alsufficient to finish it, It is not in ruins. IT IS NOT [being] INJURED BY THE RAINS. We do not let property go to waste after that fashion and it looks 50 per cent better than it did two years ago but their is great room for improvement and soon as practicable some considerable amount of work should be done. A cardinal error was committed in not having ONE LARGE ROOM about the premises the chapel on the 1st floor and the school rooms on the 2nd are 24 by 17 each and these are the largest. As yet we have no church in Salem & the Chapel in the Institute is the church, when a building for a church proper will be commenced I cannot tell but our rooms are too small for the accomodation of the people. Con-

nected with the building is a reserve of 60 acres forming the South East corner (nearly) of the entire claim of 640 acres. The entire claim is held by Wm. H. Wilson for which he is to receive one undivided third but on this reserve he has no claim for 1 third as he has per agreement July 11th 1847 on the other part for holding the claim and getting a title from the United States. You are aware from my previous communication of my strong objection to his holding it after this fashion for such a compensation. NO MAN OUGHT TO HAVE A PRIVATE FUND ON PROPERTY IN A PUBLIC INSTITUTION. It will always be a *drawback* in every case. I have done all I could to induce him to give it up and let me or some one else hold it for the church gratuitously but in vain. My dissatisfaction with the tenure may be unnecessary. The arrangement was entered into with good faith under Bro Gary's superintendence and was thought to [be] best for the security of the property. If I can copy the two bonds I hold in relation to the property I will do so but I am overwhelmed with business. The one given by Leslie, Wilson, Beers, & Abernethy for \$4437.83 The other by Wilson to pay all the debts of the Institution and restore two thirds of the claim when a title is perfected with these you can see with clearness into the somewhat complicated position of the affair growing first out of the *illadvised sale of the Institute* it ought to have been kept by all means, and *secondly* by the most unfortunate fact that every claim under the Organic Law must be held by some one private person, as the Legislature would not incorporate any trustees who could hold property in trust for any purpose whatever. No doubt need be entertained for a moment as to the safety of the Money [owed to] the Institute, none whatever, for it will be payed unquestionably The property is valuable and increasing in value every day, The *Location is admirable*, The land good for the purposes for which it is needed, and in the *Absence of blunders and mismanagement* both here and with the Board may with God's blessing be made available for the most valuable purposes.

That you may see the position of the land and Institute buildings and town of Salem I shall forward to you if possible a *Plot* of the claim a *front Elevation* of the building with the simple remark that my *Artistic* skill is exceedingly humble and unpretending. With these

remarks upon the land and buildings I will now turn to the points more particularly named in your letter. That you should entertain some fears for the Board to involve itself is not surprising to me at all. It took me a number of months patient watching and study here on the premises before I was prepared to occupy any very decided position. But I now think there is no fear of taking any such action as may be recommended in these papers. There is reason to watch closely—guard carefully—question fully, and advise as understandingly as the nature of the case will allow. That there is no reason to fear pecuniary responsibility in the case is obvious from the fact that under the present administration the Institute is *paying off all its debts* has money or wheat on hand and supporting itself *in Every Particular* you will perceive from the minutes that James H. Wilber, is principal with his Lady as assistant and they have a most superiour School there are two departments a primary one taught by Mrs Wilber numbering 36 Students at 2.50 pr quarter of 11 weeks, and a higher department taught by the principal with 42 students at 3.50 & 4.50 pr quarter total number of students 76. Badly as Broth Wilbers services are needed *in the work of the ministry proper* I am compelled to consent for him to labour in the Institute and all his powers physical mental and spiritual and all the capabilities of his beloved wife are tasked to utmost compared to the importance of more immediately training the intellect and Heart this cannot be effected without money Our Church by preoccupation has an undoubted right to stand upon vantage ground in this particular but rather than *retard* the work or *predudice* the kindred questions of education and piety *I would let all land claims & town sites go to Indians or speculators in up town lots* and throw our cause at once upon the community at once for patronage and support Therefore let not the question of sending a teacher depend on the repurchase of the property, by all means do the one and I think you will perceive that more than all his salary, even at the present low prices (Low for Oregon) will be paid by the bills of tuition. But were it not so, if every part of the salary of the teacher must be paid by the Miss.y Soc.y. I should think a teacher ought to be sent from the States and sustained by the Board for this purpose. Every other School in the Territory charges nearly twice as much as we for tuition. Our

true policy is to *finish the building. Sustain the School most thoroughly with the very best teachers* that can be provided and then when everything is put in the most inviting and attractive form possible *make the bill of tuition so low* that it will allow even poverty itself to come and enjoy the abundant advantages offered by Methodists to the youth of Oregon. It is both wise and important that the MissY. SocY. should connect with the Missionary enterprise *proper* in Oregon a direct control of Educational matters "in my opinion." "To what extent" this should be carried is a question more difficult to answer. Perhaps the following thoughts will be in place. The Oregon Institute ought to be under our control in its several department of *Instruction*, of *Finance*, and *Religious influence*. The principal should be a married man of a family if his wife could take hold of some department in the Institute so much the better (But the mistress of a family in Oregon has her hands full without teaching) he should be not a whit behind the very chiefest in literary abilities & scholarship. A Minister of the Methodist Episcopal (Itinerant of course). This man should be able to fall back on the MissY. SocY. for support if a deficiency exists at any time; but in all probability unless the funds should temporarily be appropriated to the finishing of the building, no such deficiency will occur.

If when he comes some enterprising young man of education would volunteer on his own resources to come and fill such post in Educational matters as might be vacant he might usefully labor. If you were here you would say a school ought to be started in Oregon City on private responsibility to furnish educational facilities, *Else the public and some of our people too will take up with the pressing and attractive invitations of the papists to send to their schools.* Every device that gowned priests and wily Jesuits and Ladies Superior and Sisters of charity can lay under contribution is *Even now* held out to induce protestants to send to their school. And hence I answer your question promptly "Our refusal to connect this interest with our other operations will have a tendency to throw the literary training of this rapidly increasing population into the hands of the Roman Catholics and thereby give them an influence over the public mind which will prove greatly injurious to our future success." "Our refusal to take back the Oregon Insti-

tute *will not* subject us to the loss of the whole amount for which it was sold" nor to any part of it unless the loss should arise out of the following consideration which I now allude to with some solicitude to know what would be exactly right in the premisis. The act of Congress passed Aug. 14th 1848 contains the following clause "And provided also that the title to the land not exceeding 640 acres now occupied as Miss.Y. stations among the Indian tribes in said territory together with improvements thereon be confirmed and established in the several religious societies to which said Miss.Y. Stations respectively belong."

Now? think you will this apply to our claiming this tract of land outright for ourselves¹ and thus ending all other claims and titles. In *favour* of our having this claim by virtue of this act there are (among others) the following reasons: The Miss.Y. Soc.Y. of the M. E. Church some years ago did settle this claim and here commenced a Miss.Y. Station among the Indians in this place and designed it not only for the benefit of the tribes in this vicinity but as a basis of a series of extended operations to benefit all the Indian tribes in Oregon.² For this the buildings were erected, many labourers employed, many Indians benefitted and this was continued until the Indians melted away, nor has the station been abandoned it has been occupied by our Missionaries until now,³ and altho no Indians are in the school, yet some halfbreeds (Indians in Law) are and have been all the while. Therefore I claim this tract of land for the Religious Society to which such Missionaries belong. *Against* such claim there are the following reasons: Altho it is occupied by us it was sold to five men who are to pay \$4437.83 for it and the claim itself is held by W. H. Wilson for which he is to receive *one third* of the whole except the said *reserve of 60 acres & buildings*. If he were to get provoked and proceed to litigate the question he might plead that at a certain time the Indian school was broken up and since then the chief part of the Miss.Ys. have been among the Whites and for their

1 I. E. For the Missionary Society rather than the semi-independent, and under the laws of the provisional government, legally irresponsible, Board of Trustees.

2 The Indian Mission Manual Labor School, built in 1842, at what is now the city of Salem, Oregon, at the cost of about \$10,000. It was an attempt to save the Indian youth by removing them both from the tribe and from contact with the white settlements.

3 The Indian School was closed in 1844, and the building sold to the Oregon Institute (now Willamette University).

benefit. But I am inclined to think I can make out a case if it shall be deemed proper to make the trial. In such case Broth. Wilson would have to be bought off, but at a low price I assure you if my notions prevail.

Judge Bryant who has just come into the country has promised to write to the man who framed the Oregon Bill in order to ascertain if any light can be thrown on the question from the Original intention of the framers of the bill.⁴ Any suggestion or order the Board can give will be in place. The question is not raised here yet, and my thinking is almost entirely to myself. But this question of gaining or holding property is very small in my estimation compared to the importance of more immediately training the intellect and Heart. This can not be effected without money. Our church by preoccupation has an undoubted right to stand upon vantage ground in this particular, but rather than *retard* the work or *prejudice* the kindred questions of Education and piety *I would let all land claims & town sites go to Indians or Speculators in up town lots* and throw our cause ta once upon the Community at once for patronage and support. Therefore let not the question of sending a teacher depend on the repurchase of the property. By all means do the one, and I think you may safely do the other You are aware that Broth Wilber is not a classical scholar but he is a capable teacher, and the man you send will be successful indeed if he does better with the school than it is now doing or than it has been doing for 7 months past but we cannot spare Broth Wilber and therefore ask for assistance I AM UTTERLY UNABLE TO FILL THE IMPORTANT PULPIT AT OREGON CITY with any man we have in the country while Broth Wilber is in the Institute and yet he cannot be removed untill some one is raised up to take his place. At our annual meeting a committee was appointed to correspond with the Board in relation to the Institute the Brethren desired me to be one of that committee. I declined stating that I must white officially and would prefer you should have two communications so that the Board may see our *agreement* on this question. And here let me say that

⁴ The misunderstanding growing out of this attempt to hold the property for the school until such time as proper corporation laws would be passed was not settled until many years after this time and caused much hard feeling. This incident has been used by some in an effort to discredit the so-called "Missionary party," clearly only a bit of prejudice and ill nature when we recall that the entire claim made for Christian education was merely such as a single private family claimed for their own use.

a number of our brethren have wrought with commendable zeal to sustain and foster the School. Days of labour and scores of dollars and many prayers have been expended in its behalf. It is a rallying point—a center of conservative influence for the rising generation—a fountain of light and knowledge and evil shall be the day when the Methodist church shall let it drop or die from mismanagement or neglect.

With the following remarks I shall dismiss this question with much solicitude as to the result. There should be a school of a high grade in this country, Salem is a most central location, The ground is peculiarly suitable. The soil is gravelly so that during the heavy rains of winter the going here is quite good and the attention of the community is drawn to this place and that whenever the Methodist fail here *They will succeed*. They began the school—they own the buildings—they are desired to sustain their own institution and do it well, most sacredly are they pledged to do their utmost. God has already blessed our labours. I know of three of the students who have recently been converted and I will not fear to put the good influence of this Institution for a year past into the *balances of the final Judgement* over against all the money that ever has been expended in this mission. It is true that these students were members of our Sabbath School, and subjects of our pastoral and pulpit ministrations, and it is also true that this threefold influence is One and God has Joined together let no man put assunder. On a review of the entire subject I am led to enquire to whom does the Institute now belong? There is a deed somewhere I think I may get to see it shortly which would answer the question. I think it is the one Brother Gary gave Broths Wilson, Leslie, Beers, Parrish, & Abernethy when he took their obligation jointly & severally for \$4437.83. Now I suppose these men are trustees in fact for the "Methodist society in Oregon" to which belongs the Institute NOT THE M. E. CHURCH (UNIVERSAL) but that peculiar portion of it Resident in Oregon Wilson holds the claim with obligations under bonds of \$100,000 dollars to nine men to pay all the debts of the Institute (not exceeding a given amount) and they did not exceed it to perfect a title (if he can) then to convey to the FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE M. E. CHURCH MAY BE ESTABLISHED IN OREGON TERRITORY by the general

conference of the M. E. Church in the United States or to the lawfully authorized agents of said conference first the Institute buildings & reserve of 60 acres which is forever to be used as an Institution of learning & religion under such laws and regulations as may be adopted by said conference &c. Secondly to convey two thirds of said the remainder to said annual conference as aforesaid &c.

Several things here are safe *the Establishment is to be an Institution of learning and Religion* and it ought forever to be such this "Restriction" is unobjectionable and any one conversant with the Society will agree with me It is to be under the *Control and direction* of the M. E. Church. If the U. S. Govt. shall give a donation of 640 acres to individuals then he can get a title to be used as aforesaid. If it only confers a preemption right then some money must be expended. If we are authorized by the late act of Congress it ourselves with improvements then it is already ours and we will use it as seemith good in our sight. It is not desireable at present to raise the question of *ownership publickly* at all if it is ours silence will not invalidate our claim If it be *not* silence will not subject us to the weakness of claiming what does not belong to us. There is nothing further of importance that I can call to mind at this moment. If the Board deems it proper to purchase the premises it now may be done, and a judicious arrangement entered into that will vitally affect our educational interests for years to come. If the Board will send out a teacher suitable for the work at the earliest moment, it will be a wise measure, but if not the responsibility must rest where it belongs. I have delivered my soul.

I am Dear Bro.

Yours truly
W. R.

Salem Oregon Territory April 24th 1849
To the Cor. Secry fo the M. E. Church
Rev. Doct Pitman
Dear Bro.

We are kindly permitted to record the goodness of God toward all the members of the Mission families another year There have been no deaths nor even serious cases of sickness but general good health comfortable religious enjoyment and unfeigned brotherly love have

characterised the labours of the past year. Praise be given to God. Sinners have been awakened and converted believers have been quickened and sanctified backsliders have been reclaimed and in not a few cases, the prodigal wanderer has returned to his fathers house to God be all the Glory. We are painfully concious however of having accomplished but little comparatively for the cause of God. A beloved brother remarked a few days ago as we were rideing togather that he was dissatisfied that we are doing so little as ministers of Christ in the way of direct personal labor for the salvation of Souls. I fully concur in the spirit of the remark the prostration of deep humility before God is our appropriate position. I am not aware that any department of our work has been overlooked, attention has been given to preaching the word—Pastoral visitation, the instruction of children—the formation of Sabbath schools—the circulation the distribution of tracts and books both of our general catalogue and those adapted to children and encouragement has been given to the general interests of Education. But how much of pure gospel & holy unction there have been in our sermons and with what measure of honest faithfulness we have been “Instant in season and out of season” in our general work are questions we are yet to answer at the Judgment seat of Christ.

Our annual meeting was held at this place on Wednesday & Thursday of last week there were present all our men now employed David, Leslie, J. H. Wilber A. F. Waller Wm Helm J. L. Parrish John McKinney, James O Raynor, J. S. Smith & Wm Roberts, after the usual introductory services, our first buisness was to enquire into the character of the preachers whatever reasons exist at home for close scrutiny in these examinations certainly must apply with additional force to all who labour in foreign fields. Each broth gave some relation of his spiritual state and also the state of the work under his care. It was a season of heartsearching power and the Lord was in our midst—the respective interests of Education—the Bible cause—Sabbath Schools—temperance and the cause of missions were refered to sepearte committees the reports of which were prepared and considered with all the care the time would allow It is time perhaps for me to say that your letters bareing date Sep 30th Oct 12th Nov 16&21st togather with one in

duplicate from Bishop Waugh of Sep 25th 1848 were received on the 10th inst. They came in the Gov Steamer Falcon and California to Panama & San Francisco and from thence in the Valadoria to the Columbia River. Such portions of these as were of general interest were layed before the meeting and we did our buisness in full view of the organization of our annual conference in the ensuing autumn the arrange of our work for the ensuing 4 months is somewhat altered from what it was last year so far as the plans of the circuits are concerned. Salem Circuit includes all our work east of the Walamet except Oregon City, and Yam hill includes all west of the river except Clatsop, the appointments are as follows Oregon City, *David Leslie* Salem *Wm Helm* and *J. L. Parrish* Yamhill *A. F. Waller*, *John McKinney*, *J. O. Raynor*, and *Jos S. Smith*. Astoria and Clatsop to be supplied *J. H. Wilber*, principal of Oregon Institute. The report of last year informed you of the distribution of our men at that time. They went to their work in the spirit of their Master and were well received by the people. No reasonable doubt could have been entertained 11 months ago but that a measure of success was about to attend our labours hitherto unknown among the white population west of the Rocky Mountains. It is true the war⁵ was operating prejudicially to the interests of Piety in Oregon the mere abstraction of so many of our young men to say nothing of the associations into which they were thrown could not but be disastrous. The tented field is a school of vice and Satan seems never at a loss for Masters Act to teach where there are subjects willing to learn. When I delivered my letters into the hands of the messenger who conveyed them to the States last Spring I was in the upper part of the Valley, I was on my way to attend a two days meeting Marys River, We crossed the Walamet at Judge Skinners swimming our horses alongside the canoe which is a dangerous buisness here owing to the swiftness of the river and the steepness of its banks. The meeting was held at Fullers Schoolhouse and commenced on Saturday the congregations were good and many persons seemed serious. On Sabbath the power of God was graciously manifested. A man named Wimble who had just built a house for the use of the preachers spake and prayed with great feeling

⁵ The Cayuse war.

and at once joined the Church. There were 6 others who asked an interest in the prayers of Gods people and a class of 8 persons was formed immediately. The indications are very favourable for a genuine work of God in this beautiful section of the country. This was part of the Calapoya circuit but owing to the difficulty of crossing the Walamete was placed under the care of Broth McKinney with the understanding that he and Broth Helm would interchange whenever they could. Nearly opposite this place on the east side of the valley we have just erected a new Church.⁶ It is a neat edifice built of hewn logs 24 by 32 feet and cost \$173.70. It was consecrated to the worship of Almighty God on the 31 of May 1848 and is entirely free from debt, the day of opening was very stormy and cold, which materially diminished our congregation; but God was present, there the Lord recorded his name and will come and bless his people.

Sisters Wilber & Roberts accompanied us on this trip on horseback and but for the storm of Sabbath it was one of real pleasure. The roads at that season were good, the prairies were covered with rich grasses, beautiful flowers, and lucious strawberries so temptingly attractive that our lady equestrians dismounted many times to gather and eat. The Church is 80 miles above Oregon City and thirty above the Institute and is in such a position as to exert a favourable influence for years if the mania for gold does not produce unlooked for changes in the population of this vicinity.

On the 21th of May a public meeting was held at Oregon City in the M. E. Church for the formation of our Oregon Bible society of New York, the attendance was good and an additional interest awakened in the distribution of the work of life since that time each of the preachers has been charged with the responsibility of searching out and supplying every destitute family in his charge with copies of the Holy Scriptures. Our first quarterly meeting for the year was held at this place on the following Saturday and Sabbath and never have I seen such manifestations of the power of God at any time in this city before. The meeting closed on Sabbath evening and had it been possible to have continued it longer much good might have resulted but other engage-

⁶ Somewhere near the present city of Corvallis.

ments were out and we could not recall them. It now became necessary for my family to remove up to the Institute, the house in Oregon City will not accomodate two families to build just now is impracticable, And it is by no means certain but that the Institute is the better place after all for head quarters. It certainly is much more central and such is the difficulty of keeping horses at the city that no alternative was left but to go where feed was more abundant. At 9 A. M. on the 13 June my family and goods were embarked in a somewhat leaky boat to go to the bute (on the Walamet) distant 25 miles. I desire never to repeat the labors of that day by midnight we met the teams in readiness to convey us to our new residence where we arrived late the following day. We occupy part of the parsonage in which brother Wilber lives to which I was compelled to build a small addition for the accomodation of my family. This cost several weeks of personal labour when at home and was not entirely finished when the winter rains commenced. It would be hardly proper to allude to such buisness in this report but for the fact that in a country so new as this where labourers are so scarce it is sometimes indispensable for the minister himself to use the axe and saw and Jackplane if he has the ability. This occupies time too and time which belongs to the church now when such exegencies occur such labour may be performed. If it be for church property whether churches or parsonages but no man has a right who "Lives by the Gospel" to spend his time in improveing his own property, Such are my convictions and such I doubt not will be the general action in the Oregon Mission.

The 21 of June was the time appointed to hold a campmeeting on the Yam Hill on the old ground. The excessive labour of mooring had thrown me into such a fever and for two days I was very sick so that I could not get on the Camp ground until Staurday. Here I found the brethren at work and most abundantly did the head of the Church bless their labours. There was much that was good in the sermons preached Clear Plain pointed exhibitions of Gods truth such as save the soul. The Sabbath following was a high day it opened finely with a prayr meeting, and religious services followed each other in close and diligent succession until set of Sun there were four Sermons and divine unction attended them all. The scene that followed the last I cannot well

describe there was one general cry "the shout of a king in the camp" Awakened sinners crying for mercy, happy believers rejoicing in God, New born souls for the first time praising the Saviour, and many a hypocritical sinner striving to conceal and cloak over his deep convictions with affected indifference, but in vain the conversion of a man named Jeffrey & his daughter excited universal interest he was past middle age and when God spake peace to his soul was so overwhelmed with a sense of the divine condescension in plucking *him* as a brand from the burning that his expressions of praise and gratitude were most effecting his daughter aged 14 shared in the same shower of mercy with many others and when I retired early as my recent illness and general habits required the voice of praise and prayers was still assending and at the hour of midnight and dawn of day it had not ceased. That camp ground is a holy place, 22 persons were converted and 16 joined on probation. The work of God is revived the unhappy predudice between Western and Eastern brethren is about annihilated and an impression made on the public mind favourable to piety.

Our brethren the Presbyterians held a Camp meeting on the Twality plains. It was a good meeting and several were converted. It was held near the residence & under the superintendence of Broth H. Clark which whose wife Broth Wilber was acquainted in the States He is a very estimable minister of Christ (The somewhat notorious Mr. Griffin⁶ who in a letter to the States some time since accused the M. E. Church in Oregon of coming out openly in favor of adultery lives near this place He dare not deny that he wrote such a letter nor will he exactly confess it nor will he make any amends for it whatever. The basis of his Slander is this, Some years ago several white men servants of the H. B. Co. came into this valley with native women as wives from Red River some of them became serious they had been united to these women according to the usages of the country where they had lived when they came within the bounds of civilization they were desired to be married (or be re-married, if you please) according to civilized usages this some of them were slow to do. Our ministers took some part in the buisiness and married many of them. So did other ministers but the zeal of Mr Griffin knew

⁶ Rev. J. S. Griffin, an independent missionary, manifesting many fanatical tendencies.

no bounds. It became firey and overleapt all propriety and because our men would not go the length he desired, Therefore the M E Church came "out openly in favor of adultery". The truth is the Methodist Ministers married more than he did three to one. This man is in bad odour among his brethren for his officious altramism and as his Slander was too great to be injurious so it may be too small & too long since gone by ever to deserve farther notice. He does not for some reason join the association his brethren have formed in this country but professes to be a member of the Lorain association in Ohio. At as early a period as could be managed we held an extra meeting at Oregon City, Broth Wilber and myself went down to assist brother Leslie. It commenced on Wednesday evening 12th July the first congregation was small the next day we commenced to visit the entire city going into every house talking with the people & praying with them & in the afternoon held a prayr meeting, our evening congregation was greatly improved on Friday visiting was resumed with diligence until four P M when we had a most precious season in our prayer meeting five persons came forward for prayers and both then and in the evening the Lord was present to bear. Resumed our visiting on Saturday with about the same success. The Sabbath services were owned of the Lord & the good seed of the Kingdom thus sown in tears cannot fail to produce a harvest. Altho sinners were awakened many deep impressions made & several persons forward & the members of the Church quickened & revived yet we are not sure that any were converted and a *restless dissatisfaction pervaded our minds on that account.*

If ever there was a country where "visiting from house to house" according to discipline was imperiously demanded this is that country. I am fully satisfied when this work is faithfully done so that each of our ministers can say "Therefore watch & remember that by the space of (my ministry among you) I ceased not to warn every one by day & night with tears" then & not till then this wilderness & solitary place shall be glad for them & this desert shall rejoice & bud & blossom as the rose. It was sometime during this month that we succeeded in making an arrangement with the Rev C. Eells⁷ to take charge

⁷ Rev. Cushing Eells of the American Board Mission.

of the Oregon Institute & we indulged the hope of being able to retain his services until we should have a principal from the States but having appropriated another part of this report exclusively to the Oregon Institute I shall leave it for the present.

While attending an extra meeting on the Rickreall I became acquainted with the case of a Mr G—c who came to this country some years since a man of wealth and if not skeptical as to religion in every sense could only claim to be a Universalist. His infidel friends were very anxious to have it understood that he died in peace. But it so happened just that time that one of our brethren an acquaintance of his was passing at the time and obtained access to the dying man. He had cursed his Maker many times during his illness, and now "Lord have mercy" was his constant cry:—thus he died and no ray of light sheds its cheerful radiance upon the dreary gloom of his grave. Our Camp meeting for Salem commenced on Friday the 25th of August. The excitement for gold had become very general but the attendance was quite good. The largest congregations amounted to about 500. Our aim has been to keep the people so busily employed on such occasions that there should be no time for idle gossip or worldly conversation, and the oneness of aim on the part of all the preachers was well calculated to secure this end. The greatest manifestation of mercy was experienced on Monday night, and so liberally did our members share in its fullest measure that whether they went in the body or out of the body many of them I suspect could not tell.

The number of persons brought to the knowledge of the truth at this meeting was estimated at 19, but I am satisfied this is below the real number. (The interest of the church now began to assume a highly exciting, and at the same time a deeply embarrassing aspect. So large a proportion of the male population seemed ready to move to the gold mines of California, that it required no small share of wisdom to decide how they could best be supplied with the word of life)⁸

Early in September my family was somewhat unwell, the following entry in my journal very briefly alludes to a day which I should place among the *shades* of itinerant

⁸ The editor cannot determine if Mr. Roberts intended this parenthetical portion to be a summary of a section of his letter, or if it is a portion he eliminated from the letter he mailed.

life. "Thursday 7th Sep Today my wife and two boys are quite sick with fever. I nursed them all until 2 p. m. and then started for Oregon City on the Brown horse. Arrived at 11 o. c. and slept in my barn haveing travelled 50 miles."

It was indeed pleasant to find on returning the following Monday that they had entirely recovered. A campmeeting was held at Fullers on Mary's river on the 15th of September. The extensive prevalence of the mania for gold had so far drained the country that Bro. McKinney the preacher in charge was left to prepare the ground almost alone. But the attendance was so much greater than he had expected and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit so powerful that every sorrow was forgotten. In view of closing the meeting on Monday morning the brethren seemed to lay themselves out for a season of special labour for souls, and it seemed that a full cup a (—) portion was given to them. I greatly doubt if it ordinarily falls to the lot of Gods children on earth to have more especial visitations from on high than were vouchsafed at this meeting—9 souls were converted.

Doubtless it will be to our interest to multiply our Campmeetings another year if possible, they attract very general attention. And in every instance that I have become acquainted with have been greatly owned of God.

It will now be proper to pause in these general remarks and notice more particularly the different parts of our work, beginning with:

Oregon City—This place receives its importance from its great water power, and will doubtless become an extensive manufacturing town. It is a little above ship navigation. Bro. Leslie has labored in this place during the year under some disadvantages. The church is unfinished and (thru) the winter has been so very cold that it was impossible to keep it comfortable, so that at times the congregation has been very small. The Sabbath school was quite good during the summer, but the gold fever took away the teachers and the cold kept away the scholars, so that during the winter it was the day of small things. There was a class and Sunday School formed at Clakamus two miles distant and in view of the demands of the work in both places Bro. Jos S. Smith was employed in October to assist Bro. Leslie with the understanding that he was to pay an occasional visit to Portland. This latter place very shortly assumed an

importance which induced me to believe that Bro. Smith had better spend his time there chiefly which he did from about the first of January until the Annual meeting. His labors have been very acceptable and a Sabbath school has been kept in vigorous operation numbering 31 scholars. Arrangements have been made to secure a lot of ground for a church and parsonage. There is not even a good schoolhouse in Portland and our meetings have been held in a private house until lately. This place and its vicinity is sickly, the Ague almost necessarily prevails—the Columbia river backs up the Walamet far above Portland at the season of its annual freshet in June and July, and when the water subsides there are many places visited with intermittent fevers. Still Portland though small at present is destined to be a place of importance. It is the head of ship navigation on the Walamet. Our members at Oregon City and Clackamus No. 51 four have died during the year (see my own course).

Salem. This circuit at the head of which stands the Oregon Institute has been the field of labor assigned to Bros. Wilber and Wallar. There has been a good work of a religion steadily progressing in most of the appointments. The membership has increased considerably although the report will not show it because the upper part of the circuit was taken off and constitutes the charge of Bro Helm. Such has been the faithful punctuality of these brethren that I have yet to learn that any appointment has been missed the past year for any Cause Whatever. There are in the several societies in this charge 105 members some 40 persons professed faith in the Saviour during the year, most of whom joined the church. There has been an obvious increase of spirituality over the past year. There have been 4 sabbath schools with 125 scholars taught by 20 teachers. The school at the Institute has been very prosperous. Three of the children have been converted and added to the church who promised to be very useful. The Oregon Institute is a bright spot in the Oregon territory—The examination of both departments of the school at the conclusion of the Fall term on the 23d Nov. last gave evidence of great care and success on the part of Mr. & Mrs. Eells (in training the children committed to their care. At the conclusion of the winter term the school was in a still more prosperous condition. But we are

seriously embarrassed at Salem for want of room. there is no room in the Institute building quite large enough for a church and yet it does not seem to be the time exactly to attempt to build a church but the moment hastens on when some kind providence will open our way to build a house for the Lord.

Calapovia [Calapooya]—This circuit according to an arrangement made the first quarter is East of the Walamet extending from the Santiam to the highest settlements up the valley. It is a beautiful country though sparsely settled and with other portions of the work has suffered severely by the drain of the people in search of gold. Bro. Helm has been the preacher and has been rather low spirited part of the year, indeed it requires strong faith to go steadily forward in some portions of this territory when the houses become tenantless and farms are deserted and societies broken up. But if the man of God goes on with his work, extending and varying his plans, as circumstances require, the waste places are soon built up, and souls are saved. There are 36 members on this circuit and the Sabbath school at the Calupovia [Calapooya] had to be discontinued during the winter. (*see the society at Bro. Rirks*)

Mary's River is west of the Walamet, extending from the Ricimuke [Luckiamute] up to the highest settlements. It has been under Bro McKinney's care. the extreme upper part of the circuit I have never yet been able to visit but I learn there is a class near *Long Tom* second to none in the territory for genuine Methodism Both the Leader and members came together from Missouri and settled together in the upper part of the valley. When Bro McKinney went on the circuit there was but one class consisting of 15 members. Since then he has formed three additional ones. One at Simpsons of 10 members, another at Mary's River of 33 and a third near Long Tom of 23 members, so that there are 81 in all, 12 of whom are on probation. During the summer there was a Sabbath school organized on this circuit with 10 officers and teachers and 40 scholars. but it was soon discontinued partly on account of the removal of the persons who had charge of it and partly because of the weather. The preacher was unable to fill several of the appointments late in the winter because there was nothing for his horse to eat. Just at the time when the deep mud and swollen streams made the travelling ex-

tremely difficult the impossibility of procuring provender rendered the going impossible. But these upper circuits will yet become the garden of Oregon.

Yamhill. This river and the adjoining country takes its name from the Yamhill Indians, now nearly or quite extinct, early in the year this circuit promised and actually yielded a greater harvest than any other part of our work. With a larger membership than any other circuit it was diligently attended to by the preachers. In common with other places it has greatly suffered by removals to California and even when the people have remained the excitement has run so high that we could scarcely hold our own since last autumn. The membership at present is 146. There were 6 S. schools formed with 100 scholars, 18 officers & teachers and 300 Vols in the Librarie. All of these schools were discontinued in the winter and with one exception will be resumed again this spring. It is supposed that 40 souls have been converted on this circuit during the past year. There are 147 members.

Tualatin Plains—In July last Wm. H. Wilson was employed to labor at the Tualatin Plains and Portland assisted by C. O. Hosford. After three months labor Bro. Wilson concluded that it would be best to hold up for the present as he could find no place on the circuit for his family to reside and the prospects for doing good were sadly disarranged by the mania for gold. By a kind providence just at this time Bro Wilcox a very excellent local Deacon came in from Missouri and took a strong hold of the work until the present spring. This brother came originally from Western N. York and will be useful wherever he goes. This spring he accompanies his children to California and will I doubt not brighten up some spot in that dark land. During the winter a monthly visit was paid by some one of our brethren and thus with the labors of Bro Wilcox the people were served with the word of life. The membership amounts to 16 only. Our statistics will stand as follows.

	Whites	Col'd	L.E.	L.D.	Preach	S.Sch	Off&Tch	Schol	Vols
<i>Oregon City &</i>									
<i>Clak</i>	51					1	6	35	150
<i>Salem</i>	105	1		1	6	1	11	73	150
<i>Calapovia</i>	36			1					
<i>Mary's River</i>	81		1		4				
<i>Yamhill</i>	147				3				
<i>Tualatin Plains</i> ..	16			1	1				
<i>Portland</i>	7					1	3	31	106
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	443	1	1	3	14	3	20	139	406
Last year.....	315			2	17	3	19	103	300
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Increase	128	1	1	1			1	31	106
Decrease					3				

In the above I entirely omit those which are discontinued in the winter they must however be counted and added to the above make the list as follows.

	Schools	Off. & Teach.	Scholars	Vols.
Salem	3	7	45	50
Yamhill	6	18	100	300
Mary's River.....	1	10	50	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Now in operation	3	20	139	406
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	13	55	334	756

As nearly as can be estimated 81 persons have been converted during the year, seven of our members have died and 27 have been removed not counting those that have gone to the mines expecting to return the nos [numbers] of which I cannot now ascertain.

Sam'l. Newman a Local preacher, was killed by the Indians in California leaving a widow and several children with the particulars of his death I have no very definite information. The general facts seem to be that while he & 2 others were hunting for their oxen they came upon the Indians who had taken them and were cruelly murdered and their bodies burned. The mining business is not without its perils.

I have had occasion to remark of our members generally who have departed this life, they die well. I was particularly interested in the case of a sister Seward who died early in the winter She was a woman of ex-

alted piety, living in closest fellowship and communion with God. To a lukewarm professor who was excusing himself in the neglect of secret prayer, for want of a suitable place to pray while on the road, she remarked "The praying soul never lacks a closet."

It will be readily perceived that our hopes of success during the past year have not been fully met. The exciting "Haste to be rich" has come like the wintry frost over the tender plants of piety and many of them withered and died. Many of our members went to the mines and have returned, some not seriously injured, and others shorn of their strength. It long remained a doubt if we ought not to have sent one or two of our ministers with them to the mines, to watch over them and to preach to the hundreds there, the words of life but with more work at home than we could attend to the moment never came when we judged it prudent to detail men for this hazardous business and subsequent events seem to justify our course.

It seems very likely that the treasures of gold along the Pacific Coast will produce a WORLD WIDE EXCITEMENT which will people the valleys and Sierra's of California and Oregon with an immense population in a short space of time. The adventurers of the world will be here. And it is to be feared there will be many a wreck of religion and morality. To meet this concern of people, to save these souls there needs an active, capable, almost omnipresent ministry. With all the institutions of the church and all the instrumentalities and appliances of the Gospel of Christ, shall the Methodist Episcopal church do her part? Shall her watchman welcome every emigrant and standing on every hill top and in every valley sound the trumpet and warn the traveller of his danger, and guide his feet into the ways of peace? What is done, must be done quickly. Those of us who are on the ground by Divine aid are doing what we can. Elsewhere I have plead in behalf of the Oregon Institute, and of California one of two things is obvious these pleadings are very defective or the action of the Church is very slow, but ere long her giant energies will be aroused, we hope to accomplish something in these ends of the earth.

I am Dear Bro

Yours in Christ

W. R.

Financial Letter copy of items
poured items in Sep. personal expenses \$329.20 of the
Mission \$4439.44

San Francisco N. C. July 26, 1849

To Cor Secy of the S. S. Union
of the M. E. Church

Rev D. P. Kidder

Dear Bro.

Oweing to the constant pressure of official duties it has been impossible for the report of our Sabbath school interests in Oregon for the past year to be prepared until the present moment; and even now it is immensely difficult in this land of excitement and adventure to find a place to write or a moment of sufficient Calmness to review the doings of the year.

The schools in actual operation at the last annual meeting were as follows.

At Oregon City 1 school, 6 officres & teachers, 35 scholars, 150 Vols in Lib.

At Salem, 1 school, 11 officers & teachers, 73 scholars, 150 Vols in Lib.

At Portland, 1 school, 3 officers & teachers, 31 scholars, 106 Vols in Lib.

This last school was organized in January last by Bro J. S. Smith and is in a highly prosperous condition. The labor chiefly devolves on the preacher, but promises a rich harvest so long as it can receive proper attention. At Oregon City the school has fallen off considerably oweing to the removal of many of the families, the unfitness of our church, during the past cold winter, and the organization of several other schools in more comfortable quarters, Bro Leslie has done all that he could to sustain the school.

The school at Salem, has been very successful. Three of the children have experienced religion and joined the church. The latter part of the year witnessed a decided increase in the general attendance of both teachers and children. A few such schools as this carried on with vigor for years would soon regenerate the children of the present generation.

It is proper of course to notice the schools that were in operation during the dry Season, but had to be discontinued during the rains of winter.

	Schools	Officers & Teachers	Scholars	Vols.
Salem Circuit	3	7	45	50
Yamhill	6	18	100	300
Mary's River	1	10	50	
	<hr/> 11	<hr/> 35	<hr/> 195	<hr/> 350

These when added to those now in operation make a total of 13 schools, 255 scholars and 756 volumes in the Libraries.

In each of these schools there have been placed some of the S. S. Books sent to this country by the Whiton in 1846. One of the 10 sets was left in California, and the other nine distributed as best we could in our various schools in Oregon.

The S. S. Books shipped in the Undine were bought in by some person and sent to us in a damaged condition late in the season. But who it was and at whose cost I cannot yet ascertain.

From a letter received from Bro Jos McCoy Superintendent of the S. School in Jersey City I [understand] we are indebted to our friends in that school for a valuable present of S. S. books. If the Lord of the harvest would only send forth a sufficiency of labourers here, to allow those of us, already in the field to say in private letters, to the kind agents in these works of faith and labours of love, what we desire to say We should rejoice.

Until then we can only hope that these more public expressions of grateful emotion will give assurance that the contributions of children and their friends for the benefits of sabbath schools in this land are greatly needed and thankfully received.

The books sent out by the Whiton in her last voyage were just landed when I left Oregon and I had not time to learn the contents. Our population is yet scattered over the country, many of our friends are digging gold, and there are among the Campbellites and others the most decided expressions of hostility to this great enterprise: but amid the coldness of some friends the inexperience of others and the hostilities of enemies the S. S. cause is decidedly advancing among us. We are thankful to the S. S. U.⁹ of the U. S. for the valuable donation of books already sent us and respectfully solicit a continuance of its favors.

W. R.

⁹ Sunday School Union of the M. E. church.

