

## NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

U.S. State Department in Washington City was aware  
that the very dangerous Columbia River bar eliminated the river  
as a dependable harbor for sailing vessels  
thus America was eager  
to secure the only other first-class Pacific anchorage available -- Puget Sound  
(Mexico, of course, was still held possession of San Francisco and San Diego)

## GEORGE SIMPSON -- YOUNG MAN ON THE WAY UP

He was an illegitimate child of an unknown mother  
born in one of the most remote parts of Scotland [about 1787]  
he was raised in the home of his Calvinist minister grandfather  
by his schoolteacher aunt who was the sister of his father, Thomas Simpson  
At a young age George was sent to London,  
where an uncle employed him as clerk in a mercantile firm of West India merchants  
one of the partners of this firm, Sir Andrew Colville,  
(for whom Fort Colville and the city of Colville [as it is spelled] are named)  
was in the rum and molasses business and never set foot in America  
he was also a director of the Hudson's Bay Company

George joined Hudson's Bay Company where his rise was meteoric -- 1820  
although his position as a young clerk in a London office provided no experience in the fur trade,  
and he had not so much as ever seen a beaver

Hudson's Bay Company noted in its records **"In him a clear orderly mind and a driving ambition were sustained by a physical vitality which carried him buoyantly through life."**<sup>1</sup>

Hudson's Bay Company's Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land blustery William Williams  
was threatened with jail on charges brought by the North West Company  
relating to the on-going battle between the two companies  
resulting from the Battle at Seven Oaks [June 1816]  
at Red River Colony (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

In order to have a replacement on hand in case of necessity,  
Hudson's Bay Company London directors took the recommendation of  
Deputy Governor of Hudson's Bay Company Sir Andrew Colville  
who advanced Simpson to his position of leadership in the company  
at about age twenty-eight George Simpson  
inexperienced beyond his clerk stool in the London counting house

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<sup>1</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 54.

was sent to North America and stationed in Quebec  
It may be Simpson was recommended because Colville knew the clerk to be  
discreet, energetic, and personable -- excellent character references for temporary replacement

#### NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS ZEAL

Indians had heard of Christianity

Upper Columbia River tribes learned of the white man's religion  
from some members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

natives also had learned of some Christian teachings from British traders

fur traders David Thompson and Jedediah Smith carried Bibles and observed daily devotions  
Catholic Iroquois living with the Northwest Indians served as native lay missionaries

Indians were fascinated by white abundance of material goods whites possessed  
if the secret lay in religion, Indians were determined to find the source

#### NATIONAL RELIGIOUS ZEAL

Americans had experienced two religious revivals

Great Awakening -- [1725-1740s]

Second Awakening -- [1820-1840]

First Great Awakening began in England, Scotland, and Germany  
and spread throughout the American colonies

religious piety was revitalized at least in part

to counter the scientific pronouncements of the Age of Enlightenment  
beginning among Presbyterians in Pennsylvania and New Jersey

whose leaders attended "the Log College" (known today as Princeton University)  
being truly religious meant trusting the heart rather than the head,

prizing feeling more than thinking; relying on biblical revelation rather than human reason  
religious enthusiasm quickly spread from the Presbyterians of the Middle Colonies  
to the Congregationalists (Puritans) and Baptists of New England

revival meetings in the northern colonies inspired some converts to become missionaries  
to the American South

sinful nature of humans and their complete inability to overcome this nature  
placed salvation in God's hands alone

throughout the colonies, conservative and moderate clergymen  
questioned the emotionalism of evangelicals

they stated disorder and discord were prevalent at revival meetings

First Great Awakening left colonists sharply divided along religious lines

Second Great Awakening consisted, in part, of another wave of religious piety sweeping the country

early America held a bewildering array of Protestant sects and denominations  
each with different doctrines, practices and organizations  
religious reformers held an unshakable belief in the ability of humans to act morally  
emphasized the duty and ability of sinners to repent and stop sinning  
conversion to the new faith was not simply something people believed,  
although belief or faith was essential to it,  
but rather something that happened to them -- and intensely emotional event they experienced  
which left them with a fundamentally altered sense of self -- a new kind of Christian  
converts once again became motivated to become missionaries  
this time to the Native Americans about whom they were very concerned

#### REV. DR. JEDIDIAH MORSE FOCUSES ATTENTION ON NATIVE RELIGIOUS TRAINING

Congregational minister and geographer prepared an elaborate report on religious condition of natives  
printed by the United States government -- 1820  
He proposed "Education Families" work among more promising Indian tribes  
several workers cooperate to civilize the natives  
example: school teacher, preacher, Indian Agent, farmer and blacksmiths all work together

#### AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS SENDS MISSIONARIES

Headquarters in Boston  
Congregational Church joined in efforts by the Presbyterian and Dutch Reform churches  
to provide religious training to the Indians  
Sent a group of missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands -- 1820  
Because of the numerous contacts with the Pacific Northwest  
it was soon proposed to the headquarters in Boston  
that an expansion of the missionary effort to Oregon would provide good results

#### DONALD McKENZIE RETURNED TO FORT NEZ PERCES

North West Company Chief Trader Donald "Fats" McKenzie had spent the winter of [1819-1820]  
on the Bear River in southern Idaho  
Results of this hunt were spectacular  
he went out with seventy-five trappers and returned without the loss of a man  
one hundred fifty-four horses had be rounded up for carrying the furs back to Fort Nez Perces  
as the homeward-bound brigade crossed the Blue Mountains,  
a band of Cayuse Indians five hundred horses strong, fell in with them  
a chanting and beaded Indian column two miles long descending from the hills  
must have been a remarkable vision even for the colorful Northwest

Fort Nez Perces was reached -- June 1820

#### DONALD McKENZIE PREPARES FOR ANOTHER EXPEDITION

For twelve days McKenzie stayed at Fort Nez Perces preparing the pelts for transport to Astoria and, assuredly, partaking with the men in drinking the “regale” as the mass intoxication activity before a brigade’s departure was called  
Into the wilderness he journeyed again  
this time as far as the Green River region (in present-day Wyoming)

#### DEATHS END AN ERA

Fur trader and explorer Sir Alexander Mackenzie died -- 1820

he had been the driving force behind the Northwest Company and X.Y. Company

Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk (Lord Selkirk) died -- 1820

he had awakened Hudson’s Bay Company to aggressive action

Manuel Lisa passed away suddenly -- August 12, 1820

in thirteen years of trapping he ascended the Missouri River twelve or thirteen times  
each trip covered at least 650 miles by canoe and boat

his men penetrated to the upper Missouri

they explored and trapped large sections of Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming  
and discovered Yellowstone park

Lisa sent out two or three unsuccessful parties along the route to Spanish Santa Fe

he also took the time to do more than his share in the War of 1812

On Lisa’s death, Joshua Pilcher became leader of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company  
but the old fire was gone

#### GEORGE SIMPSON IN ARRIVES IN CANADA

When Simpson arrived in Canada he learned Hudson’s Bay Company

Field Governor William Williams was not going to be arrested as part of the company wars -- 1820

Simpson might have returned home but he was intensely ambitious

short in stature but physically strong

he volunteered to take over the remote, harshly difficult Athabasca District

which had been unexpectedly left without supervision

it was the opportunity of a lifetime

#### SNAKE RIVER REGION CAN BE DEADLY

Three Kanakas (Hawaiians) hunting with Donald “Fats” McKenzie and the Snake River Brigade were murdered while hunting beaver among Snake Indians -- 1820

river where this happened was named the Owhyhee River

#### FUR COMPANY MERGER PROPOSED

Company wars between the Canadian North West Company and British Hudson's Bay Company were extremely costly for both sides

British Government took a series of actions to end the inter-company conflict negotiations to consolidate the companies were opened in London -- December 1820

#### CONGRESSMAN DR. JOHN FLOYD IS INTERESTED IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Congressman John Floyd had entered Congress representing Virginia -- [1817]

he received information regarding the Pacific Northwest from Astorians Ramsay Crooks and Russell Farnham

Representative Floyd introduced the issue before Congress for the first time -- December 20, 1820

asked that Congress appoint a committee **“to inquire into the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River.”**<sup>2</sup>

U.S. House approved a committee of Congress and Dr. Floyd became its chairman

Congressman Floyd became a voice crying in the wilderness

demanding development of the Far West focused American interest on the Pacific Northwest region's value as a future acquisition was ignited

#### CONGRESSMAN JOHN FLOYD OF VIRGINIA PUSHES FOR OCCUPATION OF THE FAR WEST

His committee investigating development of the Far West

wrote the *Floyd Report* to U.S. House of Representatives -- January 25, 1821

which authorized occupation of the Columbia River Valley by the United States

based its claim of the Louisiana Purchase

Congressman Floyd believed the United States had good title to a large part of the Pacific coast West of the Rockies

this country was rich and fertile

an American settlement should be established at mouth of the Columbia River

his report fixed the name “Oregon” on the country

Not one speech was given in support of the Bill and it died without action

#### CONGRESS REMAINS INDIFFERENT REGARDING AMERICAN EXPANSION

Regional differences within the United States kept Congress from introducing any national policy regional demands to spread slavery across the continent -- or fear of this possibility

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<sup>2</sup>Joshpe Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P.96.

kept the national House of Representatives tied in knots  
International tensions remained a major concern of the United States Senate also

#### AMERICAN STATE DEPARTMENT WAS INTERESTED IN EXPANSION

If Congress was indifferent, the U.S. State Department was not

State Department in Washington was aware of the Columbia River's ever dangerous bar  
thus it ruled out that river as a dependable harbor for sailing vessels  
therefore the Americans were eager to secure Puget Sound,  
the only other first-class Pacific anchorage available

Adams-Onis Treaty had defined the Western limits of Louisiana Purchase

and formalized the purchase of "East" and "West" Florida by the United States

this treaty had remained unsigned by the Spanish government

after pressure from Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Spain accepted the treaty

U.S. Senate ratified the Adams-Onis Treaty for a second time -- February 22, 1821

Through the efforts of Secretary of State Adams, the United States received as a bonus

Spain's ancient claims to the Northwest, "**the only European power who prior to the discovery of the (Columbia) River, had any pretensions to territorial right on the Northwest Coast of America**"<sup>3</sup> said John Quincy Adams, conveniently forgetting both English and Russian assertions

#### ST. LOUIS BUSINESS

Mexico threw off the rule of Spain -- independence was declared February 24, 1821

wide ranging Missourians discovered a warm welcome in Santa Fe

Mexican authorities opened the New Mexican capitol to commerce

and Missourians pioneered the Santa Fe Trail

St. Louis was awash with entrepreneurs attempting to cash in on the trade

Well-financed and well-organized companies

prepared to exploit the furs of the upper Missouri River

#### ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY

Was reorganized in St. Louis after the death of Manuel Lisa a year earlier

Now led by the dynamic Joshua Pilcher

who planted Cedar Fort (or Fort Recovery) on the Missouri River

above the mouth of the White River

and another, Fort Vanderburgh at the Mandan villages -- 1821

From these bases, a party under Robert Jones and Michael Immell

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<sup>3</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 115.

headed for the Yellowstone River and built Fort Benton in Crow Indian country near the site of Lisa's old fort at the mouth of the Bighorn River

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN TRAVELED TO LONDON

Wintering North West Company partners in Canada listened to him -- 1821 and gave him their proxies to carry to London

According to another honored legend, he was a main figure in working out details of the merger entered into with Hudson's Bay Company actually his voice was seldom heard, but his trading talents were recognized

#### COMPANY WARS COME TO AN END

Company wars were ended by King George IV -- March 26, 1821

Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company were forced to merge into one company new company was named Hudson's Bay Company to maintain the same rent one black beaver pelt whenever the king arrived in Canada to collect

#### BRITISH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND CANADIAN NORTH WEST COMPANY MERGE

Parliament granted a Charter to the new Hudson's Bay Company to last for twenty-one years this assured a definite period of complete monopoly guaranteed by Parliament formal deed was dated -- April 6, 1821

In London the Hudson's Bay Company's governor and committee faced two problems:

- first, a way had to be found to keep Americans away from the Columbia Department for as long as possible
- secondly, preparations had to be made for abandoning the country east and south of the Columbia River when and if that river became the international boundary to keep the stockholders happy both goals had to be achieved with maximum economy

#### RISE OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Merger brought peace among the trappers and a stronger British monopoly than ever to the Canadian fur trade

Efficient business practices were adopted

Governors in London began paying close attention to company management

Company management focused on several purposes:

- to make a profit
- to strengthen British claim in the Columbia Department  
Americans must be checkmated in the Pacific Northwest
- to act as a government for its employees in Columbia Department

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONTROLLED A VAST AREA

Hudson's Bay Company administered an area equal in size to the continental United States  
this area was organized into three main divisions:

- Montreal Department (including Upper and Lower Canada (and later Labrador)
- Southern Department (James Bay area south to Upper and Lower Canada)
- Northern Department of Rupert's Land (Hudson Bay drainage basin) and New Caledonia

Great Britain entrusted the keeping of law and order among her subjects in the trapping regions  
to Hudson's Bay Company which was empowered with authority to arrest  
and confine employees for minor offenses

persons charged with serious crimes sent to Canada for trial  
retired servants of the Company who settled in Columbia Department  
recognized the Company's authority

(this was one of the few times in American history

that government services were provided by a company)

French-Canadians continued to play a prominent part in both the Canadian and American fur trade  
but they were so peaceful and industrious no further legal protection was needed

United States, on the other hand, left its citizens in Oregon Country to their own resource

York Factory on Hudson Bay served as headquarters for Hudson's Bay Company's  
new Northern Department and represented the company's role as an imperial factor  
in British North America

aside from administrative and financial functions York Factory also served as the entry point  
for most Europeans bound for Rupert's Land

Fort Nez Percés near where the Walla Walla River entered the Columbia River

now became Fort Walla Walla under the Hudson's Bay Company

(this post's location was to be shifted to serve as an outfitting point for Snake River Country)

## ORGANIZATION OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Proprietors of Hudson's Bay Company were its officers in the London headquarters

Chief Officer was the Governor, assisted by a Deputy Governor

they were responsible to a board of directors of seven men

all of these nine officers were elected by the stockholders in an annual meeting

Actual operation of the company in North America

was the responsibility of lesser officials in the various geographic regions

at the top of the structure were three governors

one for the Montreal Department, one for the Southern Department

and for the Northern Department which included the Pacific Northwest



beneath the Governors were other officers, divided into two categories

Chief Factors and Chief Traders

Twenty-five Chief Factors supervised Districts within the three Departments

Twenty-eight Chief Traders had charge of single posts or were given special assignments  
Chief Clerks, apprenticed clerks, postmasters, interpreters, voyageurs and laborers

saw to the daily operation of each trading post

traders were French-Canadians -- many were former North West Company employees  
some trapped and others worked in trading posts

re-energized French-Canadians traders at posts on the Saskatchewan River

regularly dealt with the Blackfoot Indians

at great expense to American trappers and traders

Officers in America met once a year in the summer at various locations

to assess the past and to plan for the future

these gatherings became formalized as the Council for the Northern Department of Rupert's Land

presided over by the two American Governors

Plans laid by the Council were executed by several hundred lesser employees

who were arranged according to a strict hierarchy

at the top of the order were the clerks who kept the records and did the correspondence

their task was one appealing to bright young men on the way up

who could look forward, after a fourteen-year apprenticeship,

to becoming a Chief Trader

then came the men without education

who did a whole host of tasks -- mostly physical labor

they too had different statuses and salaries

from post masters at the top to the voyageurs and laborers at the bottom

Company officers were mainly Scotsmen -- either by birth or descent

lower ranks were from anywhere and everywhere

including French Canadians, Indians of mixed blood (Metis),

and Indians from the East coast (mainly Abenakis and Iroquois)

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PROFIT SHARING PLAN

All employees of the company also received regular annual salaries including board and keep

After London proprietors were paid, company profits each year were divided into one hundred shares

chief factors and chief traders in Canada received sixty shares

remaining forty shares in turn were divided into eighty-five shares

fifty went to the former North West Company men

and the remaining thirty-five went to Hudson's Bay Company men

each factor received two shares and each trader one share

#### KANAKAS (HAWAIIANS) BECOME HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EMPLOYEES

Kanakas who had worked for North West Company were transferred to Hudson's Bay Company  
North West Company had paid room, board, clothing, and merchandise  
Hudson's Bay Company improved inducements providing room, board  
and wages of ten pounds per year -- usually for a three year stint

#### FREEMEN CAUSE UNTOLD DIFFICULTIES

Root of the financial trouble in Columbia Department lay in the so-called freemen  
these were half-breeds, Iroquois and French-Canadian laborers  
whose term of service with the company had expired  
but who preferred to remain the wilderness with their native families  
freemen were completely irresponsible  
As long as Hudson's Bay Company was the freemen's only source of employment,  
tolerable limits could be placed on their actions and enforced  
trouble came with the approach of competing American trappers -- 1821  
Hudson's Bay Company compounded the difficulties itself  
when they shifted the Snake River Brigade departure point  
from Fort Walla Walla on the Walla Walla River  
to Flathead House on the Clark Fork River (in western Montana)  
near David Thompson's old Saleesh House  
this shift in starting points was made for sound reasons as the relocated brigades  
moved southward from Flathead House to the waters of the Snake River,  
they could add to their harvest by trapping along the edges of the Rocky Mountains  
which bulged unevenly westward there  
this change also brought the British near to American territory -- and sometimes they entered  
freemen, who had no loyalty to their former employer, joined with the American trappers  
this shift also brought the Hudson's Bay Company brigade into Flathead country  
and, inevitably, in contact with the murderous Blackfoot Indians

#### GEORGE SIMPSON BENEFITED FROM THE MERGE

While George Simpson was in the wilderness of the Athabasca District  
he began toughening his soft London muscles  
and learning some of the practical aspects of the fur trade  
it was a masterly stroke of opportunism  
Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company worked out their peaceful merger

Hudson's Bay Company's new board of directors dedicated themselves to finding a manager for the business interests in the Northern Department they sought a business-trained diplomat, unscarred by the hatreds of the recent competition, who could reorganize the overlapping, demoralized units in the field

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN RETURNED TO CANADA

After attending the rival company merger talks in London Dr. McLoughlin assumed custody of the border post of Lacla Pluie in this position he enjoyed great success in undercutting American competition

#### LEADERSHIP CHANGE AT FORT GEORGE (FORT ASTORIA)

North West Company partner and Acting Governor James Keith had taken command of the post after the drowning of Governor Donald McTavish -- [May 22, 1814] Keith had served as the solitary leader until Chief Trader Donald McKenzie had returned to the Pacific Northwest for the North West Company -- [June 7, 1816] With the merger of the two competing fur companies, Acting Governor James Keith was replaced by Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James McMillan and Junior Chief Factor John Dougald Cameron -- spring 1821

#### NATIVE REACTION TO THE TAKE OVER BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Hudson's Bay Company's arrival in the Columbia Department was a season of great gloom Indians feared the days of the French-Canadian trappers were gone they had always been a favorite with the Indians

#### DONALD "FATS" McKENZIE RETURNS AGAIN -- THIS TIME TO FORT WALLA WALLA

Brought the Snake River Brigade from the Green River region (Wyoming) back to Fort Perce although, after the merger, he was now working for Hudson's Bay Company his five year contract was up -- July 1821 He had spent another, even more successful, year in Snake Country for Hudson's Bay Company however, in spite of Donald McKenzie's extraordinary efforts, Columbia Department still lost money for the company Rather than start for Athabasca Pass at that late season, he spent the (coming winter -- [1821-1822]) with the former Astorian Alexander Ross at Fort Walla Walla

#### MISSOURI BECOMES A STATE

Admitted to the Union as a result of the Missouri Compromise -- August 10, 1821 Her new national senator, Thomas Hart Benton, championed the cause of the fur companies

he will serve as national senator for the next thirty years

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONTROLS LOUISIANA TERRITORY

Stores operated by the U.S. Government had been established in Louisiana Territory among the natives  
businessman John Jacob Astor and U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton (Missouri)

fought these government posts persistently and savagely  
as an encroachment of budding American capitalism

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN BECOMES AN EMPLOYEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Dr. John McLoughlin was taken into the expanded Hudson's Bay Company as a chief factor  
this was a shareholding position comparable to his former status  
as a wintering partner among the Nor'Westers

#### RUSSIAN CLAIM

Czar Alexander I claimed 50° North and Northward -- September 4, 1821  
warned all ships must stay clear or risk being seized  
United States protested and threatened war

#### CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP AT ASTORIA

John Dougald Cameron replaced James McMillan as chief factor at Fort George -- Fall 1821  
McMillan returned to York Factory where he accepted a position as Chief Trader  
Cameron was assisted by Alexander Kennedy who served as junior chief factor

#### CONGRESSMAN JOHN FLOYD (VIRGINIA)

Introduced a Bill -- January 18, 1822  
proposed officially to designate the region the Pacific Northwest  
authorized the President to occupy the Pacific Northwest and organize a government

He argued for the commercial potential of a colony on the Pacific coast  
and for the importance of the Columbia River to America's commerce

His proposal was also defended by Congressman Francis Baylies of Massachusetts  
who had a vision of developing the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest

Baylies noted in a speech: **“Some now within these walls may, before they die, witness scenes more wonderful than these; and in after times may cherish delightful recollections of this day, when America, almost shrinking from the ‘shadows of coming events’ first placed her feet upon untrodden ground, scarcely daring to anticipate the greatness which awaited her.”**<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Joseph Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 99.

The opposition of practical men swayed the majority

with speeches such as Congressman Tracy of New York: **“Nature has fixed limits for our nation; she has kindly interposed as our western barrier mountains almost inaccessible, whose base she has skirted with irreclaimable deserts of sand.”**<sup>5</sup>

American interest in the West once again failed to pass the Bill into law

Congressman Floyd’s bill lost by a vote of 61 for and 100 against

#### AMERICAN FUR COMPANY

John Jacob Astor’s lieutenant Ramsay Crooks

shrewdly established the Western Department of the American Fur Company -- 1822

it remained little more than a shell but revealed great potential value

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY ADMINISTRATION

Sir John Henry Pelly at age twenty-two had been appointed a director in the company -- [1806]

his primary responsibility was sending out exploring expeditions

Sir John was promoted to Governor of the company -- 1822

responsible only to the Committee in London

Two field governors were appointed to administer the four territories -- 1822

William Williams was appointed to the Southern and Montreal Departments

George Simpson became the Committee’s other choice

his rise in status and power were attributable to the guidance of

Sir Andrew Colville Deputy Governor of Hudson’s Bay Company

who advanced Simpson to his position of leadership in the company

Simpson was promoted to Governor “West of the Mountains”

was assigned to the Northern Department and Columbia Department

served as sole head of Hudson’s Bay Company in Canada in the Columbia Department

that is what the Americans called Oregon Country

a remarkable appointment as he had little experience in the fur trade

Field governors were responsible only to Governor Pelly and the Committee in London

#### GEORGE SIMPSON -- GOVERNOR WEST OF THE MOUNTAINS

Many wondered why he was chosen for this highest position

he was considered by his employees to be a “gentlemanly man”

who would not be a very formidable as an Indian trader

Simpson was, in fact, an ideal choice

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<sup>5</sup> Joseph Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P.100.

he was short in stature, but physically strong and possessed boundless energy  
man of intellectual superiority and had remarkable industry with tremendous driving power  
charismatic, affable and sympathetic

economical, he demonstrated great efficiency using in man-power and provisions  
objective in management, he was orderly, possessed good judgment

a superior business ability and he had a down-to-earth knowledge of men  
within three years of his appointment many complained they were ruled by  
a "rod of iron"

later still he was referred to as "dictator," "viceroy," "emperor"

Pompous, conceited, brilliant fireball of energy, he ruled by self-imposed responsibility

he was less interested in human relationships than most men

he could not abide men who asserted themselves

never hesitated to send friends or members of families to widely separated posts

if such moves pleased his fancy or notions of discipline

He also was inclined to sternness, but commanded wide respect

he was proud, overbearing and ruthless

and could be reactionary and money loving

He maintained his residence at York Factory on Hudson Bay

but frequently visited the fur posts of his domain via fur brigade packet boat

## RISE OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BUSINESS PLAN

Merger with North West Company brought peace among the trappers

and a stronger British monopoly than ever to the Columbia Department

Efficient business practices were adopted

Governors in London began paying close attention to company management

Company management focused on several purposes:

- to make a profit

- to strengthen British claim in the Columbia Department

  - Americans must be checkmated in the Pacific Northwest

- to act as a government for its employees in Columbia Department

George Simpson remained Hudson's Bay Company's chief officer for forty years

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADING OPERATIONS

Officials were careful not to admit too many Indians at one time into the post -- 1822

usually only one or two

and once within the post, they were carefully guarded

Actual trade was preceded by an exchange of gifts

pieces of wood or bronze corresponding with the number of pelts delivered served as money  
whose value was described in terms of a standard beaver skin  
these were good for the purchase of articles from the company store

Most certain way to be assured of a supply of skins was to send traders and trappers to the real source  
streams, valleys, and hills of the hinterland

Hudson's Bay Company organized bands of hunters, trappers, and traders  
who went out in search of furs

Hudson Bay blankets became favorite items

other articles placed on store shelves included: awls, needles, scissors, thread, axes,  
Canton beads, buttons, combs, highly colored yard goods, flashy feathers, files,  
looking glasses, silk handkerchiefs, fish hoods, pocket knives, scalping knives,  
and assorted groceries

#### TRADE GOODS ARRIVE AT ASTORIA FROM ENGLAND -- AFTER [1821]

Wearing apparel, felt hats, butter, cheese, pickles, sauces, suet, candles, gun flints,  
gunpowder, guns, military stores, saddlery, fishing tackle, playing cards, stationary,  
tobacco pipes, wrought brass, copper, iron,  
Even musical instruments, sails, carts, and wagons eventually arrived

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY INVESTIGATES COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Governor George Simpson sent a fact-finding committee  
of four men (three former Nor'Westers)  
to go to the Columbia River and report back on the state of affairs there

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN PROMOTED

Hudson's Bay Company partners recognized his trading talents while serving at Lacla Pluie -- 1822  
after eighteen years of service in the fur trade he was taken into the expanded company  
he was given the title Chief Trader at Fort William on Lake Superior  
the former North West Company's principal post  
a share-holding position similar to his former status as a wintering Nor'Wester partner  
Dr. McLoughlin was placed in charge of one of four departments or fur trading regions

#### AMERICAN TRAPPERS HAD BEEN HELD OUT OF THE FAR WEST

After the demise of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company, Yankee trappers ignored the Northwest:

- War of 1812 had limited access to the region
- Blackfoot Indians had stopped incursions into the West
- U.S. government had been unresponsive to the needs of western trappers

However, United States Government had relaxed its regulations on Westward expansion and was extending military protection toward the frontier

#### U.S. GOVERNMENT EXPANDS TRAPPING OPPORTUNITIES

Under pressure from John Jacob Astor,  
discontinued its policy of allowing only government appointed agents  
to trade in Indian Country  
(eventually approximately 3,000 trappers will go west between [1822] and [1840])

#### GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY LEADS THE MISSOURI MILITIA

Born in Powhatan County, Virginia -- [1778]  
Migrated to Missouri -- [ca 1808]  
was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri  
was named a Brigadier General in the Missouri Militia during the [War of 1812]  
was described as a **“little man who always had a stomach ache”**<sup>6</sup>

#### ASHLEY-HNRU COMBINE COMES INTO EXISTENCE

General William Henry Ashley entered into a partnership with the still active Major Andrew Henry who had trained in the fur trapping business under the great Manuel Lisa  
Major Henry had gained fame for having built two posts known as Henry’s Fort  
(first on the Snake River:1809; second at the Three Forks of the Missouri River:[1810])  
Together they organized the Ashley-Henry Combine in St. Louis -- 1822  
bankrolling the operation, General William H. Ashley meant to remain in St. Louis  
to handle the company’s business affairs  
Major Andrew Henry was to serve as field captain  
had to deal with the realities of discipline and insubordination  
General Ashley and Major Henry together  
outlined an expedition to the source of the Missouri River  
to exploit the Three Forks country from which Henry had been driven  
by Blackfoot Indians a decade earlier

#### ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY ADVERTISES FOR EMPLOYEES

General William Henry Ashley and Major Andrew Henry placed an advertisement  
in the *St. Louis, Missouri Republican* asking for **“one hundred enterprising young men to ascend the Missouri River to its source”**<sup>7</sup> to engage in the lucrative fur trade -- March 20, 1822

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<sup>6</sup> Stephenie Flora, [www.oregonpioneers.com/rmfc.htm](http://www.oregonpioneers.com/rmfc.htm)



Ashley-Henry Combine intended to send fur trapping/trading expeditions  
up the Missouri River to the Yellowstone River  
they would set out bands of trappers from camps in the best beaver districts  
to trap out streams one after another  
Ashley-Henry Combine employed only clerks and boatmen as fully salaried men  
Ashley would supply each trapper with traps and powder, food, and supplies  
trappers bound themselves to turn over to the company  
half the yield from their rifles and traps  
other half of their catch they could keep  
as long as they sold it to Ashley at the prevailing price  
trappers' only other obligation was to help build and defend the company forts

#### ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY BUSINESS PLAN

General William Henry Ashley remained in St. Louis to manage business interests,  
Major Andrew Henry led an expedition of the first Americans since Lewis and Clark  
to enter Rocky Mountains West of Great Divide and South of 49° North  
their goal was the mouth of the Yellowstone River  
Major Henry was to build a stockade at the Missouri River's Great Falls  
to trade with the Blackfoot Indians  
from this base Ashley-Henry Combine intended to reach up the Missouri River  
to the Three Forks  
while not averse to trading with the Indians for furs,  
Ashley men set out primarily to hunt and trap for themselves

#### ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY BEGINS OPERATION

Almost 200 young men answered the ad in the *St. Louis, Missouri Republican*  
many were destined to become well-known names in the annals of history  
these legendary "Mountain Men of the West" led exciting but lonely lives  
and became the subject of many dime novels  
in the process of trapping for a living, many Ashley-Henry men  
were lost to Indians, grizzlies, Arctic-like weather, and accidents

#### ORIGINAL ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY MEN LEAVE THEIR NAMES IN HISTORY

Among the crew members hired for three year expedition [1822-1824] were:

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<sup>7</sup> Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West: a History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fe*, P. 262.

