

SEARCHABLE PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY
BOOK THREE
EXPLORATION 1800-1849



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Amazon Publishing
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Native American Inspired Art by Watercolor artist
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CONTENTS

HOW TO USE THIS MATERIAL.....	3
WHY DID I UNDERTAKE SEARCHABLE PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY?.....	4
SYNOPSIS.....	5
1800-1809	10
1810-1819	84
1820-1829	395
1830-1839	518
1840-1849	717
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	1213
ARTICLES	1223
ABOUT THE AUTHOR	1226

HOW TO USE THIS MATERIAL

Searchable Pacific Northwest History provides a huge variety of topics to be studied.

I have chosen to use a chronological format that includes a series on indentions something like an outline so additional material could be easily added and existing material shifted to a new location. This also allows the reader to “copy and paste” material from this document into a new document of their own making using the “document search navigator” on their computer. This access allows anyone to construct an historic document of their own in “outline” form.

The historic material in Book Three is in chronological order by century, decade, year, month, week and on occasion day. Events listed out of sequence in an effort make a point are placed in parenthesis () and non-sequential dates in brackets []. Quotations are in bold print and footnoted.

To construct an historic document of your own requires a two-step process:

- 1) Our website: <http://searchablehistory.com> provides a TEMPLATE of the “outline” formatting required for the new document.
 - a. [Download this TEMPLATE](#) and Save it onto your computer.
 - b. OPEN the TEMPLATE.
- 2) [Download the MS Word version of this book](#). Information COPIED from *Searchable Pacific Northwest History* and PASTED onto the TEMPLATE will result in a new document being generated in chronological order and “outline” form.

For instance after generating a formatted TEMPLATE on a computer, a student might search the exploits of **Sacagawea**. Opening *Searchable Pacific Northwest History* and placing Sacagawea into the search engine shows 34 references to the Indian guide. The first instance is in the synopsis 1800-1809 gives the starting point. The paragraph “CHARBONNEAU AND SACAGAWEA ARE HIRED BY LEWIS AND CLARK” on page 30 could be COPIED and PASTED onto the TEMPLATE. The paragraph “LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION SETS OUT FROM FORT MANDAN” on page 30 provides information regarding her child. Further examination of the historic document would result in other relevant information being discovered. Adding this material to the “outline” template would produce a document featuring the accomplishments of Sacajawea in chronological order.

This “outline” provides the foundation for a report. Other information such as personal accounts, pictures, maps, etc. could be found from additional sources and the internet (used with permission when necessary) to enhance the final document.

WHY DID I UNDERTAKE SEARCHABLE PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY?

Computers have changed the way we can look at history. The study of our past has always been constricted by the space available to present it. The person, topic, or event being studied was confined by the physical limits of books. This constricting of the past is even greater in a history book dedicated to a very broad subject. Each topic must be compressed to fit the space available. These restrictions are no longer necessary with the advent of computers and the internet.

The historic material that I have included has had a direct impact on the inhabitants of the Pacific Northwest. I have tried to focus on topics that people who live here, regardless of decade or century, would discuss with their family and friends. My hope is that because it was a topic of conversation and interest to people residing here at one time it may yet be so today.

History happens chronologically and in context. However, it is not taught that way. Rather, attention is focused on dates, names and selected topics. For instance, the exploration of Captain George Vancouver might be presented without any mention of the discoveries of Spanish explorers although both investigations occurred simultaneously and sometimes mutually. Also, American sea traders were operating in the same waters while Alexander Mackenzie was actively conducting his overland expeditions to find the Pacific Ocean. Events do not occur in isolation.

The topics of missionaries to the Pacific Northwest and Hudson's Bay Company might be presented without acknowledging both entities were dealing with the same Native Americans at the same time. These interactions had a unique impact on the Indians. Or, similarly Northwest Indian wars and Indian treaties are presented without mentioning the treaties came before the wars. Presenting history one topic at a time, while necessary until now, makes historic context almost impossible.

Presenting history one topic at a time also presents a false image of the time necessary to accomplish a task. When students are introduced to the Oregon Trail, attention is perhaps paid to the preparations essential for the journey and the sacrifices necessary. The route West is depicted passing by a series of prominent land features, hardships for the travelers may be indicated, and Oregon is reached three paragraphs or three pages after setting out depending on the detail of the text. There is no feeling for the nine months the journey on foot took to complete. The neglect of the amount of time necessary to accomplish a goal is so frequent in history books that this could, perhaps, account for the instant gratification so often demanded today.

Those of us who enjoy reading history are intrigued with adding new information to what we have previously discovered. Each addition provides an opportunity to gain new insight. We are aware that previous generations faced challenges and mysteries much like our own. Discovering how these demands were met, successfully or unsuccessfully, in the past can guide us as we seek answers to our own personal and collective dilemmas. Most history instructors strive to teach their students *about* history. My goal is to enable students to learn *from* history. As President Harry Truman noted: "The only thing new in the world is the history you don't know."

SYNOPSIS

1800-1809

David Thompson was named North West Company chief geographer and made a partner. Thompson, his wife Charlotte and their three children crossed Western Canada several times surveying and trading with the Indians. He carried several fortunes in furs east to the company's Montreal headquarters.

North West Company developed a transcontinental transportation system. Its Eastern Division linked Grand Portage on Lake Superior with Hudson's Bay using large canoes manned by Montreal Boatmen. Western division linked Grand Portage with the wilderness using small canoes manned by voyageurs. Supplies traveled west; furs were carried east.

Spain ceded her claim to North America vacating her colony and fort at Nootka Sound and selling her continental claim to France. Spanish attention focused on exploiting the resources of Central America. President Jefferson purchased Louisiana Territory from France.

Colorful Manuel Lisa became an important trader on the Missouri River. Lisa formed the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company to go into Yellowstone Country and construct Fort Raymond at the mouth of the Big Horn River.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark led the American "Core of Discovery." They traveled up the Missouri River and made winter camp at two Mandan Indian villages where they were joined by Toussaint Charbonneau, Sacagawea and newborn Jean Baptiste. Thirty-three Corps of Discovery members set out up the Missouri, spring 1805. They reached the Three Forks of the Missouri River, continued across the Rocky Mountains at Lemhi Pass, reached the Bitterroot Valley, journeyed down the Clearwater, Snake and Columbia rivers conquering Celilo Falls, and the Dalles Rapids (named Short Narrows, and Long Narrows by the expedition) and established winter camp at Fort Clatsop. In spring 1806 the expedition returned East. Lewis and Clark frequently separated to better investigate Louisiana. Both parties reunited on the Missouri River. Core of Discovery returned to the Mandan villages.

Simon Fraser opened New Caledonia (north-central British Columbia) for the North West Company. From Fort Chipewyan Fraser proceeded by way of the Parsnip and Pack rivers to the Peace River where Rocky Mountain Fort was established. Other posts he established included Fort McLeod, Fort Nakasleh (later Fort St. James) and Fort Natleh (Fort Fraser) and Fort George (now known as Prince George). Simon Fraser was assigned to explore the Tacouche Tess (Fraser River) to the Pacific coast. He determined this was not the Columbia River as was assumed.

1810-1819

Manuel Lisa's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company's Fort Raymond at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Bighorn rivers was visited by Andrew Henry who traveled with sixty

trappers and established Henry's Fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River. Henry abandoned Henry's Fort and built Fort Henry on the Snake River.

North West Company's Columbia Brigade pushed up the North Saskatchewan River bound for Rocky Mountain House. Piegan Indians harassed the brigade. David Thompson tried a new route West up the Athabasca River. He opened Athabasca Pass and wintered at Boat Encampment before continuing on to survey the Columbia River from source to mouth.

John Jacob Astor created the Pacific Fur Company. He planned two expeditions to the Pacific coast, one overland and the other by sea. Astor's Land Expedition under Wilson Price Hunt was filled with hardship, suffering and death. Astor's Sea Party aboard the Tonquin under Captain Jonathan Thorn resulted in Astoria being built at the mouth of the Columbia River before the Tonquin was destroyed in an explosion.

War of 1812 was a terrible blow for the Pacific Fur Company. News of the war was delivered to Astoria by North West Company's John George McTavish. Astoria was sold to North West Company and renamed Fort George. British Captain William Black arrived aboard the warship Raccoon and captured the (already British) fort.

United States and Great Britain signed the Convention of 1818 which redrew the Canadian boundary East of the Rocky Mountains along the 49th parallel from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. Land West of the Rockies would be "Jointly Occupied" for ten years.

1820-1829

Company wars led to the folding of North West Company into Hudson's Bay Company. George Simpson was assigned to the Columbia Department. Fort George (Astoria) remained the headquarters for the department. Dr. John McLoughlin was named Chief Factor of Fort George.

Fort Vancouver replaced Fort George as Hudson's Bay Company headquarters for the Columbia Department. Dr. John McLoughlin diversified operations to include lumbering, crop farming, sheep and cattle raising. Coastal trade was carried out by Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Department. Competition came from American ships such as the Owyhee under Captain John Dominis. Sailors on Owyhee carried smallpox which devastated the native population as Indian villages became ghost towns.

General William H. Ashley hit on the idea of supplying trappers in the field who traded goods with the natives for pelts. He established the Rendezvous system that required wagon routes be established from St. Louis to gathering places in the Rocky Mountains.

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin claimed two square miles of land and water power at Willamette Falls. He next selected Champoege (later French Prairie) in the Willamette Valley as the most desirable location for retired French-Canadian employees to settle.

Life in Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia Department and the United States' Oregon seemingly remained 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 by Indian men as they always had been. 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.

1830-1839

Annual Rendezvous became the method of supplying trappers in the field who worked the Wyoming and Montana area. Rocky Mountain Fur Company and other freight companies delivered caravans of goods from St. Louis to annual Rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains. Pacific Fur Trading Company carried goods from St. Louis to Santa Fe opening the Southwest.

Catholic priests had followed French-Canadian trappers into the wilderness since the earliest arrival of Europeans to North America. Indian Ignace La Mousse studied the Catholic faith and settled among the Flathead Indians of Montana. They sent four young men to St. Louis seeking "Black Robes." Spokane Garry studied the Church of England faith in Winnipeg, Canada. Garry opened a makeshift school among his people. Catholic Father Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers opened a mission in Oregon's Willamette Valley and Washington's Cowlitz Valley. The Methodist Church sent Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew Rev. Daniel Lee to serve the natives of the Willamette Valley. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions churches undertook yet another effort sending Rev. Samuel Parker, Dr. Marcus Whitman, Rev. Henry Spalding and William Gray to today's Eastern Washington. Six Catholic Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur established a school in the Willamette Valley.

U.S. Navy Lieutenant William Slacum was authorized by President Andrew Jackson to report on affairs in Oregon. He met with Hudson Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin and learned American Ewing Young, rather than selling his wheat harvest to the company, was distilling whiskey. Slacum proposed Young drive a herd of cattle north from California. The Willamette Cattle Company was born. Slacum visited the Methodist missionaries and listened to complaints regarding Hudson's Bay Company. Slacum proposed a petition be written to congress. Rev. David Leslie and young Philip L. Edwards penned the first Oregon Memorial.

Hudson Bay Company controlled the economy of its Columbia Department. Fort Vancouver was home to almost seven hundred residents and was most the important community on the entire Pacific coast. Hudson's Bay Company offered the best prices and variety of goods. Coins drained off into Company strongboxes while the little remaining went to American merchants. Hudson Bay Company became diversified. Retired French-Canadian traders were encouraged to settle on farms at French Prairie. Seven hundred head of cattle grazed on lands adjacent to Fort Vancouver. Sawmills were in operation near Fort Vancouver and on Mill Island. Company's brig Llama delivered a load of sheep and cattle from California to Fort Nisqually Factor Dr. William Tolmie.

Cowlitz Prairie farmland provided enough produce to export the surplus to Columbia Department forts and posts.

1840-1849

Hudson's Bay Company dominated its Columbia Department politically and economically. Canoe brigades carried supplies from, and furs to Lake Superior. Fur brigades penetrated the interior of the Columbia Department. Company sailing ships and the steamer Beaver ranged from Alaska to California and Hawaii; up rivers and throughout the inland waters. Decline in the beaver trade motivated Hudson's Bay Company to create the Puget Sound Agricultural Company in an effort to diversify. French-Canadian shepherds, dairymen and farmers from Canada's Red River Settlement were brought to Nisqually and Cowlitz farms. Americans worried that Hudson's Bay Company would no longer need American wheat. Additional Catholic priests and the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur assisted Father Blanchet in the Columbia Department. Their success in converting natives contrasted with the poor results obtained by protestant missionaries.

Willamette Valley Methodist missionaries greeted the "Great Reinforcement" when they arrived aboard the ship Lausanne. As Americans increased in number anti-British, anti-Hudson's Bay Company feelings grew. Ewing Young, Oregon's richest American, died without an heir. Americans seized on the need for a government. The arrival of U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes' United States Exploring Expedition and the return of missionary Dr. Elijah White, this time as an official of the U.S. government, showed America was interested in Oregon. Residents of Champoege and Chemeketa held a series of "Wolf Meetings" to address their political concerns which resulted in forming a Provisional (temporary) Government.

The trickle of wagon trains became a torrent as the Oregon Trail brought pioneers and measles, cholera, influenza, fevers, and venereal diseases to indigenous people with no immunity. Germs killed more Indians than raids, battles or wars although these too added greatly to native suffering.

Exuberant expansionist James K. Polk was elected President of the United States. He called for American jurisdiction over Oregon settlers. Oregon Country was plagued with nationalistic and racist feelings. Americans accused Hudson's Bay Company of plotting with foreign-born Catholics and Indians to undermine American settlement. Unfounded rumors of an Indian-Negro alliance alarmed white settlers. The Provisional Legislative Council passed Exclusionary Laws prohibiting the presence of Free Negroes in Oregon Country. When respected negro farmer George Washington Bush reached the Dalles he decided to move north of the Columbia River with friends to escape the Provisional Government.

Whitman's Waiilatpu Mission was attacked on November 29, 1847. Thirteen people including the Whitmans were killed initially. Hudson's Bay Company took responsibility for the protection of British and Americans alike. Fifty hostages were ransomed but several others died in captivity. Cayuse War fever swept Oregon Country. Provisional

Government formed a militia of “Oregon Rifles” who produced little to show for their efforts.

Organic Act creating Oregon Territory was signed by President Polk August 14, 1848. Joe Lane was named territorial governor. Colonel William Loring led the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen over the Oregon Trail to provide protection to travelers and settlers alike. USS Massachusetts steamed from California to the Columbia River carrying Major John S. Hathaway’s First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Companies L and M. Fort Steilacoom was built by Company M.

Word of gold in California increased the flood of immigrants west into a torrent. Residents of Oregon were some of the first to get rich -- or at least try.

SEARCHABLE PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY

BOOK THREE: EXPLORATION 1800-1899

1800-1809

JOHN JACOB ASTOR BECAME A LEADING AMERICAN FUR DEALER

Astor was a leading fur dealer headquartered in New York -- by 1800

he seldom pretended to be other than what he was -- a pirate in the fur markets

he took advantage of every opportunity to make money including the use and abuse of power

John Jacob Astor sent his first ship to China -- 1800

his personal fortune grew to a million dollars

all saturated with the hate of men he cheated along the way

However, Astor received the supportive attention of the federal government

in the person of Senator Thomas Hart Benton

DAVID THOMPSON AND DUNCAN MCGILLIVRAY REACH ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE

North West Company traders Thompson and McGillivray traveled the Saskatchewan River

they reached John McDonald 's Rocky Mountain House (near Calgary, Alberta) -- 1800

this was the "farthest in" permanent post of the North West Company

Thompson and McGillivray found a convenient headquarters for their work

NORTH WEST COMPANY NAMES DAVID THOMPSON CHIEF GEOGRAPHER

David Thompson began the task of surveying the Saskatchewan, Athabasca and Peace rivers

(this task will occupy him for the next thirty years)

he was always more interested in discovery and mapping than in profits

Thompson left Rocky Mountain House for the Rocky Mountains -- October 5, 1800

he was accompanied by Duncan McGillivray, thirty French-Canadian and native workers

and as usual, by his wife Charlotte and their children

Thompson attempted to establish friendly relations with the natives as he traveled

Piegan Indians were willing to trade but they continually watched Thompson

NORTH WEST COMPANY TRANSPORTATION ACROSS THE CONTINENT

Two systems of rivers, lakes, and portages

made transportation from Hudson's Bay to the West possible

One Division operated between Montreal and Grand Portage on Lake Superior

Hudson's Bay, Nelson River, Lake Winnipeg, Saskatchewan route

was traveled by "Montreal Boatmen"

at the west end of Lake Superior the big canoes were exchanged for smaller ones

(sometimes called "north") canoes that were used in the interior

these light canoes took one hundred days to make the journey each way

Second division operated between Grand Portage and the frontier

Mississippi-Missouri system was traveled by voyageurs to and from Grand Portage

North West Company employees eventually increased from 500 to 2,000 men working in the two divisions transporting goods and pelts

EXPRESS SERVICE RUN BY NORTH WEST COMPANY PROVIDES TRANSPORTATION

North West Company maintained a transportation link between Montreal and Rocky Mountain House trade was well organized with regular routes and schedules

two expresses brigades were sent annually -- one in summer and another in winter
Summer express left the posts ahead of the regular, causal, canoes
voyageurs of the summer brigade carried news of the winter trade, dispatches to officials and letters from home

Winter express left Rocky Mountain House [in November]
and reached Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Canada [in March]
canoes were useless at that time of year so they replaced with snowshoes and sledges

Trade with North West Company's posts in the Rocky Mountains and to the West was carried on by brigades linking the forts and trading posts along the route with supply depots they delivered supplies in and furs out by canoe, horseback and back packs

FIRST LAP OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY VOYAGEURS' JOURNEY

Journey from Montreal to Grand Portage on Lake Superior
used canoes thirty-five feet long and six feet wide built of thinnest yellow birch bark
these were manned by eight to ten "Montreal boatmen"
each canoe could carry four tons of supplies on the "grand perch"
four poles lengthwise in the bottom with all goods carefully stored
so as to not touch the fragile birch bark
a definite schedule determined the load of every canoe
each canoe took sixty-five packages of goods, 600 pounds of biscuit, 200 of pork,
three bushels of peas, two oilcloths, a sail, an ax, a towing line, a kettle,
a sponge for bailing, gum and bark for repairing the craft

SECOND LAP OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY VOYAGEURS' JOURNEY

From Grand Portage on Lake Superior to the west as far as the fur men went
this route used interior canoes of one and one-half tons, about half the size of the birch bark,
manned by four or five voyageurs
speed was essential
this trip was often marked by privations as the voyageurs must depend on Indians for supplies
Voyageurs were proud and hardy
they often spoke in picturesque contempt to the Montreal boatmen
Before arriving at their destination
voyageurs always put on their plumes and made their costumes trim
as they came in, they sang their best selection of boat songs
Guns of the fort were fired at the first sight of the approaching brigade
everyone at the post hastened to greet the arrivals
Voyageurs drove the canoe or bateaux (a flat-bottomed riverboat) at full speed toward the landing
at the last possible moment, they all paddled backward

as bowmen leaped ashore and seized the prow
other voyageurs leaped into the water and carried the gentlemen and passengers to dry ground

SPAIN CEDED POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA TO FRANCE

Spain owned all of the land west of the Mississippi River

Spain ceded Louisiana back to France in the Treaty of Ildefonso -- December 1800

Napoleon Bonaparte envisioned a new French colonial empire in North America

this transfer of land will not become known in the United States until [May 1801]

Spanish flag was replaced by the French tricolors

Napoleon had territorial ambitions in both the Old and New Worlds

France was now free to expand into the New World again

THOMAS JEFFERSON IS SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Thomas Jefferson took the oath of office -- March 4, 1801

President Jefferson feared French ambition demonstrated by Napoleon Bonaparte

France had already ventured to the Black Hills perhaps even to Yellowstone River

navigation of the Mississippi River could become a motivation for war

between England and France -- both of which might cross United States' soil to fight

war would drive America back into the arms of the British

Americans were most especially concerned about French garrison at New Orleans

President Jefferson noted: **"Perhaps nothing since the Revolutionary War has produced more uneasy sensations throughout the body of the nation."**¹

President Jefferson sent a secret action plan to Congress to buy New Orleans from France -- 1801

thus American would own both sides of the Mississippi River at the mouth

Jefferson also urged Congress to outfit an expedition **"...to explore the Missouri River and such principal streams of it as, by its course of communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent, for the purpose of commerce."**²

UNITES STATES BECOMES AWARE OF FRANCE ACQUIRING LOUISIANA

International transfer of Louisiana from Spain to France caused great alarm in America

France would replace Spain at the mouth of the Mississippi River

and receive ownership of New Orleans

all shipping linking the Ohio and Mississippi valleys to the United States

was carried on the great river

control of the Mississippi River was imperative to Americans

who lived west of the Allegheny Mountains

Spain was by now too weak to impose any toll or restrictions on the river

France, ranked as the greatest military power in the world,

had become America's neighbor on the frontier

¹ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 39.

² William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 71.

NORTH WEST COMPANY CONTINUES TO EXPLORE WESTERN CANADA

Nor'Westers David Thompson and Duncan McGillivray found a location in the Rocky Mountains which showed them the existence of practical trading routes to the Pacific slope -- 1801
Thompson and McGillivray explored one such route ending twenty miles east of (today's Banff)
they returned east to their base of operations at Rocky Mountain House
on the Saskatchewan River

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE WRITES HIS BOOK

While living in Avoch, Scotland and London Mackenzie published his journal:

Alexander Mackenzie's Voyages From Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Ocean in 1793 -- 1801

David Thompson was thought to have drawn the map for the book

without being given credit

this map showed not only Mackenzie's explorations but also those of Thompson to

[1800]

(Mackenzie's book was read by President Jefferson and was carried by Lewis and Clark)

why there was such a great length of time between the event and the publication

was explained by Mackenzie: **"The delay actually arose from the very active and busy mode of life in which I was engaged since the voyages have been completed"**³

Mackenzie was knighted by England's King George III for his efforts in exploring

the northern and western portions of North America

thus becoming Sir Alexander Mackenzie -- 1802

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE ESTABLISHES HIS OWN TRADING COMPANY

Sir Alexander Mackenzie returned to Canada and again became active in the North West Company

established partners in the North West Company split over control of the western trapping region

dissident partners under the rebellious leadership of Sir Alexander Mackenzie

withdrew from the old North West Company to form a new Canadian enterprise

"X.Y. Company" (also known as the North West Company) -- 1802

Mackenzie had access to as much capital as the old North West Company partners had

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE PLANS FOR A NEW VENTURE

Mackenzie returned to Canada and proposed a transcontinental, trans-Pacific trade venture

to combine whaling with land and sea fur trade, and commerce with China

supplies would be shipped from Montreal

skins and whale oil would be sent to East India Company plants in the Orient

trade circle would be completed when Oriental profits would be used to purchase

trade goods that had been manufactured in England and sent to Montreal

for shipment to the fur fields

Sir Alexander Mackenzie asked the British government

to force East India Company and Hudson's Bay Company to abandon their exclusive monopolies

or to license a new company to operate in the Orient and Canada

he urged the British government to provide protection to the proposed company

³ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 234.

at Nootka Sound and on the Columbia River
this effort was beyond the talents of even Sir Alexander Mackenzie -- British government refused

SIMON McTAVISH CONTINUES TO LEAD THE OLD NORTH WEST COMPANY

Simon McTavish was the ill-tempered leader of the (Old) North West Company
he received a personal grant of 11,550 acres from the company -- 1802
McTavish did everything within his power to compete with both Hudson's Bay Company
and Alexander Mackenzie's X.Y. Company

RIVALRIES DEVELOP IN THE CANADIAN FUR TRADE

Three fur companies were competing for control of the Canadian inland fur trade:

- Hudson's Bay Company;
- Old North West Fur Company;
- X.Y. Company (Sir Alexander Mackenzie's New North West Company)

Furious competition set in between the two Canadian companies

competition became cut throat -- rum was in widespread use as a bartering tool
employee of both companies frequently murdered each other over furs and territory
employees of both Canadian companies also killed Hudson's Bay Company men
Indians were also the victims in all of this fighting

North West Company used 2,199 gallons of liquor for Indians in [1803] alone

Mackenzie cut heavily into the business of his former partners

during a two-year period natives were flooded with no less than 195,000 gallons of liquor

Indians became demoralized

Scotsman Simon McTavish, head of the Old North West Company,

began an effort to accept a merger with Alexander Mackenzie's X.Y. Company

this effort ended in failure and McTavish refused to ever consider a second effort

CENTRAL CANADA BECOMES THE FOCUS TO EXPANDING FUR TRADING EMPIRES

Nor'Wester David Thompson spent the next four years traveling and trading

from the Peace River area the shore of Lake Superior -- 1802 to [1806]

North West Company trader John McDonald was put in charge of Fort Augustus

(located at today's Edmonton, Alberta)

he was responsible that was equivalent of North West Company's Saskatchewan District

John McDonald remained there intermittently for six years

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON HAS AN INTEREST IN THE WEST

President Jefferson, based on his conversations with American John Ledyard and others

planned an American expedition across North America to:

- gather information about the land, plants, animals, and natives;
- map a highway route to the Pacific Ocean;
- offer a token challenge to the British and Canadian fur trading companies

President Jefferson hired Meriwether Lewis as his personal secretary -- April 1802

Lewis' family had been neighbors to Jefferson and the president considered him a friend

Jefferson instructed Robert R. Livingston, U.S. Minister in Paris

to negotiate for a tract of land on the lower Mississippi River for use as a port
(no one could anticipate the much larger purchase that took place)

MANUEL LISA IS A WELL KNOWN TRAPPER AND TRADER IN ST. LOUIS

Manuel Lisa was a colorful Spaniard born in New Orleans, Louisiana [September 8, 1772]

his father, Christopher de Lisa, was a native of Spain

Lisa came to St. Louis from New Orleans sometime about [1790] -- there he entered the fur trade

Lisa was a very clever but unscrupulous Spanish fur trapper and trader in St. Louis

and soon became one of the leaders in the industry

Lisa became such an important trader on the Missouri River that the French government granted him
exclusive rights to trade with the Osage Indians -- June 1802

Of all traders to penetrate the mountains, he was the ablest
and his business code was as ethical as others of his time

However, he made enemies easily

Auguste Chouteau was a French colonist and the first settler of St. Louis

it was his trade monopoly that was given to Manuel Lisa to the disgust of Chouteau's family
(it will also be discovered that Lisa was Secret Agent of the Spanish Crown)

Manuel Lisa's enemies were legion

many were created through his own fault and more were created by his success

enemies never ceased to attack him while he lived (and to defame his name after he died)

Lisa won his place in history by initiative, daring and energy

he never had a serious or a personal brush with the Indians

although he traveled many thousands of miles through the wilderness

he became such an important trader on the Missouri River

the U.S. government granted him exclusive trade rights with the Osage Indians -- 1802

In a letter to Territorial Governor General William Clark, Lisa analyzed his strengths

“But I have had some success as a trader; and this gives rise to many reports. Manuel must cheat the government, and Manuel must cheat the Indians, otherwise Manuel could not bring down every summer so many boats loaded with rich furs.

Good, My accounts with the government will show whether I receive anything out of which to cheat it. A poor five hundred dollars, as sub-agent salary, does not buy the tobacco which I annually give to those who call me father.

Cheat the Indians! The respect and friendship which they have for me, the security of my possessions in the heart of their country respond to this charge, and declare with voices louder than the tongues of men that it cannot be true.

But Manuel gets so much rich fur!

Well, I will explain how I get it. First, I put into my operations great activity; I go a great distance, while some are considering whether they will start today or tomorrow. I impose upon myself great privations; then months in a year I am buried in the forest; at a vast distance from my own house. I appear as the benefactor, and not as the pillager, of the Indians. I carried among them the seed of the large pompion (pumpkin), from which I have seen in their possession the fruit weighing 160 pounds. Also the large bean, the potato, the turnip; and these vegetables now make a comfortable part of their subsistence, and this year I have promised to carry the plough. Besides, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding

preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak and of the old men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of these nations, and the consequent choice of their trade.”⁴

SPANISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS DETERIORATE

Spanish officials at New Orleans, (now part of French Territory) -- October 16, 1802
forbid American traders from depositing their cargoes in New Orleans
this move presented a serious economic threat to America as New Orleans is the port
where goods from the interior were transferred to ocean-going ships
President Jefferson asked the Spanish
for permission to send an expedition into the West -- November 1802

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON SENDS A SECRET MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

President Jefferson sent a second secret message to Congress -- January 18, 1803
congressional session was closed to present the president’s confidential proposal
Jefferson advocated that \$2,500 be appropriated for a two year expedition
to send a small military detachment across Louisiana to the Pacific Ocean
for commercial and literary purposes
this expedition was to trace the Missouri River to its source, cross the high lands
and follow water communications to the Pacific Ocean
Congress approved the expenditure
Jefferson wanted to encourage an American population increase west of the Mississippi River
to protect the national interest at our western border
by stopping the British from gaining territory in the Far West
taking control of the Columbia River at its mouth would block British expansion

SQUABBLE OVER LAND GRANTS IN CANADA

Canadian Presbyterian clergy demanded they be given a land grant by the British government
they pointed out the Catholic and Episcopal clergy were well provided for
Methodists made a similar demand
Landed Canadian proprietors who were holders of immense estates
wanted the government to spend large sums building roads so their estates would be accessible
and lumber could be transported to market

“For a long time this body of men [Landed Proprietors] ...possessed almost all the highest public offices, by means of which, and of its influence in the Executive Council, it welded all the powers of Government....”⁵

Loyalists to the British king during the American Revolution [1776-1783]
who had settled in Upper Canada (Ontario) as refugees from the United States before
or the children of those Loyalist had collectively received 3,200,000 acres in land grants⁶
Loyalists who settled in Lower Canada (Quebec)⁷

⁴ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 265.

⁵ Gustavus Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth., Vol. I., P. 60*

⁶ Gustavus Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth., Vol. I., P. 81.*

⁷ Gustavus Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth., Vol. I., P. 83.*

were provided similar land grants totaling 1,457,209 acres
much of this land was sold to speculators for a trifle
two hundred acres could be sold for a gallon of rum or as much a six pounds

AMERICAN TRADING SHIP ARRIVES AT NOOTKA SOUND

American trading ship *Boston* loaded with general cargo was commanded by Captain John Salter she was the largest, strongest, and best equipped ship on the Pacific coast

when she arrived at Nootka Sound and began trading with the Indians -- March 12, 1803
Natives seemed quite friendly but Captain Salter became indignant at Nootka Chief Maquinna
Salter verbally insulted the Nootka chief in terms some of which the native understood
Maquinna stormed ashore bent on revenge

Chief Maquinna decided the *Boston* should pay for this and other outrages
for instance, all Maquinna's furs had been stolen when native men were away from the village
also about twenty natives including four sub-chiefs had been murdered
because an Indian stole a chisel from the ship's carpenter

Maquinna led a gruesome assault on the *Boston*

Indians captured the *Boston* at anchor in Nootka Sound and the ship was set afire and destroyed
all but two of the crew members were massacred:

- twenty-two-year-old blacksmith and armorer John R. Jewitt
whose skills were extremely valuable to the Indians -- Jewitt kept a journal of the events
- sailmaker John Thompson who hid in the hold of the ship until he was discovered
Jewitt told the Indians the old sailor was his father and thus saved his life

Jewitt and Thompson were held as slaves, but they enjoyed some privileges

Jewitt later described his life as a slave as the **"...most valuable species of property. These (slaves) are of both sexes being either captives taken by themselves in war, or purchased from the neighboring tribes, and who reside in the same house, forming as it were a part of the family, are usually kindly treated, eat the same food, and live as well as their masters. They are compelled, however, at times to labor severely, as not only all the menial offices are performed by them, such as bringing water, cutting wood, and a variety of others, but they are obligated to make the canoes, to assist in the building and repairing of houses, to supply their masters with fish, and to attend them in war and to fight for them.... The females are employed principally in manufacturing cloths (weaving by hand), in cooking, collecting berries, etc., and with regard to food and living in general have not a much harder lot than their mistresses...."**⁸

Jewitt wrote notes addressed "to any captain nearby"

these notes were carried by befriended natives of other villages

Attack on the *Boston*, when it was discovered, caused alarm among the fur traders

SPAIN OPENS THE PORT OF NEW ORLEANS TO AMERICANS

Spain restored to Americans the right of deposit at the port -- April 19, 1803

at least temporarily American could continue the use of the Mississippi River

however, the French threat to control the port and the Mississippi River loomed even larger

⁸ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 41-42.

UNITED STATES PURCHASES LOUISIANA FROM FRANCE

Napoleon Bonaparte decided to sell France's claim to the territory of Louisiana to the United States
he was bent on dominating Europe by conquest of war -- Louisiana helped pay the huge cost
he also believed that as America became increasingly powerful

England's naval power would be threatened by the young nation

Louisiana Purchase Treaty was signed by Americans Robert Livingston, James Monroe
and French representative Barbe Marbois in Paris -- April 30, 1803

United States had purchased 828,000 square miles for \$15 million -- less than 3 cents per acre
an area greater in size than the original thirteen colonies -- America had doubled in size

U.S. thus extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains

however, the northern and southern boundaries were not yet determined

MANUEL LISA'S TRADE MONOPOLY COMES TO AN END

Spanish government had granted Manuel Lisa a trade monopoly with the Osage Indians
purchase of Louisiana ended that arrangement as the United States took possession

Vast territory was opened to American trappers

and no privileged corporations limited the possibilities of profits

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN SETTLES IN QUEBEC, CANADA

John McLoughlin was born at Riviere du Loup, Lower Canada (Quebec)

along the south bank of the St. Lawrence River [October 19, 1784]

to a poor Catholic father and an upper class Protestant mother, Angelique Fraser McLoughlin

he was baptized Jean-Baptiste McLoughlin into the Catholic faith

McLoughlin grew up in the French-Canadian village about 120 miles south of Quebec City

trappers and voyageurs daily passed the McLoughlin farm at Reverie de Loup

throughout his childhood John listened to their songs and stories

his uncle, Simon Fraser, who worked for the North West Company was a frequent visitor

he recounted thrilling tales of adventure for the boy

McLoughlin's Irish father drowned while John was still a boy

after his father's death McLoughlin lived with **his maternal granduncle Colonel William**

Fraser

he was brought up in the Anglican Church (Church of England)

John McLoughlin began to study medicine in Quebec City at age fourteen [1798]

he crossed the Atlantic to Scotland in order to enter the University of Edinburgh

four and a half years later at age nineteen

he was granted a license to practice medicine and surgery -- April 30, 1803

Dr. John McLoughlin got into a petty scuffle with a British officer

while defending a pretty girl from military rudeness

to escape punishment, he was forced to run away to relatives

working for the North West Company

Dr. John McLoughlin served as an apprentice surgeon to the North West Company's headquarters

post of Fort Kaminstiquia (later Fort William [1807]) (now Thunder Bay, Ontario)

on Lake Superior at a salary of twenty English pounds a year -- 1803

this began a forty-six year career with the company

however there was little doctoring to do except for a few brief weeks during the summer when Fort Kaministiquia swarmed with transport brigades and rendezvousing partners besides, the six-foot-four-inch, big-handed youth was not an adept physician Dr. John McLoughlin soon abandoned medicine as he preferred the fur trade while serving North West Company as a trader he mastered several Indian languages he soon showed an astounding capacity for managing Indians, trappers and traders

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON LEARNS OF THE SIGNING OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

President Thomas Jefferson received word of the Louisiana Purchase agreement -- July 1, 1803

Jefferson announced the treaty to the American people -- July 4

Jefferson had been making arrangements for an expedition to cross the continent to the Pacific Ocean

Jefferson's choice to lead the expedition was former neighbor and secretary Meriwether Lewis who was a captain in a United States Army rifle company commanded by William Clark

Lewis possessed military discipline and experience that would be necessary

Lewis chose his old commander, William Clark, to assist him leading the "Corps of Discovery"

Lewis requested of President Jefferson that his old military mate be appointed co-commander

There were four central beliefs that Lewis and Clark held as they prepared for their expedition:

- the Missouri was a mighty river originating in the mountains far to the west;
- it would be possible to navigate by canoe all the way to the source of the Missouri River;
- it would be possible to see the Pacific Ocean or even ships from those mountains;
- it would be possible to locate another great river that flowed to the Pacific from those mountains

Meriwether Lewis left Washington City (D.C.) traveling to St. Louis

where supplies were to be gathered for the expedition

en route he journeyed to Louisville, Kentucky where he was to meet William Clark

Lewis and Clark traveled together from Louisville to Pittsburg and on to St. Louis

NORTH AMERICA REMAINED A MYSTERY YET TO BE EXPLAINED

Although French, British and Spanish explorers, British, Canadian and Russian traders and trappers, soldiers, Catholic and Protestant missionaries, independent entrepreneurs

and ever-westward moving farmers had all visited the eastern portions of North America

map makers remained ignorant regarding what was actually to the west

To fill in the void in knowledge and on the maps several misconceptions prevailed:

- headwaters of all of the major rivers of the West were near each other;
- headwaters of the Missouri (flowing east) and the headwaters of some great "River of the West" (flowing to the Pacific Ocean) were near each other;
- western rivers were navigable up to their sources;
- Stony (or Rocky) Mountains were just one or two ridges of low mountains or hills they did not present much of an obstacle to travel;
- it would be possible to travel up the Missouri River from the east, cross over to the River of the West in less than a day, then take that river directly down to the Pacific Ocean

Some people believed during their explorations Lewis and Clark:

- would come to a mountain of rock salt that was 180 miles long and forty-five miles wide after traveling a thousand miles;

- would see a number of volcanoes along the Missouri River;
- would encounter the woolly mammoth -- long extinct elsewhere in the world

President Jefferson himself believed this to be true

Indians of the West were believed to be different from those already encountered and conquered
 some believed the western tribes were descended from pre-Christopher Columbus explorers
 such as the Vikings or Welsh or Irish, or that they were remnants of the Lost Tribes of Israel,
 some assumed Indian cultures became more advanced the further west they were located,
 others believed that some tribes in the West would be white and some would be black

MERIWETHER LEWIS WAS WELL PREPARED TO LEAD THE “CORPS OF DISCOVERY”

Meriwether Lewis was a thirty-year-old native of Charlottesville, Virginia

his parents were prominent in the Colonial and Revolutionary efforts

Meriwether had lost his father at a young age

his childhood training depended on his mother and uncle

he was a fearless hunter at the age of eight

Meriwether successfully managed his mother’s plantation at age eighteen

college educated, intelligent, aware, reserved, respected, moody and meticulous

he lost his temper easily

he commanded well as he developed and maintained an efficient unit of men

he demanded strict obedience to his leadership

Jefferson knew Lewis to be, **“honest, disinterested, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves.... [He is] steady in the maintenance of discipline...careful as a father of those committed to his charge.”**⁹

WILLIAM CLARK SERVES AS CO-COMMANDER OF THE “CORPS OF DISCOVERY”

William Clark was picked by Meriwether Lewis to serve as the “Corps of Discovery” co-commander

thirty-three-year-old was ninth child of John Clark

they had moved to Kentucky when William was fourteen

they settled into a new home which became the center of local sociability

Clark made friends easily

William Clark left home at age nineteen for the Indian wars of the Ohio Valley

he was a respected soldier who developed his leadership skills

Meriwether Lewis served under young officer William Clark

at age twenty-four, he was put in charge of 700 pack horses carrying supplies to Fort Greenville

Indians attacked and Clark lost five men but he delivered the goods intact

twice he was twice sent to negotiate with Spaniards regarding Louisiana

Clark retired from the army abruptly [1796]

he returned home to straighten out the financial affairs of his more famous brother

Revolutionary military leader George Rogers Clark

no more was heard of him until he received a message from Meriwether Lewis

asking him if he were interested in the proposed expedition [June 19, 1803]

⁹ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 48.

William Clark was a man of good judgment, boldness and skill in organizing his work
friendly, a natural leader, easy going, even tempered and patient

he liked people, got along well and was successful in dealing with others

he proved to be successful at negotiating with the Indians

who called him “red-haired chief, our brother”

Clark kept journal of flora and fauna during the expedition to the West

he demonstrated practical knowledge of woodcraft, building and managing canoes

his writings are what are referred to as *The Journal of Lewis and Clark*

Jefferson said of him, “...**brave, prudent, habituated to the woods, & familiar with Indian manners and character. He is not regularly educated, but he possesses a great mass of accurate observation on all subjects of nature which present themselves here, & will therefore readily select those only in his new route which shall be new.**”¹⁰

ST. LOUIS WAS THE CENTER OF THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE

St. Louis had been founded [1764] by French trader Pierre Laclede Liguist

he was a member of the firm Maxent, Laclede and Company of New Orleans

the town was planned as a haven for French refugees expatriated by Treaty of Paris [1763]

St. Louis desired to become a city which drew tribute from all trade on the Mississippi River

St. Louis became the center of the American fur trade in the West [1800-1840]

this was the cross-roads of America and often of the world

docks and streets were piled high with goods and supplies

it was the most important inland city in North America

St. Louis drew a variety of clientele from all parts of the continent and the world

everyone from savages to crown princes to soft-spoken Creoles

hard-eyed Yankee gamblers and Spaniards from Taos and Santa Fe

fierce Indian chiefs cared nothing for Virginia gentlemen

middle class traders were shunned by godly Protestant missionaries

St. Louis thrived on violence, sudden death, outlawry and cut-throat business methods

NORTH WEST COMPANY CONSTRUCTS A NEW COMPANY HEADQUARTERS

Fort Kaministiquia had first been built [1679] by the French soldier and explorer

Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut (now spelled Duluth [Minnesota])

This Fort Kaministiquia was replaced by a new structure [1717]

as the first of a projected series of posts leading to the “Western Sea”

undertaken by a French military officer Zacharie Robutel de la Noue

this fort next served as a trading post and base of operations [1727-1743]

for French explorer Pierre Gaultier de la Verendrye

and was again abandoned with the defeat of the French [1760]

during the French and Indian War

Fort Kaministiquia was again rebuilt -- this time by the North West Company -- 1803

replacing the former headquarters at Grand Portage which came under American jurisdiction

with the [1784] Jay Treaty

¹⁰ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 238

Fort Kaministiquia name was changed to Fort William [1804]
in honor of North West Company Chief Superintendent William McGillivray
North West Company's Fort William became the company's headquarters on Lake Superior
Fort William became a major transshipment point linking the frontier with England

LOUISIANA FORMALLY BECOMES PART OF THE UNITED STATES

Meriwether Lewis traveled to New Orleans where he witnesses the transfer ceremony
French tricolors were lowered and the fifteen-star and stripe American flag was raised
over what was now known as the Louisiana Territory
formal transfer of Louisiana to American ownership took place -- December 20, 1803

LEWIS AND CLARK PREPARE THE "CORPS OF DISCOVERY" TO JOURNEY WEST

Captain Meriwether Lewis was in St. Louis -- winter 1803-1804
where he purchased supplies for their expedition
he gathered information concerning the route as far as the Mandan Villages
from traders familiar with the Missouri River
he also mastered the use of the scientific equipment
William Clark set up Wood River Camp where the Wood River enters the Missouri River
there he received the trade goods such as Jefferson medals, handkerchiefs, needles,
yards of red flannel, whiskey, tobacco and fishhooks
Together Lewis and Clark used the time from December 1803 to [May 1804
to train and weed out misfits -- two boatmen deserted

LEWIS AND CLARK'S CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Both men were given joint command -- both were to serve as co-captains
although Clark's commission had lower military rank
Clark's appointment as captain did not arrive until after they left St. Louis
they served as co-captains anyway -- success depended on their leadership
Lewis and Clark's personalities and training complimented each other
Lewis headed the scientific phase
Clark the led the military phase
both Lewis and Clark were experienced in the Indian Wars of the Ohio Valley
Main purpose of the expedition was to explore the Missouri River and find a way to the Pacific Ocean
President Jefferson sent written complete instruction to Captain Lewis: **"The object of your mission, is to explore the Missouri and such principal streams of it as by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river that may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent, for the purpose of commerce, and you are hereby instructed to keep a journal covering every possible phase of the country you traverse."**¹¹

on the way, the explorers were to:

- obtain accurate and thorough information about the natives;
- attempt to appease them as much as possible;

¹¹ Laura Bartlett, *Student's History of the Northwest as the State of Washington*, P. 97.

- collect natural history specimens;
- note the sources and courses of rivers for military purposes and the location of lakes;
- observe the routes of Canadian traders;
- chart strategic military points;
- list the visible resources of the country;
- note geographical features such as rapids, waterfalls and islands

President Jefferson provided instructions regarding dealing with the Indians

in order to establish commerce with the Indians the Corps of Discovery was to **“treat them (the Indians) in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit”**¹²

Jefferson noted: **“We wish to err on the side of your safety, and to bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information”**¹³

Lewis and Clark expedition was well equipped

they were provided scientific instruments for determining longitude and latitude

materials for preserving specimens of plant life were supplied

they carried a copy of Alexander Mackenzie’s *Voyages*

However, no arrangements were made for the expedition to return to the United States by ship

in was unknown when, or even if, the Lewis and Clark Expedition would reach the Pacific coast

it was thought that perhaps the blooming American fur trade would provide a ship for their return

PASSPORTS FOR THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION WERE OBTAINED

Passports were secured from France, Spain and Great Britain

American effort to explore the frontier seemed of little consequence to Europe

England and France went to war in Europe -- April 1804

it was assumed the victor would control North America

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE RETURNS TO CANADA

Mackenzie was elected to the Legislature of Lower Canada --1804-[1808]

(Lower Canada was that part of today’s Quebec Province downriver from the headwaters of the St. Lawrence River than its contemporary Upper Canada, present-day southern Ontario)

Mackenzie tried unsuccessfully to united the North West Company and Hudson’s Bay Company

with the intention of combining this new enterprise with the East India Company

expansion of the fur trade to China would then be possible

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK SETS OUT FROM WOOD RIVER CAMP

Captain William Clark ordered the expedition to depart from St. Louis -- 4:00 p.m., May 14, 1804

They fired one gun as a note of farewell to frontier civilization and left Wood River Camp to journey up the Missouri River in three boats

a keelboat -- twenty-two oars with square sail, breastworks, tow-ropes, push poles

armed with a swivel gun in the prow

and two swivel-mounted blunderbusses -- one on each side

two dugout canoes

¹² Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*. P. 49-50.

¹³ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 50.

red pirogue -- eight oars with a sail
white pirogue -- six oars with a sail
two horses were used by the hunters who walked along shore
Captain Clark and the Corps of Discovery arrived at noon at the village of St. Charles, Missouri
about twenty-four miles upriver from St. Louis
there they waited for Captain Meriwether Lewis -- May 21, 1804

CORPS OF DISCOVERY LEAVES CIVILIZATION

Captain Meriwether Lewis joined the Corps of Discovery at St. Charles
Lewis and Clark and the members of their expedition
passed last of the white settlements, La Charrette, Missouri -- May 25, 1804
this was also the home of Daniel Boone
they were greeted by small brigade headed by Regis Loisel -- “boss” of the upriver trade

LEWIS AND CLARK CONTINUE UP THE MISSOURI RIVER

Clark noted trappers returning to St. Louis were on the river -- June 5, 1804
“...raft of two canoes joined together in which two French traders were descending from eighty leagues up the Kansas River, there they had wintered and caught great quantities of beaver.”¹⁴

As the Corps of Discovery continued on their way
eight trapping parties traveling down river were passed -- Middle of June
they were going down to St. Louis with their season’s catch of furs

PROGRESS UP MISSOURI RIVER IS SLOW FOR THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Missouri headwaters has been visited by Spanish explorers for ten years
British traders had traded with the Mandan Indians for twenty years
French travelers had explored as far as the Black Hills and, perhaps, even the Yellowstone region
Boat traffic on Missouri River was heavy -- several times the party had to move to shore
while trappers returning down river to St. Louis crowded the river
Poor communication hampered coordination for the Corps of Discovery boat parties
considering the distance covered each day, ten to twenty miles, some signal system
Corps of Discovery boats needed to devise a communication system -- but they did not
Indians had used smoke signals from time unknown
Americans had no way to communicate
hunters on land often accidentally lost contact with those in the boats
Lewis and Clark would have to dispatch two or three men to search for the hunters
Hazards along the Missouri River included willow islands and sand bars where the boats grounded
canoes had to be pried and pulled off the obstacles and returned to mid-channel
sluggishly moving river had a powerful current which shifted from side to side with every bend
bluffs narrowed the channel in places -- there the currents had to be fought head on
men often were out with tow-lines working waist-deep in water
and sloshing through mud to their knees

¹⁴ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 52.

Weather conditions added to the difficulties
rain, hot and humid, was followed by cold and winds
sandstorms and cloudbursts both added to the tribulations of the expedition
Insects such as ticks, gnats, snakes and clouds of mosquitoes increased their misery
rattlesnake bite was the most feared of all hazards
Speed was sacrificed due to specimen collecting
Corps of Discovery stopped or started any time the commanders wanted
as a result the men never knew when their day's labor was finished

LEWIS AND CLARK CONTINUE ON THE MISSOURI RIVER ALL SUMMER

Members of the Corps of Discovery celebrated the nation's birthday
by firing the big gun on the keelboat -- July 4, 1804

Private Joseph Field was bitten by a rattlesnake
but was **"quickly doctored with bark by Captain Lewis"**

Lewis and Clark Expedition reached the Platte River -- July 22, 1804

the record notes: **"As we journeyed on, great herds of buffalo so large that we gazed on them in astonishment, came into view. Upon one occasion on our return journey, the herd was so vast, swimming and plowing its way through the stream a mile broad, formed a column so thick that we were compelled to land and wait an hour until it passed, before we could continue our journey."**¹⁵

Lewis and Clark had their first serious dispute with the Sioux Indians

who wanted to be paid a tribute for the explorers to travel up the Missouri River -- July 25

Clark's coolness and Lewis' diplomacy triumphed

Sioux tried to stop them once more -- July 28

Captain Lewis aimed a small cannon at them

thus he established American sovereignty over the Mississippi Basin

Expedition met Kickapoos, Otoes, Poncas, Yankton, Teton Sioux, Pawnee, Omahas
and learned of Cheyennes and Crows -- summer 1804

explorers found many natives hostile because of their past experience with whites

Sergeant Charles Floyd died with "Biliouse Chorlick" -- probably acute appendicitis -- August 19

he was the only person to die on the trip and was buried (near present Sioux City, Iowa)

An elk and three buffalo were killed -- September 4, 1804

a few days later Lewis estimated there were 3,000 buffalo in one herd

food was plentiful -- every day hunters killed fat antelopes, buffalo, or elk

Lewis and Clark met friendly Arikara Indians -- October 8, 1804

DISCIPLINE WAS SEVERE FOR THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Military court-martial was used to discipline the men

John Collins and Hugh Hall were charged with drawing liquor from kegs

they were assigned to guard -- each was given fifty lashes

one man was charged with lying down and sleeping while on sentry duty

he was dishonorably discharged and assigned permanent KP (kitchen patrol) duty

Several times the men either deserted or attempted to

¹⁵ Laura Bartlett, *Student's History of the Northwest and the State of Washington*, P. 99.