Letter to Dr Babcock

San Francisco July 27, '49

Sent \$1667.48 less \$166.74—\$1601.30 in a draft of July 28 '49 and request to be released—draft charged to my a/c.

(Directed to Bath N. Y.)

San Francisco July 28th '49

To G. Lane

I send through S. & S. Halsted over \$3,000. mint. I draw on you favor I. R. \$1,000. I. L. Bab \$1601.32 Some to E. S. I. Same to Lan & Seutt for periodicals.

Salem O. T. Nov. 7th 1849

Rev G. Lane

Dear Bro.

I hereby forward to you various items of business relating to our affairs in this country. I have drawn on you this day for \$50.00 favor Mary Hauxhurst of Cold Spring L. Island which please honor and charge a/c of Oregon Mission.

This money is paid me for the benefit of this aged woman by her son an esteemed brother among us. He designs it for her personal benefit therefore if the draft is presented before you pay it ascertain that she is alive, in case of her death I am to refund the money. If she is living and receives this he wishes to send her \$50 more shortly.

There is another case involving a little more trouble James White of Salem O. T. wishes to send through you \$100. to his mother Sarah White of Jackson Co. Indiana or if she is dead to Jos Henderson or Jas. Woodmansey Jr.

The nearest post office is he telles me Leasville Lawrence Co. He has pd me the money. I am responsible and am to refund it unless I can get anct. from one of the persons above named within 18 months.

Please send in a letter \$100. to Sarah White or Jos H. or J. W. Jr Jackson Co Ia. and obtain a receipt for it which please forward to me and charge a/c of Oregon Mission. Send such funds as will pass current in Indiana.

W. R.

I send you to be audited and allowed a bill of \$129.02½.

WM. ROBERTS.

To the Bishop &c

Salem Nov 26th 1849

Rev & Dear Bro.

I desire to communicate with you in regard to some points connected with the interest of our beloved [church] on the Pacific Coast. The O & C Mission Conf¹⁰ was organized on the 1st Wed in Sep last. the session which commenced on the 5th lasted until Monday 10th there was good Christian feeling and harmony throughout and it is the general opinion here that the organization of a conf. at this juncture is peculiarly favourable to our prosperity. There are some points on which I desire information. What is the power of a certif [icate] of Location. Wm. H. Case is before me He has his parchments of ordination to the off[ice] of Deacon by Heddy in 1831. El[der] by Roberts in /33 and a certif [icate] of Location dated Danville Ky, Octo. 22, '39 by B. Maugh He has been in the employ of the Mission since 46 labouring accessably when the confer[ence] was organized this Bro. applied for admission on the strength of these testimonials it was desired by all that he should be recd. and no embarrassment presented itself excepting can a man who is a local preacher be permitted to enter the travelling con[nexion] except he comes in on time by rec[eiving] from a quarterly conference. It seemed to me (for the question was mine for locations are rare in the N. J. & Pa. Conference) that he could not, but some brethren present insisted that they had known cases where there were readmitted in virtue of such certificates. Bro Leslie stated such to have been his case in the N. E. Cof. and in spite of my doubts I decided Wm Helm to be eligible to admission. Please inform me which were right the doubts or the decision, and if the action was wrong what course should be pursued to have the affair set right.

There is another case, Clinton Kelly at the time of the unfor[tunate] division he fell on the support of the church contrary to his wishing in almost every respect he was compell'd to adhere south for peace sake, and was a t. p. [traveling preacher] in the Louisville conference. Almost exclusively to get out of the reach of Slavery and to be in his own church he emigrated to Oregon. While his conf. was yet in session—I think in the Aug of '47

¹⁰ Oregon and California Mission conference of the M. E. church—1848-1852.

he started for Mo. he wrote to his P. E. [Presiding Elder] for the proper testimonials the Conf. granted him a Location and appointed the sec. and P. E. a com. to prepare and forward the proper [credentials] they reached him on the road and consisted of a certificate of Location and a copy of the Res. of the conf. appointing the sec. & P. E. a com. as above but nothing further.

The certif. he preserved the [resolution] he did [not] thinking it of no account. Now how can he become a member and minister of our church perhaps he may never wish to [enter] the itinerary but he does wish to be one of us he is with us in heart soul and feeling and labors also—he is an ex-preacher and wants to come in as a local preacher among us without of course going on proba[tion]. When his case comes before the Con. it was the wish of himself and all that your advice and course in the case should be obtained his brother also (just arrived) is in the same condition we had waited long to see something in the action of the Gen. Conf. which would relieve the case but finding nothing we write to you. These are cases in which every thing is right so far as the brethren are concerned what course must be taken with them.

A minister from the P. U. [United Presbyterian?] Church has applied to join and is almost the only representative of that ch. in this country. Now on condition that the conf. should be satisfied of his being in orders &c. can I in virtue of my (nondescript office as Stevens calls it) as Supt. administer the ordination vows (without the ——) and furnish a certif[icate] &c accor[ding] to Dis[cipline] p. 41 I suppose I cannot what is the proper course. In conclusion we are now anxious to know when the said visit is to be paid it is indeed [essential] to the pres [progress?] of our porwk that one of our Bro. visit us the coming season so as to be present at the conference in Sep 1st week). 1850. The plan will be to cross the [mountains?] so as to reach Cal. before the 1st of June visit the principal places there and by the 1st of July start for Oregon, travel over the country survey its interest and after the session (the time of which might be altered if necessity required) return to the States in the most direct manner possible. (A judicious regard in California will —— extensive travel there for they to Nov 1st unless necessity required it?) Now can you or one of your colleagues come? I think it will

greatly promote the cause of God. There is too much _____ in the country to trust in the hands of our men (especially in mine) at this time and our economy most wisely provides for the most constant intercourse between the various portions of our work. The least of this that in my humble judgment can be allowed us is for a Bishop to visit us next season and for the Supt. to visit the States in the spring of 1852. The visit in question may be made [extensive?] and arduous or otherwise as the health of the Bishop may allow—as to the best time to cross the [Isthmus?] you have more information than myself the expenses of the trip would be confined merely to the travel by sea. I need not say how much I would be grat[ified] to see you. per gratification is not so much the ques. but we should all be benefitted and our wants are such that were you aware of them most assuredly would you break away from your important work at home and come or comit us some spiritual gift, if possible I shall meet you in Cal. unless otherwise instructed, provided I learn in time when you are coming. It is now my expec. to go down the coast in all the Month of Feb. I know nothing of the arrival of Bro. O & T up to this time. I have no doubt they are at their post, there are many points on which I should like to write. When shall we hear some one favourable response to our many applications for a Teacher for the O. I. [Oregon Institute] perhaps it is already on its way if so it will gladden our hearts. Despite the effects of the Love of money there is yet some piety in Oregon. I think it is growing will you can you Dear Brother come and superintend its growth in person for a few weeks at least perhaps by watering and hoeing it may yet flourish as the palm tree hoping to hear from you shortly¹¹

I am

Yours in Christ

W. R.

¹¹ We trust that Mr. Roberts used a better pen and fewer original abbreviations in the original letter which he sent to the Bishop than he did in the copy we have before us.

Bishop E. R. Ames presided at the conference in the year 1853, being the first M. E. Bishop to visit Oregon.



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THE OREGON QUESTION—1818-1828

*A study of Dr. John Floyd's efforts in Congress to
secure the Oregon Country.*

By VERNE BLUE

December 19, 1920, passed utterly unnoticed by the people of Oregon. Yet it was a date which possessed at least a sentimental significance in being the centennial anniversary of the date which marks *the first Congressional action looking toward the occupancy* and acquisition of the Oregon Country. On that day, 1820, early in the closing session of the 16th Congress, the House of Representatives heard a motion from Mr. Floyd that a committee be appointed to inquire into the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and on the expediency of occupying the Columbia River.¹ The House accepted the motion and Mr. Floyd, Mr. Metcalfe, and Mr. Swearingen were appointed.

Dr. John Floyd was a Virginian whose heredity and training endowed him with the spirit of the frontier. For the details of his life one must go to his biography, but there is nothing about him very difficult to understand.² The American organism from the first colonial planting had developed the trait of expansion. Out of

¹ *Annals of Congress*, XL, 679.

² Ambler, *Life and Diary of John Floyd*.

the general mass there were some who received this endowment in greater degree than others. The centrifugal force which animated the entire body was constantly detaching individuals from it and sending them off as the advance guards of the nation. Such were Boone, Crockett, Clark, Lewis, Pike and the long list of lesser names who are the entire pioneer host.

Of the same sort are men like Floyd the Virginian who went in spirit where others went in person. Jefferson the philosopher may be claimed for this band. Not every expansionist could be a frontiersman; but it was the same spirit in each which impelled him to do his work. Neither, given a fair chance and an opportunity, could act differently than as he did. The Cumberland pass opened Kentucky to Daniel Boone; Lewis and Clark's expedition opened Oregon to Floyd.

John Floyd entered Congress during Monroe's presidency. The men were not cordial friends, and still less was Floyd on good terms with John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, for Floyd was then a follower of Clay. By one of the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, Astoria was returned to American possession. Still warm were the proceedings executing this. Newer yet was the Treaty of 1819 whereby the United States bought the Floridas and surrendered any chance of expanding the Louisiana Purchase at the expense of Spain. The Spanish South American colonies were in revolt, and Adams had his hands full seeking to find a working basis on the subject with England, prodded all the time by Clay. The "Monroe Doctrine" was yet unborn.

The all engrossing domestic question was the status of Missouri and the problem of slavery implicated in it. Also here was the western end of the United States; here settlement dissolved into frontier. Only along the rivers were fingers of population pushing farther westward.

It was into such diplomatic and domestic interests that Floyd was to fling another element. A discussion of his motives will be presented later after there has been a presentation of what he actually did, together with his own words. However, to serve as an introduction to both, the immediate reason for the action he took will be related here.

By no one had the convention of 1818 been attacked with more bitter vehemence than by Thomas Hart Benton. He incarnates the western spirit of expansion, and in essays and newspaper articles had been urging for some years the definite acquisition of the Oregon River country by the United States.³ It is not possible that Floyd could have missed reading these. Already he had a background of interest in his knowledge of the Lewis and Clark expedition through his personal relations with the Clark family.

When Benton arrived in Washington in December, 1820, he found that Missouri as yet was not legally a State in the Union, and thereby, he had no seat as senator. At the hotel where he lodged he found a man who was likewise a westerner, a Kentuckian, now serving Virginia in the national House of Representatives.⁴ Benton found Dr. John Floyd to be a man of like ideas to himself. Two other men, former employees of J. J. Astor, happened to be in the hotel, men who had been on the Columbia. These four, the Senator, the Congressman and the two explorers, had many an evening's conversation together on the subject of Oregon. Of them all, Floyd was the only one who could do anything. As a result of these conferences and certainly with Benton's approval he undertook to bring the matter before the House.

The Committee presented their report January 25th, 1821. This interesting document has been reprinted in

³ Benton, *Thirty Years View*, Vol. I, 109-110.

⁴ Bruce, *Romance of American Expansion*, pp. 117-121.

the Oregon Historical Society's Quarterly, and should be in pamphlet form on the shelves of every Oregon library.⁵ It is not difficult to follow the main lines of thought of the author, for almost the entire authorship is conceded to Floyd.

He begins with an exhaustive examination of the basis for territorial claims in general and of the Territory in question in particular.⁶ The most solid basis, the one finally determinative, is that of settlement in a river basin which has been taken in possession by its discoverer in the name of his government. The extent of soil watered by this principle belongs *en bloc* to this government. Such, the report claims, were the discoveries which gave to France the country called Louisiana from the Rio Grande del Norte along the mountains of Mexico and California as the eastern boundary. "The grant by Louis XIV to Anthony Crozat . . . comprehends all lands . . . between Carolina on east, and Old and New Mexico on west."⁷ Various French and Spanish authorities—Vergennes and Lopez, to name two—are quoted to prove that Louisiana is bounded on the west by the Rio Grande. *The entire paragraph following is devoted to proving this northern boundary of Mexico.*

Floyd is frank to confess that it is indefinite just how high the United States claims extended. He gives a satisfactory description of the Astoria settlement and enterprise and discusses the fur trade at some length, including the endeavors and profits of the Northwest Company. But by no means the least interesting or significant part of the report is its geography.

The Columbia River, Floyd tells the Congress, offers an easy means of ingress to the country and means of communication to the Atlantic Seaboard. A portage of two hundred miles would connect the upper reaches of

⁵ *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, pp. 51-75.

⁶ Resume of Floyd's Report, *Annals of Congress*, XXXVII, 946-947.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 948.

the Missouri to the Columbia, both rivers "equally smooth, deep and certain." Thus are "two great oceans separated by a single portage of two hundred miles.⁸ The practicability of a speedy, safe and easy communication with the Pacific is no longer a matter of doubt or conjecture."

The report closes the examination of four more topics, the last three of which come to us with a decided historic flavor: (1) Timber and stock resources; (2) whaling; (3) the Russian settlement and expansion; (4) the value of the Indian trade. These with the two preceding—the Columbia as an outlet to the Pacific commerce and the fur trade—Floyd offers as the Six Reasons why the United States should assert their right to the Oregon River country.⁹

"Your committee are well persuaded that by a little care and expense the citizens of this Republic might reap all the benefits of [the Russian] trade, not only profitable now but from every view of the subject there is a strong probability that it will increase for many years.

"Were an establishment made at the mouth of the Columbia River which should be allowed to take with them their women and children there can be no doubt of success, as so many years' experience of the English fur companies has amply shown this mode has the most powerful effect of separating the minds of the men from pursuits which often in frontier countries lead to strife, as it gives them a local interest and feeling and makes them even more vigilant and prudent in the discharge of all their duties. It is believed that population could easily be obtained from China by which the arts of peace would at once acquire strength and influence and make visible to the aborigines the manner in which their wants could be supplied . . ."

The closing paragraph is likewise worth quoting: "Under the strongest belief that by a new organization of the system of Indian trade comprehending a settlement on the Columbia River great benefits would result to the citizens of the Republic, whilst the aborigines

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 954.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 956-957.

would be better protected and provided for by instructing them in agriculture and the minor branches of the mechanic arts, the committee ask leave to present a bill."

Accordingly their bill was presented,¹⁰ but so busy was the Congress in straightening out the last tangles of the Missouri question that no further attention could be given to the bill for that session. While Congress is deferring consideration it may be well enough to do likewise and notice two or three aspects of the report. One clue to John Floyd's political thinking offers itself immediately.

His minute examination of the Mexican boundary which he places definitely at the Rio Grande can only mean a covert attempt to revive the American pretensions to the Texas country that were lost by the San Ildefonso treaty of 1819. In a report on the Oregon Country it is purely a digression, but certainly not purposeless. It will not do to say that Floyd was simply offering the Oregon project as a blind to a move on Texas; future events refute such a charge. But it is safe to assume that expansion Oregon-wards would be accompanied by a companion movement toward the South, if the public mind should be propitious. Or, if Congress should prove cold to Oregon there was a chance that they might be moved to an interest in this other direction. Nothing came of the suggestion; but there it stands as a clear index to Floyd's interests. It is true that it may have been merely intended to be a covert slap at Adams for surrendering Texas. Nevertheless, had the nation been in a different mood interesting developments might have followed.

Secondly, Floyd's suggestion that a Chinese immigration be encouraged smites oddly on present day ears. No doubt the Virginian runs the risk of the charge of not being a hundred per cent American. Undoubtedly it was in his mind that they should form a middle class

10 Bill presented Jan., 1821.

between the white settlers and the aborigines, a proposal full of possibilities when one comes to think about it. Suppose it had been done! Could not Oregon be imagined today as a country with a white aristocracy and baronial class, a yellow peasantry, and an aboriginal vassalage? Nowhere is there any indication that Floyd ever considered slavery in connection with the Oregon country. This is an unique feature of the question that in a period when slavery seemed to be tingeing all national affairs it is never alluded to in any of the debates, nor the motions on bills. The extension of slavery is decidedly one motive that can be eliminated in trying to solve Floyd's purpose. No northern opponent charges him with it, and the southern men showed an equal reticence.

Lastly, the influences of Benton on Floyd are plainly seen in his suggestions in regard to the Chinese, and in particular his emphasis on the value and importance of Oriental trade. This was an old hobby of Benton's and one of his chief motives in pushing the entire Oregon affair. His was the plan to establish a route up the Missouri and down the Columbia so as to reach the Oriental markets. "I believed that Asiatic commerce might be brought into the Mississippi valley along that line, and wrote essays to support that idea. . . . Asiatic commerce had been the pursuit of all western nations from the time of the Phoenicians down to the present day . . . during all this time this commerce has been shifting its channel . . . wealth and power followed it and disappeared upon its loss."¹¹

When Congress reconvened the following December, Floyd lost no time in recurring to the Oregon enterprise. On the tenth he moved that a committee be appointed "to inquire into the expediency of occupying the Columbia River and the territories of the United States adjacent thereto," and of regulating the Indian trade.¹² Permis-

¹¹ *Report American Historical Association*, '14, 1, 284.

¹² *Annals of Congress*, XXXVIII, 529.

sion was asked to report by bill or otherwise. The motion carried, and Floyd, Baylies and Scott were made the committee.

On January 18, 1822, the committee through Floyd made its report, which it accompanied by a bill.¹³ This was read twice and reported to the Committee of the Whole. This act had been prefaced by a resolution on December 17, 1821,¹⁴ which requested the Secretary of the Navy to report on the expense of examining the harbors belonging to the United States on the Pacific Coast; also on the expense of transporting artillery to the mouth of the Columbia. The resolution was not adopted until the following day, when he reminds the House that the artillery could be shipped to the west coast as ballast, thereby saving expense. The resolution was adopted and with this encouragement the committee must have felt justified in presenting the bill they did a month later.

Thus in a single year, as Bourne notes, Floyd's territorial ambitions had spread from a simple settlement in the valley of the Columbia to "territory adjacent." Whether this was a conscious and cautious meditated progression, or whether Floyd's designs actually grew during the year as he thought upon them, it is difficult to say. In other words, it is a question whether he had or had not laid with Benton definite plans toward which he moved as soon as he had brought public opinion up to his previous position, or whether it was his own natural enthusiasm which led him to an expansion of the original design. Nor is it a matter of great importance. Certain things do point to the second solution, as affected by other events.

More disturbing than the ever-present English rivalry was the imperial Russian ukase issued earlier in 1821. It would seem that Alexander I, alarmed at Floyd's report and bill in January, had decided to forestall any

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 774.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

possible aggression on the west coast.¹⁵ He made the Bering a closed sea as well as the Pacific north of 51 degrees which he fixed as the southern limit of Russian possessions. In addition to this, however, he declared the existence of a buffer zone one hundred miles in extent (north and south) which likewise was to be closed to settlement and exploitation. The *National Intelligencer*, the semi-official government organ of that day, comments as follows:

"If that decree . . . has no other effect, it gives interest to the proceedings in Congress relative to a settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River. It will not be a matter of surprise to us that it will have the effect to procure the passage in Congress of an act to authorize the establishment of a post at the mouth of the Columbia, which however earnestly proposed by the mover has hitherto hardly been seriously entertained by the House whose attention has been called to it."

Whether or not the Russian ukase had been called forth by American action, it was assuredly the cause of immediate action on the part of Floyd.¹⁶ While its existence was still a matter of unofficial rumor, he introduced a resolution on February 15th, demanding to know "what the claims of any country were to the territory of the United States on the Pacific Coast." The next day the House accepted his resolution without opposition. With this much done, however, the House seemed content and there let the affair rest. The Secretary of the Navy had reported prior to the bill of January 18th that the cost of the expedition proposed would be \$25,000.¹⁷ With this much data in hand, the Oregon question was allowed to rest for almost ten months.

The short session of the seventeenth Congress opened and on December 11, 1822, Floyd's bill of the previous session was found to be next in order. Floyd announced

¹⁵ *Niles Register*, XXI, p. 279; (quotes also extensively from *National Intelligencer*.)

¹⁶ *Niles Register*, XXI, 400; 415.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

that information he could have laid before the House the previous session, he was at that moment not prepared to present. By a bit of parliamentary tactics the bill was enabled to be brought up again.¹⁸ On December 17 this was done and the House went into Committee of the Whole on its consideration.

Floyd defended the bill in a speech which was mainly a resume and amplification of the report of the Committee of Occupation which had previously been presented. One finds here traces of the objections which the proposed scheme had evoked since it had been brought forward: He dismisses the charge that the measure is "fanciful" or that he himself is a "bold projector." He warns his fellow Congressmen of the inevitable progress of population westward. It had always proceeded in spite of whatever attempted inhibition on the part of governmental authority.

The dominating note of his speech is commercial:¹⁹

"The settlement on the Oregon as contemplated by this bill connecting the trade of that river and coast with the Missouri and Mississippi is to open a mine of wealth to shipping interests and the western country surpassing hope of avarice itself. It consists principally of things which will purchase the manufactures and products of China at a better profit than gold or silver, and if that attention is bestowed upon the country to which its value and position entitle it, it will yield a profit, producing more wealth to the nation than all the shipments which have ever in one year been made to Canton from the United States."

Bold words, these. The doctor seemed to be basing them on what he considered to be the laws of probability rather than actual statistics. Undoubtedly they reflect his conversations with Benton and the two former associates of Astor. There is the true Bentonian ring when he pictures the fleets from the Atlantic seaboard to the

¹⁸ *Annals of Congress*, XL, p. 355.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

Oregon river returning with "the rich exchange" after Oregon furs have turned the balance of trade in China to us and have stopped what many have been bemoaning—a flow of specie Chinawards.

It is interesting and revelatory to observe the interest which motivated these "fathers" of a century ago. Their vision for the future was inevitably in terms of their own days; is it true then that legislation other than from day to day can be nothing much beyond a series of lucky or unlucky guesses? Statesmen have been wise—have been "seers"—because their projects happened to work, when as a matter of fact their purposes and motives have not actually been at all the same as those apparently impelling them to their designs. There is a large pragmatic element in history. To one looking back across the developing roll of events and seeing exactly how things did, it is easy to endow the men of a past time with the ability to foresee what for him is a matter of retrospect, and to assume that the factors making for success or failure were the same as those actuating them.

As a matter of fact many paths of action turn out to be blind alleys. Many of the arguments urged by Floyd and his supporters, indeed many that they considered most important and conclusive, as well as those of their opponents have not at all been justified by time. It is a commentary on the futility of dogmatic, final decisions and a warning that neither in princes nor congressmen can a trust as to utter wisdom be reposed. At the same time it is not impossible that in some of their plans the "fathers" were wiser than their children who have departed from them. The importance of the China trade bulked large in the minds of these men of the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁰ It would seem that it has taken a hundred years to bring their descendants even to a near acceptance of their views.

The topics of Floyd's remaining arguments will be

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, 398.

given briefly as they indicate the main lines of support and attack. *New sources of whale fishing were needed*; those found in the Pacific would contribute to the wealth of Oregon. All the meager trade then carried on on the Pacific Coast was that of the annual visit of the whale-ships thither, "with no other cargo than some hardware and ornaments to traffic with the natives." *Military protection would be furnished by such a move as that proposed*. "The route [by land] to the mouth of the Columbia is easy, safe and expeditious." Floyd outlines the possibility of *steamboat* communication virtually across the continent and gives an ingenious itinerary.²¹ The commerce derived from the fur trade is a third argument and the British revenues from this source are compared with the scanty sum derived from the American fur trade. "Save Oregon from monarchy" is a fourth plea. Finally, Oregon is the land of the plough. "The lands of the Oregon are well adapted to the culture of wheat, rye, corn, barley, and every species of grain; their position [that of the settlers?] will enable them to sell the surplus and purchase the manufactures of China by an exchange of labor."²²

This ended the preliminary discussion and marked out the future grounds of debate. The Committee rose, reported progress to the House and obtained leave to sit again.

The next day, December 18th, the House, in committee, resumed the discussion of the bill; a few minor changes were agreed to, and the debate commenced. Mr. Wright led off in favor of the bill. His position was that the territory had been purchased *from France*—thus making the Louisiana Purchase apply to the Oregon country, something Floyd had not done—and that the Spanish treaty had excluded any other possible claims. It was a purely constitutional question: a reciprocal

²¹ *Op. cit.*, 407.

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 410, 411.

obligation of protection was owed to the allegiance of the inhabitants of that region. In addition he urges the importance of the fur trade and the fisheries, and scouts the preposterous claims of Russia.

Baylies, the second member of the committee, then undertook to answer certain objections. The expense of establishing a government where it was proposed would not be of long duration.²³ He gave a romantic description of the possible money turnover in the Oriental trade. He also alludes to the practicability of a water communication joining the two oceans. His speech closes with discussion of a topic that has not heretofore appeared—the benefits of colonization.

Baylies may or may not have deserved the first part of J. Q. Adams' stinging characterization, that "he was the most worthless and most talented man in Massachusetts," but of his talent there can be no question. He was a brilliant speaker, which Floyd was not; was logical, consistent, pleasing. His personal history shows him to have been another in whom the expansive spirit had not yet been satisfied and therefore checked. One paragraph from this speech indicates his style while the content is truly prophetic. He has just been picturing the change which those still living had seen in the transformation of "humble colonies to a mighty empire."²⁴

"Some within these walls may before they die witness scenes more wonderful than these; and in aftertimes may cherish delightful recollections of the day when America, almost shrinking 'from the shadows of coming events,' first placed her feet upon the untrodden ground, scarcely daring to anticipate the grandeur that awaited her."

He is, one can plainly see it, an apostle of the "manifest national destiny."

The first speech in opposition is made by Tucker. He is of an interesting type of obstructionist unfortunately

²³ *Op. cit. supra*, p. 418.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 422.

not unknown in our history. He frankly grants the impossibility of arresting the westward progress of the population, but he objects to the bill because he has no wish to accelerate something he considers inevitable. His main reason is one evidently not peculiar to him, since Floyd had already animadverted to it in his own speech:²⁵

"In the nature of things the people of the east and west sides of the Rocky Mountains must have a permanent separation of interests. . . . (The states of the Atlantic seaboard) are held together by bonds of commerce and self defense. The commerce of the Pacific slope people will be carried on with the Orient. They can have no inducement to trade with us. . . . The connection would be an inconvenience and a burden to both."

It must be apparent already on what a vagueness of geographical knowledge both the friends and enemies of the measure were proceeding. Tucker is a good example; his Oregon is 4000 miles away. The distance varies from three to four thousand miles though one speaker raises it to five thousand. It is apparent that Tucker regards westward expansion on the analogy of the swarming of a beehive: Density leads to emigration and the result is an independent swarm. As an alternative he saw but one thing, colonization. He, in company with a large number of others, disliked a colony as uncongenial to republican institutions. So far as they were concerned there were but these two sides to the situation, unencouraged but unobstructed emigration followed by political independence, or a long, expensive, anti-republican colonial system. They had no desire to see introduced "those distant praetorships whose effects were so pernicious in the Roman Empire." As to the protection of the whaling industry all that would be necessary would be a military post; ships could refit or rebuild on

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 423.

the Columbia as it is; therefore, there is no need for a settlement.

This ended the debate for a time. The struggle was more fairly joined, and Floyd moved the postponement of the bill until the second Monday in January, 1823. The factors in the problem both of defense and attack are (1) commercial, and (2) diverging political theories. To the men of the 'twenties the first was framed in terms of Oriental trading, whaleries, fisheries, furs, Indian trade, and to a minor degree, grain and lumber, while the second meant a colony or no-colony system. So much for man's prevoyance; the relative importance of these half a century and a century later are sufficient comment, yet Oregon did become a territory of the Union, and her people came like the swarming of a hive, ignored by their government, yet they stayed loyal.

On the day appointed, a member from New York, Mr. Colden, after proposing that the occupation should depend upon the opinion of the president as to when "it may be consistent with public interest," makes a long and cogent speech for the bill.²⁶ His main argument is that standby of the measure's supporters, the Asiatic trade. He shows how fallacious it is to estimate the prosperity of the country on customs house receipts of exports and imports. Like others of the expansionists, Colden suggests the possibility of steamboats established "on all the waters between this [the Capital] and the mouth of the Columbia." This speech shows a very careful and accurate study of conditions—particularly geographical—on the Columbia. It finishes with a warning that it will be better to take possession now than after the English or Russians or Spanish have seized the Columbia mouth and then *be obliged* to do so.

The rest of the debate requires only a summary. With a certain faction no occupation other than by a military force was desired. Some among them did not object to

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 583.

some degree of encouragement to settlers. It was felt that there was no necessity yet for civil government. This, it should be reiterated, was always a definite line of cleavage: The transportation of a machinery of government versus a *laissez faire* policy. Mallory, of Vermont, while twitting his colleagues on boasting of American enterprise and then fearing to occupy America's own territory, is definitely opposed to any colonial system. "It could never be adopted by our government; it was abhorrent to our principles."

Following this debate the House disposed of the bill temporarily by laying it on the table, but Friday, January 24 (1823) it was again taken up.²⁷ Mr. Mallory, alluded to above, had offered an amendment which is only important because Floyd offers as a substitute for his original bill the first three of the amendment's six provisions.²⁸ All through the years of struggle Floyd is conspicuous as willing to compromise, to be content with half a loaf, to accommodate the ideas of others, while holding tenaciously to his central purpose.

By the change (1) the President was not only authorized but required to occupy the country, (2) by a military force and fort, (3) for which a tract of Indian country not to exceed thirty square miles was to be secured. A dispute arose over the words "and required" but they were retained. (Vote, 55-50.) What Floyd gave up by this substitute was his scheme for the regulation and reorganization of Indian affairs. It is admissible to suggest that much of the opposition to the original bill had come from powerful interests (existing even then) to whom the reconstruction of the Indian affairs would have been distasteful. This part of the bill, which it will be remembered was the major part, was ignored in the debates and then dropped without even a word from its author. Evidently he did not wish to jeopardize the

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 678-691.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 601.

Oregon scheme by any unpopular attempts at administrative or departmental reform.

An attempt made to table the entire bill failed, principally, it would seem, because the House wanted to hear Baylies speak on it again.²⁹ The debate continued on the 25th but nothing new was added. Breckenridge of Kentucky, who was later to be associated with a vice-presidential candidate from this same Oregon country, held that the scheme offered was neither constitutional nor politic. He reiterated the "no community of interest" argument.

By this time the House was evidently content with what it had heard and carried a motion to table the bill, ayes 76, noes 61.³⁰ The margin was not great and on the 27th Floyd moved that the House proceed to the consideration of the bill, but the negative side had received astonishing accessions and his motion was rejected 100 to 61.

One hears no more of the Oregon question in the House that session except when Mr. Little of Maryland presented a memorial from "eight enterprising farmers and mechanics in his district praying that the bill for occupation be passed, and intimating their wish to remove thither for the improvement of that country and their condition." This also was ordered to lay on the table.³¹ This is of interest and some importance as the first official record of popular interest in the affair. Indeed, one of the objections made in January had been that no petitions had been received from merchants or anyone else. However, there can be no doubt that popular interest along with popular knowledge about Oregon was very slight. The country was not yet through its first period of purge through emigration, and was hardly in any condition to attempt anything so formidable as

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 683-684.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 696.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 1077.

a settlement of Oregon, so readily, let us say, as they had undertaken the settlement of Kentucky or the Ohio River country.

However, Benton, now in the Senate, took action to keep the Oregon affair alive. On February 14th he proffered a resolution inquiring as to the expediency of enabling the President to take possession of the United States territory on the northwest coast.³² February 17th it was amended and agreed to. Thus was the torch kept burning. Oregon's friends, beaten in the first fight, were girding themselves anew for the second battle.

The course of this first period of action has been given thus fully, and perhaps dully, as an accompanying circumstance, in order to show the actual amount of interest and consideration given to Oregon, to show the untiring activity of Floyd, and to indicate that which is more interesting than important, that Congresses of one day differ little from those of another.

To trace the details of the next campaign would not be extremely fruitful notwithstanding that it met with a half-success. A brief summary will suffice: "The pioneer work of the 17th Congress was actively followed up by its success. The not too discouraging results of 1822-23 were the prelude of the more determined assault in 1823-24, followed by the campaign of 1824-25 which resulted in the passage of the bill by the House." On December 23, 1824, Floyd had the satisfaction of seeing his bill authorizing the President to occupy with a military force and to set up a territorial government, passed by a vote of 113 to 57.

The cause for this change of heart on the part of the House can be explained by the fact that the weight of government approval was given to the bill. Both the Secretary of State and Monroe had simply been biding their time waiting to get other matters off their hands which to them seemed more important before turning

³² *Op. cit.*, pp. 235-246.

to this. Adams' irritation at Floyd and the commencement of the agitation was due far more to his belief that it was a political move which would entangle him with Canning when England's cooperation was really essential to the forthcoming Monroe Doctrine, than to any opposition to Oregon itself.³³ Adams' official letters to Rush as well as his *Memoirs* furnish conclusive proof as to his real attitude on the Oregon question. He would have been lukewarm toward any attempt at heavy emigration, but he desired an occupation and there is no doubt that Floyd's second bill is an accurate expression of Adams' views.³⁴

Accordingly, when the President's message urged an occupation of the Columbia, Floyd's bill appeared in the light of an administration measure. Calhoun as well as Adams backed it; Crawford had induced Floyd to reduce it to its present modest form.³⁵ But its little day was brief indeed. Neither the strenuous efforts of Benton nor the perfunctory support of Barbour of Virginia could insure it a very long shift. Dickerson, at the head of a politely incredulous Senate, disposed of it deftly and with dispatch.

The cause of the failure is not hard to find. There was no great popular interest in the question or a popular demand for expansion. Floyd spent his efforts in a period when popular indifference was the determining force against him. The old centers of population had not sufficiently refilled after the emigrations following the War of 1812 to feel the need yet of another draining. Nile's Register of November 25, 1825, voices an opinion that would have found general acceptance.³⁶ It "hopes that the project for establishing a chain of military posts

33 *J. Q. Adams Memoirs*, Vol. I, 260 (Jan. 29, '21) and Vol. II, 139 (Jan. 27, '24).

34 *Am. State Papers*, Vol. VI, pp. 790-791, Adams to Rush, July 22, 1823; also p. 792.

35 *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 250 (Mar., '24); p. 428 (Nov., '24).

36 *Niles Register*, Vol., p. 151.

will be postponed yet a little while. It is not in the interest of any part of the country that more immigration should take place."

With five years of work surveyed now, some evaluation of Floyd's motives and purposes other than was suggested at the beginning of this study, may be attempted. Nothing is more dangerous than this assertion of motives, particularly in the absence of letters, diaries, or any private documents which to the prying historian do give an insight into the cause of a man's actions. Even then there are intimacies of hope and motive and ambition which are not revealed and can never be known. This summing up of the motives actuating Floyd must be considered as suggestive rather than dogmatic.

It may help to see how he was regarded by two other prominent men of the time, Benton and J. Q. Adams. The latter it should be observed has two opinions, one in the early days of the contest when he saw in Floyd's "futile fight to occupy the Oregon country" a play of politics to assist Clay in beating Adams for the presidency, and a later one when these difficulties had been ironed out.³⁷ Floyd from a man "eager for distinction, forming gigantic plans upon crude and half digested information" became one "energetic and well-meaning."

Benton, after describing the doctor as "an ardent man of great ability and decision of character," says that the proposition to occupy and settle the Columbia region made by him was taken up "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 upon its advocate."³⁸

Adams in conversation with Monroe reduced Floyd's motives to (1) political maneuver; (2) an opportunity to open more government positions; (3) provide an

³⁷ *Memoirs*, VI, 58.

³⁸ *Thirty Years View*, Vol. I, 13.

asylum for an embezzling relative whose exile the Virginian probably intended to share.³⁹

Shippee in his "Federal Relations of Oregon" notes three factors as well: (1) Floyd's general attitude as a Westerner (his rearing had been in Kentucky, be it recalled); (2) the incentives from Crooks and Farnham's accounts of the Oregon country; and (3) Benton's interest in Oregon and his writings thereon—a topic which has been thoroughly discussed previously.⁴⁰

It has been suggested that Hall Kelley's interest in Oregon had set Floyd on the same trail, as furnishing an opportunity to bring himself to the notice of the country and his colleagues; but there is no evidence that Floyd ever heard of Kelley. It is far more likely that Kelley owed to Floyd instead.

There is nothing discreditable in personal ambition when coupled to honesty and sincere patriotism, but Floyd's unflagging efforts for ten years will hardly allow of explanation on that ground. Had his original bill gone through he could have hoped for nothing from Monroe. If Clay had succeeded to the presidency, preferment might have been opened to him, but he pursued his purpose under Adams with the same degree of ardor when he could only have expected less from him than from Monroe.

The energetic support he gave Jackson in 1828 might have given him reason to expect some reward, but it is in the highest degree unlikely that he would have cared for a post thousands of miles away from the center of national affairs. Indeed his own known ambitions would have precluded his so isolating himself. Moreover, his early break with Jackson removed him from national politics but his interests and sympathy for the Oregon country never moved.

It must not be forgotten that in looking over Floyd's

³⁹ *Memoirs*, V, 237-8.

⁴⁰ *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. XIX, 113.

reports and bills, three distinct projects are suggested or proposed: (1) Revival of claims to Texas and expansion southwestward; (2) a radical reorganization of the system of Indian administration; and (3) the occupation of the Oregon country. Floyd could be as truly charged with motives of personal, *i. e.*, selfish ambitions in regard to any one of these as another. In fact it is not beyond possibility to accuse him of designs on the presidency of the Transcontinental Steamboat System, that was proposed on the floor of the House.

From a study of such documents as are obtainable (the ones quoted at various times in this study), the motives which it seems safe to suggest are these: The desire to prevent Great Britain (whom Floyd detested) and Russia from overreaching the United States, combined with an ardent patriotic ambition stimulated psychically by the traditional pioneer spirit.

Floyd's final efforts of 1828-29 round out his work of a decade, but they have little that is new to offer. Some familiar names are missing—Baylies is no longer there—and others have come to take their stand on one side or the other. Before surveying the subject briefly a list of objections to the proposition will be given. They furnish a summary of the negative position, for the new opposition adds nothing greatly but amplification and reiteration to the arguments of old. The course of history has decided their validity.

- (1) Expense.
- (2) Anxiety over destruction of the Indian tribes.
- (3) Impossibility of agriculture.
- (4) Danger of dismemberment of Union. (Baylies' answer to this, *Ann. Cong.* XL, 416, is thoroughly worth reading.)
- (5) Unsuitable climate and forbidding geography.
- (6) Offense given to Czar of Russia.
- (7) Military occupation would violate treaty obligations with England, on the other hand.
- (8) Civil settlement would be wholly impracticable.
- (9) Any colonizing plan is bad policy for the nation.

- (10) Capital and population would be drawn from the United States.
- (11) No surplus population.

These are all answered or refuted in the earlier debates, but the later ones show on the whole a wider knowledge, and therefore the existence of more accurate information. Both the opponents and defenders of the measure had much greater armaments of facts at their disposal.

An entry in the Register of Debates for Tuesday, December 23, 1828, reads with a very familiar ring.⁴¹

"On motion of Mr. Floyd of Virginia, the House then went into Committee of the Whole upon the state of the Union and proceeded to the consideration of a bill to authorize the occupation of the Oregon River."