Hiram Scott -- experienced trapper and guide

whose achievements were recognized when Scott's Bluff was named in his honor  
Etienne Provost (namesake of (Provo, Utah)

heavy, ruddy-faced muscular, hard-drinking, canny mountaineer

was probably the first trapper to be identified as a "Mountain Man"

he would eventually lead an Ashley-Henry Combine party to the West

and may have been first to cross South Pass (but this cannot be confirmed)

Thomas "Tom" Fitzpatrick

born in Ireland -- [1799]

since his parents were fairly well off, he received a good education

at seventeen, he ran away to sea and became a sailor

few years later, he jumped ship at New Orleans

worked his way up the Mississippi to St. Louis

unemployed and twenty-three -- 1822

he saw the advertisement in the paper looking for 100 men

to follow the Missouri River to its source

it did not say what the nature of the work was, but Fitzpatrick signed up anyway

he later rose in rank to become second in command of a trapping expedition

William "Billy" Sublette

more than six feet tall, with a lean face and Roman nose, sandy hair, and light complexion,

he was twenty-three when he signed on with General Ashley for the upper Missouri

served as laborer and in other lesser positions

William Sublette rose to a position of power in the fur trade,

becoming an able field captain and astute businessman

one additional contribution made to the fur industry by Billy Sublette

was the successful apprenticeship he had provided his younger brother Milton

an immense, powerful youth of twenty-five

who also was employed in the service of the Ashley-Henry Combine

James "Jim" Clyman

tall, rawboned Clyman was reticent, withdrawn and as decisive as any of Ashley's men  
brave, astute and trustworthy, he was a leader of men

of a literary bent, he read Shakespeare, Byron, and the Bible, and he wrote copiously

his diary, observations, and recollections -- all in a crude but expressive vocabulary

Mike Fink

was a legendary keelboat man

who kept constant company with two inseparable companions: Jack Carpenter and Levi Talbot

he was about five feet nine inches tall and one hundred and eighty pounds

he possessed a broad round face with pleasant features, brown skin tanned by the sun and rain  
had very expressive blue eyes which were inclined to gray and broad white teeth  
his square brawny form was well proportioned  
every muscle of the arms, thighs and legs were fully developed  
indicating his great strength and constant physical activity

James "Jim" Bridger

eighteen years old scout when he got a fast start with the Ashley-Henry Combine  
years later he was described as **"...a very companionable man. In person he was over six feet tall, spare, straight as an arrow, agile, rawboned and of powerful frame, eyes gray, hair brown and abundant even in old age, expression mild and manners agreeable. He was hospitable and generous, and was always trusted and respected."**<sup>8</sup>

David E. Jackson

at thirty-four he was older than most of the Ashley men and twice the age of Jim Bridger  
he was a quiet man, stubborn in his convictions

Joseph Lafayette "Joe" Meek

born [February 9, 1810] in Washington County, Virginia,  
Joe left home at the age of eighteen to seek his fortune in the West  
he signed on to trap for William Sublette  
Meek was described as bold and adventurous -- a first-class trapper  
he was a tall, fun-loving, happy-go-lucky Virginian, and lover of tall tales  
his humor was well known -- he loved practical jokes,  
he had a reputation of being the wittiest, saltiest, most shameless wag and jester  
that ever wore moccasins in the Rockies

later in life he roamed the Rocky Mountains for over a decade  
even later in life he became a pioneer, a peace officer, and successful frontier politician  
his adventures were documented in *The River of the West* by Frances Fuller Victor

Jedediah Strong Smith

had been born in [January 6, 1799] in Bainbridge or Jericho, New York  
he appeared in St. Louis  
was hired by General William Ashley at age twenty-three  
he was an intelligent young man and well educated  
he was one of the greatest explorers of all the American trappers  
he kept records and drew maps that clarified the geography of the West  
most of his explorations were in the great basin of today's Utah and Nevada  
but he also explored California and in Oregon Country -- [1828]

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<sup>8</sup> Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*. P. 45.

he possessed few vices  
held a high regard for cleanliness  
almost never drank intoxicants, never used tobacco or boasted  
he rarely indulged in humor or joined his companions in hilarious antics or pranks  
deeply religious, "Praying Trapper" always carried his Bible and a gun  
dominating this serious young man's character was a stern Methodism  
which kept him in meditation, prayer, and a constant study of the Bible,  
and tormented him with an unwavering sense of unworthiness in the sight of God  
to his death, he always remained a sincere and devoutly Christian gentleman  
All of these men and others employed by the Ashley-Henry Combine  
such as Robert Newell, Jim Beckwourth, and Christopher "Kit" Carson  
were destined to become well-known names in the annals of history  
they led exciting but lonely lives and became the subject of many dime novels

#### ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY ROUTINE

Each employee of the Ashley-Henry Combine was assigned two mules and a saddle horse  
all animals and equipment were charged against the man to whom they were assigned  
If the party consisted of sixty men or more  
four were made sub-commanders  
other men were divided into "messes" (eating groups) of eight to ten men each  
from each mess, one man acted as supply and disbursement officer  
On the march, camps were formed in squares  
with one side being a river or lake if possible  
as soon as a halt was made, saddles and packs were used to make a breastworks  
horses and mules were delivered to a special guard outside the square to graze  
at sundown they were brought inside the camp  
Regular night watches were set until sunrise  
two or more mounted scouts were sent to search for hostile Indians  
not until these men reported favorably were the horses taken outside to graze  
as the men breakfasted  
When the party was ready to move, they lined up, mess by mess  
the mess ready to move first was allowed the front place in line  
a choice position when dust was bad  
messes retained that order throughout the day  
After the train started, scouts were kept several miles ahead  
also on the flank, and in the rear to protect the party against any sort of surprise

## ASHLEY-HENRY ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY EXPEDITION

Trading goods were brought from St. Louis on two fully loaded fifty-foot keel boats that carried the first Americans since Lewis and Clark

to enter Rocky Mountains West of Great Divide and South of 49° North they would travel by keelboat until it became necessary to travel by land

he would build a stockade at the mouth of Yellowstone River

Major Andrew Henry left St. Louis with the two keelboats and two keelboats -- April 3, 1822

riding the Spring floods, the first contingent of the expedition got under way

they were pulled upriver by fifteen to twenty boatmen trudging along the Missouri Riverbank with Jedediah Smith ranging inland as a hunter

## CONGRESS CLOSED GOVERNMENT FEDERAL POSTS IN THE ROCKIES

Refused to appropriate further money -- May 6, 1822

Provided an opportunity for private traders

to freely to rob natives by unfair weights and measures

and to corrupt Indians and employees with the sales of diluted liquor

## MAJOR ANDREW HENRY KEELBOATS MEET WITH DISASTER

Below the frontier station of Fort Osage (Council Bluffs, Iowa)

Henry's keelboat's mast tangled in an overhanging tree branch

which spun the vessel broadside to the current

keelboat capsized and plunged to the bottom with \$10,000 worth of cargo -- May 8, 1822

## DEALING WITH DISASTER

Major Henry hurriedly dispatched a small party of men led by Daniel S. D. Moore back to St. Louis to inform General William Ashley of the disaster

Leaving another twenty men behind to protect the salvaged supplies,

Major Henry, with the main party, took the remaining keelboat

continued the expedition up the Missouri River in the direction of the Mandan Villages

## ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY DISPATCHES THIRD KEELBOAT

In St. Louis General William H. Ashley received the distressing news

undaunted by the loss of the first keelboat, General Ashley had another vessel loaded

he recruited a new crew of forty-six men started up the Missouri River

General William Ashley took personal command of the boat

as they followed Major Henry up the Missouri River -- late June 1822

Among the members of Ashley's crew was Jedediah Smith

who went along, once again, ranging inland as a hunter  
This fur trade expedition faced a disastrous journey  
beginning with the accidental drowning of one man  
and an explosion of ammunition that killed three more

#### MAJOR ANDREW HENRY HAS MORE TROUBLE

Continuing upriver after the loss of one of their keelboats  
Andrew Henry and his men were attacked by Arikara Indians  
at Fort Recovery (Cedar Fort) (near White River of South Dakota)  
(near the mouth of the White River, South Dakota)  
Arikara Chief Gray Eye's son was killed  
Daniel T. Potts, along with other seven men, deserted Henry's party there

#### GENERAL WILLIAM H. ASHLEY'S KEELBOAT

Inched against the swift current of the Missouri River  
as boatmen used large oars attached to the top of the cargo box,  
or pushed poles seated in their arm pits as they walked the running boards  
the length of both sides of the boat  
or attached long cables from the mast which were run to shore  
and pulled by fifteen to twenty men trudging along the muddy river bank  
overgrown with trees and brush and swarming with insects  
sometimes, when the wind blew favorably, the sail afforded respite though not speed  
Keelboat moved past Council Bluffs and Camp Atkinson (Kansas),

#### GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY RECEIVES MORE BAD NEWS

At Joshua Pilcher's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company Fort Recovery (Cedar Fort)  
General Ashley heard about the attack carried out Arikara Indians on Major Andrew Henry's men  
after the attack an Arikara Chief, Gray Eye, vowed to avenge the death of his son  
Ashley's keelboat made its way up the Missouri River through the rolling plains country of the Sioux

#### CONGRESS OUTLAWS SALE OF ALCOHOL TO INDIANS

Prior to this law the fur trade relied on Indians to do the actual trapping and hunting for furs  
their catch was brought to trading posts where, with ever-greater frequency,  
Indians were given liquor both as a purchase medium and to make pliant and easily cheated  
quickly it became difficult to conduct business without a substantial supply of alcohol  
Congress's new law made this practice illegal -- July 1822

## MAJOR ANDREW HENRY RECEIVES HELP FROM THE MANDAN INDIANS

Major Henry and his remaining men

reached the Mandan Villages (present-day Bismarck, North Dakota) -- August 1822

where horses were acquired to assist in packing their trade goods overland

Within a few days, Assiniboine Indians in the upper Dakotas attacked the traders

and stole twenty-four horses

## GENERAL WILLIAM H. ASHLEY'S KEELBOAT CONTINUES UP THE MISSOURI RIVER

Ashley-Henry Combine men made their way up the Missouri River through Sioux Country

Daniel T. Potts, wandering alone, luckily found his way to Ashley's encampment

At Fort Osage (about fifty miles below the Kansas River)

Ashley's keelboat picked up the twenty men who had been marooned

by the earlier sinking of Daniel S. D. Moore's keelboat

Ashley and his men reached the earthen palisaded Arikara villages -- September 8, 1822

above the mouth of the Grand River (between South and North Dakota)

## MAJOR HENRY REACHES BLACKFOOT COUNTRY

Continuing on as best they could, Andrew Henry and his men entered Blackfoot Country

because of Blackfoot hostility, Major Henry abandoned the original plans

to build a fort at the Missouri River's Great Falls

instead they pressed on to establish a post at the mouth of the Yellowstone River

Trade goods were transferred to "bull boats" -- buffalo hides stretched over wicker frame

American trappers continued up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River

## HENRY'S FORT ON THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

Where the Yellowstone River empties into the Missouri,

Andrew Henry's trappers replaced an old fort with a better one to trade with the Blackfoot Indians

eventually known as Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone River

this post consisted of four structures connected by pickets to enclose an interior corral

stood on a tongue of land on the south bank of the Missouri River

with the mouth of the Yellowstone a quarter mile to the east

## MAJOR HENRY SENDS OUT TRAPPERS

Although Joshua Pilcher's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company still operated a post

at the mouth of the Big Horn River

two Ashley-Henry Combine brigades were set out from Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone

to conduct a fall hunt and prepare for a spring thrust deeper into fur country

One group including Tom Fitzpatrick, was under John H. Weber (pronounced Weeber),  
they ascended the Yellowstone and turned up the Powder River  
(where they were stationed for the winter)

Henry himself led the other party higher up the Missouri River at the mouth of the Musselshell River  
Major Henry planned to build yet another post in the Three Forks area

at the Musselshell River, Andrew Henry and twenty-one men including Jedediah Smith  
built several huts and a wall around them  
when Henry and eleven men left the Musselshell post to explore the region,  
they were attacked by Blackfoot Indians  
four trappers were killed and several others were wounded

Henry and the other survivors retreated to the Musselshell post

Jedediah Smith returned to Henry's Fort from the Musselshell River outpost

with him he had Daniel Potts who had been injured by an accidental discharge of a rifle  
which sent a ramrod through both of Pott's knees

Major Henry gathered his remaining men together at the Musselshell post

before hastily continuing back to the relative safety of Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone River

At Henry's Fort Major Henry sent Jedediah Smith downriver to find fresh horses

#### GENERAL ASHLEY AND MAJOR HENRY UNITE ON THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

When General Ashley and his party reached the Yellowstone River on horseback -- October 1, 1822

Major Andrew Henry and his men had already returned to their crude log fort

built with the idea of trading with Blackfoot Indians -- Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone River

Major Henry very much appreciated the horses brought by General Ashley

as Assiniboines in the upper Dakotas had run off twenty-four of his own

By the time Ashley's keelboat arrived two weeks later -- mid-October 1822

Ashley and Henry had mapped out a winter strategy for the fur country

and arranged for Ashley to return to St. Louis to acquire more men and supplies

(to conduct a hunt the next spring)

#### GENERAL ASHLEY RETURNED TO ST. LOUIS

With the boatmen and the few furs Major Henry's men had accumulated,

Ashley headed his keelboat back down the Missouri River

leaving Major Henry and 150 trappers in the Yellowstone region

to pursue the fur trade along the Yellowstone River and to suffer through the cold winter

#### EWING YOUNG BEGINS HIS TRAPPING CAREER

Had been a member of the first expedition to take wagons



over what later became the Santa Fe Trail  
twenty-eight year old Tennessean established himself in Taos, New Mexico  
after his arrival there -- 1822  
he pursued his craft as a carpenter  
Young was a strapping man of six feet two inches and poorly educated  
ordinarily he was quiet but he possessed a hot temper  
he was a scrappy and fearless aggravation  
to Mexican officials and bothersome Indians  
shrewd and sometimes devious,  
ambitious to prosper whether from trapping, trading, farming, milling, or droving,  
and endowed with a capacity to lead other men in any of these pursuits  
He operated a trading post for trappers in partnerships with William Wolfskill  
they also trapped the upper Pesos River in the Fall -- 1822  
Young emerged as the most prominent, best leader, and a premier trapper  
in the Southwest region

#### HALL JACKSON KELLEY -- MAN ON A MISSION

Kelley was born in New Hampshire [in 1790]  
While he was talented and manually dexterous,  
he preferred creating grandiose, lonely dreams to developing his personal or social skills  
he suffered for poor eyesight weakened by studying the Greek philosopher Virgil by moonlight  
or so he said  
he was a humorless, self-centered, inflexible man who was cursed with the unfortunate talent  
of quickly getting on their nerves of everyone with whom he came in contact  
Kelley graduated from Middlebury College, Vermont, and became a schoolteacher in Boston  
in the course of a few years he married the daughter of a minister, lost her,  
and took a second wife -- 1822  
He read the *Journal of Lewis and Clark* which generated in him a deep interest in Oregon  
after studying maps of the region, he predicted a great port city would develop  
at junction of the Willamette and Columbia rivers  
a prediction which proved to be correct (Portland)  
Kelley became obsessed with everything he learn about Oregon  
he authored innumerable articles, pamphlets, tracts, and speeches on the subject  
with these writings he promoted America's claim to the region -- above all others

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN WAS WELL KNOWN TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Ogden was the son of a colonial jurist originally from New York who opposed the Revolutionary War

(during the Revolution he moved his family to Quebec where he became an admiralty court judge)  
Peter Ogden studied law under the tutelage of his father -- but soon quit the effort  
Ogden joined the North West Company as a clerk at age sixteen or seventeen  
he was assigned to the factory at Ile a la Crosse  
where he and another clerk created an outrageous uproar  
by assaulting a Hudson Bay trader inside his own post  
and then swaggered away untouched by the victim's own astonished voyageurs  
When the clash between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company reached open warfare  
Ogden captured the Hudson's Bay Company fort at Ile a la Crosse which he used for imprisoning  
twenty men, more than a hundred women and children, and "dogs innumerable"  
this act of defiance of the law was too much even for North West Company  
Ogden was ordered to escape across the Continental Divide to Fort George  
When the fur companies merged, Hudson's Bay Company directors wanted nothing to do  
with the violent clerk Peter Skene Ogden and he was fired -- 1822

#### DONALD "FATS" McKENZIE LEAVES THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FOR THE LAST TIME

He was promoted to the role of Governor of the Red River Colony (Winnipeg, Manitoba)  
second highest position in the service of Hudson's Bay Company  
he held this post for ten years before retiring

When McKenzie left the Pacific Northwest crossed the Rockies -- Autumn 1822  
he had witnessed many changes since his first arrival in the Pacific Northwest  
with the Wilson Price Hunt expedition [1810-1811]

and had implemented many of these innovations, including the brigade system, himself  
he had prepared the ground for more complete control of the Northwest by the British  
Sadly, Donald "Fats" McKenzie left no journal as he disliked writing

Alexander Ross, in charge of Fort Walla Walla, at least partially, indicated his worth: "**He had passed many years among the fascinating pleasures of the far-famed Spokane House, and the moment that McKenzie had turned his back on the Columbia, old prejudices were revived.**"<sup>9</sup>

#### FINAN McDONALD NEW LEADER OF THE SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE

Replaced the departed Donald McKenzie

success of the brigade system was dependent on maintaining vigorous management of the trappers  
McKenzie took with him his superior management ability -- a skill that would be sorely missed  
Finan McDonald a red-whiskered giant who had traveled with David Thompson  
on the [180] exploration of the upper Columbia River)

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<sup>9</sup> Idaho State Historical Society Reference Series, *Sinecateen and the Wild Horse Trail*, Number 469.

McDonald led Hudson's Bay Company's annual brigade to Snake River -- 1822

Donald McKenzie's dominate leadership style was no longer in place hold in check those half-breeds, Iroquois, and French-Canadian laborers known as Freemen

#### SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE ATTACKED

Hudson's Bay Company trappers under Finan McDonald were attacked by the Blackfoot Indians one of his men was killed -- 1822-1823

Furiously McDonald struck back

seven others were killed in subsequent fighting

sixty-eight of the enemy were killed, or so McDonald reported after the battle

Finan McDonald was himself badly wounded

by the accidental discharge of a gun during a squabble with his own Iroquois

When McDonald returned from Snake Country, he took his men to Spokane House

this expedition was a financial success -- but unfortunate in other respects

#### FRENCH FUR COMPANY TRAPS THE (SOUTH DAKOTA) REGION

Pratte, Chouteau and Company was headquartered in St. Louis to trap (today's South Dakota)

Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau managed to get their base, Fort Kiowa (or Lookout)

established near Cedar Fort -- Autumn 1822

#### ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY WORKS THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

Joshua Pilcher's enterprise had Robert Jones and Michael Immell

on the Yellowstone River engaged in trapping rather than trading -- 1822

#### COLUMBIA FUR COMPANY TRAVELES TO THE MANDAN VILLAGES

Begun in St. Louis by Kenneth McKenzie and other former Nor'Westers

who had cut their British moorage and associated themselves with men of less vigor and vision

who possessed the requisite United States citizenship

Reached for the Mandan villages overland from the Missouri

#### SANDWICH ISLAND (HAWAIIAN) ROYALTY

Hawaiian Royal Party sailed to England to seek an alliance with the British -- 1823

John Coxe (Naukane) accompanied as part of the retinue

because of his high rank and familiarity with western ways

When the entourage reached England, most of the Royal Party came down with measles

though John Coxe survived, the king and queen both died

their bodies were returned to Honolulu in sealed, leaded coffins

Large sum of the late king's money was missing

John Coxe and others in the king's court were disgraced and even under suspicion

#### DEFEAT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN FLOYD'S BILL

Representative Floyd of Virginia proposed another Bill

authorizing President Monroe to provide a government for the area

president would be authorized to place a military colony

at the mouth of the Columbia River

also to extinguish Indian title to the land and allot claims to settlers

Virginia Representative asked for a grant of land for each settler in Pacific Northwest

wanted a territory to be established

After long and vigorous debate, the Bill to organize Oregon Territory

passed the House of Representatives -- January 23, 1823

was tabled in the Senate

proposal was in violation of Joint Occupation agreement with Great Britain

#### HALL JACKSON KELLEY -- "PROPHET OF OREGON"

For undisclosed reasons, he was summarily fired from his Boston school position -- 1823

undismayed, though he had a growing family to support,

he flung himself into what had become to him a mania: Oregon

thirty-three year old Boston school teacher

determined in his mind that the Pacific Northwest belonged to the United States

Kelley endorsed the common American belief (incorrect as it was)

that the United States held indisputable claim to Oregon

and that the joint occupation treaty merely gave specific temporary privileges to Great Britain

Kelley gave up teaching and textbook writing

he penned wildly exaggerated accounts of the wonders of the West

although he personally had never been there

his writings took on strong religious overtones that had invaded his thinking

he was dubbed the "Prophet of Oregon" and talked the part

**"All nations who have planted colonies have been enriched by them.... The present period is propitious to the experiment. The free governments of the world are fast progressing to the consummation of moral excellence, and are embracing within the scope of their policies the benevolent and meliorating principles of humanity and reform.**

**"The most enlightened nation on earth will not be insensible to the best means of national prosperity. Convinced of the utility and happy consequences of establishing the Oregon colony, the**

**American Republic will found, protect and cherish it... and extend the peculiar blessings of civil polity and of Christian religion to distant and destitute nations.”<sup>10</sup>**

#### GENERAL WILLIAM H. ASHLEY IS AGAIN IN ST. LOUIS

Federal legislation outlawing the sale of alcohol to Indians [July 1822]

was a huge blow to the fur industry, however how to deal with the crisis was unknown

This year William Ashley sought one hundred men to go up the Missouri River

to venture into the Rocky Mountains as fur trappers

to be employed for one, two or three years

this year the men would be paid two hundred dollars a year

*St. Louis, Missouri Republican* advertisements ran during the first three months of 1823

James Clyman, Hugh Glass and Moses “Black” Harris

were added to the list of names who applied and later achieved fame

Moses “Black” Harris was named for his dark skin

which looked like gunpowder had been burnt into it

like the employees hired the year before these men were all young, slender, lithe,

physically strong, intelligent, courageous, accomplished outdoorsmen,

and conveyed a marked potential for leadership

Ashley-Henry Combine trappers became known as Mountain Men

#### MOUNTAIN MEN (AMERICAN TRAPPERS)

Stereotype dictated these trappers lived alone running trap lines in the Rocky Mountain region

this loner dressed in animal skins, sported bushy facial hair,

and carried a Hawken rifle and Bowie knife commonly referred to as a “scalpin’ knife”

they were expert hunters, trappers, bear fighters, and Indian killers

they roamed the mountain regions going west in the spring

returning east in the fall with the year’s take of pelts

While this may be a somewhat accurate description of a “free trapper”

Mountain Men were employed by a company -- most often the Ashley-Henry Combine

life of a Mountain Man was almost militarized

they traveled in “mess groups”

they hunted and trapped in brigades and always reported to the head of the trapping party

who was called a “boosway” -- a corruption of the French term *bourgeois*

included such men as Christopher “Kit” Carson, Joe Meek, Mike Fink, Jim Beckworth,

James Clyman, William “Billy” Sublette, Jedediah Smith, Jim Bridger, Hugh Glass

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<sup>10</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P.111.

and Moses "Black" Harris

## SECOND ASHLEY-HENRY EXPEDITION FROM ST. LOUIS

General William Ashley acquired two new keel boats, *Yellow Stone Packet* and *Rocky Mountains*  
James Clyman had been commissioned by Ashley to recruit boatmen  
*Yellow Stone Packet* and *Rocky Mountains*  
were loaded with thousands of dollars' worth of goods  
Ashley left St. Louis for the Yellowstone River with one hundred more men -- March 10, 1823  
This fur trade expedition faced a disastrous journey  
beginning with the accidental drowning of one man  
and an explosion of ammunition that killed three more

## ASHLEY- HENRY COMBINE TRAPS THE MUSSELSHELL REGION

Major Andrew Henry was in command at Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone  
he was responsible for conducting business in the region  
Ice on the Missouri River broke up freeing the men at the Yellowstone base  
John H. Weber turned up the Musselshell River for a spring hunt -- April 4, 1823  
other Ashley-Henry Combine men, including Tom Fitzpatrick,  
began trapping the headwaters of the Missouri River  
Not all went well  
as free trappers they were no longer under contract these men could do as they pleased  
in their eagerness to get beaver pelts  
they had not been watching the Blackfoot Indians very closely  
Tom Fitzpatrick was the exception -- he was always on the lookout  
Fitzpatrick encounters Indians  
one day while out setting traps, he saw movement among the rocks  
Fitzpatrick shot at the motion -- even though he wasn't shooting at anything in particular  
his gunfire threw off the rhythm of the attack and alerted his companions at the same time  
his quick thinking saved all but four of the men

## GENERAL ASHLEY CONTINUES UP THE MISSOURI RIVER

Jedediah Smith met the Ashley expedition somewhere along the Missouri River  
Fort Recovery (Cedar Fort near the White River on the Missouri) Ashley heard bad news  
Arikara warriors had attacked Andrew Henry and his men  
also, Arikara Chief Gray Eye's had vowed to avenge the death of his son in the battle  
Ashley decided not to trade with the Arikara  
but his route upriver still took them past the Arikara villages

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE HUNT

Michael Bourdon, leader of the brigade, was killed by Blackfoot Indians on the Salmon River along with three of his trappers -- Spring 1823

Finan McDonald took charge of the Snake River Brigade and killed seventy Piegan Blackfoot after negotiations were held between the company men and the natives,

passage was allowed the trappers through Lemhi Pass down the Missouri River  
Finan McDonald led the expedition back to Fort George after a successful hunt

## GENERAL ASHLEY ARRIVED AT THE ARIKARA VILLAGES

Keelboats *Yellow Stone Packet* and *Rocky Mountains* reached the Arikara towns -- May 30, 1823  
trade was conducted for horses

through interpreter Edward Rose -- of Manuel Lisa and Wilson Price Hunt fame  
Arikara attitude toward the Americans was suspicious

but the purchase of over 200 buffalo robes and a score of horses was arranged  
Trade talks were interrupted by a severe storm

about sixty Ashley-Henry Combine men remained on the two keelboats  
about forty of Ashley's men under the leadership of Jedediah Smith

made camp on a sandbar in the Missouri River to guard the stock and furs already received  
some of these men ventured into the Arikara villages where an altercation broke out

General William Henry Ashley at 3 a.m. received a report from Edward Rose  
that trouble was brewing -- June 1, 1823

one of Ashley's men, Aaron Stevens, had been killed  
for the remainder of the night, Ashley's men remained armed and alert

## ASHLEY'S EXPEDITION ATTACKED

At first light, the Arikaras opened fire on the shore party on a sandbar in the river -- June 1, 1823  
outgunned and with no protection in the sand

Ashley's boatmen refused his order to sail for shore and returned fire instead  
many of the men refused to be rescued and preferred to fight

Before Ashley could do much more than realize what was happening  
fifteen of his men were killed and nine others wounded -- one quarter of his entire crew  
altercation had lasted fifteen minutes

Jedediah Smith demonstrated both courage and leadership during the attack  
Ashley managed to lead seven or eight of his men downstream in small skiffs

## WILLIAM ASHLEY BEAT A HASTY RETREAT

He picked up scattered survivors and withdrew twenty-five miles downriver to the first timbered area where he regrouped his party and waited

leaving behind on the sandbar a great deal of the Ashley-Henry Combine property  
Ashley's men refused to make another attempt to pass by the Arikara villages  
and only about thirty were willing to remain where they were

#### ASHLEY'S PARTY CONTINUED DOWN THE MISSOURI RIVER

William Ashley guided the keelboats *Yellow Stone Packet* and *Rocky Mountains*  
downriver to a location seventy-five miles below the Arikara villages  
there they set up a new base near the mouth of the Cheyenne River

Reed Gibson and two other men died of their wounds

Jack Larrison, who was presumed lost, stumbled into camp  
after wandering wounded and naked for four days

Mike Fink and his two companions, Jack Carpenter and Levi Talbot amused themselves  
they had boated and caroused together long before they joined with Ashley  
to their legendary antics they added a game in which they shot tin cups of whiskey  
from one another's heads at seventy paces

recently Fink and Carpenter had fallen to quarreling over a woman in their past

Fink challenged Carpenter to their favorite sport  
Carpenter sensed what Fink intended

but he stepped forward anyway with a cup of whiskey on this head  
Fink paced off the distance, raised his rifle, and fired

rifle ball smashed Carpenter in the center of his forehead

**"Carpenter,"** Fink chided, **"you have spilled the whiskey"**

enraged, Talbot drew his pistol and shot Fink in the heart<sup>11</sup>

#### ASHLEY CONTACTS HIS PARTNER MAJOR HENRY

Ashley selected Jedediah Smith and a French-Canadian to take a message upriver  
past the Arikara villages to his partner Andrew Henry at Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone River  
to warn them of the hostilities

#### GENERAL HENRY ASHLEY RELEASED MOST OF HIS MEN

Ashley decided to send the larger of the keelboats, the *Yellow Stone Packet* -- June 4, 1823  
down to Fort Atkinson with forty-three employees who refused to stay and five wounded men

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<sup>11</sup> Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 47.



and a letter he wrote as Missouri Lieutenant Governor and Brigadier General of the state militia requesting military assistance

He kept the keelboat *Rocky Mountains* with him

#### MILITARY ALERTED TO THE INCIDENT AT THE ARIKARA VILLAGES

Ashley's keelboat, *Yellow Stone Packet*, arrived at Council Bluffs -- June 18, 1823

bringing the letter from General William Henry Ashley

to Fort Atkinson's commander, Colonel Henry Leavenworth

and Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon

Outraged by the Arikara attack, these officers quickly prepared the Missouri Legions to come to the aid of General Ashley

Colonel Leavenworth prepared six companies of soldiers for battle

Ashley's letter also outraged St. Louis Missouri Fur Company leader Joshua Pilcher

who was looking for an excuse to send a message to all of the tribes up the Missouri River and especially to the Blackfoot Indians

#### MILITARY BECOMES INVOLVED

Colonel Henry Leavenworth, commander of Fort Atkinson led 230 soldiers and artillery, started overland and by keelboat against the Arikaras -- June 22, 1823

Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon and Major William S. Foster remained at the fort

#### JOSHUA PILCHER LEADS A COMPANY OF MEN TO BATTLE

Sixty of Pilcher's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company men answered the call to arms

they set out from St. Louis to join Leavenworth in the fight -- June 27, 1823

Pilcher's militia included some of Ashley's men who had fled from the earlier Arikara battle

as well as Sergeant Joseph Perkins and Captain William Vanderburg

both of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company

An additional 600 Sioux warriors turned out to help engage the Arikaras

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH DELIVERS GENERAL ASHLEY'S MESSAGE

Smith reached Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone River

where he delivered William Ashley's message of an Indians fight to Major Andrew Henry

Major Henry felt himself in trouble with the Blackfoot Indians where he was,

but leaving twenty men to defend the fort Henry loaded fifty men into dugout canoes

and launched them down the Missouri River to aid his partner

Henry passed the Arikara villages without drawing fire

before he joined his partner at the Cheyenne River mouth the first week in July 1823

## ARMY SUFFERS A TRAGIC LOSS

Traveling up the Missouri River, the U.S. Army keelboat accidentally sank -- July 4, 1823  
a sergeant and six privates were drowned

Colonel Leavenworth's army stopped for repairs Fort Recovery (Cedar Fort near White River)

Joshua Pilcher and his St. Louis Missouri Fur Company troops caught up with the army at the fort

## ASHLEY AND HENRY LEARNED OF COLONEL LEAVENWORTH'S ARMY

Henry and Ashley and their men met at the mouth of the Cheyenne River

they decided to move further downriver

Henry led his trappers to the Teton (or Bad) River

Ashley continued on to the French Fur Company's Fort Kiowa

where he learned of the approach of the Colonel Leavenworth's army from Fort Atkinson

accompanied by Joshua Pilcher's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers

General William Ashley decided to wait in the safety of Fort Kiowa

where they were joined by Major Henry and his men

## RANALD McDONALD

His father, Archibald McDonald, married Princess Raven -- daughter of Chief Comcomly

she died shortly after giving birth to a son -- Ranald McDonald, Jr.

his first two years were spent with the sister of his mother in an Indian lodge

## HUDSON'S BAY DEVELOPS THE PACIFIC COAST

Governor Simpson aggressively lobbied the Directors in London to strengthen the fur business

he devoted three years of his life to the expansion of the fur trade east of the Rocky Mountains

Governor received several reports, including the fact-finding committee,

on conditions in the Columbia Department (roughly today's Washington and Oregon)

Simpson created a master plan with respect to the development of these regions

reports he received from fact-finding committees were compiled into a master report

presented to the authorities of the Columbia Department

he noted that trade there could be profitable if strict economy and exertions were exercised

and there was not opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company

this report was dated -- July 12, 1823

## PETER SKENE OGDEN REHIRED BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Although not held in high esteem by the Hudson's Bay Company

their former clerk was known as one of the most able fur traders in the Northwest

in addition he far better educated than was customary  
since he had studied law before taking on a life of adventure  
he was respected by the Indians who referred to him as the “fat trader”  
Governor George Simpson reinstated Ogden as an employee and elevated him to Chief Trader -- 1823

#### NORWAY HOUSE

Was constructed North of Lake Winnipeg -- 1823  
Replace Company headquarters at Fort William on Lake Superior  
as the location of the annual meeting of the partners

#### JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Secretary of State who challenged the Russian claim to the Northwest -- July 17, 1823  
established the case for American ownership when he stated, “...that we should contest the rights of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments.”

#### FORCES UNITE AGAINST THE ARIKARA INDIANS

General William Ashley and Major Andrew Henry decided to join the battle  
they left Fort Kiowa with eighty trappers  
Ashley and Henry established a camp on the Teton River near Fort Recovery (Cedar Fort)  
trappers were divided into two divisions:  
one group was captained by Jedediah Smith  
other group led by Hiram Scott (Scott’s Bluff)  
Edward Rose was designated ensign  
Thomas Fitzpatrick was named quartermaster  
William “Billy” Sublette served as sergeant-major

Colonel Henry Leavenworth arrived with 230 infantrymen of the Missouri Legions  
bolstered with artillery -- July 30, 1823

In addition forty of Pilcher’s St. Louis Missouri For Company men joined  
This force was augmented by 750 mounted Sioux warriors  
Unfortunately, Colonel Leavenworth had not been in a fight before

#### ATTACK ON THE ARIKARA TOWNS

Colonel Henry Leavenworth’s expedition advanced on the Arikara towns  
by both land and water -- August 9, 1823  
in what is the first conflict West of the Mississippi

involving the U.S. Army with the Native Americans  
Gallop to the front, 500 Sioux warriors drove the mounted Arikara back to their bulwark  
Sioux lost two while the Arikara suffered fifteen killed  
After the initial Sioux attack, Colonel Leavenworth  
proved to be incapable of making a decision and carrying it out<sup>12</sup>  
artillery bombardment proved equally ineffective  
for two days the militia and fur men maneuvered about  
disgusted, the Sioux warriors plundered the Arikara cornfields before leaving the scene altogether

#### COLONEL HENRY LEAVENWORTH SEEKS PEACE

With the Sioux warriors gone as well as most of his round-shot, Leavenworth asked for talks  
Captain B. Riley, complaining of his nearly ten years of duty at Fort Atkinson without any action,  
was denied permission to attack the village  
Joshua Pilcher and the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company strongly objected  
(later they filed an official complaint)  
Colonel Leavenworth met with the Arikara chiefs -- smoked the peace pipe and opened negotiations  
talks were held -- August 11 and 12, 1823  
Arikaras promised good behavior  
token reparations were offered to Leavenworth,  
but the chiefs could not find the Ashley-Henry Combine property  
which had been left on the Missouri River sandbar [June 1]

#### TOM FITZPATRICK TOOK MATTERS INTO HIS OWN HANDS

He had grown impatient over Colonel Henry Leavenworth's lackluster performance  
Fitzpatrick gathered up ten trappers and sneaked into the Indian camp at night  
trappers opened fire -- even though there was only eleven of them  
to the Indians it seemed like a whole army was attacking  
Fitzpatrick and the others helped themselves to the Indian's horses  
then reported to Colonel Leavenworth what they had done -- emphasizing how easy it had been  
this stunt added to Tom Fitzpatrick's already growing legend

#### LEAVENWORTH'S TROOPS ENTER THE ARIKARA VILLAGES

They were surprised to find the site totally deserted -- August 13, 1823  
Arikara had quietly abandoned both of their towns and fled  
goods taken from the Ashley-Henry Combine by the Arikara were located

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<sup>12</sup> Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 52.

and were transferred to Major Andrew Henry  
After an unsuccessful attempt to find the Arikaras, the army prepared to leave

#### TROOPS SET OUT FOR FORT ATKINSON

Missouri Legions under Colonel Henry Leavenworth began a withdrawal -- August 15, 1823  
Colonel Leavenworth specifically ordered the abandoned Arikara villages be left alone

most of Ashley's company followed Leavenworth's troops south on the Missouri River  
two members of Pilcher's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company,

Angus McDonald and William Gordon, stayed behind and torched the deserted villages  
It was soon reported that homeless Arikara living with the Mandans were forming war parties

#### ASHLEY AND HENRY CHANGE PLANS AGAIN

Results of the Arikara Battle brought no decisive advantage to the trappers  
while the Ashley-Henry Combine expedition had filled in the geographic details  
of upper Missouri and Yellowstone rivers

trading trip itself had not been financially successful  
because the Blackfoot Indians could not be pacified

Back at Fort Kiowa the Ashley-Henry Combine faced bankruptcy -- August 1823  
enormous financial losses suffered at the Arikara towns had seriously hurt their credit  
in addition to the loss of a number of experienced men

General William Ashley and Major Andrew Henry decided to abandon the Missouri River  
rather, they would by-pass their competition and the Indians

by leading large groups of men out to trap the beaver streams themselves  
rather than relying on trade with the natives

(soon most firms copied the lead of the Ashley-Henry Combine)

Horses were obtained from the Sioux Indians

Major Henry would seek beaver south of Blackfoot country  
while General Ashley remained at Fort Kiowa making business arrangements

#### MAJOR HENRY'S EXPEDITION

Andrew Henry set out on a quick march overland with thirteen men along the Cheyenne River  
toward Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone

Along the way, Hugh Glass proceeded apart from the column  
as his defiant independence usually dictated

Glass and Moses "Black" Harris entered a thicket and surprised a grizzly sow and her cubs  
Bear reared up on her hind feet to attack as Glass sent a rifle ball into her chest  
wound proved fatal, but not quickly enough

as Glass clambered up a tree, the bear grabbed him and threw him to the ground,  
two swipes of her razor-like claws lacerated him from head to foot  
Moses “Black” Harris, pursued by one of the yearling cubs, ran from the thicket  
he turned and fired a shot which brought down the smaller cub  
Major Henry’s men raced to the scene  
where they found Hugh Glass with the bear sow sprawled dead on top of him  
Henry and his men pulled off the carcass  
Glass lay on his back bleeding  
from gashes sliced into his scalp, face, chest, back, shoulder, arm, hand, and thigh  
with each gasp of air, blood spurted from a puncture wound in his throat  
he should have been dead  
as Daniel Potts remarked, Hugh Glass had been **“tore nearly to pieces”**<sup>13</sup>  
men bandaged his wounds but could do little else for him  
By the next morning Hugh Glass still was not dead  
Major Henry decided to wait no longer  
as Arikara Indians could be encountered at any moment  
crude litter was fashioned and the men resumed their march carrying Glass on their shoulders  
progress was agonizingly slow  
After several days Henry decided he could no longer risk the entire party  
for a man who was certain to die  
he offered an enticing sum of money to anyone who would volunteer to stay behind  
and care for Glass until he died  
John S. Fitzgerald and seventeen-year-old Jim Bridger stepped forward

#### MAJOR HENRY REACHED HENRY’S FORT ON THE YELLOWSTONE

Leaving Hugh Glass to his fate, Henry and his men return to the mouth of the Yellowstone River  
traveling overland and bypassing the Arikara Indians  
they arrived at Henry’s Fort on the Yellowstone  
there Henry discovered that Assiniboine or Blackfoot  
had stolen more than twenty of his horses  
soon afterwards he lost another seven  
Shortly after Henry reached his fort, John S. Fitzgerald and Jim Bridger came in  
they carried Hugh Glass’s rifle, knife and other possessions  
they reported him dead and buried -- in fact, he was not

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<sup>13</sup> Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 57.