Moses B. Reed attempted to desert

when he was captured he was made to “run the gauntlet” four times
thereafter he was not considered part of the expedition

Joseph Barter was sent on an errand to an Indian camp -- he never came back

John Newman was court-marshaled as a deserter -- October 13, 1804

he was given seventy-five lashes and dismissed from the expedition

La Liberty, a deserter, was caught “but he deceived them and got away” Clark says

one man was “discharged” from the party for attempting to desert

and stealing a “public rifle, shotpouch, powder” Clark reported

Desertions ceased abruptly after the expedition reached the Mandan Villages

perhaps Lewis and Clark realized too many otherwise great expeditions had been wrecked

by commanders who overused the lash rather than reserving it for when it was most needed

(in fact, John Newman who had been sentenced to seventy-five lashes for desertion

was highly recommended by Lewis when the party got back home)

DAVID THOMPSON BECOMES A PARTNER IN THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

North West Company Chief Geographer David Thompson was elevated to partner status

he continued to conduct trade widely across expanses adjacent to Hudson’s Bay Company -- 1804

Though undistinguished at this time, he was a natural explorer

recording his latitude and longitude at every stop to assist him in mapping accurately

he allowed no liquor for trading purposes in the areas he was assigned

LEWIS AND CLARK MAKE WINTER CAMP

Corps of Discovery prepared their first winter camp 1,600 miles up the Missouri River from St. Louis

at two earthen villages of the sedentary Mandan Indians

and their more mobile neighbors the Minnetarees

Mandans were a peaceful but poor Indian people

although they had been the center of Canadian trade activity for at least twenty years

for ten years Spanish traders also had been traveling as far as the Mandan village in North Dakota

Captain William Clark and eight men selected a site for winter camp

about eight miles below the mouth of the Knife River -- October 27, 1804

LEWIS AND CLARK’S FORT MANDAN IS WITHIN EASY CONTACT OF THE INDIANS

Fort Mandan was built of cottonwood, elm and ash

eighteen-foot stockade of tall pointed posts joined at an angle to form a “V”

storage was located at the apex of the “V”

picket fence was placed across the open end of the post thus forming an enclosed area

two rows of huts of four rooms each were constructed

shed roofs sloped upward toward the outer walls

Fort Mandan was guarded day and night

Minnetarees, Hidatsas, Arikaras, Cheyennes, Crees and Blackfoot were camped in the area

North West Company employees and free-lance trappers camped there also

Lewis persuaded the Indians and the Canadian traders

that the American expedition was a friendly exploration expedition not a commercial venture

CORPS OF DISCOVERY SPENDS THE WINTER AT FORT MANDAN

Winter was quiet and time was spent in making acquaintance of the Indians and in various tasks members of Lewis and Clark's expedition packed botanical, zoological and geologic specimens to send to Jefferson [in the spring] along with detailed reports and graphic notes on the Indians
all of the reports and notes were copied in triplicate
for diversion the expedition's men danced to the fiddle of one-eyed Peter Cruzat whose music charmed every Indian tribe the party encountered
between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean
As time dragged on the enlisted men occupied themselves
they built cottonwood dugout canoes for use on the upper river
they operated a blacksmith shop where they made iron implements
that could be traded to the agricultural Mandan Indians for corn
they repaired equipment and made miles of tow line
Temperature dropped to 40° below zero

NORTH WEST COMPANIES MERGE

Sir Alexander Mackenzie's most bitter enemy was dead
jealous, grasping Simon McTavish, the head of the Old North West Company
this event made the reconciliation of competing former partners possible
as the chief obstacle to a partnership agreement had been removed
Mackenzie's X.Y. Company employed 520 men, thirty-seven women and thirty-one children
its officers and men joined with the old North West Company employees
Reunion of X.Y. Company with North West Company was completed -- November 5, 1804
positive outcomes were achieved with the merger
there was less violence among the white traders and trappers
and less liquor consumption among the natives

NORTH WEST COMPANY IS REORGANIZED

Sir Alexander Mackenzie remained in Montreal until 1805
he was easily was the most influential partner in the reorganized North West Company
After the merger it was decided to extend the beaver trade west of the Rocky Mountains
David Thompson was placed in charge of the parties going into the wilderness
Alexander Mackenzie added to his considerable fortune
he retired in Inverness-shire, Scotland --1805
where he lived a married and settled life until his death fifteen years later

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S (NEW) NORTH WEST COMPANY EXPANDS OPERATIONS

Grand Portage (Minnesota) on the shore of Lake Superior
had served as the North West Company headquarters for shipping and receiving
Mackenzie replaced Grand Portage with Fort Kaministiquia (today's Thunder Bay, Ontario)
(this post later became known as Fort William)
(New) North West Company carried on trade westward of Lake Superior

wherever North West Company men clashed with Hudson's Bay Company men
North West Company had the advantage as it was directed
by aggressive Canadian merchants and traders on the spot
one of the most active was young Scotsman explorer Donald Mackenzie
who served the company for eight years
(before becoming a partner of John Jacob Astor)

LEWIS AND CLARK'S MEN ENJOYED GOOD HUNTING AT FORT MANDAN

Members of the Corps of Discovery shot game for winter supplies

Joseph Whitehouse gave the take on one short hunt as: **"34 deer, 10 elk, 5 buffalo"**
in addition to porcupine and antelope

Lewis would say, **"The party are [sic] in excellent health, zealously attached to the enterprise, and anxious to proceed. Not a whisper or a murmur of discontent to be heard among them, but all act in unison with the most perfect harmony."**¹⁶

CHARBONNEAU AND SACAGAWEA ARE HIRED BY LEWIS AND CLARK

At Fort Mandan Lewis and Clark found two Montreal free trappers

Rene Jessaume and Toussaint Charbonneau who informed the Americans
of the death of (Old) North West Company leader Simon McTavish

both Jessaume and Charbonneau were promptly hired by the Americans as interpreters and guides
(Jessaume would not go all the way to the Pacific Ocean)

Toussaint Charbonneau, although his English was shaky, was hired as an interpreter

Charbonneau had purchased two women from the Hidatsa Indians

Sacagawea (meaning "Bird Woman") and his second wife "Otter Woman"

both were Shoshone (Snake) Indians who had been captured by the Hidatsa

Charbonneau told Lewis and Clark that his wives' people lived at the headwaters of the Missouri
and the Shoshones were well-equipped with horses

Lewis and Clark foresaw that Charbonneau and his wives' interpreting skills
would be instrumental when the expedition reached the Rocky Mountains

Clark found the name Sacagawea impossible to pronounce so he called her "Janey"

Because Charbonneau's English was shaky and neither Lewis nor Clark spoke French
French boatmen Francois La Biche or Peter Cruzatte or Private George Drouillard

would convey the captains' questions to Charbonneau in French

Charbonneau then could speak Hidatsa to his Shoshone wives,

especially Sacagawea who spoke both Hidatsa and Shoshone

Sixteen-year-old Sacagawea gave birth to a son -- February 11, 1805

she gave her baby the name Pompey which meant "first born" in Shoshone

Captain Clark promptly nicknamed the baby "or Little Pomp"

among the whites was known as Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau

Sacagawea was held in high regard by the men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

as a woman she demonstrated the peaceful intent of the expedition

she proved to be more valuable than her husband

¹⁶ Cecil Dryden, *History of Washington*, P. 51.

Charbonneau was not well liked by the leaders of the Corps of Discovery
one journal entry noted: **“only a tongue to wag in a mouth to fill -- a minus quality in comparison to his wife, Sacagawea, the wonderful Bird Woman who contributes a full man’s share to the success of the expedition, besides taking care of her baby.”**¹⁷

PREPARATIONS FOR THE JOURNEY WEST BEGIN IN EARNEST

Crews were sent into the timber to cut logs for building dugouts and canoes
specimens that had been collected en route were packed into crates and boxes for shipment
Meriwether Lewis wrote to his mother from Fort Mandan -- March 31, 1805

“So far we have experienced more difficulties from the navigation of the Missouri than danger from the savages. The difficulties which oppose themselves to the navigation of this immense river arise from the rapidity of its current, its falling banks, sandbars and timber, which remains wholly or partially concealed in its bed, usually called by the navigators of the of the Missouri and the Mississippi ‘sawyer’ or ‘planter.’ Such is the velocity of the current at all seasons of the year, from the entrance of the Missouri to the mouth of the great river Platte, that it is impossible to resist its force by means of oars or poles in the main channel of the river; the eddies which therefore generally exist on one side of the other of the river, are sought by the navigators, but these are almost universally encumbered with the concealed timber, or within reach of the falling banks.”¹⁸

PACIFIC COAST MARITIME TRADE SLOWS

American maritime (sea) trade was on a catch-as-catch-can basis
trading ships might appear suddenly at a sheltered anchorage with goods to offer
but the Indians had no way of knowing for certain when to show up with their furs
neither could ship-borne traders be sure that the furs they sought would be available
Only three British vessels traded on the Pacific coast --1805-[1814]
this decline in the sea otter trade can be explained at least in part
by the British East India Company’s iron grip on trade

AMERICAN TRADING BRIG *LYDIA* REACHES THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Captain Samuel Hill sailing the *Lydia* out of Boston wrote this account: **“I sailed in the *Lydia* on the 31st of August 1804, and proceeded round Cape Horn, touched at the Sandwich Islands and arrived in Safety on the North West Coast, at Columbia River, on the 5th of April 1805 where we remained near a month, during which time I eyscended (ascended) the main or S. Eastern Branch of the Columbia, to the Great Rapids in my boat, a distance I believe of about 140 miles or perhaps less.”**¹⁹

Lydia was trading in the vicinity of Vancouver Island
when an Indian chief who spoke a little English carried a letter to the visiting ship
this letter was signed John R. Jewitt and John Thompson of the *Boston*
who had remained captives at Nootka Sound since the attack on their ship [1803]

¹⁷ Cecil Dryden, *History of Washington*, Portland, Oregon, P. 52.

¹⁸ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 242-243.

¹⁹ Robert A. Saindon, editor, *Explorations Into the World of Lewis and Clark*. Vol. II, P. 611.

SIMON FRASER EXPLORES THE WILDERNESS FOR THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

Simon Fraser was the son of an American Loyalist who fled the American Revolution

Simon had become a North West Company apprentice at age twelve
and became a partner at age twenty-one -- it was noted he was

“without much education or special mental endowments”²⁰

North West Company assigned Fraser to replace Sir Alexander Mackenzie at Fort Chipewyan -- 1805
at age twenty-nine he was ordered to continue Mackenzie’s explorations

Simon Fraser joined a combined trading and exploring expedition to strengthen the company’s claim
he was seen to be **“One of the most daring trappers of his day”²¹**

NORTH WEST COMPANY LEARNS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

Early news of the American Lewis and Clark Expedition had a major effect on the Canadian fur trade
it was the final incentive for the (new) North West Company
to establish a permanent trading posts in the Pacific Northwest

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION SETS OUT FROM FORT MANDAN

Ice melted on the Missouri River and two groups left Fort Mandan -- 4:00 p.m., April 7, 1805

Six soldiers including two who had been discharged and two Frenchmen
started down the Missouri River bound for St. Louis

Corporal Richard Warfington whose term had expired
took command of the keelboat and a small canoe

they carried four boxes and one trunk filled with dispatches to the government,
letters to private friends and a number of articles to the President of the United States
also included were the pelts, horns and skeletons of various animals;
dried plants, soil, minerals, and insect specimens;
Mandan and Hidatsa artifacts and items, and Arikara tobacco
and tobacco seed

they carried three cages of live animals previously unknown to science:
four magpies, a sharp-tailed grouse hen and a prairie dog

Second group of six homemade dugouts and two pirogues set out up the Missouri

Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark led the expedition accompanied by
four Sergeants: Charles Floyd, John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor and Patrick Gass
nineteen Privates: William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Joseph Field, Reuben Field,
Robert Frazier, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas P. Howard,
Huge McNeal, John Potts, John B. Thompson, Peter Weiser, William Werner,
Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, Richard Windsor and gunsmith John Shields
three boatmen:

small, wiry one-eyed Pierre Cruzatte, a superb hunter and fiddler
Francois LaBiche who was fluent in both English and French

Jean Baptiste Lapage who had been living among the Hidatsa and Mandan
two hunters:

²⁰ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 331.

²¹ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 331.

Private George Drouillard famed interpreter, woodsman and scout (Clark's "Drewyer")
Private George Shannon, at age seventeen he was the youngest man on the expedition
 this young Irishman who was often sent on dangerous missions
 he was constantly getting lost
 one time for sixteen days he had hunted ahead of the river party
 he kept going faster and faster to catch up with those already far behind him
non-military personnel was composed of:
 Toussaint Charbonneau, his wife, Sacagawea
 and child Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau who was called "Pompey" by his mother
 William Clark's slave York who was always referred to as "my servant" by Clark
 York drew a great deal of attention from the Indians
 Lewis' 160-pound Newfoundland dog Seaman
 (this name long had been thought to be Scannon because of Clark's penmanship)
each of the thirty-three Corps of Discovery members
 had been selected for the push to the Pacific Ocean because they possessed special skills
 all were woodsmen, most were experienced in Indian wars, several were cooks,
 two were gunsmiths and blacksmiths, two played the violin, one liked to fish,
 one was skilled in making clothes, one was a boat builder
in addition a Mandan man accompanied the explorers as far as the home of the Shoshone people

CORPS OF DISCOVERY CONTINUES UP THE MISSOURI RIVER

Captains Lewis and Clark, their thirty-one traveling companions and baby Pompey
 passed the mouth of the Yellowstone River -- April 26, 1805
 during their journey they saw vast herds of buffalo, deer and antelope
 ducks and geese were in great abundance and there were some swans

NEAR TRAGEDYS STRIKE THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Camp was made (in Montana's Central Valley) and huge herds of buffalo, elk, deer, antelope
 and wolves were noted nearby
Six of the men attacked a grizzly bear with their rifles
 although hit several time the great bear continued to pursue the hunters
 it took eight rifle-balls to kill the animal -- May 14, 1805
Later, while Lewis and Clark were both on shore
 Charbonneau was steering the white pirogue when it overturned
 valuable cargo might have been lost had Sacagawea not saved the day -- May 14, 1805

LEWIS AND CLARK FIRST SIGHT THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Corps of Discovery sighted the snow-capped Rockies -- May 26, 1805
 Clark reported in his journal: **"I took one man and walked out this morning, and ascended the high countrey [sic] to view the mountains which I thought I saw yesterday.... from this point I beheld the Rocky Mountains for the first time with certainty.... whilst I viewed those mountains I felt a secret pleasure in finding myself so near the head of the heretofore conceived boundless Missouri; but when I reflected on the difficulties which this snowey**

[sic]barrier would most probably throw in my way to the Pacific Ocean, and the sufferings and hardships of my self and party in them, it in some measure counterbalanced [sic] the joy I had felt in the first moments in which I gazed on them."²²

CORPS OF DISCOVERY REACHES A FORK IN THE MISSOURI RIVER

Missouri River was joined by another river of equal size

here the explorers faced their first serious choice of routes -- June 3, 1805

Lewis sent a canoe commanded by Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor with two men up the right fork
another canoe commanded by Sergeant Patrick Gass with two more men took the left fork
in the meantime small parties traveled overland to hunt and determine the lay of the land
other men cached part of their goods to be available for their return trip
both canoes returned by evening and the men concluded the right fork was the proper one
both commanders disagreed with the decision

they overruled the men and, after naming the right fork Maria's River,

they turned the prows of their canoes up the left-hand stream

Lewis and Clark proved to be correct as this was the Missouri River

MERIWETHER LEWIS EXPLORES AHEAD OF THE MAIN CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Captain Lewis came upon the thundering Great Falls of the Missouri River -- June 14, 1805

this beautiful obstacle almost 100 feet high

and was followed by nearly eighteen miles of smaller falls and rapids
expedition spent nearly a month dragging their boats and goods around a portage
to speed progress, the men loaded five canoes on cottonwood logs cut as wheels
strong winds filled the attached sails

but overland progress remained slow as the carriages were forever breaking down
Lewis and Clark found they had to build new canoes

because the old ones could not be used above the Great Falls given the condition of the river

HAZARDS IN ABUNDANCE FACE LEWIS AND CLARK AS THEY CONTINUE UP RIVER

A cloudburst caught Clark, York, Charbonneau, Sacagawea and her baby in the open in a ravine
when floodwaters hit, Sacagawea and Pompey were nearly drowned

Clark saved them when he lifted them from the ravine but in the process he lost his rifle,
compass and a number of other articles -- June 29, 1805

Hailstones more than seven inches in circumference fell during the storm

men on the portage route were caught in the open, knocked to the ground and badly injured

Corps of Discovery stopped to work on a collapsible boat made of skins imagined by Captain Lewis
several days were lost in the effort before the project was abandoned
as it proved impossible to make the vessel water tight

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION REACHES THE GATES OF THE MOUNTAINS

Missouri River became increasingly rapid as food was running low -- July 19, 1805

²² Journal of Lewis and Clark

prominent gray cliffs along the Missouri River were named the “Gates of the Mountains”

Lewis noted the incredible surroundings when he wrote that: **“this evening we entered much the most remarkable cliffs [sic] that we have yet seen. These cliffs rise from the waters edge on either side perpendicularly to the hight [sic] of 1200 feet... from the singular appearance of this place I called it the gates of the rocky mountains.”**²³

Food for the members of the expedition was becoming scarce

Sacagawea helped by suggesting the bark of a pine tree could be eaten

AMERICAN TRADING BRIG *LYDIA* SAILS IN SEARCH OF THE TWO INDIAN HOSTAGES

Captain Samuel Hill sailing the trading ship *Lydia* out of Boston decided to investigate the letter

he had received signed by John R. Jewitt and John Thompson of the trading ship *Boston*

which indicated they were being held captive at Nootka Sound

Lydia sailed to within sight of the offending Indian village

three cannon shots marked the entrance of a ship into the harbor -- morning of July 19, 1805

Jewitt later explained: **“though my heart bounded with joy, I repressed any feelings and affecting to pay no attention to what was said, told [John] Thompson to be on his guard and not betray any joy, our release, and perhaps our lives, depended on our conducting ourselves so as to induce the natives to suppose we were not very anxious to leave them.”**²⁴

Maquinna, the native Chief, called a council of his people at his house

some were for death for the white slaves,

some were for removing them from the village fifteen to twenty miles,

some were for releasing them

Maquinna heard all of their opinions and then decided to visit the ship himself

he asked that Jewitt write a letter to the ship’s captain

telling how well the whites were treated and how kind the chief was

“Sir,

The bearer of this letter is the Indian king by the name of Maquinna. He was the instigator of the capture of the ship *Boston*, of Boston in North America, John Salter captain, and of the murder of twenty-five men of her crew, the two only survivors being now on shore -- Wherefore I hope you will take care to confine him according to his merits, putting in your dead-lights and keeping so good a watch over him that he cannot escape from you. By so doing we shall be able to obtain our release in the course of a few hours.

**John R. Jewitt, *Armorer of
the Boston for himself***

and

**John Thompson, *Sail-maker
of said ship***²⁵

When the illiterate Maquinna boarded the *Lydia*

he gave presents of skins and the letter to Captain Hill

After reading the message, the captain asked the chief into his cabin

five or six armed men were sent for and came to the captain’s cabin

²³ Journal of Lewis and Clark

²⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 52.

²⁵ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 54.

Maquinna was told he was a prisoner until the whites were released
Maquinna sent several of his men to bring the slaves on board
Captain Hill rescued the two American sailors
two years and four months after the attack on the *Boston*
Lydia proceeded to the Columbia River

LEWIS AND CLARK REACH THE THREE FORKS OF THE MISSOURI RIVER

Corps of Discovery arrived at the Three Forks of the Missouri River (Montana) -- July 27, 1805

Lewis and Clark named the Jefferson River which seemed to flow southwest
they named the Madison River, the middle fork that it seemed to flow south
they named the Gallatin River which seemed to flow southeast

Sacagawea recognized the southwest-flowing river

five years before she had been captured by Minnetaree Indians

she had been taken to the Missouri River area where she met Charbonneau

this time all agreed -- the Jefferson River was the best choice

however, she could not tell the worried leaders where to find a pass over the looming mountains

worse, the expedition had not yet seen any sign of her people

horse-owning Shoshone (Snake) Indians

without horses they could not cross the mountains before snow fell -- and that meant disaster

CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS AND THREE OTHERS SET OUT AHEAD

Lewis pushed desperately ahead with Privates George Drouillard, John Shields and Hugh McNeal

Behind them Clark, half crippled with a carbuncle on his ankle, and the remainder of expedition

kept the eight dugout canoes creeping onward among boulders, over gravel bars,

and through the willow-tangled channels of endless beaver swamps

Clark often got the disagreeable tasks

time after time he was left behind to pull boats and build camps

(when half-wild horses were to be brought to camp, the task was Clark's)

After fifty miles the Jefferson River branched into Big Hole, Ruby and Beaverhead rivers

Lewis again faced a choice of routes -- August 4, 1805

Lewis left a note for Clark then ascended the middle branch -- the Ruby River

Clark failed to see the note as beavers had cut down the pole to which it was attached

Clark went up the northwest fork -- the Big Hole River

but returned when he found it unnavigable

no channel could be found as the river was clogged with beaver dams and swamps

LEWIS IS AWARE THE CANOES WILL NOT BE USEFUL MUCH LONGER

Captain Lewis and Privates George Drouillard, John Shields and Hugh McNeal

climbed the mountains

it becomes increasingly obvious the canoes would no longer be useful

finding the Shoshones and their horses was imperative if they were to continue west

when Sacagawea recognized "Beaverhead Rock" great excitement was generated -- August 8

LEWIS MADE CAMP AT HORSE PRAIRIE CREEK (MONTANA)

Shoshone (Snake) Indians ranged the lands near the head waters of the Missouri River
Corps of Discovery was in desperate need of horses

Lewis set out once again with his three men -- August 11, 1805

to discover signs of Indians in an effort to get aid from someone, anyone,
who could assist them to find a way to cross the Rocky Mountains

Deep in the mountains Lewis sighted a lone Shoshone Indian warrior on an elegant horse
he attempted to draw the rider closer

Lewis lifted his blanket in the mountain Indian sign of peace and called
“Ta-ba-bone, Ta-ba-bone” (White man, white man)

Private John Shields, off to one side, did not notice Lewis’s effort
he blundered too near with his rifle and the Indian raced away

Wearily the four explorers trudged on

CONTINENTAL DIVIDE IS REACHED BY LEWIS’ ADVANCED PARTY

Lewis and Hugh McNeal followed an Indian trail -- August 12, 1805

to the summit of the Continental Divide (what became known as Lemhi Pass)

Meriwether Lewis was the first United States citizen to cross the Continental Divide

For the first time a portion of the Corps of Discovery entered Oregon

this occasion was noted by Lewis: **“The road was still plain, and it led directly toward the mountains, the stream gradually became smaller, till after their advancing two mile further, it had so greatly diminished in width that one of the men in a fit of enthusiasm, with one foot on each side of the rivulet, thanked God that He had lived to bestride the Missouri. As they proceeded, their hope of seeing the waters of the Columbia rose to almost painful anxiety; when at the distance of four miles from the last abrupt turn of the stream, they reached a small gap formed by the high mountains which recede on either side, leaving room for the Indian road. From the foot of one of the lowest of these mountains, which arises with a gentle ascent of about a half a mile, issued the remotest water of the Missouri. They had now reached the hidden source of that river, which had never before been seen by civilized man; and as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain, -- as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet, which yielded its distant and modest tribute to the parent ocean -- they felt themselves rewarded for all their labors and difficulties. They left reluctantly this interesting spot, and pursuing the Indian road through the interval of the hills, arrived at the top of a ridge from which they saw high mountains, partially covered with snow, still to the west of them. The ridge on which they stood formed the dividing line between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. They found the descent much steeper than on the eastern side, and at the distance of three-quarters of a mile, reached a handsome, bold creek of cold, clear water running to the westward. They stopped to taste for the first time the waters of the Columbia [as their enthusiasm misidentified the stream].”**²⁶

this was an optimistic observation as he had no way of knowing where the river would lead

LEWIS HAPPENS UPON SHOSHONE INDIANS

In Shoshone Country, Captain Lewis and his three men

suddenly encountered an old Indian woman and two girls -- August 15, 1805

²⁶ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 75-76.

both girls ran away at once as the old woman, too feeble to run,
bowed her head to receive the death stroke
Lewis gave her a few beads, a pewter mirror and a little paint as friendly tokens
she called the girls back
no longer fearful, the women conducted the Americans to their camp
on the way the explorers met a band of warriors who had been alerted to their presence
this meeting was the first direct contact these Shoshones had with whites
although they possessed some European trade goods exchanged from other Indians

MEETING WITH THE SHOSHONE INDIANS

Lewis and his companions entered a Shoshone camp of about sixty warriors under Chief Cameahwait
Lewis explained they would receive guns and ammunition from his government
which would enable them to cope with the dreaded Sioux or the pitiless Blackfoot
Lewis also aroused their curiosity by indicating he had a woman of theirs with him
and also a man who was perfectly black; yet not painted
Lewis made a proposition to Cameahwait, the head Chief, to accompany them
back to the forks of the Missouri River where they had left the main party
with their supplies and boats
Cameahwait gladly agreed

LEWIS AND HIS PARTY ARE ACCOMPANIED BY SHOSHONES

After a journey of two days back along the trail
Lewis's party found themselves at the fork of the Missouri River -- August 17, 1805
main party under Captain William Clark was not there
Cameahwait believed he had been deceived and had been led to their destruction
Lewis, with great tact and boldness, gave Chief Cameahwait his rifle and ammunition
he explained that if he had lied the chief could kill him -- this reassured the Indians
In desperation Lewis sent George Drouillard and several Indians
to search for Clark and the main party
Indians traveling with Lewis saw the boats making their way slowly up the Missouri River
in the bow of the lead boat sat Sacagawea

CAPTAIN CLARK REACHES THE AGREED UPON RENDEZVOUS POINT

Captain William Clark arrived with the interpreter Charbonneau and Sacagawea -- August 17, 1805
when Sacagawea saw her tribesmen she became very excited and began to dance
several women of the village recognized her
Sacagawea recognized a girl with whom she had been captured who later escaped
Main party of the expedition continued to drag the heavy canoes
up the little creek which was the Missouri River
Corps of Discovery arrived at Horse Creek Prairie -- noon August 17
once again the explorers were all together
and they had the encouraging prospect to obtaining horses to continue their journey
York proved to be the strongest attraction for the Indians
natives had never even heard of a black man before

GREAT COUNCIL IS HELD WITH THE SHOSHONE INDIANS

Corps of Discovery reached the Shoshone camp on Horse Creek Prairie
an old Shoshone man described a trail that led across the Continental Divide
he said this trail was used by “Pierced Nose” (Nez Perce) Indians
who lived on the far side of the mountains
now the expedition had a route to cross the mountains
Lewis continued the bargaining for horses -- August 17, 1805
Shoshone Chief Cameahwait appeared wary and hesitant
Sacagawea was called upon to serve as interpreter -- she recognized voice of the head chief
to the astonishment of the explorers
she suddenly broke into a torrent of tears and joyful smiles
as Chief Cameahwait, her brother, rushed forward to embrace her
With the help of Sacagawea Americans bought twenty-nine horses and a mule from the Shoshones
unfortunately most of the Indians’ horses were at a village back on the west side of the mountains
they would have to be sent for and brought to Horse Creek Prairie
On hearing this, the co-captains decided to split their expedition
Lewis and the main party would stay east of the mountain pass to receive the horses
and prepare for the push across the Rocky Mountains
Clark and eleven men, meanwhile, would go ahead to establish relations with the Nez Perce
and attempt to discover if the river Lewis had heard about from the Shoshones (the Salmon)
was really as navigable

CLARK TAKES A GROUP OF EXPLORERS AHEAD OF THE MAIN BODY

Captain William Clark and his eleven men left the main party -- August 18, 1805
they took a Shoshone guide, Old Toby, with them into the Rocky Mountains
they crossed 8,000-foot Lemhi Pass and dropped into Lemhi Valley
Captain Lewis supervised the unloading of the canoes and the arrangement of baggage
to meet their new mode of travel
supplies not immediately needed such as the canoes and some of the goods were cached
members of the expedition made pack saddles
ceaseless bargaining for the purchase of the crucial horses continued
it was his thirtieth birthday
Clark reached the Lemhi River which led to Salmon River
they explored for fifty miles and sent a message to Lewis to find a more northerly route
Clark and his men became concerned when the water began to freeze at night -- August 25, 1805

UNITED STATES DESIRES TO EXPAND ITS FUR TRADE

North West Company had ninety-five men stationed in territory claimed by the United States
to put a stop to their trade, U.S. government issued a proclamation -- August 25, 1805
**“forbidding traders, canoe men, and others, not citizens of the United States from
pursuing their traffic on the Missouri River”²⁷**

²⁷ Gustavus Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth.*, Vol. I., P. 70

this order was universally ignored by the Canadian traders and trappers

SIMON FRASER OPENS NEW CALEDONIA, CANADA FOR TRADE

North West Company trapper Simon Fraser along with his clerk and civil engineer John Stuart were ordered by the New Northwest Company to enter the Rocky Mountains to establish trading posts

Fraser was hopeful that a grateful British government would grant him a Charter for the land Nor'westers proceeded by way of the Parsnip and Pack rivers to the Peace River they established a base at Rocky Mountain Portage on the Peace River and built "Rocky Mountain Fort" on the Upper Peace River in New Caledonia -- 1805 (origin of the name New Caledonia is generally attributed to Simon Fraser and his companions to whom the hills and woodlands were reminiscent of the Scottish Highlands) New Caledonia was comprised of the territory of the northwestern Canadian Interior Plateau drained by the Peace, Stuart and Bulkley river system (now north central British Columbia)

MOUNTAINS BECOME MORE RUGGED FOR THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Lewis and Clark had been able to ascend the Missouri River to its source by following a valley usually free from obstructions

Western slopes of the Rockies were much more rugged and precipitous with deep canyons through which unnavigable rivers rushed until finally emerging from the mountains where the rivers became navigable for boats although Clark did not know it, they were faced with 340 miles of land transport 200 miles along good road -- 140 miles over mountains with about sixty miles covered in perpetual snow

LEWIS AND CLARK LINK UP AND ENTER THE BITTERROOT VALLEY

Captain Lewis and main body of the Corps of Discovery rejoined Captain Clark -- August 29, 1805 in the valley of the Salmon River that ran between the Rocky and Bitterroot Mountain Ranges Captain Lewis' negotiating skills had produced only twenty-nine horses not enough for carrying the baggage and explorers -- except for the two captains

Valley of the Salmon River had rough ridges choked with fallen timber and masses of rock debris that showed no satisfactory route could be found

even the advice of Shoshone guides, Old Toby and Toby's son, could not always be trusted By this time, Clark's efforts had convinced him that the canyon of the Salmon River, provided no passage for canoes with its waters

"foming & roreing [sic] through rocks in every direction,"²⁸

Lewis and Clark's Expedition traveled almost due north along Lemhi Valley guided by their Shoshone guides the explorers soon became entangled in the savage ridges and defiles of the mountainous terrain following the rough route between the between the Rocky and Bitterroot mountains through a frighteningly early snowstorm

In Lemhi Valley the explorers met a band of friendly Flathead Indians

²⁸ David Lavender, *Land of Giant*, P. 70.

(who, in spite of their name, did not follow the costal practice of deforming their skulls)
Lewis and Clark purchased several more elegant horses from the Flatheads as the captains
learned of trails only five or six days' march away used by "Pierced nosed Indians"
that lead directly across the Rockies to reach the Great Falls of the Missouri River
and the buffalo hunting grounds
this was very good news as their own circuitous route from the falls to the Bitterroot River
had taken nearly two months -- an impossible handicap for transcontinental transportation
Corps of Discovery rested before beginning the climb toward (Lolo Pass)
Indians informed Lewis and Clark the river they followed was white with foam for many miles
then it disappeared into a chain of snowy mountains
Cameahwait and most of the Shoshone people who had been accompanying the explorers
turned back -- August 30, 1805
Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark turned their expedition southward
Corps of Discovery reached the wild and beautiful stream they referred to with its Indian name:
Kooskooskie (Clearwater River)

LEWIS AND CLARK REACH TRAVELER'S REST CREEK (LOLO, MONTANA)

Corps of Discovery proceeded down the Flathead River before setting out overland across a prairie
Lewis reported in his journal: **"...we continued our rout [sic] down the W. side of the [Bitterroot] river about 5 miles further and encamped on a large creek which falls in on the West. as [sic] our guide inform[ed] me that we should leave the river at this place and the weather appearing settled and fair I determined to halt the next day rest our horses and take some scelestial [sic] observations. we [sic] called this Creek Traveler's rest."**²⁹

CORPS OF DISCOVERY PASSESS OVER THE BITTERROOT MOUNTAINS

Their route over the Bitterroot Mountains led the explorers
into the most agonizing part of their entire journey -- beginning September 14, 1805
fallen trees made the trail almost impassable
pushing up steep hills and rocky mountain slopes, struggling through gorges and hollows,
and forging through tangled forests choked with underbrush drained both men and horses
rations ran short and snowstorms added to the desperation of their situation

LEWIS AND CLARK AGAIN SPLIT THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Desperately low on food and facing challenging terrain and weather Clark and six men pushed ahead
Clark's party emerged from the Bitterroot Mountains at Weippe Prairie
there they encountered the "Pierced Nose" (Nez Perce) Indians -- September 20, 1805

LEWIS AND MAIN BODY OF THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY REJOIN CLARK AND HIS MEN

Lewis and the rest of the men caught up to Clark visiting the Nez Perce -- September 22, 1805
Lewis and Clark were at the confluence of the north and south forks of the Clearwater River
where the expedition stopped for a badly needed rest
food was scant -- only inferior fish and camas root was available

²⁹ Journal of Lewis and Clark

Nez Perce Indians were hospitable and appeared to be most honest, intelligent and attractive
eager to help, they were kind to the explorers

although they were shrewd and businesslike in trading

Chief Twisted Hair drew a map of the river on the back of a deerskin

Diet of fish was growing tiresome -- dog meat was substituted

several men, including Clark, become ill after over-eating

LEWIS AND CLARK BUILD CANOE CAMP

Corps of Discovery camped at the junction of middle and north fork of Clearwater River

they could see the Clearwater was a fine navigable stream -- September 26, 1805

New canoes had to be built before they could proceed

five dugout canoes were fashioned and burned from logs in ten days

CORPS OF DISCOVERY IS ONCE AGAIN ON THE WATER

First canoe was launched -- October 5, 1805

water-borne once again the expedition no longer needed horses

what horses they had were rounded up and branded

these were left with Nez Perce chiefs Twisted Hair and Cut Nose

CORPS OF DISCOVERY SETS OUT DOWN THE CLEARWATER RIVER

Main body of the expedition commenced their voyage -- October 7

with five large and well-filled canoes fitted with a good supply of food and other necessities

they were accompanied by Nez Perce chiefs

LEWIS AND CLARK CONTINUE DOWN THE CLEARWATER RIVER

Explorers entered the Clearwater River where the Selway and Lochsa rivers merge -- October 8

this treacherous section of the river caused the canoes to overturn

a great deal of gear and equipment was lost and supplies were soaked

Clearwater River joined the Snake River which the westbound expedition entered -- October 10

(this river was named the Lewis River by Clark -- a name that did not stick)

Clark commented on the condition of the natives they were passing: **“The fish [salmon] is, indeed, their chief food, except the roots, and the casual supplies of antelope.... This diet may be the direct or the remote cause of the chief disorder which prevails among them, as well as among the Flatheads, on the Kookoskee and the Lewis’s river. With all these Indians a bad soreness of he eyes is a very common disorder, which is suffered to ripen by neglect, till many are deprived of one of their eyes, and some have totally lost the use of both. This dreadful calamity may reasonably, we think, be imputed to the constant reflection of the sun on the waters where they are constantly fishing in the spring, summer, and fall, and during the rest of the year on the snows which afforded no object to relieve the sight.”**³⁰

LEWIS AND CLARK ENTERED (WHAT IS NOW WASHINGTON STATE)

Snow River was traveled into (today’s Washington State) -- October 11, 1805

³⁰ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 13.

Clark described an experience on the Snake River -- October 12

“At five miles we passed a rapid; at eight another rapid, and a small island on the right, and at ten and a half a small island on the right. We halted a mile and a half below for the purpose of examining a much larger and more dangerous rapid than those we had yet passed. It is three miles in length, and very difficult to navigate. We had scarcely set out, when three of the canoes stuck fast in endeavoring to avoid the rocks in the channel, soon after in passing two small islands, one of the canoes struck a rock, but was prevented from upsetting, and fortunately we all arrived safe at the lower end of the rapid.”³¹

FORT McLEOD IS BUILT BY NOR'WESTERS FRASER AND STUART

Simon Fraser and Clerk John Stuart moved west of the Rockies and continued on to McLeod Lake where Fort Trout (later Fort McLeod) was begun to conduct trade in New Caledonia -- fall 1805 (Fort McLeod became the chief North West Company post in the New Caledonia District) Fraser and Stuart thoroughly explored New Caledonia west of the Rocky Mountains Nor'Westers returned to their headquarters at Rocky Mountain House on the Upper Peace River where they spent the winter trading and trapping in the Rockies prospects for trade with the natives were good and relations were peaceful however, the Nor'Westers found it difficult to induce the Indians to exert themselves Indians were plied with whiskey to inspire them to bring in the necessary furs

NORTH WEST COMPANY TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IS LONG AND DIFFICULT

Rainy Lake House, North West Company's unofficial headquarters and Central Deposit was located at (today's International Falls, Minnesota) this was an advance post for North West Company's headquarters at Fort Kaministiquia (located at today's Thunder Bay, Ontario on the shore of Lake Superior) It was very difficult to carry furs from Fort McLeod to Rainy Lake House and on to Fort Kaministiquia In addition, supplies and trade goods had to be carried back to Rocky Mountain House and Fort McLeod in New Caledonia

EXPEDITION REACHES THE CONFLUENCE OF THE SNAKE AND COLUMBIA RIVERS

One hundred-twenty miles from the Clearwater River -- October 17, 1805 Lewis and Clark's men measured and found the Snake River to be 575 yards wide at its mouth and the Columbia River to be 960 yards wide however, after the rivers merged the combined Columbia was estimated to be from one to three miles in width members of the expedition were too tired to celebrate their arrival at the Columbia River Explorers were met by a procession of over 200 Indians natives conducted a ceremonial dance as a reception in honor of expedition Corps of Discovery began their journey down the Columbia River they met a remarkable Indian -- Walla Walla Chief Yellepit he was handsome, well proportioned with a bold and dignified bearing

³¹ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 11-12.

he was helpful to the explorers and always favorably disposed to whites
(today's Yellepit, Washington is named in honor of the chief)

LEWIS AND CLARK ENTER THE COLUMBIA RIVER GORGE

Corps of Discovery entered a fifty-five miles stretch of the Columbia River
that will prove to be the most difficult and dangerous part of their journey
as the river dashes and crashes through the Cascade Mountains
in a dizzying series of narrow channels littered with huge boulders
that led to impossible rapids and impassable waterfalls

Members of the expedition first encountered "Celilo Falls" at the beginning of the Columbia Gorge
where the river plunged thirty-eight feet in only a few miles -- October 22, 1805
ropes were made of elk hide to lower their heavy dugout canoes through the rapids
it took two days to portage around the cataract

CORE OF DISCOVERY REACHED THE DALLES

After conquering Celilo Falls explorers faced two sets of furious narrow rapids -- October 24, 1805
the short narrows required a portage of about a mile
while the downriver long narrows required a portage of about three miles
these portages were immediately followed by the Dalles Rapids (or Wascopam to the natives)
(together Celilo Falls, the short and long narrows and Cascade rapids became known as the Dalles
where the Columbia River rushed through the Cascade Mountains
the Dalles stretched from the Deschutes River on the east to the Sandy River on the west
at one point the river dropped fifteen feet in a tumult of violent water 1½ miles long
the Dalles was named for the French word for "flagstones" or "slabs"
referring to the huge basalt slabs constricting the channel³²
this eight mile stretch of violently turbulent water was known to the Indians as Wascopam)

Clark climbed to the top of a rock formation to survey the first of these rapids

this was a quarter-mile stretch called the "Short Narrows" "I deturmined [sic] to pass through
this place notwithstanding the horrid appearance of this agitated gut swelling, boiling & whorling
[sic] in every direction."³³

Because of their rush to reach the Pacific Ocean the explorers sometimes took risks
in this instance the non-swimmers and hired Indians with their horses
portaged the most valuable baggage around the Short Narrows
while the others shot the rapids in the canoes and emerged safely
much to the amazement of hundreds of Indians who lined the cliffs to watch

LONG NARARROWS IS NEXT CONQUERED BY THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY³⁴

After clearing the Short Narrows of the Dalles the expedition faced the "Long Narrows"
which was surmounted in the same way-- October 25, 1805
Lewis and Clark began to see blankets, axes, brass kettles and other trade articles

³² Cassandra Tate, HistoryLink.org Essay 5355, March 3, 2003.

³³ Journal of Lewis and Clark

³⁴ Cassandra Tate, HistoryLink.org Essay 5355, March 3, 2003.

CORPS OF DISCOVERY REACHED THE CASCAES OF THE COLUMBIA³⁵

Finally, the expedition reached what they called “the Shute” -- the Cascades of the Columbia River this four mile swift flat stretch of water was the final barrier -- October 31, 1805

Clark said it ran **“with great velocity foming & boiling in a most horriable manner [sic]”**³⁶

a well-used Indian trail was used along with hired Indians and their horses to clear the rapid
This last set of rapids were cleared with the help of Indians and horses -- November 2

CORPS OF DISCOVERY PASS THROUGH THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Lewis and Clark Expedition cleared the Columbia River Gorge

it had taken eleven days of dangerous and backbreaking work and the help of friendly Indians to accomplish the task -- November 2, 1805

LEWIS AND CLARK SEE EVIDENCE OF TRADE WITH EUROPEANS

Corps of Discovery saw their first natives decked out in European finery -- November 5, 1805
they met the famous Chinook Indian Chief Comcomly

Clark made note of the condition of the natives: **“Among the Sikulks [Wanapum] too, and indeed among all the tribes whose chief subsistence is fish, we have observed that bad teeth are very general: some have the teeth, particularly those of the upper jaw, worn down to the gums, and many of both sexes, and even of middle age, have lost them almost entirely. This decay of the teeth is a circumstance very unusual among the Indians, either of the mountains or of the plains, and seems peculiar to the inhabitants of the Columbia.”**³⁷

CORPS OF DISCOVERY ARRIVES AT TIDEWATER

As the American explorers continued down the Columbia River they noticed the river’s water rising they had reached the foot of the Cascade Mountains and tidewater -- November 7, 1805

Camp was made near Pillar Rock (between Brookfield and Dahlia, Washington)

Corps of Discovery saw the Pacific Ocean and Clark wrote: **“Great joy in camp, we are in view of the Ocian [sic] ...this great Pacific Octean, [sic] which we have been so long anxious to See, and the roreing [sic] of noise made by the waves brakeing [sic] on the rockey [sic] shores...may be heard distinctly.”**³⁸

actually the Core of Discovery was still many miles up the Columbia River
they did not reach the Pacific Ocean proper for eight more days

EXCITEMENT OF REACHING THEIR DESTINATION SOON FADED

William Clark reported in his journal: **“November 8th. A cloudy morning with some rain. We did not set out until nine o’clock.... We came to at the remains of an old village.... Here we found great numbers of fleas, which we treated with the greatest caution and distance....**

“The swells or waves were so high that we thought it imprudent to proceed. We landed, unloaded and drew up our canoes. Rain all day at intervals. We were all wet and disagreeable, as we have been for several days past.... We have not level land sufficient for an encampment and for

³⁵ Cassandra Tate, HistoryLink.org Essay 5355, March 3, 2003.

³⁶ Journal of Lewis and Clark

³⁷ Noah Brooks, *First Across the Continent*.

³⁸ Gordon Speck. *Northwest Explorations*, P. 253,

our baggage to lie clear of the tide. ...Added to this, the waves are increasing to such a height that we cannot move from the place....

“We are not certain as yet if the white people who trade with the Indians... are stationary at the mouth or visit this quarter at stated times for the purpose of traffic.... the seas rolled and tossed the canoes in such a manner this evening that several of our party were seasick....

“November 9th. The tide of last night did not rise sufficiently high to come into our camp, but the canoes, which were exposed to the mercy of the waves... all filled; with great attention we saved them until the tide left them dry.... At two o'clock the flood tide came in accompanied by immense waves and heavy winds, floated the trees and drift... and tossed them about in such manner as to endanger the canoes very much. Every exertion and the strictest attention by every individual of the party was scarcely sufficient to save our canoes and from being crushed by those monstrous trees, many of them nearly two hundred feet long and from four to seven feet through. Our camp entirely under water during the height of the tide. Every man as wet as water could make them all the night and today all day, as the rain continued.

“At four o'clock P.M. the wind shifted about to the southwest and blew with great violence immediately from the ocean for about two hours. Notwithstanding the disagreeable situation of our party, all wet and cold, and one which they have experienced for several days past, they are cheerful and anxious to see further into the ocean. The water of the river being too salt to use, we are obliged to make use of rain water. Some of the party, not accustomed to salt water, have made too free use of it; on them it acts as a purgative. At this dismal point we must spend another night, as the wind and waves are too high to proceed.

“November 10th. Rained very hard the greater part of the last night and continues this morning. The wind has layed [sic] and the swells are fallen. We loaded our canoes and proceeded on....

“The wind rose from the northwest and the swells became so high, we were compelled to return about two miles to a place where we could unload our canoes, which was in a small bay, on driftwood, on which we had also to make our fires to dry ourselves as well as we could, the shore being either a cliff or perpendicular rocks or steep ascents to the height of 400 or 500 feet.... The logs on which we lie are all afloat every high tide. The rain continued all day. We are all wet, also our bedding and many other articles.... Nothing to eat but pounded fish.

“November 11th. A hard rain all the last night. During the last tide the logs on which we lay were all afloat. Sent out Jo Fields to hunt. He soon returned and informed us that the hills were so high and steep with undergrowth and fallen timber that he could not get out any distance. About twelve o'clock five Indians came down in a canoe, the wind very high from the southwest, with most tremendous waves breaking with great violence against the shores, rain falling in torrents. We are all wet as usual, and our situation is truly a disagreeable one. The great quantities of rain... have loosened the stones on the hillsides, and the small stones fall down upon us. Our canoes are at one place, at the mercy of the waves, our baggage in another, and ourselves and party scattered on floating logs and such dry spots as can be found on the hillsides and crevices of the rocks.

“We purchased of the Indians thirteen red char, which we found to be excellent fish.... One of those men had on a sailor's jacket and pantaloons, and made signs that he got those clothes from the white people who lived below the point, etc. Those people left us and crossed the river, which is about five miles wide at this place, through the highest waves I ever saw a small vessel ride. Those Indians are certainly the best canoe navigators I ever saw. Rained all day.

“November 12th. A tremendous wind from the southwest about three o’clock this morning with lightning and heard claps of thunder and hail, which continued until six o’clock A.M., when it became light for a short time. Then the heavens became suddenly darkened by a black cloud from the southwest and rained with great violence until twelve o’clock, the waves tremendous breaking with great fury against the rocks and trees on which we are encamped. Our situation is dangerous. we took the advantage of a low tide and moved our camp around a point to a small wet bottom at the mouth of a brook....

“It would be distressing to see our situation -- all wet and cold, our bedding also wet, and the robes of the party which compose half the bedding are rotten, and we are not in a situation to supply their places, in a wet bottom scarcely large enough to contain us, our baggage half a mile from us, and canoes at the mercy of the waves, although secured as well as possible, sunk with immense parcels of stone to weight them down to prevent their dashing to pieces against the rocks.... If we have cold weather before we can kill and dress skins for clothing, the bulk of the party will suffer very much.”³⁹

LEWIS AND CLARK MAKE CAMP ALONG THE PACIFIC OCEAN

Camp was located near the mouth of the Columbia River on the north side

(near modern Seaview, Washington) -- November 15, 1805

a continually pounding rain and chill wind caused great distress among the men

diet of dried fish and roots added to their misery

Clark’s Journal reported: **“November 15th. Rained all the last night at intervals of sometimes of two hours. This morning it became cold and fair. The sun shown until one o’clock P.M., which gave an opportunity for us to dry some of our bedding and examine our baggage, the greater part of which I found wet. Some of our pounded fish spoiled. I had all the arms put in order and ammunition examined. The rainy weather continued without a longer intermission than two hours at a time from the fifth in the morning until the 16th -- eleven days rain, and the most disagreeable time I have experienced, confined on a tempest coast, wet, where I can neither get out to hunt, return to a better situation, or proceed on. In this situation have we been for six days past.**

“Fortunately the wind lay about three o’clock. We loaded in great haste and set out, passed the blustering point, below which is a sand beach ... on which is a large village of thirty-six houses, deserted by the Indians and in full possession of the fleas.... The immense swells from the main ocean, immediately in front of us, raised to such a height that I concluded to form a camp on the highest spot I could find in the marshy bottom and proceed no further by water.... The ocean is immediately in front and gives us an extensive view of it from Cape Disappointment to Point Adams.... Evening fair and pleasant. Our men all comfortable in the camps they have made of the boards they found in the town above.”⁴⁰

“November 17th. A fair cool morning. Wind from the east.... At half past ten o’clock Captain Lewis returned, having traversed Haley Bay to Cape Disappointment and the seacoast to the north for some distance. Several Chinook Indians followed Captain Lewis and a canoe came up with roots, mats, etc., to sell.... This Chinook nation is about 400 souls; [they] inhabit the country on the small rivers which run into the bay below us and on the ponds to the northwest of us liv principally

³⁹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 45-48.

⁴⁰ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 48.

on fish and roots. They are well armed with fuses and sometimes kill elk, deer, and fowl. Our hunters killed today deer, four brant and two ducks, and inform me they saw some elk sign. I directed all the men who wished to see more of the main ocean to prepare themselves to set out with me early on tomorrow morning....”⁴¹

“November 18th. I set out with ten men and my man York to the ocean by land.... At three miles passed a nitch [sic]. This rock island is small and at the south of a deep bend in which the natives inform us the ships anchor, and from whence they receive their goods in return for their peltries and elk skins, etc. This appears to be a very good harbor for large ships. Here I found Captain Lewis’ name on a tree. I also engraved my name and ‘BY LAND,’ the day the month and year.... The men appear much satisfied with their trip, beholding with astonishment the high waves dashing against the rocks and this immense ocean.”⁴²

Lewis and Clark moved their expedition to the south side of the Columbia River to the avoid winds and storms as much as possible -- November 25, 1805

LEWIS AND CLARK ESTABLISH A TEMPORARY CAMP

Camp was set up at Bakers Bay and their goods transferred from the north side of the Columbia to the south side -- December 3, 1805

Clark scratched on a tree the legend:

“Wm. Clark, December 3d 1805 By Land from the U. States in 1804 &5.”⁴³

FORT CLATSOP WINTER QUARTERS IS ESTABLISHED BY LEWIS AND CLARK

Members of the Corps of Discovery completed their move

from the north side of the Columbia River -- December 7, 1805

they wanted to be close enough to the ocean and river to sight any arriving ship

Fort Clatsop, named in honor of friendly Clatsop Indians, was built on the Lewis and Clark River a stockade fifty square feet in size was constructed from fir logs built around several cabins barracks for the men was constructed

thirty-three members of the Corps of Discovery prepared to spend a wet dreary winter

Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark

Sergeants John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor and Patrick Gass

Privates William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Joseph Fields, Reuben Fields,

Robert Frazier, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas P. Howard,

Huge McNeal, John Potts, John B. Thompson, Peter Weiser, William Werner,

Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, Richard Windsor and gunsmith John Shields

boatmen Pierre Cruzatte, Francois LaBiche, Jean Baptiste Lapage

hunters: Privates George Drouillard and George Shannon

non-military personnel Toussaint Charbonneau, his wife, Sacagawea and child Jean-Baptiste

Clark’s slave York and Lewis’ Newfoundland dog

Clatsop Indians stopped frequently at the post

as noted in Clark’s journal -- December 12

⁴¹ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 48-49.

⁴² W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 49.

⁴³ Gordon Speck. *Northwest Explorations*, P. 255

“A numbr [sic] of Indians in canoes came along and from them we got some food supplies, consisting mainly of some ‘wassatoo,’ Indian potatoes and a prepared root, called ‘shanataque’. For these we traded blue beads and fish hooks, and we were glad of the opportunity for our food was running low.”⁴⁴

Explorers celebrated Christmas -- all the men were in their huts and exchanged gifts -- December 25

Clark further noted: “...we [Lewis and Clark] were awakened at daylight by a discharge of fire-arms, which was followed by a song from the men as a compliment to us on the return of Christmas, which we had always been accustomed to observe as a day of rejoicing.”