The only thing new in his speech was the principle that "the best way to settle a new country was to leave it to the enterprise of private individuals, merely extending to them the arm of national protection." This is in direct reference to a petition then before Congress from a company of persons in New Orleans offering to found a colony in Oregon at its own expense.

This is of some importance for at the same time there were like petitions before Congress from Kelley and his associates in Massachusetts, 3000 in number, and Albert Town and his company in Ohio. It indicates a great change in popular opinion of a few years before when eight Marylanders presented their petition as has been recorded. The geographical location of these three movements showed how widespread interest was: North-east, West, and South.

Their demands were colonizing grants pure and simple and the attack came on that ground. On the 29th of December, Bates, a Missourian, made a long and telling argument against the establishment of such a system.

⁴¹ The source of authority is the *Congressional Register of Debates*, Vol. V. Page numbrs standing alone will refer to this.

To him the danger of a proprietary government loomed large. "The settlers would be entirely dependent upon the will of the individuals for whom such great and exclusive privileges were asked."

One of the best and carefully balanced speeches was made by James K. Polk.⁴² For him it was a matter of formal legalism. He called attention to existing treaties; all action must be inside, not outside, these. His cold, precise manner shows the literalist in every phrasing; it sounds like the chipping of ice and is a beautiful example of chill exposition from which all the fire of vision has been extinguished.

Day after day the debate went on.⁴³ Mitchell of Tennessee, an orator of approved Western type, made a flamboyant speech in which he opposed the scheme *in toto*. One reads these later speeches in the vain hope of finding some new argument advanced. The impossibility of keeping Oregon in the federal union is repeated to weariness. No one appears to doubt our legal right to the country, but to many this is an irrelevant argument for occupation.

After sitting in Committee of the Whole for five days the House rose. Polk endeavored to secure the transfer of the Oregon bill to the Committee on Territories where it would have slept its life away, in all likelihood, but the House adjourned before the motion was taken.

The discussion was resumed on the 31st of December but it makes disheartening reading as it gets nowhere. It would seem to the average reader that the objections to the measure were in each case matched and overcome by its protagonists, but against pure inertia they could make little headway. One definite piece of action taken this day was the vote *not* to include the Ohio association among the settlers to whom certain privileges were to be granted. *This foreshadowed the fate of the entire bill.*

⁴² P. 130.

⁴³ Pp. 134, 135, 136, 137, 138.

From now on the House had indulged itself in a species of believe play, emasculating the bill a little bit at a time, but now its final intentions could hardly be in doubt.

After Mr. Weems' lachrymose plea that some "last dernier [sic] refuge" be saved to the "poor illiterate inhabitants of the wilderness," the amendment which would have provided for the Louisiana company was negatived. On the heels of this an amendment was proposed to leave to the President's discretion, instead of requiring him, to establish posts, and to provide for exploration.

At this final mangling of the bill, Floyd rose to make a last speech in its support. It is long and tinged with bitterness. He said himself to be "really at a loss to account for the peculiar objections made. The principal one was an incessant reiteration of the cry, 'What will England think?' . . . What was it to them what England thought, or whether she condescended to think at all about the matter?" He charged that the opposition from Bates had its origin in a jealous fear that St. Louis would be injured in its commercial interests.⁴⁴ He closed with the warning that they should be cautious in receiving the testimony of individuals engaged in the pursuits connected with the Oregon country for many of them were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company or agents of private associations who might fear disturbance of their establishments."

Bates retorts in a manner as bitter, but his words are worth giving, an interesting example of dramatic irony:

"The gentleman from Virginia has so long and so zealously dwelt upon this subject that he seems to have arrived at the conclusion that nothing is wanting but a little aid from the government to make this river of his adoption a great channel of North American commerce and the establishment at its mouth the great entrepot of Eastern and Western intercourse. . . . Let the government put forth all its strength and pour out all its

treasures, it cannot change the character of the country or the river; the one will remain sterile and inhospitable, the other will continue hard to enter and harder still to navigate. . . . *If you establish on that river a province with a population as dense as that of China, and build a fortress as strong as the seven walls of Constantinople you can do no more. The physical difficulties of the country forbid it.*"

In closing, however, he said one fairly good thing: "The progress of this debate has had, I believe, no other effect than to prove how ignorant we all are of the subject matter of the bill, and how unfit we are, at this moment, to act understandingly." This was, of course, an exaggeration, but it indicated that a steady progress of knowledge, a "campaign of education," would be all that would win to the protagonists of the measure a preponderance of popular and official opinion.

On January 6, 1829, when Floyd again brought the House in Committee of the Whole, the drama was rapidly drawing to its close. The bone of contention is now whether there shall be a military post or not. The bill has progressed in a certain order of attenuation: (1) settlement plus military protection; (2) military posts only; (3) exploring party sufficient; (4) straight out negation.

The proposal for an exploring party seemed for a moment destined to favor but by the time an amendment was offered and a vote taken on it, no quorum was found to be present, so the remaining members departed leaving the question undecided. On the 7th, as soon as the House had gone into committee again, it cheerfully voted the amendment down.

Then an amendment was offered providing for the trial of American citizens by United States courts. Some debate followed over this new turn given to the question—the legal protection of United States citizens. The committee good-humoredly passed both this amendment

and the one to which Floyd had objected a few days before.

The final form of the bill follows: It authorized (1) the building of forts; (2) exploration from these; (3) provided for trial of Americans; (4) and carried an appropriation of \$25,000.⁴⁵

On January 8th the bill came before the House for a brief consideration, but before it was ordered to its third reading the House adjourned. The next day, January 9, 1829, it was brought up for the last time. It was out of Committee of the Whole now, into the House itself, and the members were anxious to dispose of the matter as expeditiously as possible. The amendments reported by the committee were concurred in, and the question was then on ordering the bill to a third reading. Mr. Weems attempted a momentary diversion by resubmitting an amendment which was voted down. The yeas and nays were then taken on the bill itself, as to its being ordered to a third reading, which failed, by a vote of 99 to 75. This meant the rejection of the bill. It may be interesting to note that Buchanan was recorded as not voting, while Polk's vote was negative.

So Floyd's long work was done, for he left Congress at the close of that session, and for ten years the name Oregon is not listed in the Congressional annals of the House. A great failure, a complete fiasco, one might say, was Floyd's fate; but at least there is this which should keep green his name among the names of his country's statesmen, that when national indifference had all but let the Columbia Valley and the Oregon country go by default, he had kept the fire of national rights burning on his country's altar.

⁴⁵ P. 190.

EDUCATION IN THE OREGON CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1857*

By IRA W. LEWIS

In considering the educational provisions in the Oregon constitution provided by the state convention in 1857, the readiness and the lack of opposition to the educational measures put forth makes it evident that the people of Oregon were prepared for the organization of a state educational system. A large number of the people who had emigrated from the central states¹ which had favored educational development, brought with them the same or similar ideas toward education. The conditions in Oregon, namely the sparseness of population and the difficulties of conveyance due to lack of roads, weather hindrances and the rough country, caused a slow varied progress, that was controlled by local conditions and group sentiment. The economic status in those pioneer days of the majority of people was not sufficient to aid materially in overcoming the natural handicaps. The progress as a result was retarded although the majority of the people were in favor of it. Some however, as shown by the editorial in the *Oregon Statesman*,² clung to the more conservative aspect and preferred the private schools to the public free schools.

The tendency toward better education became active in 1849 through Rev. G. H. Atkinson of Oregon City. Through his efforts a state school system was provided for, including a state superintendent of public instruction, district trustees, methods of granting teaching certificates, board of supervisors, irreducible school fund and a two-mill county tax. The development of Oregon received a big set-back on account of the discovery of gold in California which caused nearly half of Oregon's

* Prepared under the supervision of Dean H. D. Sheldon of the University School of Education.

1 Especially from Illinois and the adjacent states.

2 See *Oregon Statesman*, Sept. 29, 1857.

population to move there in a short time. This with the natural hindrances in the earlier beginnings of education were sufficient to defeat the issue from a practical point of view. As a result in two years the provision for a state superintendent of public instruction was repealed. Growing out of this system two counties³ having more concentrated population, in 1854 organized their school systems and divided the counties into districts. The prominent feature resulting from Rev. Atkinson's system was the preparing of public opinion and sentiment for the progressive constitutional measures that were adopted with little opposition in the state convention.

The importance of the work of the convention is very evident when the influence of the constitution in shaping the future is considered. The constitution outlines and directs the educational development. The main principles remain in the educational system. The constitution was very difficult and expensive to change, requiring a majority vote of the people, after the legislature recommends it for the people to vote on. Legislative laws merely required a majority vote of their bodies to change or repeal them.

Oregon being among the later group of states to develop and form a constitution, naturally her constitution was modeled after the earlier ones. Oregon was settled largely by people from older, more developed states and consequently her educational system would be similar to the systems of the older states. In the older states there are three types of constitutional provisions for education that served as a basis for Oregon. These types are representative of three periods⁴ of development. The first period, beginning with the nation's independence and lasting up to the year 1803, was characterized by short

³ Marion and Multnomah counties.

⁴ Following Hindsdale's *Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1892-93, Vol. 2, p. 1312.

general provisions in less than half the states. The other states failed to mention education. These general provisions in accordance with the recommendation of Congress encouraged the establishing of elementary schools and the protection of the colleges. In the second period the constitutions began broadening out and providing for the safeguarding of the school lands and funds. This latter part was less evident in the southern constitutions. The rapid extension of the population from the east toward the west affected the constitutions of this period. The last period beginning in 1835 influenced the formation of Oregon's educational provisions more than the others. This period was characterized by more liberal reactions to educational needs. Michigan⁵ was the first state to permanently establish the state superintendent of public instruction. Numerous details as placing a minimum on the price of school lands for sale, setting a minimum school term and the like,⁶ were included so that long provisions were necessary and were characteristic of this period. These detailed provisions removed the authority largely from the legislature and placed it in a more permanent unflexible form, less liable to be changed. State institutes, normal schools and libraries were created in this period. It was also marked by the first antagonism of the ecclesiastical bodies toward state schools.

The constitutional convention⁷ met, as authorized by the legislative assembly of the Oregon territory in the previous year, in Salem at the court house. The delegates assembled August 17, 1857, and completed their work September 18, 1857. The delegates were representatives of the counties based on population and composed of many able and capable men. Some that stand

⁵ In 1837.

⁶ See *Constitution of Iowa*, 1846, Article IX; *Wisconsin*, 1848, Article X; and *Michigan*, Article XIII.

⁷ *Journal of the constitutional convention of Oregon.*

out as influential state leaders are Judge G. H. Williams,⁸ who was mayor of Portland and played a prominent part in national politics, M. P. Deady, who was a district judge and took an active part in molding state politics; L. F. Grover, who later as governor and senator was active in protecting and improving the state's interests; Jesse Applegate, an organizer of the early government; Delazon Smith, a senator, and David Logan, an energetic lawyer. With delegates as these and others like them, the convention was amply capable of forming a constitution.

President Deady appointed as a committee⁹ on education and school lands, Messrs. Peebles, Boise, Marple, Shattuck, Starkweather, Kinney and Robbins. Mr. J. C. Peebles, who was chairman of the committee, grew up in Pennsylvania and Indiana. He had held public positions as clerk of the House of Representatives, member of legislature, state librarian, county judge and clerk of the Senate. R. P. Boise,¹⁰ who was reared in Massachusetts, was a college graduate and practiced law for two years. He became prosecuting attorney and later chief justice of the new state. He was chosen for the supreme bench. E. D. Shattuck was educated and taught school in Vermont. He was admitted to the bar and came to Oregon the next year. He became professor of ancient languages in the Pacific University at Forest Grove. Later he was superintendent of schools for Washington county and then probate judge. W. A. Starkweather was born in Connecticut and taught school both there and in Ohio. He was a member of the House of Representatives and a state senator. R. C. Kinney from Illinois was engaged in wool manufacturing and

⁸ Biographies found in H. K. Hines' *History of Oregon*, and in H. O. Lang's *History of the Willamette Valley*.

⁹ See *Journal of the constitutional convention*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Biographies found in H. O. Lang's *History of the Willamette Valley*, and in H. K. Hines' *History of Oregon*.

flour milling. He was a member of the territorial legislature.

These men formed the articles which were largely approved by the convention and consequently little time was needed for discussion. All together the time expended by the convention on education was not more than a day.¹¹ The discussion that took place favored delaying indefinitely the establishing of a state university, preserving the university fund irreducible for ten years and providing no restriction on the color of children attending the schools. The minority report of Mr. Marple differed with the ideas of the majority of the committee, consequently was reported separately. It was not considered seriously by the convention and in a short time was laid aside.

In providing for an executive for the state educational system the convention was strongly inclined toward conservatism. Instead of creating a state superintendent of public instruction, as other states had done, since it began in Michigan in 1837, they sought to place the power and duties on an existing state official. The secretary of state was suggested by the committee¹² but the governor was preferred and chosen by the convention. The convention accepted the report of the committee on this provision with little discussion. The governor was given the duties and powers that were prescribed by law. He was to hold the position for five years, then when the legislature saw fit, it could provide by law for the election of a state superintendent of public instruction and designate his powers and duties. The governor being busy with official duties did not have time to carry the additional burden of organizing, systematizing and building up the schools. This delay in establishing a separate state superintendent of public instruction lasted

¹¹ A half a day was spent in the committee of the whole, and the rest practically in the routine of passage.

¹² Report of the convention in the *Oregonian*, Aug. 26, 1857.

fourteen years instead of five years and was a great hindrance to educational advancement. No definite policies were established so that the county superintendents organized the schools to suit themselves. The salary of a county superintendent was small at that time and not sufficient to draw capable men. As a result many men of mediocre caliber held these positions. Their work in general corresponded with their salaries and, coupled with the lack of a state policy or plan, the school advancement was retarded to a great extent.

The common school fund¹³ was very amply provided for in the Oregon constitution, perhaps including more definite sources than any other state up to this time with the exception of Wisconsin.¹⁴ This section is like the one in the constitution of Wisconsin in many respects, in fact the similarity is remarkable even to the wording. It includes the proceeds from the lands given to the state for educational purposes, or when the purpose is not stated, from escheats and forfeitures, military exemption money, gifts, bequests, lands given by Congress and five per cent of the sales of all public lands. The fund was to remain irreducible, while the interest was for the support of the common schools in each district and suitable libraries. The income from this fund was to be distributed among the counties in proportion to the children residing therein between the ages of four and twenty years.

The details of the system of the common schools were left to the legislature, the only provision being that the system be established in a general and uniform manner.¹⁵ A motion to limit the schools to white children failed, as the convention thought that negroes and Indians could be excluded otherwise.

¹³ See *Oregon Constitution*, Article VIII, Section 2.

¹⁴ Wisconsin included fines from the penal law violations which Oregon omitted.

¹⁵ See *Constitution of Oregon*, Article VIII, Section 3.

The sharpest difference of opinion came about as a result of Mr. Deady's motion to strike out the provision for a state university ¹⁶ for, he said, experience had demonstrated that state universities were of little use to anybody. Mr. Reed thought that every avenue to the acquisition of knowledge should be opened. Mr. Peebles stated that the University of New York was in a flourishing condition. Mr. Boise said the situation in Oregon was peculiar. Other institutions in the older states were so far away that the parents did not want to let their children go so far from home at such an early age. Mr. Smith said it was the poor people who wanted the university, not the rich. The rich could afford to send anywhere. The young people should be well educated if educated at all. On the other hand Mr. Farrar and Mr. Lovejoy claimed that a university would be partisan and sectarian in spite of all opposition, as was old Harvard and others. Mr. Deady suggested, as the trend of the time was toward these tendencies and a state university would be certain to be sectarian, that it would be better to divide the university fund among the present sectarian colleges in proportion to the number of students. Mr. Boise opposed this on account of the tendency to separate the people of the state into clannish groups. The western state universities were considered generally as failures, Mr. Watkins thought. Mr. Kelsay claimed that universities were expensive and only the rich could afford them.

Many members ¹⁷ wanted the university fund transferred to the common school fund, but Mr. Waymire said a law of Congress made it illegal, so that the question was whether to have a state university or let the funds lie idle. The common school fund was sufficient without the university fund, Mr. Smith thought. They finally

¹⁶ Report of convention in the *Oregon Statesman*, Sept. 11, 1857.

¹⁷ Those that stated their desire to transfer the fund were Messrs. Kelsay, Farrar, Campbell, and Logan.

decided by a vote of 27 to 15 not to expend the university fund for at least ten years. Since the fund was small, this delay was a good thing. The people as a whole were not prepared or ready for a state university and did not want it at this time. They did not feel that they could support it and send their children to it. The fund was to be invested so that it would increase.

The convention established a board of commissioners consisting of the governor, the secretary of state and the state treasurer. Their duties were to sell the school and university lands, invest the funds arising therefrom and such other duties as prescribed by law. The placing of politicians in the leading educational offices was a bad feature, as they did not give due diligence in protecting the schools' interests. No minimum price was placed on the lands for sale, as later there was in some states,¹⁸ and consequently gave ample opportunities for fraud.

Mr. P. B. Marple, disagreeing with the majority of the education committee, submitted a separate minority report. This report was more exhaustive and detailed than the majority report, containing eight¹⁹ instead of five sections.

There are three outstanding differences brought out by Mr. Marple. In the first place the land assets and moneys now constituting the university fund shall (as soon as Congress shall consent thereto) be and remain a part of the common school fund. This provision was practically useless, as there was a legal objection to it. Congress had never consented to it for any other state and was not likely to in this case. Secondly, no county shall receive its apportionment of the school funds unless there shall have been raised in that county an amount of money for the schools equal to one-half of the appor-

¹⁸ For example, such a provision was made in the constitution of Washington, Article XVI.

¹⁹ See manuscript copy of the minority report of the state constitutional convention, at the Oregon Historical Society at Portland.

tionment. The last difference was that no part of the common school fund shall ever be granted for the use or benefit of any religious sect. Included with this was the provision that no distinction shall be made for or against any person on account of any religious opinions in any department of the common school system. In view of the consequent results the broader view of education was worked out successfully without being limited to exclude sectarianism or possible sectarian prejudice. This report was not considered seriously by the members of the convention and was soon laid on the table.

The final product of the convention was approved by nearly ²⁰ all of the members. Their approval largely represented the opinion of the public concerning it. The public had tried at one time ²¹ to organize a school system, so they were ready and desirous of governmental provisions that would make the school organization effective. The work of the convention on education for this reason was well received by the public.

The provisions gave Oregon an encouraging outlook for the advancement of education. The organization of the schools established the needed system and put it on a uniform basis. Although the state superintendent of public instruction was delayed, all the schools were encouraged to rise higher and to come up to certain standards among the counties.

The university was delayed until the people were ready for it and at the same time the fund would increase to more nearly meet the needs.

The provisions were sufficient to set forth a general plan and to direct the system of development. On the other hand they were not too rigid or inflexible to prevent expansion as society might demand after rapid changes. If details and limitations were definite and exacting, the system would be outgrown when changes

²⁰ Opposed by Messrs. Deady, Marple, and Dryer.

²¹ In 1849.

in society occurred, and would be a hindrance. For example, a maximum placed on financial expenditures or on the amount to be derived from sources at that time would have unnecessarily cramped the present day broadening and development.

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10. Sheldon, H. D. *Education in American State Constitutions*. (Unpublished.)

DOCUMENTARY
THE MISSION RECORD BOOK OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, WILLAMETTE STATION, OREGON
TERRITORY, NORTH AMERICA,
COMMENCED 1834

INTRODUCTION

The important part that the Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley had in early Oregon history is generally understood. It is safe to say that aside from its influence upon the religious, moral and educational life of the old Oregon country, which was considerable, the success of the United States in establishing its claim and asserting its sovereignty was in no small degree due to the mission and to the efforts that were made by Jason Lee and others connected with the mission to stir interest at Washington and to stimulate immigration to Oregon.

The Record Book of the Mission has never been published, and few students of the history of the period have had access to it. However, two of the missionaries, Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost, published in 1844 their "Ten Years in Oregon" which was a full and interesting narrative, describing the founding of the Mission and depicting the events of importance during the ten years of its existence. This little book lived up to its promise of giving "a tolerable idea of the toils, privations and difficulties" through which the missionaries passed from the time the Mission was founded in 1834 until it was substantially given up in 1844. Besides this publication, Jason Lee left an important Journal or Diary in his own handwriting, with entries covering the original journey from Liberty, Missouri, beginning September 20, 1834, to the establishing of the location on the Willamette in the autumn of that year, and containing

also a single entry dated August 18, 1837, and other entries covering in part a journey to the eastern states by Jason Lee between March 25 and July 7 of the latter year. This Diary is in the possession of the Oregon Historical Society and it has been published in the Quarterly.¹

The Mission Record Book is a folio blank book in plain and legible handwriting. The original is in the Methodist Church depositary in the city of New York, and a photostat copy has recently been acquired by the Oregon Historical Society. The regular entries from day to day are between April 25, 1834, and the end of December, 1838, and the remainder consists of accounts of clothing and supplies furnished to various Indian children at the Mission, a list of accessions to the Mission School, and a marriage record. Altogether it is an interesting narrative that covers the history of the early years of the Mission, with details that are not included in the Diary. It depicts a pathetic struggle against sickness and death, and in simple words shows missionary life in a new country, with some indication of the attendant hardships and discouragements. Although in barest outline, the story is ever memorable because of the examples here given of earnest faith and steadfastness, which while seemingly resulting in little else than dismal failure, nevertheless had a profound and far-reaching effect.

CHARLES HENRY CAREY.

Early in 1833 a notice appeared in the *Christian Advocate & Journal*, published in the City of New-York, stating that several Indians belonging to the flat head tribe west of the rocky mountains, had made a weary journey to St. Louis in Missouri for the express purpose of enquiring after the white man's God and true manner of worshiping him. In consequence of this report a gen-

¹ Vol. VIII, 225; Vol. XVII, pp. 116-146, 240-266, 397-430.

eral feeling of Christian sympathy was manifested in the Churches for these interesting heathen and the officers & managers of the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church immediately determined by leave of Providence to establish a mission among the Flathead indians. Pursuant of this determination, a request was presented to Rev. Jason Lee of Stanstead L. C. to undertake the superintendency of *sd.* mission and having complied with the request, was solemnly set apart for the purpose at the sitting of the New-England conference in the City of Boston, in June, 1833, by Bishop Hedding.

In August following Rev. Daniel Lee of the New-hampshire & Vermont conference, was appointed, at the sitting of the Troy conference, colleague with Rev. J. Lee to labour among the Flatheads. In Nov. of the same year notice appearing in the publick journals that Capt. N. J. Wyeth of Cambridge Mass. had recently returned from a tour west of the mountains & that he contemplated returning in the following spring—on receiving this intelligence J. L. immediately repaired to Boston had an interview with Capt. W. and readily obtained permission to accompany him back to the mountains. There he procured an outfit which he *shipped* on board the May Dacre bound to the Columbia river, and engaged Cyrus Shepard, lay member to accompany the mission. Early in 1834 the brethren left New-England on their way to the west & all met at Independence, Mo. (place of general rendezvous before starting for the mountains) on the 24th April 1834. Messrs. P. L. Edwards (lay member) and C. M. Walker (non professor) both of Richmond, Mo., having previously joined the mission party.

Friday 25 April 1834.

Made preparation for departing & on Saturday 20th journeyed a few miles & put up at the house of a Mr. Rickman, who gratuitously provided food both for ourselves & animals.

Saturday 3d May.

Arrived at the U. S. agency for the Kansas Indians & lost our beef cow before crossing the river.

Saturday 17th May.

Arrived at the river Platte.

Sabbath 8th June.

Left the Platte after travelling on its banks 21 days.

Friday 20th June.

Arrived at the general rendezvous of the fur traders on Ham's Fork, a branch of the Colorado of the west.

Wednesday 2d July.

Left rendezvous and on Thursday 15th arrived at the site on which Fort Hall now stands on Snake river in 43° 14' North Latitude. Tarried here till 30th July then left for *Wallah-wallah* on the Columbia. Two good horses were presented to J. Lee before leaving Fort Hall by two Kiouse Indians. Journeying in company with Mr. Thos. McKay & Capt. Stewart.

Saturday 16th Aug.

This day took leave of Capt. McKay who kindly presented us with a quantity of flower & some sugar before taking leave, journeyed the rest of the way to *Walla-walla* with Capt. Stewart and a few Indians.

Wednesday 27th Aug. 1834.

Arrived at the Kiouse camp & tarried here the following day—found the Indians very friendly & desirous we should stop among them. They presented four good horses for which J. Lee made them suitable presents, etc.

Friday 29th.

Left the Indian camp and on Monday 1st Sept. arrived safely at *Walla-walla*.

Thursday 4th Sept.

Put our effects on board one of the Hudson bay Co's boats & in the afternoon launched forth for Vancouver down the Columbia.

15th Sept.

After a tedious voyage & much delay, occasioned by strong head winds the party arrived in health at Vancouver much fatigued by a long journey - - - Were hospitably entertained by the Gentlemen of the Fort, slept in a house this night the first time for one hundred & fifty two nights - Since we left the U. S. have travelled 105 and rested in camp 35 days in all 140.

Thursday 18th.

J. & D. Lee set out on an exploring excursion, intending to visit the Wallamette country and return in a few days, their object is to make observations relative to the best location for the mission.

Saturday 27th.

Messrs. Lee returned having explored the country as far as they intended, but are as yet undecided as to a location. A station on the Wallamette is strongly recommended by the gentlemen of Vancouver.

Sabbath 28th.

J. Lee preached twice at the Fort these were the first sermons preached in this place.

Monday 29th Sept. 1834.

After much prayer for direction as to a place for present location, the Wallamette has been decided upon and Messrs. Lee, Edwards & Walker, together with some men to assist in taking up the goods of the mission left Vancouver in one of the Company's boats. C. Shepard remained at Vancouver in charge of the school at that place.

Tuesday 30th.

Having received the goods belonging to the mission of Capt. Lambert from on board the Brig May Dacre, Messrs. L. E. & W. with their assistants left the Brig late in the afternoon & proceeded up the Wallamette and after much toil and hard labour, arrived at the place of landing on the mission farm on Monday 6th Oct. & im-

mediately commenced preparations for erecting a house, &c. &c.

Sabbath 19th Oct.

J. Lee held a meeting at the house of Mr. Joseph Gervais where there is an opening for meetings every Sabbath.

Monday 3d Nov.

Moved the goods into the house which as yet is only partly covered. It is built of rough logs 32 feet in length and 18 in breadth—only about 10 feet of the roof is now covered—For four weeks the goods have been sheltered by our tent the last of which the rain fell most of the time—All have been constantly employed during the day *during the day* in *puting* the tools in order, preparing timber & building the house and have often been obliged to retire early in the evening to a small borrowed tent (scarcely large enough for all to lie in) with clothes wet, to prevent being thoroughly drenched. Yet through God's blessing have enjoyed uninterrupted health, though far from being comfortable in many aspects. Have laboured hard through the *the* week and walk two miles every Sabbath to meeting. Blessed be God for all his mercies.

Friday 7th Nov.

Sintwa a Calapooya Indian boy about 10 years of age came to reside in the family.

Sabbath 16th Nov.

Kye-a-tah sister to Sintwah came to live at the Mission she is about 12 years of age, they are orphans. We have given them the English names of John Mark and Lucy Hedding.

Saturday 29th.

Kil-a-poos a Cal-a-poo-ya orphan about 12 years of age came & requested permission to remain in the family. Like the two above mentioned he came nearly naked, his English name is Charles Morehead.

Wednesday 10th Dec.

J. Lee set out for Vancouver & arrived there safely on Friday 12th. On the following Sabbath he preached and baptized Two women and sixteen children and on the Monday evening following baptized two more women and 1 child. In consideration of these services he received donations amounting to five pounds for the benefit of the mission.

Thursday 16th Dec.

J. Lee set out for the mission and arrived safely in a few days.

Feb. 23d 1835.

J. Lee arrived at Vancouver & as C. Shepards health is poor, has concluded to have him return to the Mission house.

23d Feb. 1835.

J. Lee arrived at Vancouver & on Monday 2d March, left for the Mission in company with C. Shepard (whose health at present is much *impaired*) and an Indian from Vancouver to assist in taking up the canoe and on Saturday 7th arrived safely at the Mission. The river high & current rapid ascending in a canoe very difficult.

Sabbath 26th April.

Mishael La Framboise brought two indian lads (one of the Silelah, the other of the Kil-a-mook tribe) for the purpose of having them educated.

Wednesday 17th June.

The Father of the Kil-a-mook lad came and took him away, much to our regret as he is a youth of promise and bade fair to improve rapidly. Ken-o-teesh the Silelah boy has lately killed a panther measuring eight feet from the end of the nose to the tip of the tail.

30th June.

J. Lee has in the course of this and the last month *has* been once to Vancouver and twice to Ft. Wm. and the falls of the Wallamette, once to Ft. Wm. by request

to settle some differences that had arisen between Capt. Wyeth and his men, all parties having agreed to abide by his decision. His business at the falls was to purchase & salt salmon for family use & succeeded in procuring 6 barrels which he with other help brought up the river in a canoe with much difficulty and hard labour the river being very high. Kenoteesh is fast wasting with consumption.

Wednesday, 19th Aug. 1835.

This morning at fifteen minutes before three o'clock the spirit of Kenoteesh took its flight to the invisible world. Aet. about 15 years. He was a youth of good promise & an amiable disposition. How mysterious the providences of God. May we be submissive & learn in silence at the feet of Jesus. The remains of this Indian youth were this evening committed to their mother dust with appropriate devotional exercises, our neighbours generally attended the funeral. Have finished gathering in our crops of wheat, peas, oats & barley & by God's blessing have a good supply.

24th Aug.

J. Lee set out for Vancouver accompanied by Mr. Nuttall who has been with us on a visit for a few weeks past.

26th Aug.

Kenoteesh's brother came and tarried with us over night, at his request the remains of K. were disinterred that he might once more have a view of his countenance & see how he was buried &c—he appears satisfied with what has been done. C. Shepard is now suffering from a severe relapse of intermittent fever.

29th Aug.

Lasse, a Callapooya girl was sent here today by her father to be taught to read and work, we have given her the name of Ann Webster. P. L. Edwards has returned from Ft. Wm. where he has been for six or eight weeks

past preparing to take his departure for the U. S. in the Brig May Dacre, Capt. Lambert.

Tuesday 1st Sept. 1835.

D. Lee by request attended the funeral of Lewis Shangarati at Campment Du Sable & returned late in the evening quite unwell with ague accompanied by J. L. on his return from Vancouver. Have heard this day that the Indian who has lately visited us, although he appeared satisfied, was nevertheless quite dissatisfied and intended taking the life of Messrs. D. Lee & Shepard the night he tarried here but was prevented from executing his design by another indian who accompanied him. This may be true it may be false, the report came from the Indians on the other side of the river, with whom he had a skirmish after he left here & killed several of them.

Tuesday 8th Sept.

Messrs. Lee, Edwards & Shepard have all been sick with *intermitent* fever, now on the recovery—Sophia Charponca an orphan (about four years old) was taken this day into the mission family.

Tuesday 29th Sept.

D. Lee left the mission House accompanied by P. L. Edwards. The former for Vancouver to obtain medical assistance being afflicted with a pain in the chest, the latter for the Brig in which he is expecting to embark for the United States.

Tuesday 13th Oct.

Heard this day that D. Lee by the advice of Dr. McLoughlin, has embarked on board one of the Hudsons Bay Co's ships bound to Oa-hoo. This measure has been deemed advisable for the re-establishment of his health—P. L. E. has in consequence of this relinquished the idea of leaving at present. J. Lee gone to Campment Du Sable to settle the affairs of the late Louis Shangarati and bring his family to this place, having been appointed thereto by Dr. McLoughlin.

Sabbath 18th Oct. 1835.

The above mentioned family, consisting of Isabel, Joseph and Nicholas, children of the said Louis, Sookta, Cartoosh, Marlooah, Solomon and —kalt, formerly slaves but free since they came here for slaves cannot be with us. "They pass our threshold and their shackels fall"—Sookta and his little son about 3 years old are both unwell.

Monday 19th Oct. 26th Oct.

Began ploughing to sow fall wheat. P. L. Edward commenced school at Campment Du Sable.

Tuesday 27th

John Mark left the mission by agreement—he has been unwell of late and expressing a desire to visit his people, was *permitted*, but on returning became unsteady & when told that he must either mind or leave the mission he preferred the latter.

Monday 9th Nov.

Two Indian youths of the Chenook tribe came and requested *admitance* into the Mission family having been advised to this measure by Dr. McLoughlin and bringing his recommendation. They are brothers and have received from us the names of Wm. Brooks & Ozro Morrill.

Saturday 14th Nov.

Finished sowing fall wheat—in all 27 bushels 19 white & 8 of *read*.

Thursday 26th Nov.

Rev. Mr. Parker (a Presbyterian Clergyman from the State of New-York) visited us this day—he has been sent out by the A. B. C. F. M. to explore the country, and ascertain the most eligible situation for a mission. We receive him with all joy as a servant of our common Lord & trust his coming will prove a refreshing season to our souls.

Friday, 27 Nov. 1835.

This morning at 25 minutes past Five o'clock A. M. the immortal part of Nicholas Shangarati took its flight

to the world of Spirits—he was taken last Saturday with a pain in his head, in a few days lost his reason and after extreme suffering died as above mentioned Aet. 8 y—His remains were interred this evening at 4 o'clock, the neighbours generally attended the funeral and much solemnity was apparent on every countenance—Prayer by Mr. Parker, burial service by J. Lee after which the hymn was sung by the youth present beginning "Death has been here and *boarn* away" &c. was sung.

Saturday 28th Nov.

Much to our regret Mr. Parker left us this morning having arranged his business so as to preach at the lower settlement to-morrow and return on his way to Vancouver on Monday—Finished digging potatoes have put 225 bushels into the cellar.

Monday 30th Nov.

Have commenced giving instruction to the children every afternoon those in our family and those belonging to our neighbours amount to 20 in number—During the summer and fall we have given instruction only three times in a week except on the Sabbath—several of the children are making laudable improvement.

Monday 7th Dec.

Commenced drawing timber for an addition to our house—the dimensions of *sd* addition to be 32 feet by 16—one of our Indian lads shot a swan this evening that measured 8 feet 6½ in. across the wings when extended & 4 feet 11½ inches from the end of the bill to that of the tail and weighed before dressing between 26 and 27 lbs.

Friday 11th Dec. 1835.

This evening our dog took after a deer drove it near the house and finally among the cows which hooked it to death. Its flesh was tender, very excellent and afforded us a seasonable supply.

Sabbath 13th Dec.

Died this day Sookta (one of the Indians belonging to Louis' family) Aet. about 30 years—he has long been afflicted with a distressing pain in his head.

Monday 14th.

Funeral of Sookta. Neighbours attended and with our family made the number present Forty five.

Tuesday 15th.

Last night died the little son of Sootka Aet. about 3 years. He was afflicted with a sore disease which he inherited from his mother. Was an interesting child and had won much upon our affections, his remains were this evening *interred* by his father's.

Saturday 26th Dec.

J. Lee by the request of Mr. Gervais, baptized his son Isaac who is sick and apparently near his end. The season was solemn and profitable.

Thursday 31st Dec. 1835.

At the close of this year we have abundant cause for thankfulness while recounting the mercies of God to us during its revolutions of moments, hours, days, weeks and months and though some of His providences have been to us dark and mysterious, though we have been called to pass through some trying scenes and have met with many discouragements, yet on the whole we have great reason to bless the Lord, and with grateful hearts exclaim "Surely *goodness* and mercy have followed us" through the past year. "His mercies are new every morning and fresh every moment." During the past year there have been admitted into the family Thirteen Indians and one halfbreed four of whom have died, one has been dismissed and nine remain also one that was *admitted* in 1834 so that we have now ten youths who are under our care and instruction and who are making some progress in the knowledge of manners, science and useful labour—By the blessing of God on our labours we have a sufficiency of comfortable food both for our own

& their support—P. L. Edwards a member of this mission is teaching a school at Campment Du Sable composed of thirteen youth whom he is instructing in the first rudiments of Education—D. Lee not yet returned from Oahoo.

1836.

11th Feb. in compliance with a previous invitation all the neighbours visited us at the Mission house P. M. at which time a temperance society was formed the first existing west of the Rocky mountains O T—Three of our neighbours readily signed the temperance pledge, others made frivolous excuses for not signing and others wanted time to consider of the subject. The following day three of them came and signed—The following week J. Lee obtained nine more subscribers there are in all Eighteen members,—O Lord save this rising settlement from the curse of intemperance.

Tuesday 23d Feb. 1836.

J. Lee left the Mission house to proceed on business to Vancouver & on the following morning Wm. Brooks left in a canoe which is to convey them down the river in company with Messrs. Gervais & Smith.

Saturday 5th March.

J. Lee returned in health and safety from Vancouver, bringing with him Chas. Cohana a half breed youth, (who is now *admitted* into the family) and having received a letter from D. Lee (yet at Oa-hoo) bearing the welcome intelligence that his health is much improved and that for the general good of the cause he has concluded to tarry till another opportunity presents of returning to this place. He also acknowledges the receipt of \$250.00 collected for the mission in a native contribution and in presents from benevolent individuals—Also a present of \$25.00 for himself. J. Lee also received a letter from Dr. McLoughlin enclosing a Subscription paper for the benefit of the mission, of which the following are copies

Fort Vancouver 1st March 1836

The Rev. Jason Lee

Dear Sir

I do myself the pleasure to hand you the inclosed subscription which the Gentlemen who have signed it request you will do them the favour to accept for the use of your mission and they pray our heavenly Father without whose existance we can do nothing, that of his infinite mercy he may vouchsafe to bless and prosper your pious endeavours—and *belive* me to be with esteem and regard your sincere well wisher and humble servant

JOHN MCLOUGHLIN

The Rev Jason Lee

Subscription in aid of the Methodist Willamette Mission

	£	S	D	£	S	D
John McLoughlin	6	0	0			
Duncan Finlayson	6	"	"			
James Douglas	5	"	"			
Benj. McKenzie	2	"	"			
Boulton	2	"	"			
George T. Allan	2	"	"			
John M. McLoud	3	"	"	£26	0	0

Saturday 26th March 1836.

Found one of our cows dead by poison.

Thursday 31st March

Two Indian lads formerly slaves to Louis Shangarati absconded from the mission. They were lads of little promise. Finished sowing spring wheat began on the 16th inst.

Saturday Eve 30th April.

J. Lee was called to attend the death bed of G. Sargent, a native of New England. He found him in extreme agony both of body and mind, was perfectly sensible and said he was about to *die an awful death*—Mr. L conversed and prayed with him, during prayer he appeared deeply wrought upon and at the close added a hearty Amen. Early on the following morning 1st May his immortal spirit took its departure from the tenement of clay.

Monday 2d May 1836.

Funeral of Mr. Sargent. J. Lee improved the occasion by discoursing from 40th Ch of Isaiah 6th 7 & 8th verses. There were present a goodly no. of people and the season was one of great solemnity—May the living lay it to heart.