## HUGH GLASS'S MIRACULOUS JOURNEY

After surviving his attack by a ferocious grizzly bear, Glass remained feverish and immobile  
where John S. Fitzgerald and Jim Bridger had left him alone to die

Glass was kept alive by his great will to live

and his equally great desire to seek revenge on those who had abandoned him

While he was in no condition to walk, he could crawl

he found berries and bashed a rattlesnake with a rock

this provided him his first nourishment since the grizzly attack

water was provided by the Grand River

sharp rocks enabled him to dig edible roots

good luck turned up a dead buffalo with marrow still rich in its bones

later he was able to seize a buffalo calf killed by wolves

In a six-week demonstration of incredible strength, fortitude, luck, and determination,

Hugh Glass crawled back to Fort Kiowa -- nearly two hundred miles<sup>14</sup>

there he recovered and vowed vengeance on John S. Fitzgerald and Jim Bridger

(he eventually forgave Jim Bridger who was only seventeen at the time)

## HENRY'S EXPEDITION SUFFERS ANOTHER ATTACK

Two more trappers were left dead at Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone -- August 20, 1823

while another war party staged a horse-raid on the post

(later the attack was accurately reported to be by Mandans and not Blackfoot as suspected)

Henry dispatched Moses "Black" Harris and John Fitzgerald to the lower Missouri River

to report on the difficulties at his post to Colonel Leavenworth

Fitzgerald traveled on to St. Louis where he joined the Army

## HENRY'S FORT ON THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER WAS ABANDONED

Major Henry and his company of trappers fled up the Yellowstone River to the Powder River

to exploit its southern tributaries in the less dangerous Crow country

there they met with Crow Indians and traded for horses

On the Powder River Henry and his men were barred from further travel by rapids

so, after acquiring forty-five horses from the Crow Indians, they took to the land

for the return trip to Henry's Fort at the mouth of the Yellowstone River

Henry dispatched a party under John H. Weber to trap up the Powder River

## JOHN H. WEBER TRAPPED THE UPPER MISSOURI RIVER REGION

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<sup>14</sup> Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 58.

John H. Weber and his party trapped from the mouth of the Powder River  
over the Bighorn Mountains and up the Wind River (Wyoming)  
before joining the growing assembly of trappers enjoying the hospitality of the Crows

#### HENRY'S FORT ON THE BIGHORN RIVER

With the balance of the company,  
Major Henry, on horseback, followed the Yellowstone River  
At the mouth of the Bighorn River, where it empties into the Yellowstone River,  
he began building a post (his third establishment) -- Henry's Fort on the Bighorn River  
near Manuel Lisa's establishment (known as Fort Raymond or Fort Manuel [1807-1808])  
there Major William Henry and his trappers spent the winter

#### HUGH GLASS'S RETURN FROM THE DEAD

After recovering and gathering his strength at Fort Kiowa  
Glass set out to track down those who had deserted him in his time of desperation  
and inflict revenge  
As Major Andrew Henry's newest fort took shape at the mouth of the Bighorn River  
Hugh Glass arrived  
As luck would have it, John S. Fitzgerald had left Henry's Fort on the Bighorn River  
to go down the Missouri River  
in fact, as Glass ascended the Missouri, he had passed Fitzgerald going the other direction  
However, Jim Bridger was there, and Glass confronted him  
soon Glass forgave Bridger due to youth and inexperience  
(the older, more experienced John S. Fitzgerald would not be so lucky)

#### GENERAL WILLIAM H. ASHLEY REMAINED AT FORT KIOWA WITH HIS MEN

Remnants of the Ashley-Henry Combine, who still had the nerve,  
resumed the trapping enterprise  
setting out from the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company's Ft. Kiowa  
(South Dakota on the Missouri River near the mouth of the Cheyenne River)  
One party of about a dozen, including Hugh Glass, headed toward the mouth of the Yellowstone  
they lost two men in a skirmish with Arikaras  
Jedediah Smith captained another group that set out along the Cheyenne River -- September 28, 1823  
included Thomas Fitzpatrick, William L. Sublette, James Clyman, and Thomas Eddie  
and the notorious Edward Rose who enjoyed great stature among the Crow Indians

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH'S EXPEDITION



After following the Cheyenne River, Smith's sixteen men were hungry, thirsty and exhausted

Smith sent Edward Rose ahead to get supplies

at the Crow Village (near Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone)

three men and five horses were left at the village as the main force pushed on

Trapping party entered the Powder River basin

Smith, hunting by himself, was leading exhausted horses single file through a brushy area

a large grizzly bear charged down the slope toward the center of the line

huge beast turned and raced to the head of the column just as Smith emerged from the thicket

instantly the bear pounced, seizing him and throwing him to the ground,

smashing several ribs, and clawing away his scalp

Help arrived -- but none of the trappers claimed any medical skills

Smith directed one or two men to go for water and said, as Jim Clyman wrote: **“If you have a needle and thread git it out and sew up my wounds around my head.’ It bled copiously, for the scalp had been torn nearly off and hung only by an ear. Clyman found a needle and thread, ‘got a pair of scissors and cut off his hair and then began my first Job of dressing wounds.’ He got the scalp sewed back on, but said there was nothing to be done for the ear. Smith insisted that Clyman try. He did. ‘I put my needle stitching it through and through and over and over laying the lacerated parts together as nice as I could with my hands.’ Within two weeks, Smith had recovered sufficiently to resume his captaincy, although he bore scars for the rest of his life.”**<sup>15</sup>

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ASSIGNMENTS

Plans were arranged for John Work to go to Spokane House -- 1823

Field Governor George Simpson even went so far as to suggest

that John Work would do well to marry a Cayuse woman as a good-will gesture

expenses to be paid by the company

Dangers of the adventures are indicated in a letter

John Work wrote to his friend, Edward Ermatinger: **“I am happy in being able to inform you that I enjoy good health, and am yet blessed with the possession of my scalp which is rather more than I had reason to expect.”**<sup>16</sup>

Alexander Ross resigned his position

as head at Hudson's Bay Company Fort Walla Walla -- Fall, 1823

was placed in charge of Hudson's Bay Company Second Snake River Expedition

to take place the next year as a new version of Donald McKenzie's operation

(first expedition had been led by Finan McDonald)

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<sup>15</sup> Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 56.

<sup>16</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 71.

## EDWARD ROSE HAS SOME SUCCESS

After visiting a Crow Village to acquire supplies, Rose reappeared on the Powder River with fifteen or sixteen Crow Indians and fresh horses  
With Smith and his men following, they crossed the Tongue River -- mid-November 1823 and ventured south along the Big Horn River  
after several days march up the Wind River, they made camp  
here they stayed living on buffalo and sheep  
Jedediah Smith and his party rested two months with the Crows  
from whom they learned about South Pass

## JEDIDIAH SMITH'S WINTER CAMP IN THE WIND RIVER VALLEY

Winter was spent with his party of sixteen trappers in a friendly Crow native village  
Smith learned from the Crows that less than fifty miles west of the village creeks was a stream which fed the Snake River and ultimately the Columbia River  
while this was of great interest to Smith who wanted to hunt the Columbia region of even greater interest, at that moment, was news of an even richer beaver ground on a south-running river (the Green River)  
Life in the village was difficult for Jedediah Smith and his companions  
as the untrustworthy Edward Rose was the only white who could communicate with the Crows  
his translations were not reliable  
he often bolstered his position with the natives at the expense of his associates

## MONROE DOCTRINE CHANGES AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Speech addressed to Congress delivered by President James Monroe -- December 2, 1823  
outlined new American foreign policy regarding Europe  
ended President Washington's former neutrality policy  
After Napoleonic Wars, European leaders demanded return of all seized property  
United States feared Spain might try to regain her lost colonies and territories in Western Hemisphere  
U.S. announced it would protect Latin America Republics  
published to the world that the U.S. was independent of European politics  
This was a politically intriguing position as U.S. had almost no army or navy at the time  
President Monroe knew Great Britain  
was interested in trading with newly independent countries  
assumed they would support our policy  
Spain made no effort to reconquer her former possessions

because of fear of the British navy  
Later, American control was extended to areas which included the North West coast

#### GENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY AT FORT KIOWA

William H. Ashley decided to return to St. Louis to seek additional financing  
to launch another party directly west from Fort Kiowa  
to eventually link up with Henry's men in Crow country beyond the Bighorn Mountains  
Ashley and his men stopped at Fort Atkinson -- December 18, 1823  
he learned of Moses Harris' report of the (August) attack  
on Henry's Fort on the Yellowstone  
Ashley and his men continued on to St. Louis

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S TRAPPING BRIGADES

Furs were trapped by Hudson's Bay Company employees traveling in brigades  
or traded by Indians at each post  
foremost among furs procured in the interior were beaver skins  
but many others such as mink, sharp-toothed otter, fox, lynx, and raccoon  
were found in abundance  
Some Hudson's Bay Company employees were called servants  
they had signed a contract for a specific term and were paid a salary  
if they left before the end of the term, especially if they left before paying their expenses,  
they were called deserters  
Other employees were known as Freemen  
they worked for themselves but traveled with the Hudson's Bay Company brigades  
and sold their pelts to the company exclusively at company prices  
Both Servants and Freemen were expected to provide their own supplies through forage  
or by buying them from the company with an advance on their future earnings  
trappers wives and children accompanied them  
Trapping Brigades were led by the Chief Trader and a clerk or two  
they departed from a Hudson's Bay Company post (in the late Fall)  
when the coats of the beaver were at their prime  
they moved from area to area  
picking up and moving on as the beaver supply in a location became exhausted  
when the horses were fully loaded, the men cached the furs in the remote location  
In the (early summer) the catch was delivered to an outlying trading post  
trapping brigades were paid off, furs were checked and repacked, and reports prepared  
Bundled furs were transported to the company headquarters -- Fort George

by regularly scheduled canoe, boat, and horse brigades

### SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE CHANGES LEADERS

Hudson's Bay Company trader Finan McDonald was appointed Snake River Brigade leader after the death of Michael Bourdon at the hands of Piegan Blackfoot [spring 1823] he was not willing, after his bloody fight, to press his luck any longer

Chief Trader Alexander Ross

after resigning his position as head of Hudson's Bay Company Fort Walla Walla had the misfortune to take the position as Chief Trader of the Snake River Brigade composed of forty Hudson's Bay men and thirty-two horses

Alexander Ross then led this Snake River Brigade from Spokane House

into Snake River Country where they followed the usual British route

leaving the Snake River Plain across Lemhi Pass to the Beaverhead River

and thus into United States territory

then back over the Continental Divide to the head of the Bitterroot River

down that river to Clark's Fork of the Columbia River,

then down Clark's Fork to Flathead House (Eddy, Montana) -- [summer 1824]

### OREGON BOUNDARY QUESTION

United States Government sought new negotiations with Great Britain on the Oregon boundary question

British had carefully avoided the question [since 1818]

probably because their fur traders had complete control of Columbia Department to surface the issue was to invite American dialogue on an equal footing

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams -- 1824

resumed boundary negotiations with Great Britain through U.S. Ambassador Richard Rush

Adams' in his instructions to Richard Rush described America's claims:

- Gray's discovery and naming of the Columbia River,
- Lewis and Clark explorations,
- Astoria settlement, and restoration of Astoria [in 1818],
- acquisition of Spanish title of the Pacific Northwest

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams

believed the source of the Columbia River was as far North as 51°

he ordered Ambassador Rush to claim that parallel as the boundary as a compromise, Adams was willing to accept 49° North

already adopted as the international boundary from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains

## GEORGE CANNING'S DOCTRINE REGARDING OREGON BOUNDARY QUESTION

British Foreign Secretary George Canning

disliked American Secretary of State John Quincy Adams personally

Canning would not accept 49° North from the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean as the boundary

he argued British Lieutenant Commander William R. Broughton

had discovered and took possession of the Columbia River

Captain Robert Gray's claim did not count

as he did not officially represent the American government

This round of negotiations came to nothing

## ALEXANDER ROSS LEADS HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE

Ross recruited fifteen more men in Flathead Country

total Expedition consisted of a diverse crew eighty adults and sixty-four children

two Americans

seventeen French-Canadians -- five Canadians over 60 years old and two were about 70

five half-breeds

thirty-one Indians of various tribes -- mainly Iroquois

twenty-five of the men were married

thus twenty-five wives and sixty-four children had to be taken along

cavalcade was more than a mile long

Control difficulties were rooted in the so-called "Freemen"

these were half-breed, Iroquois and French-Canadian laborers (but mostly Iroquois)

whose term of service to Hudson's Bay Company had expired

but who preferred to remain the wilderness with their native families

rather than return east

Iroquois Indians in the Snake River Brigade were utterly irresponsible

as long as Hudson's Bay Company was the Freeman's only source of livelihood

British company administrators could make the system work

trouble came with the approach of a new source of supplies -- competing Americans

## PART OF SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE COMES UNDER ATTACK

While trapping (in what is now southern Idaho), Hudson's Bay Company trader Alexander Ross

infuriated some Snake (Shoshone) Indians with his overbearing tactics

Seeking revenge, these Snakes attacked a detachment of Ross's Iroquois Freeman

led by "Old Pierre" Tevanitagon (remembered in the geographic name Pierre's Hole)

robbing them of everything but their season's catch of beaver pelts

which, as the Snake Indians knew, fell under the protection of Hudson's Bay Company

terrified Freeman managed to escape, but constantly feared for their safety  
Alexander Ross, leading what remained of his motley Snake River Country Expedition,  
constructed camp at the confluence of the Lemhi and Salmon rivers  
this served as the home base for trapping and trading expeditions into the wilderness

#### GENERAL ASHLEY ARRIVED AND TAKES CARE OF BUSINESS IN ST. LOUIS

Where he stayed to administer business details  
and attempt borrow money to purchase new supplies for yet another trapping expedition  
He was forced to remain in St. Louis to please his creditors

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH BREAKS HIS WIND RIVER CAMP

Deep snows kept Smith, Tom Fitzpatrick and William Sublette and their trapping party  
in the Crow Indian village rather than traveling north to trap along the Wind River  
Smith decided to escape his winter camp with the Crows at the first practical opportunity  
Smith and Thomas Fitzpatrick with their fifteen men took a southerly route  
along the Popo Agie River to the Sweetwater  
toward the anticipated rich beaver area indicated by the Crows -- (the Green River)  
They left the Sweetwater again heading southwest -- February

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS MEN REACH SOUTH PASS

Smith and his men rediscovered South Pass, which had been described to Smith by Crow Indians,  
as they continued through the Rocky Mountains and across the Continental Divide  
(this would later become a popular trade and immigrant route)  
(Wind River Range of the Rockies previously had been crossed at a low point  
[perhaps at his exact location] by Robert Stuart and his party of Astorians  
en route Eastward from Astoria to St. Louis -- [1812])  
(or, perhaps, Smith, Thomas Fitzpatrick and their party were the first to cross here)  
Smith and his sixteen trappers pushed on to the Big Sandy River area and again turned due south

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH LAYS OUT PLANS FOR TRAPPING THE GREEN RIVER REGION

When they arrived on the Green River, the Green River Valley had been penetrated  
by Ashley-Henry Combine Mountain Men  
Smith divided his trappers into parties  
set them working the main stream and its tributaries  
furs they gathered were plentiful and of good quality  
Jedediah Smith set off with seven men -- February 20, 1824  
to hunt further south in the Black Fork region

## JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS MEN REGROUPED ON THE GREEN RIVER

Smith divided ten of his trappers into parties  
all agreed to meet again on the Sweetwater River [June 10]  
most of the men, including Tom Fitzpatrick and Jim Clyman, remained on the Green River  
they set to work on the main stream and the tributaries of the Green River  
Jedediah Smith and the remaining three men set off to the West  
they remained in the mountains to hunt (over the next winter) in the Bear River region

## RUSSIAN CZAR

Issued a ukase (proclamation) that all lands north of 51° North belonged to Russia  
he forbade foreigners to come within one hundred Italian miles of her coast  
This demand led to further diplomatic talks with the United States

## RUSSIAN-AMERICAN CONVENTION

Russia's claim of all lands north of 51° North  
was based on the discoveries of Vitus Bering and Alexander Chirikov  
and on the occupation of Alaska by Russian fur traders  
also on the [1799] Czarist grant to the Russian American Fur Company  
America's Monroe Doctrine raised the threat of America using British military power  
which forced Russia to back down  
Russian-American Convention was signed -- April 17, 1824  
Russian claim was restricted to (Alaska)  
set the Russian southern boundary at 54°-40' North  
and the eastern border at 141° longitude  
Russia agreed to not push their activities in trade and settlement below 54°-40'  
and America would not operate North of this line  
This left only the U.S. and Great Britain with competing claims to the disputed area of Oregon

## ORGANIZATION OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Chief officers of the corporation all were located in London  
seven member of the Board of Directors was stationed there  
as was the Governor of Hudson's Bay Company who was the corporate head  
as the eighth Board of Directors member he was directly responsible  
to the other seven Board of Directors members  
also the Deputy Governor who assisted the Governor  
as the ninth board member he was directly responsible to the Governor

and other seven members of the Board of Directors  
all nine of these officers were elected by the stockholders at an annual meeting  
Much of Hudson's Bay Company territory in North America was known as Rupert's Land  
vast Hudson Bay drainage basin stretching from Hudson Bay to the Rocky Mountains  
named in remembrance of Prince Rupert of the Rhine, a nephew of King Charles I  
and first Governor of Hudson's Bay Company  
included all of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, northern Alberta, eastern Nunavut Territory,  
northern parts of Ontario and Quebec, parts of Minnesota and North Dakota  
also included in Hudson's Bay Company domain was the Columbia Department  
land West of the Rocky Mountains

#### FIELD GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON DENIED A LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Field Governor Simpson felt confident that conditions were stable in his Northern Department  
still in Canada, he requested the Hudson's Bay Company Council in London  
grant him a leave of absence to get married -- Spring of 1824

his request was peremptorily denied

rather Field Governor Simpson was ordered to the Columbia Department  
to initiate, with appropriate financial concern, the company's new policies  
American incursions into the Columbia Department were of paramount concern  
to the Hudson's Bay Company board of directors

Hudson's Bay Company's new direction required Field Governor Simpson to:

- deter the advance of American land trappers  
by hunting bare approaches to the Columbia River thus removing the enemy's incentive  
they urged the Snake River trade be renewed with vigor to shut out American access
- drive away Yankee sea peddlers by building up the British maritime trade,  
long neglected by the old North West Company
- replace Fort George by locating a temporary post  
on the north bank of the Columbia River and by building a permanent central depot  
somewhere near the mouth of the Fraser, safely beyond the forty-ninth parallel

#### FIELD GOVERNOR SIMPSON DEMANDS CHANGES IN COMPANY OPERATIONS

Simpson believed the country South of 49° might eventually go to the Americans

Field Governor Simpson wanted permanent British occupation

of the relatively unexploited fur territory of the Columbia Department and coastal region  
Nineteen North West Company trading posts in the West had been added  
to Hudson's Bay Company's seventy-six Eastern posts

Field Governor Simpson reorganized the continent-spanning network of forts



to make it more efficient and profitable  
many northern and western Canadian posts were closed and employees laid off  
Simpson developed a policy of “trapping out” the Snake River area  
to remove the principal attraction to the Americans

Snake River would become a barrier rather than an inducement to trappers  
George Simpson supported the idea of a new interior supply line using the Fraser River  
Field Governor also supported the construction of a new marine depot  
to be established somewhere in the Southern Fraser River Valley  
Simpson soon expanded the company trade system dramatically  
he built forts and trading posts rather than using roving bands of trappers  
he demanded conservation rather than extermination of the beaver  
with the exception of the Snake River region

#### WESTERNERS WERE OUTRAGED

By the actions of the Arikara and Blackfoot Indians  
No trading houses survived above forts Kiowa and Recovery  
northern limit of dependable security resided at Fort Atkinson (Council Bluffs)  
Indian Superintendent William Clark urged Secretary of War John C. Calhoun  
to dispatch a military force upriver -- Spring 1824  
However, confusion between businesses of trapping and trading muddied the issue:

- if the land belonged to the natives, trading seemed appropriate but trapping invasive;
- if the land did not belong to the Indians, trapping out the resource was acceptable;
- if the public concern was to protect property and lives

Indians had to be punished for their hostile treatment of trappers and traders

#### CONGRESS DISCUSSES EVENTS IN THE WEST

Businessman John Jacob Astor received the support  
of Missouri’s United States Senator Thomas Hart Benton  
Senator Thomas Hart Benton sponsored a bill  
to permanently station a large military force on the upper Missouri River  
for the protection of the fur trade  
other senators worried about illegal fur hunting on Indians lands  
and demanded to protect the Indians and their land from incursion by whites  
Compromise was enacted by Congress -- May 1824  
treaty commissioners, backed by a military escort, would ascend the Missouri River  
and make peace with all of the tribes

## ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY CONDUCTS TRAPPING OPERATIONS

Major Andrew Henry had left his post at the mouth of the Yellowstone River  
moved to the mouth of the Bighorn River-- Spring 1824  
where he conducted a successful winter and spring hunt  
utilizing his new post -- Henry's Fort on the Bighorn River

## MAJOR ANDREW HENRY RETURNED TO ST. LOUIS

Major Henry sent John H. Weber to lead a party of trappers on a hunt up the Powder River  
and across to the Bighorn River

Andrew Henry closed down Henry's Fort on the Bighorn River where he had spent the winter -- 1824  
set out for St. Louis with the season's catch

## REVIVAL MOVEMENT IN AMERICAN RELIGION

One of the great moral crusades of United States history was begun in western New York  
under the leadership of Presbyterian minister Charles Grandison Finney  
he stressed the Christian's obligation to convert the unknowing  
to be truly saved, one must bring the Word of God to the unconverted  
this religious revival covered a twelve-year period -- 1824-[1836]

This effort required that American social environment be Christianized  
so that the unchurched would have the chance to hear the message of hope  
Reformers sought several social reforms:

- to abolish slavery,
- to control the sale and use of liquor,
- to foster education -- especially regarding teaching the deaf, mute, and blind
- to remake prisons and emphasize rehabilitation rather than retribution
- to protect the observance of the Sabbath

(Later coming of the missionaries to Oregon Country was stimulated by this moral force)

## GENERAL HENRY ATKINSON WRITES TREATIES

General Atkinson traveled with a military party -- 1824  
to make official treaties with the tribes of the Missouri River region  
Edward Rose, hired as a guide and interpreter to the Yellowstone region,  
left the company in Montana to live among the Crow Indians

## NORTHWEST COMPANY FRENCH FUR TRADERS ESTABLISHMENT A SETTLEMENT<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Stephen B. Emerson, Essay 8615 HistoryLink.org, May 28, 2008.

Frenchtown was established in the Walla Walla River Valley -- about 1824  
this village was associated with Northwest Company's Fort Walla Walla  
(and later with the Hudson's Bay Company after the two companies merged)  
Residents of Frenchtown, although they married Native American women,  
usually maintained their French-Canadian character  
land division was made in long strips rather than squares like the British and Americans  
these strips usually radiated from a river which formed the central transportation corridor  
and was the lifeblood of the settlement  
French-Canadian log cabin construction utilized squared timbers  
that were either notched at the corners  
or joined to an upright corner timber by a mortise (slot in the log) and tenon joint  
Roman Catholic religion was, perhaps, the most enduring reminder of French Canadian cultural  
original Frenchtown Catholic mission was St. Rose of Lima  
(Today Frenchtown is generally regarded as the area along the north side of the Walla Walla River  
between the communities of Lowden, on the west, and Whitman on the east)

#### BRITISH POLICY TOWARD COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT (PACIFIC NORTHWEST)

American Secretary of State John Quincy Adams announced the American position on the boundary  
to George Canning, British Foreign Secretary  
international boundary would extend along 49° North from the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean  
this position was adamantly rejected by the British diplomat

In a dispatch to the British commissioners -- May 31, 1824

British Foreign Secretary wrote a new British Oregon policy

based on fact Great Britain, at risk of war, had compelled Spain to recognize British claims  
during the Nootka Sound Controversy

- British would share equal rights with all other powers  
to make use of entire territory from 42° to 54°-40'
- British were willing to agree to a division of the territory  
but demanded joint occupancy and reciprocal convenience
- British rejected the idea they should give up any portion of the coast line  
containing Nootka Sound
- British were determined to not give free use of the Columbia River to America

**“...the only navigable communication, hitherto ascertained to exist, with the interior of that part of the country. The entrance to this river was surveyed by British officers, at the expense of the British government, many years before any agents of the American government had visited its shores, [Canning did not recognize Captain Gray as an agent of the American government] and the**

**trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company are now and have for some time been stationed on its waters."**

#### AMERICAN RESPONSE TO BRITISH POLICY

Americans were claiming the Pacific Northwest  
invoking the claims of French title, Spanish title, and an American title  
using the deficiencies of each one of these titles to enhance the arguments of the other titles  
Negotiations of 1824 once again failed

#### ASHLEY-HENRY MEN MEET ON THE SWEETWATER RIVER

Tom Fitzpatrick and his party had great success trapping the Green River region  
the did not arrive at the rendezvous site until -- June 15, 1824  
where they saw no sign of Jedediah Smith  
After a few days wait, and since the Sweetwater at this point was too shallow to navigate,  
Jim Clyman traveled downriver alone  
he planned to wait for the others at a place where the river was deep enough for a canoe  
A few days after Clyman's departure, Smith and his party rendezvoused with Fitzpatrick  
Thomas Fitzpatrick and two men were assigned by Jedediah Smith to carry the winter's catch  
to General William Henry Ashley in St. Louis  
Jedediah Smith remained in the mountains to organize the coming season's hunt

#### THOMAS FITZPATRICK TRAVELS DOWN THE SWEETWATER RIVER

Enough of the snow pack had melted in the meantime to allow for water travel  
Fitzpatrick's trappers constructed a "bull boat" -- buffalo hides stretched over a wicker frame  
to float down the Sweetwater River  
winter's catch of pelts was transferred to the bull boat in an effort to bring it out to St. Louis  
Fitzpatrick and two companions set off  
although they did not know if the Sweetwater would flow into the Platte or the Arkansas river  
Their anticipated meeting with Jim Clymer did not take place  
instead of finding a place to launch a canoe, Clymer was surrounded and hunted by Indians  
after twelve days of hiding, he set out alone for civilization  
Fitzpatrick passed Clyman's hiding place and guessed he had been killed by hostiles

#### TOM FITZPATRICK REACHED THE PLATTE RIVER

He and his two companions ran into difficulty  
where the river became rocky and the canoe was swamped  
Ashley-Henry Combine's season catch was strewn down the river

Three trappers managed retrieve and dry most of the beaver pelts  
but two rifles and all of their ammunition had been lost  
so they cached their pelts at Independence Rock  
and set out overland on foot for the Missouri River

#### ASHLEY-HENRY MEN ARRIVE AT FOR ATKINSON

Clyman arrived at the post after making his treacherous way down the Platte River  
he was so overjoyed at seeing the flag flying in the distance that he fainted  
Fitzpatrick and his two companions, after their own severe hardships,  
also arrived at Fort Atkinson ten days after Clyman  
At the post Fitzpatrick was staked with mules and equipment  
by the Joshua Pilcher's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company  
Fitzpatrick returned to the Platte River to retrieve the cache  
however, before he set out he wrote a letter to Major Andrew Henry  
telling of Jedediah Smith's rediscovery of South Pass and the successful hunt there  
(Despite their horrible experiences, both Clyman and Fitzpatrick rejoined Ashley's caravan  
for another hunt into the west -- [Autumn 1824])

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY NEGOTIATES WITH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Hudson's Bay Company entered into an agreement  
to sell 20,000 beaver and 7,000 otter skins to the East India Company -- 1824  
for access to East India ships to transport goods to North America and furs to London  
Deal would relieve pressure on the London fur market  
and also lessen Hudson's Bay Company's dependency  
on the American J. and T.H. Perkins Company  
which had provided transportation for the North West Company  
Hudson's Bay Company purchased the 161-ton brig *William* and *Ann* -- 1824  
and sent the supply ship from London on a yearlong voyage to the Pacific coast waters

#### MAJOR ANDREW HENRY RETURNS TO ST. LOUIS

Ashley-Henry Combine generated a great profit with the trade conducted on the Bighorn River  
huge gains had been produced with no serious losses of men or money  
furs were plentiful and good  
experienced trappers and traders had joined his forces  
several new trapping fields had been opened  
Major Henry made two significant announcements:  
•his own retirement from the fur business

which left General Ashley without his field captain

- Jedediah Smith's rediscovery of South Pass

General Ashley was now in a position to make up for his previous [1822-1823] losses

Ashley was excited about the news of Jedediah Smith crossing South Pass

as it meant they no longer had to rely on the Missouri River route through the mountains  
to reach the trappers in the field

#### GENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY DECIDES TO SUPPLY INDEPENDENT TRAPPERS IN THE FIELD

With the retirement of his field captain, Major Andrew Henry, Ashley became the sole company head

Ashley-Henry Combine cleared its self of debt and reorganized -- July 1824

Ashley would haul trade goods to the trappers and the Indians at an advertised wilderness location  
to corner all the furs and trade all his supplies at bloated prices

before his competitors ever got a crack at any of them

his idea altered the fur trade dramatically -- 1824

General Ashley had enough money left to organize and lead an expedition to carry supplies by mule  
into the Rocky Mountains to trade with itinerant trappers for their furs

because of the battle with the Arikara Indians, Ashley decided to go overland  
through the newly opened South Pass

#### GENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY ABANDONES THE POST AND FORT SYSTEM

In response to it no longer being legal to sell alcohol to the Indians

Ashley's plan made Indian trappers and trading posts unnecessary

His employees would no longer build forts or trading houses which meant trappers had no home base  
they lived independently, fended for themselves and trapped independently

they caught their own food, found their own shelter

and fought off wild animals and hostile Indians themselves

#### GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY SUPPLIES INDEPENDENT TRAPPERS

General Ashley tramped with 200 men and a pack train of trade goods to a meeting of trappers  
held at Major Andrew Henry's Fort at the mouth of the Yellowstone River -- 1824

Ashley-Henry Combine festivities opened (and closed) -- July 1, 1824

except for the camaraderie of scattered friends reunited, it was a day strictly of business

General William Ashley bought the trappers' beaver and other pelts

and sold them the good he had carried from St. Louis

for most of the skeins he paid three dollars a pound,

although some drew only two and others as much as five dollars

Assembled at the rendezvous were assembled there were 150 whites:

- Ashley-Henry Combine Mountain Men  
American trappers working the Rocky Mountain region;
- independent trappers from St. Louis, Santa Fe and Taos, frontiersmen who had throttled the throats of savages educated gentlemen, some traveling with servants, out to see the West in person crude frontiersmen who had chocked the life out of savages with their bare hands;
- Hudson's Bay Company deserters;
- adding to the spectacle were 800 Indian men, women, and naked children playing at perpetual games of war;
- skulking dogs, half-wild horses and mules tethered to stakes completed the spectacle

Participants drank, gambled and raced their horses

slept little, ate too much, talked long, loud, and boastfully, fought, swaggered, lied, cheated the Indians, cheated their own people, cheated the companies, and cheated each other

By the next morning the first of the great annual mountain fairs was over when all the beads and baubles had been exchanged for hides and pelts each trapper went his own way to labor and fight for another year

Traders and trappers prided themselves

on spending a year's earnings in one evening's play

At the close of business, General Ashley promised to meet them again the following summer near the Green River

General William Ashley had established the Rendezvous System

#### LIFE OF A MOUNTAIN MAN -- AMERICAN TRAPPER WORKING THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

They held such deep mutual faith in one another's integrity

they were known to rush into battle with the Indians shouting their wills to each other knowing full well the survivor would execute it faithfully

They had to survive primitive and dangerous mountain life and the equally dangerous annual meeting carnival-like rendezvous where trappers and fur buyers sell furs and buy supplies

Indians and their wives and Mountain Men with their Indian wives converged swapped "hairy banknotes" for raw alcohol from Cincinnati, coffee, sugar, tobacco, arms and munitions, and blankets

Wages ranged from \$120 to \$600 a year depending on competition for their services when accounts settled, the trapper was usually left in debt

#### NEW ROYAL LICENSE ISSUED TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

British government, responding to pressure from pious subjects at home, ordered the Hudson's Bay Company to begin missionary and education efforts

among the natives -- 1824  
required that **“religious instruction and moral improvement of the Indians”** be achieved  
Field Governor George Simpson opposed bringing missionaries to the West  
he wrote to his London Board of Director patron Andrew Colville  
that bringing missionaries to the Indians was detrimental to the company  
in an effort to gain support for his position  
in his reply, Sir Andrew noted the recent struggle with the North West Company  
had damaged the Hudson’s Bay Company reputation in missionary-conscious England  
therefore, wrote Colville, **“It is incumbent on the Company...to allow missions to be established at proper places for the conversion of the Indians, indeed, it [would] be extremely impolitic...to show any unwillingness to assist in such an object.”**<sup>18</sup>  
Field Governor Simpson ordered all posts to hold religious services on Sundays  
most of the traders paid no attention

#### FIELD GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON SEEKS A SECOND-IN-COMMAND

Simpson had a difficult task finding men capable of keeping the Columbia Department profitable  
he dedicated himself to the search for a resident manager  
List of resident managers provided little to choose from with the exception of one name  
which returned to him over and over and stood above all others  
this was one man, whom Governor Simpson did not like and would eventually learn to hate:  
was former Nor’Wester, thirty-nine year old towering, white-haired Dr. John McLoughlin  
Simpson chose Dr. John McLoughlin to serve in the capacity of Chief Factor of Columbia Department

#### GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON SENT DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN WEST

Governor Simpson at Hudson’s Bay Company’s great depot -- York Factory on Hudson Bay  
issued orders that Dr. John McLoughlin journey to the West  
to the mouth of the Columbia River  
Extreme haste had to be made to cross the Rockies before heavy snows arrived

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT CHIEF FACTOR

Born [October 19, 1784] on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River  
he was a mixture of Irish, Scotch, and French-Canadian blood  
little is known of his childhood except he was baptized a Catholic, grew up on a farm,  
and received training in medicine at Quebec  
at the age of nineteen he was licensed to practice medicine and surgery

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<sup>18</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 154.