Clark also noted on this day: “The rain confined us to the house, and our only luxuries in honor of the season were some poor elk meat, so much spoiled that we ate it through mere necessity, a few roots and some mouldy [sic] pounded fish.”⁴⁵

Clark made special note of the day in his journal: “Some rain at different times last night and showers of hail with intervalles [sic] of fair starr [sic] light. This morning at day we were saluted by all our party under our winders, a Shout and a Song, after brackfast [sic] we divided our tobacco which amounted to 2 Carrots, one half we gave to the party who used Tobacco those who did not we gave a Handkerchief as a present. The day proved showery all day, the Indians left us this evening, all our party moved into their huts, we dried some of our wet goods. I reved [sic] a present of a Fleeshe Hoserey [fleece hosiery] vest drawn & socks of Captain Lewis, pair Mockersons [sic] of Whitehouse, a small Indian basket of Guterich, & 2 Doz weasels tales (from Sacagawea), & some black roots of the Indians G.D. saw a Snake passing across the parth Our Diner to day consisted of pore Elk boiled, spilt [spoiled] fish & some roots, a bad Christmass [sic] diner worm day.”⁴⁶

CORE OF DISCOVERY LEARNS OF A WHALE WASHED UP ON THE BEACH

Captains Lewis and Clark were informed by some Indians a day or two after Christmas that a whale had died and washed up on the beach southwest of the fort (at today’s town of Cannon Beach, Oregon)

Captain Lewis was eager to go and see it, but high wind delayed his trip -- December 27, 1805

CORPS OF DISCOVERY ESTABLISHES A SALT WORKS

Members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition spent a great deal of their time securing provisions for the trip home

by the time they reached the lower Columbia River region,

the Corps had run out of valuable salt which was necessary to preserve meat

To make salt, a location had to be found with adequate rocks to build a furnace, wood to burn, ocean water to boil, fresh water to drink and game animals to kill and preserve fifteen miles southwest of Fort Clatsop a good site was found

in addition, Clatsop and Tillamook Indians lived nearby who could provide their expertise

Five of the Corps of Discovery men traveled to the beach site and built a camp -- December 28, 1805 they set five kettles of saltwater boiling twenty-four hours a day to produce salt (according to their records they produced about twenty-eight gallons of salt

⁴⁴ Laura Bartlett, *Student’s History of the Northwest and the State of Washington*, P. 102-103.

⁴⁵ Laura Bartlett, *Student’s History of the Northwest and the State of Washington*, P. 103.

⁴⁶ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 89.

before returning to Fort Clatsop [February 20, 1806])

CORE OF DISCOVERY REPORTS MEETING A RED-HEADED INDIAN

Lewis and Clark approached a group of Clatsop Indians

near (today's Nehalem, Oregon) -- December 31, 1805

one of these natives had a light complexion with a freckled face and red hair

when he was child the name "Jack Ramsay" had been tattooed on his left arm

Clark recorded in his journal: "**With the party of Clatsops who visited us last was a man of much lighter Coloured [sic] than the natives are generally, he was freckled with long duskey rad [sic] hair, about 25 years of age, and must certainly be half white at least, this man appeared to understand more of the English language than the others of his party, but he did not Speak a word of English he possessed all the habits of the Indians.**"⁴⁷

(This man's origins remain a mystery however a legend had developed regarding him

according to the Clatsops, many years before a ship was wrecked off the Oregon coast

some of the wreckage drifted ashore bearing an unconscious white youth with red hair

Clatsops found him and revived him -- he came to live with them

he married an Indian woman according to native custom

this couple had several children and among them one who was as red-headed as his father

he well could have been the red-headed Indian described by Clark)

NEW YEAR'S DAY AT FORT CLATSOP IS MISERABLE

Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery could only hope their fortunes would improve in 1806

soaked by rain and plagued with fleas, fresh meat in short supply and even less other food

it was difficult to see how things could become more miserable -- **January 1, 1806**

New Years dinner consisted of the usual poor elk and wapato root washed down with water

Members of the expedition spent the winter making salt, hunting elk and deer and fighting fleas

they kept a sharp eye for any trading vessel that might be working along the coast

With little to do but address the necessities of life, Clark's journal entries varied little

most entries stated "**Nothing of consequence happened today**"⁴⁸

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK INVESTIGATES THE BEACHED WHALE

Captain Clark and twelve men took two canoes up the relatively placid Skipanon River

before crossing overland the saltmaker's camp and across (today's Tillamook Head)

when they arrived at the scene the whale's bones had been picked clean -- January 6, 1806

Indians were boiling the whale in a trough that held about twenty gallons of oil

Clark succeeded in bargaining for about 300 pounds of whale blubber and a few gallons of oil

Judging from the skeleton's length which was estimated to be 105 feet long

it could have been that of a blue whale -- the largest of all living animals

CORPS OF DISCOVERY MEMBERS WERE ANXIOUS TO RETURN HOME

Remaining trade goods could be wrapped in two handkerchiefs

⁴⁷ Journal of Lewis and Clark

⁴⁸ Journal of Lewis and Clark

there was no surplus food or personal luggage to carry as clothes had long since worn out
and had been replaced by rough garments fashioned from skins
Timing of the return journey, however, was critical
they would be able to cross the Rocky Mountains only after the snow melted
but too late a start would mean the Missouri River would be frozen when they
arrived
and another winter on the plains would have to be endured

FIGHTING BOREDOM BECAME THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AT FORT CLATSOP

Corps of Discovery looked for ways to use their time -- some more productively than others
Captain William Clark finished a large map of the overland route -- February 11, 1806
preparations for the return journey began in earnest largely because of the poor diet they endured
letters of credit provided to the expedition by President Jefferson were worthless
since neither ships nor traders had arrived during the winter

CORPS OF DISCOVERY COMPLETE THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR THE RETURN TRIP

Captain William Clark counted only six days with sunshine from [January] to March 23, 1806
Fort Clatsop was turned over to the Clatsop chief (natives occupied the post for several years)
Lewis and Clark left the Indians a list of their names, the names of thirty-one people with them
and their accomplishments to date

with instructions to give this list to the first vessel which stopped there

Lewis posted a note on the fort: **“The object of this last [message] is that through the medium of some civilized person who may see the same, it may be made known to the world that the party consisting of the persons whose names are hereunto annexed and who were sent out by the Government of the United States to explore the interior of the continent of North America, did penetrate the same by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, at which they arrived on the 14th day of November, 1805, and departed on their return to the United States by the same route by which they had come.”**⁴⁹

CORPS OF DISCOVERY BEGIN THEIR RETURN TRIP BACK TO ST. LOUIS

Expedition began back up the Columbia River -- March 23, 1806
Private George Drouillard and a party of hunters were sent out ahead
two pirogues and three canoes began the return voyage

Clark reported: **“Loaded our canoes & at 1 P.M. left Fort Clatsop on our homeward journey, at this place we had wintered and remained from the 7th of Decr. 1805 to this day and we have lived as we had any right to expect, and we can say that we were never one day without three meals of some kind a day either pore elk meat or roots....”**⁵⁰

LEWIS AND CLARK CONTINUE UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Returning up the Columbia River Lewis and Clark reached “Quicksand River” (today’s Sandy River)

⁴⁹ Lyman, William Denison, *The Columbia River*, P. 86.

⁵⁰ Journal of Lewis and Clark

above (today's Portland, Oregon)

when traveling down the Columbia River and on their return back up the Columbia Corps of Discovery members navigated along the north (Washington) shoreline both times they missed the mouth of the (now) Multnomah River because of islands they mistakenly thought the Quicksand River drained the (Willamette River Valley) which they could see from their canoes -- **April 1, 1806**

Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor took a small canoe and two men to explore the Quicksilver River when they returned that evening they reported the journeyed six miles upriver before the river took a bend to east (toward Mount Hood)

CAPTAIN CLARK LED A PARTY OF MEN TO EXOLORE THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Forty miles beyond the confluence of the Columbia and the (Willamette) rivers Indians told them they had missed the "Multnomah" River a huge river that ran south to north and emptied into the Columbia River Clark and six men went back to investigate they reached the present site of (Portland, Oregon) -- April 3, 1806 they noticed "Image Canoe Island" (today's Sauvie Island) in the fog and saw the mouth of a great river the natives called "Multnomah" Indians referred to the lower river as Multnomah and the upper river (above Willamette Falls) as something that sounded like the Wil-lamt both terms also served as the names of the local people Clark and his men ventured up (Willamette River) only a few miles they receive a map of the area from Indians showing the tribal habitats and a report that a well known numerous and powerful Indian people, the Clackamus, controlled the region

AMERICAN BRIG *LYDIA* STOPPED TO TRADE IN THE VICINITY OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Lydia out of Boston under Captain Samuel Hill had just completed its mission of mercy rescuing John R. Jewitt and John Thompson from Nootka Sound natives realizing the trading ship *Boston* had been attacked caused alarm among the fur traders aboard the *Lydia* and others they met *Lydia* had suffered considerable damage to her spars during a gale wind she returned to the region of the Columbia River to procure timbers for her masts at the mouth of the Columbia River Captain Hill and his rescued guests crossed the bar they heard from the natives that Lewis and Clark had departed a fortnight before John Jewitt says: "**We proceeded about ten miles up the river to a small Indian village, where we heard from the inhabitants that Captain Clark and Lewis, from the United States of America, had been there about a fortnight before us, on their journey overland, and had left several medals with them which they showed us.**"⁵¹

Captain Hill of the *Lydia* carried it to Canton with him in [January 1808] from there he forwarded the list to Philadelphia (one of the copies of the names of the explorers, at last, did get back to the United States)

⁵¹ George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 94.

CAPTAIN CLARK AND HIS SIX MEN REJOIN THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

William Clark and his men returned to the Columbia River and journeyed upriver in search of Clark
Corps of Discovery members continually fought blustery winds and flooding claimed two canoes
During this leg of the journey Chinook Indians were a constant source of harassment

LEWIS AND CLARK REACH THE CASCADES

Continuing upriver the Corps of Discovery arrived at the lowest of series of rapids --April 10, 1806
The Cascades could not be navigated so the men began to drag their vessel upriver with ropes
Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor was placed in charge of drawing the pirogue upriver
but the bow turned sideways in the river and it was lost in the current

CORPS OF DISCOVERY PORTAGE AROUND THE CASCADES

Larger boats were cut up for fuel
five canoes were carried along the portage route around The Cascades in the rain
over a slippery, narrow trail, 2,800 yards long -- April 11, 1806
Clark and a small party of explorers went ahead to trade for horses
Clark took four canoes up the rapids with a great deal of effort
some of the canoes were unavoidably damaged in the process
Clark's men were very tired after their laborious task
George Drouillard and the brothers Joseph and Reuben Field were sent out to hunt
Chinook Indians scornfully fingered the pathetic trade goods the redheaded captain offered
Clark recorded in his journal the natives "**tanterlized** [sic] **me.**"⁵²
Indians crowded Lewis' camp, watching -- then began to steal items from the Corps
Shields was forced to draw a knife on two Indians
who tried to take a dog he had purchased for food
two other Indians stole Lewis' Newfoundland dog
Lewis sent three men after them to retrieve his dog -- even if they had to kill the Indians
when the men approached the Indians, they ran off, and Seaman was brought back to camp

CORPS OF DISCOVERY ARRIVES AT THE GREAT FALLS OF THE COLUMBIA

Lewis and Clark's Expedition reached the Columbia's Great Falls (Celilo Falls) -- April 20, 1806
they expected to trade their canoes for horses acquired from the Walla Walla Indians
Sergeants Patrick Gass and Nathaniel Pryor went to work making pack saddles

CAPTAIN CLARK AND HIS MEN REACH A WALLA WALLA INDIAN VILLAGE

Yellepit of the Walla Walla Indians had a village below the mouth of the Walla Walla
River

Clark was very relieved when he reached these friendly Indians -- April 27, 1806
Yellepit offered the men food and horses
Captain Meriwether Lewis and main Corps of Discovery arrived at the Cayuse village
Chief Yellepit persuaded his villagers to give the Corps any items they needed for their journey

⁵² Journal of Lewis and Clark

Lewis gave him a peace medal
Yellepit drew a map of the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers
Frequently portaging around the Columbia River's waterfalls proved to be too great a challenge
additional pack horses were purchased from the Walla Walla Indians
by turning brass buttons from old uniforms into trade goods for the Indians
Yellepit presented an elegant white horse to Captain Clark
Less than a month after leaving Fort Clatsop the expedition abandoned its canoes
they struck out overland for the Rocky Mountains
using horses acquired from the hospitable Walla Walla tribe

LEWIS AND CLARK SEARCH FOR THE FRIENDLY NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Almost out of food, the expedition arrived back in Nez Perce country
on the Clearwater River -- April 29, 1806
searches for the friendly Nez Perce people were earnestly undertaken
Lewis and Clark found a collection of Nez Perce natives -- May 8
at the confluence of the North and South forks of the Clearwater River
Nez Perce Indians greeted the expedition with genuine hospitality
Corps of Discovery arrived at Chief Twisted Hair's "Camp Chopunnish"
(near Kamiah, Idaho) -- May 14
Lewis and Clark Expedition had to wait in the Nez Perce camp
until the snow melted in the mountains so that they could pass over the Continental Divide
and return to the east -- Indians put up a large tent to house the explorers
at Chief Twisted Hair's camp, the co-commanders collected the horses
which they had branded and left behind the year before
Nez Perce had kept reasonable care of the horses and goods left in their charge
their horses were in fair shape and the chief was paid for his services
although the Corps of Discovery now had the livestock necessary for pushing on toward home,
deep snow on the upper Lolo Trail held them back for more than a month
Lewis and Clark waited on the Upper Clearwater River with friendly Indians
this was longest the expedition stayed in camp except for (winter) encampments
during the wait with the Nez Perce
Lewis busied himself with studying the natives and nature
Clark was occupied with treating sick members of the tribe

NORTH WEST COMPANY BECOMES AWARE OF THE DISCOVERIES OF LEWIS AND CLARK

Stimulated by knowledge of the Lewis and Clark Expedition North West Company
resolved to plant trading stations West of the Rocky Mountains
in the Far West before the Americans become entrenched
North West Company feared the encroachment of Americans:
•American ships had a virtual monopoly on the Pacific coast;
•United States owned Louisiana Territory;
•Lewis and Clark had opened the West to trappers and traders

DR. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN GOES TO WORK FOR NORTH WEST COMPANY

Dr. McLoughlin's uncle, Simon Fraser, secured an appointment for him with North West Company he was assigned to Fort Kaminstiquia on Lake Superior as the resident medical doctor -- 1806 but also became one of the most able businessmen connected with the company

Physically Dr. McLoughlin was an impressive man physically:

- he was almost six feet tall and inclined to weight,
- he was prematurely gray with thick, bushy hair,
- his sharp blue eyes could be kind or rapidly change to glowering with his quick temper,
- Indians referred to him as "White-headed Eagle"

Dr. McLoughlin's leadership style displayed his lofty concept of duty to his fellow men he was confident in dealing with Indians whom he understood and tyrannical to his subordinates

TWO NEW NORTH WEST COMPANY POSTS ARE OPENED IN NEW CALEDONIA

Break-up of ice on the Peace River was late

Nor'Westers Simon Fraser and his clerk John Stuart could not start upriver until May 20, 1806 when they left their base camp at Rocky Mountain House on the Upper Peace River they stopped at Fort McLeod on McLeod Lake (which had been opened the previous fall)

Fraser and Stuart encountered many difficulties

most of the rivers and creeks they followed were swelling from melted snow run-off swift currents impeded their progress

good bark for canoe-building was lacking at the portage, and the old and makeshift canoe that had been set out the year before had to be replaced at Trout Lake

their ten crewmen were unskilled and unsatisfactory

most of them suffered from illness or injuries along the way

CORPS OF DISCOVERY LEAVES THE NEZ PERCE INDIAN CAMP

Lewis and Clark's Expedition departed from Chief Twisted Hair and the Nez Perce -- June 10, 1806 each member of the expedition had his own horse to ride and was leading another reaching the Bitterroot Mountains proved to be far easier than the crossing that lay ahead

CORPS OF DISCOVERY SETS OUT FOR THE BITTERROOT MOUNTAINS

Climbing into the mountains was made difficult by fallen timber and slippery roads this march was slow and hard on the horses.

It had been spring on the plains, but the Bitterroots still had winter-like conditions soon the explorers were traveling in ten feet of snow that was packed so hard that it supported the weight of the horses and their burdens members of the Corps of Discovery became lost in the deep snow they were forced to return to nearby Nez Perce for help

Following two Nez Perce Indian guides they headed back up into the mountains -- June 15, 1806

again they climbed the western slope of Bitterroot Mountains toward Lolo Pass finally, with the help of the Nez Perce guides, Lolo Pass was crossed -- June 22

Once again the Corps of Discovery camped in the Bitterroot Valley (at Montana's western boundary)

CAPTAIN LEWIS DECIDED TO SEPARATE FROM CAPTAIN CLARK

After successfully making their way over the Bitterroot Mountains thanks to the Nez Perce Corps of Discovery reached Traveler's Rest -- June 30, 1806
there Lewis decided to split the Corps of Discovery to investigate two separate routes
Lewis and nine men would explore the Missouri River to the north
to see if a direct route between the Bitterroot River and the Great Falls of the Missouri River could be discovered
Meanwhile, Clark and the others would take the expedition's forty-nine horses and one colt to investigate the Yellowstone River southward to its junction with the Missouri River where the Corps would be reunited with Captain Lewis at Pompey's Pillar

SERGEANT PRYOR AND THREE MEN ARE DISPATCHED TO DEVELOP TRADE

Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor with Privates Hugh Hall, Richard Windsor and hunter George Shannon were given the unenviable task of delivering twenty-five horses and one colt by land to the Mandan Villages -- July 1, 1806
in addition Pryor and his men were to continue on to the British posts on the Assiniboine to deliver a letter to trader Hugh Heney, a trader and agent with the North West Company, Heney was to convince several Sioux chiefs to accompany Lewis and Clark on their return trip to Washington City to meet President Thomas Jefferson
this letter also asked Heney to influence the tribe against British and Canadian traders to trade solely with the Americans

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAVEL INDEPENDENTLY

Meriwether Lewis and his group of nine men and five Indians broke camp -- July 3, 1806
Sergeant Patrick Gass, Privates Joseph Field, Reuben Field, Robert Frazier, Silas Goodrich, Huger McNeal, John B. Thompson, William Werner and hunter Private George Drouillard set out down the Bitterroot River on a raft
however, the five Indians soon abandoned the trip as they were afraid of Hidatsa war parties
William Clark, with the remainder of the Corps and their remaining twenty-four horses followed the Bitterroot River
(along today's highway Route 93 to a location near Hamilton, Montana)
Clark described the animal life of the region
Clark's eighteen member party consisted of:
•Sergeants John Ordway
•Privates: William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, George Gibson, Thomas P. Howard, John Potts, Peter Weiser, Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard and gunsmith John Shields;
•three boatmen: Pierre Cruzatte, Francois LaBiche and Jean Baptiste Lapage;
•non-military personnel Toussaint Charbonneau, his wife, Sacagawea and child Jean-Baptiste and Clark's slave York

CAPTAIN CLARK REACHES THE BEAVERHEAD RIVER

William Clark and his twenty-one members of the Corps of Discovery crossed overland with their twenty-four horses to the Beaverhead River

which they reached (near present-day Dillon, Montana) -- July 8, 1806
there they uncovered the cache and canoes that had been left behind on the westward journey

CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS CONTINUES HIS INVESTIGATION TO THE NORTH

Lewis and his nine men followed Lolo Creek to the Blackfoot River
there Lewis discovered and named Lewis and Clark Pass (which Clark never saw)

Crossing the Continental Divide Lewis and his explorers descended from the Rocky Mountains
and continued on toward the Great Falls of the Missouri River

CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS REACHES THE MISSOURI'S GREAT FALLS

Lewis' party of nine men arrived at the White Bear Islands
near Great Falls (Montana) -- July 11, 1806
his men killed eleven buffalo and begin building small boats that consisted of a buffalo skin stretched over a willow frame (there were called bullboats)

CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS' PARTY OPENS THE CACHE THEY HAD LEFT

While in camp White Bear Islands, Sergeant Patrick Gass supervised the unearthing
of the cache of baggage they had left behind on their westward journey -- July 13, 1806
they found the bearskins and plant specimens had been ruined by moisture

WILLIAM CLARK REACHES THE THREE FORKS OF THE MISSOURI RIVER

William Clark and his twenty-one members of the Corps of Discovery drove their twenty-four horses
as they traveled beside the Beaverhead River until it joined the Jefferson River

They followed the Jefferson to the Three Forks of the Missouri River where they made camp
on the east bank of the Jefferson River (one mile east of Logan, Montana) -- July 13, 1806
Sacagawea had remembered the country through which they were passing and guided them well
she recommended a gap in the mountains to the south as their best route

(this gap was Bozeman Pass) -- the last major land obstacle the expedition would face
Clark sent Sergeant John Ordway and nine men to travel in canoes -- July 13, 1806
rapidly down the Missouri River to the Great Falls to begin the arduous portage around the falls
traveling with Sergeant Ordway were Privates John Collins, John Colter, Thomas P. Howard,
John Potts, Peter Weiser, Joseph Whitehouse and Alexander Willard
and boatmen Pierre Cruzatte and Jean Baptiste Lapage

WILLIAM CLARK AND HIS PARTY REACH THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

From the Three Forks William Clark and his eleven remaining members of the Corps of Discovery
continued with their twenty-four horses until they reached the Yellowstone River -- July 15, 1806
just south of (modern-day Livingston, Montana)

CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS AGAIN SPLITS HIS PARTY

Lewis, camped on the Missouri River at the mouth of Marias River
he decided to leave six men at the mouth of Marias River -- July 15, 1806
Sergeant Patrick Gass, Robert Frazier, Silas Goodrich, Huge McNeal, John B. Thompson

and William Werner
Lewis planned to explore the upper reaches of the Marias River
with Privates Joseph Field, Reuben Field and hunter Private George Drouillard
After Lewis had departed up Marias River
Huge McNeal was attacked by a grizzly bear at the lower portage around the Great Falls
he broke his musket over the bear's head and climbed a tree to get away

WILLIAM CLARK AND HIS PORTION OF THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY MAKE CAMP

Captain Clark with Privates William Bratton, George Gibson, John Shields
boatmen Pierre Cruzatte, Francois LaBiche, Jean Baptiste Lapage
Toussaint Charbonneau, Sacagawea, the infant Jean-Baptiste and Clark's slave York
drove their horses beside the Yellowstone River down to Buffalo Mirage Access
where camp was made -- July 16, 1806
where they cut, hollowed and burned two dugout canoes to continue down the Yellowstone
At Buffalo Mirage Access the remaining members of the Corps of Discovery
cut, hollowed and burned two dugout canoes to continue down the Yellowstone

CAPTAIN CLARK HAS HIS HORSES STOLEN

William Clark with his party of ten including York, Charbonneau, Sacagawea and Pompey
entered the territory belonging to the Crow Indians
Clark made camp in the vicinity of (today's Park City, Montana)
they awoke to find their horses were gone yet they had never seen an Indian -- July 20, 1806
Clark sorely felt his loss as the horses had added greatly to the success of the expedition
Clark could remember the previous winter when snow came early
and trapped them in the Bitterroot Mountains
short of food and with no game to hunt, they had to kill one of the colts to keep from starving
indeed, like Sacagawea, horses made it possible for Lewis and Clark to survive
and succeed at their difficult and all-important mission

WILLIAM CLARK STOPS TO MAKE DUGOUT CANOES

After the loss of their horses Clark had little choice but to stop long enough to hew out
two twenty-eight-foot Cottonwood canoes and hollow them with fire
in the vicinity (of today's Columbus, Montana)

SERGEANT PRYOR HAS THE HORSES HE IS DRIVING STOLEN

Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor made camp for the night in a thunder and lightning storm -- July 21, 1806
Crow Indians took the party's twenty-four horses that night
as the storm covered the sound of the herd leaving while the men slept
Crows did not consider this stealing as many horse herds roamed the region and were available
to the Indians claiming horses was like possessing herds of elk or deer
When first light came Sergeant Pryor discovered the horse herd was gone
he and his three men began looking for the horses
walking in an ever-widening concentric circle around the camp
it was possible, he thought, that they had merely wandered off grazing

however, after a mile they discovered tracks that revealed the horses were driven off discouraged, Pryor, Hugh Hall, Richard Windsor and hunter George Shannon began walking for Pompey's Pillar, where they hoped to encounter Clark and his party

SERGEANT NATHANIEL PRYOR COMES UP WITH A PLAN

It was a long walk to Pompey's Pillar so the men killed two buffalo -- July 22, 1806
hides were stretched over a willow framework to make two bullboats
these were used to carry the four men down the Missouri to the Yellowstone River
and Pompey's Pillar

CAPTAIN MERIWEATHER LEWIS EXPLORES MARIAS RIVER

Lewis and his six men knew Marias River was Blackfoot Indian territory
and therefore dangerous but they explored up the river to determine
whether the headwaters of Maria's River intersected with the Saskatchewan River
if so, this would provide a canoe route for diverting Canadian furs to the Missouri River
he determined the two rivers did not meet
Disappointed, Lewis and his men turned back toward the Missouri River

WILLIAM CLARK AND HIS PARTY IS AGAIN WATERBORNE

After completing fabrication work on two cottonwood dugout canoes -- July 24, 1806
Clark with his nine adults and a baby resumed water travel to meet Lewis at Pompey's Pillar
they lashed the dugouts together for strength and safety
Clark retraced their former route -- this time traveling downriver to mouth of the Yellowstone River

WILLIAM CLARK AND HIS PARTY REACH POMPEY'S PILLAR

Traveling down the Yellowstone River Clark and party of ten
including York, Charbonneau, Sacagawea and Pompey
reached the rendezvous point at Pompey's Pillar -- July 25, 1806
Camp was made on the north side of the Yellowstone River
(south of Sheep Mountain and three miles below Shields River)

LEWIS COMES UNDER ATTACK BY BLACKFEET INDIANS

Captain Lewis and his three men continued their descent of Marias River
they were spotted by a hunting party of eight Blackfoot Indians
Blackfeet seemed friendly and the two groups decided to camp together -- July 26, 1806
Lewis gave the Blackfeet a Jefferson Medal, a flag and a handkerchief
As the explorers slept Blackfoot warriors took the muskets from Captain Lewis, George Drouillard,
and the Field brothers Joseph and Reuben -- early morning hours of July 27
Joseph Field woke up, struggled with one of the Blackfoot warriors, and stabbed him to death
Lewis shot and wounded a second warrior who shot back and barely missed Lewis' head
it was believed this warrior later died of his wound
Lewis and his men recovered their rifles and the Blackfeet fled
this was the only serious violence the Corps of Discovery encountered during the expedition
however, it resulted in providing inadvertent assistance to the North West Company effort

to establish trade among the natives
although the Americans never became aware of the results of their actions
Fearing the surviving Indians would bring reinforcements,
Lewis and his men paddled sixty-three miles, ate, then traveled seventeen miles more
they ate again and continued twenty more miles by moonlight
Lewis was anxious to warn the unsuspecting members of his party at the mouth of Marias River
of the potential danger of a Blackfoot attack
Lewis and his three men finally camped (west of modern Fort Benton, Montana)

NOR'WESTERS SIMON FRASER AND JOHN STUART REACH STUART LAKE

Simon Fraser and his clerk John Stuart moved on to Stuart Lake which they reached -- July 26, 1806
work was begun on Fort Nakasleh (later Fort St. James) on the southeast shore of Stuart Lake
but few trade goods were available with which to barter for furs
salmon run was late and the Indians were near starvation
Fraser and his men were soon in a similar condition
Simon Fraser learned from the Indians that a major river called Tacouche Tess could be reached
by descending Stuart River which drained Stuart Lake then crossing overland
to the Nechako River and descending that river to its confluence with the Tacouche Tess
Fraser had intended to go to the Tacouche Tess and trace at least part of its course before (winter)
but lack of goods and provisions forced him to postpone this major part of his assignment
instead, he sent John Stuart to visit Fraser Lake which the Indians had described
(Later in the year Fraser will join Stuart and they will build Fort Natleh [later renamed Fort Fraser])
Fraser will have added Fort Nakasleh (later Fort St. James) and Fort Natleh [Fort Fraser]
to Fort McLeod [1805] and Rocky Mountain House [1799] to develop New Caledonia)
Because supplies and trade goods would not be brought to New Caledonia until fall of the next year
Fraser and Stuart returned to Fort Kaministiquia on the shore of Lake Superior
where preparations were begun to lead an expedition to the Tacouche Tess
(John Stuart every summer will deliver the annual catch of beavers, otters, lynxes, skunks, fishers,
martens, muskrats, foxes, wolves and bison taken in New Caledonia to Rocky Mountain House)

SERGEANT ORDWAY REACHES THE GREAT FALLS

Sergeant John Ordway arrived at the Great Falls with his nine men
Privates John Collins, John Colter, Thomas P. Howard, John Potts, Peter Weiser, Joseph
Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, and boatmen Pierre Cruzatte and Jean Baptiste Lapage
they joined the five men Lewis had left under Sergeant Patrick Glass -- July 28, 1806
Robert Frazier, Silas Goodrich, Huger McNeal, John B. Thompson and William Werner
portage around the Great Falls was begun by the thirteen members of the Corps of Discovery

LEWIS ARRIVES AT THE MISSOURI RIVER

Having completed his investigation of Marias River Captain Lewis and his three men
were united with the nine men under Sergeant Patrick Gass and the nine man expedition
Captain Clark had dispatched under Sergeant John Ordway
This brought Lewis' expedition to twenty-one men under his command -- August 3, 1806

CAPTAIN LEWIS AND HIS TWENTY-ONE MEN SET OUT DOWN THE MISSOURI RIVER

Lewis and the members of his party were anxious to reunited with Captain Clark and his explorers they traveled down the Missouri River as quickly as conditions would permit -- August 4, 1806

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK LEAVES HIS CAMP AT POMPEY'S PILLAR

Captain Clark and his members of the Corps of Discovery which included Privates William Bratton, George Gibson, John Shields boatmen Pierre Cruzatte, Francois LaBiche, Jean Baptiste Lapage Toussaint Charbonneau, Sacagawea, infant Jean-Baptiste and Clark's slave York Clark's York left their camp at Pompey's Pillar when Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor failed to arrive with the herd of horses

Clark and his companions set out down the Missouri River for St. Louis -- August 7, 1806

SERGEANT NATHANIEL PRYOR ARRIVES AT POMPEY'S PILLAR

Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor with Privates Hugh Hall, Richard Windsor and hunter George Shannon reached Pompey's Pillar and the Yellowstone River where Clark had camped -- August 8, 1806

They could see the main group had departed the day before

Pryor and his men set about building new bullboats to catch the expedition

CAPTAIN LEWIS IS HIT BY A MUSKET BALL

Meriwether Lewis was proceeding rapidly to meet up with Clark at Pompey's Pillar

Lewis and his twenty-one men were camped at the mouth of the White Earth River

Lewis and one-eyed Pierre Cruzatte went hunting on shore after sighting an elk herd they shot one and wounded another

Lewis was preparing to take a second shot when he was struck about an inch below his hip the rifle-ball missed bone and passed completely through his right thigh -- August 11, 1806

Lewis suspected it was Cruzatte who had shot him

but when he called out there was no answer

fearing an Indian attack Lewis made his way back to the pirogue to warn the men

there Sergeant Gass dressed his wounds

Cruzatte finally arrived at the canoe -- there was no doubt that it was his rifle that did the deed, because the spent rifle ball was in Lewis' breeches

(although Lewis will be disabled for a month he was still able to travel)

LEWIS AND CLARK ARE REUNITED ONCE AGAIN

Captain Lewis came upon the camp of two hunters from Illinois, Joseph Dickson and Forest Hancock they told Lewis that Captain Clark had passed them about noon the day before

Lewis gave them information regarding the upper Missouri River and the location of beaver

Captain Meriwether Lewis caught up with Captain William Clark

six miles south of (Sanish, North Dakota) at "Reunion Point" -- 1:00 p.m. August 12, 1806

LEWIS AND CLARK ARRIVED AT THE MANDAN INDIAN VILLAGES

Corps of Discovery reached the Fort Mandan (North Dakota) -- August 14, 1806

Knife River Indian Villages were reached -- August 15

there a council was held with Hidatsa Indians who did not want to go down the Missouri River because of hostile Lakota and Arikara war parties.

Private John Colter asked permission to be released to return to trap the Yellowstone River permission was granted as long as others in the expedition did not make the same request

CORPS OF DISCOVERY SET OUT FOR ST. LOUIS

Captain Lewis' leg wound healed enough to allow him to continue

Captain Clark paid Toussaint Charbonneau \$500.33⅓

his salary as interpreter to the West Coast and back

Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery took their leave of John Colter

who set out for the Yellowstone River with two upriver -- August 17, 1806

Charbonneau and Sacagawea were released -- "Little Pomp" was now over a year and a half old

Captain Clark promised a home for the boy and offered to school him

Members of the expedition still faced the trial of passing through the country of the Teton Sioux

TETON SIOUX INDIANS MAKE AN APPEARANCE ALONG THE MISSOURI RIVER

Nearly a hundred armed and mounted Teton Sioux warriors

lined the banks of the Missouri River -- August 30, 1806

Lewis and Clark's men kept to the middle of the river

fortunately for explorers this encounter was one of threats and taunts

CORPS OF DISCOVERY ENCOUNTERED TRADERS TRAVELING THE MISSOURI RIVER

Corps of Discovery met outgoing traders traveling up the Missouri River -- September 6, 1806

Lewis and Clark made their first exchanges for supplies since setting out almost 845 days before

Corps of Discovery entered the home stretch as they covered as much as eighty miles a day

traveling down the Missouri River

increasing numbers of traders were encountered

who told the explorers they had been given up for dead

LEWIS AND CLARK AND THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY ARRIVE AT ST. LOUIS

Lewis and Clark's Expedition left the Missouri River and entered the Mississippi River

on the morning of September 23, 1806

men rowed the rest of the way downriver to St. Louis, Missouri arriving there at noon

from the journal: **"September 23rd, , descended to the Mississippi River and round to St. Louis, at which place we arrived at twelve o'clock, and having fired a salute, went on shore, where we received a most hearty and hospitable welcome from the whole village."**⁵³

two years, four months, and nine days after they had left

and six months after setting out from Fort Clatsop

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark stayed in the home of "river baron" Pierre Chouteau

⁵³ Laura Bartlett, *Student's History of the Northwest and the State of Washington*, P. 10

LEWIS AND CLARK'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Corps of Discovery stimulated great interest in the West

- they strengthened the claim of the United States;
- they revealed the vastness of the North American continent;
- they proved not one but two mountain ranges existed between the Missouri and Columbia rivers

Lewis and Clark Expedition provided information on physical characteristics of the West:

- they described plant and animal life;
- they mapped the topography and recorded the climate;
- they discovered and crossed several mountain passes and passed through the Cascade Mountains

These explorers provided information about Indian tribes:

- they established friendly relations and generally left behind good will with the Indians
- they made a special emphasis of the native's faithfulness, honesty and devotion
the character of the Indians was so well documented by Lewis and Clark's expedition
it must be concluded subsequent troubles were due largely to abuse by whites;
- they noted diseases that had been contracted by the Indians from sailors:
 - smallpox scars from epidemic of [1782-1783] were seen and recorded,
 - tuberculosis also noted,
 - malaria wiped out 75% - 90% of the natives within a few years of the expedition

Route taken by the members of the Corps of Discovery covered 7,700 miles

Clark's maps became the standard for "Westing" Americans

Lewis summarized their effort: **"The road by which we went out by way of the Missouri to its head is three thousand ninety-six miles; thence by land by way of Lewis River over to Clark's River and down that to the entrance of Traveller's Rest Creek, where all the roads from different routes meet; thence across the rugged part of the Rocky Mountains to the navigable waters of the Columbia, three hundred and ninety-eight miles, thence down the river six hundred and forty miles to the Pacific Ocean, making a total distance of four thousand one hundred and thirty-four miles. On our return in 1806 we reduced the distance from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean to three thousand five hundred and fifty-five miles."**⁵⁴

SEVEN JOURNALS OF THE TRIP WERE KEPT

Lewis and Clark made daily notes and transcribed them after the journey into blank books
no official report was made to the government

Lewis recorded his impressions of the natives and their way of life
their relationship with nature was studied
these records were later lost and remain unpublished

Clark kept a journal of flora and fauna

and recorded his practical knowledge of woodcraft, building and managing canoes
his writings are what is referred to as *The Journal of Lewis and Clark*

Besides the official journal of the co-captains, six other men kept private records

Sergeants Charles Floyd (for as far as he traveled before he died) John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor
and Patrick Gass who published his journal in 1806

⁵⁴ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River: Its History, Its Myths, Its Scenery; Its Commerce*, P. 87.

Privates Robert Frazier Joseph Whitehouse published their journals
two other journals have yet to be found
Nicholas Biddle made a digest of the journals that was published in [1814]
he generally preserved the language of the writers
but sometimes he condensed their passages while at other times he expanded their writings
details for Biddle's work were furnished by William Clark's Journal and by Patrick Gass' Journal
and by the notes taken by Sergeant John Ordway as supplied by Clark
also, Private George Shannon was constantly consulted by Biddle
Reuben Gold Thwaites, superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society,
was editor of seven volumes of the centennial edition of the journals [1904]
he had discovered unknown Clark diaries and papers in the possession of Clark's descendants
Sergeant John Ordway's journal and Lewis and Clark's Eastern Journal
were found among the papers of Nicholas Biddle [1915]
Clark's Field Notes were discovered in an attic roll-top desk in St. Paul, Minnesota [1953]
Private Joseph Whitehouse's journal in fair condition appeared in a bookstore in Philadelphia [1966]
this extended the narrative by almost five months

JEFFERSON SUMMARIZED THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

President Thomas Jefferson noted [in 1813]: **“Never did a similar event excite more joy throughout the United States; the humblest of its citizens have taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey and looked with impatience for the information it would furnish. Nothing short of the official journals of this extraordinary and interesting journey will exhibit the importance of the service, the courage, devotion, zeal, and perseverance, under circumstances calculated to discourage, which animated this little band of heroes, throughout the long dangerous, and tedious travel.”**⁵⁵

EXPEDITION LEADERS LATER LIVES WERE PECULIARLY UNSATISFACTORY

After their western trip

Meriwether Lewis was appointed Governor of Louisiana Territory

he met with a sudden violent and mysterious death at age thirty-five [1809]

while traveling on horseback from St. Louis to Washington, D.C.

in a lonely inn sixty miles north of Nashville, Tennessee at Grinder's Stand

to this day it is not known if it was murder or suicide

William Clark was actively engaged in the fur trade

he provided for an education for Sacagawea's two sons

Jean-Baptiste (Little Pomp) was taught by a Protestant

Toussaint was instructed by a Catholic priest

he was commissioned Brigadier General of Louisiana Militia

and Indian Agent for the Territory

he served as governor of Missouri territory until [1820]

in later years William Clark became self-centered

he felt his services and abilities were never appreciated by his fellow citizens

⁵⁵ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 88.

or by the government of the United States
he was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs [1822-1838]
and served until his death in St. Louis [September 1, 1838] at age sixty-eight
Details of Sacagawea's life are disputed
probably she later moved to the reservation (near Fort Washakie, Wyoming)
where she died [April 9, 1884] on Shoshone Reservation (Wyoming)
at about 100 years of age
she was buried in the Shoshone Indian Cemetery
her son Jean-Baptiste (Little Pomp) and, Bazil the son of Sacagawea's sister
were both old men living at (Fort Bridger, Wyoming) when they were found

DAVID THOMPSON IS STATIONED AT FORT KAMINISTQUIA (FORT WILLIAM)

David Thompson, head geographer for North West Company, was at Fort William
the company headquarters located along the west end of Lake Superior
David Thompson was assigned to develop trade west of the Rockies and South of the Peace River
he also was to find a practical passage across the Rocky Mountains for fur-laden packhorses
David Thompson employed Canadian fur trader, scout and explorer Jacques (Jaco) Finlay -- 1806
to blaze a trail through the Rocky Mountains across the Continental Divide
and establish a trading post on the west side
David Thompson returned from North West Company headquarters at Fort Kaministiquia
to Rocky Mountain House on Saskatchewan River --autumn 1806

BLACKFEET INDIANS PLAN TO AVENGE KILLINGS BY AMERICANS

Blackfoot women relatives of the warriors slain by Captain Meriwether Lewis and his party
wailed in their lodges while chiefs passed pipes back and forth around the council fires
war drums throbbed -- winter 1806

FUR TRADER RAMSAY CROOKS ACTIVELY CONDUCTS TRADE IN SIOUX COUNTRY

Ramsay Crooks was born in Greenock, Scotland [January 2, 1787]
he arrived in Montreal, Canada with his widowed mother [April 25, 1803]
there are conflicting reports regarding his employment after he landed in Canada
eventually he went to work for Robert Dickson and Company in Sioux Country
(in today's southwest Minnesota) during the winters of [1805-1806 and 1806]-1807

DAVID THOMPSON SENDS THE WINTER IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Geographer David Thompson spent the winter at Rocky Mountain House
on Saskatchewan River making preparations to cross the Rocky Mountains --1806-1807
Piegan band of Blackfoot Indians who frequented the post
opposed establishing trade west of the mountains
because their enemies, the Kootenai and Flathead people, would then acquire guns
Thompson decided to carry out his assignment and his dream to cross the Rocky Mountains
in spite of the native opposition

JACO FINLAY ESTABLISHES A TRADING POST WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Nor'Wester Jaco Finlay had been hired by David Thompson to blaze a trail over the Rockies
he reached the headwaters of the Columbia River -- although he did know this to be case
he established a trading post near the south end of Lake Windemere
near (present-day Invermere, British Columbia) where the Columbia River leaves the lake
and begins its northward route (before making a big bend to the south)
this post was built with exceptional care making it as stout as possible

NOR'WESTER JOHN McDONALD COMPETES WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADERS

John McDonald twice traveled to Rocky Mountain House -- winter 1806-1807
to assist in David Thompson's preparations to cross the Rockies
competing Hudson's Bay Company men working the same region
found McDonald to be a violent opponent and a notorious scoundrel

SIMON FRASER AND JOHN STUART ESTABLISH FORT GEORGE

Nor'Wester Simon Fraser's preparations to lead an expedition farther west
to find the Tacouche Tess (Fraser River) could not be carried out [1806]
because of a lack of men and supplies as well as the occurrence of a local famine
Simon Fraser and John Stuart could not attempt the expedition until spring 1807
as they could not be resupplied until [autumn 1807]
Fraser and John Stuart traveled to the confluence of the Nechako and Tacouche Tess -- spring 1807
Fraser believed this was the Columbia River
there "Fort George" was constructed and named in honor of Britain's King George III
(the location of Fort George is now known at Prince George)
Simon Fraser received word from North West Company headquarters
to explore the Tacouche Tess (later the Fraser River)
in an effort to limit American activity in the Far West
based on conclusions drawn by sea otter traders who operated off the Pacific coast
there was considerable confusion between the Columbia River and Fraser River
Fort George would become the starting point for Fraser's trip down the Tacouche Tess

LEWIS AND CLARK HAD OPENED THE WEST

The Corps of Discovery had made the world aware of vast new expanses of land and opportunities
only Hudson's Bay Company fur traders, North West Company fur trappers and traders
and a few hundred independent trappers and traders were even remotely aware
of the immense regions beyond the Great Lakes
Before the Lewis and Clark Expedition there was little knowledge of the Rocky Mountains
and not an inkling they were composed of two connected mountain ranges:
the Rocky Mountains and the Bitterroot Mountains separated by the Bitterroot Valley
a third chain of mountains, the Cascade Range, was completely unknown to anyone but Indians
and a fourth chain, the Olympic Mountains, were unknown even to Lewis and Clark
before the Corps of Discovery sea trading captains and sea explorers
reported mountain ranges to the east of the Pacific Ocean
overland travelers from the United States heard of mountains from Indians
who would suspect they were not the same mountains?

It was discovered by the American Corps of Discovery:

- that the Columbia River did not have its source in the region of the headwaters of the Missouri-Mississippi river system as was believed;
- arid lands (of today's Inland Empire of Eastern Washington) came as a geographic shock;
- Plains Indians who were well known by traders and trappers were, in fact, neighbors to the before unknown Plateau Indians who, in turn, neighbored the Coastal Indians well known to sea traders

Lewis and Clark proved North America was far more expansive than was ever imagined
American entrepreneurs were quick to tap the rich opportunities made available to them

JOHN JACOB ASTOR OPERATES AN EXTENSIVE LINE OF FUR TRADING POSTS

U.S. Government stores had been established among the natives in Louisiana Territory
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

American John Jacob Astor established himself along the south side of the Great Lakes by 1807
he made a fortune transporting furs to London
he also had a number of vessels trading in China, England and other countries
Astor had no rival on the American continent except the British Hudson's Bay Company
and Canadian North West Company both operating in Canada

MANUEL LISA LEADS A TRADING EXPEDITION TO THE UPPER MISSOURI REGION

After the return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition well known Spanish trapper and trader
Manuel Lisa gave up his exclusive rights to trade with the Osage Indians
and prepared to trade further west in Louisiana Territory than anyone had yet attempted
Manuel Lisa formed a partnership known as the "St. Louis Missouri Fur Company" -- April 19, 1807
with two Kaskaskia (east-Central Illinois) merchants -- Pierre Menard and William Morrison
they were determined to go to Yellowstone Country and construct a small post
at the mouth of the Big Horn River

where they planned to monopolize the upper Missouri River fur trade
leaders of the enterprise were: Manuel Lisa, Pierre Menard, General William Clark,
William Morrison, Augusta and Pierre Chouteau (father and son), Sylvester Labadie,
members of the Wilkinson and Lewis families and Andrew Henry

St. Louis served as headquarters and supply depot for the venture
Manuel Lisa gathered a company of between fifty and sixty men
this party included three men just returned with Lewis and Clark, John Potts, Peter Wiser
and George Drouillard, perhaps the most valuable man on the Corps of Discovery
Lisa led his expedition of traders out of St. Louis in two keelboats
bound for the upper Missouri River -- April 19, 1807

AMERICAN TRADERS AND TRAPPERS OPERATE OUT OF ST. LOUIS

Other Americans were outfitted in St. Louis to trap in the Rocky Mountains
more than 100 traders were licensed to work the Missouri Country
there was no way of knowing how many hundreds did not bother with licenses

Several large parties set out up the Missouri River-- spring 1807
licensed or not, all targeted the head waters of the Missouri to acquire their wealth

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON SETS OUT TO EXPLORE THE WEST

Thompson set out from North West Company Western Headquarters at Rocky Mountain House on North Saskatchewan River (near today's Calgary, Alberta) -- May 10, 1807
to follow the trail over the Rocky Mountains blazed by Nor'Wester Jaco Finlay [1806]
Geographer David Thompson traveled with his wife and their three small children
they set out from Rocky Mountain House
accompanied by Thompson's second-in-command Finan McDonald and eight voyageurs
Finan McDonald was six foot four inches tall with long red hair and bushy whiskers
in addition to English McDonald spoke French and several tribal languages
he quickly won the admiration of Indians by his reckless exploits

DAVID THOMPSON CROSSES THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE

David Thompson and his companions traveled up the North Saskatchewan River
past the Kootenay Plains and over (what would later be known as Howse Pass) -- June 24, 1807
following the trail blazed by Nor'Wester Jaco Finlay
(Howse Pass is eighty miles northwest Banff, Alberta
this pass was named after Joseph Howse who was later sent [1809]
by the rival Hudson's Bay Company to spy on David Thompson)
Thompson's expedition followed a trail that paralleled Blaeberry Creek (British Columbia)
they reached a large north-flowing river -- June 30
taking latitudinal observations Thompson knew this was not the river (today's Fraser River)
that had been described by Alexander Mackenzie [1793]
because the river flowed north Thompson (incorrectly) determined it was not
the Columbia River that had been discovered by American Captain Robert Gray [1792]
Thompson was aware of the Lewis and Clark Expedition that had entered the Columbia River
using the Snake River [1805]

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON ARRIVES AT KOOTANAE HOUSE

Jaco Finlay had been employed by North West Company geographer David Thompson
to blaze a trail across the Rocky Mountains and establish a trading post on the west side
Finlay had constructed a trading post along the headwaters of the Columbia River ([806]
although he was unaware the nearby river was actually the Columbia
When he arrived at Jaco Finlay's post David Thompson named the nearby Kootenai River
after a local Indian tribe -- he did not know this was really the Columbia River
Thompson named Jaco Finlay's post "Kootenae House"
Thompson and his expedition spent the next week building boats for the next stage of the journey
they ascended the river traveling south until they reached Lake Windemere -- July 18, 1807

MANUEL LISA'S EXPEDITION REACHES THE ARIKARA INDIANS

Manuel Lisa's party of fifty to sixty traders reached the Arikara Indians
(living in what is now northern South Dakota) -- August 1807

they found these people at war with their neighbors the Mandan Indians
to keep the Mandans from being supplied by the traders

Arikaras ordered the whites to give up the expedition -- Lisa refused to leave the region

Arikaras promptly retaliated by robbing him of a large portion of his trade goods

Lisa ordered his crew to push ahead anyway

DAVID THOMPSON BECOMES AWARE OF AMERICANS IN THE AREA

Thompson, operating out of Kootenae House, noted in his diary on August 13, 1807:

Kootenai Indians told him **“that about three weeks ago Americans to the number of forty-two arrived to settle a military post at the confluence of the two most southern and considerable branches of the Columbia, and that they were preparing to make a small advance post lower down the river. Two of those who were with Captain Lewis were also with them of whom the poor Kootenaies related several dreadful stories. The establishment of the Americans will give a new turn to our so long delayed settling of the country, on which we have entered it seems too late.”**⁵⁶

CROOKS AND McCLELLAN FORM A TRAPPING PARTNERSHIP

Fur trader Ramsay Crooks arrived in St. Louis

there he joined Robert McClellan in a fur trading partnership

Robert McClellan was an army scout who had retired and collected a pension [1801]

he had a well-deserved reputation for his exploits during the Indian wars in Ohio country

although slightly built McClellan was an excellent woodsman and hunter

who was active in the fur trade

together Crooks and McClellan took ownership of a trading station near the Platte River

Crooks and McClellan would attempt to trade in the upper Missouri River area

they started up the river with eighty men -- mid-August 1807

but due to the hostility of the Sioux and Arikaras they found it advisable to leave the area

they moved their trading operation to the Council Bluffs (Iowa) region

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON RECEIVES AN ODD LETTER

Kootenai Indians delivered a letter from American traders to David Thompson at Kootenae House

it was addressed from: Fort Lewis, Yellowstone River, Columbia and dated [July 10, 1807]

this letter began: **“We the undersigned by the Power delegated to us by General Braithwaite Commander of all the new ceded Territories northward of the Illinois do hereby make known and declare the instructions we have received relating to Foreigners who may at present be carrying on a Traffic with the Indians within our Territories for Peltries, &c. who may in future carry on a traffic with the said Indians.**

following that were listed in detail and authentically phrased language eight regulations for trade

in American territory between Indians and citizens of countries other than the United States

a ninth point read: **“By information received at the Monden [sic] Village on the Mississourie [sic] we were give to understand that, some of the Subjects of Great Britain are about to carry on a trade and traffic with the western Indians, we have therefore give a Copy of the above Instructions,**

⁵⁶ George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 75.