Friday 20th May.

J. Lee was suddenly seized with ague and on the following day had a very severe fit, since that by the goodness of God he has been on the recovery.

Wednesday 12th July.

Had a short visit from Dr. McLoughlin. J. Lee yet quite unwell not having recovered from the debilitating effects of ague.

Saturday 16th July

Welaptu-lekt a Kiouse Indian came to visit us and brought two of his sons (Wis-la-how-it-ka and Si-ah-hen) whom he wishes to have remain with us to be educated, he was also accompanied by two Indains from near Wal-la-wal-la—This Indian travelled with us some days while on our journey from Fort Hall to Wa-la-wal-la and with other of his tribe seemed very attentive to religious instruction and desirous to have missionaries settle among them but none having yet come We-lap-tu-lekt has come to us a distance probably of between two and three hundred miles.

Tuesday 18th July.

Welap left this morning, accompanied by the two Indians that came with him, on their return to Wal-la-wal-la, He intends coming back with his family as soon as possible.

Thursday 14th July commenced reaping barley, Thursday 21st commenced reaping wheat and Saturday 23d commenced pulling peas.

Wednesday 3d August 1836.

Finished cutting fall wheat & Thursday 4th finished

peas & oats & commenced cutting spring wheat. Isabel Denton and Lucy Hedding have been sick several weeks.

Saturday 13th Aug.

Finished cutting wheat. This day two chiefs from Walla-walla came to the mission house with two boys whom they wish to leave to be educated, of course their request is not refused.

Sabbath 14th.

Jason Lee was this morning seized with a severe fit of intermittent fever which is the second attack he has had this season.

Monday 16th.

The chiefs took their leave apparently well pleased, the two boys remain.

Thursday 2d Sept.

Heard that D. Lee has arrived safely in the Columbia, having taken passage in a ship from England bound to Vancouver, there are also on board Rev. Mr. Beaver and Lady sent out as Chaplain of H. B. Co. to Vancouver.

Monday 6th Sept.

J. Lee set out for Vancouver on business and took Lucy Hedding with him to obtain medical assistance she being in low health having suffered a long time from a severe attack of scrofula—Welap-tu-lekt and family arrived this evening. Nearly all our family are sick with intermittent fever and sore throat. A son was born this night to Welap-tu-lekt and wife to whom has since been given the name of Mosley Dwight.

Sabbath 11th Sept. 1836.

D. Lee arrived to our no small joy—His health though not perfectly restored is much improved.

Monday 12th.

J. Lee returned in prosperity. Have heard of the safe arrival at Walla-walla of Rev. Mr. Spalding and wife, Dr. Whitman and wife and a Mr. Grey—they have been sent out as missionaries by the A. B. C. F. M. It is truly a cause of thanksgiving to Almighty God have

been protected in their dangerous journey over the Rocky mountains to their field of future labour. O that they may be both faithful and successful in winning souls to Christ.

Friday 23d Sept.

P. L. Edwards left for Vancouver with Isabel Denton. She has had a sore throat for about two months the swelling is now very great and it is thought expedient to have medical advise.

Friday 30th Sept.

Brother Edwards returned and with him Isabel Denton and Lucy Hedding. The last mentioned apparently near her end, she has been under the doctor's care at Vancouver for several weeks, but has been much discontented and her desire to return home so great that her physician thought it advisable to indulge her.

Wednesday Eve 5th Oct 1836.

Died Lucy Hedding aged about 14 years during her severe sufferings since her return from Vancouver she showed wonderful patience and entire satisfaction with all that has been done for her—was apparently attentive to religious instruction and said she endeavoured to pray for a new heart—Her Funeral was attended on the Thursday following & her body *comited* to its mother dust.

Saturday 22d Oct.

J. Lee had another attack of intermittent and so severe as to deprive him of reason for a short time.

Monday 24 Oct. began ploughing
began sowing on the 2d and finished on the 22d Nov & have sowed thirty four bushels.

Monday 21st Nov.

Jason Lee set out for Vancouver for the benefit of medical advice having been much reduced by repeated and severe attacks of fever and ague.

Wednesday 30th Nov.

Died Joseph Pournaffe a member of our day and

Sabbath-school Aet. 17 years—when our Sabbath school was first opened in April 1835 he could not tell one letter—At first he attended only on the Sabbath but latterly on week days whenever he could, and made rapid progress, spelt well and could read tolerably well in the Testament—he was also very attentive to religious instruction—left off play & work on the Sabbath immediately on being told that it was wrong, and often expressed much thankfulness that we had come to the country to learn him to read and tell him about God. After the last harvest when he came one day to school having been long absent, he said to his teacher (his *countenance* beaming with joy) “now I am coming every day” nevertheless He whose ways are not as our ways” had otherwise determined and this lovely & interesting youth was detained by ill health from attending school after this excepting two or three of the following days. In his death we have much consolation and trust he has gone to rest forever in the kingdom of his Father and God—His natural father was a Canadian Indian his mother a native this side the mountains—His funeral was attended on Thursday 1st Dec. with much solemnity—After prayer & exhortation at the house of his Father-in-law by D. Lee, his remains were followed to the Mission burying ground by a large procession and then deposited in the silent grave. D. Lee read the burial service over his remains and an appropriate hymn was sung by the youth at the grave.

Wednesday 28th Dec.

J. Lee returned from Vancouver with his health somewhat improved so that he is now comfortable, though still weak and feeble. Blessed be God for all his goodness.

Saturday 31st Dec.

In reviewing the events of the past year we find abundant cause to speak of the loving kindness of our God to us ward, though sickness has been in our family

most of the time for six months past & at sometimes six or eight sick at a time yet death has been *permitted* only once to enter our dwelling and thin our number. During the past year we have taken into the mission family eighteen children and adults who, with those that were with us at the commencement of the year, leaving out two of the last mentioned that have absconded and that has died, make the number now in the family Twenty five. By the blessing of God we have an ample supply of wheat, peas, barley, oats, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, carrots, beets, turnips, cabbages, onions and a little corn, some beans a supply of butter a little chesee and four hogs fattening—May we be as thankful as our Great Benefactor is bountiful.

Monday 2d Jan. 1837.

Agreeable to previous notice the members of the Oregon Temperance Society convened at the Mission house and the meeting being opened with prayer by J. Lee, interesting portions of annual reports of several Temperance Societies, both in England and America, were read by D. Lee after which the Society proceeded to business—One member was excluded and three new ones added and among other important resolutions it was unanimously resolved that the following request should immediately be forwarded to Messrs. Young & Carmichael who are preparing a distillery for the purpose of manufacturing ardent spirits in this settlement. Messrs. Young & Carmichael,

Gentlemen:

Whereas the members of the Oregon Temperance Society have learned with no common interest and with feelings of *deep regret* that you are now preparing a distillery for the purpose of manufacturing ardent spirits to be sold in this vicinity—and whereas, we are most fully convinced that the vending of spirituous liquors will more effectually paralyze our efforts for the promotion of temperance than any other, or all other obstacles

that can be thrown in our way—and as we do feel a lively and intense interest in the success of the temperance cause—believing as we do that the prosperity and interests of this infant & rising settlement will be materially affected by it both as it respects their temporal and spiritual welfare, and that the poor Indians whose case is even now *indescribably* wretched will be made far more so by the use of ardent spirits and whereas Gentlemen you are not ignorant that the laws of the United States prohibit American Citizens from selling ardent spirits to Indians under the penalty of a heavy fine and as you do not pretend to justify yourselves but urge pecuniary *necessity* as the reason of your procedure and as we do not *cannot* think it will be of pecuniary interest to you to prosecute this business, if as you have determined to do, you discontinue it the present season and as we are not enemies but friends, and do not wish under existing circumstances that you should sacrifice one penny of the money you have already expended, We therefore for the above and various other reasons which we could urge

Resolve 1st that we the undersigned do most *earnestly* and *feelingly* request you Gentlemen to forever abandon your enterprise. Res 2d. That we will and do hereby agree to pay you the sum you have expended, if you will give us the avails of your expenditures or deduct them from the bill of expenses.

Res. 3d. That a committee of one be appointed to make known the views of this society and present our request to Messrs. Young & Carmichael.

Res. 4th. That the undersigned will pay the sums severally affixed to our names to Messrs. Y. & C. on or before the thirty first day of March next the better to enable them to give up their project.

Resolved 5th

That the inhabitants who do not belong to this society shall be invited to affix their names to this re-

quest, and to give what they feel free to give for the promotion of this object.

Members of the society. The following are not members.
\$ Cts

his		Pierre x Depot
Joseph x Gervais	8 00	A. Erquet
mark		John B. x Perrault
Deportes x McKay	8 00	George Gay
John x Hoard	4 00	P. x Billick
John x Turner	4 00	
Xavier x La-de Rout	6 bush wheat	
Joseph x DeLoire		
Charles Roe	4 00	
S. H. Smith	4 00	
James O'Neal	6.00	
Webley J. Hawkshurst	5.00	
Calvin Tibbets		
Winslow x Anderson		
Chas. x Plante	6 bush wheat	
Chas. x Rondeau		
Andre x Pecord		
Louis x Furcier		
T. J. Hubbard	8 00	
Etienne x Lucier		
Elisha Ezekiel		

The undersigned jointly promise to pay the balance be the same more or less

Jason Lee

Daniel Lee

Cyrus Shepard

P. L. Edwards

To the foregoing request Messrs. Young & Carmichael subsequently returned the following answer.

Wallamette 13th Jan. 1837.

To the Oregon Temperance Society,

Gentlemen,

Having taken into consideration your request to relinquish our enterprize in manufacturing ardent spirits we therefore do agree to stop our *proceedings* for the present. But Gentlemen the reasons for our first beginning such an undertaking was the innumerable difficul-

ties and *tyranizing* oppression of the Hudson's Bay Company here under the absolute authority of Dr. McLoughlin, who was treated us with more disdain than any American Citizen's feelings could support. But as there have now some favourable circumstances occurred that we can get along without making spirituous liquors, we resolve to stop the manufacture of it for the present.

Gentlemen, We do not feel it consistent with our feelings to receive any recompense whatever for our expenditures, but are thankful to the Society for their offer.

We remains yours &c

YOUNG & CARMICHAEL

Wednesday 11th Jan. 1837.

J. Lee returned from Campment DuSable accompanied by Wm. A. Slacum Esq of the U. S. Navy who is visiting the country &c. He appears to feel much interest in this rising settlement and willing to do all in his power to benefit the inhabitants and has offered to carry a party in his vessel to Calafornia free of expense except board, to purchase cattle for the inhabitants there being no neat cattle owned in the settlement excepting a very few belonging to the mission the rest have been loaned by the H. B. Co. to the people barely for their milk. The inhabitants are to meet here to-morrow to form a company & make arrangements to bring about so desirable an object. D. Lee has this day been requested to baptize a child of Mr. Gervais and has accordingly performed this rite.

Thursday 12th Jan. 1837.

Agreeable to previous arrangements, a number of the settlers convened at the mission house for the purpose of forming a company and making other necessary preparations for the Calafornia expedition &c. Mr. S. tarried with us this day—he highly approves of the method we have pursued to benefit the Indians & says he is perfectly astonished at the improvement they have

made who are under our care. Died this day the child of Mr. Gervais Aet. 2½ y.

Friday 13th Jan. 1837.

Mr. Slacum left the mission accompanied by J. Lee. To-day they are to visit the several farms in the settlement this evening finish the arrangements for the contemplated expedition and to-morrow are to proceed to Vancouver &c.

Saturday 14th Jan.

Funeral of Mary Gervais. Services performed by D. Lee. Mr. Edwards returned from Campment Du Sable and informed us that he is going with the party to California. Busily engaged in *getting* ready.

Monday 16th Jan. 1837.

Br. Edwards left this morning to join those that have concluded to go for cattle. They expect to sail on Thursday next.

Sat. 28th Jan.

J. Lee returned in comfortable health the Brig in which Mr. S. sails has not yet [left] the Columbia—On Br. Lee's taking leave of Mr. Slacum he presented him with a donation of Fifty Dollars for the Mission in a letter of which the following is a copy.

American Brig Lorient, off the Willamette Oregon River
18th Jan 1837.

My dear Sirs.

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your kind favour of the 16th and I beg leave to thank you for the expressions of regard contained therein. It was indeed a source of regret that I could continue no longer at your Mission on the banks of the Willamette—for the visit was to me one of exceeding interest—On my return to the civilized parts of our country I shall not hesitate to express my humble opinion that you have already effected a great public good by practically shewing that the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains are capable of the union of mental and physical discipline

as taught at your establishment—For I have seen with my own eyes Children who two years since were roaming their own native wilds in a state of savage barbarism now being brought within the knowledge of moral and religious instruction, becoming useful members of society by being taught the most useful of all arts, Agriculture and all this without the slightest compulsion.

As an evidence of my good will towards the laudable efforts you are making in this remote quarter, *debarred* of almost every comfort, deprived of the associations of Kindred & of *Home*, I beg you to accept herewith the sum of Fifty Dollars—Only *regreting* that my means at present will not allow me to add more—I pray you to accept my dear Sirs—the assurance of the unfeigned regard of your friend & obb svt

WM. A. SLACUM

U. S. N.

To the Rev. Messrs. Lee
Messrs. Shepard & Edwards
Mission House Willamette

Tuesday 21st Feb. 1837.

Have been greatly afflicted with sickness in our family for a week past an unusually severe cold or influenza having suddenly seized most of the children—seventeen of them have been nearly confined to their beds for several days requiring care both night & day so that we are nearly worn out with labour and watching. Some of them are now getting better. This evening died Mosley Dwight infant son of Welap-tu-lekt and Maria aged five months and fifteen days—his disease appeared to be croup several of the other children have also to appearance had a touch of that disease.

Wednesday 22d Feb 1837.

Funeral of Mosley.

Wednesday 15th March.

Died Samuel son of Welap-tu-lekt between one & two years old—his Funeral was on the following day.

Friday 17th March.

Welap-tu-lekt left us in our canoe—he has taken with him Maria, Susan and James, also Clarrissa his daughter who has for several weeks past been sick with a fever and is apparently near her end. We have told him that she is not fit to be moved but as he is set upon taking her to Vancouver to the hospital, we do not deem it prudent to urge the matter—he is intending to proceed from Vancouver on a visit to his people. Maria & Clarrissa are to return—it is however doubtful whether C. lives to reach V r

Tuesday 21st March.

J. Lee was called to bury the mortal remains of Hector McGilvery a half breed young man aged about 21 y at Campment Du Sable, he died on the 19th Inst—while at the Campment Du Sable he by request baptized Joseph, son of Mr. McKay, who is sick of consumption.

Thursday 23d March.

J. Lee was called to Campment du Sable to bury the remains of Joseph McKay who died yesterday Aet. about eight years.

Tuesday 28th March 1837.

Maria returned from Vancouver and informed us that Clarissa died just at the moment of their landing at V. on the 25 Inst. and was buried there. Welap, Susan & James have gone up the Columbia—Clarrissa was an active promising girl about ten years of age, learned well and was much loved in our family.

Saturday 1st April 1837.

J. Lee was requested to go to Campment du Sable to baptize a child of Mr. Longter he accordingly went tarried over night, held a meeting on the Sabbath and on Monday united a couple in matrimony & returned to the Mission house.

Friday 28th April

Death has been permitted to enter our dwelling and remove an inmate of the family—Ann Webster died about

12 o'clock at noone Aet about 12 years, she has been sick for four or five months past and for two or three days has suffered extremely but was very patient.

Sabbath 30th Apr

Meeting at Mission house and funeral of Ann Webster—Full attendance.

Tuesday 9th May.

J. Lee attended the funeral of Charlot an Indian girl who was a member of our Sabbath School, she died yesterday at Mr. Gervais' Aet. about 10 years.

Saturday 13th May

Heard that the individuals designed to reinforce this mission, twelve in number have arrived at the Sandwich *Isls.*

Thursday 18th May.

Rec'd intelligence that the reinforcement had arrived at the Columbia and on the following day J. Lee departed in a canoe for Vancouver to meet and conduct them up the river to this place. Mr. Lamb, who has been with us for several weeks past, also left for Vancouver.

Saturday 27th May 1837

J. L. arrived with five of our Brethern & Sisters, whose faces we rejoice to see and whom we hail with gladness as fellow-labourers in this distant land—may the Lord make us and them abundantly useful—we have also rec'd a large number of letters from our friends which have cheered & refreshed our drooping spirits.

Sabbath 28th May

Saw-nik, a neighboring Calapooya was brought to the Mission house dreadfully mangled having been shot by another Indian while sleeping in his lodge this morning. He has requested surgical aid, but it is not likely that he will live to endure the operation. This is the second Indian that has come to be taken care of within a few weeks, both having been shot by an unknown hand.

Thursday 1st June

Br. Beers and wife arrived at the mission and on

Wednesday 7th Br. Wilson the remaining member of the reinforcement arrived & J. Lee set out for Vancouver in company with Capt Hinkley & Lady who have been paying us a visit.

Tuesday 13th June

J. Lee returned. C. Shepard dangerously sick with *inflammatory* fever.

4th July

Annual meeting of the Oregon Temperance Society at Mission house, short & appropriate addresses were made by J. Lee, D. Lee, A. Beers, W. H. Wilson & Dr. White. Twelve new members were added and a most salutary influence gained in the cause of Temperance.

Sabbath 16th July 1837.

A large assembly for this place convened in the pleasure grove in front of the Mission House for public worship. Previous to the commencement of the usual services for the day the Rev. Jason Lee and Miss Anna Maria Pitman Mr Cyrus Shepard and Miss Susan Downing of the Oregon Mission and Mr Charles Roe and Miss Nancy an indian girl of the Willamette settlement, were united in lawful matrimony according to the form laid down in the Methodist discipline. After the usual services of the day which were very appropriate and attended with unusual solemnity, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was for the first time publicly celebrated in this place. The season was one of thrilling interest and almost breathless attention. The Spirit of God seemed working upon the minds of all present & each seemed to feel for himself "God is in this place." Two who profess to have recently experienced the comforts of religion united with us on trial one of them who was brought up a Quaker was baptized and both partook of the sacrament. Several others spoke of their determination to forsake their former practices and seek the pardon of their sins. May God so assist us that "The covenant we this moment make, Be ever kept in mind."

Wednesday 2d August.

Rev. J. Lee and wife and C. Shepard *sat* out in company with Mr. Des-portes on an excursion for health, followed up the Willamette and its branches for several days and from thence crossed over to Pudding river. thence to the Campment Du Sable, thence crossed the Willamette & returned to the Mission where they arrived safely on Thursday 10th Aug. about 12 o'clock at noon, somewhat recruited in health found all well &c &c

Monday 14th Aug 1837.

Messrs. Lee and Shepard with their wives and Mr. J. Gervais set out on an excursion to the Pacific. Crossed the Willamette about 1 o'clock P. M. and rode in a westerly direction & encamped the first evening on a branch of the Yamhill river. Next morning continued on the journey through a most beautiful country and encamped at evening at the foot of the mountains. Wednesday commenced crossing the mountains & encamped at night in a deep valley. Thursday set forward again intending to reach the shores of the Pacific but were disappointed and encamped in a narrow vale 11 or 12 miles distant rainy during the night & next morning. Friday resumed our journey about 11 o'clock A. M. thinking the rain over but it commenced raining again soon and continued raining most of the way. Arrived thoroughly drenched at a beautiful encampment in a small grove of Cypres & pine about 5 p. m. and were soon dry and comfortable by the aid of a good fire.

Saturday 26th Aug. 1837.

Started on our return and arrived safely at Mission on Wednesday 30th. The way over the mountains is very rough, large trees have fallen across the path over which the horses were obliged to jump so that in some places we were obliged to *allight* every few minutes on the whole the journey has been one of fatigue but we hope will eventually prove a benefit to our health and better enable us to pursue the business of our calling.

Monday 4th Sept 1837

Messrs. D. Lee and Shepard started for Vancouver on business and arrived there on Wednesday 6th.

Thursday 7th Sept.

Messrs. Leslie & Perkins arrived in a canoe at Vancouver from Ft. George, having recently entered the river in the Ship Sumatra. They with Mrs. Leslie & three children and Miss M. J. Smith have been sent out by the board as a reinforcement to the Mission.

Sabbath Nov. 12.

Died Isabel Denton a member of the Mission family Age 15 y. We trust prepared through grace to enter heaven.

Wednesday 20.

The reinforcements all arrived at the Mission house about 11 o'clock P. M. Sabbath morn Nov. 12th died Isabel Denton, Aet. 15 years, of consumption.

Tuesday 21 Nov 1837

Rev. H. H. W. Perkins was married to Miss Elvira Johnson by Rev. Mr. Leslie all of the Oregon Mission.

Previous to last date the California cattle Co. had all arrived safely. Br. Edwards in good health. They brought in over six hundred head of neat cattle mostly heifers and some horses started from C. with eight hundred head.

Monday 25 Dec. 1837.

Formed a Missionary Society in the Willamette Settlement. The inhabitants generally came forward and subscribed liberally for the benefit of the Calapooya Indians—have *raised* the sum of Dollars for the ensuing year.

Monday 1st Jan. 1838.

Annual meeting of the Oregon Temperance Society. Address by H. H. W. Perkins &c.

Friday 16th Feb.

J. Lee set out in company with Mr. Burnie for *for* the Umpqua country on an exploring tour.

Sabbath 11th March 1838.

J. Lee returned after toilsome and dangerous journey the late rains having *swolen* the rivers and creeks to an incredible degree.

Wednesday 14th March.

It having been previously resolved by the brethern of this Mission to commence a new Station at the Dalles (so called) on the Columbia and Messrs. D. Lee and H. H. W. Perkins having been appointed to said Station—they left us this day on their way thither thus there begins to be a separation in our little band, but we trust the cause of the Lord will thereby be advanced and bid them God speed in the name of the Lord.

Monday 26th March

A majority of the members of this Mission deeming it expedient for the Superintendent of the Mission to visit the U. S. and represent personally to the board of managers of the M. S. M. E. C—the situation of the country and Indians inhabiting it and it appearing to him to be duty, he has taken leave of his Companion and set out for Vancouver accompanied by Br. Edwards and two of our Indian boys—Wm. Brooks & Thos. Adams—It is truly affecting thus to part with our dear Brethern who are about to commence a most hazardous journey across the Rocky Mountains. May the God of Israel be their rock and defence.

Saturday 21st April.

Br. Perkins came after Sistr. P. He is much pleased with the new station, the Indian name of which is Wascopam.

Thursday 26th Apr.

Br. & Sister P. *sat* out on their way to Wascopam in a canoe accompanied by Indians.

Saturday 23d June 1838.

This evening between 9 & 10 o'clock P. M. Mrs. Lee after severe labour for several days was delivered of a fine boy whose birth caused much joy—no doubt being

entertained but that the mother would do well. The life of the child however hung in doubt from its birth and on Monday following at 6½ o'clock P. M. its spirit left this troublesome world—about the time of its death unfavourable symptoms appeared in Sister Lee and after a night of extreme suffering she died calmly on Tuesday 26th at 6 o'clock A. M. Thus death has been permitted to strike his fatal dart at one of our number with too sure an aim.

Wednesday 27th June

Funeral of Mrs. Lee & child at 1 o'clock P. M.

Tuesday 14th Aug. 1838.

Having heard from Wascopam that Sister Perkins is sick and needs assistance Br. Leslie and Sister White with her babe (about eight months old) set out for W. in a canoe accompanied by Dr. Bailey and some Indians and arrived there safely on Monday the 20th. Found Sister P. much more comfortable than was expected, Br. Whitman from the Willetpoo station having previously visited her and administered much to her relief. On Wednesday morning 22d Mr. L. & Sister W. sat out on their return and arrived at the cascades that evening—next day after making the portage took their canoe and proceeded the current still very rapid & water rough the — being high. The river (the Columbia) in this place is thought to be about 1½ mile wide and the canoe was about one third this distance from the nearest shore the canoe began to fill and in a few moments all were plunged in the frightful gulph of waters—the Infant was asleep with its mother at the time the canoe went down and was soon lost in the raging flood. Br. L. arose and thinking of Sister W. immediately plunged to save her if possible, caught her clothes and came up again but was obliged to relinquish his hold—he now thought that by giving her up he might possibly save his own life but again he thought she was entrusted to his care and if he died in the attempt he would do his best to save

her & plunged again and succeeded in getting hold of her clothes. He now saw the canoe drifting ahead having been capsized when it went down, he soon gained it and got hold of the hand of an Indian that had risen on the other side of it, he again reached down and brought Sister W. head above water—they had now drifted nearer to the farther shore from where the canoe filled, and fortunately some Indians were on that side with a canoe who immediately upon discovering their situation put off to their relief joyful on beholding this they called on them to make all possible speed, by the aid of these friendly natives the party were all brought safe & alive to land except the babe whose body upon righting the canoe was found to have drifted along with it but the vital spark had forever fled. The Indians took them into their canoe one of them had a new blanket which he took off and wrapped round them and thus in their wet clothes they descended to Vancouver where they were received in the most friendly manner and had every assistance afforded them which sympathy could devise or their distressed circumstances demand. On Friday they left Vancouver and arrived at the Willamette on Saturday eve bringing the lifeless body of the blooming infant, whose remains were deposited in the Mission burying ground on the Sabbath following 27th Aug. 1838 when an affecting and very appropriate discourse was delivered by Br. Leslie founded on Deut. 8th ch 5th v. O how wonderful in working is our God and his ways past finding out.

Wednesday 5th Sept. 1838.

Heard by way of Rev. Mr. Beaver (who has come on a visit to Willamette) that our Brethern have arrived safely at Rendezvous and that Br. Grey of the Presbyterian Mission has returned with a wife and four additional missionaries and their wives to labour among the Indians this side the mountains. Br. Grey was attacked by a band of Sioux Indians while on his way from

Rendezvous to the States. his Indians cut off to a man himself twice wounded by a ball but he escaped and a few more white men with him with one horse apiece having been robbed of every thing besides.

Monday 17th Sept.

Br. D. Lee arrived in the evening was cause of much gratitude to our Almighty Benefactor and Preserver—he was expected to be here more than a week ago and we had began to be very uneasy fearing something had befallen him and a party of men were to set out on the Morrow in search of him. The cause of this delay was the difficulty of travelling through the thickets and mountains between this and Wascopam—they consumed all their provision and were at length driven to the necessity of killing a poor jaded horse to support existance on the dried flesh of this they subsisted till they arrived at the Clakamas where they procured Salmon having consumed the remainder of their horse that very day. Br. Lee brought letters from Brs. Lee & Edwards dated at the American rendezvous in July last. They were in good health and spirits and were expecting to start for the States in a few days. He also brought letters to several of the Brethern & Sisters from the U. S.

Wednesday 26th Sept. 1838.

Albert Brown one of our Indian boys was this morning thrown from a horse and badly hurt so that he is deprived of his senses and his life doubtful. Daniel Lee has left this afternoon with a band of neat cattle for Wascopam two men from the settlement are engaged to assist him through.

On Saturday 29th.

Dr. Whitman of the Kiousé mission arrived on a visit and left on Tuesday 2d Oct. His visit and conversation among us was truly welcome and profitable.

Tuesday 16th Oct.

Received letters from D. Lee by the return of the men that accompanied him, giving intelligence that he

arrived safely at Wascopam with his cattle in ten days after leaving here blessed be the Lord for all his mercies

1st Nov.

Have been favoured at this Mission lately with visits from several Ladies and Gentlemen from Vancouver also with a tarry two or three weeks of Capt. Suter [Sutter] a Swiss gentleman who has crossed the Continent from the U. S. this season and is on his way to California intending to return with cattle, leave them here, go to Switzerland and return with his family and friends and found a Swiss settlement—his visit among us has been of a truly pleasant character.

Wednesday 19th Dec. 1838.

The house in which Br. Leslie lived took fire in the chamber by means unknown and before it was discovered which was about 4 o'clock P. M. the whole inside of the chamber and much of the roof was in a flame—most of the things in lower part of the house were saved but much value was destroyed by loosing all the things in the chamber. Br. L's girls had not even a change of apparel, bed or bed clothes left. In a short time after the fire was discovered nothing but the black walls of the building remained standing, so rapid was the work of destruction carried on by the devouring element.

Sabbath 30th Dec.

[No entry.]

MARRIAGES.

Saturday 7th March 1835 Mr. John Denton was married to Miss Isabel Shanagarati at the house of Lewis Shanagarati in the Willamette settlement by Jason Lee.

Saturday 25th Feb. 1837.

Mr. Webley J. Hauxhurst was married to Miss Mary of Yamhill trabe, at the Mission house Willamette settlement, by Jason Lee.

Saturday 11th Feb. 1837.

Mr. Solomon H. Smith was married to Miss Ellen of the Clatsop tribe at the house of Mr. Smith Willamette settlement by Jason Lee.

Monday 3d April 1837.

Mr. T. J. Hubbard was married to Miss Mary Sommata at the house of Mr. Billeck Willamette settlement by Jason Lee.

Monday 1st May 1837.

Mr. John Hoard was married to Miss Liset De Portes at the house of Mr. De Portes Willamette settlement by Daniel Lee.

Sabbath 16th July 1837.

Were married at the Mission House Rev. Jason Lee to Miss Anna Maria Pitman, by Daniel Lee. Mr. Cyrus Shepard to Miss Susan Downing and Mr. Charles Roe to Miss Nancy an Indian girl by Jason Lee.

Tuesday 21 Nov. 1837.

At the house of Mr. Leslie Mr. H. K. W. Perkins to Miss Elvira Johnson by David Leslie.

Monday 22d Jan. 1838.

Were married Mr. Joseph Gervais to Miss Margaret of the Clatsop tribe Mr. Xavier La De Root to Miss Julia Gervais by Rev. Jason Lee at the house of Mr. Gervais Willamette settlement.

The

following table exhibits the names of the individuals who have been admitted into the Mission family since its establishment, with the date when received, tribe to which they belong and when they died or left.

Indian Name	English	When Adm.	Tribe	When died or left.
Sintwa	John Mark	7th Nov. 1834	Calapooya	Left 27th Oct. 1835
Kyeatah	Lucy Hedding	16th do do	do	Died 5th Oct. 1836
Chilapoos	Chas. Morehead	29th " "	"	Absconded 19th Apr. 1836.
Ken-o-teesh		26th Apr. 1835	Silelah	Died 19th Aug. 1835
Ko-kal-lah	Ann Webster	do do do	Kil-a-mook	Taken away 17th June 1835
Lasse	Isabel Denton	29th Aug. do	Calapooya	Died 28th Apr. 1837 age about 12 y.
	Joseph Shangarati	18th Oct. "	Iraquois	Died 12th Oct 1837 Age 15 y Comsump—
	Nicholas Shangarati	do do do	do	
	Mary Sargent	do do do	do	
Kartoosh	David Tucker	do do do	Klamhul	Absconded 31st March 1836
Marlooh	" "	do do do	Unknown	Absconded 31st March 1836
Sook-ta	Amos Amsden	" " "	Unknown	Died 13th Dec. 1835
	" "	" " "	Unknown	Died 14th Dec. 1835
	Solomon Greene	" " "	halfbreed	
	Sophia Charponka	8th Sept. 1835	Cheenook	
Klytes	Wm. Brooks	9th do do	do	
	Ozro Morrill	do do do	do	
	Antoine Bingham	12th Nov. do	Walamette	
Kohuch-a	Thos. Adams	1st March 1836	Walamette	
	Chas. Cohania	5th do do	Halfbreed	
Tapal	Harriett Newell	7th June do	Chenook	
Shah-hen	Wilbur Fiske	16th July "	Kiouse	
Wis-la-how-it-ka	B. J. Hall	do do do	do	
To-a yah-nu	Elijah Hedding	13th Aug. do	Walla-walla	
To-man-as-ul-ta	Osmon Baker	do do do	do	
We-lap-tu-lekt	John Lindsay	6th Sept. "	Kiouse	
Tshecooitsh	James Charponka	6th Sept. 1836	Kiouse	Left 17th March 1837
	Clarrissa Perkins	" do do	do	Died 23d March 1837 Age about 10 y.
	Samuel Champa	do do do	do	Died 15th March 1837 Age 1½ y.
	Samson Wilder	28th Oct. "	Chasta	
Cleekatuck	Jesse Lee	26th Nov. "	Wallawalla	
	Thos. Peka	28th Dec.	Half breed	

Indian Name	English	When Adm.	Tribe
Wat-tiat	Mary Ann B.	4th Jan. 1837	do
	Mary Hawkhurst	17th do do	Yamhill
	Wm A Slacum	29th Jan "	Walamette
	Frances McKay	13th March "	Half blood
	Henry Pool	8th Apr "	Yamhill
	Sarah Stevens	do do do	do
	Sally Soule	16th June 1837	do
	David Kilburn	17th July "	do
	Francis Hale	6th Sept "	Father Iraquois
	Angelica Carpenter	22d Oct "	Mother Chen'k
	Jared Perkins	11th Dec. "	Half blood
	Emeline Davis	2d Jan. 1838	Yamhill
	Nathn. Bangs	17th Jan. "	do
	Ann Webster	3d Feb. "	"
	Joshua Newhall	20th Feb. "	Falls of Willamette
	Enoch Mudge	13th March "	Qualtee
	Oliver Howe	5th May "	Wallawalla
	Luther Town	20th June "	Klikatak
	Isaac Rich	do do "	do
	Albert Brown	" do "	"

LETTER

ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO JAMES T. THORNTON

The following autograph letter of Abraham Lincoln was brought to Wilsonville, Oregon, from Urbana, Champaign county, Illinois, by J. W. Thornton, in February, 1906, and is a precious heirloom of his family, having been given him by his father, the gentleman to whom it was written. The Mr. Widmer referred to followed Mr. Lincoln's advice and began the study of law, but before he secured a license to practice the Civil war began. Then his legal studies were dropped and he enlisted in response to the first call for volunteers, and rose from the ranks to a colonel. After the war he resumed his law studies and in a few years became eminent in his profession and now lives in Urbana, Illinois. It is believed that this is the first time that anything appears in Mr. Lincoln's writings describing how he acquired a knowledge of the law. The Historical Society is under obligations to Mr. Thornton for kindly loaning the letter to Mr. Himes, Assistant Secretary, with permission to both copy and photograph it.

"Springfield, Dec'r 2, 1858.

"James T. Thornton, Esq.,

"Dear Sir: Yours of the 29th, written in behalf of Mr. John H. Widmer, is received. I am absent altogether too much to be a suitable instructor for a law student. When a man has reached the age that Mr. Widmer has, and has already been doing for himself, my judgement is, that he reads the books for himself without an instructor. That is precisely the way that I came to the law. Let Mr. Widmer read Blackstone's Commentaries, Chitty's Pleadings, Greenleaf's Evidence, Story's Equity, and Story's Equity Pleadings, get a license, and go to the practice, and still keep reading. That is my judgment of the cheapest, quickest, and best way for Mr. Widmer to make a lawyer of himself.

Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

LETTER OF JOHN ORDWAY OF LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION
TO HIS PARENTS

Camp River Dubois April the 8th 1804

Honored Parence.

I now embrace this oppertunity of writeing to you once more to let you know where I am and where I am going. I am well thank God, and in high Spirits. I am now on an expedition to the westward, with Capt Lewis and Capt. Clark, who are appointed by the Presidant of the United States, to go on an expidition through the interior parts of North America. We are to ascend the Missouri River with a boat as far as it is navigable and then go by land, to the western ocean if nothing prevents, &c. This party consists of 25 picked men of the army & country likewise and I am so happy as to be one of them pick'd from the army, and I and all the party are if wee live to return, to Receive our our Discharge whenever we return again to the United States if we chuse it. This place is on the Mississippi River opposite to the mouth of the Missouri River. this has been our winter quarters. Wee expect to be gone 18 months or two years. Wee are to Receive a great Reward for this expidition, when wee Return. I am to Receive 15 dollars pr. month and at least 400 ackers of first Rate land, and if wee make Great Discoveries as we expect, the Dnited States, has promised to make us Great Rewards more than we are promised, &c—,for fear of exidants I wish to inform you that I left 200 Dollars in cash, at Harkensteins, put it on interest with a substantial man by the name of Charles Smith & Copertnership which weere three more Substantial men binding with him and Capt. Clark is bound to see me paid at the time and place where I Receive my discharge and if I should not live to return my heirs can git that and all the pay Due me from the U. S. by applying to the Seat of Government. I have Reed no letters Since Betseys yet, but will write next winter if I have a chance.

Yours, &c.

JOHN ORDWAY

John Ordway & Stephen Ordway

The letter is written on two pages of paper 7x12¼ inches in size, with 23 lines on the first page and 26 lines on the second page. The third page is blank, and the fourth page is blank except the space reserved for the address, which is as follows:

“Stephen Ordway

“Hebron

“Newhampshire

“divert this to Concord post office, it being older than Plymouth Post Office, or Hanover post office.”

The letter was “diverted” because in another hand writing these words appear: “Concord N H Jun 27 Missent and Fow’d”

The letter was postmarked with a stamp thus: “Caho: April 14, 1804,” meaning “Cahokia,” as that was a mail station at that date.

* The original copy of this letter was presented to the Oregon Historical Society by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye in 1903. During the year 1900, while engaged in securing sources of material relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-6, which formed the basis of her volume entitled *The Conquest*, she received this letter from a niece of Ordway.—George H. Himes.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT EXPLORATION OF THE "OREGON CAVES"¹

By WM. W. FIDLER

Two years ago Mr. E. J. Davidson, one of the most adventuresome and successful mountaineers and hunters of this region, while in pursuit of a deer he had wounded and was following with his dog, accidentally stumbled upon the discovery of what he took to be the mouth of a cave, and which conjecture has since proven to be correct. The discovery was made on the spur of a mountain familiarly known out here as "Old Grayback," and on the side that is drained off toward Sucker creek or Illinois river. It was not till July 5, 1877, however, that an attempt at exploration of this subterranean cavern was made. Then the discoverer, in company with his brother, Carter Davidson, and James Nail, undertook to penetrate its mysterious and marvelously beautiful apartments. Aided by pitch light, they were able to penetrate only two or three of the most accessible chambers, which intensified without satisfying their curiosity; but their supply of illuminating material having become exhausted they were compelled to desist. It was on the strength of the report made by these parties, and at the desire of the discoverer of the cave, that, in company with a party of ladies and gentlemen of Williams creek, the writer visited this spot where Nature "thrones sublimity" in glistening if not in "icy halls." But to describe the trip fully I had best commence with the commencement.

Our party consisted at the start of but six, to-wit: Miss Eudora A. Godfrey, Miss Margaret Davidson of Portland, Mr. Julius Goodwin, two boys and this deponent. We traveled up the right hand fork of Williams creek to its head, thence across one or two streams that run westerly into Sucker creek, then up a large mountain that puts out

¹ For naming and reservation of the Oregon Caves, see this *Quarterly*, Vol. XX, p. 400.

from Grayback to the milk ranch of Messrs. Goodwin and Davidson. Here we camped for the night and partook of the kind hospitalities of these certainly highly elevated and obliging dairymen. The next morning our party was increased by the addition to our numbers of Mrs. Julius Goodwin, Mr. Frank Rose and E. J. Davidson. Of our party were also two young lads named David Johns Jr. and Ira Sparlin.