His abilities were recognized by his superiors

he was made a partner in the North West Company [1814]

placed in charge of one of four departments or fur trading regions

after eighteen years in the fur trade

he was given the title Chief Trader at Fort William on Lake Superior

North West Company's principal post

When the merger of North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company was conducted -- [in 1821]

he was sent to London to represent the North West Company

in negotiations with Hudson's Bay Company

Officers of Hudson's Bay Company also quickly recognized his merits

his two-year success in undercutting American competition in the field in Canada

may have been one reason why Field Governor George Simpson suddenly selected him

to head the vast Columbia Department

Field Governor George Simpson named him Chief Factor of the Far West

McLoughlin was thirty-nine years old when he took charge of business in the region

he was sent to Pacific Northwest to take charge of business in New Caledonia

but he always considered his assignment as Chief Factor something of a banishment

pay back because he had dared demand better terms for his old employers

when it was bargaining with Hudson's Bay Company [in 1821]

#### CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN HAD A STRIKING APPEARANCE

Six feet four inches tall, raw boned, well-proportioned and physically strong

Dr. McLoughlin had a powerful physique and commanding presence

He had a noble and expressive face

crowned by a great cascade of flowing prematurely white hair

which hung down over his massive shoulders

his piercing eyes could be soft and kind, or penetrate with anger

He was able to demand attention and respect especially from men -- whether Indians or trappers --

whose lives he controlled by no laws except the authority of his strong personality

Mature in character, he fully possessed physical, mental, and moral qualities

which distinguished him as an extraordinary man

he was firm yet kindly; prompt and businesslike but also sympathetic and helpful

he was able to govern wisely, justly, and kindly

Man of unchanging honor and loyalty to his company and his country

his every action was intended to be profitable for Hudson's Bay Company

and beneficial to Great Britain

He was an autocratic leader who possessed both violent prejudices and a flaring temper  
yet he also possessed an extraordinary generosity that he bestowed frequently  
sometimes he disagreed violently with his superior -- Field Governor George Simpson  
neither time nor distance diminished his and Simpson's mutual ill will  
He possessed an impulsive generosity  
that lifted him far above the level of just another fur trader  
Indians referred to him as "White-headed Eagle"  
he would dominate the Columbia Department for the next two decades)  
(Americans still honor him with the title "Father of Oregon")

#### IMPLEMENTING FIELD GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON'S ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN

Working out the details of the administrative plan for Columbia Department  
was left to the capable Chief Factor, Dr. John McLoughlin  
Dr. McLoughlin considered his assignment as Chief Factor as something of a banishment  
imposed, he believed, because he had dared demand better terms for his old company  
when it was merging with Hudson's Bay Company -- in [1821]  
Working under the Chief Factor were many shrewd and brilliant traders  
Peter Skene Ogden, John Warren Dease, Francis and Edward Ermatinger  
James McMillan, James Douglas, Archibald McDonald, Alexander Roderick McLeod,  
and John Work

#### CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN WEST GOES WEST

Dr. John McLoughlin set out to expand the fur trade in the Columbia Department  
through the use of traveling brigades  
Dr. McLoughlin left Hudson's Bay Company's great depot on the west coast of Hudson Bay  
departed York Factory bound for his distant post on the Columbia River  
to assume his position of Chief Factor of the Columbia Department  
three months short of his fortieth birthday -- July 27, 1824  
this was a twenty-one day head start on Field Governor George Simpson  
who was also heading for the Columbia Department  
Lulled by the three week lead, although he knew the pudgy governor's reputation for speed,  
McLoughlin fondly supposed he could cross the Rockies  
and forge far down the Western river before his superior overhauled him  
it was an embarrassing mistake, and one McLoughlin probably never forgot

#### FIELD GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON GOES TO NEW CALEDONIA DEPARTMENT

Governor Simpson hoped a ship would arrive from London bearing final instructions

but time ran out and the expedition was forced to journey west overland without orders  
He set out overland for the West from York Factory on Hudson Bay -- August 16, 1824  
on a personal inspection tour

three weeks after Dr. McLoughlin had been dispatched to the west  
traveling by canoe, Simpson was accompanied by Chief Trader James McMillan  
eight voyageurs, an Indian guide, musicians, and a personal servant  
On his journey through the Northern Department of Rupert's Land he was demoniac  
he displayed boundless energy in visiting posts along the route  
he drove his voyageurs mercilessly

Field Governor George Simpson's extreme haste was justified as the Rockies had to be crossed  
before the heavy snows arrived

### SPEED WAS NOT SACRIFICED FOR CEREMONY

Field Governor George Simpson was majestically regal on this and all of his journeys  
he was eagerly anticipated by the natives who enjoyed the spectacle of a visit by the great chief  
he was feared by his employees who knew the unlimited power he held over their livelihoods

Simpson always brought buglers in his company,  
followed by the indispensable personal Highland piper, Colin Grase,  
who played on his bagpipes to the mile-long procession

Simpson forced his voyageurs to the limits of speed  
at two o'clock every morning camp was struck

a *voyageur* carried the field governor (and, indeed, any traveling person of importance)  
piggy-back to his canoe, deposited him gently in the middle,  
and handed him a lighted pipe  
sternman, bowman and middlemen took their places in the canoe  
red-painted paddles splashed,

speed was maintained until finally at eight o'clock there was a short halt for breakfast

before once again attacking the river or lake covering the distances as quickly as possible  
shortly after noon there came another pause

while the men gulped a few mouthfuls of pemmican,

Simpson's servant, meanwhile, provided him a cold cut and a glass of wine  
brigade was off again incessantly paddling until 8:00 p.m.

often covering a hundred watery miles in the eighteen-hour day  
under pressure the hours of voyage were extended

and Simpson's traveling was always under pressure

Nor was style sacrificed for speed

Field Governor (and all Chief Factors in permanent posts) dressed formally every day

one observer related, **“in a suit of black or dark blue, white shirt, collars to his ears, frock coat, velvet stock, and straps on the bottom of his trousers...black beaver hat worth forty shillings...and over his black frock...a long coat made of Royal Stuart tartan lined with scarlet.”**<sup>19</sup>

As the governor’s brigade approached an important post,  
a bagpiper taken along for just this purpose unlimbered his instruments  
bugles answered the piper’s call, *voyageurs* struck up a melodic chant,  
and antiphonal musket shots echoed between canoes and bastions  
after landing, Simpson was carried ashore  
then strode to the gates, preceded by his bagpiper  
Considering this demonstration, the natives knew a chief of great significance had arrived

#### GOVERNOR SIMPSON CATCHES UP WITH CHIEF FACTOR McLOUGHLIN

Dr. John McLoughlin contentedly believed he could cross the Rocky Mountains  
and travel far down the Columbia River before his superior could overtake him  
While still in camp at 7:00 A.M. on September 27, 1824  
long before he had reached even the Athabasca River east of the Rockies,  
Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin heard the triumphant sound of Simpson’s bagpiper

It was an embarrassing mistake  
sitting beside his breakfast fire McLoughlin’s mortification was complete  
when the Field Governor swept up

Field Governor Simpson noted all of this dryly in the official journal which he was keeping  
for the London directors

to his self-satisfied account Simpson then added his famous description  
of the Columbia Department new resident manager: **“...such a figure as I should not like to meet in a dark Night in one of the bye lanes in the neighborhood of London dressed in Clothes that had once been fashionable, but now covered with a thousand patches of different Colors, his beard would do honor to the chin of a Grizzly Bear...his own herculean dimensions forming a tout ensemble that would convey a good idea of the high way men of former Days.”**<sup>20</sup>

#### SIMPSON AND McLOUGHLIN TRAVEL TOGETHER

George Simpson made sure there were no more late starts for John McLoughlin  
For the next month the combined parties labored to drive twenty-one pack horses  
across Athabasca Pass -- October 1824  
they conquered marshlands and quagmires

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<sup>19</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 118.

<sup>20</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 57.

they hacked through brush to the Columbia River headwaters  
Field Governor George Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin  
arrived in the Columbia Department to inspect the remote region together  
Together they swept four hundred miles down the Columbia in rain, snow, and fog  
to the mouth of the Spokane River  
Meeting a supply brigade bound for Spokane House,  
they rode sixty miles eastward over rolling hills to inspect the post

#### FIELD GOVERNOR SIMPSON ARRIVES AT SPOKANE HOUSE

There Simpson's frugal sensitivities exploded with outrage  
Hudson's Bay Company traders had fallen out of the habit of living off the land  
because supplies for the Columbia Department were shipped around the Horn  
there was room in the ships' holds for what the governor called "European luxuries"  
in Simpson's opinion two canoe loads of supplies should have sufficed for Spokane House,  
he discovered that five or six canoes were annually delivered upriver from the ocean,  
**"loaded with Eatables, Drinkables, and other Domestic Comforts."**<sup>21</sup>  
there would be no more of that  
rivers teemed with fish; the soil would grow potatoes -- these were good enough for any man

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH ENTERS SNAKE RIVER COUNTRY

Twenty-five-year-old Jedediah Smith traveling with his seven American trappers  
found themselves in Snake River country  
they discovered and named Henry's Fork River  
an important branch of Columbia River  
Smith ran across a party of fourteen terrified Iroquois free trappers led by "Old Pierre" Tevanitagon  
in the employ of Hudson's Bay Company who had been harassed by Snake (Shoshone) Indians  
Hudson's Bay men anticipated the return of the Snake Indians at any moment  
Smith and his Americans looked to them like deliverance from their crisis  
Iroquois accompanied Smith's party which provided protection  
"Old Pierre" gladly gave Captain Smith 108 skins  
for needed supplies and for guarding them on their perilous journey  
back to Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Alexander Ross's camp

#### COMMERCE AND EMPIRE OF AMERICA AND GREAT BRITAIN COLLIDE

Jedediah Smith and his seven mountain men, swaggering confidently

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<sup>21</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

appeared in Alexander Ross's camp of eighty motley trappers and sixty-four Indian children  
at confluence of the Lemhi and Salmon rivers -- October 14, 1824

Smith was accompanied by "Old Pierre" Tevanitagon's much-relieved Iroquois freemen  
Smith insisted on accompanying Alexander Ross back to his base

Hudson's Bay Company Flathead House on the Clark's Fork of the Columbia River  
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Ross suspected Smith and his fellow travelers  
of using the opportunity to spy out the land

but because he had no way to relieve himself of these pesky Americans,

Ross let them tag along back to Flathead House on the Clark's Fort River  
although he had orders from London

to do everything he could to hold all Americans at bay

#### AMERICANS AND BRITISH TRAVEL TOGETHER

Alexander Ross's Snake River Brigade and Jedediah Smith's mountain men traveled together  
followed the usual British route between the Snake River Plain and Flathead House,  
Alexander Ross led his own and Jedediah Smith's parties across Lemhi Pass  
to the Beaverhead River and thus into territory claimed by the United States

#### GOVERNOR AND CHIEF FACTOR IN COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Additional stops farther down the Columbia River brought additional fits of temper  
at Fort Okanogan Simpson found traders who, it seemed to him,

spent undue time worrying about the faithfulness of their Indian wives

and were **"not satisfied unless they have a posse of Clerks Guides Interpreters and  
Supernumeraries at their disposal"**<sup>22</sup>

no one bothered to farm because, as the traders stated, farming was not part of the fur trade

Governor Simpson frostily noted, **"Every pursuit tending to lighten [sic] the Expence [sic]  
of the Trade is a branch thereof"**<sup>23</sup>

When George Simpson arrived at Fort Walla Walla with Chief Factor McLoughlin in tow

Field Governor discovered over the past three years the traders had purchased from the Indians  
several hundred horses to use for food

**"The river with a potatoe [sic] Garden will abundantly maintain the Post"**<sup>24</sup> he barked  
Field Governor and Chief Factor then pushed furiously onward

racing through the roaring gorges of the Cascades to a final disturbing surprise at Fort George

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<sup>22</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

<sup>23</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121..

<sup>24</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

## JEDIDIAH SMITH OBSERVES HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EXPLOITS

Smith traveled with Alexander Ross's Snake Country Brigade

Yankee trapper made many geographic observations:

- upper Green River lay in Oregon,
- Snake River Plain lay in Oregon,
- Flathead House lay on the Clark's Fork River in Oregon

Americans believe Alexander Ross and his Hudson's Bay Company trappers were trespassing on American soil

under the Convention of 1818 Great Britain and the United States jointly occupied Oregon but in reality, since John Jacob Astor's loss of Astoria [in 1814]

British had had Oregon all to themselves

only along the coast had Americans, sea captains out of Boston, competed for furs  
Snake River Country became the first disputed ground in the American advance to Oregon

## GENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY LED A CARAVAN INTO THE MOUNTAINS TO TRAP

General Ashley's trappers traveled up the Platte River from Fort Atkinson -- late October 1824

Camp was made where the Kansas River enters the Big Blue River

Ashley sent ahead Moses "Black" Harris and Jim Beckworth to acquire more horses

at a Pawnee Village on the Republican River

although they found no horses for sale, they did discover a route

that connected the Kansas and Platte rivers (later this would be part of the Oregon Trail)

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY LEADERS ARRIVED AT FORT GEORGE (ASTORIA)

Field Governor George Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

these two agents of change arrived at the Pacific Ocean

also traveling with the party was Chief Trader James McMillan

Despite side trips and inspection stops, the little dynamo had led his party over the vast distance between Hudson Bay and the Pacific

in eighty-four days -- twenty less than it had ever been done before they reached Fort George -- November 8, 1824

governor was enraged at Fort George to find the traders there

were "**amusing themselves Boat Sailing**"<sup>25</sup>

## GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON REFLECTED ON HIS JOURNEY

Wrote of his journey to the Columbia Department -- 1824

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<sup>25</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

**“In respect to the resources of the Country as to the means of living we know them to be abundant.... The soil is fertile, the Climate Salubrious, and the Rivers are periodically visited by immense shoals of Salmon Sturgeon and other Fish and Wood Animals are numerous.”<sup>26</sup>**

Hudson’s Bay Company Field Governor of the Northern Department and Columbia Department personally remained in Columbia Department during the winter of 1824-[1825] in all, he spent three years journeying about and investigating the land and people under his jurisdiction

#### VAST CHANGES WERE IMPLEMENTED BY FIELD GOVERNOR SIMPSON

Promptly Field Governor George Simpson ordered all posts to hold services on Sundays most of the traders paid no attention

Other changes to the Columbia Department trapping and its inhabitants were rapid and permanent by this time, Governor Simpson knew that advancing American trappers

had reached the upper Missouri River and probability would soon cross the Continental Divide Simpson was quick to revise the administrative operations of the Columbia Department :

- he eliminated excess personnel and wasteful practices;
- he mapped out important trapping expeditions;
- he proposed that agriculture, stock raising, and salmon fishing would supplement the fur trade

Field Governor Simpson ordered the abandonment of Fort George

he dispatched a party to the Fraser River under Former Fort George Chief Factor James McMillan to locate a new site for the company’s principal Western depot

it was a strange decision

although Simpson had never seen the northern river

and must have known of Simon Fraser’s ordeal in its canyons,

he nonetheless blandly described it to the London directors as **“formed by nature as the grand communication with all our Establishments on this side of the mountains”<sup>27</sup>**

Governor George Simpson recommended that Hudson’s Bay Company

go ahead with the establishment of a new trading post on the lower Fraser River

to be named in honor of Thomas Langley, a Company director

Meanwhile he relegated Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin,

who would ultimately be responsible for running the Fraser River post,

to locating a subsidiary fort somewhere along the north bank of the Columbia

#### NATIVE REACTION TO THE CHANGES

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<sup>26</sup> Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*,. P. 60.

<sup>27</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P 121.



Hudson's Bay Company's arrival in the Columbia Department resulted in a season of great gloom  
Indians feared the days of the French-Canadian trappers were gone  
they had always a favorite with the people

#### CHIEF TRADER JAMES McMILLAN LEADS AN EXPEDITION NORTH

Former Fort George Chief Factor James McMillan

led a Hudson's Bay Company initial exploratory party -- late fall, 1824

- he was to report on the possibility of trading with the natives;
- he was to reconnoiter the never exploited Lower Fraser River region  
tap the fur trading potential of Fraser Valley and eastern coast of Vancouver Island;
- he was to reconnoiter a route from the mouth of the Columbia River to the east;
- he also was to provide a second fort with good farmland

McMillan traveled with forty-two men including six Kanakas (Hawaiians)

interior route they took was a grueling course by canoe and portage

from the Columbia River, up the Cowlitz River, cross a short portage,  
then downstream to Puget Sound

thus they avoided winter conditions on the Pacific Ocean

They reached the site McMillan recommended for a new fort -- Fort Langley

by canoeing up the Nicomekl River

and portaging to a small river flowing into the Fraser River

They found the Fraser River was teeming with salmon and sturgeon

and was surrounded by vast virgin forests

(However, travel conditions were so difficult that the task of building the post  
would not be completed for three years)

#### LOCATON OF A NEW TEMPORARY POST ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Only a few days after the arrival at Fort George

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin and his predecessor Alexander Kennedy

undertook the job of finding a location for a small fort North of the Columbia River

Dr. McLoughlin found a beautiful meadow surrounded by huge evergreen trees

a hundred miles up the Columbia River from Fort George

and a half dozen miles above the confluence with the Willamette River

where it would be safe from the rivalry between United States and Great Britain

This chosen site offered significant advantages over the Astoria location:

- fertile soil and genial, humid climate;
- plenty of level, fertile terrain for trading posts, farms, and houses for employees;
- it was accessible for ships from England

which could ascend from the ocean to unload their merchandise  
and take on their cargoes of precious furs collected from outposts;  
•it provided a natural terminus for both ocean and inland voyages  
was the starting point for parties going up the Willamette Valley  
or overland to Puget Sound

Field Governor George Simpson approved of the location of the new post

#### WILLIAM CANNING (aka: WILLIAM CANNON) JOINS HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Former Astorian who had journeyed West as an Astorian with Wilson Price Hunt

next joined with North West Company when they took over fur trapping in the Pacific Northwest  
he served at Willamette Post -- [1814]

Now he became an employee of Hudson's Bay Company -- 1824-[1838]

#### DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE

American Albert Gallatin was sent to London to resume negotiations on the international boundary

British position was stronger than ever

George Canning served as head of the British Cabinet

Hudson's Bay Company had absorbed the North West Company

Governor George Simpson and Dr. John McLoughlin

were the actual rulers of the Columbia Department

Oregon must be divided between the British and the Americans

British proposed 49° North from Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River

then along the center of the Columbia River's course to its mouth

British were willing to concede giving the United States

ports on the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the upper Columbia River

This proposal became known as Canning's Doctrine -- 1824

Canning's proposal was rejected by the American's Albert Gallatin

Joint Occupation was extended

both sides reserved the right to withdraw from the compact on a year's notice

gave Americans time to occupy the region with settlers

and strengthen its claim

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ATTEMPTS TO STOP AMERICAN EXPANSION

British Company hoped to remove the incentive

for Americans to explore, exploit, and potentially claim the region

It was decided to trap out the entire watershed of the Snake River (Idaho and Montana)

as they were the last beavers then within legal reach of American trappers

to render it a “fur desert” without a single beaver remaining in it  
so that it would become unattractive to the American trappers and traders  
coming from St. Louis  
thus Americans would not be tempted to cross the Snake River region  
for the Columbia River and beyond  
Americans would remain confined in the Rocky Mountains on United States soil

#### SIMPSON REORGANIZED THE SNAKE RIVER COUNTRY EXPEDITION

Field Governor Simpson bestowed special attention on the Snake River Country Expedition  
begun by the Nor’Westers, as this annual hunt in the Snake drainage struck Simpson  
as being poorly conducted by Alexander Ross  
Simpson recognized that the only truly disputed part of Oregon  
lay between the forty-ninth parallel and the Columbia River,  
and this region he wished to protect against American intrusion  
Simpson hoped to remove as many incentives to American trappers as possible  
for Americans to explore, exploit, and potentially claim the region  
His best defense was a “beaver-free buffer zone” south and east of the Columbia River  
this made political sense -- by stripping the Snake country of beaver  
the incentive for Americans to venture west of the Continental Divide was gone  
it also made commercial sense -- profiting from every beaver that could be harvested  
as Simpson believed this region may surely fall to the Americans anyway  
Simpson was determined to enhance the defensive role of the Columbia region  
by reshaping the effort of the Snake River Country Expedition

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN RECEIVES A NEW ASSIGNMENT

Field Governor George Simpson named another of the giant figures of Western history  
barrel-chested, domineering, wild-humored Peter Skene Ogden to replace Alexander Ross  
Ogden was notoriously capable of physically handling any would-be troublemaker  
in the entire Hudson’s Bay Company  
Simpson had extracted a payment from Peter Skene Ogden for earlier resurrecting his career  
Ogden was sent to Flathead House by Governor Simpson  
where he was to replace the still absent Alexander Ross  
as Chief Trader of the Snake River Brigade -- November 1824  
he would be the supervisor responsible for “trapping out” the Snake River Country  
putting Ogden in control gave the expedition new purpose

#### CHIEF TRADER ALEXANDER ROSS AND THE SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE RETURNS

Ross leading his Snake River Brigade and Jedediah Smith and his seven American mountain men continued over the Continental Divide to the head of the Bitterroot River down that river to Clark's Fork River to Flathead House Hudson's Bay Company's Peter Skene Ogden was waiting for Ross at Flathead House -- late November 1824 Field Governor George Simpson ordered all Hudson's Bay Company Iroquois employees be exiled from the Columbia River to eastern Canada Chief Trader Alexander Ross, who had first come to the Northwest with the Astorians, was demoted and unceremoniously and summarily relieved of his command of the Snake River Brigade by order of Field Governor George Simpson even though Ross had led the Snake River Brigade on a successful venture bringing back 5,000 beaver skins to Hudson's Bay Company's Flathead House -- 1824 Ross's inability to remove the American threat to British trapping finished his career on the Columbia River

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN TAKES COMMAND OF THE SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE

He initiated the changes Governor Simpson envisioned oddly, the effort to "trap out" the Snake River Country resulted in some conservation of the beaver resource:

- as Company men swarmed through the Snake River area, older beaver trapping regions were given a rest and time to replenish the stock of animals
- many Americans headed north to get their share of pelts before the beaver were gone with the same result

#### CHIEF TRADER PETER SKENE OGDEN -- BIOGRAPHY

Son a colonial loyalist originally from New York who moved to Quebec to become an admiralty court judge At age sixteen or seventeen [1811 or so] Ogden had quit the law books thrust on him by his father taking up a life of adventure he entered the employ of the North West Company as a clerk he was respected by Indians who referred to him as the "fat trader" he was one of the ablest fur traders he was man of boundless energy and endurance North West Company assigned him to the factory at Ile a la Crosse he and another clerk quickly created mayhem

by assaulting a Hudson's Bay Company trader inside his own post  
then strutting away untouched by the victim's own astonished *voyageurs*  
When the clash between the companies reached open warfare  
scrappy veteran of the bitter wars between the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company  
Ogden captured the Bay Company's Ile a la Crosse fort  
used it for imprisoning twenty men, more than a hundred women and children,  
and "dogs innumerable"  
this stroke of law defiance was too much even for the Canadian wilderness  
authorities moved in and Ogden was ordered to flee across the mountains  
to Fort George  
when the firms merged, the Hudson's Bay Company directors fired Ogden  
Field Governor George Simpson reinstated Ogden as Chief Trader -- [1823]  
barrel-chested Ogden was one of the ablest fur traders  
quickly he became one of the giant figures of Western history  
Astorian Clerk, Ross Coxe, made eight expeditions into the Upper Columbia area  
he described Ogden in his book *Adventures on the Columbia River*  
**"humorous, honest, eccentric, law-defying"**  
who could **"out-brawl, outswear, and outjest any of his subordinates"**

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN LEADS THE SNAKE RIVER EXPEDITION

Chief Trader took charge of the sixty trappers of Alexander Ross' former command  
In Flathead Country the "Fat Trader" successfully recruited fifteen more trappers  
bringing his Hudson's Bay Company expedition to a total of seventy-five people  
sixty trappers, mostly half-breeds, of Alexander Ross' former command  
twenty-five steady servants (laborers) and thirty-five unreliable freemen  
many of them Iroquois traveling with their fifteen women and children  
these erratic freemen outnumbered his more stable companions four to one  
Ogden's Snake Country Brigade was fully equipped  
with twenty-five tepees, eighty guns, 364 beaver traps and 372 horses  
This formidable Snake River Brigade left Flathead House on the Clark Fork River headed south  
bound for the Snake River Country -- December 20, 1824  
For protection through Blackfoot country, Jedediah Smith and his seven comrades  
followed Ogden's Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Country Expedition

#### OGDEN AND JEDIDIAH SMITH TRAVEL TOGETHER

British and American expedition moved eastward on their journey toward the Snake  
like his predecessors before him,

Ogden took a shortcut eastward to the Missoula and Bitterroot rivers  
crossing a bulge of the Continental Divide through American territory  
to the headwaters of the Missouri River and onto American soil  
here Ogden let his restless freemen trap  
neither Jedediah Smith nor his American employees protested  
American Jedediah Strong Smith and his seven mountain men  
and Peter Skene Ogden's crew of seventy-five Hudson's Bay Company men  
continued to travel with the Ogden's Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Brigade  
in unison, they explored the Missoula and Bitterroot river regions

#### HUDSON'S BAY SPREADS RUMORS TO THE INDIANS

When Jedediah Smith and his Mountain Men exited an area  
Hudson's Bay Company returned to paying the former lower prices to the Indians  
Virulent outbreak of influenza struck the Columbia River area  
a strong suspicion was planted in the minds of the Indians  
that the river was poisoned by Americans  
story persisted with the help of Hudson's Bay men

#### CHIEF TRADER ALEXANDER ROSS RETIRES

Stripped of his authority and title of Chief Trader by Field Governor George Simpson  
after his successful venture in Snake Country

Alexander Ross retired and left Hudson's Bay Company's Flathead House -- 1824  
Field Governor Simpson took him back to Red River Colony (Winnipeg, Manitoba)  
where he took up farming

where Hudson's Bay Company gave him a one hundred acre land grant  
he became a schoolteacher, and later, superintendent of schools  
pursued his writing interest, and he wrote:

- *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* [1849]
- *The Fur Hunters of the Far West* [1855]
- *The Red River Settlement* [1856]
- also his letters and journal have been published

his books are the foundation on which much of our knowledge of the early Northwest rests  
Alexander Ross passed away [1856]

#### ADDITIONAL HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BRIGADES SENT OUT

Trapping brigades continued to work in the most remote areas  
Snake River Brigade trapped to the east of the Cascade Mountains

California Brigade worked in the Willamette Valley, the Umpqua watershed ,  
and over the Siskiyou Mountains into northern California  
Without waiting for Peter Skene Ogden to return with his Snake River Brigade  
Chief Factor John McLoughlin dispatched another brigade to the Snake River Country  
under Archibald McDonald and Thomas McKay  
additional brigades also were sent into the field -- 1825  
led by John McLeod, William Connelly, John Work and others  
These trapping efforts regularly penetrated the country  
of the Flathead, Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Blackfoot Indians  
Such journeys were invariably dangerous  
even though the company took every precaution to prevent Indian attack  
Field Governor George Simpson even went so far as to suggest to Dr. McLoughlin  
that John Work would do well to marry a Cayuse woman as a good will gesture  
expenses to be paid by the Hudson's Bay Company  
hazards of the adventures are indicated in a letter John Work wrote  
to his friend Edward Ermatinger: **"I am happy in being able to inform you that I enjoy good  
health, and am yet blessed with the possession of my scalp which is rather more than I had reason to  
expect."**<sup>28</sup>

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN'S SNAKE RIVER COUNTRY BRIGADE

Continued to investigate and trap the Missoula and Bitterroot rivers region  
with his fifty-two Hudson's Bay Company men of the Snake River Country Expedition  
accompanied by Jedediah Strong Smith and his seven mountain men  
Jedediah Smith began coaxing Ogden's men over to the General Ashley payroll  
promising higher prices for their furs

#### ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION

Great Britain and Russia signed a treaty -- February 28, 1825  
Russian's claim was restricted to Russian America (Alaska)  
Convention defined the boundary of this land as it is today  
fixed the southern boundary line at 54° 40' North

#### LITTLE FEDERAL INTEREST IN PACIFIC NORTHWEST BEYOND THE BOUNDARY ISSUE

Senator Thomas Hart Benton (later a champion of Pacific Northwest ) wrote -- 1825: **"The ridge of the  
Rocky Mountains may be named as a convenient, natural, and everlasting boundary. Along this**

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<sup>28</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 71.

**ridge the western limit of the Republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be erected on its highest peak, never to be thrown down.”<sup>29</sup>**

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY CREATES COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Hudson’s Bay Company carved Columbia Department out of the Northern Department -- 1825

Columbia Department was composed of land drained by the Columbia River

As his tour of the Columbia Department was coming to an end,

Field Governor Simpson had put in place Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

to carry out all business policies sent from London and York Factory

in the likely event existing policy did not cover a situation he was to invent his own

George Simpson was very explicit:

- administer each department and oversee all operations:
  - see to the writing of daily, weekly, monthly, and annual reports
  - oversee all operations
  - develop the long-neglected coastal trade
  - open business, if possible, with the Russians
  - eliminate fur-bearing animals between the Columbia River and United States territory
    - using the Snake River Brigade
  - send other brigades south toward California
  - and keep those expenses down
- oversee construction of new forts, supervise personnel and Indian trade:
  - finish building the new post on the Fraser River
  - organize and control all trade and trapping expeditions
  - appoint traders to each area and see to their outfitting
  - plant gardens at all posts
- serve as unofficial representative of the British Empire:
  - stop all trade in alcohol
  - protect British citizens, provide law and order

Chief Factor McLoughlin governed Indians and half-civilized traders in the absence of laws

he proved to be just and wise

he forbade the sale of liquor to the natives

he married a Cree Indian woman

widow of Alexander McKay who had been lost on the *Tonquin*

together they lived a long and contented married life

Indians accepted John McLoughlin’s word as truth

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<sup>29</sup> William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 187.



he always kept his promises -- whether to reward or punish

## OTHER HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY FORTS AND POSTS

Two former North West Company posts were abandoned:

- Fort George served as Hudson's Bay Company headquarters in the Columbia Department Convention of 1818 left some doubt that British could maintain control of land south of the Columbia River post was rebuilt on a smaller scale after fire destroyed the original fort but it really was not in a suitable location -- could be attacked by sea it was allowed to operate only on a very small scale and quickly fell into disrepair
- Rocky Mountain House was abandoned

Hudson's Bay's Action House took the name of Rocky Mountain House

However, many former North West Company trading posts were retained:

- Fort Hall and Fort Boise also served the Snake River region;
- Flathead House continued as a temporary post and supply point into Snake River and Blackfoot Country;
- Fort Okanogan continued to operate where the Okanogan River entered the Columbia;
- Fort St. James on Stuart Lake was operated by Chief Clerk Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun -- 1825;
- Fort Langley (after construction was completed) serviced the Fraser River region;
- Kootenai House and several other posts were slated for thorough revamping;

In addition to forts, smaller posts, McLeod, Fraser, Kamloops, Kootenai House, and Wallace House, were also kept in operation manned by only one or two officers and a small contingent of laborers (called servants by Hudson's Bay Company)

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S FORT VANCOUVER

Field Governor George Simpson envisioned the permanent Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters would eventually be located to the north on the Fraser River

Fort Vancouver replaced Fort George, at least temporarily, as the regional headquarters would serve as Hudson's Bay Company's and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin's headquarters in the Pacific Northwest

while Fort Langley was under construction on the Fraser River

Removal of Company headquarters to Vancouver was arranged

while Field Governor George Simpson was with Dr. McLoughlin at Fort George as soon as enough bark roofs had been placed to provide adequate shelter at Fort Vancouver, Fort George's movable goods were ferried upstream including thirty-one head of Spanish cattle and seventeen hogs

riding a specially constructed barge  
although it replaced Fort George, Fort Vancouver was smaller -- but it grew steadily  
Field Governor Simpson had chosen the post's name, Fort Vancouver, carefully  
as a pointed reminder to the United States  
that the first man to penetrate this far up the river  
had been Lieutenant Commander William R. Broughton,  
exploring under orders from Captain George Vancouver  
Field Governor Simpson, commander of Hudson's Bay Company operations in Columbia Department,  
personally christened the new fort -- sunrise on March 19, 1825  
Governor noted in his journal: **"At Sun rise mustered all the people to hoist the Flag Staff of the new Establishment and in presence of the Gentlemen, Servants, Chiefs & Indians I Baptized it by breaking a Bottle of Rum on the Flag Staff and repeating the following words in a loud voice, 'In behalf of the Honorable Hudsons Bay Company I hereby name this Establishment *Fort Vancouver* God Save King George the 4<sup>th</sup> with three cheers. Gave a couple of Drams to the people and Indians on the occasion. The object of naming it after that distinguished navigator is to identify our claim to the Soil and Trade with his discovery of the River and Coast on behalf of G' Britain. If the Honorable Committee however do not approve the Name it can be altered."**<sup>30</sup>

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BUILDS FORT VANCOUVER

There, on a swell of land inconveniently far from the Columbia River  
but safely beyond reach of floodwaters,  
they began work on a small stockade to replace Fort George -- 1825  
Originally Fort Vancouver was smaller than Fort George  
secondary even to the proposed new post on the Fraser River  
No one bothered to record a description of the temporary fort  
probably because it was thought to be of little merit

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BRIGADE ROUTE

Brigades were organized to transport supplies -- 1825  
from main depots such as Fort George to outlying posts  
from these interior posts the trading expeditions set forth and returned  
Brigades also conveyed bales of furs back from the outposts  
to the main depots for storage and final shipment to London  
Most vital brigade trail had been established by the North West Company  
it was a water route that connected Fort St. James headquarters on Stuart Lake to Fort Alexandria

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<sup>30</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 58.

from Fort Alexandria to Fort Okanogan the route was overland trail  
from Okanogan to Fort George the route was the Columbia River  
this route is still referred to as the Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail

#### NUMBERS OF PEOPLE IN A HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BRIGADE VARIED

Very early spring was the time to leave Fort Vancouver

From fifty to four hundred journeyed east

usually with as many horses as people

Certain people were always present in the brigade

person running the brigade was the Chief Trader,

but sometimes the Chief Factor was personally in charge

Out ahead were the hunters in search of food and the next camp site

Next came the person in charge followed by the indispensable piper

who played on his bagpipes to the mile-long procession

as a mark of distinction, the leader of the brigade was dressed in a broadcloth suit

white shirt with high collar, and a high beaver hat

leader carried a fire bag containing his flint and steel, touchwood, and tobacco

Then there were the hunters, trappers, traders, clerks, storekeepers,

and assorted Indians, whole families of them, whose job it was to care for the horses,

to handle provisions, trading goods and other essential equipment

A packer accompanied each animal, with a carefully loaded pack on each animal

each pack held carefully in place by straps around the horse's belly

made tight with the diamond hitch

Trudging along behind were the families of the packers

Malcom McLeod, a veteran company man wrote a description: **"A beautiful sight was that horse brigade, with no broken hocks in the train, but every animal in his full beauty of form and colour, and all so tractable -- more tractable than anything I ever knew in civilized life."**<sup>31</sup>

Catch was dispatched to Fort Vancouver by regularly scheduled canoe, boat, and horse brigades

#### FIELD GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON LEAVES FORT VANCOUVER

His immediate task of organizing Columbia and New Caledonia districts for Hudson's Bay Company was accomplished

a new headquarters post was under construction

outposts had been reorganized or closed

Peter Skene Ogden had been placed in command of the Snake River Brigade

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<sup>31</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 68.