Rules and Regulations to be observed in the Indian Traffic that, the said Traders may not pretend Ignorance that they are within the Jurisdiction of Congress.

a final tenth point warned that the writers recognized no special British rights **“to any of the Lands on the Pacific Ocean or to the Commerce of any of the Rivers that flow into the said Ocean, all of which we shall comprehend as within our said Territories until some further Explanation takes place on this head between the united [sic] States of America and the Court of St. James.”**⁵⁷

This letter was signed by “James Roseman. Lieutenant”

and “Zachary Perch Captain & Commanding Officer”

David Thompson ignored their claim to the area

but he forwarded the letter to North West Company’s Rocky Mountain House

along with a narrative of his travels -- September 23, 1807

The author of this letter remains a mystery

this is no proof of the existence of Lieutenant James Roseman or Captain Zachary Perch

or of a General Braithwaite

there is no doubt an American wrote the letter and that Kootenai Indians delivered it to Thompson
an obvious similarity exists between the names Zachary Perch and Zebulon Pike

but Pike’s expedition was to the southwest far from the Columbia River

he could not have been the author of the letter although he had written a similar letter

to his commanding officer, General James Wilkinson, more than a year before

it is possible that Manuel Lisa or one of his men could have written the letter

perhaps one of the members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition who accompanied Lisa

although John Potts, Peter Wiser and George Drouillard were not literate enough

to leave a journal of their adventures

and Lisa’s Expedition was working along the Missouri River far for the Columbia River

LISA’S EXPEDITION REACHED THE BIG HORN RIVER (MONTANA)

After suffering an attack by Arikara Indians

Manuel Lisa and his men continued up the Missouri River

on their way they met John Colter who had left the Lewis and Clark expedition

to trap and explore Yellowstone Country

Colter abandoned his independent effort and joined Lisa’s party

his knowledge of the eastern Rockies would be invaluable

Lisa’s expedition arrived at the mouth of the Big Horn River -- November 21, 1807

here they built Fort Raymond at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Bighorn Rivers

Lisa named the post after his infant son

during construction Lisa set out traps and opened trade with the Crow Indians

When Fort Raymond was completed Lisa and his men split into various parties

since the best furs were always found “farther in”

in a change of Manuel Lisa’s former policy the men themselves

were also to set and tend traps rather than simply relying on trading with the Indians

JOHN COLTER IS SENT TO OPEN TRADE FURTHER INLAND

⁵⁷ Alvin M. Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, P.656.

After the completion of Fort Raymond Manuel Lisa sent John Colter on a delicate and important expedition to the Grosventres (Blackfoot) Indians to persuade them to trade with Lisa -- 1807-1808
(Lewis and Clark on their return from the Pacific killed a Blackfoot Indian [1806]
Colter had been part of the Lewis and Clark Expedition)
John Colter with a thirty-two pound pack, a gun and ammunition started out by himself toward the southwest -- his exact route remains unknown
Blackfoot Indians were hereditary enemies of the Crow Indians
a fight took place between the Blackfoot and the Crows at Pierre's Hole (just west of the Teton Range in today's Wyoming)
Colter, allied with the Crows and saw the Blackfeet defeated
this did not help his relationship with the Blackfeet -- the tribe he had been sent to pacify
John Colter gave up his assignment, striking off directly toward Lisa's Fort Raymond
he crossed Yellowstone Country diagonally from the southwest
his enthusiastic report on the beauty and magnificence of Yellowstone's natural wonders immediately labeled Colter as a notorious liar

KOOTANAE HOUSE WAS THE FIRST TRADING POST IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

David Thompson's Kootanae House was built by Jaco Finlay (near today's Invermere, British Columbia)
to serve the local Kootenai Indians
(this would become the headquarters for what he called the "Columbia Department")
Although he was on the Columbia River, Thompson did not know it
this circumstance was not surprising as in addition to running north the Columbia River has two sources -- lovely large Lake Windemere
and to the south shallow, reedy Columbia Lake
Thompson, his family and traveling companions spent the winter at Kootanae House
this was his first winter on the Columbia River -- 1807-1808
(David Thompson explored the Columbia River's tributaries for the next ten years
traveling into what is now Idaho, Montana and Washington)

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON RECEIVES A SECOND LETTER

Thompson took delivery of a second letter from Americans written from Poltito Palton Lake
this one was dated [September 29, 1807]
it was received by Thompson -- December 24, 1807
Thompson's failure to answer the first letter reflected disrespect for America
this letter concluded "**the British Mercht. Trafficking with the [Kootenais] did not properly acknowledge the authority of Congress over these Countries, which are certainly the property of the United States both by discovery and Cession.**"
signed by non-existent "**Jeremy Pinch, Lieut.**"⁵⁸
David Thompson responded in a letter given to the Kootenai Indians
that the British claim predated American claim

⁵⁸ Jack Nisbet, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America*, P. 107.

EFFECT OF THE AMERICAN LETTERS ON DAVID THOMPSON

Indians had assured David Thompson that **“from this House [Kootanae House] to the sea a[nd] back again was only the Voyage of a Summer Moon....”**⁵⁹

Threats by rival traders slowed Thompson’s investigations of the Columbia River to its source
he spent more time trading than exploring
he was forced to postpone his journey down the Columbia River for almost four years

NORTH WEST COMPANY ORGANIZES THE FAR WEST

No satisfactory trade link existed between Nor’Wester Simon Fraser’s New Caledonia
and David Thompson’s Columbia Department

each area was approached thorough widely separated mountain passes

North West Company established two separate administrations as this was most practical

Simon Fraser’s New Caledonia (between forth-nine and fifty-eight degrees north)

remained part of the Athabasca Department

this Department expanded to include lands west as far as the Pacific Ocean

bounded on the south by the watershed shared by the Fraser and Columbia rivers

and reached as far north as the Russia area of trade

David Thompson’s domain was the Columbia Department (the area drained by the Columbia River)

Columbia Department also included the Snake River and the northern portion of (today’s Utah)

NORTH WEST COMPANY BRIGADES LINK MONTREAL WITH NEW CALEDONIA

To cover distance from North West Company headquarters at Montreal, Canada

to Rocky Mountain House and Fort McLeod on McLeod Lake

required at least a hundred days of steady and intensive canoe and foot travel

North West Company brigade route began in Montreal

brigades of four large birch bark canoes were employed

each carrying from three and one-half to four tons of cargo

manned by eight or nine skillful French-Canadian voyageurs

who traveled nine-hundred mile up the Ottawa River to Lake Huron

whenever crossing lakes square sails were generally rigged

a good, strong wind could shorten the trip considerably

Second leg of the journey was another nine-hundred mile trip from Lake Huron to Sault Ste. Marie

this trip was made in thirty days

Third leg of the journey, an additional nine hundred miles, from Sault Ste. Marie

brought the brigade to the advance post for North West Company at Fort William

(Fort Kaministiquia renamed for North West Company principal partner William McGillivray

located at today’s Thunder Bay, Ontario on the shore of Lake Superior)

this leg took an additional fifteen days

From Fort William the route varied depending on the destination:

Columbia Department or New Caledonia

smaller canoes replaced the larger ones used in the East

⁵⁹ Jack Nisbet, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America*, P. 99.

six to eight weeks were employed canoeing and portaging an additional three thousand miles
Total distance from Montreal to Fort McLeod was about 4,800 miles
trade goods making the trip were generally done up in bales
weighing about ninety to one hundred pounds each
with from seventy to eighty bales in each canoe
canoes and goods had to be portaged frequently
in less severe rapids, men walked along shore and pulled the canoes with long ropes
once over the Rocky Mountains pack horses as well as canoes were employed
however, horses were in scarce supply
bales of furs were delivered to North West Company headquarters in Montreal, Canada
following the same route in reverse

DAVID THOMPSON HAD SPENT THE WINTER AT KOOTANE HOUSE

Thompson's journal named more than three dozen Kootenai men and women
who hunted, guided and translated for the Nor'Westers
these native people also provided Thompson's crew with fire wood, clothing,
introductions to other tribes and essential advice
Nor'Wester David Thompson left his wife Charlotte and children at Kootanae House -- spring 1808
he and a handful North West Company voyageurs traveled by canoe south across the portage
to the river he named "McGillivray's River" (known today as the Kootenay River)
in memory of his old traveling companion Duncan McGillivray who died [April 1808]
Thompson planned to explore the (Kootenay River) as far as possible
and find the Flathead Indians to invite them to trade
Thompson and his men floated down the (Kootenay River) from southeastern British Columbia
entering (today's western Montana)

RUSSIAN-AMERICA COMPANY MOVES ITS HEADQUARTERS

Alexander Andreyevich Baranov moved the headquarters of the Russian-America Company
from Kodiak Island to New Archangel (Sitka) where he built a fortified post -- 1808
Baranov oversaw the development of trade with the natives and the building of ships

JOHN JACOB ASTOR ESTABLISHES THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY

Astor had built a fortune large enough to organize the American Fur Company
he introduced his plan of operation to New York Governor DeWitt Clinton
and, at least in part, to President Thomas Jefferson -- both leaders approved
Astor secured a Charter for his new company to trade in the Mississippi-Missouri river region
from the state of New York for one million dollars -- April 6, 1808
Astor invested in English goods and brought them to America on his own fleet of ships
he sold these European goods to the Indians at incredibly high prices
a \$4.00 blanket sold for \$10.00; a rifle costing \$11.00 for \$30.00
a brass kettle for which he paid 48¢ sold to the Indians for \$30.00
one voyage could bring a profit of \$70,000 to Astor

ASTOR COMPETES WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND NORTH WEST COMPANY

There was nothing original about John Jacob Astor's scheme to trade with the Indians for their pelts
he borrowed intact from Hudson's Bay Company, Northwest Company and New England traders
he merely combined and enlarged the procedures
British Hudson's Bay Company had penetrated the frontier to Cumberland House, Saskatchewan
and conducted successful trade with the Indians of Canada
Canadian Northwest Company stretched across Canada and over the Rocky Mountains
Rocky Mountain House on the Upper Peace River served as headquarters for New Caledonia
David Thompson operated Kootenae House on the (Columbia River) in the Columbia Department
Astor made an overture to the North West Company for a partnership agreement
Canadians showed no interest in any arrangement with him -- including a merger
however, North West Company was willing to act as "cooperating competitor"
if Astor was successful
North West Company would be able to supplement their provisions from Astor's stock
if Astor was unsuccessful
North West Company would take over his forts, supplies and trade goods
Astor had tipped his hand to his competitors regarding his intentions in the Pacific Northwest
Northwest Company took immediate steps to enhance operations itself in Columbia Department
Astor retaliated by recruiting experienced Northwest Company men
with promises of partnerships and big profits

DAVID THOMPSON BRINGS OUT ANOTHER FORTUNE IN FURS

After spending the (winter) at Kootenae House on the Columbia River in Columbia Department
North West Company trader David Thompson carried out a fortune in furs -- April 17, 1808
he and his party of Nor'Westers descended the Columbia River in a canoe
while he had a herd of horses driven overland through the forest to the portage
he crossed the Rocky Mountains on horseback and traveled to the Saskatchewan River

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE RETIRES FROM THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

Sir Alexander Mackenzie returned to London, England at age forty-five -- 1808
(three years later married fourteen-year-old heiress Geddes Mackenzie of Avoch, Scotland
two-thirds of the village of Avoch was part of the Mackenzie estate
Alexander Mackenzie maintained two houses: one on the Avoch estate and another in London)
Alexander Mackenzie died at age fifty-five or fifty-six of Bright's disease [kidney disease, 1820]
and was buried at Avoch on the Black Isle of northern Scotland
he is remembered by the Mackenzie River Canada's Mackenzie District North-West Territories,
Sir Alexander Mackenzie Provincial Park, British Columbia, Mackenzie Valley,
Mount Mackenzie, Mackenzie Pass and the Alexander Mackenzie rose (explorer series)
also there are seven Sir Alexander Mackenzie schools and a soccer field

DAVID THOMPSON INVESTIGATES THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Geographer David Thompson and his voyageurs entered (today's Montana)
they were forced to fend for themselves after they failed to rendezvous
with familiar Kootenai Indians at the Tobacco Plains (Montana)
and arrived at Kootenai Falls (near present-day Libby, Montana) -- May 6, 1808

as on all his trading expeditions he surveyed his route
Thompson traveled northwest and entered (today's Idaho) reaching close to (Bonner's Ferry, Idaho)
he made trading arrangement with the Flathead Indians to explore the Rocky Mountains
in (Northern Idaho, Northwestern Montana and Northeast Washington)

MANUEL LISA ONCE AGAIN SENT JOHN COLTER TO THE BLACKFEET INDIANS

John Colter set out from Manuel Lisa's Fort Raymond bound for the Blackfoot Indians
this time in the company of former Corps of Discovery member John Potts
Colter and Potts arrived in Blackfoot Country -- spring 1808
for greater safety they slept during the day and tended their traps at night
Because of this practice Potts accused Colter of cowardice and became careless with the routine
Potts paid with his life
Indians, which Potts vowed to Colter were only buffalo, killed him and seized John Colter
Blackfoot method of killing an enemy was to allow the intended victim to race with their warriors
just as a fox races with the hounds -- death was the penalty for slowness
Blackfoot made it sporting by allowing a handicap to poor runners
Colter was stripped and asked if he could run well
realizing the ordeal ahead, Colter said he was a poor runner -- the lie saved his life
Colter was led some distance beyond the assembled warriors -- at a signal the race was on
naked and without a weapon, Colter dashed madly for the Big Hole River six miles away
across a plain filled with prickly pear
he ran until blood spurted from his nostrils
glancing over his shoulder he spied one Indian not twenty yards behind
but the native stumbled while trying to throw his spear
the spear point lodged in the ground and the shaft cracked in the warrior's hand
Colter ran back grabbed the lance head pinning the warrior to the ground with it
as the rest of the warriors were closing in fast
Colter reached the river a few yards ahead of his nearest pursuer
he plunged in and swam toward a small island
near the island's shore, he found an old raft partly covered with driftwood and brush
diving under water he discovered a crevice in the raft large enough for his head
with Indians swimming around him all day, Colter waited for night
then silently swam downstream where he landed out of sight of the natives
Colter traveled all night toward Lisa's Fort Raymond
seven days later he was back at Lisa's fort having eaten nothing but roots the entire way
in the meantime, the main Party of Lisa's expedition
continued to trap the Big Hole River region

SIMON FRASER COMPLETES HIS EXPLORATION

Nor'Wester Simon Fraser was assigned to explore the Tacouche Tess River
which had been left unexplored by Alexander Mackenzie
Fort George (today's Prince George) at mouth of Nechaco River served as his base of operations
Fraser led a group of twenty-four explorers composed of clerks John Stuart, Jules Quesnell,
sixteen voyageurs and two Indian guides

they set out in four canoes down the Tacouche Tess River from Fort George -- May 28, 1808
this was the river that had defeated even the great Sir Alexander Mackenzie [1793]
From the start they were greeted by Indian reports that the river below
was but a series of waterfalls and cascades that were impossible to navigate
with incredible difficulty the explorers descended the rock-walled turbulent river to the West
as the expedition's four canoes were thrown about by vicious rapids
and pitched through close canyons at breakneck speed
even portages were so extremely difficult that Fraser and his men often were tempted
to run the rapids almost regardless of danger in an effort to avoid the immense labor
required in carrying canoes and cargoes around obstructions
in many places steep, high banks made it impossible to leave the river
and the canoes would have been helpless if they came to rapids or falls without warning

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON TRAVELS TO KOOTANAE HOUSE

Geographer David Thompson left (Bonner's Ferry, Idaho) and journeyed north
arriving near the site of (today's Cranbrook, British Columbia)
As was his practice he made detailed observations of the latitude and geography as he traveled
he returned to Kootanae House his wife Charlotte and their three children -- June 5, 1808

SIMON FRASER IS CONVINCED HE MUST ABANDON THE TACOUCHE TESS

Fraser became convinced at last that the Indians were right -- it was insanity to descend the river
at Hell's Canyon, some distance above the site of (present-day Lillooet, British Columbia),
Fraser's canoes were stored on a scaffold in a shady spot
goods that could not be carried were cached
Simon Fraser and his men followed an old Indian trail along the river
they were required to carry packs over steep ledges
they used native ladders made of poles hanging end to end with sticks serving as steps
Occasionally it was possible to take to the river again
but that required borrowing, and on at least one occasion stealing, canoes from the Indians
Indians were numerous -- crowds numbering in the hundreds were met several times
and on one occasion Fraser estimated that 1,200 had gathered
Fraser showed great skill in dealing with the Indians
friendly relations had to be established with those encountered along the way
as the return trip would most probably follow the same route
passing from the territory of one tribe to that of another was challenging
whenever possible Fraser used his two Indian guides to warn the next village to be visited
and to assure them that the explorers were friendly
nevertheless Fraser was ever on the alert for trouble

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON RETURNS TO FORT AUGUSTUS

David Thompson and his voyageurs set out from Kootanae House
to deliver the (winter's catch) of pelts and hides to Fort Augustus at mouth of White Earth Creek
They reached the Kootenay Plain -- June 18, 1808
where canoes were built and the furs were loaded for the trip down the North Saskatchewan River

to Fort Augustus (near Edmonton, Alberta) where they arrived -- June 24, 1808

SIMON FRASER CANNOT REACH THE MOUTH OF THE TACOUCHE TESS

As grueling as the journey down the Tacouche Tess was

all went reasonably well until Fraser and his twenty men approached the end of their journey

Cowichan Indians were at first suspicious and then openly hostile

Fraser was unable to go as far into the Strait of Georgia, the mouth of the river

After following the river for 850 miles, the expedition finally passed through

(what is now the Fraser Valley and reached the delta where the City of Vancouver was later built)

Fraser's observations and Vancouver's journal showed him

he was not near the mouth of the Columbia River -- he was in the wrong latitude

Simon Fraser and his men hurried back up the river as the Cowichans pursued and harassed his party

scores of Indian canoes closed in repeatedly with the intention of upsetting Fraser's canoes

but each time they were successfully fought off without casualties on either side

eventually the Indians abandoned the chase (in the vicinity of Hope, British Columbia)

but Fraser's men were left completely exhausted and discouraged

DAVID THOMPSON CARRIES OUT A FORTUNE IN FURS

Thompson with his wife Charlotte and their three children left Kootanae House -- early July 1808

they descended the Columbia to the Blaeberry Creek (British Columbia)

crossed back over the Rocky Mountains at (Howse Pass)

and continued on down the Saskatchewan River to Boggy Hall

(a post located north of Rocky Mountain House)

Thompson left Charlotte, who was expecting their fourth child, and their children

with her brother, Patrick Small, Jr., who was working at Boggy Hall

Thompson prepared to take a fortune in furs to Fort Augustus for transshipment to

North West Company's Central Deposit at Rainy Lake House on Rainy Lake (Minnesota)

MANUEL LISA AND HIS TRAPPERS RETURN TO ST. LOUIS

Manuel Lisa and his men constructed canoes

Lisa accompanied by George Drouillard left the Big Horn River region bound for St. Louis

they were in a great rush to acquire supplies for the next year's venture -- summer 1808

Lisa and Drouillard completed the journey down the Missouri River in only thirty days

others members of his crew arrived at St. Louis long after them

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON ARRIVES AT RAINY LAKE HOUSE

David Thompson carried a fortune in furs from Fort Augustus

to North West Company's Central Deposit Rainy Lake House on Rainy Lake

located at (today's International Falls, Minnesota) where he arrived -- August 2, 1808

Two days after delivering his furs from the Columbia Department

Thompson picked up trade goods for the next season and began his return journey -- August 4

SIMON FRASER AND HIS MEN STRIKE OUT OVERLAND

Fraser's leadership faced a supreme challenge when many of men decided to leave the river

in an effort to reach Fort George on their own
Fort George was reached thirty-seven after starting up the Tacouche Tess -- August 6, 1808
Simon Fraser's supreme effort and heroism ended in disappointment and a sense of failure
this river could not be used as a route for North West Company brigades
and it was located at about 49° north -- too far north to be the Columbia River

DAVID THOMPSON ARRIVES A LAKE WINNIPEG

On his return journey from Rainy Lake House Thompson reached Lake Winnipeg
(in today's Manitoba, Canada)
there he met Alexander Henry the younger -- August 18, 1808
they traveled together to Fort Vermilion
at the confluence of the North Saskatchewan and Vermilion rivers
(east of today's Edmonton, Alberta)

RUSSIAN SHIPWRECK OFF THE COAST OF WASHINGTON

Expeditions by British and American fur traders put pressure on the Russian America Fur Company
to establish a presence on the West Coast
Russian brig *Saint Nicolas* sailed from New Archangel (Sitka) in Russian-America (Alaska)
with orders to travel south along Vancouver Island to trade for sea otter pelts
and to locate a site for a permanent Russian settlement in Oregon -- September 28, 1808
Russian naval officer Nikolai Bulagin commanded the vessel
he was accompanied by his eighteen-year-old wife, Anna Petrovna Bulagina,
twelve Russian men, four Aleut men and two Aleut women
Bulagin's plan was to rendezvous at Grays Harbor with another Russian ship, the *Kodiak*,
that was to follow the *Saint Nicholas*
together they would probe southward toward California
in search of a location for a Russian settlement

DAVID THOMPSON RETURNS TO BOGGY HALL

Traveling from Lake Winnipeg David Thompson reached Boggy Hall
north of Rocky Mountain House -- October 3, 1808
where he rejoined his wife Charlotte, his children
and greeted his six-week-old son, John [born August 25, 1808]

RUSSIAN SHIP *SAINTE NICHOLAS* CRASHES ON A ROCKY REEF

Saint Nicolas became becalmed near Destruction Island of the (Washington) coast
with no wind to fill her sails, the ship and its crew were at the mercy of currents and tides
which drove the ship mercilessly toward the rocky shore
Captain Nikolai Bulagin set the anchors but the mooring cables failed
Gale force winds blew out of the southwest, pushing the *Saint Nicholas* onto a rocky reef
just south of the mouth of the Quillayute River -- November 1, 1808
Saint Nicholas did not sink immediately and everyone on board reached shore safely
at low tide the crew returned to the vessel to salvage sail canvas, food, arms, ammunition, tents,
and other supplies which were all carried ashore

Captain Bulagin decided they would trek southward to Grays Harbor in search of the *Kodiak* which was following the *Saint Nicholas* down the coast from New Archangel (Sitka, Alaska) for three days the Russians struggled through heavy undergrowth until he reached the Hoh River

RUSSIANS ARE UNABLE TO CROSS THE DEEP HOH RIVER

Unable to ford the Hoh River, the Russians hired natives to take them across -- November 4, 1808
nine Russians were loaded into one large canoe

Captain Nikolai Bulagin's wife Anna Petrovna Bulagin, an Aleut native
and a Russian boy climbed into a second, smaller canoe

in the middle of the river the Indians pulled a plug from the bottom of the larger canoe
then jumped overboard to swim ashore

Indians on the opposite shore attacked the large canoe with spears and arrows
wounding several of the Russians -- one of whom died of his wounds
the larger canoe drifted back toward the bank from which the party had embarked
the smaller canoe was landed on the far river bank close to an Indian village
where Anna Petrovna Bulagin, the Aleut and the Russian boy were made prisoners

Captain Bulagin was overcome by remorse by the loss of his wife

Russians from the larger canoe fired on the Indians with the weapons that had not gotten wet
killing two natives and wounding several others

After the encounter the Russians withdrew to a small hill to make camp
they feared for their lives -- all the muskets and ammunition were wet
as they faced some 200 Indians

their provisions were exhausted and intense hunger gripped the Russians
men searched for woods fungi, plant roots -- anything else that might serve as food
they even ate pieces of their leather boots

rain fell incessantly adding to their misery

In despair, Captain Bulagin relinquished leadership to supercargo Timofei Tarakanov
who had survived a massacre and capture by Tlingit Indians at New Archangel six years before

NOR'WESTER FINAN McDONALD IS DISPATCHED DOWN THE KOOTENAI RIVER

David Thompson sent his second-in-command, Finan McDonald, with men and canoes
full of trading goods to establish Fort Kootenai at Kootenai Falls
for the winter among the Kootenai Indians -- 1808-1809

Harsh winter conditions forced him to stop short of his destination -- November 1808
he constructed several simple leather lodges as a winter enclosure for protection
(east of today's Libby, Montana)

there he made contact with local Plateau bands

Finan McDonald was joined by James McMillan at Fort Kootenai
together they established a brisk, profitable trader for beaver pelts with the nearby Indians

DAVID THOMPSON RETURNS TO KOOTANAE HOUSE

Leaving Boggy Hall and his wife and family David Thompson once again
ascended the Saskatchewan River, the Rocky Mountains reaching Howse Pass,
he arrived at Kootanae House to spend the winter -- November 10, 1808

RUSSIAN LEADER TARAKANOV DECIDES TO ATTACK THE INDIAN VILLAGE

Two weeks after the wreck of the *Saint Nicholas* Timofei Tarakanov in desperation decided to attack the native village and fight the Indians -- November 14, 1808 when they reached the village they discovered the Indians had departed
Russian sailors helped themselves to as much dried salmon as they could carry back to camp
An effort was made to find a route to reach Grays Harbor to the south -- November 15 where the Russian ship *Kodiak* that was to follow the *Saint Nicholas* from New Archangel was to meet them
hunters went ahead of the main party to search for food and to search for a route
Indians ambushed the three-man party and two men were wounded by arrows
however, they were able to fight off the attack and return to camp
all hope of meeting the *Kodiak* at Grays Harbor was gone

TIMOFEI TARAKANOV LEADS THE RUSSIAN SAILORS INTO THE OLYMPIC MOUNTAINS

It was decided to make their way into the Olympic Mountains and camp for the winter
progress into the mountains was hampered by the rain and dense forest
but the few Indians they met proved friendly and offered salmon for beads and other goods
After several days of exhausting travel the Russians were overtaken
by a native from the village at the mouth of the Hoh River
he proposed a ransom be paid for Anna Petrovna
Captain Bulagin readily agreed
he offered virtually all the remaining property the party possessed
but the Indians demanded four muskets in addition to the property -- this the Russians refused,
Nikolai Bulagin asked to see his wife
following an emotional meeting, Bulagin begged for her return,
but the Indians demanded the muskets and took Anna Petrovna Bulagin away
Fighting their way up the Hoh River over gravel bars and through dense woods for a few more days
the Russian survivors built a makeshift fortified camp with a log house and sentry boxes
During the winter they foraged for food and constructed a boat
which they hoped would take them down the river and out to the freedom of the Pacific Ocean

SURVIVORS OF THE RUSSIAN SHIP *SAINT NICHOLAS* ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE

Russian shipwreck survivors traveled down the Quillayute River in their new boat
guided by an old Indian
at the mouth of the Quillayute they camped opposite the hostile Indian village
When a large number of Indians gathered around the Russians
two Indian women and a young man were captured by the Russians and held as hostages
to be exchanged for the release of the captain's wife Anna Petrovna Bulagin,
the Aleut woman and the Russian boy
After a few days more natives appeared, bringing Anna Petrovna Bulagin
however, when the exchange was demanded she refused to leave the Indians
she said she had been well treated and she knew if she rejoined the Russians
she would be forced to wander half-starved through the forest with little hope of rescue

Captain Nikolai Bulagin became so enraged at her refusal to return he threatened to shoot her,
but later he went away dejected and grieving
Russian leader Timofei Tarakanov after hearing Anna Petrovna's story
and seeing that the other Russian captives had also been well treated
decided to surrender himself to the Indians hoping for rescue by some foreign ship
four of the Russians joined him
the rest attempted to cross to Destruction Island, but their boat was destroyed on the rocks
with all of their provisions lost
they barely escaped with their lives -- only to be captured by the Indians
Tarakanov, who had surrendered to the Indians, was taken by a chief named Utramaka
to his home near Cape Flattery as was Captain Nikolai Bulagin
but Bulagin was later traded to the chief who held his wife Anna Petrovna Bulagin
Tarakanov was well treated by the natives largely because of his resourcefulness, his skill with tools
and his capability to amuse the Indians -- he even constructed and flew a kite
(Anna Petrovna died [August 1809] her Indian master, as was the Indian custom at the time,
threw her body into the forest
Captain Bulagin, hearing of her fate, sickened and wasted away
he died of consumption [February 1810])

NOR'WESTER SIMON FRASER LEAVES NEW CALEDONIA

Explorer, trapper and trader Simon Fraser departed from New Caledonia -- 1809
he attended the annual North West Company rendezvous at Fort William (Thunder Bay, Ontario)
before taking a leave of absence from the company
(he returned to duty [1810] and was assigned again to the Athabasca Department
where he remained until [1814])
Fraser's clerk, John Stuart, was placed in charge of New Caledonia District
Stuart kept his headquarters at Fort McLeod on McLeod Lake

NOR'WESTER JOHN McDONALD OF GARTH SERVES IN THE WILDERNESS

John McDonald of Garth had been placed in charge of building
Fort Augustus (Edmonton, Alberta, [1795])
and Rocky Mountain House (Calgary, Alberta, [1799])
Fort Augustus was frequently moved as furs and firewood became scarce
John McDonald of Garth became a North West Company wintering partner [1802]
he took a leave of absence but returned to the wilderness where he fell ill
returning once again to the frontier he was placed charge of the Red River Department -- 1809
he carried supplies to the explorer David Thompson in the Rocky Mountains

ASTOR'S AMERICAN FUR COMPANY ENJOYS GREAT SUCCESS

After its first year of operation John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company was firmly established
trapping and trading with the Indians along the upper Mississippi River -- 1809
Astor controlled the wilderness deep into Canada and the West beyond the Great Lakes

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S BUSINESS PLAN WAS TO ELIMINATE COMPETITION

Astor never invaded a territory until others had cleared the way and proved its worth
furs from the Great Lakes region had set America's national economy on its feet
but still Astor was unable to meet the great demand for furs
Manuel Lisa and other American trappers and traders
had demonstrated the possibility of ascending the Missouri River
Astor attempted to develop an American monopoly in the fur trade
there was nothing original about John Jacob Astor's scheme as he borrowed intact the practices
of Hudson's Bay Company, Northwest Company and New England traders
he merely combined and enlarged their procedures
Astor envisioned a chain of trading posts up the Missouri River, over the Rocky Mountains
and down the Columbia River to the river's mouth
he expected to establish a shipping point where the river met the Pacific Ocean
to carry on trade with Asia, Europe and the east coast of North America
Astor's efforts embittered his American Fur Company to rival fur dealers

RAMSAY CROOKS AND ROBERT McCLELLAN AGAIN FAIL AT TRADE

Crooks and McClellan made an unsuccessful attempt to follow
the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company brigade to the upper reaches of the Missouri River -- 1809
they were turned back once again by Sioux Indians much as had happened to them
two years before [1807] when they were forced to move their trading operation
to the Council Bluffs region

DAVID THOMPSON CARRIES OUT A FORTUNE IN FURS

After spending the (winter) at Kootanae House on the Columbia River in Columbia Department
North West Company trader David Thompson carried out a fortune in furs
Thompson and his voyageurs left Kootanae House -- April 17, 1809
they crossed (Hawse Pass) over the Rocky Mountains
and arrived at Fort Augustus (near today's Edmonton, Alberta -- [June 24])
where he saw his fortune in furs safely shipped to North West Company's
Central Deposit at Rainy Lake House on Rainy Lake (Minnesota)

MANUEL LISA BEGINS CONSTRUCTION FORT MANDAN

Manuel Lisa led a party totaling close to two hundred men of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company
they set out up the Missouri River -- middle of June 1809
bound for the Mandan Villages (today's North Dakota)

AMERICAN SHIPS TRADE ALONG THE PACIFIC COAST

Ships out of Boston and New York City took part in the rich haphazard Pacific coast fur trade
one of the most active companies was the Boston-based enterprise of Homer & Winship
Abiel Winship was a partner in the company trading with Europe and the West Indies
he had three brothers, Charles, Nathan and Jonathan III, who also were active in the business
Abiel's keen business sense pointed him toward the Pacific seal and sea otter trade
Captain Charles Winship, the youngest of the Winship brothers, sailed the 111-ton brig *Betsy*
which was owned by Homer & Winship to California

sadly, the twenty-three-year-old brother was arrested for poaching
and died in a Spanish jail [1799]
this family crisis deterred the Winship brothers not at all
Homer & Winship purchased the ship *O'Cain* which carried Jonathan Winship
to trade along the Pacific coast [1803]
Jonathan Winship returned as captain of the *O'Cain* along with his brother Nathan
who served as First Mate [1805] their success led to a larger venture
Abiel turned his attention toward supplying Russian traders in Russian-America (Alaska)
to support this business opportunity it was decided to construct a trading station
at a mid-point on the Northwest coastline to warehouse American trade goods and supplies
they selected a location along the Columbia River
this enterprise was being considered by the Russians, also

WINSHIP BROTHERS PLAN A COLONY ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Homer & Winship fitted out the old American vessel *Albatross* out of Boston -- summer 1809
Nathan Winship served as captain
William Gale served as captain's assistant and kept a journal of the voyage
William Smith served as first mate
They set sail with a crew of twenty-two men and an excellent supply of stores and ammunition
along with an abundance of tools and hardware for building a colony
(Crew wintered in the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii])

FINAN McDONALD ARMS THE KOOTENAI INDIANS

Nor'Westers Finan McDonald and Michel Bordeaux upset the Piegan Indians
by arming their ancient enemies the Kootenai Indians -- summer 1809
Piegan bands of the Blackfoot Indians dedicated themselves to keeping Nor'Wester
east of the Rocky Mountains and away from the Kootenais

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON RECEIVES NEW ORDERS

While at Fort Augustus geographer Thompson received new orders
he was to trace the Columbia River from source to mouth and to expand trade with the natives
preparations for the return to Kootanae House in the Columbia Department were made
Thompson wrote that Finan McDonald had set out by canoe -- July 14, 1809
with **"its cargo four pieces of Merchandise; weighing 320 lbs. four, nine gallons kegs
of greese [sic] (melted Bison fat) and five bags of Pemmican, each of ninety pounds, with five men, a
less number could not stem the courrant [sic]."**⁶⁰

DAVID THOMPSON LEAVES FORT AUGUSTUS FOR THE RETURN TO KOOTANAE HOUSE

David Thompson following Finan McDonald departed from Fort Augustus -- July 18, 1809
with him were a number of Nor'Westers including Jaco Finlay and his family
They traveled to (Bonne's Ferry, Idaho) where he had been the year before
Thompson and his companions continued south by horse

⁶⁰ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 42.

DAVID THOMPSON BUILDS KULLEYSPELL HOUSE

Thompson his party traveling on horseback reached Pend Oreille Lake where they started building “Kullyspell House” among Nez Perce Indians -- September 10, 1809 on the East shore of Lake Pend Oreille (at today’s Hope, Idaho) this was the first trading post west of the Rocky Mountains (in today’s United States) and was reported to be **“a strong Log building for the Goods and Furr[sic], and for trading with the Natives”**⁶¹

MANUEL LISA’S EXPEDITION CONSTRUCTS FORT MANDAN

Manuel Lisa and the approximately two hundred men of his St. Louis Missouri Fur Company constructed a second Fort Mandan (not to be confused with Lewis and Clark’s Fort Mandan) on the south side of the Missouri River ten or twelve miles from the Hidatsa villages above the mouth of the Knife River -- last of September 1809 this was to be a forward supply base to support St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers and traders on the Yellowstone and the Three Forks of the Missouri (Montana) most of the trappers were dispatched to investigate and harvest beaver in the surrounding vicinity Lisa himself went on to his original post among the Crows on the Big Horn River, Fort Raymond, or he returned to St. Louis (some doubt exists as to which course he took)

DAVID THOMPSON CONDUCTS TRADE WITH THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Thompson and his Nor’Westers never passed an opportunity to trade as guns, ammunition and iron-headed arrows that could pierce the thick-skinned bison and not break off these were dispensed to natives in exchange for furs and hides iron objects such as awls and needles were demanded by Indian women who came to trade at Kullyspell House on Lake Pend Oreille Thompson spent the remainder of the fall and early winter exploring in the vicinity of Kullyspell House -- fall and early winter

DAVID THOMPSON SPENDS THE WINTER WITH THE FLATHEAD INDIANS

David Thompson ascended the Clark Fork River to a location (near present-day Thompson Falls, Montana) -- November 1809 there he built Saleesh House where he spent the winter of 1809-1810 he came to love the Flathead Indians and called them **“a fine race of moral Indians”**⁶² Thompson was reasonably content he was occupied with mapping Rocky Mountain region and spending winter days trading with the Indians he supplied rifles to Kootenai Indians who were on the warpath against Piegan Indians (each summer he was again off to Rainy Lake House with the winter’s bounty of furs)

TRIBAL BLOODSHED LEADS TO HATRED OF THE NOR’WESTERS

⁶¹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 42.

⁶² Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 42.

Over the Rockies to the west were the mortal enemies of the Piegans -- the Kootenai Indians
Piegans knew if Thompson should penetrate to the western side of the mountains
he would arm their long-time enemy the Kootenai Indians
As soon as the Kootenais were armed by David Thompson, they went on the warpath
triumphantly slaughtering several of their ancient foe
Blaming Nor'Westers for the killings, the Piegans once again crossed the Rocky Mountains
this time seeking revenge

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY SENDS TRAPPERS INTO (MONTANA)

Manuel Lisa's Chief Factor Pierre Menard and second-in-command Andrew Henry
led a party of perhaps sixty trappers including John Colter and George Droulliard
of the Lewis and Clark Expedition
Colter guided the expedition from Fort Raymond up the Missouri River to the Three Forks region
they planned to trap beaver over the entire area of the Missouri River
and its branches above the Great Fall -- November 1809

1810-1819

MANUEL LISA'S ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY RETURNS TO FORT RAYMOND

Manuel Lisa's Chief Factor Pierre Menard and Andrew Henry with sixty trappers
set out from Fort Mandan above the Knife River -- January 1810

They traveled up the Missouri River to return to Missouri Fur Company' Fort Raymond
located at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Bighorn Rivers
(near today's Three Forks, Montana)

AMERICAN TRADING SHIP *MERCURY* SAILS INTO CLAYOQUOT SOUND

Captain G.W. Ayers sailed the Boston-based ship *Mercury* from Canton, China
to Vancouver Island where he entered Clayoquot Sound -- early 1810

American Captain Ayers negotiated a contract with Wickaninnish and took on board
a dozen or so Tla-o-qui-aht hunters to seek seals and sea otters off the California coast
when they hunt was complete these natives were to be returned to Clayoquot Sound
After the successful hunt was completed Captain Ayers broke his contract with the natives
rather than return them to Clayoquot Sound he marooned them on California's Farallon Islands
(for the next year the dozen or so Tla-o-qui-aht hunters undertook an epic land and sea journey
most of the men died of starvation or were killed by other Indians along the way
finally a few destitute survivors returned to Clayoquot Sound
where they related their story of misery and death [spring 1811])

BRITISH TRADING COMPANIES OPERATE UNDER A HANDICAP

Hudson's Bay Company expanded from the regions around Hudson Bay and James Bay westward
they expanded into the interior of Canada where they operated a chain of trading posts
(that later became such cities as Winnipeg, Manitoba, Calgary and Edmonton, Alberta)

most of Hudson's Bay Company's supplies and their furs had to be freighted overland
from the area around Hudson's Bay to Montreal

Hudson's Bay Company could not ship furs directly to China

as the East India Company maintained an exclusive monopoly on that commerce

North West Company headquartered in Montreal, Quebec was owned by wintering partners
who ran trap lines in the wilderness and established trading posts among the Indians

North West Company also was excluded from the China Trade
by the East India Company's monopoly

Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company invaded overlapping regions
they conducted violent and wasteful competition and company war for over forty years

Neither Hudson's Bay Company nor North West Company wanted a long, expensive trade war with John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company

JOHN JACOB ASTOR HAS GRAND IDEAS FOR HIS AMERICAN FUR COMPANY

John Jacob Astor had dreamed of expanding his American Fur Company West of the Rockies when the United States purchased Louisiana it provided him the opportunity. Astor never invaded a territory until others had cleared the way and proved its worth. Manuel Lisa and other American trappers had demonstrated the possibility of ascending the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean by way of the Columbia River. Astor envisioned a chain of trading posts up the Missouri River over the Rocky Mountains and down the Columbia River to the mouth -- establish a shipping point there he intended to exploit the Pacific Northwest Indian trade but first it would be necessary to establish a trading depot in neutral water between the Russians in Alaska and the Spanish in California. Columbia River was seen by enterprising merchant John Jacob Astor as a vital link in international trade to develop commerce with Northern and Southern Europe, South America, Asia and Hawaii. Astor had the ships necessary to conduct such a trade. Astor intended to do more than gather beaver hides along the Columbia River and pay for them with his own trade goods. He meant to go compete with all traders West of the Rocky Mountains and to use his own ships to supply his Western outposts and he would use his ships to carry pelts to China to trade for goods to be sold in the United States and in Europe. John Jacob Astor bought out a competing trading outfit known as The Mackinaw Company which he combined into his expanded operation.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR DEVELOPES PLANS FOR TRADE ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Astor's proposed company was to be active in three areas:

- trap and trade for beaver pelts;
- supply Russian traders in the north;
- establish American beaver trade with China

Astor desired to establish a trading capital at the mouth of the Columbia River

this would be **"...the emporium of an immense commerce, and a colony that would form the germ of a wide civilization, that would, in fact, carry the American population across the Rocky Mountains and spread it along the shores of the Pacific...."**

“Posts would be established in the interior, and on all the tributary streams of the Columbia, to trade with the Indians; these posts would draw their supplies from the main establishment and bring to it the peltries they collected. Coasting craft would be built and fitted out, also at the mouth of the Columbia, to trade at favorable seasons all along the northwest coast and return with the proceeds of their voyages to this place of deposit. Thus all the Indian trade, both of the interior and the coast, would converge on this point and thence derive its sustenance. A ship was to be sent annually from New York to this main establishment with reinforcements and supplies, and with merchandise suited to the trade. It would take on board the furs collected during the preceding year, carry them to Canton, invest the proceeds in the rich merchandise of China, and return thus freighted to New York.”⁶³

JOHN JACOB ASTOR DEVELOPS A BUSINESS ARRANGEMENT

There was nothing original about Astor’s scheme -- he borrowed business plans
from Hudson’s Bay Company, North West Company and New England traders
he merely combined and enlarged their procedures
North West Company stretched across Canada to the Pacific Ocean
Astor proposed a merger with the Canadian company
but he was forced to tip his hand and informed his competitors of his intentions in the Pacific
North West Company took immediate steps to invade the Pacific Northwest
Astor retaliated by abducting North West Company experienced men
with promises of partnerships and big profits
Astor assumed all financial risks for five years
he was able to risk \$500,000, but Astor retained full control of the company

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY MEN REACH THE THREE FORKS OF THE MISSOURI

Manuel Lisa sent an expedition to trap and trade in the upper Missouri River region
Chief Factor Pierre Menard and Andrew Henry with sixty trappers from Fort Mandan
arrived at Fort Raymond at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Bighorn Rivers
(near today’s Three Forks, Montana) -- February 1810
St. Louis Missouri Fur Company Chief Factor Pierre Menard divided his forces
perhaps thirty-two people and Chief Factor Pierre Menard remained at Fort Raymond
one party of eighteen men led by John Colter went up the Jefferson River
another party led by Andrew Henry traveled down the Missouri River

⁶³ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 58-59.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR CREATES THE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

To carry out his scheme to develop trade along the Pacific coast Astor drew up a tentative agreement for a subsidiary of his American Fur Company

to be known as the “Pacific Fur Company” -- March 6, 1810

(Astor built a fortune and an empire that is still in existence today)

His great project was to be a two-pronged movement to the Pacific Northwest:

- one by sea aboard the ship,
- the other an expedition overland

profits, if any, were to be prorated among the share-holding partners

one hundred shares of stock were to be distributed:

- Astor retained fifty shares himself;
- thirty-five shares, in five share blocks, were to be divided among his partners;
- fifteen shares were left undistributed -- these were held aside for future use

Astor assumed all financial risks for five years

he was able to risk \$500,000, but Astor retained full control of the company

JOHN JACOB ASTOR ALTERES THE TRADING SYSTEM

Astor owned a fleet of trading ships

unlike the British Hudson’s Bay Company and Canadian North West Company

Astor had free access to the China Market

Astor planned to send a ship from New York City every (autumn)

loaded with trade goods and supplies for all of his trading posts west of the Rocky Mountains they would arrive in the Pacific Northwest about (February or March) to be loaded with furs

ships from Northwest Coast would load sea otter pelts worth up to \$100 each at Canton they would cruise next to Russian-America (Alaska) as far as New Archangel (Sitka)

to supply the Russians food stuffs and manufactured supplies in exchange for their furs

Russians traded with the Indians from the Alaskan coast, interior and islands

they had very poor facilities both for marketing their product and obtaining supplies

they were happy for the opportunity to make an arrangement with Astor

perhaps Astor’s ships would top off their cargo with valuable sandalwood in (Hawaii)

John Jacob Astor expected to make a three-way profit:

- first by trading American goods supplied to Russians and Indians in Russian-America (Alaska);
- second by selling pelts which he delivered to Chinese merchants in Canton, China
where they would purchase Chinese tea, silk, porcelain and spices for sale in New York City
- third by selling these Chinese goods to Americans in the United States

Astor’s ship would then reload with trinkets, knives, pans, blankets and rum

to be taken around Cape Horn to the Northwest Coast where the trade goods were then exchanged with the Pacific Northwest Indians for furs

JOHN JACOB ASTOR SELECTS THREE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY PARTNERS

John Jacob Astor selected the three original Pacific Fur Company partners -- March 6, 1810:

- Chief Factor Duncan McDougall received five shares of Pacific Fur Company stock
he also held Astor's proxy vote for all decision to be made in Astor's absence
little is known about him before he joined with Astor

although it seems he worked for the North West Company with little success as a trader

McDougall was described by author Washington Irving as **“an active, irritable, fuming, vainglorious little man, and elevated in his own opinion, by being the proxy for Mr. Astor”**⁶⁴

- Donald McKenzie received five shares of Pacific Fur Company stock

McKenzie was appointed as John Jacob Astor's agent

he was over three hundred pounds and was called “Fats” by those who knew him

he was also known as “Perpetual Motion” because of his tireless energy

he was educated for the ministry but as a relative of Sir Alexander Mackenzie

when he went to work for the North West Company

he had ten years of experience in the north woods

he was able to manage men regardless of color or race

he was a fearless skilled woodsman both hardy and experienced

who demonstrated both dash and decision and he was an excellent marksman

however, he was perpetually discontent with his position in the North West Company

- Alexander McKay received five shares

McKay was a retired North West Company partner and a successful trader

he had accompanied Alexander Mackenzie on both of his remarkable expeditions

from Fort Chipewyan to the Arctic Ocean and back ([789]

and from Fort Chipewyan to the Pacific coast and back [1793]

McKay also had been Astor's employee in the Wisconsin trade region

he was assigned by Astor to be in charge of trading activities along the Pacific coast

McKay's thirteen-year-old son Thomas accompanied the partners to the West

MANUEL LISA IN ST. LOUIS ORGANIZES ANOTHER TRAPPING AND TRADING EXPEDITION

Manuel Lisa organized another St. Louis Missouri Fur Company expedition

to go among the Arikara Indians

⁶⁴ Washington Irving, *Astoria*. P. 36.