To the place we wished to reach was only about 1½ miles from the milk ranch, but owing to the ruggedness of the route and the course we took to get there, we were fully three hours in reaching it with our riding animals. Soon after we reached the scene of operation, however, the work of exploration began and was entered upon by each member of our party with a zeal and enthusiasm that meant business. From the mouth of the cave emerges a branch of water, and it is up the bed of this stream we first begin our underground perambulations. The mountain is of limestone formation and the caverns and cross caverns, in almost every form imaginable and unimaginable, which we beheld with delightful amazement, were evidently the result of the action of water. After penetrating perhaps 100 yards, we leave the stream to examine upper and side rooms that do not require so much exposure of the feet to water. Every successive department reached evoked from each and every member such vociferative expressions as "Oh! Oh!! Oh!!! Isn't it nice, isn't it beautiful," etc.; and one of the earliest convictions that overcame us most completely was that it would be impossible for us in the short period of our stay to do anything like justice to the examination of these diversified, fantastic and indescribable realms of the underworld. Prentice's Ode to Mammoth Cave has now a much clearer meaning:

"Crystal founts,
Almost invisible in their serene
And pure transparency—high pillared domes
With stars and flowers all fretted like the halls
Of Oriental monarchs"

Are expressions admirably suited to a description of this Josephine county cave. The stalagmite and stalactite formations of this cave surpass anything ever dreamed of in the sphere of arts, and nothing I ever beheld in Nature before so completely overcame me with suggestions of sublimity and beauty.

In some places the floor is almost as smooth as polished marble, and in others the ceiling is frescoed all over with bright crystals or stalactite in the shape and resembling icicles. In one chamber in particular, which we casually designated the King's Palace, was this the case. The various members of our party commenced here, in obedience to a very natural impulse, to break off specimens to bring away with them, but in obedience to a suggestion that it looked like a shame to desecrate or deface anything in nature so beautiful as that was, they readily ceased the work of spoilation; and let us hope that future tourists and adventurers will be governed by the same honorable deference and spare this apartment if none of the others.

A volume might be written descriptive of the beauties of the small portion we beheld, which portion did not comprise one-tenth, perhaps not one ten-thousandth, part of these "Dim and awful aisles."

One great danger to be constantly guarded against is that of getting lost. Frequently we lost our way and got into narrow crevices, through which we could see a light in some lower apartment but could not reach it without retracing our steps and finding some larger crevice. What could be explored by enlarging some of these narrow fissures is a matter of conjecture. The farthest back any of our party got was perhaps not over 400 yards. To make that distance through its various angles, dips and ascents, required nearly an hour's travel after we were familiar with the route. We did not try to follow up the main stream of water, which undoubtedly must constitute the main part of the cave, but have left lots of work for future explorers. Our party obtained many beautiful and valu-

able specimens as souvenirs of their very hard and—for the ladies—dangerous journey. Many of the prettiest things, however, were spoiled in breaking them off. Some were like a mule's ear in shape, only three or four times as large and in places perfectly transparent. The ears of many of the animals were represented on the walls, together with many varieties of vegetables. These attractions, though, will rapidly disappear as the place becomes frequented by visitors.

We named the cave, in honor of the finder, "Elijah's Cave." It is situated in the southern part of the county, about 15 miles southwest of Williamsburg, or say 37 miles in the same direction from Jacksonville. A better route than the one we traveled can probably be found, when sightseers can reach the cave without roughing it as we did. It is a sight, however, well worth many times the trouble we encountered in reaching it, to anyone who has a particle of admiration for the sublime and beautiful. Yea, "beautiful are all the thousand snow-white gems that lie in these mysterious chambers."

July 26, 1877.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE MARBLE HALLS OF OREGON

By E. J. DAVIDSON, Provolt, Oregon

I had quite an experience that day and well remember something of the time. As to dates I cannot be quite sure, but I think it was the year 1873, in the month of October. A crowd of six, including myself, planned for a hunt in the Siskiyou mountains. We packed several horses with provisions and our camping outfit, took our way up the middle fork of Williams creek along a dim, brushy trail, then took our course through the open woods, crossing over the divide at the head of the creek, then down to Sucker creek, where we halted for a short time and disposed of a much-needed lunch prepared for the occasion.

After lunch we continued on our way, which was anything but a smooth path. With a big mountain staring us in the face, and in many places almost perpendicular and no way around, we trudged on our weary way, trying to reach the top. Not a word was said, not a breath to spare, but all moved on in silence. Early in the evening we came to the Mountain Meadows, directly under the old noted Greyback mountain. And say, I want to tell you, it was an ideal camping place. Our faces soon lost their tired, weary expression and lighted up with pleasure at the thought of tomorrow's hunt. All got busy and very soon we had a comfortable camp—everything in readiness for a good night's sleep.

Armed with our muzzle-loading rifles, we started early the next morning for our hunt. Every fellow was to select his own direction in which to follow. Something seemed to tell me to take the course that eventually led to the discovery of the caves. Picking up my rifle and taking my famous bear dog, Bruno, I started down the middle fork of Sucker creek and then across to another creek. Knowing my dog so well, he gave me to understand there was something above. I at once, with the eagerness that only

an old hunter can feel, slipped through the brush hoping to catch sight of something, and as I cautiously crept along I spied a large buck with his head well elevated in the air. I quickly leveled my gun, holding high on his shoulder with a full bead, and let drive. At the crack of the gun the deer leaped into the air and was soon out of sight. Feeling sure I had hit him some, I told my dog to give chase. He was off like a flash and in less than a minute had the deer going down the mountain like double-gearred lightning and into the cañon below. Being somewhat swift myself on a down-hill push, I was soon at the spot where a desperate struggle was taking place. Knowing the fight could not last long, as Bruno had his favorite hold on the animal's left leg, I waited for the end to come. Soon the buck fell and his heels went into the air. Bruno jumped for his throat quick as a flash; at the same time I seized a fore leg, threw it over his horns and with my hunting knife severed the jugular. It was then I discovered the wonderful head of horns. There were two perfect horns on one side and one on the other. The horns are still to be seen at Ad. Helm's place of business in Jacksonville.

Everything seemed to be leading me to the cave; for as I turned from my buck, I again found my dog with uplifted head and staring eyes directed into a clump of trees, waiting for the word "Go." I sprang for my gun and gave the word. He was off like lightning, while I followed as quickly as possible, and soon found myself in front of a large hole in the mountain. I could hear sounds of fighting coming from far back in the mountain. Undecided as to what to do, I stood waiting, when my dog gave vent to a wierd, agonizing howl as if he were in great pain. Hesitating no longer, I rushed into the opening and soon found myself coming up against sharp crags on the wall. I soon decided it was a hard chase to pursue without a light and, thinking of a few matches that I had in my old fashioned shot-pouch, very soon had a light and, to my surprise, found I was in some sort of a save; but losing no

time in looking around, as the fight was being continued, I struck match after match, thinking I would soon be at the scene of the struggle. But no; my matches were gone! I turned to go back, but could see no rays of light. With the deafening howls and groans coming to my ears from somewhere near, made me think were I only out I would not attempt such a thing again. I finally found my way back to a running stream of water and, following it, came to the mouth of the cave. I waited anxiously for Bruno to come, and very soon he came splashing down the creek, and but for a few scratches was unhurt.

Neither I nor my dog were satisfied with the outcome of the fight, so I determined to take another chance; but as it was now well on in the evening, decided to go back to camp and return on the morrow. Before going I conceived the idea of placing the buck that I had just killed near the entrance of the cave, knowing Bruin would be sure to come out for food and, after eating all he could, would, as is their habit, lie down by the remaining part, which would give me a chance to kill him.

The next morning I returned very early to the scene of my encounter of the previous day and, just as I had anticipated, found the monstrous black bear lying near the carcass of the deer.

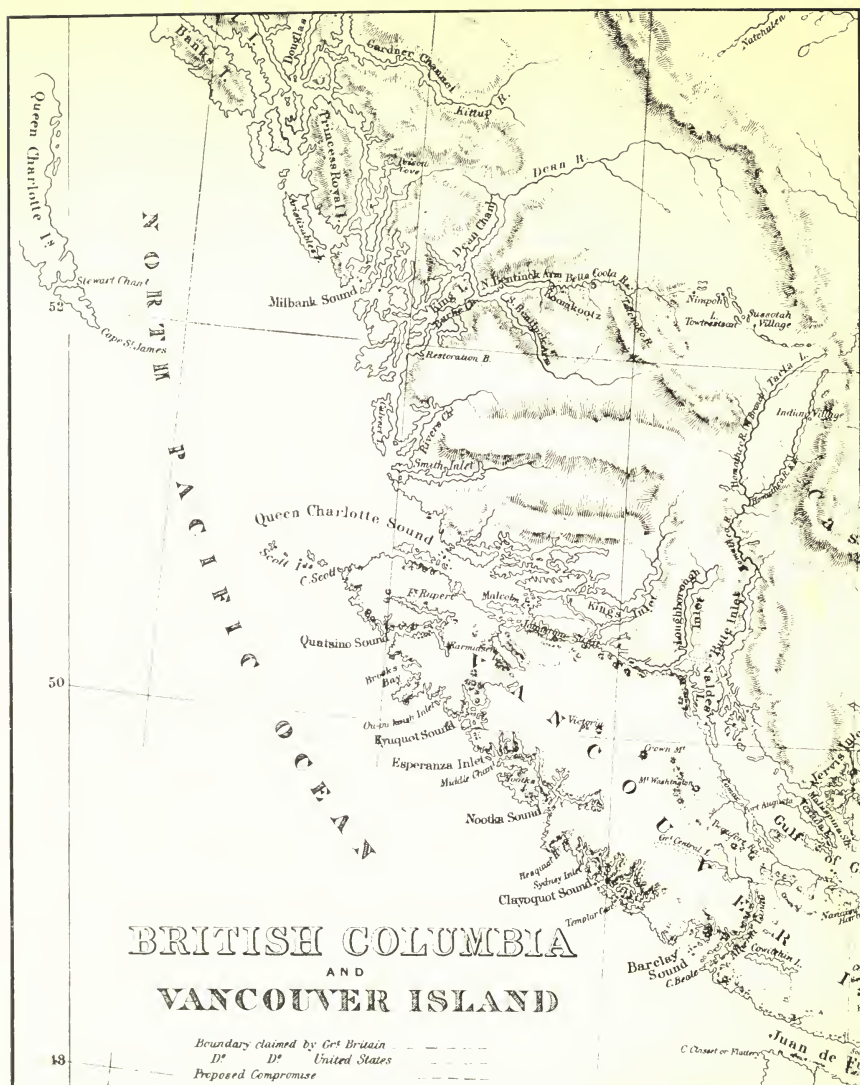
ANNOUNCEMENT

A NEW HISTORY OF OREGON

History of Oregon, by Charles Henry Carey, will be ready for delivery this autumn. The subscribers' edition will be delivered to advance subscribers about October 1st. It consists of three large 8 vo volumes issued by Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois, of which the first volume is the history proper, and the second and third volumes contain biographies. It is understood that Mr. Carey has had nothing to do with the biographies, concerning which he has not been consulted. The price of this edition is \$40.00 at Chicago.

A separate one volume edition called the "Author's Edition," which will include the historical matter only, will be on sale about November 1, 1922, at the J. K. Gill Company book store at Portland, at \$7.50. This will be identical with the first volume of the Subscribers' Edition, and will contain numerous illustrations and maps, with appendix and index, over one thousand pages large 8vo, cloth.

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JOHN KENDRICK AND HIS SONS*

By F. W. Howay

All students of the history of the Northwest Coast have an interest in the story of John Kendrick. For the people of the United States that interest centres around his command of the first American trading voyage from Boston; while for the people of western Canada that interest is based upon the work which he carried on upon their shores. And yet when, in seeking information concerning him, the histories are searched, it is surprising how little can be gleaned. Some disconnected statements can be found in Greenhow and Bancroft, but they are so fragmentary as to be almost negligible and so inaccurate as to be quite worthless. In truth, it is a shadow rather than a substance that is seen in them.

The fact that the log of the first voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Washington* has never been published doubtless accounts, in part, for this condition. In making this statement I do not overlook the rough precis of Haswell's Logs which is appended to the 1884 edition of Bancroft's History of the Northwest Coast. But Haswell's Logs, Hoskins' Narrative, Ingraham's Journal, Martinez's Diary, Menzies' Journal, and Boit's Log of the *Union*, to our disgrace be it said, still remain in manuscript. Being contemporaneous they each contain

*Address delivered on the occasion of the annual meeting of the members of the Oregon Historical Society, October 28, 1922.

scattered allusions to Kendrick and his work. With their aid we can piece out the printed sources, Meares, Vancouver, Delano, Marchand, and Boit's Log of the *Columbia*, and thus compile a somewhat connected story of this interesting man from 1787 until his death in 1794.

At the outset a few words may be said about his family. The name first appears as "Kenwrick"; later it broke into two forms: "Kenwick" and "Kendrick." The founder of the family, Edward Kenwrick, emigrated, we are told, from the "west of England," probably towards the end of the seventeenth century. His first home is believed to have been in New Hampshire. In 1704 he is found settled at Harwich in the Cape Cod region. His eldest son, Solomon Kenwick, born in 1706, was the father of our Captain John Kendrick. The date of the birth of our John Kendrick has not been positively ascertained, but it is supposed to be about 1740; in that event he would be forty-seven years of age (an old man in those days) when he took command of the expedition of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*.

At about twenty years of age we find John Kendrick as one of the crew of a whaler on a voyage to the St. Lawrence. Later he saw service in the tented field during the French and Indian war. He married in 1767 and, returning to the sea, became the master of vessels sailing out of Boston.¹ During the war of independence he commanded several ships preying on the commerce of the mother land. In this connection the records show that in 1780 he was the master of the Rhode Island brigantine, *Marianne*, carrying sixteen guns and a crew of sixty-five men. Letters of marque were issued to her on December 16, 1780, upon the bond of Captain John Kendrick of Wareham and Silas Casey of East Greenwich; the owner was John Williams of Worcester, Mas-

¹ The biographical information in this and the preceding paragraph is culled from Library of Cape Cod History and Genealogy, No. 35, Edward Kenwick; C. W. Swift, Yarmouthport, Mass. 1915.

sachusetts.² Until 1778 his home was at Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard; but in that year he removed to Wareham, Massachusetts.

The dates of the births of his sons, John and Solomon, are not known. The records show that the former was baptized in April, 1772, and the latter in November, 1772.³ These two sons accompanied him in the *Columbia* on his voyage to this coast. The eldest, John Kendrick Junior, obtained an advance of £4 10s, and the younger, Solomon Kendrick, an advance of £1 10s.⁴ These figures show their relative positions. John was an officer, probably fifth mate; Solomon was a sailor before the mast.

It is probable that the complete name of the *Columbia* was *Columbia Rediviva* and that of the *Washington*, *Lady Washington*; but it is customary to refer to them by the abridged names and this course will be followed. The two vessels left Boston 1st October 1787; they reached Cape Verd Islands 9th November; sailed thence 20th December, and arrived at Falkland Islands probably about the middle of February, 1788. They resumed their voyage on 28th February, but were separated in a gale off Cape Horn on 1st April. The *Washington* made her landfall on the Californian coast near the boundary of Oregon on 2nd August 1788. As she skirted the shore the natives were met and a small trade was carried on from time to time and from place to place. Somewhere near Tillamook Bay occurred the tragic event that culminated in the death of Marcos, Captain Gray's black servant, who had joined the sloop at Cape Verd Islands. Continuing her voyage the *Washington* reached Nootka 16th September 1788. The *Columbia*, after the separation, headed for Juan Fernandez, remained there about ten

² Naval Records of the American Revolution (Washington, 1906), pp. 215, 383.

³ Manuscript letter from Julius H. Tuttle, Librarian Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁴ Manuscript in the Barrell Letters in Massachusetts Historical Society's archives.

days, and sailed therefrom direct for the American coast, arriving at Nootka on 20th September 1788.

It is unfortunate that Haswell, the only person who has left any account of this voyage, was bitterly opposed to Captain Kendrick. Their difficulties culminated near the Falkland Islands in an assault by the captain upon his second mate. As a result Haswell sought and obtained a transfer into the *Washington*. His views may therefore be tinged with a certain, or uncertain, amount of bias. According to him, Captain Kendrick and his officers could not agree and were constantly squabbling. However that may be, we know that Roberts, the surgeon, Woodruffe, the first mate, and Haswell, the second mate, all left the ship.⁵

The expedition made a lengthy stay at the Cape Verd Islands—some forty-one days—which both Haswell and Gray unite in condemning; the latter claims that it was thirty-six days too long.⁶ More time was wasted at the Falkland Islands, where, Haswell alleges, Captain Kendrick wished to remain until the next season, but ultimately yielding to Gray's importunities, continued the voyage.⁷ What the truth may be we can not now determine, for none of Captain Kendrick's letters extant make any reference to, or attempt to explain, these changes or these delays. This much is clear: that the *Columbia* consumed a year (less eleven days) in this voyage from Boston to Nootka, while on her second voyage, under Captain Gray, she covered the same distance at the same time of the year in eight months.⁸ Perhaps some allowance should be made for the pioneer expedition; but even granting that, the difference is so great

⁵ Haswell's manuscript Log of the first voyage of the *Columbia*.

⁶ Captain Gray's letter of 13th July, 1789, in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, p. 255.

⁷ Haswell's first Log of the *Columbia*, MS.

⁸ The Barrell Letters in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, p. 256.

that many will feel inclined to accept Captain Gray's view that Kendrick was not "a nimble leader."

Upon his arrival at Nootka Sound, Kendrick appears to have entered into a Castle of Indolence. During the winter of 1788-9 no step was taken to prepare the *Columbia* for the next season's work. Indeed, the evidence, including therein Kendrick's own letters, clearly establishes that on this first voyage, from beginning to end, the *Columbia* never cruised a single mile for furs, but lay inert at Nootka Sound from her arrival in September 1788 until her departure in July 1789, when she sailed for Clayoquot Sound to commence her voyage to China.⁹

Captain Kendrick was somewhat of a diplomat. To the great surprise of the British he succeeded in saving his vessels from seizure in that eventful summer of 1789. He seems to have very deftly combined truth, falsehood, and flattery in his dealings with the courtly Don; although his story about his entry into Nootka Sound in distress and his pursuing a voyage of discovery did not in reality deceive the Spaniard, as Martinez plainly shows in his diary. While Martinez was embroiling Britain and Spain by the capture of Meares' vessels the *Columbia* swung peacefully and safely at anchor, and the *Washington* flitted in and out of the harbor without interference. Even Metcalf's vessel, the *Fair American*, did not escape the Spanish net; yet the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, which were specially mentioned in Martinez's instructions, seemed to be covered by an aegis; and not only so, but Kendrick actually obtained permission to continue trading on the coast during the following year.¹⁰ This appears from Martinez's Diary: "Captain John Kendrick informed me," says that diary, "that he had not completely carried out his commission, and asked me if he might operate on this coast next year after a trip to

⁹ *Id.*, pp. 252, 257, 259. Hoskins Narrative MS., p. 8. Haswell's first Log of the *Columbia*, MS.

¹⁰ Manning's Nootka Sound Controversy, pp. 305, 330; Martinez Diary MS.

the Sandwich Islands and Canton. I informed him that he might do so, but on condition that he always carry an official Spanish passport, as he said he expected to do, and under the further condition that he should buy on my account in Macao two altar ornaments for the mass, and seven pairs of boots for the officers of the *San Carlos* and of my own ship. However, I believe that none of this will be done." Some may think that the Spanish letter which he carried may account for this immunity; but it must be remembered that Don Blas Gonzales, the Spanish commandante at Juan Fernandez, was dismissed in disgrace for his failure to seize the *Columbia* there, the ambassador's letter to the contrary notwithstanding.¹¹ This friendship or good feeling was cemented by the entry of his eldest son John Kendrick Jr. into the Spanish service on the *Princesa*, as will appear later.

At Clayoquot Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, on 30th July 1789 Kendrick handed over the command of the *Columbia* to Gray and himself took charge of the sloop *Washington*.

Why Kendrick exchanged vessels with Gray is not clear. Being the commander of the expedition, the proposition probably emanated from him. No records extant, so far as my search has gone, throw any certain light upon the question, nor afford any really satisfactory assistance in determining whether the transfer was intended as a mere temporary expedient or to be, what it afterwards became, a permanent arrangement. Hoskins, his friend, only says that Kendrick "thought best to change and to send Captain Gray on to Canton with the *Columbia*." He records the views of the officers as being suspicious of Kendrick's intentions, and adds that "on his arrival in China (Kendrick) was deprived of his largest vessel."¹² The expression is ambiguous, not indicating whether the deprivation was by Gray's conduct

¹¹ Greenhow's History of Oregon, 1844, pp. 180, 184.

¹² Hoskins' Narrative MS., pp. 8, 9.

or by owners' instructions. The inference which I draw from the correspondence between the two captains, as well as from that between Gray and Barrell, is that the exchange was intended at the time it was made to be a permanent one.

At any rate after the *Columbia* departed on 30th July 1789, Kendrick in the *Washington* began in earnest the work of trading on the coast. The details of his movements may be pieced together from Hoskins' Journal, Martinez's Diary, a letter of his own, and one from John Meares. Before these were known this period was selected for his alleged circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, as reported by Meares. Dr. C. F. Newcombe has demonstrated that this circumnavigating voyage is a myth:¹³ just another of Meares' fictions. The mere facts that Kendrick was at Clayoquot Sound on 30th July 1789 equipped with only sufficient provisions to last for a two months' cruise, and reached China on 27th January 1790, by way of the Hawaiian Islands, with a cargo of more than five hundred skins are, for anyone acquainted with local geography, sufficient to dispose of the question. The facts bearing on his movements at this time may however be summarized. In a letter to Joseph Barrell dated 13th July 1789, Kendrick states his intention of cruising "to the Northd. part of the coast."¹⁴ Hoskins tells us that Kendrick went "on a cruise to the northward" and that "after cruising round Washington Island" (Queen Charlotte Islands) he proceeded to China. Martinez's Diary records that the *Washington* at this time met Metcalf's *Eleanora* and later reported the fact to the *Fair American* on encountering her in Dixon Entrance. Meares, who is the father of the circumnavigating story, in an undated memorandum gives a farrago which fits in part with these statements. He says: "That

13 The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, by C. F. Newcombe, Victoria, 1914.

14 The Barrell Letters in Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, pp. 252-3.

the *Washington* left Nootka in the latter end of September, that afterwards she went up de Fonti's Strait (Hecate Strait) and passing thro' a Sea came out at the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Kendrick named the Island formed by these Straits, Washington," etc., etc.¹⁵ Furthermore Kendrick, on this trading voyage, visited Barrell Sound (Houston Stewart Channel), which separates Prevost Island from Moresby Island, in the Queen Charlotte Islands group. There he had a difficulty with the Indians. Accounts of the trouble are to be found in Ingraham's Journal, Hoskins' Narrative, and Boit's Log of the *Columbia*. The version I give is that of his friend Hoskins. In order to obtain some clothing that had been stolen from the sloop, Kendrick seized Koyah and another chief and bound them to his guns, placing one leg of each in the barrels and making pretense of preparations to discharge the guns and blow the chiefs to atoms. Seeing their leaders in such imminent peril, the Indians produced the stolen articles. Kendrick then, knowing as he says that all chance of further trade had vanished, required as a condition of their release that all the skins in the village be brought on board. This order was obeyed; he paid for them at the regular trade price, and the *Washington* sailed away. Out of this episode arose a serious and tragic affair when Kendrick, two years later, returned to Barrell Sound.

At the Hawaiian Islands on his route to China his observant eye caught a glimpse of sandalwood; at once he saw a vision of wealth; and he left three men to collect a quantity against his return. In this case it seems plain that Kendrick sowed, but reaped not; he must however be recognized as the founder of the sandalwood trade. When Ingraham in May 1791 enquired about these men he was told that two of them had tired of the

¹⁵ Report of the Provincial Archives Department of British Columbia for 1913, Victoria, 1914, p. 31.

life and returned to Macao with Captain Douglas but that the third was at Oahu.¹⁶

Kendrick reached Macao Roads, China, on 26th January 1790, about a month previous to the departure of the *Columbia*.¹⁷ The correspondence between the two captains, so far as it has been preserved, has been already published in volume XII, Washington Historical Quarterly. Nowhere does it contain a suggestion that the *Columbia* should be returned to his command. Though he speaks therein of the sale of his furs and asks advice, it yet appears from both Boit and Hoskins that up to the fall of 1791 Kendrick had made no returns to his owners.¹⁸ From all presently available sources it seems that from the time that the *Columbia* sailed from China in February 1790 until the day of his death Kendrick handled the *Washington* as though the vessel were his own property. Further investigations may however throw light on this part of the subject.

Ever since the departure from Boston Kendrick had dreamed of transforming the sloop *Washington* into a brigantine. If Haswell is to be believed, he commenced to make the alterations at Nootka Sound in the fall of 1788, even though lacking the necessary blocks, ropes, and canvas.¹⁹ Now he had his opportunity. The three years buffetings had so frayed and worn the sails and rigging that all must be replaced. His letters speak of the sloop as "now entirely destitute of sails and rigging" and enquire "whether sail cloth and rigging is to be procured at Canton."²⁰ He spent a year and two months—an unconscionable time—in disposing of his cargo and in effecting the alteration in the rig of the *Washington*. His friend Hoskins says that immediately upon his ar-

16 Ingraham's Journal MS., May 23, 1791; Hawaiian Historical Society Reprints (No. 3), p. 10.

17 Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 265.

18 Boit's Log of the *Columbia*, in Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, p. 289; and Hoskins' letter cited in note on same page.

19 Haswell's first Log of the *Columbia* MS., 26th October, 1788.

20 Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 268.

rival at Larks Bay—Dirty Butter Bay—(29th January 1790) Captain Kendrick “was seized with a violent fever, which caused his life for a time to be despaired of” and that thereafter every obstacle was placed in his way by the Chinese, everything possible to distress him was done, and his troubles culminated when he was arrested in the street of Macao by a guard of soldiers, ordered to depart immediately, and not to return under pain of imprisonment.²¹ What the cause of this unusual treatment was can not be ascertained; how far it may have been connected with an effort to evade the mandarin-made customs laws and the hard and fast commercial or non-commercial oriental ideas we can only surmise.

In March 1791 Captain Kendrick in the *Washington*, now a brigantine, sailed from Larks Bay, China, for the Northwest Coast of America in company with the *Grace*, William Douglas, master. Hoskins gives the following epitome of the voyage: “They went into a harbour on the southern coast of Japan where they were received by the natives with the greatest hospitality. Here Captain Kendrick displayed the American flag which is probably the first ever seen in that quarter. They carried to Japan about two hundred prime sea otter skins but the Japanese knew not the use of them. In a few days sail from this they discovered a group of islands to which on account of the natives bringing water off to sell was given the name of Water Islands, they not being down on any chart extant. The natives of these islands as well as those of Japan and the Chinamen could not understand each other in talking, but in writing they could well. Their tarry among these islands was short. The two vessels parted company soon after leaving them, each making the best of his way to this coast.”²²

The *Washington* reached Queen Charlotte Islands; on 13th June 1791 Kendrick anchored in Barrell Sound

²¹ Hoskins' Narrative MS., p. 130, August, 1791.

²² *Id.*, p. 131; Delano's Voyages, Boston, 1817, p. 43.

(Houston Stewart Channel). Koyah and his co-sufferer had not forgotten the indignity to which they had been subjected. Here was the chance for revenge. The natives appeared quite friendly. Trade ran quietly along. One day a large number of natives gathered on the vessel and took possession of the arms chests on deck. Koyah then tauntingly called to Captain Kendrick, pointing to his legs: "Put me in your gun carriage now." The savages swarmed upon the deck urged on by an Amazon. The sailors retreated below decks in search of arms. Captain Kendrick at first bravely stood his ground trying to pacify the infuriated horde; gradually he edged towards the companion way. The Indians surrounded him. One with a marline spike hovered in act to strike. Daggers gleamed in every direction. Just as Kendrick reached the companion way Koyah jumped upon him and struck with his dagger. Luckily the blow went wide. By this time the crew returned with weapons from below; but they dare not fire upon Koyah because of the danger to Captain Kendrick. Finally the captain shook himself free of his assailant and, grasping a musket, led the charge. The natives retreated precipitately before the fire. All the efforts of the Amazon failed to enhearten them to renew the attack. Soon the deck was clear of all except the woman, who vainly strove to stem the retreat. With one arm stricken off she still clung to the main chains howling like a demon. Discouraged she threw herself into the sea, which was covered with men and canoes. The guns were then turned upon the poor wretches striving to reach safety; the boats were lowered and the fleeing savages pursued with bloody slaughter.²³

In this connection we may quote the words of that wise trader William Sturgis. He is speaking on the general subject of attacks by Indians. "I, with better opportunities for investigating and ascertaining the truth, find the cause in the lawless and brutish violence of white

23 Hoskins' Narrative MS., pp. 132-4, August, 1791.

men and it would be easy to show that these fatal disasters might have been averted by a different treatment of the natives and by prudence and proper precaution on the part of their civilized visitors.”²⁴

This attack and its repulse were the subject of a ballad composed by one of the crew.²⁵ All efforts have so far been unavailing to obtain a copy of it. Further search may however bring it to light.

From Barrell Sound Kendrick sailed southward and on 12th July 1791 entered Nootka Sound once more. The Spaniards were still in possession, but his friend Martinez was not in command, he having been ordered back to Spain on his wife's complaint that he had failed to support her and her child. The frowning fort still guarded the entrance. Elisa, the commandante, records that Kendrick “*paso por nuestra castillo con les mechas encendidas y gente armada.*” Through the speaking trumpet the Spaniards warned him not to enter, but he used a conveniently deaf ear. They recognized the vessel and after he had anchored at Marvinas Bay, now sometimes still called Kendrick Cove, an officer was despatched to forbid any trade. Kendrick replied that he had come from Macao to carry on trade in sea otter skins, but would obey the order and depart immediately.²⁶ As usual his movements were leisurely; we find that on 20th July 1791 he purchased from Maquinna the harbour with “all the land, rivers, creeks, harbours, islands, etc., with all the produce of sea and land appertaining thereto.” In leaving Kendrick sailed out by way of Esperanza Inlet which two years previously, as we shall see later, had been explored by his son John. It may even be, from some remarks in Haswell's Log, that Captain Kendrick

²⁴ Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. 7 (1864), p. 420 *et seq.*

²⁵ Cape Cod History and Genealogy, No. 35, Edward Kenrick, p. 10.

²⁶ Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington, Berlin Arbitration, Vol. 5, p. 176. Washington, 1872.

himself had discovered this passage in the winter of 1788-9.

Proceeding southward Kendrick bought from the native chiefs at Ahousat, near the entrance of Nootka Sound, and at Clayoquot Sound two other parcels of land described in the same vague manner.²⁷ In this he was true to his blood; his grandfather had obtained considerable land in the Cape Cod region by purchase from the Indians.²⁸ In 1795 an effort was made by the owners of the *Washington* to dispose of these purchases in London.²⁹ This is the only item which I have found after 1790 that shows any recognition by Kendrick of his owners' rights.

About 5th August 1791 Kendrick reached Clayoquot where he finished his season's trading. The *Columbia* arrived on 29th August, found the brigantine at anchor and Kendrick in possession of a log house that he had erected within the area ceded to him by Wickananish and which he had named Fort Washington.³⁰ He had then about one thousand sea otter skins on board. Hoskins writing to Barrell on 21st August 1792 says: "Capt. Kendrick when I saw him the last season offer'd to give up to me (if I would pay his men's wages & a debt he had contracted in Macao of about 4000 dollars) his vessel and cargo which was a thousand sea otter skins. I told him I had no authority to accept his offer or to demand any payment from him nor did I think any person in the ship had."³¹

Captain Kendrick sailed from Clayoquot 25th Sep-

27 These deeds and that referred to in the preceding paragraph will be found set out verbatim in Senate Documents, 32d Congress, First Session, Report Committee No. 335, pp. 20 *et seq.* No reliance is to be placed on the statements of alleged facts contained in this document.

28 Cape Cod History and Genealogy, No. 35, Edward Kenwrick, pp. 2-3.

29 Senate Document No. 335, mentioned in note 26, p. 29.

30 Hoskins' Narrative MS., p. 135, August, 1791.

31 Manuscript letter from Hoskins to Barrell, dated 21st August 1792, in archives of Massachusetts Historical Society.

tember 1791 for China by way of the Hawaiian Islands.³² At Niihau he again landed three men to collect sandalwood. According to Vancouver, who met these men at Oahu in March 1792, he had left them in October 1791 with the intention of disposing of his furs in China and proceeding thence to Boston. He expected to return from New England, spend a season trading on the Northwest Coast, and in the ensuing year to call for them at Kauai, take aboard the sandalwood and pearls collected by them, and sail to India.³³ Here again he appears to have sown, but reaped not. If Vancouver correctly reports Kendrick's intention we have here another of those changes of conduct with which Haswell charges him.

In the main Vancouver's remarks correspond with those contained in the journal of Archibald Menzies, the botanist, and later the surgeon of the expedition, but the latter makes no mention of any intended visit to Boston. As this entry and some others that will later be mentioned have never been published they will, with the permission of the Provincial Archivist, be reproduced from the copy of the journal now in the archives of British Columbia. This entry is dated 10th March 1792: "He brought with him an English seaman who was left here about five months ago by an American brig, the *Lady Washington*, commanded by Mr. Kendrick. This man's name was John Roebottom. He told us that two other seamen were left with him on the island by the same vessel to collect Sandars wood and Pearls and that Mr. Kendrick was to return in about twenty months to take them and their cargo on board. He also said that they were almost starved and very ill treated by the natives for some time after they landed, but that they now lived with the young king and his guardian on very good terms and were no ways tired of their situation." Menzies

³² This date may not be absolutely correct. It is given by Meares in a letter of 3rd July 1790, published in Archives Report B. C. 1913, p. 34.

³³ Vancouver's Voyage, 1801 Ed., Vol. I, pp. 378-9.

goes on to say that the men had become quite habituated to the native life and had adopted the native dress. He gave them some one hundred young orange plants to be distributed through the island, and to one of them he gave a collection of garden seeds "to amuse him in making a garden on that island and instruct the natives in the method of rearing and using them."

Kendrick reached Larks Bay again on 7th December 1791.³⁴ He spent nine months in disposing of his furs—doubtless he had to smuggle them as Ingraham did—and preparing for his next voyage. Here one may compare Kendrick's and Ingraham's relative speed. Ingraham did in four months what it took Kendrick nine to do; their cargoes were of about the same size; their vessels much the same size; and they were exchanging their furs in the same market, under the same conditions, and at the same time. But to return. In September 1792 Kendrick set out again from Macao in the *Washington*, accompanied by a small tender. As the brigantine herself was only ninety tons, one can imagine the size of the tender. Four days after his departure he met a typhoon. The fury of the gale threw the *Washington* on her beam-ends. The masts were cut away; the vessel righted; and under jury mast the crippled brigantine limped into Macao Roads. The sea was strewn with the wrecks of Chinese junks. Half-drowned Chinese were clinging to the debris. Kendrick saved some thirty of the poor fellows. He was refitting the *Washington* at Larks Bay when, in December 1792, the *Columbia* entered Macao Roads on her second voyage.³⁵

Fitting out once more Kendrick essayed his third and last voyage to the Northwest coast. Being now a man of fifty-three he had determined to make this "just one more trip." We do not know his exact date of sailing;

³⁴ Ingraham's Journal MS.

³⁵ Boit's Log of the *Columbia* in Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, p. 335.

it was subsequent to 1st March 1793, for on that date he wrote from "Port Independence, on the Island of Hong Kong" to Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State. It is likely that he departed shortly afterwards, as that would be necessary if he were to trade on the coast that season. From Menzies' Journal, already referred to, we learn that Kendrick was on the Northwest coast in the summer of 1793. Writing in his journal at Karakakooa Bay (Kealakequa Bay), Hawaiian Islands, under date 13th January 1794 Menzies says: "*Lady Washington* Snow under American colours commanded by Mr. Kendrick. She had been on the North West Coast last summer collecting furs and meant to return again in the Spring to compleat her cargo. It was in this vessel Mr. Howell came from China with an intent to remain some time at these Islands and for this purpose he had now taken up his abode on shore." There is in existence a letter from Kendrick to Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State, written during this summer from "On Board the ship *Lady Washington*, Harbor of Maw-win-na, St. Clair's Island, North-west coast of America," which most unfortunately is undated. It shows the kind heart of John Kendrick. It begs the intercession of the United States on behalf of Don Blas Gonzales who had been punished because of his kindness to Kendrick on the voyage of 1787. It would seem from its contents that Kendrick had met his son, Solomon, who was on the *Jefferson* on the coast in the summer of 1793, and had learned from him of the treatment of Gonzales. At once he writes to the United States authorities urging prompt action especially as the sea-letter had declared that the government would "stand willing indebted" for any assistance rendered to him on that voyage.³⁶

Vancouver states that on his arrival at Karakakooa Bay (Kealakekua Bay) on 13th January 1794 he found

³⁶ These two letters are in Senate Document, No. 335 mentioned in note 26, pp. 17-20.

that Captain Kendrick had been lying there in the *Washington* for the preceding six weeks. This would make it probable that Kendrick had left the Northwest Coast some time in September 1793; the voyage thence to the Hawaiian Islands usually occupied about a month or six weeks. Vancouver leaves the impression that the mate, Boyd, the clerk, Howell, and six or seven seamen left the brigantine at this time. This, however, is scarcely accurate. Boyd seems to have been the mate of the *Jefferson*, and the only connection between him and Kendrick was, according to Menzies, that the *Washington* brought him to Hawaii from the American coast; Howell may have been clerk on the *Washington*, but if so, as the quotation from Menzies given above shows, it was merely a temporary employment.