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin had been placed in his position and given orders  
With a boom of salutes ringing in his ears, Governor Simpson waved farewell and headed east  
as he set out on the return trip across the Rocky Mountains to York Factory -- March 20, 1825  
as Simpson noted: **“At 9 O’clock A.M. took leave of our Friend the D’ [Dr. McLoughlin],  
embarked and continued our Voyage. Put up for the night about 20 miles below the Cascade  
Portage.”**<sup>32</sup>

Governor Simpson took with him several dozen pensioned *voyageurs* pared from the pay rolls  
and Alexander Ross to be transplanted at the Red River colony  
On the journey up the Columbia River Simpson conducted a personal inspection tour  
of Company posts along the Columbia River stopping at  
Fort Walla Walla , Fort Okanogan, and Spokane House  
he decided that Spokane House on the Spokane River  
was too expensive and too isolated to maintain any longer

#### FORT COLVILLE BUILT TO REPLACE SPOKANE HOUSE

Spokane House was to be abandoned, or rather replaced  
Field Governor Simpson insisted that the operation be moved to Kettle Falls  
seventy-five miles further north  
he selected the more economical site himself  
near the foaming ledges of Kettle Falls on the Columbia (near present Marcus, Washington)  
where agricultural possibilities promised to make it self supporting  
Simpson personally stepped off the boundaries of a potato garden  
Field Governor Simpson ordered a new post built  
and named the post Fort Colville after his benefactor on the Board of Directors, Andrew Colville  
Dr. McLoughlin did not approve of the site, but there was no alternative to the Governor’s choice  
once Field Governor George Simpson had made up his mind

#### SPOKANE HOUSE CLOSED AND FORT COLVILLE CONSTRUCTED

John Work was selected to dismantle Spokane House  
and to supervise construction of the first small structure located just above Kettle Falls  
closing scene at Spokane House as a Company post was noted -- March 21, 1825  
Original Fort Colville was an enclosure 208 feet square with a stockade fourteen feet high  
there was only one bastion  
some of the houses were built outside of the post  
(eventually, a large part of the stockade was taken down

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<sup>32</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 58.

and several buildings were subsequently added to Fort Colville)

#### MISSIONARY WORK OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

So as to not ignore the demands of the Royal License provided to Hudson's Bay Company and to assure that "**religious instruction and moral improvement of the Indians**" be achieved Field Governor Simpson sent the sons of two chiefs to Canadian missionaries for an education  
Spokane Indian Nicholas (Spokane) Garry  
Flathead Indian J.H. (Kootenai) Pelly  
Spokane Garry and Kootenai Pelly (both about age fourteen)  
were taken from a Spokane Indian village -- 1825  
they began their Christian education in the Red River Colony (Winnipeg, Manitoba)  
where they studied for five years -- 1825-[1829]  
at the Northwest Mission of the Church of England  
where they learned English and absorbed the teachings of the Church of England

#### COASTAL INDIANS DEFEND THEMSELVES FROM ATTACK<sup>33</sup>

For hundreds and perhaps thousands of years, Olympic Peninsula and Puget Sound natives lived in fear of attacking Indians from the north (Queen Charlotte Islands and Vancouver Island) hundreds of invaders paddled their huge war canoes as they conducted raids to acquire slaves to serve them and to be traded sight of dozens of large canoes was enough to send the Suquamish, S'Kallam, Duwamish, Nisqually and other tribes fleeing into the forest Cowichan Indians of Vancouver Island lived very near (today's Victoria) and were formidable (As later reported by Hudson's Bay Company Factor Dr. William Fraser Tolmie)  
Suquamish Chief Kitsap organized various villagers along Puget Sound who were weary of raids into the largest intertribal coalition which the Puget Sound had ever seen they launched as many as 200 canoes and paddled to Vancouver Island to attack the Cowichans -- 1825  
Kitsap's forces methodically surrounded every Cowichan camp they could find but the males of military age were missing on Kitsap's orders, all of the old people were killed young women and children were taken captive  
Kitsap's flotilla crossed the Straits of Juan de Fuca to Dungeness Spit in a fog nearing shore they heard Indians singing war songs

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<sup>33</sup> David Wilma, Essay 7855 HistoryLink.org, July 28, 2006.

when the fog lifted Kitsap discovered the Cowichans celebrating a successful raid  
Kitsap landed his forces on Dungeness Spit  
in full view of the Cowichans, he had his captives killed  
Cowichans returned the sentiment by killing their captives  
both sides then joined battle and Chief Kitsap carried the day  
he established himself as the most powerful chief on Puget Sound

#### FIELD GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON CONTINUES EAST

Satisfied that the Columbia Department would now function efficiently,  
Simpson resumed his headlong course back to York Factory  
He ran the legs off his companions  
when the entire group finally collapsed about him out on the Canadian central prairie,  
he galloped on alone through the night to the next fort

#### xxxGENERAL ASHLEY AGAIN CARRIES SUPPLIES INTO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Ashley was instrumental in establishing the “rendezvous” system [1824]  
rendezvous is a French word meaning “appointed place of meeting”  
where trappers might exchange their season’s catch of pelts for supplies  
Ashley led a caravan on a three month excursion  
up the Platte River from Fort Atkinson bound for Chouteau's Landing (Kansas City)  
on the way to supply fur traders in the Green River region  
he guided wagon loads of goods destined for a Rendezvous of trappers in the field  
accompanied by Tom Fitzpatrick, William Campbell and William L. “Billy” Sublette  
Ashley maintained a diary of his experiences on this trip -- beginning March 25, 1825  
after he had reached the Platte River just east of the Continental Divide  
General William Ashley sent Tom Fitzpatrick to scout a route  
from the Platte River to the Green River -- 1825  
(that route would later become part of the Oregon Trail)  
Ashley and his caravan followed Fitzpatrick’s route

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY FARMING

Goods which could not be manufactured at each outpost, such as flour and trade goods,  
would be provided by the Company  
Hudson’s Bay Company did not provide for agricultural activities -- until 1825  
Dr. McLoughlin, at the prodding of Governor Simpson, saw the importance of this change  
both believed each trader should grow enough food to meet his needs and keep a few cattle

Simpson in a letter to John Work stated, “...you will be so good as to take care of ...seed *not* *ate* as next spring I expect that from 30 to 40 Bushels will be planted.”<sup>34</sup>

#### FORT VANCOUVER GROWS

Clearings were made and some wheat was grown -- 1825

this was the third effort at agriculture in the Pacific Northwest:

- Daniel Harmon had planted a garden at Fort St. James -- [1811]

first white man in to farm in British Columbia

- Astorians had planted a few potatoes

which grew into the first garden south of the Columbia River --[1811]

Location of Fort Vancouver took on appearance of a thriving farming community

grist mill to grind wheat, oats, and barley

Hawaiian Islands soon became a major market for flour as well as lumber and fish

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY OVERLAND SUPPLY BRIGADE ROUTE

Hudson’s Bay Company was the only source of imported supplies, manufactured goods,

trade, transport, and manpower west of the American fur trade at Green River

from York Factory on Hudson Bay’s western shore through Manitoba

to the crest of the Rockies at the head of the Columbia River

Water used as much as possible along the 1000 miles from Boat Encampment to Fort Vancouver

Brigades braved most rapids using marvelous skill and general good luck

but portages by voyageurs were sometime necessary

on long portages and across the mountains, horses were used

#### HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY SUPPLY BRIGADE BOATS

Canoes were obtained from the Indians

hollowed from magnificent cedar trees which grew along the banks of rivers

sometimes fifty or sixty feet long with prow carved in fantastic, beautiful fashion

would hold from six to twenty people from half a ton to two or three tons of cargo

yet they were so light two men could carry one of medium size

four men handle any size

Bateau were boats built very high and broad -- unloaded it seemed to rest atop the water

propelled with oars and steered with paddles

usually thirty feet long and five feet wide

light draft and double ended -- these were more steady than canoes

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<sup>34</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 75.

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SHIP *WILLIAM AND ANN* ARRIVED AT FORT GEORGE

Hudson's Bay Company supply brig *William and Ann* under the command of Captain Henry Hanwell arrived at Cape Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia River -- April 9, 1825 from London after a stop in the Galapagos Islands of South America anchored near Fort George

In addition to the usual supplies she also carried two naturalists, David Douglas, and Dr. John Scouler Douglas, a botanist of Scottish descent, had been sent to collect plants and seeds for the Royal Horticultural Society

Scouler had signed on as a surgeon but he hoped to make a collection of plants and animals during the long voyage to the Hudson's Bay post

Together the two naturalists made the first botanical collections on record for the Galapagos sadly much of it was damaged by humidity in transport to England

## NATURALIST DAVID DOUGLAS ARRIVED AT FORT VACOUVER

No other botanical explorer in western North America is more famous than David Douglas after attending school for only a few years,

he began his botanical career at age eleven at an English garden estate for the next seven years he worked under the strict supervision of the head gardener who disapproved of formal education

When he completed his apprenticeship, he moved to another estate where he tended a huge variety of indoor and outdoor plants he also had access to the estate's botany library

David Douglas was accepted as a Fellow of the British Geological and Zoological Societies he visited the United States where he made important botanical connections

in New York he met John Torrey who was rapidly becoming the foremost botanist in America later he encountered Thomas Nuttall in Philadelphia

working together, the two men sought out some of the rarer plants near the city

Douglas gathered seeds for his sponsor, the Royal Horticultural Society

while the results were minimal at best,

still the Society was impressed with the quality of the material sent to London

Hudson's Bay Company was willing to sponsor a collector

for a two year visit to the Pacific Northwest to gather specimens along the Columbia River

David Douglas was the immediate choice to collect plants for use in English landscapes and herb specimens to enhance understanding of botany

Douglas received passage on Hudson's Bay Company's *William and Ann* -- 1824-1825

this was to be his first (of two trips) West



He introduced Pacific Northwest botanical specimens to the scientific world including more than fifty species of trees previously unknown such as Douglas Fir named in his honor (though it is a sugar pine) and the Sugar Pine which he identified correctly also more than one hundred species of shrubs, ferns, and other plants he was given the name "Grass Man" by the Indians David Douglas first used the name Cascade Mountains or Cascade Range of Mountains Lewis and Clark called this range the "Western Mountains"

#### DAVID DOUGLAS GOES EXPLORING

Dr. John McLoughlin took Douglas upriver to Fort Vancouver which Douglas made his base McLoughlin agreed to let Douglas accompany any trading or trapping expeditions for the purpose of collecting specimens

Douglas was ardent in his assignment -- April 1825

he was scarcely ashore before he began to explore the vast region mostly on foot to collect botanical specimens

Sometimes he traveled with a guide -- sometimes he would make camp with the natives walking or traveling by canoe, he lived in the "rough"

all the time keeping a diary and making detailed notes about each of his discoveries

One of the first plants Douglas noted was the huge evergreen his name became popularly attached to the *Pseudotsuga menziesii* -- Douglas Fir tree (that he later introduced into England)

(Scottish physician and naturalist Archibald Menzies previously discovered the tree [in 1791] at Nootka Sound Vancouver Island, British Columbia on George Vancouver's expedition which had continued the work begun by James Cook)

Douglas was amazed by its size and uniformity

and he noted that it would be a boon to the timber industry

(In less than six months he would travel more than 2,000 miles and collect 499 species of plants)

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY COASTAL SHIPPING IMPLEMENTED

Hudson's Bay Company directors and Field Governor George Simpson issued orders coastal trade was to be conducted, in part, to make a profit for the company

and, in part, to drive off foreign competition

but they did not place the Maritime Department under Dr. McLoughlin's sole supervision

maritime trade between the Columbia Department and London would be under his jurisdiction along with both the Spanish and Russian trade

however, coastal trade with the Indians was placed in the hands of the inept personnel who commanded the department and the trading ships

Dr. McLoughlin received instructions to assign the recently arrived supply ship *William and Ann*, then anchored at Fort George, to the coastal trade although not directly in charge of shipping, Chief Factor John McLoughlin lost only a little time in putting Governor Simpson's maritime plan into action -- 1825

#### WILLIAM AND ANN BEGINS THE COASTAL TRADE

Hudson's Bay Company became engaged in the coastal trade when the *William and Ann* sailed north to Observatory Inlet along the northern Canadian Pacific coast on a reconnaissance voyage *William and Ann's* captain, Henry Hanwell, was methodical, incompetent, negligent and lazy at least in the eyes of Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin

Dr. McLoughlin did not fully support the Maritime Department he favored a system of permanent trading posts stretching to Alaska rather than coastal trade

#### COMPETITORS TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Were of two nationalities -- Russians and Americans

*William and Ann* met an American ship, *Owyhee*, which also was engaged in coastal trade

*Owyhee* posed a new kind of threat to the British operation

Americans wanted, not sea otters as previous trading ships had sought, but rather trade with the coastal Indians for beaver pelts received through trade with interior natives

#### GENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY'S CARAVAN REACHES THE GREEN RIVER

General Ashley and Tom Fitzpatrick reestablished contact on the Green River

Ashley placed Tom Fitzpatrick in charge of some forty men

they trapped in the Green River valley that summer

Ashley's diary detailed his trip down the Green River in bullboats

#### AMERICAN GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO WRITE TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS

After a delay of several months, Indian Treaty Commissioners

General Henry Atkinson and Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon

set out from Fort Atkinson up the Missouri River -- May 1825

accompanied by an escort of nearly five hundred soldiers

Emissaries negotiated their way from tribe to tribe up the Missouri River

impressing the natives with their colorful military displays,

lavishing on each Indian leader an array of presents,

and concluding a treaty of peace and friendship with each band

all, even the lately belligerent Arikara, partook in the signings and the presents

Each of the treaties was the same:

- Indians acknowledged the supremacy of the American Great Father  
and his power to regulate all trade and interaction
- Indians promised to protect American traders  
and turn over all foreign traders to American officials
- treaty provisions dealt only with the regulation of trade and redress of Indian grievances  
none addressed hunting or trapping on Indian land

Concluding treaties with Poncas, Sioux, Cheyennes, Arikara, Hidatsas, and Mandans,  
expedition next proceeded to the mouth of the Yellowstone River  
and even beyond in hopes of bringing Blackfoot, Assiniboines, and Crows to the table  
only the Crows could be coaxed in  
and the council with their chiefs almost ended in battle  
the interpreter at this event was the notorious Edward Rose

#### LOCATION OF THE SECOND RENDEZVOUS IS ANNOUNCED

General William H. Ashley with twenty-five men

proceeded with bull boats down the Green River to the mouth

of what he named “Randavouze [sic] Creek” -- April 29, 1825

(later, for some reason, it was given the name Henry’s Fork)

he announced the first Rendezvous site **“at the mouth of the last stream entering the Green River from the west before it disappeared into the canyons of the Uinta Mountains”**<sup>35</sup>

#### GENERAL ASHLEY CHANGES LOCATIONS

Ashley discovered an even better site twenty miles up Randavouze Creek -- May 3, 1825

in a broad valley lush with grass, cottonwood groves, and sparkling water,

with the Uinta Mountains rising abruptly on the south

in territory belonging to Mexico (today’s Wyoming)

(just north of the Utah-Wyoming border near the present town of McKinnon, Wyoming)

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN’S SNAKE RIVER COUNTRY BRIGADE LOSES EMPLOYEES

Jedediah Strong Smith and his seven Ashley-Henry Combine trappers

continued to travel south with Hudson’s Bay Company’s Snake River Brigade

until they reached the Bear River (Idaho-Wyoming-Utah)

Smith almost came into direct conflict with the Hudson’s Bay Company brigade -- May 1825

Smith induced twenty-three of Ogden’s men, mostly Iroquois, to desert

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<sup>35</sup> *A Life Wild and Perilous: Mountain Men and the Paths to the Pacific*, Robert M. Utley.

natives transferred their allegiance and packs of furs over to the Americans  
Ogden continued to investigate and trap the Missoula and Bitterroot river basins  
with the two dozen or so men remaining with him including Joseph Portneuf

#### *WILLIAM AND ANN SAILED NORTH*

Hudson's Bay Company brig entered Puget Sound through the strait of Juan de Fuca  
at the mouth of the Fraser River she took on a return cargo --1825  
(before sailing for London [October] arriving safely there [April 1826])

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN'S SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE RECEIVES REINFORCEMENTS

Ogden's fifty-two Hudson's Bay Company employees  
continued to be accompanied by Jedediah Smith and seven Ashley-Henry Combine men  
together they investigated and trapped the most remote Snake River areas  
as Smith continued to entice Ogden's Snake River Brigade members to change companies  
Ogden was joined en route  
by Archibald McDonald and Thomas McKay and their Hudson's Bay Company Expedition  
bringing the total count of Hudson's Bay Company men to seventy-five  
Leaving the Salmon and Snake river area, united party of Hudson's Bay Company  
and Ashley-Henry Combine Mountain Men all started south together  
Jedediah Smith kept up the pressure to change companies on the Ogden's Freemen

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN LOST MOST OF HIS MEN TO JEDIDIAH SMITH

Chief Trader Ogden, through desertions of all types,  
lost eighty men, women, and children -- mostly Iroquois  
eventually Peter Skene Ogden had only fifteen men remaining  
Deserters went over to the Americans taking 700 beaver skins  
and leaving behind debts owed to the Hudson's Bay Company  
Ogden's men including Archibald McDonald, Thomas McKay and Joseph Portneuf  
left the Salmon and Snake rivers for the Bear River

#### JEDIDIAH STRONG SMITH LEADS HIS MOUNTAIN MEN

One morning Jedediah Smith and his Americans vanished  
from the sight of Ogden's Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Brigade  
Smith and his men disappeared into the hills of the upper Bear River

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN CONTINUED SOUTH

Ogden had only fifteen Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Brigade men remaining

including Archibald McDonald and Thomas McKay  
Thinking himself free of outside interference at last,  
Peter Skene Ogden and men struck out for the Missoula and Bitterroot rivers  
Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Brigade leader trapped ruthlessly as he went  
usually the Hudson's Bay Company conserved enough game to keep the region profitable,  
but this country (around the city now bearing Ogden's name) had already been written off as lost  
for once exploitation, leaving nothing to lure the Americans westward, would be good business  
Ogden and his Hudson's Bay Company men probably ventured as far south as the Great Salt Lake

## GREAT SALT LAKE

Original discoverer of the Great Salt Lake is not known for sure as the event was not recorded  
Jim Bridger using a bull boat went down the Bear River  
may have discovered the Great Salt Lake [1824]  
Jedediah Smith was perhaps first white to reach Great Salt Lake -- 1825  
Smith, learning of the upcoming rendezvous, set out with his Mountain Men to join the event  
but Peter Skene Ogden conducted the most of the detailed exploration of the region -- 1825  
he probably ventured so far south as to discover the Great Salt Lake on North and West shore  
and the site of the Utah city that today bears his name

## FIRST RENDEZVOUS TAKES PLACE

Approximately 120 people not counting women and children, moved up the creek to the new location  
those in attendance included:  
William "Billy" Sublette and Moses "Black" Harris  
who had been trapping for General Ashley in the Rocky Mountains  
as well as and Mulatto trapper Jim Beckwourth who began to establish his reputation  
as a compelling storyteller by recalling (occasionally accurately) his own exploits  
he looked the part of a mountain man -- six feet tall and strongly built,  
he wore his black hair down to his waist and frequently sported braids, ribbons,  
earrings, gold chains, and Crow Indian leggings  
also twenty-nine deserters from Hudson's Bay Company,  
Jedediah Smith with his seven Ashley-Henry Combine trappers,  
John H. Weber and twenty-five to thirty men including Caleb Greenwood  
Etienne Provost led thirteen of his men from Taos to the Rendezvous  
including four deserters from the [1822] Snake River Brigade  
Francois Method, Jack McLeod, Lazard Teycalecourigi and Patrick O'Conner  
during the journey with Provost, Patrick O'Conner was killed by Snake Indians  
near Great Salt Lake

General Ashley was the last to arrive at the scene, but he presided over the second rendezvous  
this event lasted only one day -- July 1, 1825  
except for the camaraderie of scattered friends reunited, it was a day strictly of business  
General William H. Ashley bought the trappers' beaver and other pelts  
and sold them the goods he had carried from St. Louis  
he paid two to three dollars a pound for Ashley-Henry men's pelts  
and as much as five dollars to free trappers

#### MUCH IS LEARNED AT THE FIRST RENDEZVOUS

First rendezvous seemed sedate compared with the carnivals of later years  
Ashley had failed to bring whiskey  
Ashley discovered that trappers were willing to remain in the mountains year-round  
that meant they had to be supplied in the mountains  
and their catch hauled out of the mountains to St. Louis  
that in turn meant that the true profits of the fur business  
fell to the supplier-buyer rather than the trapper  
At this rendezvous Ashley formed a better idea of what should be packed on the mules of the caravan  
besides the essentials: traps, powder, lead, flint, knives, coffee, sugar, tobacco, and blankets  
it was also obvious liquor was necessary  
Etienne Provost's freedmen, actually deserters from Hudson's Bay Company, suggested to Ashley  
that other merchandise such as ribbons, bells, beads, and other trinkets could be sold  
these became increasingly important  
as Mountain Men brought their Indian wives to the gathering  
From these discoveries sprang the annual supply caravan from St. Louis  
and the annual summer rendezvous

#### xxxXXXGENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY TAKES ON A NEW PARTNER

Ashley preferred the amenities of St. Louis to the outdoor life of a mountaineer  
three times he had been called from his position as Missouri Lieutenant-Governor  
and Missouri militia Brigadier General  
and now his field captain, Andrew Henry, had withdrawn altogether  
Ashley needed a master of men and mountains who could free him  
to deal with the business of fur in the comforts of St. Louis  
his choice fell on humorless, grimly conscientious Jedediah Strong Smith -- July 1825  
who was offered the position while en route from the Rendezvous down the Missouri River  
Jedediah Strong Smith became a partner with General Ashley in the Ashley-Smith Combine  
with his promotion to partner in the combine, Captain Jedediah Smith was assigned to his next trek

across the still imperfectly known plains to the Rocky Mountains  
Thomas Fitzpatrick was promoted to second in command of the expedition  
William "Billy" Sublette, David E. Jackson and others were given lesser positions

#### AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE RENDEZVOUS

Trappers, Indians and General Ashley looked forward to the raucous gatherings in the wilderness held at predetermined spots in the west annually between 1825 [and 1840]  
Jedediah Smith accompanied General William Ashley and his brigade of furs to St. Louis

#### ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY CONTINUES TOWARD ST. LOUIS

General William Henry Ashley and his new partner Captain Jedediah Strong Smith, accompanied by William "Billy" Sublette and Moses "Black" Harris, headed for St. Louis after the Rendezvous of 1825  
Shrewdly, Ashley fixed on a roundabout route home  
he was aware that General Henry Atkinson and Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon were conducting peace talks with the tribes of the upper Missouri River area

#### ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY CONNECTS WITH GENERAL ATKINSON'S EXPEDITION

General William Henry Ashley and his Mountain Men left the Green River area set out down the Bighorn River toward its mouth  
at the mouth of the Bighorn River they entered the Yellowstone River below the Big Horn Mountains -- August 7, 1825  
Here they packed their cargo of furs into bullboats  
floated down the Yellowstone to an almost perfectly timed union with the General Henry Atkinson and Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon military expedition  
Obligingly, General Atkinson loaded all the furs onto his army keelboats and provided free transportation and protection down the Missouri as far as Council Bluffs

#### ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY ARRIVES IN ST. LOUIS

General William Henry Ashley and Jedediah Smith reached St. Louis -- October 5, 1825  
Ashley had two purposes in mind in St. Louis:

- deliver 8,829 pounds of beaver pelts worth between \$40,000 and \$50,000 in St. Louis
- make arrangements to equip a new caravan to provision trappers currently wintering in the mountains at a second Rendezvous to be held [next summer] in the Rocky Mountains

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN STARTS BACK TOWARD FORT VANCOUVER

Moving northward from the Great Salt Lake

Ogden and what was left of his men Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Brigade  
trapped the Bear, Snake and Salmon river watersheds

Moving northward they turned toward Fort Vancouver

#### FIELD GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON RETURNS TO YORK FACTORY

Simpson decided the Columbia Department business must be conducted more efficiently  
he ordered each post to grow as much of its own food as possible

thus reducing dependence on expensive imported provisions to be packed across Canada  
Hudson's Bay Company Governor and Committee in London

felt the far western fur operation of the company had been saved

they were so impressed with his whirlwind accomplishments and administrative efforts

that Simpson was voted a bonus of five hundred pounds

and a salary increase of two hundred pounds year

#### ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY JOURNEY'S BACK INTO THE MOUNTAINS

Less than a month after reaching St. Louis, General William Ashley dispatched his partner,  
Captain Jedediah Smith, on an expedition to trap the Great Salt Lake region

and to supply the [1826] Rendezvous

Smith led a caravan of seventy men and 160 animals loaded with provisions

bound for the Rocky Mountains where the next Rendezvous was to be held -- November 1825

As Smith and his trappers moved Westward,

Edward Rose joined them for the trip as far west as South Pass in the Rocky Mountains

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH'S ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY EXPEDITION BECOMES STALLED

When Captain Smith and his expedition reached the Republican Fork of the Kansas River  
bad weather and slow travel virtually wiped out the herd of pack animals

General William Ashley had to be informed of the situation

Captain Smith sent Moses "Black" Harris and Jim Beckwourth

back across the frozen plains to General Ashley in St. Louis

carrying Jedediah Smith's report requesting additional pack animals and supplies

Harris was renowned for his powers of walking

another small party moved ahead to the Pawnee Village to seek immediate assistance

Ashley-Smith Company men camped in Cache (or Willow) Valley (Utah)

when snow piled too deeply, they decided to cache the supplies for the next year's Rendezvous

and struck out for the Great Salt Lake's Weber River where they were to trap



## PETER SKENE OGDEN AND THE SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE ARRIVE HOME

They reached Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver headquarters -- November 1825

Ogden had brought out 3,090 beaver skins -- enough profit to encourage another visit  
even though American trappers were also in the that region

Under orders from Hudson's Bay Company, he was so diligent on his hunts  
that the streams he worked are still destitute of beaver

policy of trapping out the Snake River region appeared to work  
as American trappers afterward tended to stay in the Rocky Mountains  
earning them the title Mountain Men

In his trapping efforts, the "fat trapper" became the first explorer

to traverse the Rocky Mountains from north to south

he opened to the public's attention much of Idaho, Utah, and Northern California

(his reports and maps of his travels increased the knowledge  
of the interior of Oregon Country and the West

these were printed and publicized throughout America, England, and Europe)

(Ogden subsequently led six more expeditions into the Snake River Country

and continued to lead expeditions for next 15 years [1840] through what are now

parts of the states of California, Oregon, Idaho, Utah and Washington

and opened to the public's attention on these areas)

## GENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY RECEIVED SMITH'S REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE

Moses "Black" Harris and Jim Beckwourth and a small party

carrying Jedediah Smith's request for additional supplies

was delivered to General William Ashley in St. Louis

## THOMAS "TOM" FITZPATRICK LEADS ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY TRAPPERS

General Ashley placed Tom Fitzpatrick in command

of a party of forty Ashley-Smith Fur Company Mountain Men

who conducted a trapping expedition along Henry's Fork of the Green River

In an accident, a musket exploded in Fitzpatrick's left hand and blew away two fingers -- 1826

because of this, Indians named him "Broken Hand, Chief of all Mountain Men"

"Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick and his men trapped in the Green River valley that winter -- 1825-1826

## JEDIDIAH SMITH ENDURES A TERRIBLE WINTER

Captain Smith and his party moved on to the shores of Great Salt Lake

near the mouth of the Weber River (near today's Ogden, Utah)

Shoshones (Snake) Indians camped with them, as did Hudson's Bay freemen with their families

women and children, whether Indian or mixed blood, would henceforth be a fixture of trapper life and, coincidentally, would provide an enlarged market for Ashley-Smith goods

#### DAVID THOMPSON WORKS ON HIS MAPS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

After he resigned his position as the British representative to the Boundary Commission -- 1826

David Thompson worked as an independent surveyor

    busying himself surveying canals, township boundaries and land grants  
but he also continued to work on his maps of the areas he previously had visited

Thompson forwarded his remaining maps to the British government -- 1826

when the British negotiated for the Columbia Department

    he offered to provide first-hand knowledge of the complete region

Both David Thompson and his maps were ignored by British government cartographers

he was bewildered and annoyed by the slight

(in fact, his maps were so accurate that upon publication [1857]

    they became the basis for the cartography of the Columbia Department for many years)

#### CHANGE IN HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ADMINISTRATION

Hudson's Bay Company Field Governor William Williams was recalled to London

    relinquishing his governorship of the Southern Department of Canada

Field Governor George Simpson was promoted to sole head of Hudson's Bay Company in Canada

    Governor George Simpson's duties were expanded to include the governorship of the Southern  
    as well as Northern Department -- he became Governor of Rupert's Land

#### HUDSON' BAY COMPANY'S CALIFORNIA EXPEDITION

Alexander R. McLeod's led the company's California Brigade

    they worked in the Willamette Valley, the Umpqua watershed,

    and over the Siskiyou Mountains into northern California -- 1826

Additional expeditions journeyed south each year

#### FORT VANCOUVER INCREASES IN SIGNIFICANCE

Hudson's Bay Company's activities--although they overlapped, consisted of three main areas:

- extensive trade north of the Columbia River at a series of trading posts or forts  
    Indians brought beaver pelts to exchange for goods manufactured in England  
    or at Fort Vancouver or at Fort Colville
- brigade fur trade which had been pioneered by the North West Company  
    these units operated south and east of Fort Vancouver
- Maritime Department was indispensable to the success of the company

ships brought the trading goods from England  
and sent the furs to the Orient and other markets  
if they did not arrive at Fort Vancouver, a year's trade might be lost  
Chief Factor John McLoughlin's post became the center of a whole range of activities  
Fort Vancouver became Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin's command center in the West:

- from there brigades set out;
- from there orders were issued to outposts hundreds of miles away;
- to there flowed bales of valuable furs;
- to there gravitated would-be settlers, visiting dignitaries, scientists, and travelers;
- to those arriving by sea, it provided safe shelter

Eventually the fort would receive pelts from interior posts:

- in the North: forts McLeod, Fraser, St. James, Langley, Colville, Kamloops, Okanogan, and Kootenai House
- in the South: Umpqua and Wallace House
- in Snake River area: Flathead House, Fort Hall, Fort Boise, and Fort Walla Walla

#### FARMING AT FORT VANCOUVER EXPANDED

In response to instructions from Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson  
and under the supervision of Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin  
farming was expanded from a field of wheat  
to additional fields of barley, Indian corn, peas, and potatoes -- 1826

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SHIPPING

Sixty-ton schooner *Vancouver* was constructed at the fort she was named after  
she was the first ship built in (today's Washington state) and was put into service -- 1826  
*William and Ann*, company supply brig, made her second voyage to the Columbia River  
arrived -- September 1826  
she delivered supplies and picked up furs at Columbia Department posts  
remained in the region serving the company until her return to London [February 1828]

#### ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY SUPPLY CARAVAN SETS OUT FROM ST. LOUIS

General William H. Ashley had to head a field expedition for the fourth time  
this time to come to the aid of Jedediah Smith and his large party of Mountain Men  
and to provided additional supplies for the third annual Rendezvous  
They set out from St. Louis bound for the Cache (or Willow) Valley (Utah) -- March 1826  
each employee on the expedition was assigned two mules and a saddle horse

## ASHLEY-SMITH FUR COMPANY CARAVAN REACHES CACHE VALLEY

Captain Jedediah Smith and his Mountain Men had spent [winter 1825]-1826 trapping the Weber River region of the Great Salt Lake they descended the Weber River where they met Etienne Provost at his encampment in the Uintah Basin before setting out for the Cache Valley (Utah)

## GENERAL WILLIAM ASHLEY AND JEDIDIAH SMITH UNITE

General William Ashley and Captain Jedediah Smith and their Mountain Men united at the designated 1826 Rendezvous site in the Cache Valley -- late May for a short time of celebration including such men as Louis Vasquez, James Clyman, Henry G. Fraeb, Daniel T. Potts and many others

## CACHE (or Willow) VALLEY RENDEZVOUS PARTICIPANTS

All Mountain Men gathered at the prearranged rendezvous in the Cache Valley (Utah) festivities opened -- July 1, 1826

this year it lasted for several days -- perhaps even weeks

On this occasion, assembled at the rendezvous were:

- skulking dogs, half-wild horses and mules tethered to stakes;
- savages of all degrees
  - naked children playing at everlasting games of war
  - halfbreeds with their native squaws;
- frontiersmen who had throttled the throats of savages;
- educated gentlemen out to see the West first hand;
- Jedediah Smith with his gun and his Bible
  - who had become the first American to come overland from St. Louis to California and back to the Rocky Mountains by way of Utah and Nevada;
- trapping partners who had such deep mutual faith in one another's integrity that, as they rushed into battle with the Indians,
  - they had been known to shout their wills to each other
  - well aware the survivor would execute it faithfully

This year Ashley had not neglected the liquor essential to a true rendezvous

for once, Jim Beckwourth's description probably did not embellish the reality: **"Mirth, songs, dancing, shouting, trading, running, jumping, singing, racing, target shooting, yarns, frolic, with all sorts of extravagances that white men or Indians could invent, were freely indulged in. The unpacking of the *medicine water* contributed not a little to the heightening of our festivities."**<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 85.