Lisa began collecting trade goods, supplies and trappers for the adventure
Once again Manuel Lisa set out from St. Louis to travel up the Missouri River
on his way to Fort Mandan located in the Mandan Villages (today's South Dakota) -- March 1810

MANUEL LISA HIRES PIERRE DORION FOR FUTURE SERVICE

Manuel Lisa arrived at his Fort Mandan in the Mandan Villages on the Missouri River
while there he decided to obtain the services of a Sioux Metis, Pierre Dorion,
for a future fur trapping trip
Lisa took advantage of Pierre Dorion's weakness for liquor
Pierre, being unsophisticated, proceeded to empty a free jug of whiskey
as the liquor took hold, Pierre invited all those present to join his expedition at his expense
several hours later Lisa informed Pierre he owed a \$10 bar bill equal to a month's pay
when Pierre later informed his wife Marie of their situation she knew he had been "jobbed"
this was not an uncommon practice on the frontier

PIERRE DORION'S WIFE WAS A VERY REMARKABLE WOMAN

Pierre Dorion himself was a Sioux and French-Canadian metis (mixed-blood)
who worked out of St. Louis as a guide and interpreter
Dorion's wife was an Iowa Indian who was known as Marie Aioe Dorion
(later she was referred to as "Madame Dorion")
Marie Dorion was born (about 1786 approximately two years before Sacajawea)
she spent her early days with her Iowa tribe in the Red River country of Arkansas
before she married Pierre Dorion [1804]
they had two sons, Baptiste [born in 1806] and Paul [born in 1808]
Marie Dorion was known as an extraordinary understanding, patient and devout woman
eventually the Dorions moved to a Mandan Village (in today's South Dakota)
where their lives crossed the path of Manuel Lisa
Pierre was a violent, quick-tempered man who during a drunken brawl almost scalped his father
he also was neither a kind nor thoughtful husband
Guides and interpreters were not in steady demand in St. Louis
thus Pierre Dorion was only sporadically employed

ANDREW HENRY BUILDS HENRY'S FORT FOR THE MISSOURI FUR COMPANY

Andrew Henry led a party of St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers
down the Missouri River from the company headquarters of Fort Raymond
They began building Henry's Fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River

on a tongue of land at the confluence of the Jefferson and Madison rivers -- April 3, 1810
(near-present day Three Forks, Montana)

Henry, however, failed to seek permission from the Blackfoot Indians
who, at any rate, did not permit trapping on their land

JOHN COLTER LEADS EIGHTEEN ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY TRAPPERS

In a second St. Louis Missouri Fur Company expedition

John Colter led eighteen men from Fort Raymond

they had traveled only ten miles up the Jefferson River when Blackfoot Indians attacked them
when the fighting was over two men had been killed and mutilated
three others were missing

also missing were all of the party's traps, ammunition and horses -- April 12, 1810

John Colter and his thirteen remaining trappers returned to Fort Raymond

to report to Chief Factor Pierre Menard

once before Colter had promised his maker he would leave the wilds

if he survived his race for life with the Blackfoot Indians [1808]

hurling his hat to the ground he emphatically declared **“now if God will only forgive me
this time and let me off I will leave the country day after to-morrow -- and be damned if I ever come
into it again.”**⁶⁵

JOHN COLTER KEEPS HIS VOW

John Colter lived up to his vow to God never to return to the Rocky Mountains

he had an opportunity to meet with Captain William Clark of Lewis and Clark fame

Colter told Clark all he knew about the Yellowstone River and Bighorn River country

Colter settled into the quiet life of a farmer on the Missouri frontier

he built a cabin, cleared a plot of land, married a woman remembered only as Sally

together they raised a son

Colter passed his few remaining years as a neighbor of Daniel Boone

(John Colter died of jaundice [in 1813] at the age of thirty-nine)

PEIRRE MENARD LEADS HIS MEN OUT OF FORT RAYMOND

When John Colter reported the Blackfoot attack on his trapping party to Chief Factor Pierre Menard

Menard led St. Louis Missouri Fur Company thirty men out of Fort Raymond

to travel to the site of the of the attack

⁶⁵ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 19.

each of the men was provided three traps to use en route with instructions
they were not to separate and half were remain in camp while the other trapped

PEIRRE MENARD'S MEN COME UNDER ATTACK BY THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS

Conditions were discouraging for the members of Manuel Lisa's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company
Blackfoot Indians who were hostile to their presence were a constant threat and a frequent enemy
St. Louis Missouri Fur Company Chief Factor Pierre Menard's men were again attacked
by Blackfoot warriors -- April 23, 1810

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON INVESTIGATES THE COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

David Thompson had wintered at Saleesh House on the Clark Fork River -- [1809]-1810
trading through the winter had been poor due to severe flooding
David Thompson ordered Jacques "Jaco" Finlay to build a trading post on the Spokane River
that would serve the Spokane and Colville Indians
(Jaco Finlay was a company veteran who had worked as clerk, interpreter and scout
and led the first party of Nor'Westers across the Rocky Mountains)

North West Company geographer Thompson left Saleesh House where he had (wintered)
he journeyed to Kullyspell House on the eastern shore of Lake Pend O'reille -- April 1810
where his chief assistant, Finan McDonald, had spent the winter [1809]-1810
David Thompson and McDonald traveled together on the Pend d'Oreille River as far as Box Canyon
there they separated

Thompson sent Finan McDonald to continue trapping and enhance Indian relations in the area
McDonald made a series of excursions in the vicinity of Kullyspell House
and Saleesh House -- spring of 1810

Thompson journeyed up the Clark Fork River and returned to Saleesh House
to prepare for the annual expedition east to deliver their catch
to North West Company's depot at Fort Augustus at mouth of White Earth Creek
to be transshipped to Rainy Lake House
(North West Company's depot near present International Falls, Minnesota)

AMERICAN BRIG *LYDIA* RANSOMS CAPTIVES HELD BY MAKAH INDIANS

Brig *Lydia* returned to the Pacific coast this time under Captain James Brown
she anchored off the coast of the Olympic Peninsula between Cape Flattery and Neah Bay
near a Makah Indian camp -- May 6, 1810

Russian supercargo of the *Saint Nicholas* Timofei Tarakanov and his Indian master
went on board the *Lydia* and Tarakanov explained he and twelve others had been held captive

since their ship had wrecked the mouth of the Quileute River [1808]
Captain Brown set about ransoming all of the European prisoners from the Makah Indians
among these was an Englishman, John Williams, who was ransomed
for five measures of cloth, a locksmith's saw, two steel knives, a looking glass,
five packages of powder and five bags of shot
Indians accepted the same ransom for each of the Russian captives
except for two Russians for whom a higher ransom was demanded
when Captain Brown refused the Indians took them away
Captain Brown then seized a Makah chief who had come aboard and held him hostage
until the remaining Russian captives were released
both were delivered to the ship within a few days
thirteen captives had been successfully ransomed -- seven other slaves had died in captivity
one Russian named Philip Kotilnikof had been traded away so far that he could not be found
Lydia sailed from Neah Bay -- May 10, 1811
and arrived at New Archangel (Sitka), Russian-America (Alaska) [June 8, 1811]
where the Russian sailors were returned

DAVID THOMPSON MAKES HIS ANNUAL TREK DELIVERING FURS TO THE EAST

It was time to send what furs he had secured and those provided by Finan McDonald
to the North West Company's depot at Fort Augustus at mouth of White Earth Creek
to be transshipped to Rainy Lake House
(North West Company's central depot near present International Falls, Minnesota)
although any of his men could have carried out the task of traveling to Fort Augustus
Thompson decided to go himself as Fort Augustus was used as a safe haven
for his wife Charlotte and their children
it was an arduous trip thousands of miles long by canoe and horse
over country Thompson knew all too well
meanwhile, despite his new orders, the Columbia River would have to remain unexplored
Thompson left Saleesh House -- May 10, 1810
carrying his and Finan McDonald's winter's catch of forty packs of furs
On his journey, Thompson arrived at Columbia Lake
at the portage between Columbia Lake and the Kootenai River
he just missed a band of Piegans Indians who arrived after he had passed through the portage
Piegans were mightily provoked by Thompson's employees Finan McDonald
and Michel Bordeaux dealing rifles to their enemy the Kootenais

FINAN McDONALD DELIVERS MORE GUNS TO THE INDIANS

Finan McDonald arrived at Saleesh House after David Thompson had departed for Fort Augustus while at Saleesh House McDonald armed the local Flathead natives he instructed them in the use of firearms so they could provide protection to North West Company personnel and property

SPOKANE HOUSE IS BUILT BY NORTH WEST COMPANY

Jacques “Jaco” Finlay left Saleesh House and followed a trail southwest from Lake Pend Oreille until he arrived at a busy salmon-fishing site on the Spokane River where the Little Spokane meets the Spokane he chose the site where a pleasant yellow pine flat was formed by the “V” where the rivers met

Finlay had several reasons for choosing this site:

- it was the headquarters of the middle branch of the Spokane tribe;
- it was a prime fishing spot for salmon;
- the large flat was suitable for building, farming, and grazing;
- there was a good supply of both timber and game animals nearby;
- most of all, however, the Little Spokane was a great beaver stream

“Lower settlement” (later called Spokane House) was actually a number of buildings including a store for trading, an office and home for the chief trader, dormitories for other men, carpenter and blacksmith shops and a well for fresh water it may be that the post was enclosed by a stockade

Spokane House, as it came to be known, was located nine miles (from the center of today’s Spokane) its name was derived from an Old Chief: “Illim-Spokanee” or “Son of the Sun” this was the first trading post in (today’s Washington) and the fifth North West Company post in the Columbia Department

Spokane House had a garden that provided fresh produce

luxuries imported from eastern Canada included cured beef, salt pork, flour, rice, biscuits, tea, sugar and rum

this was a very desirable destination for the traders working in the rugged surrounding country⁶⁶

Jaco Finlay was soon joined by fellow Nor’Wester Finan McDonald

PEIRRE MENARD’S ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY MEN HAD A DIFFICULT TIME

Menard’s party of thirty trappers’ lack of efficiency as they trapped the Jefferson River

⁶⁶ Kit Oldham, *HistoryLink.org* Essay 5099, January 23, 2003.

eventually forced the party to divide into groups of four
two groups to tend camp and two groups to work the traps
fortunately, during this time they were not harassed by Indians
Gathering more pelts and observing no signs of Indians all of the trappers grew bolder
George Drouillard began to venture out alone -- others protested, but he refused to listen
he met with success on two of his beaver hunts
on the third morning he set out again along the Jefferson River
followed by two friendly Shoshone deer hunters
main party St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers later took to the same trail -- May 1810
soon they overtook the two Shoshone hunters, **“Pierced with arrows, lances and bullets
and lying near each other.”**⁶⁷

some 150 yards beyond they found Drouillard and his horse
George Drouillard was **“mangled in a horrible manner; his head was cut off, his
entrails torn out and his body hacked to pieces.”**⁶⁸

Chief Factor Pierre Menard and his remaining St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers
returned to the Fort Raymond company headquarters on the Big Horn River
in Yellowstone Country to wait until the Indians became less aggressive -- summer 1810

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS BEGINS OPERATIONS

Protestant America experienced a religious revival as expectations regarding return of Jesus
gripped America because of the beginning of a new century
congregations sent ministers out to conduct revival meetings among Christians
these circuit riders came from among the common people
which helped them establish rapport with the frontier families they hoped to convert
the movement became known as the “Second Great Awakening” [1790-1840]
(the First Great Awakening had taken place [1731-1765])

American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (sometimes the “American Board”)
was organized by the Congregational Church that maintained its headquarters in Boston -- 1810
this was an effort to provide religious training to Native Americans
this was the first organized missionary society in the United States
however, lack of organization and money kept the mission field near at hand

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK COMPLETES HIS MAP OF THE WEST

⁶⁷ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 19.

⁶⁸ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 19.^f

After the death of Meriwether Lewis [October 11, 1809] the task of generating a map of the West fell to William Clark who began drawing -- 1810

Clark incorporated what he had learned from George Drouillard [in 1808] and what John Colter had told him [1810] and completed his project that same year (Clark's map was published [1814])

WINSHIP BROTHERS SELECT A LOCATION FOR THEIR COLONY

Boston-based Homer & Winship had dispatched the *Albatross* under Captain Nathan Winship with instructions to build and provision a fort and trading post after spending the (winter) in the Hawaiian Islands

Albatross entered the Columbia River -- May 26, 1810

Captain Winship conducted a careful examination of the southern (Oregon) river bank he decided on a strip of valley land covered with a beautiful grove of Oak trees for his colony he named the place thirty miles up the Columbia "Oak Point"

(this name was later transferred to the north bank -- present-day Oak Point, Washington)

Captain Winship tied the *Albatross* to the south bank -- June 4, 1810

Winship paid the Indians for their land and treated them justly

Winship brothers planned to build a substantial blockhouse to be defended by a single cannon they immediately began construction -- felling trees and raising a large house they also cleared a spot for a garden and sowed grain

Chinook and Chehalis Indians arrived, fired muskets into the settlement and demanded American leave

Captain Winship saw the wisdom of this suggestion and abandoned America's first effort at a colony

PACIFIC FUR COMPANY BUSINESS ARRANGEMENTS ARE COMPLETED

Articles of Agreement for John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company to operate along the Pacific coast was signed by Astor and his three partners

Duncan McDougall, Alexander McKay and huge Donald "Fats" McKenzie -- June 23, 1810

Astor's Pacific Fur Company, North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company were all invading the same area

but neither North West Company nor Hudson's Bay Company had no ships

they were excluded from the China Trade by the monopoly of the East India Company

John Jacob Astor had tipped his hand to his competitors regarding his plans for exploiting the West he had informed his competitors of his intentions in the Pacific Northwest

North West Company took immediate steps to invade the Columbia Department itself

Astor retaliated by recruiting experienced North West Company men

into his company with promises of partnerships and big profits

JOHN JACOB ASTOR BRINGS IN MORE PARTNERS TO THE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

Astor's greatest concern regarding the success of his Pacific Fur Company was the threat of competition from the rival North West Company also trapping and trading in the Far West. To his three original partners, Duncan McDougall, Alexander McKay and Donald McKenzie, Astor added three more partners who received five shares each in the Pacific Fur Company:

- American Wilson Price Hunt of Trenton, New Jersey was a businessman who had supplied trading goods to traders working out of St. Louis where the chief branch of his business was located. Hunt was appointed as Astor's co-Agent along with Donald McKenzie although he possessed no practical experience in the fur trade. Hunt brought with him experience, knowledge and honesty in business dealings; he was intelligent, loyal, brave, cheerful, resolute, mild-mannered gentleman and humane but he was indecisive by nature -- a trait that would prove detrimental and dangerous. His ignorance of wilderness life nearly wrecked the expedition. Hunt traveled to Washington, D.C where he got enthusiastic support for Astor's company from President Thomas Jefferson and the president's Cabinet;
- Canadian Ramsay Crooks was formerly a partner with Robert McClellan out of St. Louis. Together they ran a trading operation above the Arikara villages but this venture proved to be unsuccessful. Crooks and McClellan ended their venture in the upper Missouri River region and decided to try their luck in the Council Bluffs region. This was even less successful. Twenty-three year old Ramsay Crooks, a man of great energy, was persuaded to join the Pacific Fur Company by Wilson Price Hunt;
- David Stuart was a former North West Company employee. David Stuart retained three of his shares in the company and released two shares to his twenty-six year old nephew Robert Stuart who accompanied the Astorians to the Pacific coast as a partner. He was a spirited and enterprising man and a respected leader.

John Jacob Astor also added two additional partners who received two-and-half shares each:

- Robert McClellan (sometimes McLellan) had been Ramsay Crooks' former partner in the Missouri fur trade out of St. Louis;
- Joseph Miller had been an employee of John Jacob Astor in the American Fur Company. He was well educated and well informed.

he had been an officer in the United States Army but had resigned in disgust
after being refused a furlough -- he then took to trapping beaver and trading
Miller had an excellent reputation as a trader on the Missouri River

JOHN JACOB ASTOR SENDS TWO PACIFIC FUR COMPANY EXPEDITIONS TO THE PACIFIC

In an effort to maximize his profits and minimize financial risks

John Jacob Astor sent two expeditions to the Columbia River

one expedition was to travel aboard the ship *Tonquin* -- this became known as the Sea Party

this venture was to build and operate a trading post (Fort Astoria)

and supply Russian trappers in Russian-America in exchange for furs

second expedition was to travel across the continent

they were to follow the approximate route of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Coast

and man (Fort Astoria) while the *Tonquin* returned to Boston with a fortune in furs

this became known as the Overland Expedition

ASTOR'S PARTNERS ARE ASSIGNED TO AN EXPEDITION

Five Pacific Fur Company partners were assigned by John Jacob Astor to the Land Expedition

two of the partners served as co-commanders much like Lewis and Clark had done

Donald McKenzie, Astor's principal associate, and Wilson Price Hunt

three additional partners would accompany the Overland Expedition

Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan and Joseph Miller

these partners were to be accompanied by several Pacific Fur Company employees

Astor's Sea Party saw four Pacific Fur Company partners participate

Chief Factor Duncan McDougall was placed overall command of the Sea Expedition

and the post that would be constructed on the Columbia River

three other partners accompanied the Sea Party

Alexander McKay was placed in charge of trade along the Pacific coast

he also served as supercargo on board the trading ship

David Stuart and his nephew Robert Stuart were assigned to the Sea Party

DAVID THOMPSON AGAIN CARRIES OUT A FORTUNE IN FURS

After departing from Saleesh House (in today's Montana [May 1810])

David Thompson continued his annual trek east

he once more crossed over Howse Pass to reach the North West Company's Fort Augustus depot

at mouth of White Earth Creek (Edmonton, Alberta) -- July 24, 1810

he took time to visit with his wife Charlotte and their children at Boggy Hall

which was located near Fort Augustus
Thompson soon continued his journey to deliver his annual catch of pelts
to North West Company headquarters at Rainy Lake House

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN MONTREAL, CANADA

Traveling from New York City Astor's Pacific Fur Company Overland Expedition
led by co-agents Donald McKenzie and businessman Wilson Price Hunt
accompanied by Joseph Miller and Robert McClellan
arrived at Montreal, Canada -- July 1810
Donald McKenzie used his expertise to hire a brigade of French-Canadian voyageurs in Montreal
but McKenzie and Hunt argued, often rancorously, about hiring more French-Canadians
McKenzie insisted more voyageurs would be valuable
Hunt found the competition for voyageurs drove their wages very high
North West Company successfully impeded these efforts to recruit river men
John Jacob Astor's co-agent Wilson Price Hunt decided to wait to hire American boatmen
in frontier village of Michilimackinac, Michigan
Wilson Price Hunt when given a choice always made the wrong decision

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY HAS LIMITED SUCCESS

Blackfoot Indians had made business along the upper Missouri River impossible
St. Louis Missouri Fur Company Chief Factor Pierre Menard
had suffered the loss of eight of Manuel Lisa's men killed and their traps and pelts stolen
Pierre Menard left Fort Raymond and the Jefferson River -- midsummer 1810
he took his men and the furs that had been accumulated and returned to St. Louis
Andrew Henry stayed at Henry's Fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River (Montana)
where he continued to lead a party of St. Louis Missouri Fur Company of trappers

ANDREW HENRY LEADS HIS PARTY OF TRAPPERS OVER THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

After a yet another fierce battle with the Blackfoot Indians,
Andrew Henry abandoned Henry's Fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River (Montana)
he and his men journeyed up the Madison River -- July 1810
Henry's party ran into difficulty when Crow Indians stole thirty of their horses
this was a reminder of the dangers they faced in the wilderness
After trekking across the Upper Missouri River Andrew Henry crossed the Rocky Mountains
over a low pass (today's Reynolds' Pass)
They reached Henry's Fork of the Snake River

this river was traced to its source -- a broad lake they named Henry's Lake
here Andrew Henry and his men threw up a log hut as a base camp
they named the post Fort Henry⁶⁹ on the Snake River -- July 1810
(located about five miles south today's St. Anthony, Idaho)
this was the first American post west of the Continental Divide of the Rockies
Fort Henry on Henry's Fork of the Snake River was so named
after the first Henry's Fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River had been abandoned
Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
helped with the construction of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company post
Robinson was a sixty-six year old veteran who was scalped in the Kentucky wars [1782]
he wore a kerchief around his head to conceal his disfigurement
Andrew Henry's party of St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers
used Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho) as their base of operation west of the Rockies

PROBLEMS OF THE BEAVER TRADE WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Pacific Northwest and the central plains of Canada differed in terrain from the Great Lakes region
travel in Great Lakes region and on the central plains was relatively easy
using a network of comparatively flat rivers and lakes and level terrain
Pacific Northwest was mountainous and rivers tumbled through numerous waterfalls and rapids
there were tremendously deep coulees and canyons which impeded travel
Natural environment west of the Rocky Mountains produced fewer beaver
and those were of lesser quality than those in the mid-West
Indians' relationship to the traders also differed in the West
in the harsh environment of the mid-West the Indians became willing partners in the fur trade
natives were eager to acquire European goods which made life easier
Pacific Northwest Indians were living in a far more generous environment
thus they were not dependent on European trade goods for survival
this independence placed the Indians in a strategic position to deal with the beaver traders
they did not need to trap animals for the whites but whites needed the Indians' assistance
whites needed the Indians to provide them horses
in areas without bison, the horse was a food supply
where water transportation was difficult the horse was required to replace the canoe

⁶⁹ Fort Henry at the head of Henry's Fork of the Snake River on Henry's Lake (Idaho) is not to be confused with the abandoned Henry's Fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River (Montana)

DAVID THOMPSON COMPLETES HIS JOURNEY TO THE EAST

After leaving his wife Charlotte and their children at Boggy Hall near Fort Augustus

David Thompson reached North West Company depot at Rainy Lake House -- July 22, 1810

Thompson learned of American John Jacob Astor's intention to dispatch two expeditions

to the mouth of the Columbia River which included defecting Nor'Westers Duncan McDougall,

Alexander McKay, David Stuart and Donald McKenzie

who was busy recruiting voyageurs to cross over land along Lewis and Clark's trail

To contend with this American effort David Thompson was ordered by North West Company

to build a chain of trading posts to conduct interior trade

and to protect the British claim to the Columbia Department

Thompson also was to trace the Columbia River from source to mouth

and investigate the feasibility of using the river as a highway

to transport goods, supplies and pelts to and from the Pacific coast

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON RETURNS TO THE WILDERNESS

Trapper, explorer and geographer David Thompson was placed in charge of the largest contingent

twenty-six men, an unknown number of women and twenty-four horses

each loaded with between 180 and 240 pounds of trade goods, provisions

and personal baggage

also with the annual supply brigade were ten dogs to pull sleds and, in an emergency, for food

Columbia Brigade set out from North West Company headquarters at Rainy Lake House

(located at today's International Falls, Minnesota) -- summer 1810

to transport the annual supply of trade goods and provisions into the wilderness

FINAN McDONALD FIGHTS WITH THE FLATHEAD INDIANS AGAINST THE BLACKFEET

Nor'Wester Finan McDonald, David Thompson's chief assistant, accompanied the Flathead Indians

on a buffalo hunting expedition to the East as far as the plains of the Missouri River

While on the plains, Nor'Westers encountered a group of Blackfoot Indians -- -- summer 1810

during the ensuing skirmish, the Nor'Westers fought alongside the Flathead Indians

this support from the trappers infuriated the Blackfoot Indians

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY LEADER WANTS A COLONY ALONG THE RED RIVER

Hudson's Bay Company held a charter giving ownership of all of the lands

drained by the waters of that flowed into Hudson Bay

major Hudson's Bay Company stockholder Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk,

began to seriously consider securing land in the Canadian interior

Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk sought a legal opinion
regarding the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company charter
and the legal right of the company to sell portions of their land -- 1810
once the charter and its conditions were declared to be valid by his lawyers
Lord Selkirk set out to gain control of the Hudson's Bay Company stock
in order to acquire land he desired near the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red rivers
(in today's Manitoba)

North West Company became alarmed when they learned of the plans
they considered Selkirk's colonizing effort to be a scheme on the part of Hudson's Bay Company
to destroy their trade by throwing an agricultural colony across their supply line
that ran from Montreal and Fort William into the interior
in addition to blocking the Nor'Westers' trade the colony would provide a base for supplies
that could service Hudson's Bay Company -- especially in the Rocky Mountains
North West Company asserted its own claims that they were the legitimate successors
of the old French traders in the West who originally had been granted the charter
and that Hudson's Bay Company's charter was an illegal royal grant that created a monopoly
they also got legal opinions to the effect that Hudson's Bay Company's charter
gave no territory or exclusive trade privileges so far away from Hudson Bay

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S PACIFIC FUR COMPANY'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION TAKES SHAPE

Astor's Overland Expedition led by Astor's partners Donald McKenzie and Wilson Price Hunt
traveled from Montreal, Canada bound for the American frontier village
of Michilimackinac (Michigan) located on an island at West end of Lake Huron
here they were joined by another Astor partner, Ramsay Crooks
At Michilimackinac Hunt again experienced difficulty finding employees
as the French-Canadian habit of celebrating each good turn of events
caused these canoemen to gather their friends and kinsmen about them, carouse with them,
and sing and dance as long as seemed appropriate
tomorrow or next week was soon enough to go to work
(Astorian Clerk Alexander Ross who traveled with the sea party later recorded a description
of events in Michilimackinac: **"Hunt and M'Kenzie in vain sought recruits, at least
such as would suit their purpose; for in the morning they were found drinking, at noon drunk, in
the evening dead drunk, and in the night seldom sober. ...Every nook and corner, in the whole
island swarmed, at all hours of the day and night, with motly [sic] groups of uproarious tipplers**

and whiskey-hunters. ... [Michilimackinac] resembled a great bedlam, the frantic inmates running to and fro in wild forgetfulness. ”)⁷⁰

no sooner was a voyageur engaged by Hunt and a sum paid to him in advance
than some tavern-keeper or tradesman would appear with a bill against him
Hunt must either pay the bill or lose his employee
and the money advanced to hold him to his bargain

Even with these problems Wilson Price Hunt under the guidance of Donald McKenzie
successfully recruited sixty men including Americans, Scotsmen and French-Canadians
forty were French-Canadian voyageurs whose duties included
rowing, transporting, cooking, and general drudgery
however, Wilson Price Hunt and Donald McKenzie found few qualified boatmen
among the American hangers-on in Michilimackinac who were capable and willing
to take the proposed journey

Finally, seventy-five trail-hardened recruits were finally gathered together
five company clerks:

Ross Cox, J. Cook Halsey, John Reid (later spelled Reed), Alfred Seton and William Wallace
five hunters:

Jean Baptiste Dubreuil was a French-Canadian boatman who was also called a hunter,
Andre Dufresne, Jean Baptiste Gardipie, Jacque Hartera and freeman hunter,
and Joseph Gervais a hunter who later became a freeman (without company affiliation)

six skilled workers;

carpenter Louis La Bonte, sawyer Francois Martial, interpreter Ovid Montigny,
boatman and blacksmith Francis William Hodgkins (or Hodgens),
blacksmith Andre La Chapelle and guide Joseph St. Amant

forty-three trappers:

George Bell, Charles Boucher, Bazile Brousseau, Pierre Brugiere, Michel Carriere,
Martin H. Cass, Antoine Clappine, Joseph Delaunay, Pierre Delaunay,
Jean Baptiste Delorme, Louis Dinnelle, Francois Duchoquette,
Prisque Felix, Francois Fripagnier, Charles Jacquette, Joseph Jerve, Jean Baptiste La Bonte,
Louis La Bonte, Louis La Liberte, Francois Landrie, Francois Landry, Joseph Landry,
Michel Lanson, Louis La Valle, Francois Michael Laframboise, Francois Le Clerc,
Alexis Le Compte, Guillaume Le Roux, Charles Lucier, Etienne Lucier, Francois Martial,
William Matthews, Jean Baptiste Ouvre, Antoine Papin, Jean Baptiste Pillon, Antoine Plante,
Jean Baptiste Prevost (or Proveau), Francois Robert, Edward Robinson, Joseph Samant,

⁷⁰ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Exploration*, P. 300.

Louis St. Michel and Jean Baptiste Turcotte
To complete their crew, Hunt and Donald McKenzie hired eight American boatmen
William Cannon (or Canning), Alexander Carson, George Cone, Joseph Cote (sometimes Cotte),
Benjamin Jones, Joseph Landry, Michel Lanson and Andrew Valle

TROUBLE BEGINS QUICKLY FOR ASTOR'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION

Astor's partners co-commander Donald McKenzie and Astor's Agent Wilson Price Hunt
were ready for the journey from Michilimackinac (Michigan) across Lake Michigan,
across Wisconsin and down the Mississippi River to St. Louis
Wilson Price Hunt's American recruits were a constant source of trouble
beginning in Michilimackinac and continuing en route to St. Louis
some Americans deserted as soon as they received an advance on their wages
other Americans tried to stir up trouble among themselves and with the French-Canadians
who were already angry because American employees received sugar
and were better fed than the French-Canadians

ASTOR'S PACIFIC FUR COMPANY OVERLAND LAND EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN ST. LOUIS

Astor's expedition for cross the North American continent arrived in St. Louis
from Michilimackinac, Michigan -- September 3, 1810
John Jacob Astor had sent orders that Wilson Price Hunt was to serve as his sole agent
Astor had been concerned about the loyalty of former North West Company employees
who had joined the Pacific Fur Company
this was an effort to assure that an American would be in command of the enterprise
Donald "Fats" McKenzie was demoted from co-captain as Hunt was given complete authority
experienced, energetic and ambitious Donald McKenzie had been attracted
by John Jacob Astor's promises of wealth and advancement
he had expected to be at least a co-leader of the Pacific Fur Company's Overland Expedition
this was a bitter moment for the former Nor'Wester
who possessed knowledge of the wilderness and of the fur trade
in addition to possessing remarkable leadership qualities
Donald McKenzie did not forget the insult
Wilson Price Hunt was instructed by Astor to follow the Lewis and Clark Trail

ASTORIANS ARE NOT POPULAR IN ST. LOUIS

In St. Louis Wilson Price Hunt together with Astor's other partners

Donald McKenzie, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan and Joseph Miller
proceeded to attempt to engage hunters and additional river boatmen
Missouri Fur Company's Manuel Lisa occupied himself putting obstacles in Hunt's path
as he developed a hatred of John Jacob Astor
American trappers in St. Louis also were not happy with John Jacob Astor
if he merged his Mississippi and mountain holdings into one huge company
this combine would threaten all other fur companies and drive out independent trappers

JOHN JACOB ASTOR HAS THE SHIP *TONQUIN* PREPARED TO SAIL TO THE PACIFIC COAST

In conducting preparations for the Sea Party, John Jacob Astor again chose the wrong leader
as he had done with Wilson Price Hunt and the Land Expedition

Astor selected the former the Nor'Wester Duncan McDougall to command the endeavor
this angry, bad-tempered, arrogant little man was ill-suited to the task
Astor's partner Alexander McKay proved to be a more fortunate choice for leadership
he served as supercargo (in charge of *Tonquin's* cargo) and chief trader on the Pacific coast
McKay was a tall, muscular man with a thin face, black hair, whiskers,
and restless black eyes set beneath projecting eyebrows
despite the fact he walked with a limp he displayed great energy and daring
he was known as one of the best shots in the country
and he was cool and resolute when dealing with the Indians

Tonquin carried and a compliment of twenty-two men:

- seventeen crewmen: Captain Jonathan Thorn, First Mate Ebenezer Fox,
Second Mate John Mumford, Boatswain John Anderson, carpenter John Weeks,
armorer Stephen Weeks, sailmaker John Coles, sailor-cook John Martin;
sailors Edward Aymens, Adam Ficher, Robert Hill, Joseph Johnson, Charles Robert,
Peter Vershel, John White and cabin boy Guillaume Perrault
- five skilled workers: rigger and calker Job Aikin (Aitken), ship's carpenter Johann Koasfer,
boatbuilder John Little and coopers (barrel makes) George Bell and William Wilson

Tonquin carried thirty-three passengers:

- four of the partners -- all former North West Company employees
Chief Factor Duncan McDougall, supercargo Alexander McKay, David Stuart
and his nephew Robert Stuart
- eleven clerks three of whom were Americans: Russell Farnham, James Lewis
and William W. Matthews
remaining eight clerks were French-Canadians:
Gabriel Franchere who kept a journal of events, Donald McGillis, Donald McClennan,

Thomas McKay (thirteen-year old son of partner Alexander McKay), Ovide Montigny, Francis Benjamin Pillette, Alexander Ross and William Wallace

Alexander Ross, a twenty-one year old Scottish schoolteacher, had migrated to Canada, he was articulate and possessed culture, wit and wisdom

- thirteen voyageurs: Antioine Belleau, Jean Baptise Belleau, Louis Brule, Paul D. Jeremie, Michel Lafamboise, Jacques Lafantaisie, Michel La Ferte, Basil Lapensee, Ignace Lapensee, Oliver Lapensee, Joseph La Pierre, Giles Le Clerc, Joseph Nadeau and Benjamine Rousselle
- five craftsmen were also carried on board: blacksmiths Augustin Rousselle and Michel Sanson, tailors Egbert Vanderhuff and Richard Milligan and bookbinder Moses Flanagan

ASTOR'S SEA EXPEDITION WITH THE *TONQUIN* SAILS FROM NEW YORK

John Jacob Astor ordered his ship *Tonquin* to be outfitted to convey trade goods and equipment for founding and defending the proposed capital of an empire for his Pacific Fur Company
Astor's ship was of 290-tons with a crew of twenty-three

she carried ten cannons although there were portholes for twenty

to make a formidable appearance "sham" guns were mounted in the extra portholes

this ploy work on at least one occasion

Tonquin sailed from New York City -- September 8, 1810

John Jacob Astor's partners felt they owned the ship

they did not accept the concept of the captain's word being law on the high seas

U.S. Navy Department assigned the USS *Constitution* to protect the *Tonquin*

as it cleared the Atlantic coast lest her sailors be impressed (kidnapped) into the British Navy

this suggested that while the American government did not take any part in Astor's venture

its attitude was sympathetic to the venture

CAPTAIN JONATHAN THORN MASTER OF THE *TONQUIN*

Thorn was an autocratic veteran officer of United States naval operations against the Barbary pirates when President Thomas Jefferson reused to pay high tribute

to the Barbary States of Tripoli, Algiers and Tunis to protect American shipping [1801-1805]

he was an able seaman placed on leave from the U.S. Navy to John Jacob Astor

he expected to exercise the same tight discipline and control as on a military a man-of-war

time after time he put his chief assistants in irons for opposing his judgment

Unfortunately, Captain Thorn possessed an unstable and explosive temperament

he was touchy, tactless, domineering, overbearing, obstinate and cruel

an unpredictable man, he was ill-tempered and possessed a persecution complex

explosive, he flew into rages at the slightest provocation threatening death to anyone

stern and irascible, meanness and brutality permeated his character
he was a believer in iron discipline and was easily moved to wrath
by the smallest infringement of the hide-bound rules and proprieties of his personal code
faithful, loyal, but without the least understanding of human nature
he was too lacking in imagination to have any sympathy or good feelings
toward persons who were different from himself

CONFLICT ERRUPTS IMMEDIATELY BETWEEN CAPTAIN THORN AND ASTOR'S PARTNERS

Astor's Partners felt they owned the *Tonquin* in concert with John Jacob Astor
they did not accept the concept of the captain's word being law on the high seas
Captain Jonathan Thorn took one look at the Astorians and their French-Canadian voyageurs
and despised them on sight as a shabby, boisterous, swaggering set of braggarts
Many, partners and ship's officers alike held exaggerated opinions of their own authority
together they were completely incapable of achieving even the minutest level of cooperation
there was turmoil every day -- continuous feuds ignited or were rekindled

DAVID THOMPSON AND THE COLUMBIA BRIGADE REACHES FORT AUGUSTUS

North West Company's Columbia Brigade's twenty-six employees and a pack train
arrived at Fort Augustus at mouth of White Earth Creek -- mid-September 1810
(near present-day Edmonton, Alberta)
at Fort Augustus the trade goods and supplies were transferred into four canoes
Four heavily laden supply canoes of the North West Company's Columbia Brigade
set out from Fort Augustus and pushed up the North Saskatchewan River
bound for Rocky Mountain House with the annual supply of trade goods
while the canoes went ahead David Thompson paused to visit his family at Boggy Hall

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON STAYS AT BOGGY HALL

While the North West Company's Columbia Brigade traveled up the North Saskatchewan River
David Thompson traveled with the brigade as far as Upper White Mud House
(located at the mouth of the Pembina River between Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House)
Thompson turned back to Boggy Hall near Fort Augustus
to remain for a time with his wife Charlotte and their children
he planned to later travel by horseback along a shortcut to Rocky Mountain House
where he would rejoin the Columbia Brigade
David Thompson had traveled the route from this North West Company post
across the Rockies through Hawse Pass several times and knew the trail well

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S COLUMBIA BRIGADE IS STOPPED BY INDIANS

Columbia Brigade pressed up the North Saskatchewan River toward Rocky Mountain House
North West Company's supply brigade had returned again to the land of the Piegan Indians
who had dedicated themselves to stopping the recently established trans-mountain trade
and the flow of guns to their ancient enemy the Kootenai Indians
Piegan Indians harassed the Columbia Brigade all the way to Rocky Mountain House

COLUMBIA BRIGADE REACHES ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE EAST OF THE ROCKIES

Rocky Mountain House (near today's Calgary, Alberta) stood at the eastern foot of the mountains
this post was managed by Nor'Wester Alexander Henry the Younger
who was the nephew of pioneering Nor'Wester Alexander Henry the Elder
there were seven white men and ten guns inside the post

COLUMBIA BRIGADE CONTINUES ON FROM ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE

Piegan Indians had become increasingly opposed to Nor'Westers crossing over the Rockies
no longer pretending friendship, they were openly warlike
North West Company's Columbia Brigade left Rocky Mountain House -- late September 1810
members of the Columbia Brigade learned that Piegans Indians blocked their route west
Columbia Brigade had divided into three groups:

- some men camp on the Kootenay Plains and remained with the horses
as they waited for David Thompson at the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River;
- some men remained with the canoes as they waited for Thompson to arrive
when these men learned about the plans of the Piegan Indians
they had turned back to Rocky Mountain House;
- David Thompson had remained at Boggy Hall sixty miles downstream

MANUEL LISA TAKES HIS TRAPPERS BACK TO ST. LOUIS

Manuel Lisa had remained at Fort Raymond on the Yellowstone River
with his St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers
he left and returned to St. Louis with most of his men -- fall 1810
however, one trapping party under the control of his partner Andrew Henry
remained at Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho)

COLUMBIA BRIGADE CANOES RETURN TO ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE

Much to the surprise of Rocky Mountain House factor Alexander Henry the Younger

Columbia Brigade canoes returned to Rocky Mountain House -- October 5, 1810

they reported their route was blocked by Piegan Indians

intent on not allowing the Nor'Westers to cross the Rocky Mountains

equally distressing to Alexander Henry they reported they had last seen David Thompson

at Upper White Mud House (on September 15)

Alexander Henry the Younger was fearful the Piegan Indians would attack Rocky Mountain House

food was in short supply and there was no source of water inside the post

ANDREW HENRY'S ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY MEN CONTINUE THEIR HUNT

Trappers at Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho)

including Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor

conducted a fall hunt that gathered a substantial store of beaver skins -- autumn 1810

trappers ranged widely in search of promising beaver streams

they trapped the Snake River and crossed to Jackson Hole (Wyoming)

and probed the Teton Mountains

John Hoback gave his name to a river which had carved a deep canyon

before emptying into the Snake River -- Hoback River was rich in beaver

ALEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER CONFIRMS THE PIEGAN INDIANS' PLAN

Suddenly a band of forty Piegan warriors led by Piegan Chief Black Bear

arrived at Rocky Mountain House -- about sunset October 7, 1810

they settled down outside the post and prepared for a siege

Henry determined they were part of the Indians

who were waiting up the North Saskatchewan River

Alexander Henry the Younger learned this chief was the person responsible

for stopping the Columbia Brigade canoes

he also learned that about 300 more Piegans were waiting farther upriver

in case any more canoes tried to slip past

he was shocked to see these Indians had one of David Thompson's horses

as well as a pair of blue leggings that belonged to his cousin William Henry

Henry believed David Thompson must be somewhere up the river

During the night the Nor'Westers lowered two kettles on cords down into the river

and pulled them up when full -- now they could afford to wait at least for a little while

COLUMBIA BRIGADE MANAGES TO ESCAPE FROM ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE

Alexander Henry the Younger opened a keg of wine and sent it to the Indians -- October 11, 1810

when they had become intoxicated he sent the Columbia canoes upriver under cover of darkness to rendezvous with David Thompson

ALEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER LEARNS HE HAS BEEN IN ERROR

Henry's cousin William Henry arrived at Rocky Mountain House -- October 12, 1810
he said he had come from down the North Saskatchewan River and had left David Thompson waiting for the Columbia Brigade at Upper White Mud House (near today's Pembina River)
he said Thompson had traveled from Boggy Hall by horseback through thick forest following the old route along the north side of the North Saskatchewan River
David Thompson and William Henry traveled together up the river
when they neared the ridge of mountains they came across horses belonging to the Piegans waiting to intercept the Columbia Brigade
Thompson ordered Williams to go the members of the brigade waiting on the Kootenay Plain and lead them back downriver to Boggy Hall where Thompson would be waiting
Alexander Henry the Younger realized he had to stop the canoes he sent upriver earlier that night he dispatched a man to intercept the brigade and have them wait for further orders

ALEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER GOES IN SEARCH OF DAVID THOMPSON

As indicated to Alexander Henry the Younger by his cousin William Henry
David Thompson was found hungry and distressed on a high hill waiting for his brigade to come to him -- October 13, 1810
David Thompson, a very courageous man, seemingly lost his nerve
he delayed reacting to the situation
it was only with the help of Alexander Henry the Younger that the Columbia Brigade was pieced together again
Alexander Henry the Younger rushed back to Rocky Mountain House

ALEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER RETURNS TO ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE

Alexander Henry set about to correct his error in sending the Columbia Brigade up the North Saskatchewan River in search of David Thompson who was, in fact, downriver
he sent his cousin William Henry to bring back the brigade without alerting the Piegans -- October 15, 1810
North West Company's Columbia Brigade reached Rocky Mountain House about midnight
Alexander Henry sent them downriver to David Thompson -- October 16
With all of the canoes gone Alexander Henry now focused on the welfare of Rocky Mountain House

ASTORIANS COMPLETE THEIR PREPARATIONS IN ST. LOUIS

By the time Wilson Price Hunt had manned and outfitted his expedition in St. Louis
it was too late in the season to set out to cross North America
as the upper waters of the Missouri River would be under ice
before the boats could traverse more than five hundred miles of the river
Not willing to leave his sixty men within reach of the temptations of civilization,
Hunt and Astor's other partners Donald McKenzie, Ramsay Crooks, Joseph Miller
and Robert McClellan left St. Louis in three boats and pushed his crew
up the Missouri River -- October 21, 1810
two days later the first blast of winter closed the river above them overnight
still they continued up the Missouri River

A PLAN IS DEVELOPED TO DECEIVE THE PIEGAN INDIANS

Alexander Henry the Younger with the help of David Thompson's longtime Indian friend
Kootanae Apee developed a ruse -- October 27, 1810
while visiting Rocky Mountain House the Kootenai war chief
saw a white raven skin and a red peace pipe in the Nor'Wester's room
Kootanae Apee asked to be given these things and a pound of tobacco
(these he later put to good use)

KOOTANAE APEE DECEIVES THE PIEGAN INDIANS

Kootanae Appe rode to the main camp of the Piegan Indians south of Rocky Mountain House
he gathered a council of Piegans together the next morning -- October 28, 1810
Kootanae Appe told the council he had had a dream in which he saw the spirit of a white man
put the skin of a white raven across the road with a red peace pipe and tobacco
by a stream about three miles away
Kootanae Appe said to let two old men go and see if the dream was true
and bring the white raven, red pipe and tobacco to the council
To the astonishment of the council the objects were found exactly where it had been foretold
Kootanae Appe said that before the white men came the Indians were weak
now they had guns, powder and shot and their arrowheads were made of iron instead of stone
Kootanae Appe said he had always been a friend of the white men and they had been kind to him
what use to the Indians were the skins of beavers, wolves and foxes
but now the Indians could get guns, axes and useful tools and ornaments for them
he told the Piegans to return to their own lands

DAVID THOMPSON AND THE COLUMBIA BRIGADE TRY A NEW ROUTE

David Thompson and the men of the Columbia Brigade sat down to discuss their plight

Thompson was unaware to the ruse played on the Piegan Indians

Howse Pass completely blocked off by Piegan Indians

weather grew increasingly formidable-- hunters came back with little or no game

David Thompson had had enough of the North Saskatchewan River

he decided to head to the Pembina River near Boggy Hall

and strike westward through heavily timbered country

perhaps he could reach an unguarded mountain pass to the Columbia River

that Nipissing (Ojibway) and Iroquois Indian trappers had recently discovered

(As later reported the journal of Rocky Mountain House's Alexander Henry the Younger

David Thompson planned to open a new road from the North Saskatchewan River

past Buffalo Dung [Chip] Lake to the Athabasca River [Alberta]

then follow the Athabasca River into the Rocky Mountains

where plains-bred Indians, like the Piegans, rarely ventured)

David Thompson led the twenty-six members of the Columbia Brigade and their horses

up the Pembina River along the bank -- October 29, 1810

travel became increasingly difficult as they journeyed west and entered the Rocky Mountains

for a month the Columbia Brigade wearily trudged through old burns, windfalls and tangled scrub

they arrived at 52° 25' north latitude (in Jasper National Park)

FINAN McDONALD ARMS THE ENEMIES OF THE BLACKFEET INDIANS

Finan McDonald provided weapons to the Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Palouses, Pend Oreilles,

Kootenais and Flatheads in defiance of the Blackfoot -- fall 1810

Fear of retribution by the Blackfoot prompted Finan McDonald to move from Kootanae House

west to Spokane country where Jaco Finlay and a crew of voyageurs were constructing

a new trading post at the junction of the Spokane and Little Spokane rivers

ASTORIAN WILSON PRICE HUNT ESTABLISHES WINTER HEADQUARTERS

It was so late in the season that Wilson Price Hunt was forced to make winter camp, Nodaway Camp,

on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Nodaway River three hundred miles from St. Louis

(near present-day St. Joseph, Missouri) -- November 13, 1810

here new recruit John Day joined the Overland Expedition

as the leader of the twelve American hunters and trappers

John Day had previously worked for Astor's partner Ramsay Crooks

Preparations continued for the Pacific Fur Company's Overland Expedition

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S SHIP *TONQUIN* REACHES FALKLAND ISLANDS

John Jacob Astor's Sea Party reached the Falkland Islands near the tip of South America
this was a logical stop for fresh water
Captain Jonathan Thorn sent a landing party went ashore
including Astor's partners Chief Factor Duncan McDougall (who held Astor's proxy) a
and David Stuart who were accompanied by Astorians Gabriel Franchere and Alexander Ross
and five members of the crew of the *Tonquin*
several members of the shore party stumbled upon two old graves
whose headboards were in need of repair -- nine men set about the work
Water casks were filled and returned to the ship by crew members sent by Captain Thorn
as soon as the water casks were on board Captain Thorn fired a gun to bring the others to the ship
half an hour was lost as the other members of the shore party made repairs to the cemetery
As the shore party did not return at once, Thorn hoisted the canvas and sailed away
leaving nine men behind on the island
they knew Thorn probably would not turn back and pick them up
It was growing dark when the shore party started after the ship
men pulled mightily at their oars for three and a half hours
hoping to overtake the ship as they, in fact, steadily lost distance
they gave up and were debating going back to the island
Suddenly the *Tonquin* hauled about, sailed back and picked them up
but only because Astor's partner Robert Stuart had seized a pistol
pointed it at Thorn's head and stated if he refused to go back
he was **"a dead man this instant"**⁷¹
eight men return to ship as one sailor had drowned in the effort to overtake the ship
Thorn's deliberate and vicious cruelty increased the hatred of the men toward him
Astorians and crewmen alike

DAVID THOMPSON AND THE COLUMBIA BRIGADE REACH THE ATHABASCA RIVER

David Thompson led the twenty-six members of the Columbia Brigade up the frozen Pembina River
(to near present day Jasper, Alberta)
after traveling south fifty miles from the source of the Pembina River
they reached the Athabasca River -- November 29, 1810
Thompson and his companions struggled up the Athabasca River for four exhausting days

⁷¹ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 281.

supplies were low, morale was lower and the men were surly
their failure to cross the mountains sharpened the men's perception of impending catastrophe
When snow eventually fell, the Columbia Brigade's efforts became ever increasingly difficult
dogs wallowed through the snow on the frozen Athabasca riverbed
while hunters scoured the barren land ahead for absent game
Columbia Brigade switched from horses to dogsleds -- December 3, 1810

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON MADE CAMP ON THE ATHABASCA RIVER

David Thompson and his twenty-six men built two log huts on the east side of the Rocky Mountains
probably at the south end of Brule Lake (Alberta) to provide protection from the cold weather
for themselves and for their provisions -- December 5, 1810

each man was daily eating eight pounds of pemmican
composed of dried buffalo meat mixed with fat and berries

Thompson settled down (in Alberta) for what seemed to be a leisurely month
deep snows and want of food took their toll on men and beasts
returning from reconnoitering one day, David Thompson found the voyageurs
trying to learn the depth of the snow by probing with a twenty-foot pole
sarcastically he asked them what good the knowledge would do them
he said they would be better off resting

Some of David Thompson's Columbia Brigade voyageurs, it appears, deserted him and turned back
this left him with an insufficient number of crew members to move his full stock of goods
across the Rocky Mountains to Kootanae House on the Columbia River as he had intended
Thompson, Alexander Henry the Younger and the Nor'Westers sat down to discuss their plight
hunters came back with little or no game -- weather grew increasingly formidable
Thompson decided to leave the horses to try to find a new pass through the Rocky Mountains
Thompson and the men of the Columbia Brigade spent nineteen days in search of a route to the west,
preparing the dogs, building snowshoes and constructing a few small sleds
to carry supplies and trade goods

DAVID THOMPSON REMAINED IN COMMUNICATION WITH HIS WIFE

Thompson always wrote to his wife when he was away from home

in a chatty letter dated 11th December 1810 he wrote: **"My dear Charlotte, In a few days I will be sending six or seven of my men to Rocky Mountain House to get pemmican and other supplies and they will carry this and my other letters with them. I am hoping they will return with a letter from you, for I am anxious to know how you are faring. I hope you and the children are well.we**

have a log hut to shelter our goods, provisions and ourselves. We are making sleds and snowshoes for the rest of the journey over the mountains, as well as obtaining dogs to replace the horses....

“Mr. William Henry will be staying here with the horses and a large store of provisions for our future use. It is very cold, the temperature being minus 32 degrees which is 64 degrees below the freezing point. ...I wonder if this will reach you by Christmas? I wish you and the children every blessing; I long for news of you. As ever, David”

DAVID THOMPSON CONTINUES PREPARATIONS FOR A PUSH OVER THE ROCKIES

Although the men of the Columbia Brigade were starving

David Thompson was obliged to divide his forces

six men were sent with Nor’Wester William Henry to Rocky Mountain House to acquire supplies;

David Thompson hand-picked ten men to make a dash over the mountains at daybreak guided by an Iroquois Indian named Thomas in an attempt to find a way of skirting

Piegan territory though a yet to be discovered mountain pass in the dead of winter

with no trail, limited supplies and the threat of being caught by hostile Indians

fortified by what seems foolhardy confidence they would try to locate a pass to the west

Thompson would leave ten men at the camp to care for the horses and baggage

DAVID THOMPSON AND HIS MEN SET OUT TO CROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

With ten men on snowshoes and eight dogsleds David Thompson set out

following the Whirlpool River toward its source -- December 23, 1810

David Thompson passed below (what is now Mount Edith Cavell)

firewood, including the noted twenty-foot-pole was piled on the sleds and carried with them,

but this proved to be insufficient as the ten Nor’Westers shivered forlornly

under a brilliant, unclouded sky

Six days of brutal toil following the Whirlpool River through rugged mountain terrain

brought the small party to the timber line -- ahead lay the Continental Divide

pinched between a green-tinted glacier and an ice-encrusted peak

and the ever-present, desolate, glittering snow

DAVID THOMPSON REACHES THE SUMMIT OF ATHABASCA PASS

As the summit of Athabasca Pass was approached the ten Nor’Westers of the Columbia Brigade

insisted with dismay that they could not possibly cross in a single day

ignoring the pleadings of the men, Thompson ordered them to pile firewood on the sleds

David Thompson and his companions made a head-long dash over the Canadian Rockies

at daybreak -- December 29, 1810

not until the arrival of early winter dusk did they stop for the night
deep snows blotted out the trappers' trail from unfriendly Piegan eyes
but want of food took its toll on men and beasts

DAVID THOMPSON AND HIS MEN CROSS ATHABASCA PASS

Athabasca Pass was opened at least scientifically and geographically⁷²

David Thompson had found what Alexander Mackenzie and others had failed to find
a safe, navigable route across the Rocky Mountains

(Athabasca Pass proved to be even better than Howse Pass as it would carry
the bulk of the continent's fur trade until the opening of the Trans-Canada railroad)

David Thompson later wrote of the pass: “[It] was to me a most exhilarating sight, but ...the scene of desolation before us was dreadful, and I knew it. A heavy gale of wind, much more a mountain storm, would have buried us beneath it.... My men were not at their ease, yet when night came they admired the brilliancy of the stars, and as one of them said, he thought he could almost touch them with his hand.”⁷³

ANDREW HENRY AND HIS TRAPPERS SPEND A HARSH WINTER ON THE SNAKE RIVER

Andrew Henry and his St. Louis Missouri Fur Company men spent an uncommonly severe winter
at Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho) -- winter 1810-1811

Several rude log huts served as shelters and the men ventured out only to get meat
as it was far too cold to tend to the traps

DAVID THOMPSON AND HIS MEN REACH THE WEST SIDE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Thompson and his men reached the Wood River on the west side of the Rocky Mountains
which they followed downstream

after a great deal of hunger and hardship they reached the mouth of the Wood River
where its waters joined the Columbia River -- January 18, 1811

David Thompson had only five men with him which was an insufficient number of men
to transport goods to Saleesh House as he had intended
instead he detoured toward the established posts of Spokane House and Kullyspell House

⁷² It is confusing that Athabasca Pass lies at the headwaters of the Whirlpool River and not at the headwaters of the Athabasca River. This is because early travelers considered what we now refer to as the Whirlpool to be the main branch of the Athabasca. Athabasca Pass became so significant historically the original name remained in use.