Menzies' Journal furnishes some interesting items at this point. We learn therefrom that on the day after Vancouver arrived at Karakakooa Bay, he invited Captain Kendrick and Mr. Howell to dine with him on the *Discovery*. The natives brought Vancouver some quantities of charcoal for sale. This interested Menzies and on making enquiries he found that Kendrick, having no coal for his forge on the *Washington*, had induced a seaman from an American vessel to undertake to burn some for him. Thus the natives had found another article of trade with the vessels. About the end of January Kendrick with a party of officers from the *Discovery* went to view the schooner then in process of construction for Kamehameha. Vancouver throws no light on Kendrick's success in the sandalwood venture. In March 1794 he met Kendrick at Kauai. The latter had, in the interval, obtained at Waikiki in Oahu, from the natives, some eighty pounds of beeswax that had drifted ashore there. We learn from Vancouver that at the other islands Kendrick had procured further small quantities of this beeswax. After spending the winter amongst these islands Kendrick returned to the Northwest Coast. When Van-

couver anchored in Nootka Sound on 2nd August 1794 he found the *Washington* there undergoing her usual repairs.³⁷

What success Kendrick had in the trade during this season we do not know. Probably about October 1794 Kendrick sailed from Nootka for the last time. John Boit in his manuscript Log of the *Union* sets down, on the authority of John Young, that he arrived at Fairhaven Harbour in Oahu on 3rd December 1794. Captain Brown of the *Butterworth*, who then had under his command only the other two vessels of his squadron, the *Prince Lee Boo* and the *Jackal*—the *Butterworth* having returned to England—was there at anchor. Brown had received from the chiefs of Oahu a present of the island. Kendrick having aided these chiefs in their successful struggle with those of Kauai offered to salute Brown if the latter returned the compliment. I quote from Boit's account: "In consequence of this victory Kendrick informed Brown that he should hoist the flag of the United States and fire a federal salute and desired it may be answered by the two English vessels which was agreed to and Captain Brown ordered six guns to be unshotted for that purpose. Unfortunately in returning the salute from the *Jackal* the sixth gun was not primed and the gunner without thinking removed the apron from the seventh gun in rotation which was fired and being shotted with round and grape it pierced the side of the *Lady Washington* and killed Captain Kendrick and wounded many of the crew, badly. Shortly after this the snow put to sea under the command of the chief mate bound for Canton." Walbran, on what authority I do not know, gives the date of Kendrick's death as 1st January 1795. If not exactly accurate this must be a very close approximation.

Thus departed Captain Kendrick, in the fifty-fifth

³⁷ For authority for these statements, see Vancouver's *Voyage*, 1801 ed., Vol. 5, pp. 5, 29, 112, 115, 121, 123; and Vol. 6, p. 65.

year of his age. Delano gives a fulsome laudation of his character,³⁸ to which I can not wholly subscribe. In physical appearance he is said to have been "a very large man possessing great strength and courage."³⁹ From the sample of his handwriting and composition preserved in the Barrell letters⁴⁰ (being the instructions issued by him to Captain Gray while at the Falkland Islands in 1787) he seems to have had even less than the ordinary common school education of his time. As the commander of an expedition he was a complete failure; even his friend Hoskins has to admit that "to be sure the man was by no means calculated for the charge of such an expedition, but a better man might have done worse." But when his responsibility was reduced to the control and direction of a small vessel he showed qualities of initiative, perseverance, courage, energy, and foresight. He was a good seaman, a kind-hearted, though quick-tempered man. He seems to have been whimsical and vacillating. He shows himself as a man jealous of his authority, self-willed and dictatorial, but yet amenable to reason if approached in a proper spirit and manner. He had a keen eye for opportunities and possibilities of trade development, especially where they lay beyond, or at one side of, the beaten paths. His uncertainty of action and his leisurely movements were the defects which prevented him from obtaining those results to which his other qualities should have entitled him.

JOHN KENDRICK JUNIOR

Reference has already been made to the fact that Captain Kendrick's sons, John and Solomon, sailed with him on the first voyage of the *Columbia*, the former as fifth mate, the latter as an A. B. Haswell suggests that

38 Delano's Voyages, Boston, 1817, p. 400.

39 Cape Cod History and Genealogy, No. 35, Edward Kenwick.

40 In the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Captain Kendrick's motive in quarreling with him arose "as is most probable from his wish to elevate his son to the position of second mate." To understand this reference it must be remembered that when the *Columbia* sailed from Boston in September 1787 her officers were: Simeon Woodruffe, first mate; Joseph Ingraham, second mate; Robert Haswell, third mate; John B. Cordis, fourth mate; and John Kendrick Jr., fifth mate. The discharge of Woodruffe at Cape Verd Islands and of Haswell at the Falkland Islands would naturally raise the position occupied by John Kendrick Jr.

While the *Columbia* lay inert in Nootka Sound the son John entered the Spanish service. It would appear that Kendrick chose the psychological moment. In a letter dated 13th July 1789 (just ten days subsequent to the seizure of the British ship *Argonaut*) Martinez reports this young man's entry into the Spanish service. In his eyes the young New Englander has three qualifications which in the order in which he mentions them are: that he has of his own free will abjured the heresies of Luther and embraced the Roman Catholic religion; that he is well educated; and that he is expert as a pilot.⁴¹ The first reference to him in Martinez's Diary is under date 25th August 1789 when he was acting as interpreter on the occasion of a visit from Maquinna, the head chief of the vicinity. The next entry in which he is mentioned in that diary is in October 1789. I quote: "One day this month (October) the reconnaissance of the country from Tashis to the bay of La Esperanza was casually made with the boat in charge of the second pilot, Don Juan Kendrick and the interpreter Gabriel del Castillo. They had left home in search of whale oil and red ochre, but finding themselves at Tashis they determined (with the agreement of those who accompanied them) to explore the arm toward the west. They undertook this work

⁴¹ Archives of Indies, Seville, Spain, Est. 90, Caj. 3, Leg. 18; copy in my possession.

with no more provisions than a little fish which they had bought from the Indians. Making the attempt steering between two bodies of land they came out into the ocean in latitude 50°. They had crossed the bay of La Esperanza and had taken possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain, Don Carlos IV. As evidence of this, they set up, at a distance of 20' from the aforesaid Tashis a cross with the inscription '*Carolus IV Hispaniarum et Yndiarum Rex*' with the name of Don Estevan Martinez engraved in these letters: 'P. D. E. J. M. Anno de 1789.' No other people have seen this passage but in all of it there is good anchorage for ships of all sizes which can be moored to the shore. The English who have come into this port have expressed doubts as to the existence of the passage but no one has proved its existence until it was done by Kendrick and the interpreter."

He then disappears into the mists of the Spanish archives, and is seen no more until Ingraham arrives at Hawaii in May 1791. He learned that in the preceding month two Spanish vessels had touched there. In them was "Mr. John Kendrick Junr, Captain Kendrick's son whom he had let remain on board the *Princesa* with Don E. J. Martinez. These vessels from (Tianna's) description I knew to be the *Argonaut* and *Princess Royal* which were captured in Nootka Sound." Tianna also gave to Ingraham a letter from John Kendrick Jr. to his father to be delivered in the event of their meeting on the Northwest coast.⁴² The *Argonaut* and *Princess Royal*, though called Spanish, were then in Colnett possession. Setting out from San Blas in the former, Colnett had, in accordance with the understanding with the Spanish officers, sought the other at Nootka, but in vain. Sailing thence for China he called, as usual, at the Hawaiian Islands, where he accidentally encountered her and took

⁴² Ingraham's Journal MS, May 23, 1791; Hawaiian Historical Society Reprints (No. 3), p. 8.

over her command.⁴³ How the Spanish crews reached Mexico again is unknown to me; doubtless a search in the Spanish archives would disclose the means; Colnett had on the *Argonaut* the crew of the *Princess Royal*, who had been in captivity with him.

Again John Kendrick Jr. goes into eclipse and is not seen until June 1794. Doubtless he continued in the service of Spain, for on this date he appears at Nootka on the verge of sailing in charge of the transport *Aranzazu* for Monterey. Catala the missionary accompanied him to Mexico where they arrived on 2nd July 1794. Young Kendrick seems to have absorbed the Spanish reverence for the faith, as Martinez had already indicated; he refused to sail on the return voyage until another spiritual pastor had been found to take over and carry on Catala's work at Nootka.⁴⁴

This is the last reference to him that I have been able to discover; there are, however, one or two allusions which may or may not refer to him. In 1799 the *Elisa*, Captain Rowan, was on this coast in the fur trade. Her supercargo was a John Kendrick.⁴⁵ Whether this person was identical with our John Kendrick Jr.; and if so when he had left the Spanish service and where he had joined her, at the Hawaiian Islands or at her home port in Boston; and if the latter, when and how he had reached New England; these are all questions remaining at present unanswered. Again, in 1802, the *Juno*, owned by the D'Wolfs of Bristol, was here in command of a Captain Kendrick.⁴⁶ Was this John Kendrick Jr.? He would at that time be only about thirty years of age.

These fragments show how much research is still necessary to piece together the biography of this eldest son of Captain John Kendrick.

⁴³ Colnett's Voyage, London, 1798, p. 101; Vancouver's Voyage, 1801 Ed., Vol. 3, pp. 236 *et seq.*; and authorities cited in preceding note.

⁴⁴ Bancroft's History of Northwest Coast, Vol. I, p. 296.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, p. 307.

⁴⁶ *Id.*, p. 311.

SOLOMON KENDRICK

The second son, Solomon, seems to have remained on the *Columbia* after his father relinquished the command to Captain Gray and to have returned on her to Boston on 10th August 1790. We next find him as third mate on the ship *Jefferson*, Captain Josiah Roberts, bound on a voyage from Boston to the Northwest coast. This vessel was a large ship in those days, perhaps of five hundred tons burthen.⁴⁷ Sailing on 29th November 1791, the *Jefferson* arrived off Cumberland Bay, Juan Fernandez, on 20th May 1792. The log entry reads: "Got out the pinnace and sent her ahead of us into the harbour with Mr. Kendrick the third officer and six hands, he having knowledge of the best anchoring ground, having been in this port before with his father in the ship *Columbia* in the year 1788 and met with a friendly reception." When Kendrick returned he reported that the Governor, relying upon a prohibition promulgated since that visit, would not grant permission for the *Jefferson* to anchor. Though the sea-letter and the Spanish ambassador's letter were produced, the Governor was adamant and the ship was obliged to depart for Valparaiso.⁴⁸

The *Jefferson* was on the coast in the summer of 1793. I can not account for what appears to be an error of Captain Vancouver in stating that she was here in 1792; such an allegation does not fit in with La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's synopsis of her voyage as obtained from Captain Roberts himself.⁴⁹ The *Jefferson* was accompanied by a small schooner of eighty-six tons which had been built, during the voyage, at the Marquesas Islands in 1792, and carried a crew of twelve men. Solomon

47 This is according to Marchand's Voyage, 1801 English edition, Vol. 2, p. 270; La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt on the other hand in his Voyage dans les Etats-Unis, Paris, An. 8, Vol. 3, p. 18, says: "du port de cent cinquante-deux tonneaux."

48 Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, First Series, Vol. 4 (1795), pp. 235, 261.

49 Vancouver's Voyage, 1801 Ed., Vol. 6, p. 399; B. C. Archives Report for 1913, pp. 28-9; compare therewith La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt Voyage, Vol. 3, pp. 18-26.

Kendrick was an officer on this tender. Two absolutely contradictory accounts of the boss of this schooner and her crew exist. According to La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the two vessels spent six or seven months in trading, principally in the vicinity of Queen Charlotte Islands. There the tender disappeared. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt says: "Un coup de vent terrible, qui a pensé détruire son propre navire, a probablement frappé celui-là, plus rapproché alors de terre, et moins en état que le sien de résister à un aussi gros tems. Avec lui ont péri douze hommes, ont été perdus un nombre assez considérable de peaux et de matières d'échange, et les plans des cotes des îles que le capitaine assure avoir découvert." The other version is given by Boit in his manuscript Log of the *Union* on the authority of John Young as follows: "Captain Roberts had a small schooner as a tender on the N W Coast, which was cut off by the natives of Queen Charlotte Islands and every soul on board murder'd, among the rest a son of Captain Kendrick's who was 2d mate." Later in the log on the same authority Boit speaks of the treatment of captives by the Indians and after dwelling upon its horrors proceeds: "The same kind of treatment was experienced by a Newport man (by name, Bears) who was sav'd out of Capt Roberts' schooner (when taken at Cumsuah's village, Queen Charlotte Isles), this poor fellow was likewise taken off by a Boston ship." If this story were true it would lead us into the interesting maze of striving to ascertain the identity of the vessel mentioned by Péron that was captured and looted by the Haida and whose one survivor was similarly maltreated and similarly rescued;⁵⁰ a story which most readers have been accustomed to regard as apocryphal.

But between these two conflicting reports the historian must, it would seem to me, take that which purports to be the relation of the captain.

50 Peron's Voyage, Paris, 1824, Vol. 2, pp. 2-8.

THE LADY WASHINGTON

It may perhaps be well to conclude this sketch with a word about the brigantine herself. After Captain Kendrick's death she sailed for China. Nothing is known of her movements thereafter until Broughton's arrival at Nootka in March 1796. He records that the *Washington* was then there; and it seems that she was undergoing repairs, as usual. She had left the Hawaiian Islands about the first of March 1796. This leads to the belief that it is possible that she was on the coast in the summer of 1795. If so, great celerity was being shown by her new commander, whoever he was. Of course this is all surmise, based upon the usual routes of travel and the ordinary lines of conduct in the trade. During April 1796 at Marvinas Bay, Nootka Sound, with the aid of the *Washington*, Broughton heaved down his ship, the *Providence*, and effected his repairs. When he departed from Nootka Sound, 21st May 1796, he left the *Washington* there, her leaks repaired and ready to continue her trading voyage.⁵¹ At this point, so far as present investigation has ascertained, the curtain is rung down—the scene is ended.

Since the above was written I have fortunately found in Bishop's Journal of the *Ruby*, in the Archives of the Province of British Columbia, the following entry which shows that the surmises in the last paragraph are correct, except that, owing to the perils of the sea, the *Washington* did not actually visit the Northwest Coast in 1795. "The Sandwich Islands," says this journal, "were however safely reached on the 19th (February, 1796) and the ship anchored in Why-tee-tee Bay, Who-hoo Island. Here was found the Snow 'Washington' formerly the sloop 'Mears' commanded by Captain Robert Simpson, who informed Captain Bishop that he had sailed from

⁵¹ Broughton's Voyage (French Ed.), Paris 1807, Vol. 1, pp. 75, 78. Broughton had met the *Washington* in January 1796 at Karakakooa Bay; see his Voyage, Vol. 1, p. 45.

Canton in July of last year (1795) for the North West Coast of America, but having met with a terrible typhoon off the coast of Japan, he had on account of damages put into the Sandwich Islands, and given up all hope of proceeding to America until the following spring. They had passed the winter in Karakakooa Bay, Owhyhee, in company with the Prince William Henry, Captain Wake, who had sailed about six weeks before for California." Despite the confusion caused by the introduction of the word "Mears" as an alleged earlier name of the *Washington*, there is no doubt of the identity of the vessel. In all his references to her, and they are contemporaneous, Broughton speaks of her by her full name, *Lady Washington*; it is true that Broughton calls her a brig, while the *Ruby's* journal mentions her as a snow; but the terms "brig," "brigantine" and "snow" are used interchangeably in the journals of that time on this coast.

DOCUMENTARY
METHODIST ANNUAL REPORTS

Relating to the
WILLAMETTE MISSION
(1834-1848)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The printed annual pamphlet reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, during the period between 1834 and 1848, contain material of considerable importance relating to the establishing and afterward the practical abandonment of the Jason Lee foundation. The reasons for sending Rev. George Gary to Oregon with broad powers and with directions to supersede Lee are shown in the later of these reports. If this action seems somewhat precipitate and was taken without giving Lee an opportunity to be heard, it is also apparent that Gary took the responsibility of acting without waiting to submit a report and obtain specific instructions.

Rev. H. K. Hines, in his *Missionary History of the Northwest* (page 307) gives an account of Lee's attempt at justification before the Missionary Board, July 1, 1844, and quotes from his address. Lee had left the Mission and had gone to Washington before he learned of the appointment of his successor. There he presented to the authorities the claims of the Mission concerning its land locations, and he urged legislation for the settlers. In addressing the Board afterward, he said: "I had heard that it was in contemplation by the Board to send a special agent to Oregon to examine into the condition and affairs of the Mission, and my impression was that he would probably cross the mountains. I believed that availing myself of the offered opportunity, I could reach home previous to the agent's departure, if one was appointed, and by giving the Board a detailed statement

of events and of the affairs of the Mission, it might save the expense of sending the contemplated agent."

Hines adds that "his personal vindication was complete, and the Board was fully satisfied that he had served the church and the missionary cause in Oregon with great devotion and faithfulness. The Board saw the difficulties that had encompassed his work much more clearly than ever before, and had such a statement of them been before the body before the appointment of Mr. Gary, no such action would have been taken." Hines also states that Mr. Gary's sale of the school property "was not by any means sustained by the members of the Mission," some of whom opposed it, and that had the efforts that Lee was making at that very time at Washington been successful, the title of the Mission to its valuable land claim at Salem would have been confirmed, and the money expenditures of the Board for the establishment of the Mission would have been more than compensated.

CHARLES HENRY CAREY.

EXCERPTS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORTS

Fifteenth Anniversary,
Forsyth Street Church, May 2nd,
Report of 1834.

Two missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Jason and David [Daniel] Lee, have been appointed to the Flat Heads beyond the Rocky Mountains. Since this mission has been in contemplation many circumstances have occurred which indicate that the good hand of God is in its favor. About the time the missionaries were ready to take their departure from New York to the west, information was received that Captain Wythe¹ had just returned from a trading voyage to that country, and that he had brought two Indian boys with him. On receiving this intelligence

¹ Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth.

it was thought advisable to have one of the missionaries have an interview with Captain Wythe, which was accordingly done. From that gentleman valuable information was derived respecting the state of the country, the general character and disposition of the Indian tribes inhabiting the Oregon territory; and he likewise manifested a disposition to give every aid in his power to the mission. Ascertaining that he designed to cross the mountains early in the spring, in company with a number of men, arrangements have been made, with the concurrence of Captain Wythe, for the missionaries to accompany him. They are accordingly on their way, and it is hoped we may soon hear of their safe arrival and that success is likely to attend their labors.

Sixteenth Anniversary,
New York, May 11, 1835.

It was stated in our last report that two missionaries were on their way to the Flat Head Indians, beyond the Rocky Mountains. In letters dated Rocky Mountains, June 25 and July 1, 1834, Brother Lee gives a detailed account of his journey through the wilderness and of his safe arrival at that place in good health and spirits. At the time he wrote, which was immediately on his arrival, he had not had sufficient time to make a minute survey of his field of labor, so as to be able to judge of its present state and prospects, only, in general, everything appeared promising—the Indians whom he had seen were friendly and gave him a cordial welcome—and the missionaries were in high expectation of success in their efforts to plant the standard of the cross in that barbarous land.

In his instructions, Brother Lee was requested to ascertain the practicability of establishing aboriginal missions among the tribes which inhabit the country between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. In his letter to the managers, he gave it as his opinion, which he formed from actual observation, that missions

may and ought to be established at Larmie's Fork, which is about 30 days' march from Fort Independence.

Among the Crow Indians which inhabit the country between the Missouri and the Yellow Stone Rivers; and among the BlackFeet Indians, who live in the immediate neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains. By thus establishing a line of missionary operations among the several tribes who inhabit the intermediate places between the frontier white settlements and the Rocky Mountains, by which the natives would be conciliated and their friendship secured, a medium of communication would be established, affording facilities to the missionaries of obtaining supplies, of receiving and communicating intelligence. This subject therefore, is affectionately and respectfully commended to the notice of those who have the superintendence of these missions.

Seventeenth Anniversary,
Forsyth St., New York,
April 18, 1836.

From the Oregon Mission we have very encouraging information. On the arrival of the missionaries it was ascertained that the real Flat Head Indians were few in number, and had no settled habitations. The missionaries therefore proceeded on to Fort Vancouver, at the mouth of the Columbia River, where they arrived in September, 1834, and were received with great cordiality and treated with much hospitality by the governor, Doctor McLaughlin,² and his family. On Sabbath, Sept. 28th, Brother Lee preached in the fort to a very attentive audience, which was the first sermon ever delivered in that part of the country, west of the Rocky Mountains. On the 14th of December he preached again and baptized four women and fifteen children. This was considered a solemn and interesting occasion by all present. After looking about them and taking the best coun-

2 Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of Hudson's Bay Company.

sel they could obtain, it was finally concluded to form a mission establishment on the Willamette River, about 60 miles from Fort Vancouver. Here therefore the missionaries resorted, and after selecting a suitable location went to work with their own hands and erected a log house, 32 x 18 feet, one story and a half high. They also entered upon the cultivation of the farm, ploughing and sowing the seed. This done, they commenced a course of religious instruction, with a fair prospect of succeeding in reclaiming these wandering savages, who are in a very degraded state, to the blessings of Christianity and civilized life. The country is generally healthy and offers many facilities to the Christian missionary to prosecute his work, with success.

Brother Shepard,³ who accompanied the missionaries as a teacher, was left at Fort Vancouver, in charge of a school which had been commenced about two years before by Esq. Ball,⁴ whose letters describing the state of things in that country have been published. This school consists principally of half-breed children collected from the vicinity of the fort, some of whom have made very encouraging improvement in reading, writing and English grammar, and a few are studying geography and the first branches of the mathematics. In addition to the day school, Brother Shepard has under his instruction in the evenings ten of his scholars, two young men and three Japanese youths⁵ who about a year previously had been wrecked on the coast and made captives, but afterward redeemed by a sea captain in the services of the Hudson Bay Company.

The mission establishment of Willamette is so situated as to form a central position from whence mission-

³ Cyrus Shepard.

⁴ John Ball, came with Wyeth's expedition, and began teaching, 1833.

⁵ A Japanese junk was wrecked near Cape Flattery. Captain McNeil of the American brig *Llama* brought them to the Columbia River in 1833. They were afterward sent home by Dr. McLoughlin by way of England. Captain McNeil was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company and remained in its service for thirty years.

ary labors may be extended in almost every direction among the natives and those emigrants who may hereafter settle in that vast and fertile territory. Such were the opening prospects for missionary efforts among the surrounding tribes, as detailed to the Board by Brother Lee's letters, that it has been determined to strengthen the mission by sending out another mission family, two female teachers, a physician, carpenter and a blacksmith. These have accordingly been selected among those who volunteered their services for important enterprises and they only await a favorable opportunity to proceed on their journey.

Eighteenth Anniversary,
Held May 22, 1837,
Greene St. Church, New York.

From the Oregon Mission we have no very recent information. The last account we received from Rev. David [Daniel] Lee. His letter was dated at Honolulu, one of the missionary stations at the Sandwich Islands, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. His letters give a glowing description of the state of things in those islands and of the Oregon territory. From his representation, and from that made to the board previously by the Rev. Jason Lee, the superintendent of the mission, we were induced to send a reinforcement to the mission. Accordingly, in August last, a physician and blacksmith, with their wives and children, a carpenter and three female teachers, in all thirteen, sailed from Boston by way of the Sandwich Islands.⁶ With these were sent out a large quantity of household furniture, about twenty boxes of clothing of various sorts and sizes, valued at not less than \$2,000, agricultural, mechanical, and surgical instruments, as well as medicine for the

⁶ These were Alanson Beers, blacksmith, wife and three children; Susan Downing, Elvira Johnson, Anna Maria Pittman, teachers; J. L. Whitcomb, teacher; Dr. Elijah White, physician, wife, and two children. They arrived in May, 1837.

benefit of the mission. Of their arrival we have not yet heard, either at the Sandwich Islands or at the Oregon territory.

Not being able to send out a missionary with his family, as was generally desired, measures were adopted to send one or more as soon thereafter as practicable; on the 24th of January last, the Rev. David Leslie, wife and three children, accompanied by a pious young lady as a school teacher,⁷ and Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, left Boston in the brig Peru, for the Sandwich Islands, with a view to find passage from thence to their place of destination. We cannot but hope and pray for the safe arrival of these missionary families, to their field of labor in due season.

Respecting the actual state of things in this mission, we have not much to add to the information that was given in our last report. It seems, however, that in consequence of the failure of the health of Rev. D. Lee and his departure to the Sandwich Islands, with the hope of its restoration, Rev. Jason Lee was left alone, assisted only by Brother Shepard as a school teacher. But from all the information received the prospects of the mission were flattering, and more laborers were greatly needed to answer all the calls which were made for religious instruction. Should the families recently sent arrive in safety, it is hoped they will be able to go forward and prosper.

Nineteenth Anniversary,
Forsyth Street Church, New York.
May 21, 1838.

From the Oregon Mission we have recently received encouraging information from a member of the mission family, which sailed from Boston in August, 1836. This letter was dated July 5, 1837, and gave an account of the safe arrival of the family after a voyage of ten months

7 Margaret Smith. These arrived September 7, 1837.

all in good health and spirits. They arrived at the Mission House, at the mouth of the Willamette River, which empties into the Columbia about sixty miles from the Pacific, about the last of May, 1837, and were rejoiced to find the two missionaries, Brothers Jason and Daniel Lee, in health and peace, and prospering in their work. They had succeeded in procuring a good farm, on which they had erected a convenient log house with three rooms for preaching and for a school, as well as for domestic purposes. Here they found a school under the superintendence of the teacher, Brother Shepard, consisting of about thirty children, mostly half-breeds, which promises much good to the rising generation.

The family which sailed in January, 1837, had not yet arrived, though they were daily expected, as we have information of their arrival at the Sandwich Islands in June last. When these shall have arrived the family will consist of twenty-three, including minors, namely, four missionaries, a male and four female teacher, a physician, a blacksmith and a carpenter.

This mission promises great usefulness to the rising colony in that part of the country, and therefore demands the vigorous support of the Society.

We are informed by a gentleman attached to the United States Navy,⁸ who visited the mission about eighteen month since, that the superintendent of the mission had, by his pious and prudent conduct acquired the confidence of the entire settlement and was laying a foundation for immense good in that new Territory. And now that he is assisted by those who recently joined him in his work it is believed that their sphere of usefulness will be much enlarged and that the natives will share more largely in the benefits of their Gospel labors. It is regretted that we are not able to report the exact number which have been brought into church fellowship, but we

⁸ Lieut. William A. Slacum.

are assured that our missionaries have not "labored in vain, nor spent their strength for naught."

Twentieth Anniversary,
Green Street Church, New York,
May 20, 1839.

From the Oregon Mission we have information of the most authentic character from the superintendent of the mission himself, who arrived here on the 31st of October last, after a tedious passage over the Rocky Mountains of about seven months. He was accompanied by five young natives, three of whom were sent to be educated at the expense of their parents, and the other two Flat Head youths accompany Brother Lee in his travels, which since his arrival have exerted a beneficial influence on the interests of the missionary cause.

We are happy to learn from Brother Lee that the last mission family, which sailed from Boston in January, 1837, had arrived in safety, and entered upon their work with cheerfulness and diligence—while we were called to mourn over the sudden death of the wife of Brother Lee, who departed this life in peace after her husband had left for the United States. Her death is to be the more lamented, because she was eminently qualified for her station, and promised great usefulness to that distant and important mission.

The object of Brother Lee's visit, which was undertaken at the earnest request of the mission family, is to procure more help in that field of labor. It appears, both from his own account, from letters received from Daniel Lee and Dr. White, as well as from the published account of the Rev. Mr. Parker,⁹ who traveled through that country under the direction of the American Board, that the various tribes of Indians inhabiting that region are not only willing but even desirous to be instructed in the

⁹ Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, by Rev. Samuel Parker, Ithaca, N. Y. (1838.)

principles of the Christian religion—and that though the natives are in general in a deplorable state as it respects their civil and moral condition, yet there is a wide field open for usefulness among them,—that *now* is the time to enter it before the natives become yet more defiled by the proximity and intermingling of unprincipled white men, who may settle among them for the sake of traffic. From the local advantages of the territory, the salubrity of its climate, and richness of its soil, and the prospect of gain by opening a more extensive trade with the natives, it may fairly be presumed that the country will be, at a no distant period filled with white inhabitants. It is therefore highly important that the best interests of all concerned may be secured for the institutions of Christianity to be established there, that the settlements may be saved from the contaminating influence of vicious indulgences.

These representations being made to the board of managers, after a full investigation of the subject and counsel had with Bishop Hedding¹⁰ and others, it has been determined to send out a reinforcement of five missionaries, one physician, a blacksmith, millwright, cabinet maker, three carpenters and joiners, three farmers, a mission steward to take charge of the temporal affairs of the mission, and some young ladies for teachers, together with those farming and mechanical utensils which are necessary to carry on their respective trades and occupations, as well as a quantity of goods, composed of such articles as are needful for the supply of the mission family, and to enable them to purchase such articles as they may procure of the natives.

Though this outfit will be expensive, and for a time will require much to keep the mission in operation, yet if success crown our efforts by a prudent management, the expenditure to the Society will be diminished by the income from the cultivation of the farms, etc. And this

10 Bishop Elijah Hedding, of Lynn, Massachusetts.

mode of conducting the mission is considered essential to its successful operation, as there is no other way to furnish the mission family with provisions and other necessities of life. The supply thus afforded therefore is considered only as subsidiary to the main object of the mission, which is to convert the natives to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. And though but little has been done toward their conversion, yet a foundation has been laid and a beginning made, which if followed up in the spirit of the Gospel, we doubt not will eventuate in great and lasting good to the inhabitants of that country.

Already the use of intoxicants in the settlement where the mission is located, has been banished, several of the natives brought under serious impressions, a school put into operation for the benefit of children and youth, in which about thirty are now taught, several of whom are making encouraging advances in learning, and have become habituated to the arts of domestic life. A large farm is also brought under cultivation, well stocked with cattle, poultry, etc., by which provision is beginning to be made for the sustenance of the mission family.

A great point has been gained by Brother Lee and his associates by securing the confidence of the natives and settlers in their good intentions, so that a controlling influence may be exercised for their temporal and spiritual benefit.

There are now employed on this mission upward of twenty persons, including minors, namely, four missionaries, two of whom are married; a physician, blacksmith, and a carpenter, the latter all men of families.

Twenty-first Anniversary,
Green Street,
..... 1840.

The Oregon Mission is daily increasing in interest and importance. Our last annual report announced that the Board with the concurrence of Bishop Hedding, who

then had charge of the foreign missions, had determined to send out a large reinforcement to this distant and rugged, though promising field of labor. From the most authentic accounts before the Board, it appeared that the natives in that territory were generally prepared to receive the Gospel; and that the Mission might be prosecuted with vigor; and to the best advantage, it was essential that it should be able to provide itself with the means of subsistence. Remote from all civilized society, except a few settlers at Willamette and the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, and at a great distance from any place where supplies of food and clothing can be procured, it was considered necessary, in order that the missionaries proper should be able to pursue their appropriate work, that mechanics, farmers, physicians and school teachers, should be procured and sent out. And although this plan involved a heavy expense, it was believed that if judiciously carried into effect, it would ultimately prove a saving to the Society by putting the means of support within their own power as the fruit of their own labor. Accordingly, on the ninth of October last, a company of fifty persons, including adults and minors, male and female, left New York in the ship *Lausanne*, which had been chartered for the purpose of conveying them to Oregon. These included six missionaries, their wives and children, a physician, wife and child, a missionary steward, wife and two children, two farmers, wives and children, a cabinet maker, two carpenters and a blacksmith, their wives and children and five single female teachers. As far as could be judged, from an acquaintance with them after their arrival in New York, they appeared to be a most devoted band of men and women, and had determined to brave the dangers of the ocean and the hazard of savage life, for the sake of promoting the cause of Jesus Christ. They carried with them, therefore, the entire confidence of the Board, and no doubt have the prayers of the Church for

their preservation and success in their arduous enterprise.¹¹

On the 13th of February last, letters were received from them, dated at Rio de Janeiro, December 12, 1839, giving a very interesting account of their voyage, of their safe arrival all in good health and spirits, at that place, and of their expected departure for their destined place in a few days. With the blessings of a gracious Providence, they have probably ere this reached their intended field of labor. When they shall have arrived, there will be in that station, including those who were there before, not less than 68 souls, old and young, under the patronage of this society.

But what is most cheering and encouraging to the friends of this holy cause, just before this company sailed a letter was received from Dr. White, the resident physician at the mission premises on the Willamette, in Oregon, giving an account of a powerful work of grace among the native children at the school, which extended to a number of the adult white settlers, who had embraced religion and become members of the church. This great and good work, he states, is exerting a powerful influence upon the population generally, both white and Indian; so that those who were averse to labor are becoming industrious, and those who were merely friendly are now most warmly attached to the missionary cause and deeply engaged to promote its objects. All, indeed,

11 These arrived June 1, 1840. They were: George Abernethy (steward), wife and two children; Thomas Adams; Dr. Ira L. Babcock (physician), wife and child; Henry B. Brewer (farmer) and wife; Hamilton Campbell (carpenter), wife and child; David Carter (teacher); Chloe A. Clark (teacher); Rev. Joseph H. Frost (minister), wife and child; Rev. Gustavus Hines (minister), wife and child; Lewis H. Judson (cabinet-maker), wife and three children; Rev. W. H. Kone (minister) and wife; Orpha Lankton (teacher); James Olley (carpenter) and wife; Josiah L. Parrish (blacksmith), wife and three children; Almira Phelps, teacher (married W. W. Raymond); W. W. Raymond (farmer) and wife; Dr. J. P. Richmond (physician and minister), wife and four children; Rev. Alvan F. Waller (minister), wife and two children; Maria T. Ware (teacher).

was love, peace and harmony and the prospects were brightening before them.

The farm, which had been brought under cultivation and well stocked with cattle, was becoming very productive, furnishing the mission family with abundance as the reward of their labors, and the school consisting of upwards of thirty children, was exerting a most salutary influence on the children themselves, and on the surrounding community.

Though it makes no part of the object of the society to found a colony in that region of the country, but simply to send the blessings of the Gospel to those who are or may be there, yet we doubt not that this mission will contribute greatly to build up a Christian colony in the Oregon territory, which will tell favorably on the future destinies of its inhabitants.

Twenty-second Anniversary,
Broadway Tabernacle,
May 24, 1841.

OREGON MISSION. The Rev. Jason Lee is still the superintendent of the mission, assisted by his nephew, Rev. Daniel Lee, and other missionaries, who are now spreading themselves abroad through that interesting country on the shores of the Pacific Ocean and diligently laboring to plant the Gospel literally upon these ends of the earth. The expedition named in our last report, which accompanied Brother Lee on his return voyage to his field of labor, arrived in safety and found the work of God prospering among the Indians to such an extent that greatly cheered them in entering upon this distant field. Five hundred Indians have been converted during a single revival, and at a camp meeting which was subsequently held, upward of a thousand of these sons of the forest were assembled for divine worship, all of whom have become humble and devout worshippers, renouncing heathenism and embracing Christianity. Including the reinforcements furnished by the last expedition, there

are 68 persons connected with the mission, men, women and children, all supported by this society.

In addition to the labors of the missionaries in preaching the Gospel, they have organized schools, in which they and their wives are employed, with the male and female teachers, in instructing the children of these poor natives, not only in letters but in the arts of civilized life. The boys are employed in agricultural labors on the farms, which at every station are cultivated for raising the necessities of life; while the girls are instructed in sewing, knitting and household work of all kinds. Carpenters are there to build mission houses, chapels, schools in the erection of which the Indians are employed and are taught this trade. A cabinet maker constructs the necessary furniture for the families of the missionaries, while a blacksmith makes the necessary tools for farming, and the farmers who have been sent out for the purpose superintend the pattern farms at the principal settlements and teach the Indians how to cultivate the soil. The wives of all these working men, by their example and influence, with the Indian women, are training them in the habits of domestic comfort and economy and preparing them for civilized life, to which the Gospel is destined to introduce them. A saw mill has also been erected, which promises to be a valuable auxiliary to the secular department of the mission, so that, under all these salutary influences, we may look, with the divine blessing, for a nation to be raised up in the Oregon territory from the wretchedness of barbarism to the blessedness of a civilized and Christian people.

Owing to a misapprehension of his obligations to the Board and a disaffection toward the superintendent, Dr. Elijah White has returned with his family to the United States and is no longer in connection with the mission. By the vessel in which he came passenger, the Board have received numerous letters from the several members of the family, together with dispatches from Brother

Lee, from which we learn that the affairs of the mission are in a prosperous state, and that the brethren with their families have been assigned to their several fields of labor. The regular annual report not being ready at the time of this vessel's sailing, is now on its way, by the land express over the Rocky Mountains and will probably reach us soon. For want of it, however, we are unable to give accurately the statistics of the mission and are obliged to content ourselves with a probable estimate.

The unbelief which seemed to pervade many minds in relation to the expediency of the large appropriation necessary for founding this expensive mission in view of our embarrassed treasury, has all been dissipated by the extraordinary success of the Gospel as reported to us during the year. The news from Oregon that a revival of religion in that mission had resulted in the conversion of many hundreds of the Indians, seemed to give a new impulse to the prayers and liberality of our entire church fellowship. And notwithstanding the tens of thousands of dollars which have been already expended in its establishment, and the heavy expense which must still be incurred in its support, there can be little doubt, from the interest now everywhere felt in behalf of Oregon, and the missionary zeal the success of this mission has already inspired among our ministry and membership that every dollar expended or demanded for its support will soon be refunded into our treasury as the fruit of our appeals in its behalf. Instead of hundreds of Indians we hope soon to report thousands and tens of thousands gathered into the fold of Christ, when the fires of civilization and the lights of Christianity shall everywhere illuminate the shores of the Pacific Ocean and reflect their holy beamings until the darkness of heathenism shall be driven from that portion of our western continent, and the light shine upon the very summit of the Rocky Mountains.

Twenty-third Anniversary,
 May 19, 1842,
 Morton and Bedford Streets.
 May 22nd, 1842,
 Second Street Church,
 May 23rd, 1842,
 Duane Street Church,
 May 24th, 1842,
 Forsyth St. Church.

THE OREGON MISSION. The mission in Oregon, as far as the board have ascertained, is still prosperous, though the board have to regret the want of specific information with regard to the present condition of the several posts occupied by the missionaries. Owing to the great distance of the location and the consequent difficulty with which despatches are transmitted to and from the field of labor, it is not in the power of the board at present to afford any new items of material interest. There is, however, it is presumed, no doubt that the missionaries are faithfully and successfully laboring to scatter the Bread of Life among the poor benighted children of the forest in those ends of the earth, and faith, sustained both by prediction and promise, looks forward to no distant period when that wilderness land shall "bud and blossom as the rose." May the great Head of the Church hasten it in His time.

Twenty-fourth Anniversary,
 Greene Street Church,
 May 22nd, 1843.

THE OREGON MISSION. It would afford the Board great pleasure to be able to present to the Society a more full and satisfactory account of this Mission, than our present information will permit. They are perfectly aware of the strong feeling which has been enlisted in its favor and of the hopes entertained of its ultimate success. They cannot therefore be ignorant of the fact

that there is deep anxiety felt in many parts of the church to know more of its present condition and prospects. Nor is it to be desired that an anxiety, the existence of which augurs so favorably for the missionary cause, should be repressed. It is this spirit of inquiry into the nature and results of missionary enterprise which we desire should become general and which, when it shall be generally cherished, will be the immediate precursor of the world's redemption.

But however desirable a more full and accurate account of this mission may be, nothing more will be expected of the Board than to present such information as they have been able to obtain. Most gladly would they rehearse in the ear of the Society the wonderful works of God in the rescue of additional hundreds among the wasting tribes of Oregon from their savage ferocity and degrading superstitions, did their information warrant such a report. As it is, they can only say that while a few, under the pressure of afflictions and discouragements have left the mission, there are still those in the field who are laboring and looking for brighter days. The unsubdued spirit of some of these self-sacrificing men in the midst of severe trials may be seen in the following extracts taken from some of our latest despatches.