## MOUNTAIN MEN ATTEND THE RENDEZVOUS

Trappers who lived alone running trap lines in the Rocky Mountain region roamed the mountain regions going west in the spring hunting beaver returned east in the fall with the year's take of pelts

Expert hunters, trappers, bear fighters, Indian killers, their skills fell into two categories first were the specialty skills:

- beaver trapping
- marksmanship with rifle and pistol
- horsemanship
- swimming
- mountain climbing
- game hunting
- bodily combat with all weapons
- survival in extreme weather and terrain
- reading nature's signs was especially important

sights, sounds, smells all carried significant meaning in the trapper's world interpreting their presence or absence could mean life or death

second were personal characteristics -- physical, mental, emotional, and instinct:

- physical strength and endurance were essential
- fortitude and bravery were, also
- quick, accurate thinking which led to instant action was critical
- instinct based on experience was needed to give warning when nothing else did

## 1826 RENDEZVOUS ACTIVITIES

This Rendezvous began to take on the attributes of the annual fair it quickly became participants drank and gambled

raced their horses, slept little, ate much, talked long and boastfully

fought, swaggered, lied, cheated the Indians, their own people, and each other

Traders and trappers prided themselves

on spending a year's earnings, which ranged from \$120 to \$600, in one evening's play by the next morning the great annual mountain fair was over

all the beads and baubles had been exchanged for hides and pelts

when all accounts were settled, the trapper was usually in debt

each trapper went his own way to labor and fight for another year

Ashley-Smith Combine used mule trains to pack the furs back to St. Louis Missouri

while sick, sober and penniless trappers wandered into the wilderness

to scrounge enough “plews” (pelts) -- for next year’s Rendezvous

## RENDEZVOUS TRADITION

As the yearly rendezvous caravan evolved, trappers refined their own culture  
they adjusted their own yearly rhythm to the new business cycle  
not only free and engaged trappers of Ashley’s following,

but Indians, French Canadians, and Iroquois freemen participated  
tents mingled with tepees, and women and children abounded

Every summer the Mountain Men, Indian trappers,

and traders in the Rocky Mountains would gather at a “rendezvous”

Originally planned as a cunning commercial change of pace for the American fur trade,  
rendezvous suddenly evolved into a combination trade fair, gaming and gambling fit  
interrupted by mating rites and fist fights

It was a chance to relax and enjoy themselves after a long season in the mountains  
trappers both white and Indian, could sell their furs and trade for needed supplies,  
meet with old friends, get rip-roaring drunk, engage in storytelling, dancing, gambling,  
gun duels and contests of all sorts

horse racing, wrestling bouts, and shooting contests were the favorites

Indians and their wives and Mountain Men with their Indian wives converged

swapped “hairy banknotes” for raw alcohol from Cincinnati, coffee, sugar, tobacco,  
arms and munitions, and blankets

It became a giant pow-wow, a carnival, and a circus all rolled into one  
a common exclamation between departing Mountain Men was:

“Meet me on the Green”

## MOUNTAIN MAN LIFE

What the trappers did between rendezvous differed from the popular understanding  
they did not wander in lonely solitude through the mountains trapping beaver  
that would have been suicidal -- an invitation to watching Blackfoot natives  
instead, they traveled in brigades of forty to sixty men

including camp tenders and meat hunters

from brigade base camps, they fanned out, usually in pairs, to set their traps

then they were most vulnerable, and Indians ambushes took their heaviest toll

Mountaineers did not hunt constantly

they called trapping expeditions a hunt, a term also applied to seeking game for food

there was a spring hunt and a full hunt

spring hunt garnered the winter fur and the best pelts

fall hunt pelts were of lesser quality  
summer, of course, was Rendezvous  
winter was simply winter camp, waiting for the spring hunt  
Contrary to conventional views,  
of the thousand or so mountain men who roamed the Rockies in the 1820s and 1830s,  
only a minority were Americans  
typically they had emigrated with their families from Kentucky or Tennessee  
to Missouri or Arkansas before heading for the mountains  
some reached their destination by way of New Mexico,  
but most went up the Missouri the Yellowstone, or the Platte rivers  
large majority, three-fourths or more, claimed French, French-Canadian, or Creole blood  
many traced their origins to the Montreal-based fur ventures  
that for a century and a half had competed with the London-based Hudson's Bay Company  
last and most aggressive of the Montreal firms was the North West Company  
Mountain Men had to survive both mountain life and the rendezvous  
but the potential rewards were freedom of the wilds, and adventure  
no less than 1,560 American trappers were working West of the Continental Divide  
between [1823 and 1829]  
ninety-four Mountain Men were killed in those six years

#### xxxGENERAL ASHLEY RETIRES FROM THE FUR TRADE

For General William Henry Ashley 1826 Rendezvous marked his final trip to the mountains  
he had seen enough to know that the largest profit and least risk  
lay in supplying the trappers and buying their beaver pelts  
not in committing capital to the trapping operation itself  
Immediately after the 1826 Rendezvous, General Ashley sold his interest to his partners  
Jedediah Strong Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette  
in a complicated transaction involving beaver pelts, credit,  
and arrangements assuring Ashley, in St. Louis, the ability to supply of goods  
which his old partners needed for future Rendezvous  
and which would guarantee him a liberal profit each year  
Jedediah Strong Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette  
became the new owners of the Ashley-Smith Fur Company  
bill of sale was dated -- July 18, 1826  
Ashley led his expedition back to St. Louis  
this year's returns cleared a profit of some \$80,000 in St. Louis  
this money liberated him from debt and awarded him a modest fortune

In St. Louis, Ashley continued to supply goods which his old partners needed making a liberal profit from them

#### SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE FUR COMPANY BEGINS OPERATION

After General Ashley left the trapping and trading business

new partnership, Smith, Jackson and Sublette, was formed on the Bear River with Jedediah Smith as the head of the company

(Smith, Jackson & Sublette continued to prosper for the next seven years 1826-[833]) new company laid plans for a Fall hunt

Smith, Jackson and Sublette Fur Company was divided into two brigades:

David E. Jackson and William “Billy” Sublette would lead a party into Blackfoot Country at the Three Forks of the Missouri River with a big enough brigade to fend off the Blackfoot

Jedediah Smith would lead his party into the unknown beyond the Great Salt Lake this combined his obsession for exploration with the fall quest for beaver pelts

#### SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE FUR COMPANY EMPLOYEES

French-Canadian predominance prevailed at every level, from common laborer to top management engages (“engaged” men) worked for the company -- at first only for Smith, Jackson, & Sublette, later for the competing companies that began to challenge the domination of Ashley’s heirs whatever firm employed them, engages occupied one of three social levels:

- lowest form was the *mangeur de lard*, or “pork eaters”  
veterans applied this derisive term to greenhorns new to the mountains they tended camp, stoked the fire, butchered and cooked the meat, packed and unpacked the animals, and did all the other drudge labor that the better sort disdained
- next in the hierarchy stood the “engaged” hunters and trappers equipped by the company and paid an annual salary, they either hunted meat for the brigade or trapped beaver for the company
- highest class consisted of what may be termed “sharecroppers” company equipped and supplied them in return for a stipulated share of their catch or for the entire catch at a price agreed in advance

of unique character was the “free trapper” who was un beholden to any company he looked with condescension from the pinnacle of the social pyramid he equipped and supplied himself, traveled with a company brigade or not -- as he wished and sold his catch to whoever offered the highest price



he was the aristocrat of the business as his attire and outfit demonstrated

Joe Meek described the free trapper's finery: **“They prided themselves on their hardihood and courage; even on their recklessness and profligacy. Each claimed to own the best horse; to have had the wildest adventures; to have made the most narrow escapes; to have killed the greatest number of bears and Indians; to be the greatest favorite with the Indian belles, the greatest consumer of alcohol, and to have the most money to spend, i.e. the largest credit on the books of the company. If his hearers did not believe him, he was ready to run a race with him, to beat him at ‘old sledge,’ or to fight, if fighting was preferred.... The only authority which the free trapper acknowledged was that of his Indians spouse, who generally ruled in the lodge, however her lord blustered outside.”**<sup>37</sup>

#### SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE EXPEDITION SETS OUT

David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette left the Bear River region  
bound for the Three Forks of the Missouri River and Blackfoot Country  
leading one contingent of Smith, Jackson & Sublette men  
they trapped around the north end of the Tetons into Jackson Hole -- August 1826  
they turned north to the head of the Snake River  
Jackson and Sublette were the first to explore the area of (today's Yellowstone Park)  
they dropped into a fantastic land of geysers, bubbling pots of hot mud,  
and gurgling cauldrons covered by thin colored crusts  
they viewed the great blue sheet of (Yellowstone Lake),  
which they named Sublette Lake in honor of William “Billy” Sublette  
When they arrived at the Three Forks region, they were rewarded with a yield of plentiful beaver  
as well as occasional clashes with Blackfoot Indians,  
one of which took the life of Old Pierre (Pierre's Hole) Tavanitagon

#### JEDIDIAH STRONG SMITH'S EXPEDITION SETS OUT

Jedediah Smith and his seventeen men represented the second contingent  
of the Smith, Jackson and Sublette Company  
  
they set out from the Bear River region -- August 1826  
to work down the Wasatch Mountain Range  
and probe the southern and western fringes of the Great Salt Lake  
looking for untapped beaver streams  
if possible they would return to Cache Valley after the fall hunt

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<sup>37</sup> Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 88.

if not, they would be back in time for the [July 1827] Rendezvous  
Their route led them down the Virgin River, which merged with the mighty Colorado  
they traveled through (the area of today's Zion National Park)  
they followed the Colorado River south through the land of the Mojave Indians,  
these natives received Smith well, but their attitude rapidly deteriorated  
perhaps due to ill treatment by the trappers

Trapping party headed west across the great Mojave Desert  
during the desert trek, heat became so intense that it forced Smith and his men  
to bury themselves in sand to keep cool

Fall hunt turned up precious little to hunt, or even to eat -- Fall 1826  
dismounted, hungry, with few beaver skins, Smith thought of turning back  
but decided to winter among the Mojave Indians who lived on the Colorado River  
find mounts, and look for beaver streams which had so far eluded him  
Mojave Indians would trade for food, but would not part with any of their horses  
with men and animals exhausted, provisions dangerously low  
and winter descending on the Rockies,

Smith judged it was too risky to return to the mountains  
Mojaves said that the Mexican settlements lay ten days' journey to the west  
Smith decided to travel there to resupply  
his plan encountered formidable obstacles, both geographical and human

#### YOUNG-WOLFSKILL EXPEDITION OUT OF SANTA FE (NEW MEXICO)

Ewing Young, in conjunction with his business partner William Wolfskill  
recruited eighteen men for a hunt to the Gila River -- Fall 1826

Party included:

Milton Sublette who had a reputation for being reckless with life and money  
he had finished his apprenticeship with the Ashley-Henry firm  
under the guidance of his older brother William "Billy" Sublette  
Thomas L. Smith, a big man like Milton Sublette, rowdy, fearless and courageous  
with a nearly endless capacity for "Taos Lightning"

William Wolfskill led the expedition

after Ewing Young became ill and had to remain in Santa Fe

Young-Wolfskill expedition successfully hunted the Gila River for about 250 miles  
at the mouth of the Salt River they ran afoul of Apache Indians  
who kept the trappers from removing their traps  
a shower of arrows hastened the departure of the trappers

Milton Sublette was hit in the leg and was carried from the scene by Tom Smith

Trapper's hasty retreat ended back in Santa Fe

#### DAVID E. JACKSON AND WILLIAM SUBLETTE EXPEDITION TO GREAT SALT LAKE

After a thorough effort was completed in the Three Forks region of the Missouri River

William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson led their men

into the desert northwest of Great Salt Lake

A thorough investigation of the Salt Lake area was undertaken -- 1826

Jackson and Sublette sent four men with a bullboat to circumnavigate the lake

James Clyman, Hiram Scott, Henry Fraeb and Louis Vasquez

tried to find an outlet for the mythical Buenaventura River

which supposedly flowed to the Pacific Ocean

it was a difficult and thirsty twenty-four days as mudflats form the western shore

their effort was unsuccessful as no outlet was found

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH EXPEDITION LOOKED FOR A SETTLEMENT

Following the advice of Mojave Indians

Jedediah Smith crossed Mojave Desert of Southern California

en route to the Mexican settlements

it was a thirsty, fatiguing crossing lasting fifteen days

before the Smith, Jackson and Sublette Company men arrived in San Diego -- October 1826

#### DAVID E. JACKSON AND WILLIAM SUBLETTE EXPEDITION MAKES WINTER CAMP

From the Great Salt Lake the Jackson and Sublette Expedition returned to the Cache Valley

Smith, Jackson and Sublette trappers went into winter camp -- November 1826

at the confluence of the Weber and Ogden rivers in the Salt Lake Valley

William Sublette, accompanied by long distance walker Moses "Black" Harris, hiked to St. Louis

to organize the [1827] Rendezvous caravan

snow prevented travel on horseback

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH EXPEDITION ENCOUNTERS THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT

Leaving San Diego, Smith and his men crossed the San Bernardino Mountains at last

they entered the San Bernardino Valley -- November 26, 1826

lush with orchards and fields tended by mission Indians

they reached Mission San Gabriel (near today's Los Angeles)

making them the first Americans to enter California overland from the east

After successfully crossing the Mojave Desert,

their second obstacle was Mexican Governor Jose Maria Echeandia  
who was profoundly skeptical of beaver hunting  
he could not decide whether to imprison his unwanted guests, expel them,  
hold them pending instructions from Mexico City, or send Smith himself to Mexico City,  
or even to decide to decide

After a month of this vacillation, Smith enlisted the aid of a ship captain in the harbor  
with some convincing by the captain, the governor decided the Americans could leave  
by the route they had entered

Instead of following Governor Echeandia's orders, Jedediah Smith and his men  
remained with the Spanish at Mission San Gabriel

#### CHIEF TRADER PETER SKENE OGDEN'S THIRD SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE

Again went into Snake River Country for Hudson's Bay Company  
to advance the work of trapping the region dry -- winter 1826-1827  
and thus impede American incursion into Columbia Department

#### DAVID E. JACKSON AND WILLIAM SUBLETTE SET OUT ONCE AGAIN

Jackson and Sublette broke winter camp in the Cache Valley near Salt Lake -- January 1827  
leading their party of Smith, Jackson and Sublette Company trappers,  
they conducted a successful spring hunt on the Green River

#### SECOND YOUNG-WOLFSKILL EXPEDITION OUT OF SANTA FE

Ewing Young took the leadership role this time as William Wolfskill remained in Santa Fe  
party of thirty men started west -- January 1827

Young had two intentions for this expedition:

- to take beaver
- to punish the Apache Indians

His opportunity to inflict harm arrived near the mouth of the Salt River

Young sent three men by night to act as decoys near the Indian village  
at the dawn, Tom Smith fired a shot killing an Indian  
as the natives rushed forward toward the decoys,  
a volley of fire from the trappers rained on the Indians  
those uninjured raced in retreat

Next day a delegation of Indians asked for peace

Young departed down the Gila River confident a lesson had been taught

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH LEAVES MISSION SAN GABRIEL

With a party of thirteen trappers re-provisioned and with fresh horses  
they set out from Mission San Gabriel -- mid-January 1827  
Smith and his Smith, Jackson and Sublette Company trappers re-crossed the San Bernardino Mountains  
as no Mexican lived east of these coastal mountains  
Rivers tumbled from the Sierra Nevada Mountains to feed the San Joaquin River  
Smith and his party turned northward to the San Joaquin Valley  
to the streams Captain Smith predicted would yield beaver  
these yielded beaver in sufficient quantity  
for the trappers to accumulate a substantial catch  
as they worked their way northward along the Sierra foothills

#### NATURALIST DAVID DOUGLAS RETURNS TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Made his second expedition to the Pacific Northwest  
in search of new botanical specimens -- 1827

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN'S SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE TRAPS IN CALIFORNIA

Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Country had been pretty thoroughly despoiled  
by the Hudson's Bay Company Snake River Brigade trappers -- 1827  
however, just South and West of it lay virgin ground  
in what is now (southern Oregon and northern California)  
Fearful that Americans would open a way into the untracked region, find it profitable,  
and then swing north along the coast to the Columbia Department  
Chief Factor John McLoughlin and Chief Trader Peter Skene Ogden  
determined to move in ahead of them  
From Fort Walla Walla the stocky trapper hurried almost directly south  
across the high, gray sage deserts of western Oregon,  
penetrated illegally into northern California,  
found and named a gigantic mountain (Mount Shasta)  
which the Mexicans did not know they possessed,  
and came back to Fort Vancouver  
with a wealth of both skins and geographical knowledge

#### *OWHYHEE* (AMERICAN SAILING SHIP) ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Brig out of Boston under Captain John Dominis  
carried a load of sheep up from California to Fort Vancouver  
first American ship to enter Columbia River since [1814]  
sailed up the Columbia River on a ten day visit -- 1827

## DAVID E. JACKSON. AND WILLIAM SUBLETTE RETURN TO ST. LOUIS

After their successful hunt on the Green River region the Smith, Jackson Sublette Expedition reached St. Louis -- March 1827

William "Billy" Sublette without relinquishing trapping altogether increasingly handled the business affairs of the partnership taking on responsibility for organizing and conducting the annual supply caravan he came to understand the St. Louis business world as well as the Rocky Mountain trapping system

## GENERAL WILLIAM H. ASHLEY BEGINS A NEW COMPANY

Ashley was advertising for a new company of fur trappers he had made an overture to Pierre Chouteau of Pratte, Chouteau, and Company William Sublette, who had bought Ashley's fur company interest, along with Jedediah Smith and David Jackson was furious at Ashley After negotiations with "Billy" Sublette, Ashley agreed to send James B. Brufee and Captain Hiram Scott with supplies to be delivered to Sublette's company in exchange for future furs this complex arrangement also included deals with the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company and American Fur Company

## SECOND YOUNG-WOLFSKILL EXPEDITION OUT OF SANTA FE

Ewing Young's thirty men trapped through the desert of the Gila River and the lower Colorado they turned up the Colorado River until they reached the Mojave Valley -- March 1827 Relations with the Mojave Indians were tenuous at best although six months before, Jedediah Smith had been treated well by them this change may have been due to Smith's lack of effort to conceal his well-known contempt for all Indians An inevitable attack on the trappers' camp shattered the dawn volley of rifle fire from the barricaded camp felled sixteen warriors remainder were sent fleeing in panic Further up the Colorado Valley, near the mouth of the Virgin River, Young's party divided due to a conflict between the leader and Tom Smith who refused to take orders from anyone

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONTINUES TO DIVERSIFY

Kanaka (Hawaiian) John Coxe (Naukane) returned to the Northwest Coast -- 1827

(after his visit to Fort George and London with the Hawaiian Royal family [1823])

John Coxe (Naukane) retired and was given a plot of land two miles below Fort Vancouver when pig-keeping expanded he came out of retirement and became fort's swineherd grazed pigs on the plain below the fort and river -- later called Coxe's Plain

Kanaka John Coxe planted fruit trees in the Columbia Department

beginning of the industry is indicated by a story attributed to historian Hubert Bancroft: **"The first fruit tree grown on the Columbia sprang from the seeds of an apple eaten at a dinner party in London. A lady had placed the seeds in [George] Simpson's waistcoat pocket, so the story goes, and they were not discovered until the Governor again gave the seeds to the gardener, who planted them...and thence within the territory of Oregon began the growth of the apple-trees."**<sup>38</sup>

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SAW MILLING OPERATION

First sawmill built West of the Mississippi River -- 1827

manual labor sawmill operated North of Columbia River by Hudson's Bay Company at Mill Creek on Columbia River seven miles East (upstream) of Fort Vancouver

Inexpensive to build and operate -- it proved to be very successful

one man took up a position in a pit dug under the log to be cut

second man stood on top of the log

each "sawyer" held one end of a long ripsaw which was used to cut the log into planks

two sawyers could cut about three thousand feet of planking a day

Sawmill was soon staffed with eight man crew of Kanakas

who were paid seventeen English Pounds per year for their work

plus meals which consisted of smoked salmon and sea biscuit

#### CADBORO ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER FROM LONDON

Seventy-ton two-masted British schooner *Cadboro* was built in London

she was the crack vessel of the fleet and was sent to the Columbia Department

*Cadboro*, under Captain John Swan, arrived on the Columbia River from England

reached Fort Vancouver with thirty new employees for the fort -- Spring 1827

Chief Factor John decided to use *Cadboro* in the Columbia Department trade

to transport men and supplies to open Fort Langley

and to stand guard while that fort was being built

#### U.S. MILITARY'S FORT ATKINSON ABANDONED

Colonel Henry Leavenworth withdrew his garrison far down the Missouri River -- 1827

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<sup>38</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 76.

Fort Leavenworth, built to replace Fort Atkinson,  
was established in a position to be more easily supplied  
and, supposedly, gave protection to both Santa Fe and the fur traffic upriver

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH EXPEDITION SET OUT FOR THE RENDEZVOUS

Smith's investigation of the Sierra foothills with his Smith, Jackson and Sublette Company men  
had determined that no large river connected the interior with the Pacific Ocean  
and no pass existed through the Sierra Nevada Mountains

With rendezvous less than two months in the future,

Smith knew he had to get his furs over the mountains

Smith turned his caravan up the rough canyon (near today's Sacramento)

climbed sixty miles into the heights still buried in snow -- first week in May 1827

with six horses fallen, the rest could not break through

he next wound his way south to the Stanislaus River

#### SECOND YOUNG-WOLFSKILL EXPEDITION

After the discontented breakup on the Colorado River

they eventually all made it back to Santa Fe -- May 1827

Ewing Young had expanded the geographic knowledge over a huge arc

they may have even seen the Grand Canyon from the north rim

However, the commercial value of the expedition was a failure

Mexican authorities had impounded much of their catch

Milton Sublette had fled with his share of the furs

but Young lost his furs to confiscation by the Mexican government

and found himself under arrest in the bargain

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH DIVIDES HIS TRAPPING PARTY

Back in the San Joaquin Valley Captain Smith reached a painful decision

he would leave eleven men with the furs in camp on the Stanislaus River

while he and two companions, Robert Evans and Silas Gobel

attempted another assault on the Sierra Nevada Mountains over Ebbetts Pass

with nine horses and mules

after the rendezvous, he promised, he would return and take up a fall hunt

Smith and his two travelers started across the snow-covered Sierras -- May 20, 1827

they became the Americans first to reach the Great Basin

(a portion of which was referred to as the Great American Desert)



## JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS TWO COMPANIONS TRAVEL SOUTH

Smith and two Smith, Jackson and Sublette Company men journeyed south of the Humboldt River  
they struggled directly east across the (Nevada) desert

serrated by one narrow mountain range after another

Smith noted “**High Rocky hills afford the only relief to the desolate waste.**”<sup>39</sup>

Captain Smith despaired of surviving

at times they buried themselves in sand to cool their bodies

On the twenty-fifth day, Robert Evans collapsed

Smith pushed ahead and stumbled on a water hole

that enabled him to go back and save his comrade

## CHIEF TRADER JAMES McMILLAN SENT INTO THE LOWER FRASER VALLEY

McMillan was sent a second time by Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

to occupy the lower Fraser River region

and construct the post demanded by Governor of Rupert’s Land George Simpson

Party, completely outfitted, came this time by sea on the supply ship *Cadboro*

included three clerks, and twenty-one men among them two Kanakas

Chief Trader James McMillan and his men

arrived and began construction of the long-delayed Fort Langley -- June 24, 1827

on the Lower Fraser River

## FORT LANGLEY PLANNED

Although Governor Simpson viewed this fort as the headquarters post for Hudson’s Bay Company

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin saw its purpose as a backup to Fort Vancouver

in case of some disaster

such as serious Indian attack on Fort Vancouver

or Britain being forced out of the Columbia Valley

Fort Langley also was to be built as a defense against American ships

its location made it an effective provisioner and provider

## HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY’S FORT THOMPSON

Was built across from Astorian (Pacific Fur Company) David Stuart’s Fort Okanogan -- [1811]

Fort Thompson was located on the opposite side of the Columbia River -- 1827

## JEDIDIAH SMITH REACHED THE GREAT SALT LAKE

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<sup>39</sup> Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 92.

Traveling with Robert Evans and Silas Gobel

three Smith, Jackson and Sublette Company men successfully crossed the Nevada desert  
once again they saw the Great Salt Lake -- June 27, 1827

#### 1827 RENDEZVOUS BEGINS

This year's Rendezvous held at the South End of Bear (Sweet) Lake  
(near Great Salt Lake, Utah) began -- June 27, 1827

Whiskey flowed freely, and the festivities lasted for weeks  
things generally got rowdy -- debauchery ran rampant at the rendezvous  
by the time the Rendezvous was over, many of the mountain men  
had lost their entire year's earnings

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH REACHES THE RENDEZVOUS

Smith, Robert Evans and Silas Gobel led one mule and one horse  
when they emerged from the eastern foothills of the Wasatch Mountains  
to the south shore of Bear (Sweet) Lake -- July 3, 1827

Rendezvous was in full swing **“My arrival caused a considerable bustle in camp for myself and party had been given up as lost. A small Cannon brought up from St. Louis was loaded and fired for a salute.”**<sup>40</sup>

Captain Jedediah Strong Smith, along with his comrades, had again played the pioneer  
they were the first Americans to return from California by an overland route  
becoming the first known whites to surmount the Sierra Nevada Mountains  
and the first to cross the Great Basin

#### SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE SHOWS A PROFIT

When Jedediah Smith rejoined his partners at the Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine Rendezvous  
he and his partners:

- had amassed 7,400 pounds of beaver;
- discharged all debts;
- ordered the next year's supplies;
- and counted a modest profit

To this success Jedediah Smith had contributed nothing  
season's furs he had gathered remained in the Central Valley of California  
west of the Sierra Nevada Mountains

Rather the credit fell to David E. Jackson and William “Billy” Sublette who dominated the partnership

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<sup>40</sup> Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*. P. 93.

along with the able, young Robert Campbell serving as clerk

#### AMERICAN FUR COMPANY EXPANDS

Ramsay Crooks, a lieutenant in John Jacob Astor's company convinced Bernard Pratte of Pratte, Chouteau and Company to take over management of the Western Department of the American Fur Company under this agreement, B. Pratte & Company would buy all of their merchandise and dispose of all of their furs through the American Fur Company

Ramsay Crooks also acquired for Astor the Columbia Fur Company from Kenneth McKenzie

McKenzie, a veteran Nor'Wester, had ruled Columbia Fur Company since its beginning [in 1821] had been competing with Astor's operation on the Mississippi River region

company name was changed to the Upper Missouri Outfit of the American Fur Company

Kenneth McKenzie continued his domination under the new company name

Ramsay Crooks and the American Fur Company had seized control of trapping and trading from the Big Sioux River to the Yellowstone River

Crooks dominated trade on the whole Mississippi-Missouri river system

#### ST LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY ENTERS THE WEST

Major Joshua Pilcher and a party of trappers representing the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company -- 1827 traveled to the Colorado River basin and as far to the northwest as Fort Colville on a two-year trading expedition

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH THOUGHT CALIFORNIA TO BE PROMISING

Ten days after his arrival at the Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine's Bear Lake Rendezvous Jedediah Smith hit the return trail to California with eighteen men -- July 13, 1827 to rejoin the eleven men he had left behind trapping the Merced area

He had told the eleven men he had left on the Stanislaus River in California to wait for him no longer than [September 20] that gave him nine weeks to get back to them

He followed the route he had taken the year before across the mountains to the Colorado River but he was sure men and animals could not cross the desert between the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the Great Salt Lake

he intended to head north, up the Central Valley and the seacoast toward the heart of Hudson's Bay Company domain

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SHIPPING

Captain Swan turned over command of the *Cadboro* to Lieutenant Amelius Simpson  
*Cadboro* was based at Fort Langley and was long a familiar site in local ports  
she made money for the Company in trading trips to and from Nootka Sound  
*William and Ann* served Hudson's Bay Company as a permanent supply ship -- 1827  
*Broughton* a twenty-five to thirty-ton sloop launched at Fort Vancouver -- 1827  
was used by Hudson's Bay Company exclusively for river service

#### FORT LANGLEY CONSTRUCTED

Men and horses were unloaded from the *Cadboro* -- July 30, 1827

work of building the first fort easily accessible from the Pacific north of the Columbia began  
first timber for the fort was cut -- August 1

First objective of the small group of Hudson's Bay Company employees

was to complete one of the bastions

rumors had been heard the Indians were preparing to massacre them

if they persisted in building the fort

Construction of a stockade 120 by 135 feet took only six weeks to complete

according to the journal of Archibald McDonald who became Chief Trader

first bastion, 12 feet square and built of 8 inch logs,

was up except for the bark roof -- [August 13]

second bastion was finished except for the roof -- [August 31]

This area was regarded as most suitable for catching and processing salmon

James McMillan made his first large salmon catch -- 1827

natives used canoes to do the actual fishing

boatloads of freshly caught fish were brought to the beach

where women cleaned and dried them for shipping to the post

dried salmon were exchanged for goods much like furs

McMillan stated: **"We could trade at the door of our fort, I suppose, a million of dried salmon, if we chose -- enough to feed all the people of Rupert's Land."**<sup>41</sup>

Because of the hasty construction, the post rapidly deteriorated

(was eventually rebuilt two miles further upstream [1839]

but that new post lasted only one year before fire destroyed it

rebuilt again, the next post served for fifty years)

#### LINKS BETWEEN FORT VANCOUVER AND FORT LANGLEY

Hudson's Bay Company sea link from Fort Vancouver to Fort Langley

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<sup>41</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 83.

required ships to cross the treacherous Columbia River bar  
navigate along the fog-shrouded and rocky coast devoid of safe harbors  
and enter the current-torn inner waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Straits of Georgia  
getting into the Fraser River was very difficult

as shown by the journal entry of one member of an expedition: **“Another attempt was made this morning to beat up the entrance of the cannal into Fraser’s River but without preceding any distance, for the wind fell and about 7 am anchor was again cast on the edge of the south Sturgeon Shoal. Captain Simpson and Mr. Annance were off twice in a boat during the day to sound for the channel; but returned after nine at night without having discovered one.”** -- July 27, 1827

There was an alternative canoe route  
which had been taken by the initial exploratory party  
Hudson’s Bay Company developed this important canoe communication link  
with the help of Kanakas labor

#### CONVENTION OF 1827

Area in dispute between the United States and Great Britain  
(approximately 2/3 of the present state of Washington)  
was no better known than it had been during the skirmishes  
preceding the first treaty of Joint Occupation -- [1818]  
American Albert Gallatin and the British met -- August 6, 1827  
extend Convention of 1818 -- Joint Occupation to run forever  
each country must give the other one year notice to change the agreement  
No provision was made to allow for establishing a government in the Pacific Northwest  
in fact, any such effort was in strict opposition to the treaty agreement  
No more effort was made to gain a foothold in Pacific Northwest for over a decade  
nor was any effort made to assist American citizens  
however, American trappers, traders, businessmen, and missionaries  
created a bond between Pacific Northwest and the United States  
Questionable future of Texas also compelled America  
to be concerned about the Mexican territories

#### FIRST MAP OF BRITISH COLUMBIA’S INTERIOR

Was drawn by Archibald McDonald of the Hudson’s Bay Company -- 1827  
to illustrate his district report to the Company  
this map collected what knowledge there was of the region and fixed the location of several places  
he showed the region’s connection to the Fraser River  
Kamloops is shown between the Columbia River

and the Hudson's Bay Company District of New Caledonia

## JEDIDIAH SMITH JOURNEYS TO CALIFORNIA ONCE AGAIN

Mojave Indians had been warned by Spanish officials not to let Americans pass

Jedediah Smith seemed ironically doomed to violence

although he was one of the most skilled, humane, and religious

of the American Mountain Men

Smith's trapping party of eighteen men eventually reached the Colorado River

where a crossing was attempted -- August 18, 1827

provisions and gear were loaded on a cane raft

horses began swimming the river

When Smith and eight men reached midriver, the Mojave Indians suddenly attacked

ten of Smith's men remaining on shore fell victim to arrows and clubs,

while the others fended off waterborne assaults

Smith and his Smith. Jackson and Sublette Combine companions reached the opposite bank in safety,

although one man had taken a severe blow to the head from a war club

Confronted on shore by several hundred warriors,

Smith scattered most of his goods along the river

in hopes of diverting his assailants with the lure of plunder

When that ploy failed, he gathered the survivors in a small cotton wood grove

and prepared to fight to the last

Mojaves closed in slowly, taking advantage of the scant cover

when some drew within range, Smith had two of his best marksmen fire

they killed two and wound a third

**“Uppon [sic] this the indians [sic] ran off like frightened sheep and we were released from the apprehension of immediate death.”<sup>42</sup>**