⁷³ *National Geographic*. May, 1996. Prit J. Vesilind. P. 131.

on the Columbia's tributaries to recruit more men
Thompson's five remaining men refused to go on and this brief attempt was abandoned
Nor'Westers returned to where the Wood and Canoe rivers join the Columbia River
by the hairpin turn the Columbia makes around the head of the (Selkirk) Mountains
(north of today's city of Revelstoke, British Columbia)
(this site today is beneath the waters of Kinbasket Lake Reservoir)
there Thompson was forced to wait out the winter

DAVID THOMPSON CONSTRUCTS A WINTER CAMP

David Thompson and his five remaining voyageurs constructed a twelve-foot hut of cedar shakes
he was determined to make another attempt to reach his established posts
in the Columbia River's tributaries to find additional recruits to accompany him
they spent two weeks searching for suitable birch bark to build a large canoe -- and failed
unable to build a canoe out of birch bark Thompson and his men spent five weeks
splitting cedar laths for building a twenty-five foot long boat made of overlapped lath
sewn together with strips of pine root
this task was made more difficult because none of the men were skilled in this work
which required a great deal of trial-and-error
Thompson named the site "Boat Encampment" after this experience in boat-building
(Boat Encampment later became a rendezvous point for travel over Athabasca Pass)
David Thompson was obliged to go up the Canoe River looking for game
he was fortunate to meet a party of Sanpoil Indians on a hunting expedition
he added two of these men to his party of Nor'Westers

WILSON PRICE HUNT RETURNS TO ST. LOUIS FOR MORE RECRUITS

Wilson Price Hunt at his Nodaway Camp received instructions from John Jacob Astor
that he was to follow the route of Lewis and Clark in the cross-country quest
to reach the Columbia River -- January 1811
Hunt returned three hundred miles down the Missouri River to St. Louis
as he was anxious to hire additional expert hunters
who also were also capable of protecting the company from hostile natives
and he must find an interpreter familiar with the language of the Sioux
because he may well expect serious trouble from those people
to make matters even worse for Hunt, five of his own hunters suddenly appeared in St. Louis
they had left Nodaway Camp after an argument with the partners in charge
Hunt could persuade only two of them to return

Hunt was greatly assisted in the effort to recruit by Astor's partner Joseph Miller

BOTH HUNT AND LISA WERE RUSHING PREPARATIONS FOR THEIR EXPEDITIONS

Hunt's task was made more difficult as Manuel Lisa was also equipping an expedition

Wilson Price Hunt knew Manuel Lisa was preparing to find Andrew Henry at Henry's Fort along the Three Forks of the Missouri River (Montana) where Lisa's Missouri Fur Company enjoyed vigorous trade along the upper Missouri River

Competition between Hunt and Lisa for experienced crew members became intense in St. Louis this was made especially so since both parties would have to travel over much of the same route Manuel Lisa took the initiative -- he did not want Hunt to get into Arikara Country first but since Hunt could not be stopped entirely, Lisa set out to delay him for as long as possible

PIERRE DORION TRAVELS TO ST. LOUIS WITH HIS FAMILY

Pierre Dorion's Iowa Indian wife, Marie Dorion, learned that Wilson Price Hunt needed experienced men who spoke Sioux Indian for an expedition to the Northwest coast After traveling to St. Louis, she prodded her husband to seek employment with the Astorians Dorion was more than a little reluctant because he had once been employed by Manuel Lisa he had had a falling out with the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company owner over a whiskey bill Pierre considered it an unforgivable wrong that Lisa had charged him \$10 a quart for whiskey but Lisa had need of Pierre Dorion as his expedition also must pass through Sioux country

WILSON PRICE HUNT AGREES TO HIRE PIERRE DORION

Pierre Dorion was offered a substantial raise in salary above the price offered by Manuel Lisa Hunt felt fortunate to have the services of Dorion who had the proper qualifications Dorion was a Sioux Metis whose father had served Lewis and Clark as a Sioux interpreter Pierre knew the Sioux language and was a good interpreter, also, he was proficient as a prairie hunter and guide Hunt, shrewd businessman that he was, realized the danger of having Manuel Lisa as an enemy thus although Pierre Dorion was hired at once, Hunt waited several weeks before signing the appropriate papers with him Pierre Dorion proved to be a fateful choice as he was still indebted to Manuel Lisa

MANUEL LISA ATTEMPTS TO DETAIN PIERRE DORION

Manuel Lisa, hearing Pierre Dorion had been hired away by the Astorians, served notice on both Wilson Price Hunt and Pierre Dorion that the interpreter was still in Lisa's service -- accusations and harsh words followed

Dorion reminded Lisa of the devious manner used to obtain his service
Lisa tactlessly invited Pierre to have a drink and talk about the situation
Pierre, after clearly stating his position, broke off relations with Lisa
and proceeded to tell Hunt he was, indeed, available for duty

TONQUIN ARRIVES AT THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company ship *Tonquin* anchored in Karakakooa Bay
on the big island of Hawaii (this was the same bay visited by British Captain James Cook [1778])
Captain Jonathan often displayed sudden outbursts of temper
he had beaten a late-returning sailor almost senseless and then had thrown the man overboard
Astor's partners distributed firearms to the crewmen while the ship was in the Hawaiian Islands
so that no possible act of treachery by the natives should catch them unprotected
as Captain Jonathan Thorn always suspected the natives of plotting to seize his ship

TONQUIN SAILS TO THE ISLAND OF OAHU

Captain Jonathan Thorn sailed on to the island of Owhyee (Oahu Hawaii) -- February 12, 1811
while sailing into (Pearl Harbor) cabin boy, Guillaume Perrault, climbed the rigging
to get a better view of the beautiful harbor -- but lost his hold
he fell overboard and would have drowned **“but for a wide pair of canvas overalls full
of tar and grease, which operated like a life preserver”**⁷⁴

Captain Thorn seemed annoyed the boy's life had been spared
During the two week stopover at Owhyee half of the crew of the *Tonquin* deserted
rather than serve any longer under such a captain as Jonathan Thorn
Twenty-four Hawaiians were recruited as laborers
(Hawaiians were known as “Kanakas” or “Sandwich Islanders”)
(Hawaiian) King Kamehameha (I) appointed Chief Naukane to join the group
to look after the interests of Kanaka laborers
because of his resemblance to one of Astor's clerks, Naukane was dubbed “John Coxe”
(he retained this name, and complicated identification,
throughout his colorful career as Hawaii's first “soldier of fortune”)

TONQUIN SAILS OUT OF OWYHEE IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Tonquin set sail with twenty-four Kanaka (Hawaiian) recruits

⁷⁴ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Exploration*, P. 281.

one shipboard observer wrote: “...for the services of the Establishment [i.e. the fort] we engaged twelve Islanders, the terms of their contract being three years, during which time we undertook to feed and clothe them and at the expiration of their contract, to give them goods to the value of one hundred piastres [Middle Eastern currency]. The Captain took on twelve others for the work of the ship. These people make reasonably good sailors, seemed eager to enter our service and we could have engaged more of them.”⁷⁵

TONQUIN CROSSES THE PACIFIC OCEAN

As the ship sailed from Hawaii toward the Columbia River
fresh quarrels arose between Captain Jonathan Thorn and John Jacob Astor’s partners
over who had ultimate control of the trade supplies
Thorn whom Astor had placed in charge of bartering along the Pacific coast
or Chief Factor Duncan McDougall whom Astor placed in charge of land operations

ASTORIAN RECRUITS JOURNEY TO NODAWAY CAMP

Wilson Price Hunt with his additional recruits set out in their keelboats on their journey
three hundred miles up the Missouri River from St. Louis to Nodaway Camp -- March 12, 1811
At the moment of departure from St. Louis
Pierre Dorion gave Wilson Price Hunt an unwelcome surprise
he arrived on the river bank with his Iowa Indian wife Marie Dorion
along with their two small sons: Baptiste then age four and Paul about two years old
Pierre refused to embark without them
Wilson Price Hunt reluctantly agreed to take them along
Marie Dorion became the second woman (after Sacajawea) to cross the plains to Oregon

Also traveling with Hunt to Nodaway Camp were:

two British scientists, John Bradbury and Thomas Nuttall, were recruited for the journey
they were the first two professional naturalists to explore any part of the Louisiana Purchase
Bradbury was an elderly British botanist and mineralogist who had been sent out
by the Linnean Society of Liverpool to make a collection of American plants and animals
he was the first plant hunter to bring back specimens from the central plains to propagate
because he never published a book about what he had undertaken
his work remained primarily unknown by his contemporaries
Nuttall, a younger man, was a mild sportsman after the manner of English country gentlemen
but he was much more interested in his microscope and trowel

⁷⁵ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Exploration*, P. 281.

he concentrated on gathering and classifying the plants of the central plains
and gave them scientific names
unlike Bradbury he also took credit for his discoveries
he published the results of his work and became far better known

MANUEL LISA PLOTS TO SLOW DOWN WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ASTORIANS

Missouri Fur Company owner Manuel Lisa, mad at Wilson Price Hunt for hiring away Pierre Dorion,
quietly had an official court order drawn up against the interpreter
this order would require the interpreter to return to St. Louis
for prosecution over the whiskey debt
this was to be served when Dorion passed through the village of St. Charles, Missouri
on his way up the Missouri River to Nodaway Camp
Pierre Dorion was warned by the scientists John Bradbury and Thomas Nuttall
who somehow learned that Manuel Lisa was taking steps to have him detained
Pierre designed a scheme of his own

PIERRE DORION'S SCHEME IS FOILED BY MARIE

Pierre Dorion planned to avoid being served the legal papers in St. Charles, Missouri by jumping ship
he promised Wilson Price Hunt he would meet the keelboats a short distance above St. Charles
but Dorion, in reality, planned to double cross both Hunt and Manuel Lisa
Pierre told his wife, Marie, that they would return to St. Louis
after Manuel Lisa and the Astorians both had gone
Pierre would find another job after he had spent the two hundred dollars
he had received from Hunt in advance paid (two-thirds of a year's salary)
Marie would not hear of this treachery and insisted Pierre would join Hunt as agreed
during the ensuing quarrel, the drunk Pierre struck Marie -- as he frequently did
she retaliated with a well-aimed blow to his head with a club
she then walked out into the night with her two children and a bundle of belongings
Marie Dorion and her children remained hidden along the Missouri River that night and the next
as she waited for the Astorians to finish preparations in St. Louis
Pierre was beside himself with grief over the loss of his wife, children and his possessions
After Marie spent two nights in hiding the Astorians passed where she was hiding in their keelboats
Marie called out to the Astorians and Hunt sent a canoe across the river to retrieve her
Marie, the children and her possessions were all reunited with the greatly relieved Pierre

TONQUIN ARRIVES AT THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

When John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company ship *Tonquin* arrive off the coast -- March 21, 1811
the weather was stormy and the sea was running high as the winds blew in heavy rain squalls
surf pounded and roared and leaped on the hidden sand bars
stretching almost all of the way across the entrance to the river
Astor's partners were demanding -- Captain Jonathan Thorn was unbearable
nerves of the crew members became more and more chafed as they grew increasingly sullen

CAPTAIN THORN ATTEMPTS TO ENTER THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Crossing the Columbia River sandbar required expert seamanship and respect for the obvious dangers
most captains waited for favorable conditions to make an attempt
although Astor's partners protested that the raging storm made the crossing impossible

Captain Jonathan Thorn was unwilling to wait any longer
Captain Thorn ordered First Mate Ebenezer Fox to take the whaleboat into the frothing sea
to sound the channel over the Columbia River sandbar -- March 22, 1811

Thorn assigned one sailor, John Martin, and three voyagers
to accompany Fox in the suicide mission
voyagers were skilled in their work as canoemen
but they had no knowledge of the dangers they now faced
out-flowing ebb tide and fearful breaking seas made the assignment scarcely short of murder
Ebenezer Fox begged for sailors to man the whaleboat with him
but Thorn insisted they could not be spared from their tasks on the ship
in desperation Fox appealed to Astor's partners who, in turn, argued with Thorn
that the dangers were apparent -- the whaleboat was a small ramshackle vessel
not fit to dare such a sea as then raced over the bar

Thorn simply stiffened his resolve because Astor's partners were the men
who had held him up while they repaired cemetery headstones in the Falkland Islands,
they had constantly baited him in their Gaelic (Irish and Scottish) language
and had mocked his dignity with far too much singing

Ebenezer Fox bid farewell to his crew mates: **"My uncle was drowned here not many years ago,
and now I am going to lay my bones with his."**⁷⁶

Fox and his crew left the *Tonquin* in the whaleboat -- 1:00 p.m.
those on deck watched until the whaleboat was hidden by cataracts of surf
clerk Gabriel Franchere recorded the scene in his journal: **"The wind was blowing in heavy
squalls, and the sea ran very high; in spite of that, the captain caused a boat to be lowered, and**

⁷⁶ George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 97.

Ebenezer Fox, sailor John Martin, voyageurs Basile Lapensee, Ignace Lapensee, Joseph Nadeau, got into her, taking some provisions and firearms, with orders to sound the channel and report themselves on board as soon as possible. The boat was not even supplied with a good sail, or a mast, but one of the partners gave Mr. Fox a pair of bed sheets to serve for the former....

“The boat’s crew pulled away from the ship; alas! we were never to see her again; and we already had a foreboding of her fate.”⁷⁷

All afternoon the *Tonquin*’s crewmen and the Astorians waited for the whaleboat’s return
Tonquin pulled out to sea as night came on and they continued to wait
neither the whaleboat nor its crew were seen again

TONQUIN MAKES OTHER ATTEMPTS TO ENTER THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Morning dawned clear as the *Tonquin* lay anchored in a calm area
north of Cape Disappointment -- March 23, 1811

Astor’s partners Alexander McKay and David Stuart and a number of clerks
volunteered to try to reach shore and search for First Mate Ebenezer Fox and his crew
Second Mate William Mumford set forth in the ship’s pinnace accompanied by the Astorians
they encountered a line of breakers that overpowered the whaleboat
with a fearful suction that drew in the pinnace
Indians observing from Cape Disappointment motioned for the pinnace to row around the Cape
rather than trying to reach shore directly
but seeing the waves breaking on the reef Mumford decided to return to the ship
he ordered all hands to pull for their lives
terrified oarsmen struggled for twelve minutes
before they managed to clear the breakers and reach the *Tonquin*

It was not long before a breeze sprung up and Captain Thorn decided to again attempt an entry
according to his charts the deepest and most reliable channel lay close in to Cape Disappointment
along the north edge of the perilous shifting sandbars
this channel was narrow, intricate and constantly changing
after weighing anchor Captain Thorn became so alarmed he stopped the effort
he order Second Mate Mumford to again take the pinnace and sound for the channel
Mumford succeeded in locating five fathoms of water
but with the surf breaking all around he retreated to the ship
Thorn was angry with Mumford’s attempt so he instructed rigger and calker Job Aitken,
to take the jolly boat (smallest boat available) and sound for the channel close to the north shore

⁷⁷ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels 1750-1920*, Volume 6, P. 230..

if he found more than three fathoms of water he was to hoist a flag as a signal
Aitkin was accompanied by sailmaker John Coles, armorer Stephen Weeks
and two Kanakas known as Harry and Peter
as the jollyboat moved ahead the flag was hoisted
Thorn again weighed anchor and sailed into the channel
but soon the *Tonquin* began a rapid drift toward the southern shore and the sandbar
Aitken's jolly boat returned toward the ship in calm water about half a mile beyond the breakers
but Captain Thorn and the *Tonquin* passed them by
according to clerk Alexander Ross: "Everyone now called out, 'The boat, the boat!'

The partners, in astonishment, entreated the captain to take the boat on board, but he coolly replied, 'I can give them no assistance'."⁷⁸

those on board the *Tonquin* could hear the cries for help that rose
as the waves suddenly swirled the jollyboat about and capsized her
the jollyboat was last seen drifting rapidly downstream before it was lost from view
(Job Aitkin and John Coles were swept away
but Stephen Weeks and the Kanakas Harry and Peter managed to right the jollyboat)
Thorn had left them to their fate despite loud protests by Astor's partners
in defense of Captain Thorn the situation facing the *Tonquin* was dire

PLIGHT OF THE *TONQUIN* REMAINS IN DOUBT

Suddenly the wind died and the *Tonquin* was at the mercy of the surf
she was in danger of being dashed against the rocks at the foot of Cape Disappointment
Thorn threw out two anchors to counter the pull of the tide
but as night deepened the terror of their predicament heightened
When the tide eventually turned -- just before midnight
Tonquin was still intact and an ocean breeze sprang up
Captain Thorn used a rising wind to attempt another entry on the rising flood tide that night
Tonquin was near the rocks when the crewmen weighted the anchors
she frequently struck bottom in the narrow channel as the crew fought to save the ship
at the critical moment the wind failed
Tonquin struck the sand with a violent blow and breakers washed over her
Tonquin's pilot boat was lowered with three men aboard to sound a passage across the bar
and a line was run back to the *Tonquin* as the ship scraped across the bar
then the pilot boat was lost in the crossing

⁷⁸ Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813*. P. 81.

in a terrifying swirl of currents, wind and tides the *Tonquin* was actually lifted
and thrust just across the bar -- just after midnight March 25-26, 1811
leaving deserted the men in the pilot boat to fight against wind, tide and terror
by a stroke of good fortune none were lost
For several hours the *Tonquin* lay just inside the bar
everything depended on the anchors holding during the out-flowing ebb tide
when the tide changed to flood, Baker's Bay was gained
Morning light showed the arrival of Indians who made known their desire to trade for furs
Captain Jonathan Thorn set a course toward the north (Washington) shore

THORN BEGINS A SEARCH FOR THE MISSING CREW MEMBERS

Kanaka Peter had died in the water during the night
but Stephen Weeks and Kanaka Harry managed to struggle ashore in the morning
Stephen Weeks discovered an Indian trail the next day -- March 26, 1811
but Harry died of exhaustion in the woods
Stephen Weeks was found wandering on the shore stark naked suffering intensely from the cold
after following the trail several hours he had come in sight of the *Tonquin*
Tonquin's search party found the exhausted armorer -- they revived and rescued him
Weeks later reported how the Kanakas Harry and Peter had saved his life: **"I kept tossing about at the mercy of the waves. While in this state I saw the two Sandwich Islanders struggling through the surf to get hold of the boat, and being expert swimmers they succeeded. After long struggles they got her turned upon her keel, bailed out some of the water, and recovered one of the oars. I made several attempts to get near them, but the weight of my clothes and the rough sea had almost exhausted me. I could scarcely keep myself above water.... when the two islanders saw me, now supporting myself by a floating oar, and made for me. The poor fellows tried to haul me into the boat, but their strength failed them. At last, taking hold of my clothes in their teeth, they fortunately succeeded. We then stood out to sea as night set in, and a darker one I never saw. The Owyhees, [Hawaiians] overcome with wet and cold, began to lose hope, and their fortitude forsook them."**⁷⁹

"The dead [Hawaiian] man was buried by six Kanaka according to their tribal customs. Each before leaving the ship had taken an offering of biscuit, pork, or tobacco. They put the biscuit under the arm of the deceased, the pork under the chin and the tobacco under the testicles or genital organs. Then they put the body in the grave and after covering it with sand and gravel they formed a double line, with their faces turned eastwards. One officiating as a priest went to fetch

⁷⁹ Alexander Ross. *Adventures of the First Settlers On the Oregon and Columbia River*, P. 69-70.

water in his hat and having sprinkled the two rows of Islanders, began a prayer to which the others responded. Then they rose and departed and made their way towards the ship without looking back.”⁸⁰

Nine men had been lost crossing the bar of the Columbia River

TONQUIN DELIVERS THE ASTORIANS TO SHORE

Captain Thorn was for rigging a shelter on the north (Washington) side of the Columbia River

there he could deposit the stores and goods for the trading post at once

and then be off up the coast searching for sea otter pelts to be acquired

Astorians discovered the north shore was exposed to storms

and possible attack by ship or canoe from the Pacific Ocean

Astor’s Chief Factor gloomy arrogant Duncan McDougall was in command of “Astoria”

he and the other partners objected to the location selected by Captain Thorn

they noted the location of Astor’s trading post on the Columbia River

was critical to the success of the operation

they insisted on seeking a site further up the river

where the location would offer some natural defense

although he strenuously objected Captain Jonathan Thorn landed a portion of the Astorians

on the south (Oregon) side further up the Columbia River

Captain Thorn moved the *Tonquin* to the north bank of the Columbia and tied her off

Thorn now considered his responsibility to his passengers finished

McDougall organized a search for a good site for John Jacob Astor’s trading post on the Columbia

several of Astor’s partners searched the south bank to find a good location for a building site

SITE FOR THE POST ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE COLUMBIA IS SELECTED

Chief Factor Duncan McDougall chose a place on the south shore

about twelve miles upriver from mouth of the Columbia River

(Lieutenant William Broughton with the George Vancouver expedition

had named the location Point George [1792])

Astorians named to location Tongue Point)

here was a sheltered harbor where small vessels could anchor within fifty yards of the beach

Location the post resulted in a series of squabbles between Thorn and the partners

Captain Thorn refused to move the *Tonquin* to the south shore or to ferry supplies across the river

three small boats were lost ferrying goods across the Columbia River

⁸⁰ Gabriel Franchere, *The Journal of Gabriel Franchere*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb. P. 75.

Chinook Indians saved several partners and clerks from drowning in the process
Captain Thorn finally relented and ferried supplies to the southern shore with the *Tonquin*

CLEARING A SITE FOR THE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY POST TOOK TWO MONTHS

John Jacob Astor as the financier of the Pacific Fur Company was intent on profits

Tonquin expedition was equipped only to trap and trade

thirty-three factors, clerks, voyageurs and skilled workers had been sent by ship

oddly, Astor brought out one carpenter, John Weeks, and no woodsmen

although these were essential to any large building program

Astor also failed to provide for the safety of his Pacific Fur Company employees

no physician or medical man was provided for the expedition

Clearing an acre of land of huge trees took two months

Pacific Fur Company clerk Alexander Ross wrote in his Journal: **“The place selected for the emporium of the West was studded with gigantic trees of almost incredible size, many measured fifty feet in girth.....**

“After viewing the height and breadth of the tree to be cut down, the party, with some labor, would erect a scaffold round it; this done, four men -- for that was the number appointed to each of those huge trees -- would then mount the scaffold, and commence cutting.... Sometimes it required two days or more to fall one tree.

“There is an art in falling a tree but unfortunately none of us had learned the art, and hours together would be spent in conjectures and discussions; one calling out that it would fall here, another, there ... and at last , when all hands were assembled to witness the fall, how often were we disappointed! The tree would still stand erect, bidding defiance to our efforts, while every now and then some of the most impatient or foolhardy would venture to jump on the scaffold and give a blow or two more. Much time was spent in this manner before the mighty tree gave way, but it seldom came to the ground. So thick was the forest, and so close the trees together, that in its fall it would often rest its ponderous top on some other friendly tree: and when we finally did succeed in falling a tree both stump and tree had to be blown to pieces by gunpowder before either could be removed.

“Nearly two months of this laborious and incessant toil passed, and we had scarcely yet an acre of ground cleared. In the meantime two of our men were wounded by the falling of trees, and one had his hand blown off by gunpowder and three were killed by natives.”⁸¹

TONQUIN REMAINS TIED TO THE NORTH BANK OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

⁸¹ Rick Steber, *Loggers, Tales of the Wild West* Volume 7, P. 18.

Tonquin rode at anchor across the Columbia River from Tongue Point as the Captain Thorn fumed
days and weeks flitted by while the partners directed the clearing of the land
and building of the post with its living quarters, storehouse and powder magazine
or they knocked off work to hold council with inquisitive swarms of Indians
led by their old, one-eyed Chinook Indian Chief Comcomly
During this time Captain Jonathan Thorn remained aboard his ship
while Chief Factor Duncan McDougall resided on shore
thus assuring they could no longer exchange epithets and invectives
rather they made themselves content with caustic written attacks
ferried back and forth across the breadth of the Columbia River

WILSON PRICE HUNT CONTINUES UP THE MISSOURI RIVER TO NODAWAY CAMP

Early in the morning, the Pacific Fur Company's Overland Expedition saw a small bark canoe
with a single occupant skimming down the Missouri River returning to civilization
John Colter had completed one of his lonely trapping forays in the Yellowstone River region
Colter provided a great deal of information to Wilson Price Hunt regarding the Blackfoot Indians
although he was strongly tempted to join their great adventure,
life with his bride who awaited him somewhere down the river
held an even greater appeal than the lure of the wilderness
Wilson Price Hunt also encountered Daniel Boone on the way to Nodaway Camp
Boone demonstrated a strong interest in joining the expedition
but due to his age (he was then eighty-five) he was forced to curb his enthusiasm

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ASTORIANS REACH THE COUNTRY OF THE OSAGE INDIANS

Passing through the territory of the Osages on their way up the Missouri River to Nodaway Camp
Hunt's Astorians learned there was a war raging throughout the greater part of Indian country
Sioux Indians had been out on raids during the preceding (summer)
and could be expected to take to the warpath in full force
as soon as (spring) had cleared the prairies of snow
Hunt heard, too, that Sioux natives were determined to stop white traders
from selling arms to other tribes with whom they were at war
While they were halted at Fort Osage Hunt saw proof of the rumors of Indian unrest
when a war party of Osage Indians returned from an attack on an Iowa village
Osages held a high ceremony to celebrate the taking of seven scalps
this celebration so excited Pierre Dorion's Indian wife, Marie,
that when it was time to continue up the Missouri River she declined to go on

she preferred to remain forever where such pleasant things were happening
Pierre, as was his too usual custom, used a birch stick
to convince her of the inappropriateness of her decision

CONSTRUCTION OF PACIFIC FUR COMPANY POST BEGINS

After nearly two months of cutting and blasting trees and stumps
Astorians had cleared scarcely an acre of ground

(located at the corner of 15th and Exchange in today's downtown Astoria)

Pacific Fur Company clerk Alexander Ross wrote: **“In the meantime three of our men were killed by the natives, two more wounded by the falling of trees, and one had his hand blown off by gunpowder.... The people suffered greatly from the humidity of the climate. The Sandwich Islanders, used to a dry, pure atmosphere, sank under its influence; damp fogs, and sleet were frequent...and all this time we were without tents or shelter. Add to this the bad quality of our food...so that one-half of the party, on the average, were constantly on the sick list.”**⁸²

After the long project of clearing an acre of land had been opened
twelve miles upriver from mouth of Columbia River -- April 12, 1811
construction was begun on a warehouse that measured sixty by twenty feet
to find sufficient small logs for constructing the building the men went deep into the forest
then harnessed themselves in teams of eight and like oxen and dragged the timbers to the site

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS PARTY REACH NODAWAY CAMP

Hunt's new recruits joined their traveling companions at Nodaway Camp
at the mouth of the Nodaway River three hundred miles above St. Louis -- middle of April 1811
Final preparations were completed
Pacific Fur Company Land Expedition waited only for the weather

DAVID THOMPSON LEAVES BOAT ENCAMPMENT

Spring brought its own hardships as Thompson set out south up the Columbia River -- April 17, 1811
accompanied by five voyageurs, two Iroquois and two Sanpoil interpreters; only one dog was left
for fifteen days they toiled through three feet of wet snow that remained on the ground
one of the men was afflicted with snow blindness and heavy rains soaked them
spring runoff dangerously swelled the rivers
sometimes they were forced to wade beside their boat in nearly freezing water
and sometimes wearing snowshoes they towed the canoe from the bank

⁸² Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers On the Oregon and Columbia River*, P. 80-81.

ice threatened to break as they dragged their heavy boat and gear across thinly frozen lakes
they were always hungry and generally they camped on snow
Thompson reached the site of his first post, Kootanae House at the source of the Columbia River
which had been abandoned when he had traveled east the year before ([810]
he did not have enough men or trade goods to re-establish the trading post
or to pacify any hostile Indians they might encounter
Indians with whom Thompson had worked earlier remained friendly
they greeted Thompson warmly as he passed through their respective lands
While exploring, he learned from the Indians the river flowing from Lake Windemere
turned south before flowing to the Pacific Ocean
they informed him the journey to the ocean was the “voyage of a summer moon”
he believed this must be the Columbia River
Nor’Wester David Thompson and his nine traveling companions left Kootanae House
they traveled by canoe down the Kootenai River toward Saleesh House

DAVID THOMPSON AND HIS COMPANIONS FOLLOW THE KOOTENAI RIVER

Kootenai River was traveled downstream about 240 miles (to a point near present Libby, Montana)
their battered canoe was abandoned (near Libby, Montana)
in favor of horses acquired from the local Indians
Now on horseback they followed the familiar trail to Saleesh House
the North West Company post built by David Thompson on the Clark Fork River [1809]
horses presented their own difficulties
as men and animals floundered through swamps and fresh-water springs
along the way Thompson added two more Indians to his party

ANDREW HENRY AND HIS TRAPPERS LEAVE FORT HENRY ON THE SNAKE RIVER

After a cold, miserable winter in the furthest American outpost in the West
and with the prospect of receiving fresh supplies from St. Louis fading
Andrew Henry and his trappers abandoned Fort Henry (Idaho) -- spring 1811
Andrew Henry divided his St. Louis Missouri Fur Company trappers into three groups:

- some would stay in the mountains to trap and trade with the natives,
- Edward Robinson, John Hoback, and Jacob Reznor decided to go home to Kentucky,
- Henry and a third contingent took forty packs of beaver pelts to the Yellowstone River
(and eventually boated to a meeting with company owner Manuel Lisa)

MANUEL LISA ORGANIZES A NEW FUR COMPANY

Not having heard from Major Andrew Henry whom he had left on the upper Missouri River
Manuel Lisa decided to go to his aide -- spring 1811

Lisa planned a expedition among the Arikara Indians to build another fort
in what is now (northern South Dakota)

St. Louis Missouri Fur Company was reorganized into a new firm
known simply as the “Missouri Fur Company” with Manuel Lisa was the proprietor

Lisa began collecting trade goods and personnel in St. Louis for the new venture
he hired Charbonneau and Sacajawea to serve as guides for his expedition

Lisa also anticipated the services of Pierre and Marie Dorion as had been arranged previously
although Pierre was currently employed by Wilson Price Hunt

Lisa had no way of knowing that Andrew Henry and his men had abandoned their post
along the Snake River (in Idaho)

WILSON PRICE HUNT’S EXPEDITION PREPARES TO DEPART FOR THE WEST

In the party which Hunt was to lead were four experienced frontiersmen and Astor partners:

- Donald McKenzie, one-time Nor’Wester, was a “winterer” in the wilderness
who had joined Astor with the understanding that he was to share command with Hunt
but at the last minute Astor had reduced him to a subordinate position;
- Ramsay Crooks, a Scot, had traded and trapped on the plains;
- Robert McClellan, an old border fighter famed for his exploits and his marksmanship,
had been a trapping partner with Ramsay Crooks;
- Joseph Miller had fought as a lieutenant in the Revolution under “Mad” Anthony Wayne
and had been an employee of John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Company

Any one of these men would have served the expedition more ably
than did Astor’s choice of Wilson Price Hunt

Also recruited for the Pacific Fur Company Overland Expedition were:

experienced trappers William Cannon (or Canning), Alexander Carson and hunter John Day
Various recruits and desertions placed the members of Hunt’s expedition at about sixty-seven

WILSON PRICE HUNT’S LAND EXPEDITION LEAVES NODAWAY CAMP

After a delay of several days due to the weather Wilson Price Hunt’s Overland Expedition
including Pierre Dorion, Marie Dorion their two children

made their start on their long journey toward the Columbia River -- April 22, 1811

but first they would stop at the Arikara Indian villages (in today’s northern South Dakota)

As proposed by John Jacob Astor, Wilson Price Hunt led his Astorians up the Missouri River
this route had been previously been explored by Lewis and Clark

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION SEES SIGNS OF INDIAN TROUBLE

Hunt's expedition camped along the Missouri River at the mouth of the Platte River -- April 28, 1811

here they saw signs of the Indian war they had heard about from the Osage Indians

on the bank lay the frame of a bull boat

it had been used not long before to convey a raiding party across the river

rolling smoke on the horizon during the day and a red glare in the sky at night

told of grass fires lighted by a fleeing band to cut off their pursuers

Concerned about hostile Indians Hunt posted guards each night

a few nights later as the party slept eleven Sioux warriors rushed the camp

yelling and brandishing tomahawks

when the attackers were seized and overpowered by the guards

the natives protested that their visit was friendly

Pierre Dorion, who was familiar with Sioux customs, said that since the Indians were naked

it showed they were members of a band defeated in war

who had cast off their clothes and adornments and vowed to recover their honor

by performing an act of blood

Wilson Price Hunt sent them across the Missouri River under the watchful eye of his riflemen

WILSON PRICE HUNT HAS MORE DIFFICULTY WITH HIS EXPEDITION

Apparently Hunt did not know how to resolve grievances or how to enforce his will

two more of his hunters deserted

if his men continued to desert just as the need of them became greater

the situation promised to become even more serious

two British scientists, John Bradbury and Thomas Nuttall, were traveling with the expedition

every time the Land Expedition stopped, regardless of possible Indian danger,

both scientists would wander off over the prairie in different directions

each absorbed in his own special pursuit

they would range further and further afield

until they were recaptured by members of the expedition

OREGON ASTORIANS MEET THE GRANDSON OF AN OLD SPANISH SHIPWRECK SURVIVOR

John Jacob Astor's partners Alexander McKay and Robert Stuart and clerk Gabriel Franchere

set out from the *Tonquin* on an expedition into the Cascade Mountains -- May 1811

Franchere wrote in his journal of meeting an eighty year old Spanish half-breed

who was living near the Cascade Mountain

he called himself Soto and claimed to be the grandson of a Spaniard also named Soto
who had been wrecked at Clatsop beach at the mouth of Columbia River
(he could, in fact, have been the legendary Konapee of Clatsop fame
who survived a shipwreck [1693 or 1705])
according to Soto part of crew made it ashore but all but four were killed by Clatsops
these four survivors all married Indian women -- one of whom was Soto's mother
while he was a child, Soto's father and the other three Spaniards left the Clatsop village
to find Spanish settlements along the southern coast
none of the four were ever heard from again
(Franchere later published his reminiscences first in French then translated it was into English
under the title *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America* [1854])

MANUEL LISA LEAVES ST. LOUIS FOR THE UPPER MISSOURI RIVER REGION

Manuel Lisa hurried up the Missouri River with fresh supplies
bound for Henry's Fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River (Montana) -- May 13, 1811
he had in his employ twenty-five men
including Charbonneau and Sacajawea who served as guides
Lisa was three weeks and two hundred forty miles of turbulent river behind Wilson Price Hunt
Lisa became irate when he learned his court writ could not be served at St. Charles
because Pierre Dorion had gone up the Missouri River with his wife and children
now the chase was on -- it would continue for over a thousand miles
Lisa was very intent on catching Wilson Price Hunt and overtaking him at the Arikara Villages
his party of twenty-four employees plus the leader and a young sightseer, Henry Brackenridge
had one large pirogue propelled by twenty paddlers with a mounted swivel gun on the bow
Manuel Lisa knew he was far behind in the race to the Arikara Villages
but he was so angered by the thought of falling farther behind Wilson Price Hunt's Astorians
that he redoubled his efforts to catch his rival

MANUEL LISA REACHES THE OMAHA VILLAGES

Lisa eventually reached the region of the Omaha villages -- May 19, 1811
he believed himself beaten in the race with Wilson Price Hunt
he sent a message up the Missouri River to Hunt asking Hunt to wait for him
so their combined parties could offer mutual protection through hostile Indian country

SCIENTISTS WITH WILSON PRICE HUNT ALMOST COME TO GRIEF

Thomas Nuttall armed only with his trowel was quite often seen happily venturing over the prairie

to dig for roots that were not for the cooking pot
this activity drew the amused contempt of the voyageurs who called him “the fool”
On one occasion the as boats approached a bend in the Missouri River -- May 20, 1811
old John Bradbury decided to walk across a stretch of prairie which lay in front of them
in his endless quest for biological specimens
Astorians were passing through the country of the fierce Teton Sioux
Hunt had just learned Indians were gathering in force to block the Astorians’ progress
and to steal their trade goods and weapons
Bradbury set off carrying under his arm the huge portfolio he used to press flowers
bearing his camp kettle on his back and his rifle slung over his shoulder
on this occasion, after emptying his rifle completely but ineffectively at some prairie dogs,
he stood near the river’s bank around a bend ahead of the Astorians
he was bent peering at a mineral specimen through his microscope
when he felt ungentle hands on his shoulders for several moments
three or four hostile Indians threatened him with a leveled crossbow
and tried to drag him away to their main camp
Bradbury showed them the charms of his pocket compass
which kept the savages amused for a short time
next he produced his microscope with the same result
these natives remained fascinated until the boats came around the bend and they fled

THREE KENTUCKIANS TRAVEL TOWARD HOME

Wilson Price Hunt the leader of John Jacob Astor’s Land Expedition
was deploring the loss of two more deserters -- morning May 26, 1811
when two dugout canoes bearing white men came in sight
and nosed into the Missouri shore at the mouth of the Niobrara River
these canoes contained trappers Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
who had been with Manuel Lisa’s partner Andrew Henry
at the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company’s Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho)
they were making their way back home to Kentucky
these three Kentuckians were of the character of the great frontiersmen
who opened the American frontier
Robinson, Hoback, and Reznor took breakfast with the Astorians
Astor’s Land Expedition leader Wilson Price Hunt convinced the three frontiersmen
to join the Overland Expedition with an offer of a full trapping outfit and ammunition
in return for half of their take in beaver pelts

they were designated guides to lead the expedition to Andrew Henry's abandoned post on Henry's Fork on the Snake River (Idaho)
Three Kentuckians turned their canoes adrift on the Missouri River and threw in their lot with the Astorians

WILSON PRICE HUNT RECEIVES A NOTE FROM MANUEL LISA

While Wilson Price Hunt was in camp at the mouth of the Niobrara River (northern Nebraska) Indians entered the camp with a white man bearing a note from Manuel Lisa asking Hunt to wait for him so the combined parties could safely travel together through hostile Sioux country
Hunt did not consider this offer favorably
he sent Manuel Lisa an ambiguous, though friendly, response and hurried on from the Niobrara leaving Lisa to do the best he could for himself through hostile country

WILSON PRICE HUNT MAKES A DRASTIC CHANGE OF PLANS

John Jacob Astor's orders had been clear
Hunt's expedition was to follow the route of Lewis and Clark to the Columbia River
But stories of hostile Blackfoot Indians told by Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor led Wilson Price Hunt to make a change of plans
Hunt decided not to journey on as a water expedition up the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers\ to the Columbia River as Lewis and Clark had done
rather he would travel to the Arikara villages (in today's North and South Dakota) instead and there trade with the Arikara for horses for an overland expedition
this course according to the three Kentuckians offered several advantages:

- it avoided the Blackfoot menace,
- this route was shorter,
- it avoided a difficult mountain crossing,
- it lay through a country of plentiful game

HUNT'S NEW ROUTE CHANGED THE NATURE OF THE OVERLAND EXPEDITION

Wilson Price Hunt's new route had been traced from the Snake River country by Edward Robinson, John Hoback, and Jacob Reznor when they traveled east from Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho)
Hired as guides the three Kentuckians suggested the Overland Expedition travel from the Arikara villages to the south and west through the country of the Crow Indians and cross the Rocky Mountains over the Big Horn Mountains Range

this, Edward Robinson, John Hoback, and Jacob Reznor assured Wilson Price Hunt, would allow them to avoid the Blackfoot Indians

Astor's Land Expedition would journey to Henry's Fort on the Snake River (Idaho)

However, this new route required the Astorians shift earlier than had been anticipated from a water expedition to a land expedition

If Wilson Price Hunt had had any knowledge of the wilds or of Indians, he would surely have realized sixty armed men in canoes would have a good chance of fending off an attack by the Blackfoot but that seventy men with their mounts and pack horses would be courting disaster also, that riding into the unknown where lack of game and water and fodder for their horses was an even greater danger than Blackfoot Indians indeed, they might even lose their horses as the Crows were well-known for successfully stealing horses

ASTORIANS TRAVELING WITH WILSON PRICE HUNT ENCOUNTER SIOUX INDIANS

A few days after leaving the Niobrara River the Overland Expedition encountered a Sioux war party about six hundred strong gathered on the Missouri River's bank

Astorians hastily loaded swivel guns and small arms and made ready to fight their way through Sioux seeing their preparations spread their buffalo robes on the ground and invited Hunt to a council

Wilson Price Hunt, accompanied by Astor's other partners and the interpreter, stepped ashore they were followed by the elderly scientist Joseph Bradbury who was always eager to collect information about the aborigines

once seated on the ground the pipe was passed around the circle presents of tobacco and dried corn were brought from the keelboats demeanor of the white men was friendly and the gifts stacked beside Hunt waiting to be distributed were appealing

warriors could see the hunters with their rifles remaining on board the boats while the swivel guns pointed shoreward in a menacing manner

Sioux chiefs declared that they had meant to interfere with the white man's boats only because they believed they were carrying ammunition to the Arikaras, Minnetarees and Mandans with whom the Sioux were currently at war since the white men were merely on their way to join their friends beyond the mountains the Sioux had nothing but kind feelings toward them

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S EXPEDITION HAS A SECOND INDIAN ENCOUNTER

Two days had barely passed after their first meeting with Sioux Indians when another large Indian band was sighted coming down to the river

they appeared to be preparing to seize the keelboats in the channel ahead
which was narrowed by a sand bar
Astor's partner Joseph Miller felt a tug on his arm
British scientist Thomas Nuttall had risen to his feet and was peering at the threatening warriors
"Sir," Miller heard the scientist ask with much animation, "**don't you think these Indians
much fatter and more robust than those of yesterday?**"⁸³
these fatter Indians proved to be Arikaras and their allies seeking a skirmish with the Sioux
they jumped into the water and held out their hands in a white man's greeting
after the friendly greeting was exchanged, the natives hastened away to their village upriver
to prepare their people for a visit from the white traders
with the hope of acquiring a supply of arms and ammunition

HUNT'S ASTORIANS LEARN THE MISSOURI FUR COMPANY IS CLOSE BY

About two miles below the Arikara village two Indians came up in haste to inform Wilson Price Hunt
that another large trading boat was ascending the river
this was Manuel Lisa straining to overtake Hunt
Approximately sixty-eight Astorians were traveling in four boats
Hunt thought it best to stop and wait for the Spaniard
much of the time during this rest was spent calming the fiery Robert McClellan
who envisioned the coming of a great opportunity to shoot Lisa on sight
(McClellan had lost several lawsuits to Lisa regarding failure to deliver merchandise)
Pierre Dorion also sank into a sullen rage at the prospect of Lisa's arrival

TONQUIN ATTEMPTS TO SAIL NORTH TO TRADE

Captain Jonathan Thorn was anxious to get away from Astoria as quickly as possible
he rushed ashore an insufficient supply of goods to stock the post
Thorn sailed away from Astoria to trade around Vancouver Island -- June 1, 1811
he took Astor's partner Alexander McKay with him as supercargo
However, a strong wind kept the *Tonquin* within the Baker's Bay for four days

ASTORIANS AND MISSOURI FUR COMPANY TRAVELED TOGETHER

Manuel Lisa overtook Wilson Price and his Astorians at the edge of Sioux country -- June 2, 1811
among the occupants of Lisa's boat was a woman and her child
Sacajawea, the "Bird Woman" of Lewis and Clark fame,

⁸³ Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Adventurers of Oregon: A Chronicle of the Fur Trade*, P. 158.

and the boy, now six years old, who had entered the world on that expedition
Sacajawea and Marie Dorion were thus traveling companions for a brief time
Lisa planned to continue on the Missouri River until he reached Henry's Fort (Montana)
on the Missouri River at Three Forks
Wilson Price Hunt, perhaps in a ploy of trickery, agreed to join forces with Manuel Lisa
he suggested their collective strength would be valuable in the face of potential Indian problems
whether Hunt lied or changed his mind later is uncertain
Astor's partners Robert McClellan and Ramsay Crooks helped convince Hunt
that Lisa would deliver them to the hostile Indians by trickery
no evidence of this exists, but such were the tactics of fur traders
For two days the rival traders traveled together in apparent good will
Manuel Lisa, indeed, was so smooth-tongued and gracious
that Pierre Dorion forgot the wrongs earlier done to him

OLD HOSTILE FEELINGS REKINDLE

Wilson Price Hunt and Manuel Lisa's competing parties traveled together
on the way to the Arikara Villages (just above today's Mobridge, South Dakota)
Lisa still needed a Sioux interpreter
Pierre Dorion accepted an invitation to visit the Spaniard's boat -- June 4, 1811
Lisa plied the weak-willed man generously with whiskey and sought to win him from Hunt
but Dorion had his own sense of honor
not for bribes, nor even for liquor that he too dearly loved,
would he consent to break his agreement with Wilson Price Hunt
Lisa threatened to retain Dorion forcibly if necessary
to work out his old whiskey debt of ten dollars a quart
Dorion flew into a rage, left the boat, and went to Hunt at once with his story

BOTH HUNT AND LISA EXPEDITIONS FACE NEAR DISASTER

Manuel Lisa followed Pierre Dorion to Wilson Price Hunt's camp
but not in time to prevent a recital of events by Pierre Dorion -- if that was his intent
There was a violent scene as Dorion hit Lisa
noise of the brawl attracted lovers of excitement to the spot
Lisa had a knife, but Dorion seized a pair of pistols and kept his foe at a distance
Robert McClellan arrived with a rifle with the intention of carrying out his threat to kill Lisa
indeed, Wilson Price Hunt had great difficulty in preventing him from doing so
meanwhile the scientific John Bradbury and the literary Thomas Nuttall

were doing their best to aid Hunt in soothing the combatants
Lisa, next hurled an insult at Wilson Price Hunt
Hunt, himself enraged, challenged Lisa to a pistol duel
Both expeditions could have ended that night
but Bradbury and Nuttall succeeded in preventing the duel from taking place
it was Lisa who yielded -- perhaps realizing that if he bested Hunt
he would then face the prospect of fighting, in some sequence, McClellan and Dorion
While violence was narrowly avoided hatred flourished unabated
both expeditions continued to share company during the following days
but there was no further exchange of courtesies

CONSTRUCTION OF PACIFIC FUR COMPANY POST IS COMPLETED

John Jacob Astor's trading post was enclosed in a stockade of logs built of bark-covered logs
mounted guns were put in place after the model of northern fur-trading forts
this main trading post or factory was located on the south (Oregon) side of the Columbia River
First permanent American settlement in Pacific Northwest was named "Astoria"
in honor of John Jacob Astor President of the Pacific Fur Company -- June 4, 1811
Astor's partner Chief Factor Duncan McDougall was in command of Astoria
McDougall's authority as the representative of John Jacob Astor was unquestioned
but he quickly showed himself to be an angry irritable little man of second-rate ability

TONQUIN SAILS FROM THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Captain Jonathan Thorn was anxious to get away from Baker's Bay
when the wind changed to favorable Captain Thorn crossed the bar of the Columbia River
he sailed north to supply Russians-American Company
in New Archangel (Sitka) Russian-America (Alaska) -- June 5, 1811
(Astor had previously sent an agent to St. Petersburg, Russia
who had made arrangements to supply Russian trading posts)
Tonquin carried most of the trade goods supplied by John Jacob Astor
leaving Astoria with a short supply of trading stock and supplies
Captain Thorn had with him twenty-three men aboard the *Tonquin*
Alexander McKay, one of Astor's partners, went on board acting as supercargo and chief trader
he also represented the interests of Astor's partners
clerk James Lewis also accompanied the ship to record trading activities
Tonquin stopped along the Pacific coast to pick up a Chehalis Indian translator
known by various spellings of his name: Lamazee (author Washington Irving);

(Lamaza as identified by clerk Alexander Ross or Lamanse by historian Hubert Bancroft)
Next the *Tonquin* stopped to trade at Clayoquot *Sound* on Vancouver Island

DAVID THOMPSON REACHES SALEESH HOUSE

Traveling by horseback from Kootanae House David Thompson accompanied by nine companions arrived at Saleesh House on the Clark Fork River -- June 5, 1811

There Thompson anticipated finding supplies, equipment and his clerk Finan McDonald to his dismay he found Saleesh House abandoned

because of the Piegan threat Finan McDonald had joined Jacques Finlay at Spokane House Thompson left notes warning Astor's land expedition this was North West Company property in case the Americans passed by the post

DAVID THOMPSON ENTERS THE KOOTENAI RIVER

Thompson and his nine traveling companions set out down the Kootenai River by canoe they crossed to Lake Pend O'reille and on to the Pend O'reille River which they paddled down (to a point near the present town of Cusick, Washington)

next the party portaged south across country about fifteen miles to the Little Spokane River and down that stream to its confluence with the Spokane River

David Thompson met Finan McDonald and Jacques Finlay at Spokane House (about nine miles northwest of present Spokane -- this site later became one of the major fur trading locations for both British and American fur traders)

Thompson approved the post's location where multitudes of Indians came to catch and dry fish Thompson stated in his notes while at Spokane House that the purpose of his voyage was: **“to explore this river in order to open a passage for the interior trade with the Pacific ocean [sic]”**⁸⁴

ASTORIA IS VISITED BY TWO KOOTENAI INDIANS FROM THE UPPER COLUMBIA RIVER

Astorians at the post were greeted by two Indians purported to be husband and wife

they were dressed in long robes of deerskin with leggings and moccasins -- June 8, 1811

they looked more like Rocky Mountain natives than locals

they could not understand any speech until a French-Canadian addressed them in Cree language with which they seemed partially familiar

In fact, they were two female Kootenai Indians who carried a letter sent by North West Company clerk Finan McDonald at a fort that he had just constructed on the Spokane River

⁸⁴ George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 82.

this letter was addressed to Nor'Wester John Stuart stationed somewhere in the interior
These messengers said they had descended the (Spokane River)
when the couple reached the Columbia River they heard of white men at the river's mouth
thus the messengers journeyed downriver instead of upriver and arrived at Astoria
they indicated that the North West Company was ready to contest the Pacific Fur Company
for possession of the Columbia River drainage area
Astorians decided to send an expedition into the interior to investigate
David Stuart began to make preparations for the journey into the interior

ASTORIANS EXPLORE TO THE SOUTH OF THEIR TRADING POST

Clerks William Henry and Alfred Seton journeyed from Fort Astoria by bateau
some one hundred miles up the Columbia River
they entered the Willamette River and continued upriver as far as the waterfall on the Willamette
where they portaged around the east side
they continued to a place where the banks flattened out on both sides of the river
Calapooya Indians (a group of Native American tribes who shared a common language)
had long made this area their home hunting and fishing in the plentiful valley
this region later became known as Champoeg (pronounced: sham-POO-ee)
the name Champoeg is something of a puzzle
some early settlers claimed Calapooya Indians used the name
which meant "Prairie of the Blue Flowers"
others said it was a corruption of the French "Campment du Sable" ("sand camp")
still others indicated the name was a double corruption
a combination of the French word "champ" (field)
and the Calapooyan word "pooitch" (an edible root)
(today Champoeg survives only as a name for a few specific places:
a park, an historic district and a cemetery in the northern tip of Marion County)

CALAPOOYA INDIANS CALLED CHAMPOEG IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY HOME

Calapooya Indians were the earliest known inhabitants of these prairies
Champoeg, a prehistoric lake bed located along the south and east bank of the Willamette River,
was composed of an open, sandy peninsula on the south side of the Willamette River
located a few miles above the falls on the Willamette River
its soil is deep and rich and free of rocks
there were few places to cross the Willamette River but one crossing existed
where the river was narrow during the summertime

there a wide gravel bench stretched across
Indian village of Champooick was located south of the waterfall
on the east bank of the Willamette River (near today's Salem, Oregon)
For centuries Calapooya Indians kept Champoeg as open range
by annually burning off the tall prairie grass
there they fished at Willamette Falls, hunted game on the prairies,
gathered abundant Camas bulbs and picked berries in the nearby mountains

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ESTABLISHES A HUGE LAND GRANT

Competition between the British Hudson's Bay Company and Canadian North West Company
increased when Hudson's Bay Company tightened their grip on their Canadian holdings
Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk acquired enough shares
of the British Hudson's Bay Company to control the enterprise
Hudson's Bay Company granted Lord Selkirk 116,000 square miles
or seventy-four million acres on the Red River -- June 12, 1811
(this territory comprised large portions of present-day Manitoba, Saskatchewan,
Northern Minnesota and North Dakota)

Lord Selkirk's land claim was also a problem for the North West Company
as the settlement lay directly across the main North West Company supply route
North West Company voyageurs were cut off from their Montreal headquarters and supplies
Selkirk's claim also occupied the heart of the buffalo range which the Nor'Westers depended on
for vital supplies of pemmican

ASTORIANS AND MISSOURI FUR COMPANY ARRIVE AT THE ARIKARA VILLAGES

Wilson Price Hunt's Astorians and Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company
arrived at the Arikara village (in central South Dakota near northern boundary) -- June 12, 1811
they pitched their camps near the mouth of the Grand River on opposite shores
Manuel Lisa sent young sightseer Henry Brackenridge to Wilson Price Hunt's tent
with the suggestion that to assure their mutual safety they should enter the Indian village together
with the outward appearance of friendliness
Hunt was aware that these Indians who were new to him were old acquaintances of Lisa's
this arrangement would at least allow Hunt to water the Indians when they met
During the council with the Arikara Lisa removed much of the suspicion Hunt had felt toward him
Lisa's speech assured the Indians that although his party and the Astorians had separate interests
Lisa would resent any wrong done to his rivals as if they had been done to him
Lisa also provided Hunt every assistance in acquiring horses since the Astorians had decided

to leave the Missouri River at this point and pursue their way overland across the plains
in fact, Lisa knew that leaving the route of Lewis and Clark to blaze their own way
was a foolhardy move
Manuel Lisa well might smile while he was giving assistance to Wilson Price Hunt

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND MANUEL LISA REMAIN IN THE ARIKARA VILLAGES

Horses proved to be difficult to acquire from the Arikara Indians -- June 15, 1811
both Wilson Price Hunt and his party of seventy Pacific Fur Company employees
and Manuel Lisa with his twenty-five Missouri Fur Company men
spent in excess of a month among the Arikara villagers

AT THE ARIKARA VILLAGE EDWARD ROSE JOINED THE OVER LAND EXPEDITION

Edward Rose was a very unpleasant, insolent renegade ex-Lisa man
with a vicious appearance and sullen disposition who was a friend of the Crow Indians
he was a big, powerful man with a violent temper -- but he also possessed great ability
he had a sinister reputation and no one trusted him
he seemed to be motivated only by his own interests
he was well known to the guides, Kentuckian Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
(Edward Rose had first come up the Missouri River with Manuel Lisa [1807]
and had passed the winter of John Colter's adventure in a Crow village
after a dispute with Lisa he had returned to the Crows where he lived for a number of years)
Since his expedition would pass through Crow country
Wilson Price Hunt believed Rose would be a valuable asset and added him to the expedition
as an interpreter and guide