Rev. Jason Lee, in a letter dated Vancouver, April 8th, 1842, writes thus: "I am aware that unfavorable reports have gone home in reference to our prospects in this field, and certainly they are not so flattering as might be desired. But notwithstanding all that has been said, or anything that can or may in truth be said, you, reverend fathers and dear brethren, composing our respected Board, may rest assured that tho I am now deprived of her who more than all others held up my hands in this laborious field, yet I am not discouraged, nor have I the least desire to leave it. I am fully persuaded that my best energies may profitably be used up here in Oregon. Nor am I able to persuade myself that there are

or ever have been talents of such superior order in this country that work commensurate to the ability could not be found. It may not, indeed, be such as flesh and blood would choose, but it is such as must be done by the followers of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, before the heathen will be given Him for His inheritance.

Your exertions, beloved brethren, have not been misdirected as some have judged, and though your expectations may not have been fully met, yet the day of eternity will reveal that the good effected here in Oregon will ten thousand times repay the labor and expense of this mission."

That the spirit of indomitable missionary zeal still exists in Oregon, will be seen in the following extract of a letter to the Corresponding Secretary, from the Rev. H. W. K. Perkins, dated Wascopam, March 15th, 1842. His language is: "I cannot but fear that the removal of some of our number from the mission field may dishearten you and cause your hands to hang down. To prevent as far as possible such a result, it might not be entirely in vain to communicate with you on the subject.

"Indeed, it is to be regretted that any of our small number should have been induced to leave, and those, too, who, to human appearance, were so well qualified to *act*. But, sir, we are not disheartened. This God of mission is still with us—even He who hath said: "I will never leave thee or forsake thee," so that we may boldly say, "The Lord is my helper." Thanks be to God, the seed sown in this barren land has not perished; its roots are strong in the earth; to God we look for the increase. Nor is it with our natural organs that we look. Our eyes are indeed "to the hills from whence cometh our help," but they are the eyes of faith. We know Him who hath said, "All things are possible to him that believeth," and, "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done unto them." How many have agreed to ask for the sal-

vation of Oregon?" But were there only you and I, sir, it should be enough, even though we are as far sundered as New York and Wascopam. The promise is to *two*, and it is enough. The Lord our God shall furnish the men and means in number, measure and weight, as they shall be necessary.

"You have seen what he could do in a few short months, in the account which I gave you two years hence. O! can He not work the same work again and in manifold greater power? Yes, a *thousand times*, if necessary. Oregon will be saved. The *Church* has asked it. It was doubtless long since ceded to Immanuel. 'Ask of Me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.' Difficulties in the accomplishment of this work we expect. Satan will doubtless try to hold on to these old possessions; but the Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name. Is *desertion* an unheard thing that you or our friends at home should give up all for lost, or even should half of us now remaining desert? You have not so learned war. The throne of grace be your Thermopylae still. Hell shall yet tremble and all heaven rejoice."

The spirit breathed in these communications commands our highest approval, and merits our highest commendation. For although our brethren in Oregon are evidently aware that unfavorable rumors have reached the Board concerning the Mission, yet with an unyielding firmness they reassert that confidence in the success of their undertaking. They evince a spirit of patient endurance, invincible purpose, unconquerable zeal and unwavering faith, which seems almost to preclude the possibility of defeat.

And shall we abandon ourselves to despair because our expectations have not been fully realized? The laborious husbandman casts his seed into the earth and patiently waits for the promised harvest. And does it become us, because our plans are sometimes partially

frustrated, and our hopes delayed, to conclude in the spirit of impatience, that all therefore is lost? There is indeed call for strict inquiry unto the spirit of mind in which these plans were adopted, and into the grounds upon which these hopes were entertained, but no room for discouragement in the prosecution of the work itself. Cause there may be and doubtless is for a deeper humility, and for greater dependence on divine agency, but none for despair as to ultimate success.

The peculiar circumstances under which this mission was established, especially the strongly marked indications of Providence which lead to the measure, are familiar to all. Such, indeed, was the sensation produced in the Church by the visit of the Flat Head Indians to this country, in search of the white man's God, that the involuntary expression burst forth in every direction, "Surely this is the finger of God!" Many of the choicest spirits, in the connection, among whom we rank the sainted Fisk,¹² threw themselves into the interests of the mission with a zeal and energy which seemed to bid defiance to every obstacle. Nor have the divine interpositions in its favor been less strongly marked in its prosecution, than in the circumstances which gave rise to it.

It is now about three years since this mission was favored with a most extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit, which resulted in the conversion of hundreds of the Indians in this distant field. And we learn from Brother Kone, who with his lady has recently returned to the States, that about five hundred of these are now in the communion of the Methodist E. Church in Oregon. Are all these signal signs of a divine sanction to be lost sight of amid the clouds of a cherished unbelief? When the cheering intelligence of that glorious revival was wafted by the kindly breezes of heaven to the ear of the Church in this country, all doubts in every mind appeared

¹² Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of Wesleyan University, at Wilbraham, Massachusetts.

at once to be removed. Even the large amount appropriated for the outfit of the general reinforcement to the mission seemed to meet with a general acquiescence. And is our faith to be measured only by the visible, immediate and uninterrupted success attendant upon our efforts? Had the Wesleyan Mission in Southern Africa and elsewhere, the Baptist Missions in India, and those of the American Board in the Sandwich Islands, been conducted upon such principles they had long since been abandoned. And it is painful even to think how much good by such an event, would have been prevented.

Assuming therefore the principle that perseverance is the best proof of fidelity, we must not halt, nor linger in the way. We have put our hands to the plough which is to break up the fallow ground of heathenism beyond the Rocky Mountains and we must prove by our perseverance in the work that we have undertaken it at the call of our heavenly Master. Relying less upon human instrumentality and more upon divine efficiency, we must not cease to labor and pray for the salvation of Oregon, until the conquests already won shall be repeated, and even eclipsed by future triumphs.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary,
Greene Street Church,
May 13, 1844.

OREGON MISSION. The superintendency of this mission has been transferred to the Rev. Geo. Gary, of the Black River Conference. The conflicting and unsatisfactory reports concerning it which, from time to time, have reached us, seemed in the judgment of your Board, and of the Bishop having charge of Foreign Missions,¹³ to call for a thorough and impartial investigation of its conditions and prospects. For this purpose our beloved brother has been appointed. His age and standing, and particularly the *design* of his appointment, rendered it

13 Bishop Hedding.

fit and proper, if not indispensable, that the superintendence of the mission should be left in his hands. We wish it distinctly understood that it is on *these accounts* Brother Lee has been superseded in the charge of this mission, and not because there is any lack of confidence in his religious and moral character, or of his entire devotion to the interests of the Oregon Mission.

Brother Gary is invested with authority from the Bishop to use his discretion in retaining or diminishing the present number of missionaries in the field, when he shall have made himself fully acquainted with its circumstances and condition. The Board have also authorized him, if in his judgment the interests of the mission shall require it, to curtail the secular departments of the mission, to lessen the number of lay missionaries, and to dispose in the best way he can of any unavailable property now belonging to the mission.

Our new superintendent sailed in the ship *Lausanne*, from the port of New York, on the 30th of November last. We shall await with no small degree of anxiety for his first despatches and sincerely pray that they may be such as to revive the hopes and cheer the hearts of those who have remained from the beginning through weal and wo, the unwavering friends of that mission.

The Board have the satisfaction to announce, that since the departure of Brother Gary they have received more full and cheering accounts from the mission than they have been favored with for a long time. Our mission in that distant region occupies a section of country extending from the mouth of the Columbia River to the range of mountains forming the Dalles and Cascades, a distance of little less than one hundred and fifty miles. Pursuing the same lofty ridge for two hundred miles along the Willamette Valley, to the waters of the Umqua and Clamoth Rivers, and thence down these streams to the Pacific Ocean, and we have the boundaries of our present missionary field in the Oregon territory. Nu-

merous and powerful tribes of Indians once inhabited this section, chasing their "mormish" and "moloh" (deer and elk) but they have here, as seems to have been the case with the race everywhere, rapidly disappeared. Our missionary, Rev. G. Hines, who has traveled from the Columbia to the Umqua South, after careful consideration and inquiries, reports that the number of Indians in the country which we have just described does not exceed one thousand five hundred men, women and children. These are divided into as many as seven different tribes, each speaking a distinct language, which cannot be understood by the others, except through the aid of an interpreter. The same remarks applies to those inhabiting the Columbia River. They are represented generally as a dispirited and melancholy race of men, and so indolent that scarcely any motive, save those of stern necessity and immediate benefit, will induce them to labor.

Here have our missionaries been toiling amidst surroundings numerous and peculiar difficulties, and although their efforts have not been blessed to the full extent of their hopes, still they have not labored in vain. Oregon has received the Gospel and many of her inhabitants rejoice in the light of God's salvation, while others are thirsting for the waters of life.

No intelligence, however, has been received for a long time, so cheering as the account of a camp meeting held not far from Willamette. Several letters speak of this occasion. It was the first religious meeting of the kind, for the benefit of the white population, that was ever held beyond the Rocky Mountains, and was equally remarkable in other respects. There was only one tent upon the ground; that was pitched between three trees, "two of which were towering firs, and the other a stately oak, fit emblems," to use the beautiful language of Brother Hines, written on the spot, "of the majesty and power of the truths, proclaimed beneath their wide-

spread branches." The place selected was the Twalatine Plains, thirty-five miles from the Willamette Falls. The meeting commenced on Thursday, July 12th, 1843. On the first day only fourteen persons were present, and the text was, "Where two or three are gathered together," etc.

The next day the congregation had increased one half. Four sermons were delivered on Friday by Brothers Lee, Perkins, Leslie and Clark,¹⁴ a Presbyterian clergyman, all of which deeply interested the people in the great truths proclaimed. On Saturday this interest very evidently increased, and some began to inquire, "What must I do to be saved?" On Sabbath, the number present on the ground was about sixty, nineteen of whom were not professors of religion, but before the exercises of the day had closed, sixteen of this number were rejoicing in a sense of sins forgiven and praising God for salvation through faith. Among these were several who had been Rocky Mountain trappers and rangers. One of them, who was well known and almost proverbial for his boldness, joyfully exclaimed, "Tell everybody you see that Joseph Meek, that old Rocky Mountain sinner, has turned to the Lord." Small as was this pious assemblage on the plains of Twalatine, still it was great and glorious on account of the presence and power of the living God. Since the meeting several others have been brought to God. Thus we learn that even in these dark regions, where so many unpropitious circumstances have combined to hinder the march of evangelical truth, our labors, contributions and prayers, have not been unrewarded. Precious souls have been converted to God, and the Oregon "wilderness" is beginning to "bud and blossom as the rose."

The Rev. D. Lee and wife have also withdrawn from this mission on account of continued indisposition, and both have recently arrived in this country. Brother Lee

14 Rev. Harvey Clark.

was one of our oldest missionaries, having been devoted to the work for the last ten years. His early fellow laborer, Rev. Jason Lee, appears much to regret that he considered it his duty to return home. Still, he thus encouragingly addresses the Board, under date of October 13th, 1843: "On one point I have not the shadow of a doubt, namely, that the growth and spread, the rise, glory and *triumph* of Methodism in the Willamette Valley, are destined to be commensurate with the growth, rise and prosperity of our now infant, but flourishing and rapidly increasing settlements. Such is the adaptation of Oregon soil to the genius of Methodism, and such the fruit she has already produced in this country, that I am persuaded she is destined to flourish here in spite of all the chilling blasts of adversity that can be brought to bear against her. I cannot conclude without saying that there is the best of feeling among our people that has existed since our arrival in 1840; and the emigrants are perfectly surprised to see the religious state of this country."

It may be proper to remark here, that in addition to Brothers D. Lee and Frost, with their families, Dr. Babcock with his family, has also withdrawn from this mission, sailing for the Sandwich Islands, on his way to the United States.

However proper and urgent may have been the reasons for the retirement of such brethren from these fields of Christian labor, still it must have been the cause of deep affliction to those who are left in charge of this great work. Brother J. Lee, in a letter dated August 12th, 1843, indulges in these reflections: "With all the discouragements which I encounter, I feel it to be a duty to God and the Board to say that my interest in the Oregon Mission is not the least abated, and unless compelled to do so I could no more abandon it now than I could the first day I laid myself on the missionary altar. Oregon is still of infinite importance as a field of mission-

ary endeavor among the Indians." Brother Perkins, who still remains at his post, writes thus: "The happy seasons we have spent in shouting and rejoicing together over these repenting red men of Oregon, and the days and months of trembling anxiety with which we have followed the wandering, are known only to God. The happiest hours of my poor life have been spent in Oregon, and also my days and weeks of deepest anguish. The trials of an Indian missionary God only knows, and Heaven only can appreciate. But through all

We've shared our mutual woes,
Our mutual burdens borne.

Well, you are ready to ask, What will become of the missionary cause? God supports it, sir. All the departments hitherto and all that will take place this year to come, will not materially affect the cause here. The triumphs of the Gospel in this country will be no less sure."

To conclude this somewhat extended sketch of the Oregon Mission, we rejoice to be able to say that the Gospel has already triumphed in this field. The missionaries of the cross have "gone forth weeping, bearing precious seed," and they are already "rejoicing" over the sheaves they have gathered for Christ. The mighty truth of salvation by grace, through faith, which was once preached by Paul and his coadjutors throughout Asia, Greece and Italy, now resounds through the extensive plains beyond the Rocky Mountains.

This mission still calls for our Christian sympathies, and demands our unabated zeal and untiring efforts in its prosecution. We *must* continue our Christian efforts in those transmountain regions. Already many of the Indians there have been ensnared by the wily Papists and received baptism at their hands. The Romish priests are constantly strengthening their missionary corps, and making arrangements to extend their operations and influence among these artless children of the forest. Dr.

Whitman,¹⁵ in May last, left Missouri with a body of emigrants embracing nearly a thousand persons, and from the signs of the times, many others will soon follow for this new home in the western wilderness. How unspeakably important it is that these settlers and their families should meet the Christian missionary on their arrival and thus be brought under the salutary restraints of the holy ministry, and the wholesome influences of religious institutions! These are a few of the many strong reasons for patient and energetic perseverance in this department of our missionary work.

The Board embraces this method to record their grateful acknowledgment of the kind attentions our missionaries and their families so often received from the gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company, stationed at Vancouver, and other points.

Twenty-sixth Anniversary,
Allen Street Church, New York,
June 19, 1845.

OREGON MISSION. Various circumstances have combined to render it advisable that important changes should be made in this mission during the past year; and especially that the number of laborers employed should be considerably reduced. This we learn from our latest despatches have been effected by the new Superintendent; and we believe with good judgment, though with great dispatch. Brother Gary arrived in the early (in Oregon) part of June last, and immediately entered upon a careful and minute investigation of the affairs of the mission. The missionaries were consulted and counseled with by the Superintendent and the result of all his inquiries and examinations was a full conviction that there were more persons connected with the mission than could be profitably employed; and that more property was held by it than was for its advantage either temporally or

15 Dr. Marcus Whitman.

spiritually. In these views he seems to have had the concurrence of the greater portion of the missionaries themselves. He accordingly determined upon a course of retrenchment and immediately wrote to the Board informing them of his views and purposes and asking their counsel. The letter was dated in June, soon after his arrival. Besides this we have received another dated in July, from which we learn that he is rapidly carrying his plans and purposes into execution. With two or three exceptions, the laymen employed in this field have been dismissed; and the most of the property held by the mission and believed to be unavailable, has been advantageously disposed of. We are gratified to learn that our lay brethren, whose services are no longer needed in the mission, will generally remain in Oregon to strengthen the hands of the missionaries, and aid in the cause of promoting the cause of Christianity in that infant colony.

Your Board deem it proper to remark at this point that though unforeseen circumstances have imperatively called for this apparently retrograde movement, yet we cannot hesitate to recommend the Oregon Mission as still worthy of the continued confidence and patronage of the Society and the cordial support of the whole church. Without impugning the motives of a single individual, it may and perhaps ought to be admitted, that the Board was somewhat misled in relation to the necessity of the great reinforcement sent out in 1839. But this admission, under the circumstances should not, and in justice *cannot* subject either the Board or the Bishop having charge of the Foreign Missions, to the charge of recklessness in their expenditures. When it is considered that the only reliable source of information to the Board was to be found in the missionaries themselves; that the mission is some eleven thousand miles distant, requiring from a year to eighteen months for the interchange of correspondence; that this correspondence was almost uniformly agreeable to enlargement; that the Superinten-

dent of the Mission who was at that time in this country, strongly urged the measure; and that this large appropriation was made at a time when money was plenty and comparatively easy to be obtained; it seems to us that it should be viewed as one of those mistakes which furnish no just ground for *censure, suspicion* or *distrust*. It should be recollected, too, that some of the master spirits of the Church were the first to favor this movement, and the most enthusiastic advocates of the measure; among whom we may mention the name of the justly revered and lamented Dr. Fisk. Is it surprising that a course sustained by an advocacy at once so eloquent and powerful, and recommended so urgently by the Superintendent, who was naturally supposed to have understood the wants of the Mission, should have been adopted by the Board? Certainly not. That men of ordinary minds should have been disposed to surrender their judgment to influences so strong and commanding is only what might have been expected. To have done otherwise would have rendered them liable to censure by the very persons who are most ardent in their attachment to the missionary cause, and most ready to sustain it by their *means*. Still, subsequent events have shown clearly that men of the strongest intellects and actuated by the purest motives, are not always free from errors of judgment. Nor is it reasonable to expect, even from the wisest and best of men, an entire exemption from mistakes. To claim this would be to assume attributes more than human. All, then, that can in *justice* be said of this *now* regretted measure, is that through the influence of glowing representations and plausible, though unwise counsels, the Board were induced to sanction an enlargement of the Oregon Mission which, with additional light and experience, they are free to admit was not *really* necessary.

But shall we surrender ourselves to a spirit of despondency or cherish a spirit of suspicion and distrust

toward our public servants and agents because they were not able always to see the end from the beginning? Such a spirit can only be the evidence of our ignorance of human nature, and of a lamentable want of that charity which "thinketh no evil." Instead of this, we should learn from our own frailties how to make due allowance for the unintentional mistakes of others.

It is a remarkable fact, to which it may be proper here to allude, that just after the large reinforcement of missionaries had been provided for, the cheering news came to this country of that great and glorious work of God among the Indians at the Dalls Station. And it must be recollected by all, that though there has been considerable dissatisfaction expressed in different quarters, concerning this large appropriation, the reception of this intelligence seemed at once to secure a *general* acquiescence in the measure. But why this sudden and almost universal change in public sentiment? Simply because excited feelings were allowed to take the place of an enlightened and sober judgment. That revival was not the result, either directly or indirectly, of the project so recently and loudly complained of. It took place before the newly appointed missionaries had reached their destination. Why then, should this intelligence, cheering as it was, have had the effect to reconcile the public to a policy which has since proved itself to have been unwise and uncalled for? The true answer to this question may be found in this fact, that our faith and zeal are too often based upon the *immediate, visible and uninterrupted* success of our efforts.

We have dwelt the longer on this subject for the purpose of showing that if the Board, under the influence of eloquent and exciting appeals were, by the force of circumstances, induced to adopt a scheme of doubtful utility, it is no less true that the very persons who were loudest in their condemnation of the measure, had their opposition all calmed down, at least for a time, by a re-

port from Oregon which, if judgment had been allowed to preponderate over excited feelings, they must have seen had no bearing whatever upon the propriety or impropriety of the course which had been adopted. The conclusion, then, to which we arrive in relation to this whole matter, is that in this, as in all other cases, we must learn wisdom by experience, and instead of indulging in a spirit of crimination and recrimination, we should endeavor most assiduously to improve upon past errors and remedy as far as possible, existing evils.

If affords us great pleasure to learn that the Superintendent of this mission had already done much toward adapting the agencies employed to the work to be performed. Nor are we less gratified with the intelligence that a considerable amount of property, consisting of lands, cattle, mills, etc., had been, or soon would be, disposed of.¹⁶ For however advantageous some of this property might have become to the society in future years, in a pecuniary view, it was evident to the penetrating eye of the Superintendent that the *secular character* of the mission had already excited suspicions and heart burning among the newly arrived emigrants, which threatened an almost entire loss of confidence in the purity of our motives in its establishment and prosecution. This would have been a loss for which no amount of money could compensate. The hopes of the mission, for the future, depend principally upon the success of the Gospel among the emigrants. The Indians are comparatively few in number and rapidly wasting away. The Territory, however, is fast filling up with whites from the States, and the future character of this colony must depend greatly upon the impress it may receive in its infancy. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that whatever has a tendency to injure the influences or

¹⁶ The Indian Manual Training School property, one mile square, at Chemeteka (Salem) was sold for \$4000, and became Oregon Institute, afterwards Willamette University. (Gustavus Hines, *Wild Life in Oregon*, p. 241.)

prevent the success of our missionaries, should be at once removed.

Our new Superintendent, with his lady, sailed from this port on the 30th of November, 1843, and arrived at Willamette on the first of June, 1844, about ten o'clock P. M. Here they were refreshed and comforted by a most cordial welcome from the missionaries, who were anxiously awaiting their arrival and looking with intense desire for letters from home. The mail was opened, the letters and papers delivered and after partaking of some refreshments they retired to rest a little after midnight. It being the quarterly meeting occasion at that place, our new missionaries had the opportunity of attending a love feast the next morning, which seems to have made a favorable impression on their minds in relation to the piety of the members of the mission.

On Monday morning June 3rd, Brother Gary called a council of the brethren who were present on this occasion, both preachers and laymen. These consisted of D. Leslie, G. Hines, A. F. Waller, G. Abernethy, A. Beers and H. Campbell. After solemn and earnest prayer for the divine guidance and blessing, Brother Gary proceeded to lay before them the object of his appointment and a summary of the instructions and suggestions which he had received from the Board of Managers and the Bishop having charge of Foreign Missions. He also requested from them any and all such information as would enable him to form just and accurate views of the state and prospects of the mission; and also to decide understandingly upon such changes as it might be found necessary to make. To this request they replied in substance, that since the arrival of the emigrants from the States last autumn considerable jealousy had been manifested toward the mission. This, it was represented, grew out of the fact that the mission had laid claim to several important sections of land in different places, which they did not occupy themselves nor allow others to occupy.

This jealousy, it was stated, had increased to such an extent in some instances that the claims of the mission were entirely disregarded; and its lands taken possession of by certain "jumpers" as they are called, who are sustained in their course by public sentiment. "This state of things," Brother Gary remarks, "has brought all, or nearly all of our missionaries to the conclusion that there ought to be an essential change in the mode of our operations here. In view of all these things," he continues, "I shall sell off our possessions as I can; but you need have no fear that I will give any more than a quit claim to our *real* but very *uncertain* estate."

On the evening of the same day a council was held with the ministers—at least as many of them as were present. The principal question was, how the work could be best supplied the present year. After obtaining such information and counsel, as the brethren were able to give, the Superintendent settled upon the following plan for supplying the work as it now stands:

Willamette Station	D. Leslie
Willamette Falls	G. Hines
Dalls Station	H. K. W. Perkins
Clatsop	To be supplied.

In regard to future supplies for this mission, the Superintendent remarks: "I think we have ministers enough here for the present; and possibly I may send one that is here to the States this fall. I give it as my opinion that it will be for the religious interests of this country for the preachers to be called home from time to time, one after another, for the purpose of giving their families an opportunity for improvement, and especially to remove them from those temptations, under the influence of which they are in danger of forgetting that they belong to Him, "Whose Kingdom is not of this world." The openings for business and the facilities for acquiring property are so many and so great, that it is difficult for those who expect to remain long in the country to resist

the temptations, which continually beset them, to connect themselves with pecuniary enterprises."

It is, however, but just to say that the Superintendent seems quite disposed to make great allowance for the connection with some of the missionaries with secular matters. He remarks: "They have suffered much from exposure and privation; and as they were not able to do so much as they had hoped to do in their ministerial capacity, they have seemed to think it admissible to provide for themselves and their families. But though they may not have accomplished all that may have been expected of them as ministers, yet I think they have done much to correct the morals and enlighten the views of the community and that the Territory is altogether better than if they had not been here."

In reference to an occasional change in the ministry, Brother Gary reiterates his opinion as follows: "I am more and more convinced that an occasional change in our ministry would be of essential service to the spiritual interests of this mission. But very great care is necessary in the selection of the men who may be appointed to labor here. I am aware it would take much time and money to effect such changes, yet I think the spiritual advantages such a course would secure to this region greatly outweighs them all."

The only statistical report we have of the mission is contained in Brother Gary's latest dispatches. From these we learn that there at the Willamette Station 41 whites in Society and 8 Indians; at the Willamette Falls, 16 whites and no Indians; at the Dalls, 3 whites, Indians not reported; and 5 whites at the Clatsop station—making in all 65 whites and 8 Indians. Among these were three local preachers, one at Clatsop and two at the Upper Willamette. It is presumable that most of the Indians to be found in Society, at this mission, are at the Dalls. But as Brother Gary had not visited that station when he wrote, he was unable to give their number.

In concluding this review of the Oregon Mission, it may be proper to observe that though the number of laborers in this field has been greatly reduced during the past year, this reduction has been mainly in the secular department. And there is good reason to hope that as the mission becomes less secular, it will become more spiritual in its character; that *seeming weakness* will prove its real strength, and its *apparent retrogression* turn out to be a *forward movement*. Such a sequel will serve to remind us of what it is always fatal to forget—that neither worldly policy, numerical strength nor honorable distinction can ever be safely substituted for divine efficiency. “Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord.” The good seed which has been sown in this far distant field is not lost. The enterprise in Oregon must not be set down as a failure. There are two or three scores of triumphant spirits now in heaven who will bless the God of Missions and the Church through eternity that the voice of our missionary heralds was ever heard on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. Others are on their way who will, doubtless, unite in their rapturous strains for ever and ever. Besides the good already effected, under the most untoward circumstances, a foundation is laid for great good in the future. “The little one shall become a thousand?” and the valley of the Columbia shall yet become vocal with the songs of regenerated thousands—the fruit of missionary instrumentalities. In these views we are abundantly sustained by the language with which our worthy Superintendent closes his last letter. “There are,” says he, “a number of worthy members in our church who have been converted here. Some have already gone to rest in Abraham’s bosom. I think our Mission in Oregon has done good, is doing good, and will yet do great good in this land. Continue, O, continue to remember us in your prayers!” To this request we sincerely hope the whole Church will give a hearty and united response.

DEATH OF JASON LEE

We have received the painful intelligence of the decease of Rev. Jason Lee, the late Superintendent of the Oregon Mission. He left Oregon before the present Superintendent had arrived in that country and before he was advised of his appointment to the Mission. Brother Lee arrived in the city of New York in May last, during the session of the General Conference, and remained until its close. He attended the New Hampshire and New England Conferences, at both of which he delivered addresses and powerfully and successfully advocated the claims of Christian Missions. At the New England Conference, which was his own, he received the appointment of Agent for the "Oregon Institute" that institution first having been taken under the patronage of the Conference. He then left New England on a visit to his friends in Stanstead, Lower Canada; and from a note which he directed to the Board some months since, we have reason to believe that the sudden and rapid failure of his health prevented him from accomplishing much, if any, of his duties of his agency. He died among his kindred and early friends on the 12th of March, 1845, in the 42nd year of his age.

His joy was not estatic during his prolonged illness, but his faith was firm and his hope unwavering. When the Rev. Mr. Brock, the Wesleyan Missionary in Stanstead, in one of his visits, inquired of him the state of his mind, he replied with much assurance, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." In a letter to the Board, addressed to Brother Lane, February 7th, he says, "Rest assured, beloved brethren, "For me to live is Christ, to die is gain." About ten minutes before he expired he raised his eyes toward heaven and seemed to be gazing with intent fixedness upon celestial objects, while a heavenly smile played upon his countenance, and his immortal and happy spirit, had glided away to his eternal rest.

Our beloved brother was the great *Missionary Pioneer*

in the valley of the Columbia River; where, for ten years, he labored, suffered and sacrificed, to an extent beyond what the Church *generally* has ever realized or appreciated. "But his record is on high" and his reward is sure. His attachment to the Oregon Mission and his deep interest he felt for its prosperity, continued to the last. His mind dwelt upon it during the greater part of his illness. He was only divided from it by death. Death only could snap the cords which bound his soul to that mission. But perhaps the cords may still be unbroken. For who can tell whether his redeemed spirit may not still linger over the scene of his probationary labors, with an interest more intense than ever. With the aid of his faithful coadjutors, he has laid a foundation of good in Oregon which is already *visible* and which we have strong reason to believe will be *permanent*. Future generations will rise up to call him blessed; and scores of redeemed spirits from among the *Rocky Mountain trappers* and the *children of the forest* will hail him on the heights of the celestial Zion as the honored instrument of their salvation.

Brother Lee has left a large circle of friends and relatives to mourn his loss; among whom is an orphan daughter, who is still in Oregon in the family of Brother Hines, one of the missionaries. How consoling and delightful the thought, under such circumstances, that the God of Missions is the orphan's Father!

Twenty-seventh Anniversary,
Mulberry Street Church,
May 18, 1846.

OREGON MISSION. There is perhaps no one of the missionary fields under the supervision of this society respecting which public opinion has been so fluctuating. At one time it has been the most popular of all missions; at another it has been set down as a perfect failure. In some instances the Church's expectations concerning it have been entirely too sanguine; and in

others she has shown herself but too ready to yield to despondency. Had it been practicable for her to have taken a sober and enlightened view of this Oregon enterprise, in all its various circumstances and aspects, she could not have been so easily elevated or depressed by counter representations from the country. But the extreme distance of the mission from the seat of the Society's operations, the long intervals between our dispatches, and sometimes the conflicting statements of the missionaries, rendered it impossible even for the Board to judge of the facts in the case correctly. The Managers flatter themselves, however, that the darkness which for a time rested on this Mission has passed away, and that its true state is now satisfactorily understood. What was visionary has given place to reality and well authenticated facts leave no room for the operation of busy and fruitless conjecture. And, now, occupying an eminence from which they are able to command an enlightened view of its entire history, the Board have deemed it proper to preface the operations of the past year with a brief and condensed view of the origin and progress of the mission up to that period:

This mission was apparently commenced under the most favorable auspices. The visit of the four Flat Head Indians to this country, in the year 1832, inquiring for the Christian's book and the white Man's God, produced a sensation throughout the length and breadth of our own Zion, amounting to enthusiasm. All eyes were at once turned to the valley of the Columbia as the great field for missionary effort and all hearts seemed to beat in unison for the project of establishing a mission among the Flat Head Indians. Some of the ablest ministers in the connection strongly advocated the measure, and many of our most influential members gave it more than a verbal sanction. The men and means were soon forthcoming, and on the recommendation of the Board of Managers, the Bishop appointed Jason and Daniel Lee to

that field. Some time was necessarily spent in making preparatory arrangements for their departure, during which they held a number of missionary meetings in various parts of the country, with very encouraging results. They started for the west in March, 1834. Two laymen, Messrs. C. Shepard and P. L. Edwards, were afterward added to their number and added to the mission.

Arrangements had previously been made for these brethren to cross the mountains in company with Captain Wyeth, who headed a band of men in the employ of a Fur Company which had been formed in Boston. Our missionaries joined this company at Fort Independence, Missouri, which place they left with the party for the Valley of the Columbia, in the latter part of April, 1834, and after a weary and perilous journey over the Rocky Mountains they arrived at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, in the ensuing September.

For several reasons satisfactory to themselves, the missionaries, on becoming acquainted with the position and circumstances of the Flat Heads, abandoned the idea of establishing a mission among them. A location on the Willamette was deemed much more eligible and was therefore selected as a starting point and as the centre of a wide circle of benevolent action. Several other places were afterward selected as mission stations, which in the judgment of the Superintendent made it necessary to increase the number of missionaries. Accordingly in letters from Rev. Jason Lee, dated February 1835, the Board were earnestly solicited to send out a reinforcement. In compliance with this earnest request, eight assistant missionaries, a physician, a blacksmith, and several teachers, were sent. This company sailed from Boston in July, 1836; and after some detention at the Sandwich Islands, arrived in Oregon in May, 1837.

A second reinforcement, consisting of Rev. D. Leslie, his wife and three children; Miss Margaret Smith and Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, sailed from Boston on the 20th of January, 1837, and reached their place of destination in September of the same year. Early in the ensuing year a mission was commenced at the Dalls, on the Columbia River, about eighty miles above Vancouver. This project seems to have had the general concurrence of the mission family. Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins were assigned to this field.

About this time a general consultation was held with the missionaries on the subject of the enlargement of the work in Oregon; and in view of the multiplication of mission stations, and the wants of the country, they advised the Rev. Jason Lee to make a visit to the United States and to use his influence to secure the men and means for the successful prosecution of the work. Mr. Lee yielded to this request, and accordingly left for the United States in the month of April, 1838. He was accompanied by Mr. Edwards of the Mission, Mr. Ewing of Missouri, and two Indian boys of the Chinook tribe, which he brought with him to this country.

Mr. Lee arrived in New York in the autumn of the same year, and a meeting of the Board, held on the 14th of November, he was present and stated at length the object of his visit. He urged with much earnestness the importance of extending the work in Oregon, and in view of this he plead with great zeal the necessity of sending to that country a large addition to the mission family. He also stated that it was essential to the prosperity of the mission that it should be furnished with the means of supplying itself with food, buildings, etc., and that all the necessary apparatus for agricultural and mechanical purposes should be sent out by the Board. To meet all these demands would of course require a very heavy outlay; and on this account, as well as for other reasons, some members of the Board, and many true

friends of the missionary cause, doubted the expediency of the measure. But it was powerfully and perseveringly urged by the Superintendent, who had just come from the field of operations, and backed by the force of great names and an almost resistless advocacy, and was ultimately carried.

On the 6th of December, 1838, the Board decided upon sending out five additional missionaries, one physician, six mechanics, four farmers and one missionary steward, with their wives and children, in all thirty-four persons, adult. They authorized at the same time the erection of a saw mill and the purchase of goods for the Oregon Mission, to the value of five thousand dollars. Dr. Bangs and Jason Lee were appointed to select the laymen, and the Bishop having charge of Foreign Missions was requested to appoint the ministers. The persons who were to compose the reinforcement having been selected and appointed, the whole company, consisting of about fifty, including children, sailed from the port of New York on the 9th of October, for the Oregon Territory, by way of the Sandwich Islands. After a voyage of nearly nine months, they all arrived in safety at Fort Vancouver, on the first of June, 1840.

It is not surprising that such an increase of the mission family, and the great outlay required to sustain it, should have produced some dissatisfaction. It was so; for in various quarters the measure was considered of doubtful expediency. But in the midst of these complainings, and just at a time when an unfavorable reaction began to manifest itself in many places, the intelligence came from Oregon of a glorious revival among the Indians at the Dalls. This glowing account had the effect to hush for a season all murmurings and to silence all objection to the great reinforcement; and yet it is a remarkable fact that the reinforcement, really, had nothing to do with the revival, as it had taken place before the new missionaries had arrived.

The first dispatches from this mission after the arrival of the great reinforcement were brought in the ship *Lausanne*, and received by the Board in April, 1841. Dr. Elijah White, who had returned to this country on the same vessel, presented himself before the Board at its regular meeting, held on the 21st of the same month, and made a verbal communication. From his remarks, as also from the dispatches from the Superintendent, it appeared that after a most unpleasant and excited controversy between himself and Mr. J. Lee, he had been induced to resign his office as physician to the mission. After hearing Dr. White in his defense, the Board disapproved of his leaving the Mission without their consent, but directed the Treasurer to settle his accounts.

Letters were subsequently received from Messrs. Kone and Richmond, and also one signed by several lay members of the mission, all of which expressed dissatisfaction with their circumstances and more or less with the Superintendent. From this period, up to the time of the appointment of the present Superintendent, all the written communications from Oregon and all the verbal statements of returning missionaries, only served to satisfy the Board more and more, that they had either been misled as to the necessity for so large a number of missionaries on that field, or that, in some instances at least, they had been unfortunate in the selection of the persons to occupy it. Added to this was the unaccountable fact that the Board had not been able to obtain any satisfactory report of the manner in which the large appropriation to the late reinforcement had been disbursed. Every possible effort had been made to secure such a report, and all our successive dispatches warranted the expectation that it would soon be forthcoming. But in this the Board were doomed to disappointment,—no such report was received.

In this state of apprehension and suspense, they first recommended to the Bishop having charge of Foreign

Missions to appoint a special agent to visit the Mission and make all necessary inquiries respecting its financial concerns and spiritual condition and prospects and report the results to the Board. A resolution to this effect was passed on the 9th of February, 1842, and immediately transmitted to the Bishop. This recommendation was duly honored and a very efficient agent selected. A list of instructions was drawn up, defining his duties, and directing him in the prosecution of his agency. Unfortunately for this project, circumstances connected with the official relations of the newly elected agent rendered it necessary that he should decline the appointment. Thus the hopes of the Board were again disappointed. Still, however, they adhered to the opinion that such an agency was indispensable, and at a regular meeting held July 19, 1843, renewed the recommendation of the Bishop, either to appoint an agent or to supersede Mr. Lee by a new Superintendent. The Bishop preferred the latter course and at their regular meeting, in the following September, informed the Board that he had appointed the Rev. George Gary, of the Black River Conference, to the Superintendency of the Oregon Mission. This announcement was received with the most decided expressions of gratification, and again the bow of hope appeared upon the darkening cloud of despondency.

As it was deemed necessary that the New Superintendent should be invested with the most unquestionable authority to carry out the objects contemplated in his appointment, the Board, at their regular meeting in November, adopted with great unanimity the following preamble and resolutions:

“WHEREAS, Strong intimations have been given to the Board at different times that the secular department of our Mission in Oregon is, to a considerable extent, unnecessary and at the same time very expensive to the Society, therefore,

1. RESOLVED, That Brother Gary, our new Superintendent be, and is hereby instructed to ascertain, as soon as possible after his arrival in Oregon, the state of affairs in the secular department of our mission in that country, whether the mercantile, agricultural and mechanical operations, as they are now carried on, in connection with that mission, are necessary to the successful prosecution, and whether they are advantageous to its interests in a pecuniary view or otherwise; and should he become satisfied that these secular operations are detrimental rather than useful to the mission, that he is hereby instructed to use his discretion in dismissing any surplus hands now in its employ, thereby giving to the mission, as far as practicable, a strictly spiritual character.

2. RESOLVED, That Brother Gary be, and is hereby instructed to use his discretion in disposing of such property as now belonging to the mission as may not be available to its advancement.

3. RESOLVED, That should Brother Gary find it necessary to dismiss any of the secular members of the mission family in Oregon, he be, and is hereby requested to pay off any amounts which may be due them, so far as practicable out of such property belonging to the mission as it may not be advantageous for it to retain."