Death less immediate yet loomed large

they were nine men, one badly hurt, cast adrift in a desolate land

with fifteen pounds of fried meat but no horses or even containers for water

Smith decided to attempt to return to California -- back across the Mojave Desert

his talent for finding water got them through the desert

good fortune also assisted when they stumbled upon Indians

from whom to purchase four horses and some containers for water

Ten days after the fight on the Colorado River -- August 28, 1827

Smith and his eight companion trappers entered the San Bernardino Valley

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<sup>42</sup> Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 94.

reluctant to test the California government too openly,  
they clung to the eastern fringe of the valley while traveling North,  
trapping efforts along the way proved to be very successful

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH NEEDS SUPPLIES AND HORSES

He wrote to Father Jose Sanchez at San Gabriel Mission but did not go there  
instead he butchered some cattle stolen from the mission  
and added enough horses to mount his men  
Then he withdrew east of the San Bernardino Mountains and turned north

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH REUNITES WITH HIS CALIFORNIA TRAPPERS

Smith reached the Stanislaus River -- September 18, 1827  
when he rode into the camp he had left four months earlier  
reunited with the nine survivors, all that was left of the original eleven,  
who had remained trapping  
he was two days earlier than he had promised  
Smith once again needed to reequip  
in an effort to acquire more horses and needed supplies  
which were necessary to keep his company moving north  
Smith led his men West toward the San Jose Mission

#### CADBORO SAILED AWAY FROM FORT LANGLEY

Weighed anchor and headed south leaving the fort's occupants to fend for themselves -- September 18  
formidable structure they lived in was only 40 X 45 yards -- November 26  
Flagstaff was erected and the new post was officially named Fort Langley  
in honor of Thomas Langley -- prominent stockholder in the Hudson's Bay Company

#### FATHER PIERRE JEAN DE SMET -- BIOGRAPHY

Born in Termonde, Belgium to a wealthy ship outfitter -- [January 31, 1801]  
he was raised by firm but kind parents  
however, his father's rigorous attitude resulted in a distance between father and son  
As a boy and youth De Smet developed a fine physique and great determination  
his playmates call him Samson -- in reference to the physically strong Biblical character  
he acquired a taste for adventure and travel which remained with him for the rest of his life  
His father feared he would become a soldier of fortune  
or mere wanderer seeking adventure  
he sent his son to the Catholic Preparatory Seminary at Mechlin, Belgium

young man's world broke down when his beloved mother suddenly died  
Mechlin Seminary was visited by Father Charles Nerinck, a missionary from Kentucky  
he told students, including twenty-year-old Pierre De Smet, of limitless opportunities  
he remarked: **“How can it be that Napoleon found millions of men ready to sacrifice their lives  
to ravage a nation and to aid him in conquering the world while I can not find a handful of devoted  
men to save an entire people and extend the reign of God.”**<sup>43</sup>

his graphic descriptions persuaded Pierre Jean that he had found his vocation  
he was determined to become a missionary in the United States  
Pierre De Smet and several companions left Belgium to become missionaries in America  
they reached their destination -- [June 3, 1823]  
St. Ferdinand de Florissant, a small village between St. Charles and St. Louis,  
close to the mouth of Missouri River  
De Smet become a teacher of Indian youth  
he collects all sorts of species of plants and animals  
which he sent back to his correspondents in Europe

#### FATHER PIERRE JEAN DE SMET

Pierre-Jean (also known as Peter-John) De Smet joined the Society of Jesus and was ordained a priest  
in St. Stanislaus church in St. Ferdinand de Florissant -- September 23, 1827  
Father De Smet, stocky and heavy, but a sympathetic and gracious man of few words  
was assigned to teach religion, English language and agriculture in a Catholic boarding school  
(when the school was closed, De Smet is transferred to college of St. Louis [1830])  
Father De Smet was a man of tremendous energy and vitality  
possessing great physical and spiritual strength  
he showed courage combined with Christian gentleness  
and was indefatigable but gentle and resolute  
Father De Smet's voluminous writing showed a well-integrated, attractive personality  
with a keen sense of humor with good taste  
he possessed considerable power of analysis and prophecy  
His next ten years were spend among the American natives of the East

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH AT SAN JOSE MISSION

Captain Smith visited with the mission leader Father Narciso Duran  
who proved to be much less accommodating  
than Father Sanchez at Mission San Gabriel

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<sup>43</sup> John Terrill, *Life of De Smet*, P. 14



Smith once again fell under the power of Mexican Governor Jose Maria Echeandia  
now headquartered in Monterey -- October 1827  
Again Smith had trouble as officials seized two wounded men  
one died under cruel treatment  
other was sentenced to death -- (but was later released)  
However, Smith discovered that horses were plentiful and cheap in California  
in the mountains horses could be traded as profitably as beaver pelts  
Smith sold his accumulated beaver skins -- 1,568 pounds  
to the captain of a ship in San Francisco Bay for \$2.50 per pound -- October 1827  
this brought nearly \$4,000 which Smith used to purchase 250 horses and mules  
to add to the sixty-five head he already possessed  
For three months the governor detained the Americans  
before deciding to permit Jedediah Smith and his trappers to leave  
provided he promise stay out of California  
Smith immediately began preparations for a journey to the North  
two more men were added from the Spanish settlement  
to replace the man who died and another who had deserted  
Ironically, authorities now grew increasingly agitated over how much time he was taking

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PUNITIVE WAR

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Alexander McKenzie  
left Fort Vancouver for the Fraser River area to deliver letters to Fort Langley  
McKenzie along with other four men was surprised on Hood's Canal by Klallam Indians  
and murdered while they camped on the shores of Puget Sound -- December 1827  
an Indian woman traveling with the whites was taken hostage  
Chief Factor McLoughlin believed if Indians were not punished, whites would not be safe  
he cut off all trade goods and supplies to the Olympic Peninsula area  
Alexander R. McLeod was sent to find the culprits  
he led a Hudson's Bay Company punitive expedition of sixty men  
including at least two Kanakas manning canoes, to retaliate against the Klallams  
McLeod had chance meeting at which eight Indians were killed

**“Two families of Clallam [sic] were encountered and wiped out. Two men, two women and four children [were] killed. It was never ascertained if they knew anything about the killing of McKenzie.”<sup>44</sup>**

remainder of the Klallams in the area retreated to a nearby village to negotiate

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<sup>44</sup> Donald E. Waite, *The Langley Story*, P. 2.

McLeod's expedition was supported by the firepower of the *Cadboro*  
which located the main party of Klallam natives and blasted their village with cannons  
after which Hudson's Bay Company men landed and torched the remaining huts  
burning the village to the ground along with forty-six canoes  
Defeated Indians gave up their female hostage and executed the warriors who killed McKenzie  
a count revealed seventeen Klallam people had been killed

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN'S SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE REENTERS SNAKE COUNTRY

Ogden had entered Oregon and California earlier with his brigade -- 1827  
thus raising some defense against possible American encroachment  
Ogden now returned to the Snake River area -- winter 1827-1828  
conditions were terrible as bitter cold and towering drifts locked him in his camp  
on the (Portneuf River) in the southern part of (Idaho)  
Ogden's success was complete  
in each of the four years he focused on that region [1825-1828]  
he brought back in excess of three thousand skins

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS TWENTY TRAPPERS REACH THE SACRAMENTO RIVER

Smith and his men finally separated themselves from the Mexican Governor Jose Maria Echeandia  
with the addition of fifty more animals  
an impressive procession of twenty men driving 365 horses and mules was formed  
they turned back to the eastern edge of the Central Valley  
a safe distance from Mexican settlements -- end of December 1827  
Smith reached the Sacramento River with his Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine men  
he followed its principal fork which he named the American River  
there he spent the next three months trapping and hunting beaver  
along the streams of the Sacramento and American rivers -- Winter 1827-28  
Smith was disappointed to discover -these rivers did not breach the mountain range to the east  
but the streams provided abundant beaver yielding 800 pelts  
even if a scarcity of traps limited the catch

#### HALL JACKSON KELLEY -- PUBLICIST OF OREGON

Author and promoter of Pacific Northwest was born in New Hampshire -- [1790]  
he was manually dexterous, but given to solitary dreams rather than to handicrafts  
he injured his eyes, he said, through studying Virgil by moonlight  
He established himself as a schoolteacher  
married the daughter of a minister -- lost her and took a second wife -- [1822]

He was humorless, self-centered, inflexible, and cursed with an unfortunate ability to grate on the nerves of everyone with whom he came in contact  
He was summarily fired for undisclosed reasons from the Boston school at which he was teaching -- [1823]  
After studying maps of the region, he predicted a great port city would develop at junction of the Willamette and Columbia rivers  
a prediction which proved to be correct (Portland, Oregon)  
Reading the *Journal of Lewis and Clark* further spurred his interest in Oregon  
Kelley decided to found a new republic of civil and religious freedoms  
he presented a Memorial to Congress on the subject -- February 11, 1828

#### FORT UNION -- AMERICAN FUR COMPANY POST

Was established by the American Fur Company  
at the mouth of the Yellowstone River -- 1828  
Presided over in grand style by Kenneth McKenzie  
head of the Upper Missouri Outfit of the American Fur Company  
there he demonstrated why he was known by friend and enemy alike  
as the "King of the Missouri"

#### UNITED STATES ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN LOUIS EULALIE DE BONNEVILLE

Born in France -- [April 13, 1796]  
son of a civil engineer and outspoken political journalist  
who was forced into exile by Napoleon  
Brought to the United States by his parents while still a child [1803]  
Benjamin was well educated, at age eighteen he received an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point -- [1813]  
Benjamin Bonneville received a degree in engineering in just two years [1815]  
and entered the United States Army  
He was commissioned brevet second lieutenant<sup>45</sup> of the light artillery  
spent his first ten years of military service supervising the construction of roadways at posts in New England, Mississippi, and the Arkansas Territory  
He was transferred to Fort Gibson, Indian Territory (Oklahoma) -- [1824]  
and shortly thereafter was promoted to Captain  
a short, stocky man, it was noted: **"...the moment his head was uncovered, a bald crown gave him credit for a few more years that he was really entitled to."**<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Brevet rank was an honorary position give for battlefield gallantry or meritorious service much as medals are awarded today.

his journal showed him to be susceptible to the grand and beautiful  
and revealed his kindness of spirit  
After traveling back to France as a guest of General Lafayette,  
Bonneville was transferred to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri -- 1828

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN AGAIN LEADS THE SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE

“Fat trader” was sent on another Hudson’s Bay Company expedition into Snake country -- 1828  
this year the brigade included the three Findlay brothers: Augustin, Miequim, and Pinesta  
Ogden’s Hudson’s Bay Company party would venture so far southward from the Snake River  
he would reach Great Salt Lake and the Humboldt River  
they passed through the wastes of the Great Basin on to the lower reaches of the Colorado River  
where they used short wooden spears to fight off attacking Mojave Indians  
his French-Canadians killed twenty-six  
then set traps all the way down the river to the Gulf of California before turning homeward  
On the way back to Fort Vancouver by way of the Pitt River in Northern California  
Ogden would acquire furs that netted him a profit of about \$15,000  
Details of the epic journey are only sketchily known  
after reaching Fort Walla Walla with his catch, Ogden started down the Columbia River in a canoe  
at the Dalles the canoe capsized: nine lives, five hundred furs, and all of Ogden’s records  
were lost

#### CHIEF FACTOR JOHN McLOUGHLIN’S PLAN TO EXPAND SHIPPING

Trade could begin much earlier in the season if sufficient materials were on hand at Fort Vancouver  
rather than waiting for the arrival of the annual trading ship from London  
London leaders attempted to implement this idea -- 1828  
by allocating three ships (about two hundred tons each) to the Columbia Department  
two to make annual voyages to London and the third to remain along the coast  
From this year on, Hudson’s Bay Company operated yearly round-trip brigades from Fort Vancouver  
to the Snake River country, to California, to Montreal, and to New Caledonia (Fort Alexandera)

#### FURTHER HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY DIVERSIFICATION

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin found time to establish new posts  
until there was a dozen forts under his care  
He developed new industries:  
•he purchased and exported salmon;

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<sup>46</sup> Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 118.

- he established trade with Alaska;
- he erected flour mills, built a sawmill four or five miles up the river from the fort;
- he was exploring possibilities of exporting lumber and salmon to California and Hawaii
- he saw to the raising of crops to supplement food supplies
  - considerable acreage behind the Fort Vancouver was under cultivation;
- he planted the first fruit trees along the Columbia River

Dr. John McLoughlin also was a humanitarian

he encouraged planting of gardens, the promotion of home life and domestic industry

## LUMBER EXPORTED TO HAWAII

Chief Factor John McLoughlin had put a small sawmill in operation

its development hinged on the Hawaii market

where 1,000 board feet brought from forty to fifty dollars

First shipment of lumber to Hawaii

was hauled from original Columbia River Mill -- 1828 arrived in Hawaii -- [1829]

demand was spotty and unpredictable

## EARLY FARMING

Dr. John McLoughlin had determined none of livestock would be killed for meat until a sufficient herd existed

McLoughlin built the herd from thirty-one Spanish cattle to 153 head -- 1828

Fort Vancouver's other livestock soon included

horses, sheep, goats, chickens, turkeys, pigeons, and 200 pigs [from a start of 17]

Chief Factor McLoughlin's fields during the past season produced

4,000 bushels of potatoes and more than 3,000 bushels of various grains

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SETS POLICY

According to Company thinking, action was necessary in Columbia Department :

- Snake River Brigades were to go on holding the Americans at bay;
- activity against the Yankee sea peddlers on the coast would have to be stepped up;
- in particular, the new central depot Simpson had ordered built on the Fraser River would have to be given more attention

than Dr. John McLoughlin, still stationed at Fort Vancouver, seemed willing to give it

Chief Factor's attitude annoyed Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson

though a crew dispatched by the massive Chief Factor had obediently

built Fort Langley thirty miles upstream from the Fraser's double-pronged delta,

McLoughlin himself declined to visit the new post

worse, McLoughlin refused to use the Fraser River for supplying New Caledonia  
instead, goods came in over the ship-crippling bar of the Columbia River,  
were painfully hauled by canoe five hundred miles upstream to the Okanogan River,  
and then were laboriously ferried up the Okanogan  
to horseback trails Nor'Wester John Stuart had blazed fifteen years before  
Dr. McLoughlin's sole excuse for the negligence, so he wrote the directors in London,  
was that he had heard that the Fraser was **"difficult and dangerous and [a] Great part of it in  
the Summer Months unnavigable."**<sup>47</sup>

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE TRAPPERS IN CALIFORNIA

After successfully hunting the upper reaches of the Sacramento River  
they climbed out of the Central Valley and turned toward the Pacific Ocean  
carrying about 800 beaver pelts with them -- April-May-June 1828  
Mountains which fed the Trinity and Klamath rivers proved nearly impassable  
for men driving more than three hundred animals  
which he planned to sell at the American fur hunters annual rendezvous  
in what is now (Wyoming)  
horses and mules crowded the narrow trails slowing progress  
several plunged to their death on rocky precipices  
game all but disappeared  
Indians tracked them -- seldom missing an opportunity to harass the trappers with arrows  
Captain Jedediah Smith and his companions reached the Pacific Ocean  
even the ocean afforded scant relief as forests grew to the water's edge  
they turned North toward Oregon

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS TRAPPERS ENTER THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Crossed 42° North into Oregon -- June 23, 1828  
expedition made their first Oregon camp on the north side of the (Winchuck River)  
that evening, Indians visited camp bringing berries, small fish and roots to trade  
Next day, because of high tide, Smith's expedition traveled only three miles  
they camped on the south bank of the (Chetco River) -- June 24  
near the camp was a village of ten or twelve Indian lodges -- but the natives had all disappeared  
Smith's party traveled twelve miles along the Pacific coast before turning inland -- June 25  
they took an old Indian trail behind (Cape Ferrelo), and crossed (Whalehead Creek)

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<sup>47</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 131.

no Indians were seen that day, but two men who were sent back to hunt for a mule reported being attacked by Indians

Mountain Men escaped by retreating on horseback and swimming a creek  
trappers camped that night on the north bank of (Thomas Creek) near its mouth  
once again the Indians could not be seen, but their lodges were close by

Next morning, three of the missing horses were found badly wounded with arrows -- June 26  
this day's travel was relatively easy as they continued along the Indian trail  
to the mouth of the (Pistol River)

there, because of high tide, the group camped on the south side

when counting horses, one particularly valuable animal was found to be missing  
it was presumed killed by Indians when the earlier three horses were wounded

Expedition traveled over Cape Sebastian and along the beach -- June 27

to the mouth of the (Rogue River) where they established their fifth camp in Oregon  
on the south side of the (Rogue River)

large numbers of Indian lodges were counted on both sides of the river

but again, all of the natives had vanished

because timber was scarce along the beach

one of the lodges was torn down by the trappers to acquire puncheons to make rafts

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH'S PARTY CONTINUES NORTH THROUGH OREGON

Rafts were used the next morning to ferry goods across the (Rogue River) -- June 28, 1828

followed by the animal herd -- twelve to fifteen animals drowned in the crossing

resulting in a loss of some two dozen horses and mules in just three days

once across the (Rogue River), the brigade moved northward along the shore

to establish a camp at (Euchre Creek near Ophir) -- June 28, 1828

On this day only five miles were made -- June 29

high tides again prevented travel on the beaches

forced the brigade into the thicket-covered hills

camp was made at (Mussel Creek)

Next morning, Captain Jedediah Smith took the group up the beach -- June 30

they worked their way behind (Humbug Mountain) where camp was made on (Brush Creek)

two more mules had been lost:

- one fell into an elk pit made by Indians
- and the other fell down a cliff

Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine brigade continued the next day -- July 1

they moved along the beach and crossed the hills through Port Orford, past (Garrison Lake),

and through the gap at Cape Blanco where one horse was crowded off a cliff and killed

they pressed on to the (Sixes River) where camp was made on the south side  
while the expedition waited for low tide

Following day was an easy day of travel along the beach and over small sand hills -- July 2  
past (Floras River) to their tenth campsite in Oregon located just south of (Bandon)  
length of service for most of the men most of the men expired this day -- July 2

Smith called all hands together

he re-engaged them all for the Smith. Jackson and Sublette Combine  
at a rate of one dollar per day

Expedition made another early start this time bound for the (Coquille River) -- July 3

Jedediah Smith arriving at the river ahead of the group,

discovered some Indians moving as fast as possible up river in a canoe

Smith galloped his horse to get ahead of them

when they saw they could not outrace him

they pulled ashore and attempted to destroy the canoe

with Smith screaming at them, they abandoned the canoe and fled

Smith and his trappers used the canoe to ferry their goods across the (Coquille River)

all but one of the horses successfully swam over

group traveled five miles further and camped at (Whiskey Run Creek) -- July 3

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH'S TRAPPERS TAKE A CAPTIVE

At (Whiskey Run Creek) in the morning -- July 4, 1828

one of the men caught an Indian boy about ten years old

boy was brought to camp and was given beads and dried meat

Indian indicated by using signs:

- that all of the other Indians had fled in canoes and left him
- he was from the Willamette Valley
- he was a slave of one of the bands who fled at Smith's approach

trappers gave him the name of Marion and he continued with the group to the (Umpqua River)

Smith. Jackson and Sublette Combine Brigade continued to hug the coastline

they experienced difficult travel through thickets and across challenging ravines

that night camp was made on a long point of (Cape Arago)

this marked the first American 4th of July in southern Oregon

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH'S TRAPPERS TRADE WITH THE INDIANS

Next day was a short day of travel making less than two miles -- July 5, 1828

finding good grass and judging the horses to be tired,

camp was made in the natural meadows of (Shore Acres)



friendly contact with Indians was made for the first time since the (Winchuck River)  
two Indians who spoke Chinook jargon visited camp  
told the trappers the welcome news that there were only ten days travel  
from the Calapooya people in the Willamette Valley  
meeting Indians who could communicate in trade language  
indicated the brigade had entered the region of Hudson's Bay Company influence

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS MEN CAMP FOR TWO DAYS

Progress was slow once again as thick brush and marshes limited advancement to two miles  
before camp was set up at (Sunset Bay) -- July 6  
after the camp was established, two elk were killed  
On their fifteenth day in Oregon it was decided to maintain the (Sunset Bay) camp -- July 7  
to rest the horses, prepare meat for travel, and clear a road to (Coos Bay)  
camp was visited by about 100 Indians bringing fish and mussels for sale  
Smith bought a sea otter skin from the chief  
these Indians were all armed with knives and tomahawks -- one had a flintlock musket  
some natives possessed items which indicated trade for otter and beaver skins  
one wore a cloak, and others had cloth pieces

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH CAMPED AT A COOS INDIAN VILLAGE

Expedition moved North two more miles from (Sunset Bay) camp -- July 8  
before they broke through the thick brush to the beach (at Charleston)  
where they found a large Indian village and camped  
villagers brought goods to trade including fish, shell fish, berries, and some furs  
in the evening it was discovered that arrows had been shot into eight of their animals  
three mules and one horse had been killed  
and another horse was injured so badly that it had to be left behind  
Indian interpreters told the trappers  
killing was done by an Indian angry over a trade he had made  
tribal oral history identifies the vandal as a visitor from a lower Umpqua village  
who tried to steal some elk meat and was driven from camp by the cook  
angered, the Indian wanted the Coos to attack the trappers to avenge the insult  
Expedition crossed (South Slough) using canoes -- July 9  
then moved up the east shore of Coos Bay where camp was established for the night  
area was well-populated with Indian lodges  
many Indians came to the camp with fish and berries for sale  
trappers bought as much as they could

more beaver and otter skins were also purchased  
trappers asked the Indians about the shooting of their animals the day before  
but the local chiefs claimed no responsibility  
Next day, trappers again used canoes to cross Coos Bay to the (North Spit) -- July 10  
crossing went well  
Jedediah Smith remained on the east side with five men  
to swim over the last horses and mules  
he felt apprehensive because the Indians' behavior  
indicated they were considering an attack  
Captain Smith and his mountain men camped for the night (near Henderson Marsh)

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH REACHED THE UMPQUA RIVER

After a long day's drive along the beach they arrived at the mouth of the (Umpqua River) -- July 11  
camp was established near a small Indian village -- July 11, 1828  
on the south bank of the river (at Winchester Bay)  
Indians living in the area appeared friendly and Chinook jargon was spoken by several  
large delegation of seventy to eighty Indians brought fish and berries  
which they sold at an expensive rate  
Hudson's Bay Company was always wary in dealing with the Umpqua Indians  
only well-armed parties were sent through their country  
Smith's brigade was unaware that these Indians had a reputation as being hostile to fur traders

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON TRAVELS WEST

With characteristic impulsiveness, Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson  
decided to check in person on Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin and the Columbia Department  
Governor of Rupert's Land Simpson left York Factory on Hudson Bay -- July 12, 1828  
complete with bagpipes, tartan, and tall beaver hat  
he led eighteen men in two canoes up the Peace River with its terrible portages  
and crossed overland through central British Columbia

#### INCIDENT WITH THE UMPQUA INDIANS

Captain Jedediah Smith on the morning of their twentieth day in Oregon -- July 12  
led his brigade across the Umpqua River to a landing (near the future site of Umpqua City)  
From there Jedediah Smith's party traveled three miles upriver  
along the way, one of the Indians accompanying the caravan stole and hid an axe  
Smith and another trapper seized the native and tied a cord around his neck  
to frighten him into revealing the location of the axe

while other trappers stood by with guns drawn  
in case there was resistance from the other fifty Indians present  
axe was recovered, but the incident carried more significance than first thought  
Indian who was involved was an Umpqua Chief  
Camp was made that afternoon on the north side of (Winchester Bay) -- July 12  
remainder of the day passed peacefully enough in trading furs and buying berries

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH ESTABLISHED CAMP ON THE SMITH RIVER

Expedition continued for about four miles  
around the east side of (Winchester Bay) -- Sunday, July 13, 1828  
eighteen Americans once again made camp  
this time at the mouth of a tributary which took Smith's name along the west bank  
probably on the north bank of the Smith River channel  
opposite the west tip of (Perkins Island)  
Once again fifty to sixty Kelawatset Indians came to trade furs and food  
they reported easy traveling to the Willamette Valley -- less than twenty miles upriver  
Another incident occurred during this encampment  
Umpqua Chief involved in the stolen axe incident wanted his tribe to retaliate against the trappers  
but a chief of higher authority overruled him  
after this brief hostile exchange, the higher ranking chief mounted one of the brigade's horses  
to ride it around camp  
one of Smith's men ordered the higher ranking chief to dismount  
this chief was insulted by the incident and gave his consent to attack the trappers

#### UMPQUA MASSACRE

Jedediah Smith left camp early in the morning -- July 14, 1828  
departing in a canoe he traveled up the Umpqua River to find a crossing  
for a route to the Willamette Valley  
he took with him John Turner, Richard Leland, and an Indian guide  
his final instructions to his men were for them to keep on guard  
After Smith left, Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine trappers who remained  
allowed about a hundred Kelawatsets into camp for a trading session  
On a signal, the Indians rushed the trappers and quickly overpowered them  
Arthur Black was cleaning his rifle when the attack came  
two attackers wounded his hands with knives while fighting him for his gun  
a third hit him a glancing blow on the back with an axe  
Black, giving up his rifle, ran into the woods for cover

in his flight he saw others of the party falling in the attack  
Drifting back downstream late in the morning, Smith could see no activity in his camp  
he thought it strange that none of his men were visible  
just then an Indian on shore called to Smith's guide  
who turned around in the canoe, seized Smith's rifle and dived into the water  
Kelawatsets hidden on shore then began to fire on the canoe  
Smith, Turner and Leland frantically paddled to the opposite bank  
they scrambled ashore, took to the woods and climbed a hill to get a view of the camp  
scanning the campsite from hills across the river  
and seeing none of their party come forward to help them, Smith drew an accurate conclusion  
Unknown to Smith one man, Arthur Black, had escaped  
remainder, fifteen in all, had been hacked to death  
all of the contents of their camp, including 728 beaver pelts  
and 228 horses and mules fell into Indian hands  
Without help in the wilderness and all but destitute  
Jedediah Smith decided that nothing could be done for the rest of his men  
Smith, John Turner and Richard Leland had but one chance  
to seek relief from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver

#### ARTHUR BLACK SET OUT ALONE FOR FORT VANCOUVER

For the next four days after the Umpqua Massacre, Black wandered in the woods  
until he emerged at the ocean a few miles north of the Umpqua River  
Knowing the closest refuge was Fort Vancouver  
he traveled north following the coast seeking the Hudson's Bay Company post  
First Indian Black encountered wanted to take his knife, but the trapper resisted  
short time later seven Indians stripped him of all his clothing except his pants  
escaping this group, he saw no more Indians until he came to a Tillamook village  
here he met friendly people who led him to the Willamette Valley  
and a Hudson's Bay freeman  
Arthur Black arrived at Fort Vancouver -- August 8, 1828  
twenty-six days after the attack  
to his knowledge, he was the sole survivor of the Umpqua Massacre

#### SEARCH PARTY SENT BY DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Chief Factor, after hearing the events described by Arthur Black,  
immediately sent Indian messengers and Michael Laframboise to the Umpqua River  
to seek out survivors and offer rewards for their return -- August 9, 1828

Willamette chiefs were instructed to search for Jedediah Smith and any other potential survivors  
Chief Factor also gave warning to the natives not to harm the Americans  
Dr. McLoughlin treated his unwanted guest with generosity and compassion at the fort

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH ARRIVED AT FORT VANCOUVER

Smith, John Turner and Richard Leland traveled north via an unknown route  
after much suffering and privation they reached Fort Vancouver -- August 10, 1828  
Chief Factor, Dr. John McLoughlin received them kindly -- supplied all of their needs  
Dr. McLoughlin recorded that Jedediah Smith reached the ocean (at the Alsea River)  
staying inland for fifty miles to avoid hostiles  
then followed the coast to a Tillamook village  
where Indians took him to the Willamette Valley and Fort Vancouver

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN SENDS A PUNITIVE RAID TO THE INDIANS

Preparations were already in progress for the annual Umpqua Brigade  
a trapping expedition to the Umpqua River  
but instead the Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor  
ordered Alexander McLeod and Tom McKay to hurry preparations for departure  
as they were to be sent to recover Smith's property  
This strong force started south -- September 6, 1828  
on a punitive raid to intimidate the Umpqua Indians  
this was McLeod's second retaliatory raid on the natives  
McLeod-McKay Expedition, including Jedediah Smith and his three surviving men,  
accompanied by William Canning (Cannon) and Joseph Gervais  
journeyed south through the Willamette Valley -- September 16, 1828  
then over the Calapooya Mountains to the Umpqua River

#### GOVERNOR OF RUPERT'S LAND GEORGE SIMPSON EXPLORES THE FRASER RIVER

After arriving in New Caledonia (central British Columbia), Simpson's Expedition  
stopped to visit Fort St. James on Stuart Lake  
where trader Frances Ermatinger was stationed  
Governor Simpson moved on to the Fraser River -- later September  
his visit caused him to reevaluate his opinion of usefulness of the river

in his report to the Board of Directors in London, he noted: **“I...consider the passage down [the Fraser River] to be certain Death, in nine attempts out of Ten. ...I shall therefore no longer talk of it as a navigable stream.”**<sup>48</sup>

indeed, Fort Langley could not serve as a center for the Northwestern fur trade

in fact, Dr. John McLoughlin had been correct

Governor Simpson had more boats constructed at Fort Langley

to accommodate his party now swelled to thirty-three men

Leaving Fort Langley, Simpson exited the Fraser River into the Gulf of Georgia

they threaded past the lovely San Juan Island and reached the southern end of Puget Sound

there he burned his boats to keep them from the Indians

Governor and his Expedition portaged to the Cowlitz River

then descended that tributary to the Columbia River

#### ST LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY IN COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Major Joshua Pilcher had been conducting a beaver hunt

with a ragtag, bankrupt remnant of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company

these Mountain Men had set out from St. Louis --1827

journeyed as far into the Pacific Northwest as Fort Colville

Joshua Pilcher proposed an illegal scheme to Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson

they would unite the two fur companies, but using only Pilcher's name

to circumvent the United States embargoes against trapping by foreigners

Governor Simpson refused to participate

#### GOVERNOR OF RUPERT'S LAND GEORGE SIMPSON ARRIVED AT FORT VANCOUVER

Chief officer of Hudson's Bay Company tirelessly pounded on the gate of the fort

late in the night -- October 25, 1828

he had arrived for a winter-long inspection tour

Immediately the Governor found fault with the efforts of his Chief Factor

while it was true some strides had been made in diversifying company operations

nonetheless, Fort Vancouver stood too far from the river docks

and from a suitable supply of domestic water

to meet the increased burdens soon to be imposed upon it

entire establishment would have to be uprooted and moved

Second site had been selected by Dr. McLoughlin and Governor George Simpson together -- 1828

less than a mile upstream from the original site

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<sup>48</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 131.

and within two hundred yards of the river bank

## McLEOD-McKAY PUNITIVE RAID REACHES SOUTHERN OREGON

Alexander McLeod and Tom McKay Expedition

arrived at the site of the Umpqua Massacre -- October 28

they buried the mangled remains of the eleven skeletons which were found

remains of four others of Smith's men could not be found

at the time of the attack, Smith had 228 horses and mules,

728 beaver and fifty sea otter skins

200 pounds of beads and 100 pounds of goods and tobacco

McLeod was less rigorous in his dealings with the Kelawatset natives

than he had been in his punishment of Puget Sound Indians a few months before

McLeod felt that Smith's men had provoked this outbreak

Moving along the coast, McLeod-McKay Expedition was remarkably successful

in recovering the goods taken and then traded by the Kelawatsets

for nearly three patient, rain-soaked months they pressed every lead

thirty-eight horses and mules, 700 skins, several rifles, cooking pots, traps,

clothes, beads and assorted other equipment

including the journals of Smith and his clerk, Harrison Rogers

these were returned to Fort Vancouver

McLeod-McKay Expedition raid also led to the death of twenty-one natives,

destruction of two villages, forty-six canoes and much other Indian property

Alexander McLeod and Tom McKay turned back up the Umpqua River

to return toward Fort Vancouver -- November 12, 1828

## JEDIDIAH SMITH DEALS WITH GOVERNOR SIMPSON AT FORT VANCOUVER

When Jedediah Smith arrived back at Fort Vancouver -- mid-December 1828

he dealt directly with Governor of Rupert's Land Simpson who responded with formal courtesy

Simpson admonished the American for the trouble and expense he has caused

but also recognized the necessity of dealing with their obvious needs

In an act of good will, the Hudson's Bay Company Governor

consented to buy the recovered furs, "the worst he had ever seen," and livestock

at the market price despite their now poor condition -- \$2,369.06

Governor Simpson charged Smith only for the time the search party had been gone

at the Hudson's Bay Company hourly rate; and \$4 for each animal lost on the trip

Jedediah Smith fully appreciated the Hudson's Bay Company generosity

in response he assured Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin that Smith, Jackson & Sublette

would confine its operations to the region east of the Continental Divide

#### GOVERNOR OF RUPERT'S LAND GEORGE SIMPSON DENOUNCES DR. McLOUGHLIN

Simpson upbraided Chief Factor McLoughlin for giving aid and comfort to the enemy  
Mortified the Chief Factor retorted with an array of affidavits supporting his action  
from other personnel at Fort Vancouver

This effort struck Governor George Simpson as presumptions,  
and added to the ill-will between the two men

#### AMERICAN BRITISH EXCHANGE INFORMATION

Employers of the both fur companies exchanged information  
surprising perhaps, given the two groups were competitive rivals  
Jedediah Smith and his men, while in Oregon, told stories of the wealth of furs  
found along the central corridor of California  
their tales led the Hudson's Bay Company to later dispatch fur trappers  
to California's Central Valley

Some of the information Jedediah Smith gave to Dr. McLoughlin was sent to London  
it eventually found its way onto the maps of John Arrowsmith  
this was the first map to accurately show the relative positions  
of the Columbia and Snake rivers  
based also on information obtained by Peter Skene Ogden  
this map was later used by Senator Lewis F. Linn to illustrate a bill  
introduced to authorize the president to occupy Oregon

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH SPENT THE WINTER WITH DR. McLOUGHLIN

Smith and his three companions remained in Columbia Department (until the next spring)  
they enjoyed the hospitality at Fort Vancouver -- Winter 1828-1829  
They gratefully appreciated Governor George Simpson's and Dr. McLoughlin's generosity

#### SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE MEN TRAP THE UPPER MISSOURI RIVER

William Sublette, Moses "Black" Harris, and their Smith. Jackson and Sublette Combine men  
trapped in the Yellowstone region -- 1829  
Company partner David Jackson remained in St. Louis  
where he made arrangements to supply the upcoming Rendezvous

#### ST LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY IN COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Major Joshua Pilcher had been conducting a two-year beaver hunt



with a ragtag, bankrupt remnant of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company  
Pilcher and his Mountain Men traveled as far into the Pacific Northwest as Fort Colville [1827]  
where Hudson's Bay Company Governor Simpson rejected an illegal Pilcher proposal [1828]  
Pilcher and his men returned to the United States -- 1829  
traveling from the Pacific Northwest by way of the Athabasca River  
Pilcher's expedition faced near starvation on a harrowing trip back to St. Louis  
where he offered a useful but highly prejudiced anti-British report on conditions in Oregon  
to the United States government

## SECOND FORT VANCOUVER CONSTRUCTED

Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson had given up on developing Fort Langley  
as a headquarters and supply base in New Caledonia and the Columbia Department  
for Hudson's Bay Company operations  
Location of Fort Vancouver was moved to a new location three-quarters of a mile Northeast  
to slightly higher elevation but within two hundred yards of the river bank -- 1829  
Water for the fort was provided by a pair of rock-lined wells fed through seepage from the river

## SIZE OF NEW FORT VANCOUVER

Dimension was in the shape of a parallelogram -- 250 yards long and 150 yards wide  
enclosed by a wall twenty feet high formed of beams set upright in the ground  
fitted together and supported by buttresses on the inside  
usual bastions stood at the angles of the walls  
As usual, small cannon guarded the corner bastions -- two eighteen pounders on sea-carriages  
these were viewed with awe by natives  
Additional cannon were placed along the front wall  
powder was stored in a special brick and stone magazine [by 1832]  
Area inside the stockade was divided into two courtyards  
around which were arranged forty wooden buildings for carrying on the business of trade

## CHIEF FACTOR'S HOUSE

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin and his family  
lived in a two story forty-by-seventy-foot residence  
made of massive square-hewn timbers  
located at the center of a courtyard  
home contained very elegant furniture -- fit for the Chief Factor of Hudson's Bay Company  
Dwelling eventually would contain such un-frontier-like pretensions  
as a huge central fireplace

french windows that opened onto a vine-covered porch  
that could be approached by two curved staircases  
and boasted a piazza and flower beds at the front

#### FORT VANCOUVER DINING HALL

Gentlemen, clerks, chaplain, physician and important guests dined together each evening  
with the Governor (when present) presiding, or in his absence, the Chief Factor  
Strict order of precedence was observed in seating the company  
an abundance of good fare, a fine dinner setting, and table linens were assured  
Variety of wines were provided in decanters to honored guests  
moderation was the rule at the Chief Factor's table  
he, himself, seldom used wine, except once a year  
to toast the opening of festivities honoring the return of the brigades  
Dr. McLoughlin's family consisted of his half-breed wife, Marguerite, and daughter, Maria  
his principal associate, James Douglas (who succeeded him as Chief Factor)  
noted Maria was "quite an interesting young lady"  
At dinner half-breed women, the daughters of chief traders, always dressed in English clothing  
these women spoke both English and French correctly  
they were permitted to enter the dining hall with their husbands  
while full-blooded Indian women were not permitted in the dining hall

#### OTHER FORT VANCOUVER STRUCTURES INCLUDED

Bachelors' Hall or smoking room with walls adorned by weapons, costumes,  
and other curiosities of savage life  
Other necessities inside the walls of the post were:

- officer's quarters and company offices,
- apartments for the clerks, kitchens, a bakery,
- workshops for carpenters, smith, coopers, wheelwrights, tanners, etc.,
- warehouses, drug store, commissaries, various retail shops for the English goods,
- schoolhouse, library, two chapels, (and later, a church),
- trash pits, privies, and even a jail

#### OUTSIDE THE FORT VANCOUVER WALLS

Hudson's Bay Company maintained a hospital, boathouses, granaries, warehouses,  
threshing mills, dairy buildings, pens for livestock, fields and orchards  
Visiting Indians camped outside the post  
Outside the north stockade were several small log houses for esteemed married men

## FORT VANCOUVER VILLAGE

Sixty or more houses built in rows on the bank of the Columbia River were south of the fort these served as dwellings for the 500 to 800 people who lived at the fort here also less important guests stayed here, too, the Company maintained a hospital Families were crowded together in shared accommodations homes were occupied by mechanics and boatmen and other servants English, Americans, French-Canadians, and Indians all with their native wives and children

Fort Vancouver village also served as home base

for largest single group of Kanakas (Hawaiians) ever to congregate outside of the islands

**“Kanaka Village a boisterous little community...where the Company’s employees of lower rank -- Iroquois, Scottish, Hawaiian, French, and Metis [mixed blood of French and Indian ancestry] -- lived with their Indian wives and families.”<sup>49</sup>**

To counteract excessive drunkenness, gambling, fighting, and other “corruptions” among the Kanaka half of the work force

Chief Factor McLoughlin asked Hudson’s Bay Company’s agent **“to search out a trusty educated Hawaiian of good character to read the scriptures and assemble his people for public worship.”<sup>50</sup>**

## HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY GRIST MILL

Hudson’s Bay Company grist mill at Fort Vancouver was powered by Indian ponies

William Canning (aka: William Cannon) constructed the mill and rigged the wheels and cogs

he also is credited with making the overshot waterwheel that powered the gristmill

that soon replaced the Indian ponies as the source of power

grist mill was followed by many other buildings

Goods which could not be manufactured at each outpost such as flour and trade goods

would be provided by the Company headquarters post

## FORT VANCOUVER ULTIMATELY WAS A COMPANY TOWN

Hudson’s Bay Company was the employer, landlord, shopkeeper, creditor

and only provider of transportation or communications with home

Life consisted of dawn-to-dusk drudgery under rigid military-like style of discipline

work six days a week with Sundays off

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<sup>49</sup> Tom Koppel, *Kanaka*, P. 23-24.

<sup>50</sup> Tom Koppel, *Kanaka*, P. 25.

More than a fortress, Fort Vancouver was the hub of Pacific trade  
with the annual arrival and departure of ships by sea and canoes and bateau by river  
sailing ships brought supplies and luxuries from London  
an average of twice a year, Spring and Fall, the overland express to Montreal  
brought important letters, world news, visitors, supplies, personnel and furs  
thousands of bales of beaver pelts left Columbia Department  
destined for London warehouses  
outbound trapping brigades were made up for the Snake River, Kamloops,  
Puget Sound, Spokane, Clark's Fork and California areas  
intercostal trade with the Russians in the north and Spaniards in the South  
connected traders and natives alike with the world  
Fort Vancouver was the center of culture and commerce for the Company and region  
provided rich supplies of foods, and ample buildings  
hunting trips and Indian trade provided profit and recreation  
capital for initiation and enactment of policies toward Indians and trappers alike

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH WATCHES CONSTRUCTION

Start of this construction took place under the coolly appraising American eyes of Jedediah Smith  
No longer was Smith the mere wandering trapper  
that Alexander Ross had injudiciously brought among the Flatheads  
he had risen to full partnership in the aggressive firm of Smith, Jackson & Sublette  
as such he possessed a competitor's keen interest  
in the developments taking place on the Columbia River  
and the threat they might pose to every beaver stream in the West  
Captain Smith learned from Indians visiting Fort Vancouver  
that his company, Smith, Jackson & Sublette, was conducting a trapping operation  
in the Yellowstone region

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ANNUAL BRIGADES

Spring saw the departure from Fort Vancouver of the Montreal or York Factory Brigade  
Fall was the time of the Snake River Brigade  
at first to Snake River Country and back to Fort Vancouver [1822-1828]  
later to the annual Rendezvous and back to Fort Vancouver [1829-1843]  
New Caledonia Brigade connected forts Vancouver and Alexandria  
Southern Brigade traveled from Fort Vancouver to northern California

#### AMERICAN SEA TRADERS TURN TO THE BEAVER TRADE

These ships represented a new kind of threat to the British fur empire  
sea otter had been all but eliminated by 1829  
To replace that branch of the fur business  
Americans wanted, not sea otters as previous trading ships had sought,  
but rather trade with the coastal Indians for inland furs beaver pelts  
received through trade with interior natives  
Soon Yankee captains began to lure beaver-trapping interior Indians to the coast  
with promises of guns and rum

#### AMERICAN SHIPS COMPETE WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

At least six Yankee vessels visited the coast trading for beaver -- 1829- [1830]  
they competed directly with Hudson's Bay Company  
Yankee ships scanned the coast and even entered the Columbia River  
For seventeen months one or the other of the American ships remained in the Columbia,,  
trading as far upriver as the Dalles  
Natives raised their prices on pelts because Americans sold liquor to the Indians

#### TWO AMERICAN TRADING VESSELS CAUSE CONCERN FOR HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Yankee ships *Owyhee* and *Convoy*, trading at the mouth of the Columbia  
sharpened Governor George Simpson's worries about the neglected maritime trade  
American brig *Owyhee* under Captain John Dominis  
arrived on its second visit to the Columbia River with plans to develop a fishery  
(had first ventured into the Pacific Northwest two years before [1827])  
*Convoy*, a Boston trading brig under Captain D.W. Thompson,  
was also conducting trade along the Pacific coast

#### *OWHYEE* (AMERICAN TRADING BRIG) IS SUCCESSFUL

Brig ran aground at Deer Island in the Columbia River below the mouth of the Willamette  
Dr. McLoughlin dispatched a crew of French-Canadians and Hawaiians to help  
as always, an ungrudging friendliness was one hallmark of John McLoughlin's nature  
Chief Factor gave Captain Dominis potatoes, sold him needed lumber,  
treated a sick mare, and legend adds, forestalled an Indian attack on the ship  
*Owyhee* was refloated and anchored off Deer Island -- February 14, 1829  
Captain Dominis hired a local native to place a channel marker to prevent future accidents  
Captain John Dominis sailed from Deer Island up the Willamette River  
became the first ocean-going ship to do so when she anchored at Clackamas Rapids  
Captain Dominis accumulated cargo there for several months

he traded for furs and packed salmon salted down into sixty empty rum hogsheds (barrels)  
Events at the rapids are unclear  
some accounts say that Captain Dominis became irate during negotiations over the salmon price  
he threatened the Clackamas Indians  
other accounts say that the Clackamas people simply guarded their fishery at the rapids  
in any case, Clackamas swimmers cut the *Owyhee*'s anchor cable and Dominis gave up the effort  
*Owyhee* sailed home to Boston and sold salmon at 10¢ a pound  
together his cargo of furs and fish were worth \$96,000

#### DISEASE RUNS RAMPANT IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

*Owyhee* did not sail away soon enough to save the natives  
aboard his ship Captain John Dominis carried many sick sailors suffering from fever (malaria)  
illness spread from the crew to the never-before-exposed natives  
who had helped free the ship at Deer Island  
these Indians passed the illness on to the local Clackamas people  
Malaria-like fever broke out among the local Indians  
Willamette Valley Indians called the affliction "cold sick"  
Many natives blamed the crew of *Owyhee* for the beginning of epidemics  
Clackamas Indians associated the disease with the channel marker  
placed by an Indian employee of Captain Dominis  
that Indian had quickly become sick and died  
other rumors (quite likely perpetuated by Hudson's Bay Company employees) were begun  
that the infection was a deliberate attack on the natives by the American captain  
Later the story intertwined in the native's minds with the story of Astorian Duncan McDougall  
who had threatened to release small pox on the Indians from a small, blue vial in his pocket  
Dominis who had become angry during negotiations with the Clackamas  
became confused in local accounts with "Chief Small Pox" McDougall  
In this single year, 1829, nine out of ten Clackamas natives died of the cold sick

#### NATIVE AMERICANS ARE PLACED ON THE BRINK OF DISASTER

Life in Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia Department and the United States' Oregon  
seemingly continued as before as Native Americans continued to live in their established villages  
chiefs provided political and practical leadership with what was best for everyone in mind  
hunting and fishing grounds were visited as they always had been by Indians men  
trade was conducted with friendly villages and battles fought with ancient enemies  
Indian women cared for their families and developed their artistic skills  
Indian children were educated in the old ways and prepared for life as it had always been

However, native life had forever changed as the invaders traded animal pelts, fish, horses and dogs for tools that made construction easier, household goods that made life simpler, ideas that seemed more powerful, and most significant of all, diseases brought upon an unsuspecting people

#### EPIDEMICS SWEEP THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Beginning in 1829 through and continuing through [1832] disease wiped out most of the local Indian population Particularly heavy hit were the people along lower Columbia River with families, villages and entire tribes wiped out by white man's diseases such as: malaria, measles, smallpox, influenza, fevers, and venereal diseases These diseases were thought to have been brought to the coast by ships' crews

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADING SHIPS

Sailing brig *William and Ann* with Captain John Swan in command was on her third trip to the Columbia Department she was to be retained for use in the country by Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin *William and Ann* cleared the Hawaiian Islands -- February 1829 in company with the Hudson's Bay Company schooner *Cadboro*, Lieutenant Aemilius Simpson in charge Both ships headed for the Columbia's mouth, with the lighter and faster brig distancing the heavier schooner

#### TRADE WAR IN COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Governor Simpson's instructions arrived from the Governor and Board of Directors in London these specifically directed, **"If the American Traders settle near our Establishments, they must be opposed, not by violence, which would only be the means of enabling the Traders to obtain the interference of their Government, but by underselling them."**<sup>51</sup>

To carry out this underselling Governor Simpson ordered Chief Factor McLoughlin to open wide Fort Vancouver's warehouses

Simpson was confident that the company's annual supply vessels *William and Ann* and *Cadboro* would soon arrive to replenish the stock

Prices tumbled fantastically:

- blankets fell from five beaver pelts each to one;

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<sup>51</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 136.

- guns (which the company for security reasons liked to keep expensive)  
fell from eighteen skins each to six

Hudson's Bay Company warehouses rapidly were being stripped bare

#### SHIPWRECK ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Hudson's Bay Company's 300-ton brig *William and Ann* under Captain John Swan  
arrived at the entrance to the Columbia River -- morning of March 9, 1829  
ahead of her consort, Hudson's Bay Company's *Cadboro*

*William and Ann* met the *Convoy*, a Boston trading vessel under Captain D.W. Thompson  
that evening *Convoy* entered the river ahead of the *William and Ann*

British brig *William and Ann* entered the breakers of the bar  
she broke up on Clatsop Spit -- March 10, 1829

crew took to lifeboats but all twenty-four men and boys of the crew perished in the raging surf  
her cargo was a total loss

This was first known shipwreck at the mouth of the Columbia River  
(later known as the "Graveyard of the Pacific")

#### CONVOY MADE ANCHOR AT FORT VANCOUVER

Captain D.W. Thompson learned of the fate of the *William and Ann* -- March 11, 1829  
from Captain John Dominis of the American trading vessel *Owyhee* then in the harbor  
bodies of all twenty-four men and boys of the lost vessel, including ten Kanakas,  
were found washed ashore

There were those who said that crew members who had made shore alive  
were quickly massacred by Clatsops (Klallam) Indians

this was never conclusively proven, but two Clatsop leaders were later killed in retaliation

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SUPPLY SHIP *CADBORO* ARRIVED

*Cadboro* under the command of Captain Aemilius Simpson,  
arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River from the Hawaiian Islands  
this Hudson's Bay Company supply vessel reached Fort Vancouver  
just in the nick of time to restock the company's depleted warehouses

Trade matters leveled off

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY MARINE DEPARTMENT

Was created by Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson  
to compete with American sea captains and vessels -- 1829

Governor Simpson placed his cousin, Captain Aemilius Simpson, Master of *Cadboro*,



as the head of the department  
Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin had trouble with the Marine Department  
captains were insubordinate and too often drunk -- crews were frequently unruly  
McLoughlin preferred to deal with men of his own experience and way of life  
This constant controversy did not improve the relationship  
between Dr. McLoughlin and his superior, Governor Simpson

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADE WITH THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Trade with the Hawaiian Islands was established and maintained through the years  
by vessels belonging to the Company  
Hudson's Bay Company ships plied the route between Hawaii and the Columbia River

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH AND HIS MEN LEAVE FORT VANCOUVER

Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine parted from their Hudson's Bay Company friends  
to return to the northern Rocky Mountains -- March 12, 1829  
for the reunion with David Jackson and William "Billy" Sublette in the Yellowstone region  
Smith, Arthur Black, and Richard Leland crossed to the south side of the Columbia River  
fourth survivor of the Umpqua massacre, John Turner,  
chose to stay with the Hudson's Bay Company and was employed as a guide  
for expeditions working into California  
three Mountain Men followed the Columbia River to the Umatilla Indians' territory  
where he should logically turn east,  
Smith, for some reason, decided to venture further up the Columbia River  
going almost due north overland to Spokane House  
by way of the Walla Walla and Palouse rivers

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S SOUTHERN BRIGADE

Company French-Canadian trappers left Fort Vancouver -- Spring 1829  
made their way to a location just south of (Stockton) in the San Joaquin Valley  
They set up an encampment known today as the town of French Camp  
they trapped beaver, raccoon and other pelts  
then floated them down the river to Yerba Buena (now known as San Francisco)  
where they sold the skins

#### GOVERNOR OF RUPERT'S LAND GEORGE SIMPSON DEPARTS FORT VANCOUVER

Governor set out for York Factory -- March 26, 1829  
Left behind was Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin and the quickly emptying company warehouses

McLoughlin was left to his own devices to do the best he could with what he had

#### DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S LAND CLAIM

McLoughlin made known his intention

to claim two square miles of land and water power at the waterfalls (Willamette Falls) along East side of the Willamette River twenty-five miles upstream from its mouth at (today's Oregon City)

part of his land claim was a small island in the Willamette River located near the crest of the falls two or three acres in size in normal water and four or five acres at low water separated from the east bank by not more than forty feet of water in summer this island was known as "Governor's Island" after Dr. John McLoughlin (but was changed to Abernathy Island in the Donation Land Law [1850])

Water-power rights to Willamette Falls provided the obvious motivation

what was less obvious was whether Dr. McLoughlin was making the claim in his own name or for the benefit of Hudson's Bay Company

McLoughlin at the time carefully stated in writing his right to the riverbank and to: **"the small Island in the Falls...which I intend to claim when the Boundary line is drawn"**<sup>52</sup>

Sites unique topography featured three terraces that rose above the river:

- lowest terrace, which was the earliest to be developed, was only two city blocks wide but stretched northward from the falls for several blocks
- second terrace was about fifty feet above sea level at the riverbank
- upper terrace was more than 250 feet above sea level

#### CONSTRUCTION BEGINS AT WILLAMETTE FALLS

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin employed Etienne Lucier to lead a work party to build a log storehouse and three cabins at Willamette Falls

(this was the first construction at the future site of Oregon City)

Lucier was a former Astorian who arrived with Wilson Price Hunt and later worked for Hudson's Bay Company

McLoughlin began construction of a sawmill at the falls -- 1829

Chief Factor had a mill-race blasted out of the rocks from the head of the island it was asserted that these improvements were made for Hudson's Bay Company

but in his documents Dr. McLoughlin says: **"I had selected for a claim, Oregon City, in 1829, made improvements on it, and had a large quantity of timber squared."**

Indians burned the cabins and the pile of squared timbers meant for construction of a sawmill

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<sup>52</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 239.

to protect their fishing grounds and prairie but construction was restarted by McLoughlin

## OLD GROWTH FORESTS DOMINATED THE LANDSCAPE OF WESTERN WASHINGTON

Pacific Northwest Old-Growth Forest was a conifer forest of huge old trees generally dominated by Douglas firs and western hemlocks up to 1,000 years old  
Sitka spruce and western hemlock dominated along the Pacific coast and at higher elevations in the Cascade Mountains  
no other forest in the world had an entire group of tree species that were equal size and long life to the trees in the Pacific Northwest old-growth forest  
some of California's giant redwoods are bigger than the biggest Douglas-fir tree but several species of big trees grow in the Pacific Northwest old-growth forest, not just one  
Occasionally lightning storms or Indians would set fire to tiny portions of the dense forest  
Indians used fire to clear spots in the blanket of trees to allow grasses to grow to feed their animals when pioneers arrived they often settled in these clearings and named them "prairies" such as "French Prairie" or "Connell's Prairie" (often the apostrophe was dropped)

## FRENCH PRAIRIE BECAME THE FUTURE HOME OF FRENCH-CANADIAN TRADERS

French Prairie was selected by Dr. John McLoughlin as the most desirable located for a settlement while fringed by forests this large prairie itself had few trees and little brush  
its soil was alluvial river bottom: rich, easy to cultivate, sufficiently dry for cultivation and yet well-watered by small streams and springs  
it was bounded on the west and north by the Willamette River and on the east by the Molalla River (this would be the future location of Champoeg State Park and Historic District, and the historic towns of Aurora, Donald, Butteville, Gervais, Hubbard, St. Louis, St. Paul and Woodburn and a number of French Prairie historic churches)

## ETIENNE LUCIER IS THE FIRST WHITE SETTLER ON FRENCH PRAIRIE

After leaving Dr. McLoughlin's construction project at Willamette Falls former Astorian and Hudson's Bay Company employee Etienne Lucier shifted locations  
he became first Hudson's Bay Company fur trapper to retire on the plains of Champoeg (later called French Prairie in tribute to Lucier and the French-Canadian trapper-farmers who retired to the area and joined him)  
Lucier built a log house along the Willamette River (near present-day Champoeg State Park) -- 1829  
he settled his family, broke ground and planted crops  
he became first permanent settler to begin farming in Willamette Valley and was the first Pacific Northwest wheat farmer

## CHIEF FACTOR CHANGES HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POLICY

Company rules forbade ex-employees from settling Indian lands

and mandated after their term of service that they return to their place of origin

Since settlement seemed inevitable, Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver

encouraged ex-employees to farm -- but only in the Willamette Valley

To implement his new policy, Dr. McLoughlin used Etienne Lucier to guide the way-- 1829

Lucier and other French-Canadians retirees who followed him

were encouraged to do so by Dr. McLoughlin who provided supplies and a pair of cattle

## CATTLE RAISING

Thirty-one head of Spanish cattle delivered from Fort George along with seventeen hogs

became extremely important to Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

they were mixed with English cattle to improve the strain

Chief Factor's policy was to increase and preserve the Company's herd at all costs

old cattle could be purchased from the chief factor

but under no circumstances would he sell any breeding stock to the settlers

calves had to be returned to the Company -- which assured the Company's monopoly on animals

Dr. McLoughlin knew calves might be butchered -- and thus slow production of the herd

occasionally a bull calf was killed for rennet used in cheese-making

but all other slaughter was strictly forbidden [until 1836]

## TOWN OF CHAMPOEG TAKES ROOT

Gradually enough retired Hudson's Bay Company French-Canadians

built farms close enough together to justify a warehouse to hold grain

for shipment on Hudson's Bay Company boats that carried freight down the Willamette River

Construction of such a warehouse was the seed that produced the village of Champoeg

which soon became a prime port for the thriving Willamette River trade

## JEDIDIAH STRONG SMITH TRAVELS THROUGH OREGON COUNTRY

After reaching Spokane House, Smith, Arthur Black and Richard Leland turned east

they skirted well to the north of Coeur d'Alene Lake

continued on around the north end of the Bitter Root Mountains

they passed through the valley between them and Lake Pend d'Oreille

and then up Clark Fork River to Flathead Lake where Smith had been several seasons before

When they reached Flathead House (in Montana)

Jedediah Smith chanced to find David E. Jackson who was looking for Smith -- August 5, 1829

Out of gratitude to Hudson's Bay Company, Smith hurried Jackson's trappers

back across the mountains away for British trapping grounds  
never again during the short remainder of his life did the men of Jedediah Smith's  
Smith. Jackson and Sublette Combine reentered the Columbia watershed

#### JEDIDIAH STRONG SMITH DECIDES TO ATTEND THE RENDEZVOUS

Not until Smith reached Flathead House did he decide to attend the Rendezvous  
Having connected with his partner, David E. Jackson, at Flathead House  
Smith, taking the most direct overland route, journeyed strait south  
toward the Smith. Jackson and Sublette Combine 1829 Rendezvous held at Pierre's Hole

#### REVEREND JONATHAN S. GREEN -- CONGREGATIONAL MINISTER

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions heard reports  
from their missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands  
that the Pacific Northwest might be fertile ground for additional missionary work  
Congregational Mission Station nearest to Oregon was in Honolulu  
it was from there that the first overtures for establishing a center  
for the enlightenment and salvation of savage souls of the Pacific Northwest began  
Congregational minister Rev. Jonathan Green was sent by the Prudential Committee  
of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions  
from the Hawaiian Islands to the Northwest on a reconnaissance tour  
Although he did not venture inland, he did visit several ports  
most of Green's scouting was done among the northern coastal tribes  
he had planned to conduct a special survey of the lower Columbia River  
but inclement weather and high seas prevented his entering the river

Rev. Green noted in his report: **"The Indians on the Northwest Coast... are atheists in heart. That they live 'without God' and are devoid of all consciousness of accountability is certain. They appear to have no sense whatever of obligation. Gratitude is a flame which no favor can kindle in the icy bosoms."**<sup>53</sup>

**"Nootka Sound... was formerly much visited by traders, but as furs have been scarce, vessels have not been there for several years. The natives had become hostile long before their trade ceased. The Straits of Juan de Fuca... are now becoming a place of resort for the purpose of trade. They are easily entered, and the country about them is said to be an excellent one. The natives are unacquainted with the use of firearms and ardent spirits."**<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 120.

<sup>54</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 122.

**“Somewhere in the vicinity of the Columbia River such a[n American] colony, I doubt not, would find a salubrious climate, a fertile soil and ultimately a country of great importance.... An establishment here, in addition to the good which might be affected in behalf of the native inhabitants, would have a happy influence on the interests of the Sandwich Island mission. Timber, fish and other necessities could be obtained for the islands, while it would afford a better than New England climate for those whose strength had withered beneath the influence of a tropical sun.”<sup>55</sup>**

He was thoroughly pessimistic in his report written late in 1829  
although he believed the Mission Board had delayed too long  
he recommended that a mission be established near the mouth of the Columbia  
or the lower part of the river

#### HALL JACKSON KELLEY APPROACHES CONGRESS

Thirty-year-old Boston school teacher and author had determined in his mind  
that the Pacific Northwest belonged to the United States  
He accepted the common American error that supposed the United States  
held indisputable claim to Oregon  
and that the joint occupation treaty merely ceded certain temporary privileges to Great Britain

While waiting for Congress to seize on the opportunity to form a new republic in Oregon

Kelley gave up teaching and textbook writing

instead, he wrote wildly exaggerated accounts of the wonders of the West

although he had never been there

strong religious overtones invaded his thinking

he was dubbed the **“Prophet of Oregon”** and talked and wrote the part

**“All nations who have planted colonies have been enriched by them.... The present period is propitious to the experiment. The free governments of the world are fast progressing to the consummation of moral excellence, and are embracing within the scope of their policies the benevolent and meliorating principles of humanity and reform.**

**“The most enlightened nation on earth will not be insensible to the best means of national prosperity. Convinced of the utility and happy consequences of establishing the Oregon colony, the American Republic will found, protect and cherish it... and extend the peculiar blessings of civil polity and of Christian religion to distant and destitute nations.”<sup>56</sup>**

Much of his sight unseen enthusiasm came from reading

Lewis and Clark’s reports of the agricultural potential of the region

Kelley flooded Congress with appeals

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<sup>55</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 125.

<sup>56</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 111.

for the United States to take immediate possession of Pacific Northwest  
because he hoped to found a settlement at the mouth of the Willamette River

#### AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR ENCOURAGING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE OREGON TERRITORY

Hall Jackson Kelley devised and announced a plan

to lead a caravan of three thousand New England farmers

from Massachusetts to the banks of the Columbia River -- 1829

Kelley advertised for emigrants from the United States to form the company

he distributed circular appeals for recruits and used word of mouth to advertise his scheme

Four goals were established by the founder:

- to improve the moral condition of the Indians by providing preachers and teachers;
- to provide a place for unemployed American workers to settle;
- to reopen the China Trade;
- to break the British grip on Pacific Northwest and make Oregon American

He planned that his colony would survive based on agriculture, lumber, fishing, and whaling

#### KELLEY'S SCHEME

Called for traveling overland to St. Louis then following the routes of fur companies

across the plains to the "River of Oregon"

He enrolled 400 prospective emigrants and interested thousands of others

Where the Willamette River enters into the Columbia River

he projected both a commercial colony, and an agricultural colony

he was a competent surveyor, and laid both colonies down on paper

without ever having been there

Kelley postponed the proposed journey while petitioning Congress for aid

Congress refused to act

as it was felt it did not have the power to establish land grants in Pacific Northwest

#### HALL JACKSON KELLEY'S ENTERPRISE FAILED

Opposition to Kelly's plan surfaced from the fur companies

His extravagant hopes and irritating personality also hurt his cause

Adverse press added to the criticism of his efforts

Hall Jackson Kelley's Expedition never left the east coast

#### PIERRE'S HOLE RENDEZVOUS

Was held (near present-day Teton, Wyoming) -- August 20th to late September 1829

William "Billy" Sublette successfully delivered the necessary Smith, Jackson and Sublette supplies

to the impatiently waiting thirsty merry-makers

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH ARRIVED AT THE RENDEZVOUS

Traveling with David E. Jackson, Smith reached the 1829 Pierre's Hole Rendezvous

Smith had led the first overland trip from the United States to California  
and from California to Oregon

Smith and Jackson joined William H. Sublette uniting the three partners

for the first time since their Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine had been formed [in 1826]

Also at the Rendezvous were Mountain Men

Moses "Black" Harris, Joe Meek, Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson,  
and Thomas "Tom" Fitzpatrick

#### ROCKY MOUNTAIN FURVCOMPANY PARTNERS CONFER

Jedediah Smith insisted the coming Fall company hunt be conducted East of the Continental Divide

he had voluntarily decided to continue his trading limited to land East of the Rockies

in territory undisputed by Hudson's Bay Company

thus Hudson's Bay Company maintained its monopoly in the Pacific Northwest

Smith returned to St. Louis from Pierre's Hole along the route (which became the Oregon Trail)

#### WILLIAM "BILLY" SUBLETTE SETS OUT FROM THE PIERRE'S HOLE RENDEZVOUS

He led a contingent of Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine Mountain Men to the Shoshone River

included were Moses "Black" Harris, Joe Meek, and Thomas "Tom" Fitzpatrick

Mountain Men reached the Big Horn Plains

where they joined William's brother Milton Sublette and his party of forty men

#### EWING YOUNG DECIDES TO TRADE WITH SHIP CAPTAINS

Trouble with Mexican officials in Taos had led him to a conclusion

already reached by other Taos trappers

sea captains regularly called at California ports and would buy furs to add to their cargo

Gila River (New Mexico and Arizona) could be trapped and the catch carried on to California

and sold there to the masters of American or foreign vessels

Young placed himself at the head of forty men and set forth from Taos (New Mexico) -- August 1829

he journeyed north for fifty miles to deceive suspicious Mexican officials

before circling back southwest to Zuni Pueblo

among Young's men was an unimpressive youth of nineteen: Christopher Houston "Kit" Carson

#### CHRISTOPHER "KIT" CARSON



Even as a youth he was short and stoop-shouldered with freckled face and reddish brown hair  
he spoke quietly, sparingly, and modestly,

but in the three years since arriving in New Mexico he had sharpened his outdoor skills  
and he revealed courage, strength, endurance, and intellect

Kit Carson had grown up on the Missouri frontier

and had listened eagerly to the stories of the West recounted by his brothers

he was especially influenced by his half-brother Moses -- a successful trapper in his own right  
at sixteen Kit had run away from home and joined a pack caravan on the Santa Fe Trail

#### EWING YOUNG'S TRAPPING PARTY

From the Colorado River, the Young party followed a route already twice traveled by Jedediah Smith  
across the Mojave Desert and Mojave River to Cajon Pass

through the San Bernardino Mountains

and thence to the hospitality of Father Jose Sanchez at San Gabriel Mission

Young found the beaver to be scarce, however, and soon learned why

when he overhauled a trapping brigade of the Hudson's Bay Company

sixty men, many with their families

heading it was an old adversary to American trappers, Peter Skene Ogden

#### PETER SKENE OGDEN'S LAST SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE

Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Trapper had made six expeditions between [1824 and 1830]  
in his exploits he encountered the Humboldt River area

he was one of the first whites to see the Great Salt Lake

he completely explored the Snake River country, Oregon, Salt Lake, Bear River areas,  
and most of northern California

Ogden submitted written reports on each of these expeditions

to the Hudson's Bay Company in London

This was his sixth and final Snake Country Expedition -- 1829-[1830]

he ranged south from Fort Vancouver along the western rim of the Great Basin

all the way to the Gulf of California

then returned to the Columbia River by way of California's Central Valley

where he encountered Ewing Young and Kit Carson

#### NATIVE SONS RETURN HOME

Sons of two Indian chiefs, Nicholas (Spokane) Garry and J.H. "Kootenae" Pelly

completed their Christian education in the Red River Colony (Winnipeg, Manitoba) in Canada

after five years [1824]-1829

Two young men, about age nineteen, returned to their tribes and revisited their people before returning to the Red River Colony for additional training in the teachings of the Church of England -- 1829

#### CAPTAIN JEDIDIAH STRONG SMITH ORGANIZED ANOTHER BRIGADE

Praying Trapper led the Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine 1829-1830 Expedition this time from St. Louis to invade the Blackfoot country -- late Autumn 1829 partner David E. Jackson went along on the expedition Jim Bridger, now one of the ablest mountaineers, served as pilot

#### VIRGINIA CONGRESSMAN JOHN FLOYD PROMOTES THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

U.S. Representative Floyd continued to hound Congress about the Pacific Northwest for six years until he was elected Governor of Virginia -- November 1829 As governor, he began to generate interest among Virginians

#### WILLIAM "BILLY" SUBLETTE'S EXPEDITION TO THE WIND RIVER

Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine Mountain Men led by Captain William Sublette combined with Milton Sublette and his party of forty men left the Big Horn Plains they reached the Wind River -- December 1829 where they conducted a successful hunt before returning to St. Louis

#### JEDIDIAH SMITH MAKES WINTER CAMP

Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine men interrupted their Fall and [spring 1830] hunt with a winter camp on the Powder River Blackfoot Indians harassment finally drove them out of the region but only after they had amassed a rich store of beaver pelts to take to the [1830] Rendezvous