From these resolutions it will be seen that the authority given Brother Gary to sell or retain any part of the mission property in Oregon, as he might judge best for the interests of the mission, was unlimited; and in view of the circumstances of the case, such a discretionary power was imperatively demanded. But delicate and responsible as were the trusts committed to him, it gives us pleasure to be able to announce to the Society, and those friends of the missionary cause who have so nobly stood by us and sustained us through all our pecuniary embarrassments, that our excellent Superintendent has fully justified the confidence reposed in him by the Epis-

copacy and the Board. His devotion to the interests of the Mission; the industry, zeal, prudence, decision and perseverance with which he has prosecuted the work assigned him, are worthy of all praise. With the exception of Mr. Brewer, farmer at the Dalls, all the secular members of the mission have been honorably discharged. The mission property, excepting churches and parsonages, with the necessary appendages, and the farm at the Dalls, has all been disposed of, and so far as we are able to determine, with much judgment and propriety and to the best advantage of the mission. On account of the distance from civilization and the difficulty of obtaining supplies, it was judged necessary to retain the farm at the Dalls for the use of the mission family; and also with a view to directing the attention of the Christian Indians to agricultural pursuits. We are happy to learn the Brother Brewer is diligent and faithful in the work assigned him, and that he is exerting a good influence upon his Indian neighbors.

The avails of the mission property in Oregon amounted to between twenty and thirty thousand dollars. A portion of this has been appropriated to the payment of discharged missionaries; but the larger portion is secured to be paid in annual instalments, which, as they become due, will serve materially to lessen the amount to be drawn out of the treasury to meet the current expenses of that mission. Among the property disposed of was the "Manual Labor School" which has now become the "Oregon Institute." Should this institute secure the sympathies and receive the patronage of the enlarging community, as we sincerely hope it may, it will probably subserve the great purpose of education better than while it was under the exclusive management of the mission.

Having disencumbered the mission of its secular character, and thus removed every plausible ground of suspicion regarding the purity of our motives, it will be the policy of the Board, in future, to confine ourselves strictly

to their proper calling. By such a course they are sanguine in the hope that the greatest hindrance to ministerial influence and success will be removed out of the way. But it should be kept in mind that however burdened and clogged in its operations the mission may have been, on account of its connection with worldly concerns, and however injurious this state of things may have been to its spiritual advancement, it has, on account of this very connection, conferred great temporal benefits on the territory. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the importance this territory has assumed in the estimation of the American Republic, is attributable more to the influence exerted by our mission than to any other cause. Whether we regard its colonization, civilization or evangelization, the Methodist missionaries have been its most influential and successful pioneers. And though the immigrants, on account of the secular character of the mission, were disposed to look upon them with a suspicious eye, and in some instances to impute to them motives of avarice and ambition, yet, upon the organization of a territorial government, one of these lay missionaries was elected to the office of Governor, and another to that of Judge of the Probate and Circuit Courts.¹⁷ These facts speak volumes and show conclusively that we have not entirely forfeited the public confidence in Oregon; and when first impressions, founded in suspicion and jealousy, shall be subjected to the tests of candor and truth, the indebtedness of the colony to our mission will, we doubt not, be generally acknowledged. . . .

Among our dispatches from Oregon we have received a most interesting communication from Rev. G. Hines, entitled, "Oregon as it is." The principal topics embraced in this communication are, the extent of population in Oregon, the character of the settlers, the political condition of the territory, with the code of laws by which

¹⁷ Steward George Abernethy was elected governor in 1845; Dr. Ira L. Babcock had been chosen as supreme judge with probate powers in 1841 at the time of the preliminary organization.

they have determined to govern themselves until the United States Government shall extend its jurisdiction over them; the religious condition of the country, the present state and prospects of our mission in that far off region, and the great importance of the Oregon Institute, both to the country and to the mission. With a few unimportant omissions, this document was published in three successive numbers of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, where all the various topics may be seen fully and interestingly elaborated. We extract only that portion which relates to our mission. The views here presented, it will be seen, go strongly to sustain the course of our Superintendent in relation to the secular affairs of our mission. The following are the extracts:

“THE M. E. CHURCH IN OREGON. It is not my design to trace the history of the Oregon Mission through all its different stages of prosperity, adversity and revolution, from its commencement to the present time, however interesting such an exhibit might be; but simply to present it in its present state as it regards numbers, piety and efforts for the promotion of the cause of Christ. In this it will be necessary to speak of some of the changes which have taken place since the arrival of Rev. G. Gary, our present Superintendent. These changes relate principally to the fiscal concerns of the mission. These concerns existed in the different departments of land claims to large tracts of land, amounting in all to thirty-six sections, claims to city lots, farming, merchandising, blacksmithing, carpentering, cabinet-making, grazing, horse-keeping, lumbering and flouring, with the constant trading, hiring and paying, attendant upon all these branches. It is only enough to mention this unheard of amount of temporal business in connection with any mission, to convince all that it must be a very great clog to the performance of any spiritual work. The influence of the multiplicity of business, and the accumulation of care and perplexity occasioned by the different

branches, were decidedly deleterious to the missionaries themselves; and if any who have been constantly connected with this business have exerted a happy and Christian influence, it has been in spite of the temporal business in which they have been engaged. To say nothing of the losses which the mission was constantly realizing in its ill-directed efforts to sustain this load of business, it was constantly sinking under the burden; and every successive effort to relieve it but increased the difficulty under which the mission groaned. Though there may be among us some who have (been) connected with these different branches who are of a different opinion, yet it appears to most of us that the period for disburdening the Oregon Mission of the ponderous load that has been pressing her into the dust may be regarded as a happy epoch in her history. That time has now arrived, and the finances of the mission are brought to a close; and it is hoped that whatever may be her history in the future, she will never again be received, either at home or abroad, in any other light than that of a mission whose business and objects are decidedly of a religious character.

“Perhaps it will be more difficult for the church at home to appreciate the course pursued by our Superintendent in reference to the Mission School than in any other branch. The school has always been fostered by Mr. Lee as the darling object of the mission; but it was impossible for many of us to discover that importance in the school which Mr. Lee always attached to it. Still the hopes of many lingered around the school, unwilling to give it up, believing that it would finally succeed. But after the arrival of Mr. Gary, tracing the history of the school, and pausing at every point to weigh its merits, comparing the present with the past, and contemplating it in all its possible changes for the better, and beholding nothing but darkness in the prospect before it, though to many of us the disbanding of it was an affliction, yet we were constrained to believe that neither policy, reason

nor religion, required its further continuance. It was consequently abandoned and the premises sold to the trustees of the Oregon Institute. If it were necessary and time would admit, I could give you all the particulars which contributed to bring about these results in reference to the school.

“All the secular men in the mission in this valley, except one, have received an honorable discharge, and he is to receive his in the spring. In consequence of these dismissions there are but six men in connection with the mission, except Brother Perkins, who, with his family, is about to leave for the States. The laymen who have been discharged will principally settle in the country, and in all probability be more useful as private citizens than they have been as missionaries. They have been dealt very honorably with by the Superintendent, having received from him an equivalent for their expenses home; they certainly have no room to complain. The number of Conference preachers, as you are aware, when Brother Perkins leaves, will be four; local preachers also four; one of whom emigrated to the country last year; exhorters two, and members sixty-five. The preachers are located in different parts of the country, so that there are no settlements but are occasionally favored with the Word of Life; and though at present the storm beats against us, and the prejudices of some and the jealousy and envy of others, present many obstacles in the way, yet we trust the great Head of the Church will over-rule all for good and that our Zion will become a praise in these ends of the earth. But before I close this already protracted communication, allow me to present one subject more which stands intimately connected with the prosperity of our Church in Oregon, namely:

“THE OREGON INSTITUTE: I have stated above that the premises formerly occupied by the Mission School were sold to the Trustees of the Oregon Institute. At some future time I may give you a history of the

Institute; but at the closing of this long letter I can only say a few words. I regard the Oregon Institute, in reference to science, as the morning star of this country. It has been struggling for an existence for the last five years; but if nothing serious befalls it, it is destined probably to be the leading institution of Oregon, at least for the present generation, if not for the present century, and perhaps to the end of time. For the promotion of the cause of God, the interests of our Church, and for the welfare of the rising country, a more judicious appropriation of the property of the Mission School could not have been made.

“The institution stands upon an elevated portion of a beautiful plain, surrounded with the most delightful scenery, and at a point which at a future day is destined to be one of considerable importance. The building is beautifully proportioned, being seventy-five feet long, three stories high, and two wings extending back from the front twenty-four feet. When finished it will not only present a fine appearance without, but be commodious and well adapted to the purposes intended within. It is already considerably advanced, so that a school is now in successful operation, under the tuition of one well qualified to sustain its interests. Already it numbers more students than either the Cazenovia or the Wilbraham institution did at its commencement. And if it is sustained by every possible means, if the prayers and money of the Church are enlisted in its behalf—who can tell but that it may equal, if not exceed, both these institutions in importance as well as usefulness? Though we cannot say that this is the only hope of Oregon—for whether it lives or dies, Oregon will yet be redeemed from the remains of Paganism and the gloom of Papal darkness with which she is enshrouded; yet we are compelled to adopt the sentiment, that the subject of the Oregon Institute is vital to the interests of our Methodist Zion in this country. If it lives, it will be a luminary

in the moral heavens of Oregon, to shed abroad the lights of science and knowledge, to dispel the surrounding darkness, long after its founders have ceased to live. If it dies, *our* sun is set, and it is impossible to tell what will succeed. Perhaps others more worthy of the honor than ourselves will come forth to mold the moral mass according to their own liking, and give direction to the literature of Oregon.¹⁸

“Be that as it may, Oregon, as a field of operations for the friends of science and religion, is daily rising in importance, as far as the increase of population is concerned. The original inhabitants are vanishing like the dew of the morning; and far and near may be seen the marks of civilization; villages are starting into being, and “Onward” is the motto of all. In short, with the enjoyment which the religion of Christ affords, Oregon is one of the most delightful countries in the world, and unless some sad reverse befalls her, one generation will not pass away before she will assume a rank of high importance in the scale of nations.”

Twenty-eighth Anniversary,
Greene Street Church,
May 17, 1847.

OREGON MISSION

George Gary, Superintendent, residence, Oregon City
Willamette, David Leslie, with two local preachers,
employed by the Superintendent
Dalls Station, Alvin F. Waller, Missionary, H. B.
Brewer, farmer.

In our last report we gave a condensed history of this mission in its origin and progress, with its then present condition and needs. Since then, so far as we are able to gather from the intelligence we have received, no material change has taken place in its general aspects.

¹⁸ This language is repeated in Hines' "Wild Life in Oregon," pp. 241-242.

Brother Hines having returned to this country, the Superintendent has found it necessary to employ additional aid in the Willamette Valley. For this work he has selected Brother J. L. Parish, a local preacher, who was formerly connected with the mission. This arrangement adds only a little rising \$250 to the general expenses of the mission, and, we are happy to learn, gives general satisfaction. We are also informed that there are other brethren who may be acceptably and usefully employed in the mission, should the state of the work demand their services. From these favorable conditions, your Board indulge the hope that the day is not distant when this important field will be supplied with faithful and efficient laborers raised up in its midst.

But to secure permanently the undivided and efficient labors of these brethren, it is judged that some new arrangement will be found necessary. As a general thing, brethren will hardly be willing to give up their business concerns and abandon their worldly prospects, with only the hope of temporary employment in the ranks of our itinerancy. If they consent to make the sacrifices and endure the lot of an itinerant ministry, they will expect an equality of standing and to share in their immunities. To secure these, they must be recommended to and received by some Annual Conference in the States, or a Conference must be established in Oregon. The former course, as might easily be shown, would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. It is, therefore, recommended to the next General Conference, as a matter of grave consideration, whether it would not be conducive to the interests of our missionary work in Oregon, to provide forthwith for the organization of an Annual Conference in that country.

By the Resolutions of the Board, published in our last Annual Report, it will be seen that in the appointment of Brother Gary, as the Superintendent of the Mission, special objects were contemplated. He was accordingly

invested with authority to dispose of the mission property, and reduce the number of persons employed in the secular department at his own discretion. Nor was he to consider himself obliged to remain in Oregon longer than was necessary for the prosecution of the special duties assigned him. Having accomplished the objects for which he was appointed, in much less time than was expected, he informed the Board, in a letter bearing date Nov. 9, 1844, of his desire to return to the States as soon as it might be thought expedient; suggesting, at the same time, the early appointment of his successor in the superintendency of the mission. In a subsequent letter, which is dated March 2, 1846, he presents a very satisfactory exhibit of the financial condition of the mission, and repeats his convictions of the propriety of his return home.

From the commencement of our missionary operations in Oregon, the interests of education have been steadily kept in view. At an early period in the history of the mission, a school was established under its auspices for the benefit of the Indian children. Suitable school premises were erected and for several years a school was kept up, at which children were gratuitously boarded, clothed and educated, at a very heavy expense to the Society. This mission school was always a cherished project with Brother Lee, and his hopes concerning its success were sanguine to the last. Still, for various reasons not now necessary to be given, the results anticipated by the friends were not realized. Comparatively few of the Indian children could be secured as pupils, and still fewer could be long retained. The most of these who came were subjects of hereditary disease, and were consequently soon cut off by death. But, notwithstanding these discouragements, the hopes of many continued to linger around the school, and they would fain have believed that prosperity still awaited it.

Soon after the arrival of Brother Gary, the question of the continuance of the school became one of very grave

consideration. And though to many brethren the thought of disbanding it was deeply afflictive, yet in the exercise of a sober judgment they could not recommend its further continuance. It was therefore given up, and the premises sold to the Trustees of the Oregon Institute. It must not be supposed, however, that in this transfer of the mission school premises to other hands, the M. E. Church in Oregon has surrendered all right of direction and control of the educational interests of the territory. So far from this, she has most probably by this arrangement secured to herself a more general interest and a stronger influence in the literary culture of that community than she previously possessed.

The interests and management of the Oregon Institute have been confided to nine Trustees; eight of whom, we understand, are members of the M. E. Church. For the direction and government of the Trustees and their constituents, a Constitution has been adopted, of which the following is a true copy:

“CONSTITUTION OF THE OREGON INSTITUTE.

Art. I. The Oregon Institute shall always be under the supervision of the M. E. Church, in Oregon, or some organized body of the same.

II. The Institution shall be an Academic Boarding-school as soon as practicable; and whenever it shall be deemed expedient by the proper authorities to make it a University, it shall be so constituted.

III. The primary object of the Institution shall be to educate the children of white men; but no persons shall be excluded on account of color, provided their character and qualifications are such as are required by the by-laws of the Institution.

IV. There shall be nine Trustees for this Institute; one-third of whom shall be elected annually by the M. E. Church or Society; or such organized body

as is contemplated in article first; two-thirds of whom shall be members of said society, whose duty it shall be to hold in trust for said society, or organized body, all the property of said Institution consisting of real estate, notes, bonds, securities, goods and chattels, etc., for the specific object set forth in the Third Article.

V. There shall be a Visiting Committee of three appointed by said Society or organized body of the same, whose duty it shall be to examine all the departments of said institution and report annually.

VI. There shall be a steward connected with the institution who shall have charge of the boarding department, and also of the children who board in the institution, while they are not under the care of their teachers.

VII. In the literary department there shall be male and female branches, subject to the control of male and female teachers, and so conducted as best to promote science, morality and piety.

VIII. There shall be an Annual Meeting of the society, or organized body of the same, to be held on the third Wednesday of each year; said Annual Meeting shall fill all vacancies in the Board of Trust, appoint the Visiting Committee, and transact such other business as shall be deemed necessary to promote the interests of the institution.

IX. This constitution may be altered at any Annual Meeting of the society above named, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present, (excepting the first article, which shall not be altered in any of its essential features) provided that notice of such afteration shall have been given to said M. E. Society, or organized body, by the Secretary, one month previous to said Annual Meeting."

In view of the present and prospective importance of this Institution, to the interests both of the mission and the community, the Board have instructed the new Superintendent to avail himself of an early opportunity, after his arrival in Oregon, to inquire into the expediency and practicability of a re-purchase of the premises, and to transmit the result of his inquiries at his earliest convenience. They have also instructed him to use his influence, immediately upon the organization of a territorial government, for that country by the United States, to secure a charter for the Institute, containing, in substance, all the provisions embraced in the above document. It is confidently believed that the Oregon Institute, which has been struggling for existence these several years, will yet, under the fostering care of the Missionary Society, and that of the Church, be rendered a great and lasting blessing to that far off western region. Should the report of Brother Roberts concerning it be favorable, it is probable a competent teacher will soon be sent out as Principal. It is ardently hoped that this institution is destined to wield a powerful influence in molding the mind and heart of the medley mass with which the Valley of the Columbia is so rapidly filling up.

Twenty-ninth Annual Report,
Forsyth Street Church,
June 19, 1848.

OREGON MISSION. Brother Gary and his lady left Oregon in July, 1847, in the ship Brutus, for the Sandwich Islands, to which they have an unusually short voyage. On their arrival at Honolulu they were led to expect a long detention at that place for want of a passage home. But on learning that the whale ship, William Hamilton, of New Bedford, bound to the United States, had put into that port Brother Gary resolved to procure a passage in her, and made immediate application to Captain Fisher accordingly.

The William Hamilton arrived at New Bedford on the 14th of January, 1848; and Brother Gary and his wife reached New York on the 18th of the same month, after a very pleasant voyage of about six months from the mouth of the Columbia River. The day following that of his arrival, Brother Gary appeared before the Board and presented, in an address of more than two hours in length, a detailed and most satisfactory account of the manner in which he had fulfilled the responsible duties which had devolved on him as Superintendent of the mission, as also the present condition and prospects of our missionary work in that distant field. An outline of this address will furnish the latest and fullest intelligence from this mission and therefore present to the Society and its friends the most satisfactory report concerning it. We have availed ourselves of the copious notes taken by several competent brethren during its delivery, from which we have condensed the substance of his remarks.

On his arrival in Oregon, Brother Gary found the mission greatly and injuriously involved in secular business. The missionaries had not abandoned their proper calling, but so great was the number of secular men employed in the mission, and such the extent of the mercantile, mechanical and agricultural operations connected with it, that it presented more the appearance of a design to establish a colony than of an associated effort to promote true Christian evangelization. As might have been expected, so extensive a connection with secular matters had excited the suspicions of the new settlers, and prejudiced them to some extent, against the mission itself. Having fully satisfied himself of the true state of things, Brother Gary was not long in determining his course. He saw clearly, that however pure the motives of the projectors of this plan of operations may have been, and however useful the policies in the incipient state of the mission, the time had fully come when a change was absolutely necessary. He therefore, as soon as practicable,

closed the secular concerns of the mission by selling off the property; reserving only what was deemed necessary to its spiritual and successful prosecution.

The books of the secular department showed about \$30,000 due on account of the mission, and liabilities amounting to about \$10,000. A considerable portion of the \$30,000 was due for goods which had been credited to various individuals in the territory; and of course it was impossible to estimate its real value. It was evident that years, at least, would be required to close the business, and that this slow process of adjustment and collection must ultimately terminate in great loss. Brother Gary therefore determined after the most mature deliberation, to make, if possible, a speedy and wholesale adjustment of the matter; and this he at length effected with Mr. Abernethy, now governor of the territory. In this arrangement Mr. Abernethy allowed \$20,000 for the debts due the mission, assuming all its liabilities, and giving security for the balance of \$10,000. By this mode of adjustment the mission was relieved from much perplexity; and it can hardly be doubted that future developments will prove the wisdom and economy of the measure.

The whole white population of the territory—not including the immigrants of last year, who had not arrived when he left—is estimated by Brother Gary as between seven and eight thousand. Of these, five hundred are in what is now called Oregon City, at the Willamette Falls. This is the only point at present of much commercial importance, though Brother Gary thinks the period is not very far distant when a rival city will be found about fifty miles up the Willamette, which he deems a most favorable location. At this point he has secured the possession of a square mile of land, which is destined as the nucleus of an institution of learning, under the supervision of the M. E. Church in Oregon. Incipient measures have already been adopted for its establishment, and no prudent efforts will be spared to give ef-

ficiency to the enterprise. The great body of the settlers, as yet, are scattered along the both sides of the Willamette River, the valley of which is considered the garden of the territory. The population of the agricultural portion of the community must, of course, be sparse, as each settler has the liberal allowance of a square mile for his farm. This policy, however, must produce favorable results, as it will necessarily lead to more rapid and extensive settlement of the country, and to the opening of new and effectual doors for missionary enterprise.

The state of morals in the community does not differ materially from that which is usually presented in a newly settled country. Intemperance, and its inseparable train of kindred vices, prevail to a great extent; and it is greatly feared the license law, which was passed by the Legislative Council in defiance of the governor's veto, would have the effect to increase these evils. We are happy to learn, however, that, notwithstanding this, the morals of the people are gradually improving. Sabbath breaking formerly prevailed very extensively, but during the last three years there has been a considerable reform. In the recent election for Governor, which took place just before Brother Gary left, the question turned, not upon the party distinctions which generally govern the elections in the States, but solely on temperance and anti-temperance principles and we are rejoiced to learn that the temperance candidate was elected. This certainly augurs well for this new and rapidly increasing community. Still, the heterogeneous mass of mind and character of which it is composed, can be molded and elevated only by the conservation influences of Christianity. Such is the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the natural productiveness of the country, that the people of Oregon are not obliged to labor as are the people in this country. "Consequently," to use the language of Brother Gary, "they must become an enlightened and religious people or they will be a very depraved

people." The ministers of religion are treated with great respect among them; and this in itself indicates their accessibleness to Christian instrumentalities, while it encourages the hope that our missionaries are yet destined to reap a glorious harvest in the Valley of the Columbia.

The mission has exerted a good influence on the community, and to this the present importance of the territory is mainly attributable. But for the large expenditures of the Society in that country, which were required to sustain the secular department of the mission—however mistaken that policy may now be deemed—the civil aspects and prospects of the territory would doubtless, have been very far different from those which now appear. Indeed, it is by no means improbable that what is now generally considered a mistaken policy of the Board, may be so overruled by a wise Providence as indirectly to bring a great revenue of praise and glory to his name. Much has also been done by the mission for the moral condition of the community. Many who had emigrated to that country were professors of religion and members of Christian churches before they left the States; but owing to the power of evil associations and other causes, they had backslidden from God and were unknown as Christians before the missionaries went out. Some of this class are now valuable members of the Church. Others, who went there depraved and wicked, and even profligate, have been brought to Christ and are now bright and shining lights amid the darkness which surrounds them.

The congregations generally are not large, but are gradually improving. There are three regular appointments in the valley of the Willamette which are supplied, as may be seen at the head of the report of this mission. The numbers in Society, as reported by Brother Gary, are as follows, namely:

Willamette Falls, 25, and one local preacher,
East Willamette, 66, and six local preachers,
West Willamette, 40, and seven local preachers.

To this must be added the three white members at the Dalls; making in all a membership of 148. From forty to fifty of these have experienced religion in Oregon, and are to be reckoned as part of the fruit of our missionary labors in that country; and we are warranted in the hope that a still greater number have already passed to their rest in heaven.

In view of these facts, and taking into account the priceless value of an immortal spirit, who will dare to pronounce the Oregon Mission a failure?

DOCUMENTARY

LETTERS OF DR. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

These three letters were written by Dr. McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger, who had been a clerk at Fort Vancouver under Dr. McLoughlin in 1825 and 1826, but who had retired from the fur trade and resided at St. Thomas, Ontario. The original letters are now deposited in the Archives of Canada at Ottawa.

The brother of Edward Ermatinger, who is referred to as being in charge of the company's business in the Snake Country, was Francis Ermatinger, who in later years resided at Oregon City and managed the H. B. Co. store there, and was chosen treasurer of the Territory of Oregon under the Provisional Government in 1845.

The references to the prosperity and progress of the retired H. B. Co. employees who settled on French Prairie, and their preparation to receive Bishop Blanchet are valuable, but what was Simon McGillivray intending to do with land in the Willamette Valley? Here is an item of real interest. The McGillivray family had been active stockholders in the old North West Company before coalition with the H. B. Co. Was he intending to follow the ideas of Dr. McLoughlin and become a land owner and future citizen of Oregon? It is to be remembered that in later years Gov. Geo. Simpson had differences of opinion with Dr. McLoughlin and suggested that the land holdings at the Falls of the Willamette were taken up for the H. B. Co. and not for Dr. McLoughlin individually. The Doctor's high opinion of the Oregon country and expectation of early settlement in it are evident from these letters of 1835 and 1836.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

Letter of John McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger

Fort Vancouver 1st Feby 1835

My Dear Sir

I have now before me your Kind Letter of January 1834 and Allow me to congratulate you on your new situation and I sincerely pray it may be a source of perpetual felicity to you—the name of your Wifes family is Known to me in 1817 I was a month Ill at a Mr Grover a Tavern Keeper in Haldimand—and I there frequently heard Mention of Col Burnham—the Gentleman you saw who Knows me is Robert Henry a long time a Clerk to the N W Co in the English River and afterwards a partner he is Brother of the Mr Henry who was drowned at the Columbia with Mr Donald McTavish—and who left his property to his Brother Robert—make him my Compliments if you see him again your Account of your situation is certainly gratifying and I have no Doubt that your situation is more Respectable—more comfortable and perhaps more profitable than that of any Chief factor in the Country however Gros Bourgeois—as you style him he may consider himself—you have one great satisfaction—you Act for yourself—and have no one to controul you—While you Know that in this Country you would be working for others and people who Know Nothing of the Business—have the power of diciding on the Merits of your conduct—and who would place a Runt a fellow that Knows Nothing—can do Nothing—as your Colleague—Merely because they want to reward—a Creature—But let us change the subject—I see that you and several of my friends expected me down last year—the truth is that I had given them to Understand that I would do so—But on reflection I considered it as well that while I was in the country It was as well for me to remain a little longer—so that when I went down—It might be optionable with me to remain if I was so Inclined as to the Business of this place it goes on in the Old way Except that last Summer I sent Ogden to erect

a trading Establishment on a River on the Coast in Latitude 54 N But the Russians would not allow him ascend the River—this is contrary to the treaty between the two Governments and of course John Bull must interfere but untill the affair is decided we will remain on our oars—the Mr Wyatt who you mention as complimenting us so much—is come Back he has a party in the Snake Country—has begun a farm in the Willamette and Intends curing Salmon for the New York Market—But I think this Salting Business will not pay him—With him came the Methodist Missioneries they have settled themselves in the Willamette and Intend to Devote their Attention to Civilizing the Indians—the Willamette free-men have become farmers and this fall will have three thousand Bushels Wheat for Sale—Simon McGillivray who retires from the Concern—has offered Gervais—two hundred and fifty pounds for his improvements and Gervais would not accept it—I have not heard from your Brother since the Month of June—though I Expect news of him every Moment—you Know he in the flat Head country—he may perhaps pay me a Visit—I am told he has a Clooch-I-man—with Best Wishes Believe me to Be

Yours truly

JOHN MCLOUGHLIN

N B I suppose you have seen McDonald I believe he is to call on you—I have sent My son David to be Educated with his Brother in Paris — I see by the paper that you are presiding & speechyfing at Radical meeting—how much you are Altered in Politic — times make people change

J McL

Letter of John McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger

Fort Vancouver 1st Feby 1836

My Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to Acknowledge the receipt of your Esteemed favour of the 31st January 1835 By which I had the happiness to hear that you and yours were well and that you may long continue to be so is the sincere prayer of your humble Servant As to us here we go on in the Old way—we have not Increased our Establishments on the Coast in consequence of the Russian Opposition—preventing our ascending stikine River last year — But we have two Vessel in addition to the to the three posts on the coast and one Vessel Employed in taking timber to Wahou—and our farm gives us Good Crops By the Bye—if it was not so difficult to get here—and that the Country was better Known—people would prefer coming here instead of settling in Upper or Lower Canada—I wrote you last year that two Methodist Missionaries are settled in the Willamette and I have the pleasure to say that they are doing well they have begun a fine farm several Indians have joined them Who—while they are receiving Religious Instruction are at the same time learning how to till the Ground—Which will Enable them to live as Civilized men—and which is the only Rational plan to be followed with Indians and which our Missionaries ought to follow—instead of teaching them to Read and write—and send them Back to their Lands—which gives them a certain consequence in the Eyes of their Countrymen—and Enables them to do harm—(if so disposed)—without having the power to do Good—as it is impossible even if they were every so well Disposed to Receive Instruction for Natives to be Instructed and Wander about as they must necessarily do for their food — No let those who wish to do good to Indians—teach them to get their food in a different way than at present—in short teach them Agriculture While they are instructing them in Religion—

Your Brother is still in the snake Country—and doing every Justice to his Charge—and had a very Narrow Escape last summer of being Killed by the Black feet his son is here at a school I have Established—for the Good of the Native children in this Quarter But the Boy had so much misery in his Youth and has Been so sickly that he makes but slow progress he has also an infirmity he is a little Deaf—however it is wearing off—and I hope—he will get cured of it—Allow me to request you to make my Compliments to Mrs Ermatinger—and with Best Wishes for you and yours Believe me to Be

Yours truly

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

P S I am sorry you did not happen to meet my son David—in Montreal—he is now in France—or at Addiscombe College—Qualifying himself for to go out to the East Indies—my other Son John—quarrelled with his Uncle—on account of his Extravagance—and I Believe is now also on his way to the East Indies as Surgeon or Physician— My Brother says he is Clever—but has no OEconomy this however may alter — by last accounts he was in Montreal

J McL

Letter of John McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger

Fort Vancouver 3rd March 1837

My Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to Acknowledge the Receipt of your Kind favour of 3rd Feby 1836 and I hope I need not say that I was Extremely happy to see that you are in such Good Spirits with Every thing about you — It is true as you say that you are in a fine country — But it seems the people are much dissatisfied with the Administrations of Both the provinces and to tell you my Mind not without cause — But I hope these Dissentions

will soon cease and peace and Quietness Reign once more amongst you As to us here we go on in the Old Way I killed forty Head of cattle last Summer so you see the tabou is Broken — Last year two more Missionaries came across from St Louis and are settled in the Vicinity of Walla Walla they Expect a large reinforcement this year both across Land and by sea — on the 2nd Jany the American Brig Lorait Entered this River in Ballast —having been chartered at Oahu at the Rate of seven hundred Dollars P Month By a Mr Slacum to Bring him here He said he came to join some friends who were to have come across land—but as they did not come he is gone Back by way of Mexico from this you may see that we will not be long without seeing settlers here—and Why should it not be settled you Know the Climate is Mild—and you have not so fine a Country in Canada as the Willamette you Know we have no Need to make hay for our Cattle the settlers in the Willamette have Built a Grist Mill and this year have five thousand Bushels Wheat they have Built a fine House of 30 by 70 feet for a priest whom they Expect to get from the Bishop of Red River—and we also have a Chaplain the Revd Mr Beaver and his Wife—from this you see we Expect to be well supplied with Clerical Characters—I think I see you smile and say to yourself—you Want it Well be it so—it is well for those who can have what they want I have not heard from your Brother since the Brigade came down he was out in the plains last Summer and I expect to hear from him or to see him every moment I am told he intends to Urge to go out to shew himself — But as I understand the Govr has written him—this may Induce him to alter his Mind you are surprised at my having been at Haldimand the fact is in 1816 (fall) in the troublesome times, I fell ill going down from St Maries at Haldimand at the House of one Grover who treated me with the Greatest Kindness and I Beg if you go that way that you Remember me to him in the Kind-

est terms—please make my Compliments to Mrs E and
Believe me to Be

Yours truly

JOHN McLoughlin

P S Maria and her Mother desire to be remembered to
you What could put it in your head that Maria
was at Quebec — My crop this year is 5 M B.
Wheat 4 M do Pease 2 M. Barley 2 M Oats

J McL



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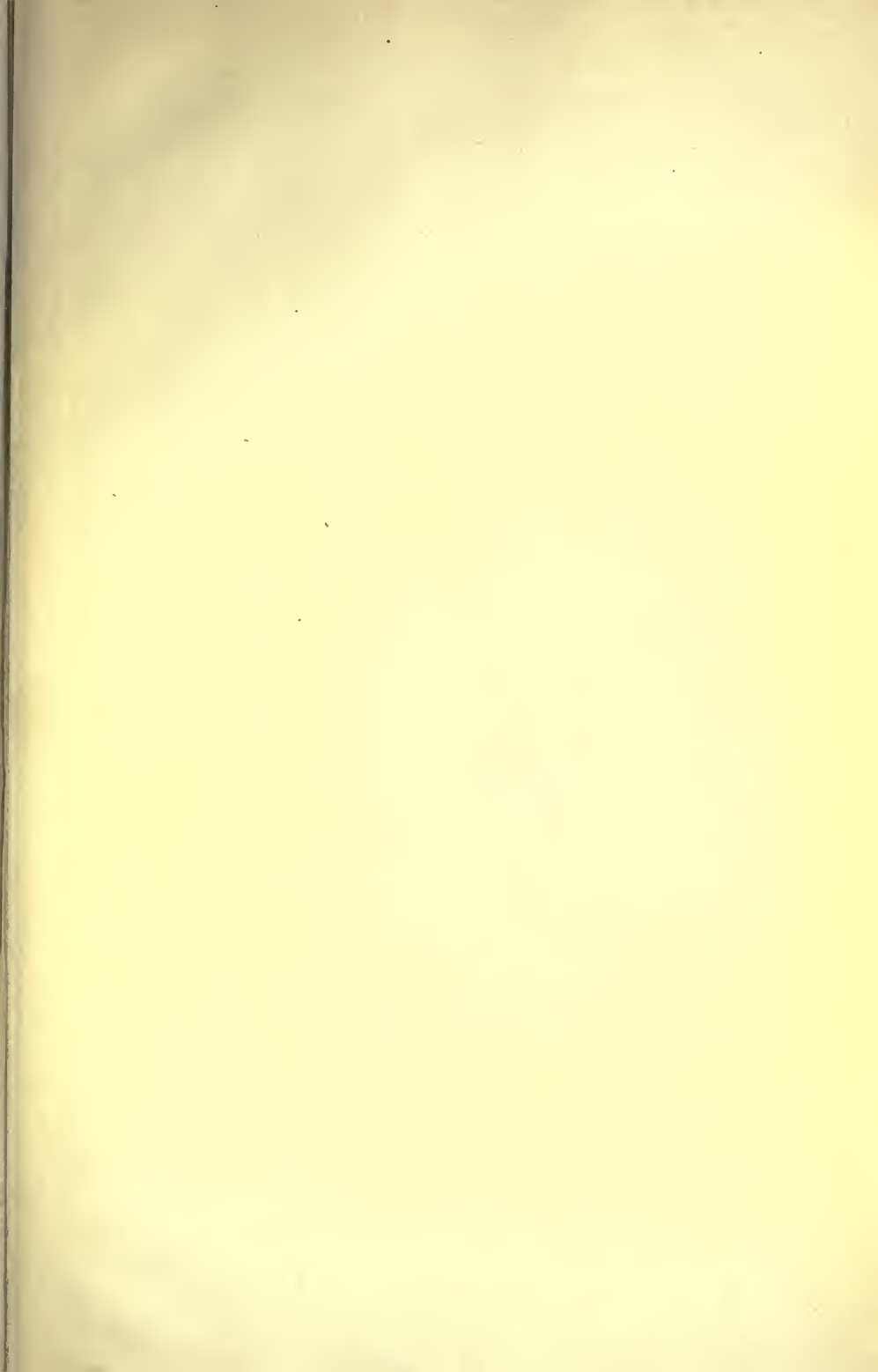
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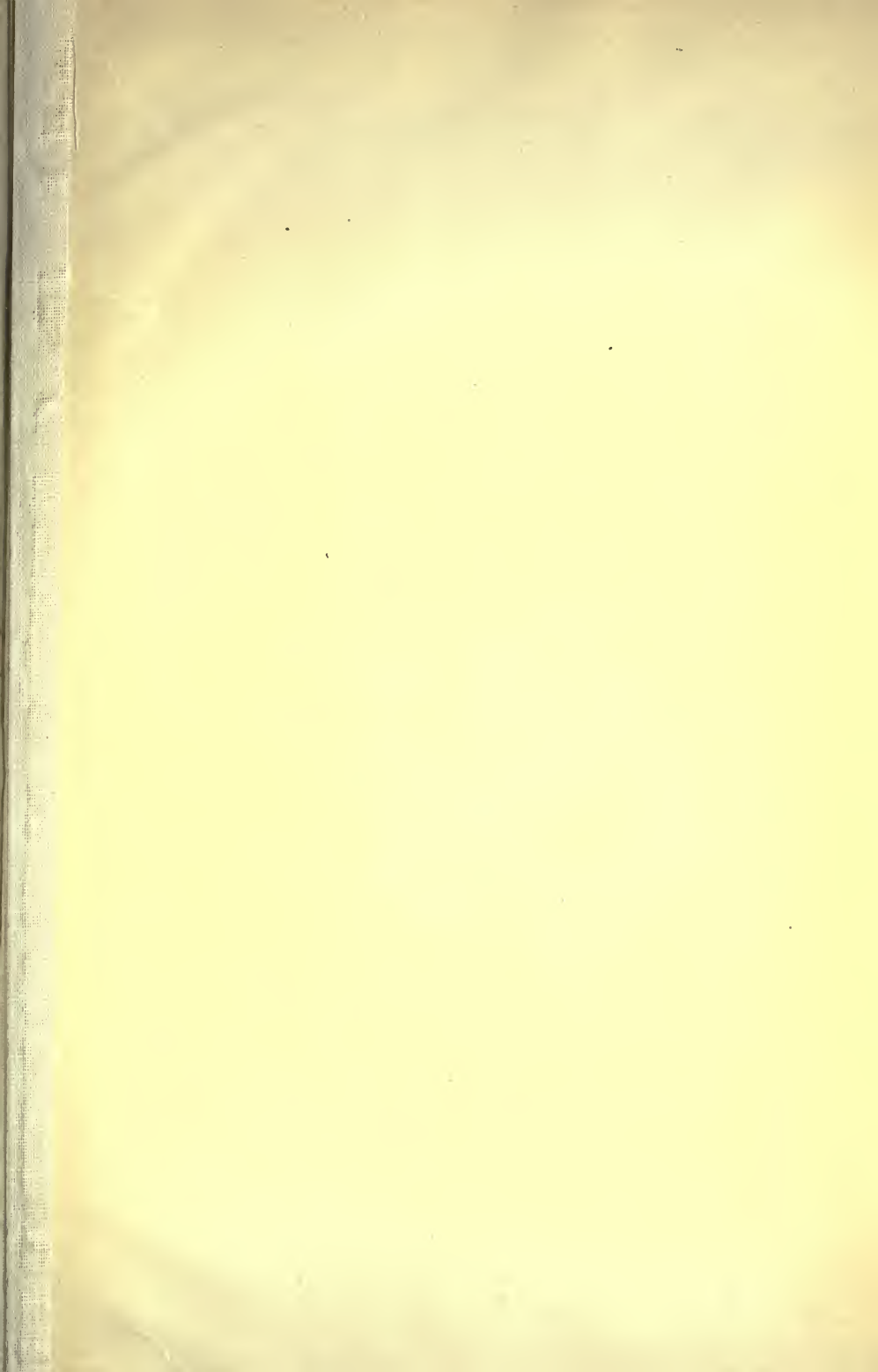
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