TONQUIN VISITS VANCOUVER ISLAND

Tonquin sailed up the Pacific coast to Vancouver Island and into Clayoquot Sound -- June 15, 1811
Captain Jonathan Thorn did not know these natives were waiting for a chance to take revenge
in retribution for Captain G.W. Ayres of the *Mercury* carrying off a dozen of their people
and leaving them on California's barren Farallon Islands in Drake's Bay [1810]
Chief Wickaninnish invited Chief Trader Alexander McKay to land and stay with him
McKay went ashore to a large Tla-o-qui-aht Indian village to visit with Wickaninnish
McKay was received in a most cordial manner
at the same time, six Indians were held on the *Tonquin* as hostages to ensure the safety of McKay
Captain Thorn did not wait for the return of Alexander McKay to begin trading
packets of goods were laid out: cloth, blankets, knives, ribbons, buttons, hatchets, beads,

fishhooks and clothes were put on display to entice trade
Chief Nookimus, who was aboard the *Tonquin*, was anxious to begin the trading
trade did not go well as the Indians were very familiar with trading with “Bostons” (Americans)
in reaction to the high prices set by natives Captain Thorn thrust his hands into his pockets
he paced up and down the deck of his ship in sullen silence
shrewd old Chief Nookimus followed him to and fro holding out sea otter skins
pestering the captain to trade
Captain Thorn became increasingly enraged at the prices set by the natives
Thorn spit at Chief Nookimus’ feet to show his disgust with the Indian
Nookimus thrust a sea otter pelt in Captain Thorn’s face
Thorn suddenly turned and snatched the otter skin from the chief’s hand
and rubbed the old man’s face with it
Thorn then lifted the old Chief up and threw him overboard
Indians quickly cleared the deck and silently paddled back to their village
where they spent the night

CHIEF TRADER ALEXANDER MCKAY RETURNS TO THE *TONQUIN*

After an overnight stay in the Tla-o-qui-aht Indian village
McKay was unaware of the events that had unfolded aboard the *Tonquin*
he left the Indian village and returned to the ship-- June 16, 1811
Native interpreter Lamazee related what had happened to Alexander McKay
and begged McKay to prevail on the captain to depart from Clayoquot Sound
Astor’s partner and Chief Trader Alexander McKay ordered the *Tonquin* to sail
Captain Jonathan Thorn made ignored this demand
Thorn pointed out the cannon and firearms provided adequate protection
Thorn believed the Indians would return to trade -- and at his price
McKay and Thorn retired to the Captain’s cabin where a hot argument ensued
but the *Tonquin* remained anchored in place

DAVID THOMPSON CONTINUES HIS “VOYAGE OF A SUMMER MOON”

After spending overnight with his clerks Finan McDonald and Jacques Finlay
Thompson prepared to leave Spokane House traveling on borrowed horses after complaining
that strayed horses had delayed his departure until the late hour of 8:45 a.m. -- June 17, 1811
Thompson and his small party of Iroquois, Sanpoil Indians and French-Canadian voyageurs
headed northwest along an Indian trail linking fishing places until this trail left the river
and continued north toward Chamokane Creek where they camped

after butchering an old horse for dinner the men retired for the night
and a constant fight with mosquitoes which were very troublesome⁸⁵

INDIANS ARRIVE AT THE *TONQUIN* TO TRADE

While Captain Jonathan Thorn and Chief Trader Alexander McKay were asleep
twenty unarmed Indians in a large canoe commanded by Chief Shrewish
paddled out to the *Tonquin* -- morning June 17, 1811
they held up sea otter skins and made signs that they wanted to trade
Indians paddled closer and came alongside the *Tonquin* to trade
as everyone was eager to trade the officer of the watch,
who was in charge of the ship in the absence of the captain,
ignored standard procedures and permitted the natives to mount the deck
Soon a second large canoe arrived -- these Indians also proceeded to board the ship
more canoes came along side and more Indians clambered onto the vessel
it was noticed the canoes were paddled by women
as more and more Indians came on board the *Tonquin*
Thorn and McKay both reached the deck of the *Tonquin* to watch over the trading
Indians climbed up the rope ladders on one side of the ship
every native had a packet of furs held over his head as a sign they wanted to trade
Indians moved slowly across the deck making their selections from piles of trade goods
that had been laid out for their inspection
trade did not advance well even with Chief Trader McKay urging on the exchanges
Indians always offered fewer furs than was demanded by Thorn
after crossing the ship's deck to the far rail the Indians climbed down the rope ladders
but instead of boarding their canoes and leaving the natives climbed back aboard the ship
crew members saw themselves surrounded by a multitude of natives
each sailor had several Indians in his immediate vicinity

TONQUIN IS OVERRUN WITH INDIAN

One of the sailors aloft in the rigging became alarmed as the Indian numbers rapidly increased
he called a warning to Captain Jonathan Thorn and Chief Trader Alexander McKay
McKay urged Thorn to clear the ship and get under way
Thorn again made light of the advice -- after all, Astor's partners did not command his ship
he said that with the firearms on board

⁸⁵ Jack and Claire Nisbet, HistoryLink.org Essay 8677, July 7, 2008.

there was no reason to fear an even a greater number of Indians on board
however, all of the weapons were placed in storage in a cabin below the deck
Tonquin's crew was actually unarmed and scattered about the deck
Captain Thorn, after enough time had passed indicate his independence, issued orders to sail
sailors began to weigh anchor while other crewmen were sent aloft to make ready the sail
Indians now offered to trade with the Captain -- and on the captain's terms
frantic trade was commenced and the Indians gathered up goods
Tonquin's anchor was nearly up and her sails were loose
when Captain Thorn, in a loud voice, ordered the ship to be cleared

BATTLE ON BOARD THE *TONQUIN* LASTED FIVE MINUTES

One of the Indians gave a yell as a signal
trade bundles were dropped from the Indians' hands revealing war clubs, tomahawks,
and new hatches and knives that had been acquired in trade
Thorn had armed an enemy aboard his ship while his crew remained defenseless
Natives rushed to attack their victims
first man to fall was clerk James Lewis who was leaning with folded arms over a bale of blankets
as he bartered with an Indian
Lewis received a stab wound in the back and fell down the companionway to the deck below
Chief Trader Alexander McKay who had been seated sprang to his feet
he was instantly knocked down with a war club and thrown backwards overboard
in the water he was killed by women in the canoes who beat him with their paddles
Captain Jonathan Thorn out up a desperate fight against fearful odds
he had come up on deck without a weapon
Chief Shrewish rushed him at the first outbreak -- Thorn barely had time to open a clasp knife
with one blow the young chief fell dead at the captain's feet
several of Shrewish's followers set upon the captain who defended himself vigorously
he attempted to fight his way to the cabin where the firearms were located
slain and wounded natives were strewn about the quarterdeck
Thorn was struck from behind with a war club which felled him to the deck
he was dispatched with knives and thrown overboard
for the women to avenge the insult to their chief
Using knives, handspikes and what other weapons they could grasp the sailors defended themselves
but they were soon overpowered by numbers and were mercilessly butchered
Seven crewmen who were aloft to make ready the sail contemplated with horror the carnage below
without weapons they let themselves down in the hope of getting below decks

three were mortally wounded in the effort
remaining four, including one who received a bad knife wound
made good their retreat into the cabin where the arms were kept
there they found Astorian James Lewis still alive
Sailors barricaded the cabin door and the guns were taken up
crewmen broke holes through the companionway and briskly fired the muskets and pistols
until the decks were cleared of attacking Indians
Lamazee, the Indian interpreter, was taken to the village
Survivors of the crew rushed out and discharged some of the deck guns
and drove all of the Indians to shore in their canoes

FOUR CREWMEN AND CLERK JAMES LEWIS REMAIN ALIVE ABOARD THE *TONQUIN*

Four sailors were not enough to sail the ship
James Lewis insisted the sailors take a boat and row out to sea during the night
four men left the *Tonquin* -- clerk James Lewis remained on board alone
unable to clear the entrance to the sound the sailors were obliged
to stop and rest for the night
exhausted by fatigue and watching for approaching Indians ready for the kill
they fell into a sound sleep in the ship's boat

ONLY ONE MAN REMAINED ABOARD THE *TONQUIN*

After the battle clerk James Lewis was the only known survivor
on board the *Tonquin* -- early morning June 18, 1811
After a time some Indian canoes ventured forth to reconnoiter
they brought out the interpreter, Lamazee, who after the attack had spent the night in the village
Indians paddled around the *Tonquin* keeping a safe distance
only one man was seen on deck and Lamazee recognized him as James Lewis
Lewis made friendly signs and invited the natives on board
About two hundred Indians paddled out to the ship where the complete cargo of trade goods
was available for the taking
those who mounted the deck met no opposition as James Lewis had disappeared
other canoes pressed forward and the decks were soon crowded with Indians intent on plunder
As Indians scrambled about the ship the *Tonquin* became a volcano
ship fragments were blown high into the air as were arms, legs and mutilated bodies
apparently James Lewis had set off barrels of black powder -- 4½ tons were ignited
hundreds of natives were destroyed by the explosion

many more were shockingly mutilated
Indians swam for their lives or struggled with the agonies of coming death
those who escaped the danger remained aghast and stupefied by the results
for miles the beach was strewn with dismembered body parts
and the wreckage of canoes and the ship
for days afterwards limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown on the beach by the tides

TONQUIN VANISHED IN THE EXPLOSION

Inhabitants of Clayoquot Sound were overwhelmed with consternation
then one of the *Tonquin*'s boats was seen with four crewmen aboard -- morning June 18, 1811
shouts of fury greeted the sight of the unfortunate sailors who were forced ashore by natives
and brought to the Tla-o-qui-aht Indian village as captives
Lamazee was permitted to converse with the prisoners
he gathered from them some of the particulars already related
James Lewis advised them to slip the cable on a boat as soon as it was dark
and put off quietly in the ship's boat in an effort to get out to sea
Lewis declared his intention to remain on board until daylight
to decoy as many Indians as possible and then set fire to the powder magazine
he planned to terminate his own life with a remarkable act of vengeance
all four unfortunate sailors perished in a painful and protracted manner
Aboard the *Tonquin* thirteen crewmen and traders and six Kanakas had perished
unknown hundreds of Indians had been killed and maimed

LOSS OF THE TONQUIN HAS A DEVASTATING AFFECT ON THE ASTORIANS

Although the Astorians did not yet know it
loss of the *Tonquin* was a grievous blow to the infant establishment of Astoria:

- loss of twenty-three men severely hindered the Astorians' ability to defend themselves
they were now without one of their most respected trading partners, Alexander McKay;
- loss of the ship ended the possibility of conducting the all-important Russian trade
and they could not ship furs they managed to acquire to China as planned;
- area open for trade was now limited to the country around Astoria;
- loss of irreplaceable trade goods was a bitter blow;
- loss of the psychological advantage of having an armed vessel at their backs
undercut their very sense of security

THOMPSON VISITS WITH FREE TRAPPERS WORKING THE COLVILLE RIVER AREA

Awakening the next morning to thunder and lightning -- June 18, 1811

David Thompson was visited in camp by a free (unaffiliated) hunter who was trapping nearby
Thompson and his nine traveling companions were back on the trail -- 7:30 a.m.

they rode northwest, crossing several creeks that form the headwaters of the Colville River
along the way they paused to purchase a sack of roots from a group of Indians

and, a little farther along, they stopped to visit a small native camp

here they met another independent French-Canadian trapper

After resting their horses they continued north through the Colville Valley

DAVID THOMPSON CONTINUES ACROSS THE COLVILLE VALLEY

Thompson discovered the trail he was following crossed the Colville River⁸⁶

(a few miles north of present-day Arden, Washington)

He sent one of his men to a nearby Indian camp to hire a canoe to ferry their cargo across,

he purchased roots and fish and twenty-two muskrat pelts

David Thompson reached Ilthkoyape Falls (today's Kettle Falls) on the Columbia River

(now submerged under Franklin Roosevelt Lake behind Grand Coulee Dam)

DAVID THOMPSON RESTS AND BUILDS A CANOE AT KETTLE FALLS

Spring salmon run had just begun at Kettle Falls,

Indian fishermen hung kettle-shaped baskets on the end of poles close to the falls

salmon trying to jump the thundering cataract fell back in incredible numbers

into the primitive traps

Thompson spent two weeks searching for materials suitable for building a large split-cedar canoe

sharp at both ends, the canoe was thirty foot long with a five-and-one-half foot beam

flat cedar timbers were bent to the desired shape by steaming

planks of cedar were bolted to a flat keel

nails were not used -- seams were gummed

David Thompson had heard on his trip back to the North West Company headquarters at Rainy Lake

that an American exploring party (Lewis and Clark) reached the mouth of the Columbia [1805]

he was thus undoubtedly eager to make a better claim to the area for Great Britain

than Lewis and Clark or John Jacob Astor would make for the United States

Thompson had been instructed to follow the complete course of the Columbia River in an effort

to arrive at the river's mouth before North West Company's newest rival

the Pacific Fur Company could stake a claim to the "Great river of the West"

⁸⁶ Jack and Claire Nisbet, HistoryLink.org Essay 8677, July 7, 2008.

however, David Thompson did not act like a man in a hurry
but rather he seemed to be a canny trader building good will for the future

DAVID THOMPSON CONTINUES DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

North West Company employee and his eleven men cast off near Kettle Falls
bound for the mouth of the Columbia River in their large split-cedar canoe -- July 3, 1811
Thompson struck a British flag into the stern of his canoe
as a demonstration to the natives and any Americans he might encounter
Thompson's canoe was propelled by eight oarsmen
five French voyageurs and Thompson himself, an Iroquois bowman and steersman
two additional Sanpoil Indians accompanied him
Thompson was met by friendly Indians along the Columbia River who had never seen white men
whenever he encountered Indians he stopped, sometimes in the face of hostile demonstrations,
he passed out British flags and added eloquent testimonials about the North West Company
consequently, native peoples along the Lower Columbia greeted him warmly
near Crab Creek (about three miles east of today's Reardan, Washington)
the two Sanpoil Indians were exchanged for a Shoshone chief and his wife

DAVID THOMPSON REACHES THE CONFLUENCE OF THE SNAKE AND COLUMBIA RIVERS

Thompson continued down the Columbia to the mouth of the Snake River
(near today's Pasco) -- July 9, 1811
Thompson during a rest stop at the mouth of the Snake River set up a pole with a message
formally taking possession of the land for Great Britain's King George III
he also noted his future intention to build a trading post: **"Know hereby that this country is
claimed by Great Britain as part of its territories, and that the N.W. Company of Merchants from
Canada, finding the Factory [trading post] for this people inconvenient for them, do hereby intend to
erect a factory in this place for the convenience of the country around. D. Thompson. Junction of
the Shawpatin [Snake] River with the Columbia. July 9th, 1811."**⁸⁷

DAVID THOMPSON CONTINUES DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

David Thompson followed Lewis and Clark's route of six years earlier
only a short distance down river, Thompson met Chief Yellepit of the Walla Walla Tribe
who displayed an [1801] Jefferson medal and a small American flag
proof of the passage of the American Lewis and Clark Expedition

⁸⁷ Cecil Dryden, *History of Washington*, P. 65-66.

David Thompson camped opposite the John Day River -- July 10, 1811

he learned from the Indians of the arrival of John Jacob Astor's ship *Tonquin*

and of Astor's expedition at the mouth of the Columbia River three months before

When David Thompson reached The Dalles and his first Chinook village

Thompson's Shakaption chief and his wife turned back up the Columbia River

leaving him with seven traveling companions

DAVID THOMPSON AND HIS MEN PREPARE TO COMPLETE THEIR EXPLORATION

Nor'Wester David Thompson and his traveling companions delayed starting from the Chinook village until 6:15 a.m. July 15, 1811

they shaved and spruced up their clothes to make a proper appearance for the Astorians

also, they made sure that the British flag was flying from the stern of their canoe

ASTORIANS AT ASTORIA PREPARE TO JOURNEY UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

David Stuart, one of Astor's partners, was ordered to construct by Chief Factor Duncan McDougall to build a second trading post at an appropriate trading area

several hundred miles up the Columbia River

guiding the trading party upstream was the pair of Kootenai Indians

who were purported to be husband and wife

Just as they were about to set out -- July 15, 1811

a canoe came paddling down the Columbia River flying the British flag

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON STOPS AT ASTORIA

When David Thompson arrived at John Jacob Astor's post he found that the Astor sea party had already arrived and the Americans had built four log huts of a permanent shelter

Thompson he had his voyageurs sweep him smartly to the dock -- afternoon of July 15, 1811

Astorians ran to the river's edge to see the newcomers:

- Scottish clerks with their native brogue still strong;
- French-Canadian voyageurs hailing the Nor'Westers in accents of their own;
- Kanakas imported as workers from the Hawaiian Islands,
- Chinook Indians peering curiously out beneath deformed, sharply sloping foreheads;
- at the front of the unique crowd stood three former Nor'Westers

Duncan McDougall, David Stuart and David's nephew Robert Stuart

Thompson was informed they called their post Astoria in honor of the American financier

DAVID THOMPSON IS WELL-RECEIVED BY THE ASTORIANS

Astorians would have been delighted to see any white men
many of the Astorians had formerly worked for the North West Company
and were already acquainted with David Thompson
they were doubly excited to meet one of their old friends
Friends and former Nor'Wester partners welcomed Thompson boisterously
they hurried him into their private quarters where he was well received
as they entertained Thompson and his men as hospitably as they could
Before he had left Fort William to lead the Columbia Brigade to the West
David Thompson had been informed by North West Company leaders
that the Nor'Westers and Pacific Fur Company planned to work together
to develop the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest
when he delivered the news of his understanding of the arrangement to the Astorians
they had no reason to disbelieve the Nor'Wester
the fact that the deal had fallen though was unknown to David Thompson

DAVID THOMPSON RECOGNIZES THE KOOTENAI INDIAN COUPLE

Thompson had first met the two Kootenai Indians posing as husband and wife three years before
the woman masquerading as a man had been living with one of his voyageurs
Thompson had run off for loose morals and troublemaking
this couple was now busily preparing to guide Astorian David Stuart up the Columbia River
David Thompson discovered one of the Kootenais occupied herself posing as a great prophethess,
she had frightened the Chinook Indians with threats of smallpox
(a disease they had become all to familiar with during virulent epidemics
brought by sea otter traders a few years before Lewis and Clark)
and with tales of two giants who were approaching
overturning the ground burying whole villages
if Thompson had not calmed down one angry delegation of Chinook Indians
they very well may have murdered the pair because of their "bad medicine"

DAVID THOMPSON CONTINUES ON TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN

David Thompson set out by canoe for the mouth of the Columbia River -- July 16, 1811
he reported in his journal: **"The next day in my canoe with my men I went to Cape
Disappointment, which terminates the course of this river, and remained until the tide came in. At
ebb tide we noticed the current of the river riding in waves over the surface to the sea for about
four miles; on all the shores of this ocean the agitation of the sea is constantly breaking against the**

rocky shore with high surges, and my men now allowed the great volume of water forming these high surges to be far superior to those of any lake.”⁸⁸

wind-whipped waves on the ever broadening Columbia River interested Thompson

Thompson reached Tongue Point where he reported: **“We continued our journey, amused with the seals playing in the river...we arrived at Tongue Point [today’s Astoria, Oregon], which...brought us to a full view of the Pacific Ocean.”⁸⁹**

After a brief visit to the great sandbar of the Columbia River

David Thompson returned upriver to Astoria

ASTORIANS AND NOR’WESTER EXCHANGE INFORMATION

David Thompson had earned a week’s rest before heading back up the Columbia River

had mapped the Columbia River’s full length and examined its mouth

Thompson believed with the completed navigation of the Columbia River

this task had taken him four years and three months

with the geographic work done he was now ready

to attempt to draft a detailed map of Northwest America

Thompson, to deflect American interest, reported to the Astorians

there was poor trading in the interior -- but the ploy did not work

as the Astorians knew this information was inaccurate

Astorians knew more about the upper country than David Thompson might think

based on the information in the letter Nor’Wester Finan McDonald at Spokane House

had written to Nor’Wester John Stuart stationed somewhere in New Caledonia

this letter had accidentally been delivered to them by the two Kootenai Indians

posing as husband and wife

Finan McDonald’s report of the upper river was considerably different from Thompson’s in truth, desertions, Indian difficulties and lack of supplies prevented the North West Company

from providing much competition for Astor’s Pacific Fur Company

however, the Nor’Westers who had joined the Astorians, too, had reasons to be discouraged

things had not gone well since they had joined Astor’s American Fur Company

WILSON PRICE HUNT’S PACIFIC FUR COMPANY OVERLAND EXPEDITION SETS OUT

Hunt and his Astorians would not follow the route of Lewis and Clark

up the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers to the Columbia River as ordered by John Jacob Astor

⁸⁸ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 77.

⁸⁹ Priit J. Vesilind, *National Geographic*, May, 1996, P. 131.

rather they would strike out overland implementing Wilson Price Hunt's new travel plan
Hunt abandoned the keelboats in preparation for their westward overland journey
Astorians parted company with the two British scientists
John Bradbury and Thomas Nuttall chose this time to return to St. Louis with their specimens
Wilson Price Hunt led his approximately sixty-eight Astorians with eighty-two horses
they departed from the Arikara villages -- July 18, 1811
Hunt had not been able to produce mounts for all his people
seventy-six horses were used as pack animals that carried freight, merchandise and supplies
containing ammunition, goods for trade, traps, equipment, Indian corn, corn meal,
condensed soup, dried meat, trade merchandise and other essentials
only six animals were used for saddle purposes
Astor's partners Wilson Hunt Donald, McKenzie, Ramsay Crooks, Joseph Miller
and Robert McClellan were mounted
Pierre Dorion and his wife Marie trudged along together she at his heels
leading a horse on which were securely roped little Baptiste and Paul
ages four and two and their bundle of possessions
as was Marie Dorion and her two sons Baptiste and Paul aged four and two
Marie showed obvious signs of being pregnant
Hunt and his Astorians were guided by Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
as they took a southwesterly route course across prairies

MANUEL LISA LEAVES THE ARIKARA VILLAGES BEHIND

Manuel Lisa and his Missouri Fur Company trappers had learned Andrew Henry was safe
Lisa was thus relieved of the responsibility of searching for his partner
After Hunt's departure from the Arikara villages Lisa traded his own horses
which were pastured among the Mandan's horses
for Wilson Price Hunt's four excellent keelboats -- July 18, 1811
Lisa returned ventured up the Missouri River leading his twenty-five men on a trapping expedition
into the Rocky Mountains

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION REACHES THE GRAND RIVER

Hunt's caravan crossed the Grand River -- July 21, 1811
Hunt charged his course to a little more westerly direction
across prairies knee-deep in grass where the horses could contentedly

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S OVERLAND PARTY ENTERS CHEYENNE INDIAN COUNTRY

Because some of the members of “Pilot Knobs” his expedition were sick

Hunt stopped at a friendly Cheyenne Indian camp to trade for buffalo meat -- July 22, 1811
there Hunt purchased thirty-six more horses

Wilson Price Hunt rested his Astorians

bales of baggage were distributed among the additional horses

and one horse was allowed to every two men so they could alternate riding and walking

In order to bring the party through this country Pierre Dorion had to use his native-like ability

to read signs, find good fords across rivers, locate water holes and hunt game animals for food
he was obviously well worth the trouble he had been to Wilson Price Hunt

DAVID THOMPSON AND DAVID STUART START UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER TOGETHER

Nor’Wester David Thompson and Astorian David Stuart both finished preparations
for their journeys up the Columbia River

David Thompson and Astorian David Stuart set out in associated parties -- July 23, 1811

Thompson accompanied by the Kootenai Indian couple who had caused trouble at Astoria
traveled in the same canoe that had carried him downriver to Astoria

David Stuart traveled in two clumsy, overloaded Chinook Indian canoes

with twenty-one Astorians including clerk Alexander Ross, voyageurs Ovide de Montigny,
Francis Benjamin Pillette and Donald McClennan and three Kanakas (Hawaiians)

including forty year old Naukane who was also known as John Coxe

Stuart noted of two of his men were particularly valuable: “...one of our Sandwich Islanders, a bold and trustworthy fellow named [John] Coxe”...[who] was looked upon by Mr. Thompson as a prodigy of wit and humor, so that those respectively acceptable qualities led to the exchange [of pleasantries].” “...[A]nd a Canadian, called [Michael] Boulard. Boulard had the advantage of being long in the Indian country, and had picked up a few words of the language on his way down [the Columbia River].”⁹⁰

ASTORIANS REMAINING AT THE POST WORRY ABOUT THEIR SITUATION

David Stuart’s departure upriver with Nor’Wester David Thompson

left fewer than three dozen men to defend Astoria

one third of these were Kanakas from the Sandwich Islands

Astorians were very aware that North West Company was already trading in the area

No word had been heard from Wilson Price Hunt and his land party

anxiety was growing at Astoria concerning the men and the supplies he was to bring

⁹⁰ Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers On the Oregon and Columbia River*, P. 123-124.

To complicate matters, Comcomly, the crafty, one-eyed chief of the Chinooks,
spread suspicion among upriver natives regarding the intentions of the Astorians
to keep these Indians from selling furs directly to the Pacific Fur Company traders
To make matter worse the Astorians at the post picked up vague rumors from the Indians
that something had happened to the *Tonquin*

THOMPSON AND STUART REACH THE COLUMBIA RIVER GORGE

Nor'Wester David Thompson and Astorian David Stuart stayed close together
as they traveled nearly one hundred fifty miles up the Columbia River
before they reached The Cascades of the Columbia River
Thompson and Stuart had many anxious hours at The Cascades
travelers on the river had to make contact with the Wishram Indians here
and were to pay a tribute to these tribesmen who were notoriously difficult to deal with

DAVID THOMPSON AND DAVID STUART MAKE PLANS TO TRAVEL SEPARATELY

Once at the rapids known as the Dalles
Nor'Wester David Thompson decided to take advantage of his fast canoe
which was also lighter and more easily portaged when they reached Celilo Falls ahead
Thompson and Astorian David Stuart would then travel up the Columbia River independently
Before parting ways there was an exchange of employees
Thompson exchanged Michel Boulard for Kanaka Naukane (also known as John Coxe)
Boulard had worked with Thompson off and on over eleven years
Naukane (John Coxe) was valuable to Thompson for his strength and he was entertaining
Boulard, although weaker with age, was useful to the Astorians
because of his knowledge of the upper Columbia River geography and native affairs
Taking advantage of his fast canoe when he left The Dalles
David Thompson pushed on ahead of David Stuart and the Astorians

LORD SELKIRK'S RED RIVER COLONY MOVES A STEP CLOSER TO REALITY

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk was a large Hudson's Bay Company stockholder
he was concerned that tenant farmers in his Scottish homeland were being displaced
by the spread of large-scale sheep raising operations on former croplands
Lord Selkirk believed the only way for Scottish Highlanders to escape the harsh living conditions
was to emigrate to Canada where they could find farmland available -- his farmland
Lord Selkirk undertook the expenses necessary for transport, government, protection his colonists
and to quiet the Indians' title to the land -- summer 1811

pamphlets were printed to be distributed in Scotland and Ireland
noting that land was to be given away or sold at a very low cost
transportation to Canada would be provided free or according to the individual's means
Royal Canadian Volunteers Captain Miles Macdonell was sent to recruit colonists in Ireland
Lord Selkirk invited him to be the first governor of his colony
Colin Robertson, formerly with the North West Company, was sent to Scotland
Robertson had been fired by the North West Company and dreamed of exacting revenge
Captain Roderick McDonald recruited colonists in the city of Glasgow, Scotland
One hundred twenty-five tenant farmers sailed to Canada to develop Lord Selkirk's vast land grant
of 116,000 square miles which comprised large portions of
(today's Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Northern Minnesota and North Dakota)
these settlers became affiliated with Hudson's Bay Company

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S PARTY CROSSES CHEYENNE INDIAN COUNTRY

Because several members of his Overland Expedition were ill two weeks had been spent
hunting and trading with the Cheyennes
Hunt assigned six hunters to look for buffalo
Wilson Price Hunt led his Overland Expedition out of the Cheyenne camp -- August 6, 1811
his long cavalcade crossed the Cheyenne River and moved off veering south for several days
terrain they crossed became red ground as hard as brick with little grass
however, the hunters killed several buffalo
Travel was easy and forty-two miles were made August 6 and 7

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON REACHES THE SNAKE RIVER

Thompson arrived at the mouth of the Snake River ahead of David Stuart and the Astorians
here Thompson on his way down the Columbia River had left a message
formally taking possession of the land for King George III and Great Britain
he now added a British flag to his notice -- August 7, 1811
Thompson discovered a huge gathering of Nez Perce in the area and found an Indian interpreter
in an effort to protect the north country for the North West Company
he asked the Indian to divert the trailing Astorians up the Snake River

WILSON PRICE HUNT ENTERS THE BLACK HILLS WITH HIS ASTORIANS

Ground over which they traveled became rough and water was scarce
Hunt slowed the pace to his hunters who were behind him could catch up
Pierre Dorion led Wilson Price Hunt's approximately fifty-nine Astorians

and their heavily laden pack string traveled through the Slim Buttes area (South Dakota)
as they skirted around the northern edge of the Black Hills

HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITON CONTINUES THEIR TREK SOUTHWESTWARD

Having found their way around the Black Hills, Wilson Price Hunt's overland Astorians
entered briefly into (present day Montana)
turning southwest they followed the Little Missouri River
Astorians traveled without incident -- they frequently camped with friendly natives
they crossed the Little Missouri River (Montana) -- August 11, 1811

DAVID THOMPSON TURNS UP THE SNAKE RIVER

Leaving the Columbia River Nor'Wester Thompson traveled up the Snake River
which he followed as far as the Palouse River
there he secured horses and went cross-country to the Spokane River
where he arrived -- August 13, 1811
David Thompson remained in camp on the Spokane River while he built a cedar canoe

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION SEES THE BIG HORN MOUNTAINS

(Having touched briefly into Montana the Astorians entered Wyoming)
Travel became very difficult as the terrain was extremely rugged
Hunt retraced his route found his hunters had killed eight buffalo
Wilson Price Hunt and Astor's partner Donald McKenzie climbed a nearby hill
from the top their view to the west revealed far off mountains -- August 17, 1811
this was the Big Horn Mountain range of the Rocky Mountains
that appeared to block their route

DAVID THOMPSON JOURNEYS DOWN THE SPOKANE RIVER

Nor'Wester David Thompson having built a cedar canoe
was off once again descending Spokane River -- August 17, 1811
Thompson and his seven men reached the Columbia River at Spokane House that day
Kanaka Naukane (also known as John Coxe) traveled with Thompson as far as Spokane House
there he was left with Nor'Wester Jaco Finlay
After spending one night at Spokane House David Thompson and his six voyageurs
continued rapidly on their journey upriver bound for Kettle Falls -- August 18, 1811

DAVID STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS REACH THE SNAKE RIVER

David Stuart with his twenty-one Astorians had trailing behind Nor'Wester David Thompson since they two parties had parted company at the Columbia River gorge when the Astorians arrived at the mouth of the Snake River they found the British flag with a paper notice left by David Thompson that claimed the area for Great Britain and warned subjects of other nations not to trade north of this point Nez Perce Indians tried to persuade the Americans to travel up the Snake River however, David Stuart detected this was a maneuver initiated by Thompson ignoring David Thompson's message, the Astorians continued up the Columbia River with the Kootenai Indian couple serving as guides

TRAVEL BECOME EASIER FOR WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ASTORIANS

Water was available among the hills and wild berries were plentiful -- five buffalo had been killed however, the weather turned cold and it froze at night they had reached the location that separates the water flowing east into the Missouri River from the water flowing west into the Yellowstone River -- August 20, 1811

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S EXPEDITION JOURNEYS TOWARD THE BIG HORN MOUNTAINS

Hunt's Astorians set their course by the summits of the Big Horn Range far to the west Wilson Price Hunt continued across the open country (of today's eastern Wyoming) water was scarce and the heat stifling they saw no more buffalo as the ground was bare of grass corn meal and a wolf provided them with supper one night after twenty-five miles along a waterless route a small stream gave cherished relief to the parched throats of Astorians and horses alike another long stretch of hard travel was necessary before they came to a fork of the Powder River at last, they had reached a green meadow and water where they camped -- August 25, 1811

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ASTORIANS LEAVE THE POWDER RIVER BEHIND

Wilson Price Hunt set a slow pace along the banks of the Powder River (Wyoming) buffalo were plentiful here and the hunters were busily killing and drying meat Astor's Overland Expedition made camp (probably near today's Cloud Peak) near the southern end of the Big Horn Mountains they had traveled nearly four hundred miles since leaving the Arikara villages -- August 30, 1811 While camp was being prepared interpreter Edward Rose suddenly appeared with two scouts from a band of Crow Indians it was evident the Indians had kept Hunt's expedition under observation for some days

ASTORIAN DAVID STUART SELECTS A SITE FOR A SECOND PACIFIC FUR COMPANY POST

David Stuart and Alexander Ross along with twenty-one Astorians who had traveled on the *Tonquin* journeyed up the Columbia River for thirty-nine days before they selected a site for the second of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company posts -- August 31, 1811 on the east bank of the Okanogan River about one-half mile above the confluence of Okanogan and Columbia rivers -- this became known as Fort Okanogan

MANY MORE CROW INDIANS ARRIVE THE CAMP OF HUNT'S OVERLANDERS

Crow Indians on horseback rode into Wilson Price Hunt's camp -- not even the children were on foot interpreter Edward Rose was an ex-Lisa employee which raised Hunt's suspicions that he was plotting to betray the expedition to the Crows

Hunt, who was fatefully inexperienced, would never ask the totally reliable Rose for advice Hunt and some of the Astorians followed the Indians to their village accompanied by Edward Rose who was pleased to see his old friends the Crows once again

When the Astorians arrived at the village Edward Rose established cordial relations with the Indians they were warmly received them by the chief

Hunt gave him a piece of red cloth, some powder, bullets and other items

Hunt also gave him presents of tobacco, knives and trade goods to give to his people

Wilson Price Hunt purchased buffalo robes and traded his tired horses for fresh ones

he also purchased enough well-trained horses able to cross the mountains

to bringing the total to 121

However, when Hunt attempted to end the session the Crows turned hostile

Hunt attributed this development to Edward Rose

Wilson Price Hunt was none too certain of keeping the horses he had paid for in goods

if the Crows should take a notion to recover them

OVERLAND ASTORIANS LOSE THEIR WAY

Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition was again under way -- September 2, 1811

however, their progress through the Bighorn Mountains was blocked

they were forced to return to their camp of [September 1]

Hunt learned that Edward Rose approached some malcontents of the party with a plan

to run off the pack horses with their rich bales of trade goods and join the Crow Indians

Hunt stopped the plan with a bribe:

he offered Rose a year's pay, a horse, three beaver traps and merchandise

and he could to go back to the Crows after Rose guided the party through Crow country

Edward Rose eagerly accepted and joined the first Crow Indians that were encountered
Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor serving as guides became confused
this route through the Big Horn Mountains was unknown to them
the maze of ravines they now entered led nowhere

CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON FORT OKANOGAN

Fort Okanogan was located on the east bank of the Okanogan River
one-half mile above its confluence with the Columbia River
this was the first American settlement in (today's Washington State)
and became the principal interior factory of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company
Astorians set to work building Fort Okanogan as clerk Alexander Ross wrote in his journal: **"As soon as we could dismiss the distant tribes, who had come to welcome our arrival, we commenced erecting a small dwelling house, sixteen by twenty feet, chiefly constructed of driftwood, being more handy and easier got than standing timber;..."**⁹¹

ASTOR'S OVERLANDERS RECEIVE ANOTHER VISIT FROM EDWARD ROSE

Edward Rose, who had left with his Crow brethren, came into camp -- September 4, 1811
he delivered a message from a Crow chief who advise the white men they had taken a wrong turn
Rose pointed out a trail through the Bighorn Mountains that was both shorter and better
Since Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor's attempts to find a pass over the mountains
had been futile, Wilson Price Hunt followed the new trail -- although with serious misgivings
Soon Crow Indians taking the same route were encountered and led the way
with the way and the Pacific Fur Company Land Expedition following
if the Crows were famed for their horse stealing, they were no less justly famed
for the superior horsemanship -- every man, woman and child rode
their small-hoofed, slight ponies could seemingly cling to the face of a cliff
or race along the rocky ledges with the confidence of mountain goats
there was a child tied to a two-year-old colt with buffalo thongs who held the reins in one hand
he frequently used his whip
Hunt asked about the child's age and was told that he had seen two winters -- did not yet talk!
Camp was made that night beside a small river in the middle of the Big Horn Mountains
the next day the Overland Expedition rested as they waited for the return of their hunters
when they returned they had killed two buffalo and a gray bear
Crows left Hunt's expedition far behind but they had shown him the road

⁹¹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 80.

though Hunt had suspected their motives it appeared they were sincere with their help

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S PARTY MET A PARTY OF SHOSHONE (SNAKE) INDIANS

Hunt's Overlanders were fortunate enough to meet three Indians families -- September 6, 1811

some of the eight natives were Flatheads and some were Snakes (Shoshones)

Joining the natives they continued westward across the second ridge of the Big Horn Mountains

they saw some beautiful country: an abundance of springs, green grasslands, forests of pine

and innumerable plants in bloom

They camped near a brook that flowed north and emptied into the Big Horn River

here the ground was covered with two species of gooseberries

one of men brought some strawberries that he had just picked

They killed an elk and several black-tailed deer

buffalo were quite numerous, too, so that the mountainside looked like one continuous barnyard

Hunt's Astorians and the Indians enjoyed a buffalo hunt

Shoshones directed Hunt toward the Wind River some thirty miles distant

they told the Astorian that it would lead him toward the pass which opened

on the south fork of the Columbia River (Snake River) and the land of the Shoshones

Shoshones then went on their separate way as the Overland Expedition entered the plains

DAVID THOMPSON COMPLETES HIS VOYAGE OF A SUMMER MOON

Traveling by canoe from Kettle Falls Nor'Wester David Thompson and his voyageurs

ascended the Columbia River and navigated the Arrow Lakes (British Columbia)

They continued upriver (to the area north of today's Revelstoke, British Columbia)

Thompson arrived at Boat Encampment and remained overnight there -- September 7-8, 1811

ASTORIANS TRAVELING OVERLAND WITH WILSON PRICE HUNT REACH THE WIND RIVER

Once again guided by Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor

Hunt's Overland Party arrived at the Big Horn River which was here called the Wind River

because the wind blows so continually that the snow never remains on the ground (Wyoming)

Edward Robinson, John Hoback, and Jacob Reznor assured Wilson Price Hunt

that by tracing the Wind River to its source and crossing the ridge of mountains there

they would reach the headwaters of the Snake River

After journeying up the Wind River for about eighty miles over several days

camp was made on the banks of a small river -- September 9, 1811

they could see below the canyon through which the river escaped the mountain meadows

it was a very narrow gorge flanked on both sides by cliffs

Several days were taken as Wilson Price Hunt's Astorians crossed and re-crossed the Wind River sagebrush in ample supply provided fuel for their campfires
mountains closed in on the plain and country became very rugged and the footing tortuous

ASTORIANS SEEK OUT INTERIOR INDIANS TO CONDUCT TRADE

David Stuart ordered twelve of his trappers out to establish trap lines and contact local Indians
After supplying the post with trade goods and ammunition Astorian David Stuart and eight other men proceeded north from Fort Okanogan three hundred miles up the Okanogan River
leaving Alexander Ross behind to serve as Clerk-in-charge at Fort Okanogan

Alexander Ross recorded in his journal: "...**but while the building was in a half-finished state... Mr. Stuart and the remaining men set off on a journey towards the north, or headwaters of the Okanogan, intending to return in the course of a month, while I was to remain alone at the establishment till Mr. Stuart's return, my only civilized companion being a little Spanish pet dog from Monterey, called Weasel.**"⁹²

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S PARTY ENTERS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Wilson Price Hunt decided to veer again to the southwest and follow a distinct and easy Indian trail where Hunt had heard another river cut a way through the Rocky Mountains
and they would see buffalo again -- September 15, 1811

Hunt led his Astorians southwest along the high country touched here and there with snow
after forty miles they reached a high ridge which commanded a wide view
a hunter pointed to where three towering majestic peaks that loomed in snowy grandeur
pierced the sky far to the west

(these were the famous Three Tetons astride present-day Wyoming-Idaho border)

Hunt said that at the feet of the Tetons was the tributary of the Columbia River
and named the peaks "Pilot Knobs"

ASTOR'S OVERLANDERS CROSS THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE

Wilson Price Hunt turned northwest again to seek a pass through the Rocky River Mountains
they frequently encountered snow as they approached the summit

Wilson Price Hunt and his Overland expedition crossed the Continental Divide -- September 16, 1811
(probably at Union Pass south of today's Dubois, Wyoming)

Eight miles of riding southward from (Union Pass) led the Overland Party to a little mountain stream
Astorians followed the flowing water to the Green River Valley (Wyoming)

⁹² W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 80.

They halted beside the Green River in a beautiful green meadow where many buffalo grazed
here they were surrounded by mountains

Hunt supposed this river would empty into the Columbia River

(in fact, after emptying into the Colorado River it reaches the Gulf of California

Hunt and his Astorians were on the north fork of the Colorado River

this was not the Columbia River as Hunt had anticipated)

WILSON PRICE HUNT IS LOST AND DOES NOT KNOW IT

Hunt led his Overland Expedition northwest where he thought the Columbia River was located
they turned up a small stream that flowed from the mountains

where they stopped to dry the last buffalo meat they would need

before they reached the Columbia River and could catch fish -- September 18, 1811

While hunting, some of the men met Indians who appeared extremely frightened by the whites

Hunt, Donald McKenzie, Robert McClellan and two others gave chase for eight miles

before finally catching two young men who were put at ease and led the whites to their camp

these were Shoshone Indians who had come to this area to hunt and dry meat

they fed the Astorians and made them feel welcomed

they had only one buffalo robe and a dozen beaver pelts which the Astorians bought

Hunt urged them to kill more of the beaver and told them they would return to their camp

to trade with them which seemed to please the Indians a great deal

Hunt purchased nearly two thousand pounds of dried buffalo meat that when added

to the more than four thousand pounds Hunt's men had prepared loaded all of the horses but six

DAVID STUART BUILDS A THIRD PORT FOR THE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

Stuart and his party of eight men became the first whites to travel through the Okanogan Valley
as they searched the area between the Columbia and Fraser rivers

looking for a place to locate yet another trading post

Stuart and his men passed Osoyoos Lake and Okanogan Lake

and continued through Thompson River country to the forks of the Thompson River

this was the land of the Shu-swap Indians (in present British Columbia)

David Stuart with his eight men arrived at "Cumcloups"

(the original Shu-swap Indian name for Kamloops meaning "meeting of the waters")

Stuart intended to establish a fur trading empire for the United States-based Pacific Fur Company

Stuart spent the (winter) trapping and trading in that region at a post (later named Kamloops)

INDIANS AROUND ASTORIA BECOME VERY THREATENING

Months would pass before full details of the tragedy of the *Tonquin* would be learned
but even before the full story was known at the post Astorians sensed Indian trouble was brewing
inspired by rumors about the fate of Astor's ship
natives along the Columbia River had begun making strong talk:
if the white man's ship could be captured, why not a similar attack on his fort?
Luckily a secondary Chinook chief sounded a warning
alarmed Astorians threw up a long palisade around their warehouse,
dragged cannon into the corner bastions and instituted drills and watches

CHIEF FACTOR DUNCAN McDOUGALL THREATENS THE CHINOOK INDIANS

Acting head of Pacific Fur Company stationed at Astoria Chief Factor Duncan McDougall
learned of the dreadful loss of Indian life that had resulted from a smallpox epidemic
Indians were mortally fearful of contracting the disease
he also remembered the terror which the man-dressed Kootenai prophetess
had inspired with her talk of smallpox
Duncan McDougall sought to bolster the Astorians' defenses by a bluff
he called the local principal chiefs to meet together inside the post
he closed the doors, held up a small bottle and asked the natives if they remembered smallpox
their serious faces showed that they did
McDougall showed them the small vial and told them it contained smallpox
he said: **"Listen to me. I am the great smallpox chief. In this little bottle I keep the great
smallpox. If I uncork the bottle and let it out I will kill every man, woman, and child of the Indians.
Now go in peace, but if you make war upon us I will open the bottle, and you will die."**⁹³
Appalled, the Indians were frightened and promised to behave
but they had lost respect for a chief who would use such tactics
and they did not forget the white man's claim of being able to control disease

LORD SELKIRK'S COLONISTS REACH HUDSON BAY

After a stormy voyage of nearly two months across the North Atlantic Ocean
Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's ships entered the barren strait leading to Hudson Bay
they anchored along the shallow western shore of Hudson Bay
where two rivers, the Nelson and the Hayes, enter the bay and the passengers disembarked
they marched to Hudson's Bay Company's York Factory on the north bank of the Hayes River
There was not enough room for all of the colonists at York Factory

⁹³ Lyman, William Denison, *The Columbia River*, P. 122.

so they crossed to the Nelson River
and ascended it until they found a large stand of white spruce
here they built a post for the (winter) under the direction of Governor Miles Macdonell
settlers naturally banded themselves into groups based on their original home
as fall (and winter advanced) and living conditions grew increasingly harsh
these groups with their separate grievances gave Macdonell a great deal of trouble

PACIFIC FUR COMPANY OVERLANDERS DEPART FROM THE GREEN RIVER VALLEY

Wilson Price Hunt and his Overland Expedition broke camp -- September 24, 1811
their westerly course across the Gros Ventre Range of the Central Rocky Mountains
In a rugged valley and within close view of the Three Tetons Mountains
they reached a stream where Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback, and Jacob Reznor
had trapped beavers a year before
Edward Robinson, John Hoback, and Jacob Reznor announced this was a branch
of the Columbia River and the southern edge of Jackson's Hole (Wyoming)
Hoback River (as it is still called) is a tributary of the Snake River
and therefore one of the source streams for the Columbia River
here they stopped to rest

HUNT'S OVERLAND PARTY LEAVES THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Wilson Price Hunt's Party continued down the Hoback River through precipitous passes
to its mouth where it emptied into wider turbulent waters of Snake River
at times there was barely a ledge wide enough for their horses
one of the pack horses fell into the river from a height of nearly two hundred feet but was not hurt
Camp was made at the confluence of the Hoback and Snake rivers -- September 27, 1811
men and horses were given a rest
this opportunity was taken to kill and dry meat enough for the remainder of their journey
There was great joy in camp that night
they had crossed two hundred and sixty miles of hard country during September
evening meal was a feast of celebration as all believed their troubles had ended
they now were apparently almost within hailing distance of the Columbia River
four of the men who had joined for the purpose of hunting and trapping
cast off from the party and launched into the wilds on their own
Since the expedition was camped near the headwaters of the Snake River
it was hoped they could continue their journey by water -- voyageurs set about canoe-making
however, finding suitable trees for building canoes proved to be impossible

WILSON PRICE HUNT DISPATCHES A TRAPPING PARTY TO FORT HENRY

Three French-Canadians were sent north to investigate beaver streams
Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry
they were fitted out with traps, arms, ammunition, horses and every other necessity
these three trappers set out to the northeast away from the Snake River
in a effort to reach the Missouri River

HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION MAKES CANOES TO TRAVEL DOWN THE SNAKE RIVER

Wilson Price Hunt moved his camp further down the Snake River -- September 29, 1811
because the trees there were better suited for making canoes
Voyageurs happily went about their work constructing canoes as sleet and rain impeded their efforts
many trees were felled that were not useful because they were filled with knots
and their wood grain was not strait enough

WILSON PRICE HUNT PREPARES FOR A DESPERATE FUTURE

Because the lack of food prevented any delay in their journey
Hunt and the remainder of the Overland Expedition went to work sorting their baggage
they set aside only what was most necessary and began to dig holes
to cache the remainder of their goods
rain fell so hard it was impossible to finish digging the holes
Clerk John Reed along with hunter John Day and interpreter Pierre Dorion
were sent down the Snake River to try to get horses and provisions from the local Indians
and learn if the river was passable beyond where Hunt investigated -- September 30, 1811

SOME CONSTRUCTION AT ASTORIA IN OREGON IS COMPLETED

In spite of the troubles and illnesses of the Astorians and Kanakas,
some sort of a post was finally completed -- but not until late September
It was planned that Astor's agents would secure most if not all of the furs trapped by coastal Indians
these furs would be sent to Canton, China and exchanged there for tea and silk at a profit
tea and silk would be sold in New York City at an added profit
however, the destruction of the *Tonquin* and lack of trade goods made this impossible

NORTH WEST COMPANY BRIGADE IS DUE AT SALEESH HOUSE

Carrying supplies from North West Company headquarters on Lake Superior
the supply brigade was due to arrive at Saleesh House-- October 1, 1811

however, the expedition was late and some goods were left east of the Rocky Mountains
loss of these supplies and trade goods left a negative effect on morale and trade
which would be felt (all through the coming winter)

WILSON PRICE HUNT RELEASES FOUR MORE MEN TO TRAP

Alexander Carson, Louis St. Michel, Pierre Detaye and Pierre Delaunay
were released from duty -- October 1, 1811

they were to trap the upper part of Snake River and its neighboring streams
then make their way to the Columbia River with their catch

Trappers generally worked in pairs so they could assist, protect and comfort each other
in their lonely and perilous occupations

Carson and St. Michel formed one couple, and Detaye and Delaunay another
All four trappers took leave of their comrades and started off with stout hearts and cheerful attitudes
to return eastward to trap the headwaters of the upper Snake River
these trappers would probably be busy for some months

when they had collected a sufficient quantity of pelts they were to pack them on their horses
and make their way the best they could to the mouth of Columbia River
or to any intermediate post which might be established by the Pacific Fur Company

ASTORIAN CLERK JOHN REED RETURNS TO WILSON PRICE HUNT'S CAMP

Rain continued to hinder their digging holes and the work was not finished until October 2, 1811
when they put their baggage and merchandise into six caches

Clerk John Reed, John Day and Pierre Dorion returned to the camp after scouting the river ahead
they had gone beyond where Hunt had scouted the river but met no Indians

they said the Snake River maintained its furious course between rocks that rose like walls
boiling through narrow rugged channels

in disgust and despair Reed's men had named one long volcanic chute they followed
"The Devil's Scuttle Hole"

they reported they had been obliged to leave their horses

as they were of no help in climbing the mountains

after an hour's effort to get through on foot along the river banks

they had been forced to abandon their attempt

they concluded that to get across the peaks would have been an endless labor

Snake River became very narrow with its twisting course obstructed by many rapids

so far as the scouts could see the river continued to flow through the heart of the Rockies
and was not navigable

Their report only added to the general feeling of hopelessness

Hunt concluded it would be necessary to look farther downstream for wood for their canoes to avoid the dangers that stood in their path

ASTORIANS ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER LAUNCH A SMALL SHIP OF THEIR OWN

Framework of a small ship was carried in the hold of the *Tonquin*

this small trading schooner was constructed at Astoria

as other planking was made from native woods grown along the Columbia River was added christened *Dolly* in honor of Mrs. John Jacob Astor, she was launched -- October 2, 1811

this was the first boat to be constructed in the Pacific Northwest by Americans

HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION SETS OUT FROM THE HOBACK AND SNAKE RIVERS

Preparations for what Hunt believed would be the last mountains they would have to cross were completed -- October 4, 1811

Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition crossed the Snake River in water up to the bellies of their horses

while the storms had ended the surrounding slopes were covered with snow

Camp was made that night at the foot of the Teton Range of the Rocky Mountains

HUNT'S ASTORIANS TRAVEL THROUGH THE TETON MOUNTAINS

Climbing the mountain range began -- October 5, 1811

guided by Shoshone Indians the expedition followed an easy heavily-used trail

Edward Robinson, John Hoback, and Jacob Reznor were also familiar with the route

HUNT'S OVERLANDERS REACH FORT HENRY ON THE SNAKE RIVER

Wilson Price Hunt's Astorians now numbering about fifty-two people

reached Fort Henry on Henry's Fork of the Snake River (near present-day St. Anthony, Idaho) during a squall of wind and snow -- October 8, 1811

nearly three months after leaving the Arikara villages

Andrew Henry had abandoned the post [during the spring 1811]

however, several small buildings remained along the bank of Henry's Fork of the Snake Hunt took possession of the Henry's Fort for John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company

WILSON PRICE HUNT INSISTS ON CONSTRUCTING CANOES

Hunt was obsessed with reaching the Pacific Ocean by water rather than land

the Snake, at least in Wilson Price Hunt's mind, provided a water route to the Columbia River

and on to the Pacific Ocean
Hunt decided to abandon the horses at Henry's Fort in favor of the Snake River
he insisted on building canoes for the run down the Snake River
his voyageurs spent ten valuable days building cottonwood canoes

LAMAZEE MANAGED TO RETURN TO ASTORIA AFTER SEVERL MONTHS

Lamaze, who had served as interpreter for Chief Trade Alexander McKay onboard the *Tonquin*, reached Astoria several months where he was persuaded to tell his tale although the Chehalis Indian was not convincing regarding his own part in the tragedy none-the-less clerk Gabriel Franchere recorded Lamazee's story in his *Journal*: (after Chief Trader Alexander McKay had both been killed in the attack on the *Tonquin* Lamazee said) **"I jumped overboard, to escape a similar fate to that of the captain and Mr. M'Kay: the women in the canoes, to whom I surrendered myself as a slave, took me in, and bade me hide under some mats which were in the pirogues; which I did. Soon after, I heard the discharge of firearms, immediately upon which the Indians fled from the vessel, and pulled for the shore as fast as possible, nor did they venture to go alongside the ship again the whole of that day."**⁹⁴

Lamazee was the only Pacific Fur Company employee to survive the attack

JOHN JACOB ASTOR NEGOTIATES AN ARRAGEMENT WITH THE RUSSIANS

Astor had diligently pursued an arrangement with the Russian-American Company to bind his trading companies and the Russians to an agreement:

- neither company would enter each others hunting grounds;
- neither company would provide weapons or ammunition to the Indian;
- both companies would provide mutual support against any rival company that entered their area;
- in addition the Pacific Fur Company would have exclusive rights to supply the Russian posts and receive payment in pelts;
- Pacific Fur Company also would carry Russian furs to Canton, sell them at a commission and bring back the proceeds

This arrangement was agreed to by the Russian Czar -- October 1811

it was to run for four years and could renewable for another four

This arrangement was meant to exclude rival trapping and trading companies from the Pacific coast and would change the nature of the fur trade from the arrival of an occasional trading ship

⁹⁴ Gabriel Franchere and Jedediah Huntington, *Franchere's Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast, 1811-1814*, P. 291.

to a fleet of Pacific Fur Company trading ships operating constantly along the Pacific coast

JOHN JACOB ASTOR DISPATCHES A SUPPLY SHIP TO HIS COLUMBIA RIVER POST

Four hundred ninety ton ship *Beaver* under Captain Cornelius Sowle
was loaded with stores and trading equipment in New York City
for the post at the mouth of the Columbia River
and to supply the Russians in Russian-America
also on board was John Jacob Astor's newest partners John Clarke
five clerks, fifteen American laborers and six French-Canadian voyageurs
Astor planned to diminish the importance of former Nor'Westers working for him
and increase the significance of Americans to make the Pacific Fur Company American
American John Clarke had been employed in the fur trade since the age of sixteen
Beaver sailed from New York City -- October 10, 1811

Captain Cornelius Sowle was to journey first to the Hawaiian Islands
to learn of the fortunes of the *Tonquin* and, if a post had been established on the Columbia,
he was to take as many Kanakas (Hawaiians) with him as possible
when Captain Sowle arrived at the Columbia River he was to use great caution
because even if a post had been built it could have fallen into hostile hands
he was to put in as if he were under distress and say he was a coasting trading ship
he was not to say anything about the ship belonging to John Jacob Astor
until he was certain who possessed the post
if the post was operating as hope he was to land the cargo intended for Astoria
then proceed to New Archangel, Russian-America with supplies for the Russians
these were to be paid for with pelts
Captain Sowle was then to return to Astoria and take in the furs there
before sailing for Canton, China

HUNT DISPATCHES A TRAPPING PARTY TO WORK THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY

After an outburst of rage by Astor's hot tempered partner Joseph Miller
it was decided Miller would lead a party of trappers composed of the Kentuckians
Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor who had completed their service as guides
and wanted to remain in their old trapping grounds and seek beaver pelts
they were accompanied by Martin Cass who had joined the expedition at the Arikara Villages
they took two Shoshone Indians, four horses two beaver traps as they set out down the mountains
to find an Indian tribe to acquire useful information regarding their hunt -- October 10, 1811
Joseph Miller along with Edward Robinson, John Hoback, Jacob Reznor and Martin Cass

struck a northerly route from Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho)
these trappers followed the Snake River until it began to turn westward
they remained in the region around Fort Henry but not in the lands they already knew

HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION PREPARED TO CONTINUE WEST

Wilson Price Hunt turned loose his seventy-seven horses
in the care of two Shoshone Indians -- October 17, 1811
Hunt loaded the freight onto fifteen canoes and left the Indians in charge of the post
saddles were cached and their location was shown to two young Shoshone Indians
Indians in the vicinity of Fort Henry (Idaho) were very poor
while many buffalo and some elk visited the region in season
hunger plagued these people the remainder of the year
wind blew constantly and often violently from the west and caused a great deal of damage

WILSON PRICE HUNT SETS OUT FROM FORT HENRY ON THE SNAKE RIVER (IDAHO)

Hunt and his forty-four men, Marie Dorion and her two children left Fort Henry
and started down Henry's Fork of the Snake River
in their newly-made canoes loaded with goods and supplies -- October 19, 1811
Presently Henry's Fork joined with the green-tinted waters of a river Hunt named the "Canoe River"
(today's Teton River)
they were over six hundred miles above the point where Lewis and Clark
had launched their canoes on the Snake River six years before
Wilson Price Hunt's fleet ran the Snake River with ease as down the widened river
sped the canoes at a rapid pace
voyageurs were singing to the swift rhythmic strokes of their paddles
they made thirty miles before they camped for the night
banks of the river were lined with small cottonwoods with beaver, ducks and geese common
it was cold and snowed all day

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S JOURNEY BECOMES MORE DIFFICULT

Snake River became more beautiful and much larger as they continued downriver -- October 20, 1811
forty miles were made that day but throughout the last twenty the river was broken by rapids
with increasing velocity the current swept them into the great semicircular curve the river
carved through southern (Idaho)
they passed over some of the rapids by cordelling from shore with a towline
as the canoes were tied to ropes and floated down the river

two of the canoes were swamped and Hunt's expedition was forced to stop
Hunt sent his canoe and one other to the rescue as the men were saved
but a good deal of merchandise and supplies were lost to the river
Rocky Mountains remained on their left as they moved on
it was cold as they traveled on still within sight of Pilot Knob (the Grand Tetons)

DAVID THOMPSON CROSSES ATHABASCA PASS

From Boat Encampment, Nor'Wester David Thompson struck overland toward Athabasca Pass
to Henry House (near today's Jasper, Alberta)
David Thompson then, once again, re-crossed Athabasca Pass -- October 21, 1811
returning to Boat Encampment on the Canoe River (British Columbia)

HUNT AND HIS ASTORIANS CONTINUE THROUGH THE RAPIDS OF THE SNAKE RIVER

They kept to Snake River for ten grueling days of portages, cordelling and disheartening hazards
mishap followed mishap as the surrounding land grew barren
treeless cliffs of black lava two and three hundred feet high pinched tight on the boiling water
hopes for an easy completion of their journey were dashed
Their dangers and difficulties increased daily
canoes had to be lightened to pass through the very rough waters
during these perilous passages, Marie Dorion, in a boat with her husband Pierre,
held on to her two children amid the icy spray lest they fall overboard and be lost
portages were necessary to avoid waterfalls and rapids
they found a large rock obstructed the river from bank to bank
ropes were used to lower the canoes
they lost four canoes along with most of the cargo in them

ASTORIAN JOSEPH MILLER AND HIS TRAPPERS SEARCH FOR BEAVER STREAMS

Astor's partner Joseph Miller with Edward Robinson, John Hoback, Jacob Reznor and Martin Cass
veered south where the Snake River until it began to turn westward
they and trekked more than two hundred miles across the Continental Divide
but their route did not cross through any mountain pass
they entered the desert and their route took them to the Bear River (Utah)
after almost a month of travel on the lower end of the Bear River
they found streams alive with beaver and halted to gather a rich harvest of pelts
in (today's Great Salt Lake region)

SLAKE RIVER BECAME A RAGING TORRENT AT CALDRON LINN

Continuing the journey down the Snake River Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition reached raging rapids they named "Caldron Linn" that threatened the destruction of both men and canoes (today's Star Falls where the Snake River squeezes down to less than forty feet wide west of today's Burley, Idaho) -- October 28, 1811

French-Canadian boatmen leaped into action

to avoid being sucked into the vortex of a whirlpool that formed behind a huge rock river-wise voyageurs managed by almost superhuman effort to pull the first boat out of the suction caused by the whirlpool and reached the safety of land

Ramsay Crooks' canoe steered by Antoine Clappine was not as fortunate this canoe was sucked into the watery vortex

Ramsay Crooks and one of the oarsmen stayed afloat long enough to be cast on the river's bank by the revolving current two other voyageurs hung precariously to a rock protruding out of the white water Clappine clung to the dugout but was eventually shaken loose sucked into the angry water the former Nor'Wester was seen no more Clappine was one of the most experienced and skillful of the French-Canadian voyageurs his death was a great loss to the expedition

Hunt and his shaken companions made camp next to the raging waters of Caldron Linn

Astor's partners held a council to contemplate their future course

loss of the supplies and especially the loss of Antoine Clappine was extremely distressing Hunt sent three men downriver along the south bank of the Snake River in search of a portage site Hunt took three men ahead to see if they could take their canoes through the north side of the gorge they traveled along the bank of the river for thirty-five miles following the river northwest through the mountains as the river bed narrowed to a width of from sixty feet to ninety feet full of rapids with waterfalls from ten to forty feet high

Hunt discovered there were only two places where they could climb down to the river as high cliffs compressed the river along most of its route supper that night for Hunt and his three companions consisted of the fruit of a rose tree isolated from the main group they slept beside their campfire that night

WILSON PRICE HUNT RETURNS TO CALDRON LINN

Hunt returned to his camp along Caldron Linn -- October 29, 1811

there he learned from the three men he had sent along the south bank that they had found a place where they believed a portage of six miles could be taken around Caldron Linn

Sixteen voyageurs with the expedition's four best canoes followed the route to the portage that had been suggested along the south bank of the Snake River to see if they could progress past Caldron Linn

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION'S SITUATION IS CRITICAL

After some two hundred and fifty miles of water travel down the Snake River they had experienced cataracts and waterfalls that forced laborious portages and finally deep gorges with sheer walls that made progress almost impossible advice from Shoshone Indians they met along the way had convinced Hunt that the Snake River Canyon would smash any canoe nearly a month had been lost in indecisiveness and inaction since leaving the Missouri River Pacific Fur Company expedition became disorganized and demoralized:

- Snake River was unnavigable;
- horses were 340 miles away -- too far to be of any use;
- Indians in the area were poverty-stricken themselves;
- food was giving out, only five days' worth remained, and game was scarce;
- (winter) was advancing as snow and cold increased their anxiety

Snake River itself was labeled by Wilson Price Hunt the "Accursed Mad River"

WILSON PRICE HUNT PREPARES FOR A DESPERATE FUTURE

Once again clerk John Reed was dispatched along with three men this time he was travel down the Snake River to try to get horses and provisions from the Indians and learn if the river was passable beyond where Hunt had investigated -- October 31, 1811 Because the lack of food prevented any delay in their journey Hunt and the remainder of the Overland Expedition went to work sorting their baggage they set aside only what was most necessary and began to dig holes to cache the remainder of their goods rain fell so hard it was impossible to finish digging the holes

HUNT'S SIXTEEN VOYAGEURS WHO ATTEMPTED THE SUGGESTED PORTAGE RETURNED

Sixteen of Wilson Price Hunt's voyageurs had followed the suggested route to the portage they had tried to force a passage through the Snake River Canyon They struggled back up the river through a pelting rain to give their depressing report to Hunt -- October 31, 1811 they said the banks of the Snake River had been investigated for forty miles with discouraging results as the river channel was impassable because of treacherous rapids

and narrow canyons
ahead lay 212 foot high (Shoshone Falls) where the Snake river plunges down
through a narrow chase between towering sides of sheet rock
this was followed by 182 foot high (Twin Falls)
one of their canoes and its load of merchandise was lost
three other canoes were caught among the rocks and had to be left

ASTOR'S PARTNERS LEADING THE OVERLAND EXPEDITION MAKE A FATEFUL DECISION

Situation of Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition was virtually without positive prospects:

- they were in the heart of an unknown wilderness unexplored by white men;
- they were at a loss as to what route to take and how far they were from Astoria;
- they did not know what direction to travel to find people to give them information;
- repeated accidents to their canoes had reduced their provisions to five days allowance

it strongly appeared that famine would be added to their list of sufferings

There appeared to be no way to continue their journey by water -- November 1, 1811

after losing two canoes, one man and most of their provisions in the wild Snake River

Astor's partners who shared responsibility for the expedition decided

to split into smaller groups and fan out on foot in different directions

in hopes of finding either a passable route or Indians who would provide them horses

WILSON PRICE HUNT SPLITS HIS EXPEDITION INTO SEPARATE PARTIES

Wilson Price Hunt decided the only way to escape from the Snake River was to divide into sections

he hoped one of the sections might find game or a way out of the Snake River's Caldron Linn

and report their success to the others

Remaining forty-six Overland Astorians were separated into five parties -- November 3, 1811

- Astor's partner Donald McKenzie with four men would turn northward in the hope that a trek across the arid Snake River Plains would enable them to find a route that would bring them ultimately to a navigable branch of the Columbia River;
- Astor's partner Robert McClellan with three men returned on foot back up the Snake River hoping to encounter a Shoshone Indian encampment where they might be able to procure food and a few horses if this hope failed, they were to make the long journey back to Fort Henry on the Snake River where they hoped to find the horses that had been left behind and return with them to the main body;
- Astor's partner Ramsay Crooks with three men would return on foot back up the Snake River hoping to encounter a Shoshone encampment

where he might be able to procure food and a few horses
if this hope failed, he was to make the long journey back to Fort Henry on the Snake River
where he hoped to find the horses that had been left behind
and return with them to the main body;

- two hunters to search for game animals were dispatched by Wilson Price Hunt;
- Astor's partner Wilson Price Hunt would keep the main party of thirty-one men with him
plus the pregnant Marie Dorion and her two children Baptiste and Paul
they set a net in the river in preparation to setting out but managed to catch only one fish

Hunt led the main contingent in four canoes and paddled back upstream away from Caldron Linn
while going around a point in the middle of some rapids they lost a canoe but saved the cargo

RAMSAY CROOKS RETURNS TO HUNT'S MAIN PARTY

Wilson Price Hunt's hunters caught up with the main party -- November 4, 1811
they had killed only eight beaver -- scant relief for the thirty-six traveling with Hunt
Ramsay Crooks unexpectedly returned with his three men
for a moment joy spread through the Astorians as they thought Crooks had found food and help
joy turned to despair as Crooks reported they had found the distance to Fort Henry
greater than they had expected and difficulties increasing with each step
Crooks concluded that he could not reach Fort Henry and get back before (winter)
therefore he abandoned the scheme

Thirty-seven Astorians plus Marie Dorion and her sons Baptiste and Paul
continued east back up the Snake River away from Caldron Linn
one avenue of hope, John Reed, was all but closed
remaining hope centered on the party led by clerk Robert McClellan
(partner Donald McKenzie had been assigned to travel directly to the Columbia River)

ALEXANDER ROSS FACES LIFE ALONE AT FORT OKANOGAN

Alexander Ross traded one hundred-ten beaver pelts for a yard of white cloth
one morning before breakfast

Clerk-in-charge Ross filled the loneliness by writing, **"The novelty of white men, and particularly of a white man alone, drew crowds of inquisitive Indians about the place. I mixed with them, traded with them, and at last began to talk with them, and ... soon came to understand them; but still the evenings were long and the winter dreary. Every night before going to bed I primed my gun and pistol anew and barricaded the door of my lonely dwelling; and the Indians, friendly inclined, always withdrew from the house at dusk. Yet they often had alarms among themselves and often gave me to understand that enemies or ill-disposed Indians were constantly lurking about; and**

whenever they began to whoop or yell in the night, which they frequently did, I, of course, partook of the alarm.”⁹⁵

“One night I was suddenly awakened out of my sleep by the unusual noise and continual barking of Weasel, running backwards and forwards through the house. Half asleep, half awake, I felt greatly agitated and alarmed. My faithful gun and pistol were at hand, for they lay always at my side in bed; but then all was dark; I could see nothing, could hear nothing but the barking of Weasel, which was continually growing louder and louder.

I then thought there must be somebody in the house, for I was ready to put the worst construction on appearances. In this perplexing dilemma I got my hand, with as little noise as possible, to the muzzle of my gun, and gradually drawing out the ramrod, tried, with my right arm stretched out, to stir up the embers so that I might see; but here again a new danger presented itself: I was exposing myself as a mark to a ball or an arrow, without the chance of defending myself, for the light would show me to the enemy before I could see my object. But there was no alternative and something must be done.

Between hope and despair I managed to stir up the ashes, so that I could see little Weasel running to and fro to the cellar door. I concluded that the enemy must be skulking in the cellar. I then, but not without difficulty, got a candle lighted. Holding the candle in my left hand, I laid hold of my pistol. With the lynx eye and wary step of a cat ready to pounce on its prey, I advanced rather obliquely, with my right arm stretched out at full length holding the cocked pistol, till I got to the cellar door, the little dog all the while making a furious noise; when, lo! what was there but a skunk sitting on a roll of tobacco! The shot blew it almost to atoms, and so delicately perfumed everything in the house that I was scarcely able to live in it for days afterwards.”⁹⁶

“October had now passed by and November also, but no Mr. [David] Stuart came, and various reports were circulated by the Indians as to his fate; and I now began to despair of his return. The delay of Mr. Stuart’s party had a visible effect on the conduct of the Indians: they became more bold, neglected their hunting and loitered about the place, as if in expectation of some sudden change. Strange Indians were every day swelling the camp; they held councils, too; altogether they were a changed people.”⁹⁷

TWO OF CLERK JOHN REED’S MEN RETURNED TO THE MAIN PARTY

Clerk John Reed and three men had set out [October 31] to investigate the Snake River beyond the area already investigated by Wilson Price Hunt

Two of those men now arrived back at Hunt’s main party and were hopefully received

⁹⁵ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P 80-81.

⁹⁶ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P 81.

⁹⁷ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 82.

but their report only added to the general feeling of hopelessness -- November 6, 1811
they had gone beyond where Hunt had scouted the river but met no Indians
the Snake River maintained its furious course boiling through narrow rugged channels
and between rocks that rose like walls
in disgust and despair Reed's men had named one long volcanic chute they followed
The Devil's Scuttle Hole

DONALD "FATS" MCKENZIE'S DETACHMENT HAD DISAPPEARED ACROSS THE PLAINS

With no accurate maps or experienced guides to rely on they followed an old Indian trail
(near the lava fields which now comprise the Craters of the Moon National Monument (Idaho)
it was believed that crossing the trackless wilderness of the (Idaho) plains would be very difficult
for five days McKenzie and his four men attempted to support themselves
by trapping and fishing along the Snake River -- both of which were unproductive
they soon exhausted their scant provisions and were unable to find any food at all
to appease their hunger they ate beaver skins roasted over the fire

HUNT'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION FACES A DESPERATE SITUATION

Both of the men traveling with clerk John Reed returned to the main expedition
reporting no Indians could be found nor was any prospect of a route to take them to safety
Wilson Price Hunt and Ramsay Crooks had a choice of impossible options:

- to wait for help that was not even expected from Donald McKenzie meant starvation;
- they could abandon the Snake River and launch out over the vast trackless plains without food
where they could perish of hunger or thirst
in fact, deserts of sand and gravel lay ahead of them
all the way from the Snake River to the Columbia
there was thin vegetation for pasture for game
treeless desolate and barren prairies stretched on for hundreds of miles
(this, of course, was all unknown to Hunt and Crooks)
- they could keep to the river where they would always have water and possibly fish or beaver
also, there was a stronger possibility of meeting Indians who could provide them food

WAR OF 1812 BACKGROUND

Great Britain was locked in a long and bitter conflict with Napoleon Bonaparte's France
in an attempt to cut off supplies from reaching their enemy
each combatant attempted to block the United States from trading with the other combatant
Many issues had remained unresolved since the end of the American Revolution [1783]

major American complaints against Great Britain included:

- trade restrictions brought about by Britain's continuing war with France;
- insults to American national honor by British humiliations on the high seas;
- impressment (kidnapping) of American merchant sailors into the British Navy;
- Britain support for American Indian tribes impeding America's expansion;
- American interest in annexing part of Canada which had been denied
at the end of the Revolution

United States took the opportunity to attempt to invade Canada

Indiana Territory Governor William Henry Harrison fought the Battle of Tippecanoe against Shawnee Indian leader Tecumseh, his brother Tenskwatawa (known as "The Prophet") and an Indian confederation of tribes -- November 7, 1811

this attack convinced the Indians of the region they needed British protection from America

British government then sent 15,000 more troops to North America

(United States declared war on Great Britain, Ireland and England's North American colonies and their Indian allies [June 18, 1812])

DONALD McKENZIE SUDDENLY ENCOUNTERS JOHN REED

Some distance below what had been named the Devils Scuttle Hole

Donald McKenzie unexpectedly encountered clerk John Reed and his traveling companion these seven Astorians traveled together following the banks of the Snake River through one of the most rugged sections of the United States

to their west lay the vast canyon of the Snake River -- in places more than a mile deep ahead and to the right timber-choked mountains towered above them

there was seldom any fresh water to be found on the arid plains high above the Snake River thirst-crazed men of the McKenzie-Reed Party drank their own urine

Members of the McKenzie-Reed party became so exhausted

that McKenzie was forced to carry his own pack plus two of his men's blankets

WILSON PRICE HUNT MAKES ANOTHER ILL-ADVISED DECISION

Wilson Price Hunt and Ramsay Crooks agreed the best course was to divide the company into two parties and proceed independently along the Snake River -- November 8, 1811

Wilson Price Hunt would lead nineteen men Astorians plus Marie Dorion and her two children along the north bank of the Snake River

Ramsay Crooks would lead nineteen others along the south bank

More time was lost as supplies and trade goods were cached in nine separate locations

each cache was placed in an underground depository lined with dry grass, sticks, or poles

these were covered and camouflaged
their excess supplies were thus hidden for future recovery
men caught a few beaver which increased their scanty food supply only slightly
essential items were put in twenty pound packs
each person carried five pounds of food including a quarter pound of meat
expedition's forty pounds of corn, twenty pounds of fat and five pounds of bouillon cubes
were divided among the packs to keep forty-three Astorians alive
some blankets, ammunition, traps and other essentials were packed
in addition each person also carried their own articles and equipment

OVERLAND EXPEDITION SETS OUT ON OPPOSITE SIDES OF THE SNAKE RIVER

Far below the Astorians the river raged at the foot of cliffs two hundred and three hundred feet high
Wilson Price Hunt set out with his nineteen men, Marie Dorion and her sons Baptiste and Paul,
along the north bank of the Snake River
Ramsay Crooks led his nineteen men along the south bank of the Snake River
from a place (later known as "Farewell Bend" where the Oregon Trail left the Snake River)
Hunt and his companions trudged for twenty-eight miles -- November 9, 1811
Marie Dorion bore her pack -- frequently with the added weight of her two-year-old son Paul
while the other child Baptiste aged four marched beside her
there is no record of any complaint from her although she was now seven months pregnant
Hunt's Astorians camped under an outcropping of overhanging rocks high above the river's edge
some rain had fallen during the day and puddles of water provided adequate relief from thirst
as it was only with great difficulty that water could be brought up from the river in a kettle

HUNT CONTINUES WITH HIS PARTY OF ASTORIANS ALONG THE SNAKE'S NORTH BANK

Wilson Price Hunt's Astorians pressed onward with the river far below them
thirsty except for little pockets of water they found on in hollows of rock
Finally they came to place where they could reach the Snake River -- November 10, 1811
everywhere the river was filled with rapids but at this spot the water was quiet

McKENZIE-REED PARTY DISCOVERS MORE ASTORIANS

Below the Devils Scuttle Hole on the Snake River the seven men of the McKenzie-Reed party
met Robert McClellan and his three men as they continued to follow the Snake River
they had suffered great privations and were desperate
McKenzie-McClellan-Reed party consisted of eleven men -- two of Astor's partners and a clerk
they were all in the same predicament

without horses, provisions, or information of any kind

they agreed it would be worse than useless to return to Hunt with so many starving men
their only prospect was to remove themselves from this land of starvation as soon as possible
and make their way to the Columbia River

WILSON PRICE HUNT REACHES A SHOSHONE INDIAN CAMP

Hunt found a trail well worn by horses that he chose to follow rather than climb the cliffs
following this route his party met two Shoshone Indians who showed Hunt a knife
that had been given to the Indian by some other Astorians (probably Donald McKenzie)
Hunt and his party of twenty-two were led along the path away from the Snake River
across a prairie to where a few Indians were camped -- November 11, 1811
at their approach women fled in fear in such haste they left their babies that could not walk
they simply covered the infants with straw
when Hunt lifted the straw he could see the babies were terrified
even the men trembled in fear
however, the Indians gave the Astorians a small amount of fish and sold them a dog
One of these Indians guided the Astorians to the river where they found it lined with Indian tents
Hunt made camp nearby and the Astorians were visited by about fifty Shoshone men
(Hunt later reported these people were honest and very obliging)

WILSON PRICE HUNT PRESSES ON WITH HIS OVERLAND EXPEDITION

Hunt purchased two more dogs from the Shoshones
one of which they had for breakfast -- November 12, 1811
Their difficult march continued over jagged, volcanic rocks, across plains of sagebrush,
and stretches of sand -- although always within sight of the Snake River far below them
fresh water was never within reach
after twenty-eight miles of tortuous travel they were able to scramble down rocks
close enough to the river to obtain a kettle of water with great difficulty
Over the next three days they traveled sixty-three miles generally to the northwest
they again met Indians whose women were badly clad and their children were worse off
Ahead of them was a snow-covered mountain that the river seemed to penetrate

McKENZIE-McCLELLAN-REED PARTY STRUGGLES ACROSS THE SNAKE RIVER PLAINS

Pressing on along the river bank traveling downstream, the McKenzie-McClellan Reed Party
clambered over rocks and high hills
although almost constantly within sight of water, one of their greatest sufferings was thirst

as the river had carved a deep channel through the Rocky Mountains hundreds of feet below
no streams or brooks flowed in the vicinity of the Astorians high above the river
only occasionally would they discover pockets of rainwater to quench their burning thirst

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON REACHES SALEESH HOUSE

David Thompson journeyed along (British Columbia's) Canoe River to the Columbia River
and continued down the Columbia to Spokane House on the Spokane River
he continued on to Saleesh (Flathead) House where he arrived -- November 13, 1811
Thompson (will spend the winter of [1811-1812]) at Saleesh House on the Clark Fork River
and take several short trapping trips throughout the (winter)

WILSON PRICE HUNT CONTINUES TO FOLLOW THE SNAKE RIVER

Hunt and his overland Astorians walked twenty-eight miles along the Snake River
which was entirely free of rapids along this stretch -- November 15, 1811
stench of dead salmon lining the banks of the river permeated the whole atmosphere
a chance meeting with some Indians added two dogs and some salmon to their food supply
Indians they met told them some of the Astorians (McKenzie' party) had passed through this area

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS ASTORIANS TRUDGE ON

Snake River once again became turbulent as it forced its way
through a narrow channel between steep rocks and tumbled down a violent rapids
Twenty miles along a rugged road was traveled -- November 16, 1811
as they approached a mountain in the northwest that was covered with snow
They had only dried corn and the remains of their dried meat to eat

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ACQUIRES A HORSE

Wilson Price Hunt was successful in obtaining a horse from a reluctant native
in exchange for a tin kettle -- November 17, 1811
Hunt purchased the animal to use as a pack beast because his men had grown so weak
from hunger and fatigue that they could no longer carry their packs
Hunt's expedition reached the area of (present-day Glens Ferry, Idaho) -- November 18
they had only a quart of grain and a piece of fat for each person
no wood was available for a fire which made for a miserable camp that night

WILSON PRICE HUNT AGAIN MAKES A BAD DECISION

Hunt traded a tomahawk, a steel for making fire, a knife and some beads

for a horse for his own use -- November 19, 1811

Following the advice of the Indians Hunt once again changed course
he led his starving and exhausted Astorians across a prairie where there was no water at all
it appeared things would improve the next day, but that was a false hope
twenty-five miles to the northwest was covered before camp was made
fortunately for Hunt and his Astorians it began to rain during the night
water collected in puddles was used to quench their thirst

RAIN BRINGS LIFE TO WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ASTORIANS

Wilson Price Hunt with his nineteen Astorians, Marie Dorion and her two children
started out at dawn as rain fell throughout the day -- November 20, 1811
thirst was replaced by hunger as they trudged across the prairie for thirty-three miles
on only a little dried corn
Rain continued throughout the night

HUNT'S ASTORIANS COME UPON ANOTHER INDIAN ENCAMPMENT

At daybreak Wilson Price Hunt's party saw the Snake River ahead as it flowed to the northwest
its banks lined with cottonwood and willow trees -- November 21, 1811
(at a point about ten miles west of present day Boise, Idaho)
Indians had made camp there and had many horses
they were better clothed than other natives they recently had seen
Hunt was told that upstream beaver were plentiful but there only a few in this vicinity
Here an Indian told Hunt that the horse he was riding had been stolen from him
because it was necessary to get food for the expedition Hunt returned the horse
he purchased some fish and two dogs
Two Astorians, one was Pierre Dorion, each purchased a horse in exchange for a buffalo robe
Pierre Dorion's pregnant wife Marie and her two children were provided a great deal of relief
because they occasionally were able to ride
When Wilson Price Hunt questioned local Indians regarding the distance to the Columbia River
they could not even tell him which direction to travel in order to find it
Hunt's expedition returned to the Snake River in an effort to maintain their bearings
rain was so heavy that only twelve miles were made that day
however, spirits were raised by a meal of fish and dogs purchased from the Indians

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ASTORIANS ENTER THE FOOTHILLS

Mountains ahead were covered with snow

Hunt's party continued their trek westward suffering the same hardships that had accompanied them throughout the month of November Occasional meetings with Indians provided them the opportunity to barter for food information about the Columbia River was even more difficult to acquire When the foothills of the (Salmon River Mountains) were reached they crossed the Snake River and began the difficult climb -- November 26, 1811 before them was a wintry looking mountain covered with snow on all sides

TRAVEL BECOMES VERY DIFFICULT FOR WILSON PRICE HUNT'S EXPEDITION

Wilson Price Hunt's Pacific Fur Company over land expediting toiled through a canyon so sheer walled that horses had to be unpacked so they could get through -- November 27, 1811 Marie Dorion carried her children and her pack through this area without complaint for more than two weeks Hunt and his men with the Sioux woman and her children wandered through the mountains near the Snake River Day followed day with harsh conditions being the rule rather than the exception sometimes they found a little game or met with Shoshones and obtained a couple of dogs or a few horses -- most often they went hungry Indians told Hunt some whites who had followed the same trail they were taking and about some other whites who had passed on the opposite side of the river this news relieved Hunt greatly regarding Ramsay Crooks and his companions Mountains whose heights were covered with pines and snow narrowed the Snake River channel they could advance only with the greatest difficulty because of the sharp rocks and steep cliffs that plunged to the very banks of the river they killed a black-tailed deer which gave them an excellent meal

SPIRITS ARE RAISED AT ASTORIA

Robert Stuart returned from a successful venture into the Cascade Mountains hardly a hundred miles away from Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River It was learned by the Astorians at the post that David Stuart had found a prosperous site for a post where the Okanogan River enters the Columbia River These positive reports had an uplifting effect on morale however, pessimism soon crept back as the rain-swept year dragged toward an end with no word from the reinforcements crossing overland from St. Louis

HUNT'S EXPEDITION IS STOPPED

Wilson Price Hunt's party traveled only thirteen miles -- December 1, 1811

terrain had a great deal to do with it as the country became increasingly broken
this resulted in the distance covered decreasing each day
hunger sapped their strength -- their diet that day consisted of one small beaver
and some frozen blackberries and chokeberries for all twenty men, a woman and two children
Weather added to their misery as rain in the gorges and snow knee deep on the ridges
accompanied by bitter winds increased the pain of their travel -- and it was extremely cold
horses had to be unloaded to remain on the narrow trail close to the Snake River
baggage was carried in the arms of the Astorians up icy crags
a large snow storm the cut travel time to zero -- December 2
and only nine miles were covered the following day

WILSON PRICE HUNT WAS FORCED TO LEAVE THE SNAKE RIVER

Once again the Astorians, Marie Dorion and her sons Baptiste and Paul climbed into the mountains
that were covered with snow up to their knees
temperatures remained extremely cold and the members of the expedition were nearly exhausted
By good luck they reached a grove of pine trees at sunset -- December 4, 1811
they were comforted by a warm fire
although they had struggled ahead all day because of the twisting course of the river
they had traveled only four miles from the camp of the day before

WILSON PRICE HUNT RETURNS TO THE SNAKE RIVER

It began to snow on their pine tree encampment about 3:00 a.m. December 5, 1811
visibility was reduced to three hundred feet but the roar of the river could be heard far below
they followed the sound as they slid down the mountainside
one horse fell several hundred feet with his load but the animal was not hurt
Weather was less severe in the valley than it had been on the mountain slopes
it was raining there and the snow was only ankle deep
only six miles were covered that day and Hunt had to kill another horse for food
almost a month of brutal toil had brought Hunt's group
(to today's Seven Devils Mountain area beside the Grand Canyon of the Snake River)

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S PARTY AND RAMSAY CROOKS' PARTY COMMUNICATE

Stumbling to the Snake River for water during the snowy morning -- December 6, 1811
Hunt's men to their astonishment and distress saw white men on the south side of the Snake River
they appeared to be Ramsay Crooks' party
Both Hunt's and Crook's Astorians had traveled parallel routes but out of touch with each other

on either side of the Snake River

Ramsay Crooks hailed Hunt's people across the river

much shouting over the sounds of the Snake River elicited the fact

that Crooks and his eighteen men were nearly starved and exhausted

they had been completely unsuccessful in the search for food or Indian guidance

worn with fatigue and emaciated from hunger

they seemed in even more wretched physical condition and desolate than Hunt's people

WILSON HUNT BUILDS A BULL BOAT TO CROSS THE SNAKE RIVER

Hastily Wilson Price Hunt returned to his camp and built a bull boat with the hide of the horse
he had killed the night before

When one of the voyageurs volunteered to ride the bull boat across the raging Snake River

Hunt launched it and successfully delivered some food to their starving companions

RAMSAY CROOKS IS TAKEN ACROSS THE SNAKE RIVER

On the return trip in the bull boat Ramsay Crooks and French-Canadian Francois Le Clerc
were ferried to the north bank

Crooks was almost completely exhausted by fatigue and hunger, Le Clerc was ill
After he had eaten, Crooks told a hopeless tale of impassable cliffs along the river

they were returning from a point about three day's journey down the Snake River

where they could not continue because there were no longer banks and ledges

and cliffs cut them off from drinking water hundreds of feet below

mountain walls of rock rose almost perpendicularly

from their base in the boiling waters to their crests covered in snow

there were equally impassable snowdrifts in the mountains

(this was the Grand Canyon of the Snake River)

for six days they had had only the meat of their dogs for food

yesterday Crooks and his party had eaten the last of their food -- their moccasins

Wilson Price Hunt spent a sleepless night reflecting on their situation

WILSON PRICE HUNT CONSIDERS HIS PROSPECTS

Hunt was now responsible to provide for both his party and that of Ramsay Crooks

he had more than twenty famished people to care for including Marie Dorion and her two sons

something had to be done for Ramsay Crooks' men on the south side of the Snake River

no time could be lost -- to linger was to starve

ahead the depth of snow in the rugged mountains seemed impossible to conquer

their only alternative appeared to be to turn back, seek out the Indians and purchase horses
even this alternative would condemn the Astorians to starvation
as they would have only wild berries, hawthorn plants and one skin and bone horse left
and Hunt knew Ramsay Crooks and several of his men were too ill to accompany them
Once again the bull boat was sent across the Snake River to deliver food to Crooks' men
this time the bull boat was lost
thorough searches of the area revealed there was no ready material available
with which to construct another boat so a raft was made of driftwood
Several unsuccessful attempts were made through the turbulent waters
to send Ramsay Crooks and Francois Le Clerc on the raft back across the river
with the remainder of the meat to the starving men
however, all efforts to float a raft across the raging Snake River failed
their failure demonstrated there was no means of crossing the river
Crooks and Le Clerc would have to travel with Wilson Price Hunt
leaving Ramsay Crooks' eighteen men on the south shore without an official leader

ONCE AGAIN HUNT MAKES A FATERUL AND INCORRECT DECISION

With the little remaining strength they possessed both Hunt's party and Crooks' former party
slowly retraced their painful course back up the Snake River -- December 7, 1811
retracing the steps they had only just recently taken along both banks of the Snake River
It was soon apparent that Crooks and Le Clerc were too feeble to walk so Hunt slowed the pace
knowing the great distance they had to travel to reach a Shoshone Indian camp if it was still there
Hunt's twenty-four traveling companions grew impatient with the delay
they believed remaining with Crooks and Francois Le Clerc meant starvation
by ones and twos Hunt's men left him to retrace their steps at a faster pace
until only five remained with Crooks and Le Clerc

ANOTHER ATTEMPT IS MADE TO SEND SUPPLIES ACROSS THE SNAKE RIVER

Another raft was built to send Ramsay Crooks and Francois Le Clerc back to Crooks' men
but the crossing could not be made because of the swift current -- December 8, 1811
It was very cold that night and one of the men was severely frostbitten
Ramsay Crooks became very ill -- another two days would be lost
before an Indian village they had passed while traveling down the Snake River could be reached

WILSON PRICE HUNT DECIDES TO LEAVE CROOKS AND LE CLERC BEHIND

Wilson Price Hunt left two men to care for Ramsay Crooks and Francois Le Clerc

he left two beaver skins with them and took another for himself
Hunt and three companions set out to catch the main body of his party -- December 9, 1811
traveling through the terrible cold on empty stomachs was grueling
sharing one beaver tail for supper helped very little

WILSON PRICE HUNT CATCHES HIS MAIN PARTY OF OVERLAND ASTORIANS

Hunt and his three companions overtook the main body of Astorians -- early December 10, 1811
one horse remained, the one belonging to Pierre Dorion that he had paid for it with a buffalo robe
it carried his pregnant wife, children and his possessions
Hunt suggested slaughtering the animal but Dorion would not consent to the idea
despite the fact the animal was a walking skeleton
Pierre realized that Marie would need the strength of the horse to carry her and his children
after she had given birth to the baby
Wilson Price Hunt threatened and offered bribes, but Dorion would not change his mind
finally it was agreed to let the animal live
until they knew if the Shoshone village they were seeking remained in the same place
They did not travel far until they came upon Shoshones who had come down from the mountains
after the Hunt's Overland Expedition had passed by on their way west
these Indians had twenty horses grazing in front of their tepees
Hunt purchased five horses and one was killed immediately, hastily cooked and devoured
as some of Hunt's men had not eaten since they had left him [November 7]
some of the meat was taken by horseback to the men staying with Ramsay Crooks
Hunt learned a camp of Indians was located ahead at the mouth of the (Weiser River [Idaho])
Ramsay Crooks' starving eighteen men were still not able to cross the Snake River
they saw the arrival of the five horses and the butchering of a horse across the river
although they were crying out for food none of Hunt's men were willing to risk crossing the river

WILSON PRICE HUNT LOSES ANOTHER MAN

Ramsay Crooks and his three companions used the horse that brought them meat
to reach the main camp -- early morning December 11, 1811
When Crooks arrived in camp he was shocked to find
that although Hunt's people were well supplied with food none had been sent to his people
at this location the river was narrow but deep and everything could be seen and heard across it
Crooks called out to his men to set water boiling in their kettles as he was sending over meat
across the Snake River -- Crooks ordered a bull boat constructed -- December 11, 1811
when all was ready Crooks in his weakened state collapsed while trying to launch it

however his effort thoroughly shamed the men
Finally Ben Jones, a hunter, volunteered and successfully delivered the raw meat
after Jones returned across the river to the main party
one of Crooks' voyageurs, Jean-Baptiste Prevost, ran up and down the beach crying out
to be taken across the river away from starvation
he said he would not take another step but would lay down and die
Once again the bull boat was sent across the river carrying more supplies
this time with voyageur Joseph Delaunay aboard
when Delaunay arrived on the south side of the river Prevost insisted on being taken across
he could not wait for the meat to cook -- he needed to eat immediately
Prevost forced himself aboard the bull boat as preparations were made for the return trip
but as the opposite bank was approached Prevost became frantic
at the sight of meat roasting over a fire in Hunt's camp
Prevost's energetic activities upset the bull boat
throwing Delaunay and Prevost into the churning water -- Prevost was lost
but Delaunay, after much difficulty and heroism by the Astorians, was rescued
however, the bull boat was swept away by the turbulent current

JOHN DAY JOINS WILSON PRICE HUNT'S ASTORIANS

Wilson Price Hunt killed another horse and had a bull boat made out of the hide
which he used to send over more supplies to the opposite shore
John Day, a hunter and one of Ramsay Crooks party, became convinced he was dying
he requested that he be allowed to spend his last hours
with his former employer and commander Crooks
Day was transported across the Snake River
poor John Day, once an active and vigorous man was now more feeble than Crooks

WILSON PRICE HUNT LEAVES CROOKS, DAY AND DUBREUIL BEHIND

All of their scanty resources had been distributed to both sides of the river -- December 12, 1811
Hunt was determined to lead his party to an Indian village
but John Day would never be able to keep up
unwilling to abandon the man, Ramsay Crooks urged Hunt to keep the expedition together
French-Canadian, Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil also was ill and requested to remain with Crooks

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S PARTY CONTINUES ALONG THE SNAKE RIVER

Hunt, now traveling with eighteen men, Marie Dorion and her two sons Baptiste and Paul set out

leaving Ramsay Crooks, John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil behind -- December 13, 1811
all three Astorians were ill

Hunt left two horses with them and part of the carcass of the last horse that had been killed
this, he hoped, would be sufficient to sustain them until they could reach an Indian camp

Weather was so cold that ice was running in the Snake River and snow fell frequently

eighteen Astorians with Wilson Price Hunt traveled along the north side of the Snake River
they came to a stream (probably Boise Creek)

They followed the Snake River's bank upriver some distance

before nightfall they found a small encampment of Shoshone Indians

who had constructed a winter lodge along a nearby creek

there were a number of horses pawing for grass under the light snow

Indians traded a horse for an old pewter kettle and some glass beads

Hunt's party camped for the night in level open country next to the Shoshone Indian lodge

RAMSAY CROOKS STOPS AT A SHOSHONE CAMP

Ramsay Crooks, John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil reached a Shoshone camp

Crooks stopped to make a winter camp along Snake River where they remained for twenty days
as they treated John Day's physical and mental deterioration

although Day was completely unable to travel Crooks refused to abandon his friend

who had worked for Crooks and always proved to be most faithful

over the days John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil deteriorated in health

Ramsay Crooks, John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil were without resources

they had nothing to offer the destitute Shoshone Indians who remained with them

soon the Indians drifted away

Death seemed very near for everyone when a couple of Shoshone Indians wandered by,

started a fire and fed them a meal before continuing on

somewhat revived John Day managed to kill a wolf that had been prowling around the camp

this improved the condition of the two very sick men and Ramsay Crooks

While the three Astorians remained in camp they were shocked to see the arrival of

Astorians Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry

who had gone off on their own from Fort Henry (Idaho) to investigate beaver streams
along the Missouri River

Crooks and the men with him remained in the camp for twenty days

as they treated John Day's physical and mental deterioration

although Day was completely unable to travel Crooks refused to abandon his friend

who had worked for Crooks and always proved to be most faithful

occasionally Crooks and his men were assisted by friendly Indians

WILSON PRICE HUNT FINDS A SHOSHONE INDIAN CAMP

Hunt and his traveling companions saw a dozen Shoshone Indian tepees
along a small tributary of the Snake River -- December 16, 1810

Descending from the mountains Hunt and his Astorians reached a broad lava plain
where they camped on the banks of a river they had previously crossed [November 26]

Hunt noted they had futilely tried to find a passage along the Snake River for twenty days
Hunt rested his party for a few days beside the Shoshone camp

he was informed it would not be possible to find a passage following the river

Hunt purchased a horse and a dog on one day

and another horse, dried fish, a few roots and some pounded cherries the next day

Hunt spent most of his time attempting to find a route to the Columbia River

and the Cayuse Indians who lived there

advice was plentiful but always differed from what had just been learned

however, all agreed the trail was good

and the journey would take seventeen to twenty-one nights

there would be snow waist high in the mountains

Hunt visited every Indian lodge asking for someone to guide them across the (Blue) mountains

no one would accept regardless of what he offered as a reward for the service

Shoshones invited the Astorians to remain with them until (spring)

Hunt was again in a dilemma, to attempt a mountain crossing without a guide was certain death

to remain there, after having already been so long on the journey and at such great expense,

was worse to him than "two deaths"

Hunt changed his tactics and berated the Indians for lying about the conditions in the mountains

because they were afraid and lacked courage

one Indian agreed to guide the Astorians across the mountains for a gun, a pistol,

three knives, two horses and a little bit of everything the traders had with them

McKENZIE-McCLELLAN-REED PARTY PASS THROUGH THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

After crossing the Snake River Plain the eleven members of the McKenzie-McClellan-Reed Party

arrived at the Seven Devils and Craig Mountains of the Rocky Mountain chain

which loomed in front of them

they began to force their way up steep grades and through the canyons against terrifying obstacles

Sufferings from hunger because there was no game

they subsisted on strips of beaver skin broiled on the campfire coals

an allowance barely enough to keep them alive -- then they ran out of beaver strips
still they feebly dragged one limb after another suffering from thirst and hunger
until a severe snow storm forced them to stop
to struggle against it, in their exhausted condition, was impossible
cowering under an impending rock at the foot of a steep mountain,
they prepared themselves for that wretched fate which seemed inevitable

ONCE AGAIN WILSON PRICE HUNT SETS OUT WITH HIS OVERLAND EXPEDITON

Wilson Price Hunt and his party left the Shoshone Indian camp -- December 21, 1811
soon their guide was joined by two others Shoshone Indians who led them to the Snake River
no rafts could be found to make a crossing so two horses were killed and a bull boat made
on the south side they met thirteen of Ramsay Crooks' leaderless men
who reported they had not seen Crooks or the two men with him since they left

McKENZIE-McCLELLAN-REED PARTY FACES FAMINE

With death by starvation very near Robert McClellan looked higher up the mountain
where he saw a bighorn sheep standing on a rock on the hillside above
he was the only member of the party with the strength to go in pursuit
McClellan set off to get within range of the animal -- his companions watched in breathless anxiety
their lives depended on his success
McClellan made a cautious circuit and when he arrived at the proper distance
he leveled his rifle, took careful aim and fired -- the animal dropped dead where it stood
this was very fortunate as no one had the strength of pursue a wounded animal
McClellan rolled the carcass down the mountain to the waiting Astorians
who were too feeble to climb the rocks
they displayed amazing self-denial as they carved up the bighorn sheep
they made themselves content with soup made from the bones
and saved the flesh for the future
Strengthened by the food the eight Astorians continued their agonizing journey
frequently they were reduced once again to near starvation
only their small number kept them alive as they could survive on little food
enabled them to travel through this desolate region and remain alive

WILSON PRICE HUNTS GATHERS UP SOME OF RAMSAY CROOKS' MEN

All of Ramsay Crooks' men crossed the Snake River using the bull boat -- December 23, 1811
Crooks' men were extremely weak and exhausted -- four of them even more than the others

three of them were so weak they expressed the wish to remain with the Shoshones

WILSON PRICE HUNT CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY

Three of Ramsay Crooks' men took the bull boat across the Snake River -- December 24, 1811

Hunt gave them some supplies and the bull boat

Hunt's party now consisted of twenty-eight Astorians, a very pregnant Marie Dorion

and her two sons, and three Shoshone Indians who served as guides

they had five exhausted, half-starved horses that carried their baggage

and, in case of need, were to furnish them with provisions for their trip over the mountains

Hunt's guides set out northwest away from the Snake River -- morning December 24, 1811

they headed for the chain of forested and snow-covered (Blue Mountains) of eastern Oregon

rising between the men and their goal -- but their hardships would not end

Conditions remained intolerable

they made only fourteen miles a day across plains and over hills occasionally covered in snow

one sparse meal a day of horsemeat hardly took the edge off their hunger

rain and snow impeded their march

heavy frosts at night chilled them through as they lay in camp

and gave an icy temperature to the streams they were obliged to cross from time to time

HUNT'S MAIN PARTY OF ASTORIANS REACH THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

Wilson Price Hunt's remaining expedition crossed a northward flowing stream -- December 28, 1811

(this was the Powder River flowing out of Oregon's Blue Mountains)

turning west the thirty-two traveling companions penetrated the rugged (Blue Mountains)

as they continued forward snow and rain fell -- twice they were forced to cross the icy river

Mountains crowded in on each side -- to the left was one they had to climb

it extended from north to south was heavily wooded and was covered with snow

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S OVERLAND PARTY CROSS THE (BLUE MOUNTAINS)

Traveling for two weeks, Hunt's cold, hungry party average twenty-eight miles a day

in rain and snow as they crossed the rugged Wallowa Mountains (of Oregon)

they entered the (Grande Ronde) region -- a beautiful valley several miles wide and very long

with a pretty stream meandering through it -- beaver seemed to be plentiful

Happily the Astorians found six Shoshone tepees and many horses

these Indians sold them four horses as well as three dogs and some roots

they said it would be three nights to sleep before the Cayuse Indians were reached

they pointed out a pass in the mountains that had to be taken

Indians said there would not be much now but Hunt doubted this information
as they were surrounded by snow-blanketed mountains

McKENZIE- McCLELLAN-REED PARTY CONTINUES THEIR JOURNEY TOWARD ASTORIA

Meat of the bighorn sheep temporarily gave them strength to pursue their journey
Donald McKenzie, Robert McClellan and John Reed and their seven men crossed overland
north toward the Clearwater River
they trudged across mammoth ridges, through dense forests and past the gorges
of the Little Salmon and the Salmon rivers
they were frequently reduced almost to starvation
only the small number in the party that required only a small amount of food

MARIE DORION GIVES BIRTH TO HER THIRD CHILD

Madame Marie Dorion gave birth in the bleak and snowy dawn -- December 30, 1811
hers was the first child born on the trek across North America
Wilson Price Hunt's decency was divided between his senses of duty toward the expedition
and his feelings of humanity for the mother and infant

he hesitated about taking up the day's march even in the face of their situation
food was very scarce and every hour of delay was dangerous

author Washington Irving described the birth of the baby: **"...the [wife] of Pierre Dorion, who had hitherto kept on without murmuring or flinching, was suddenly taken in labor, and enriched her husband with another child. As the fortitude and good conduct of the poor woman had gained for her the good-will of the party, her situation caused concern and perplexity. Pierre, however, treated the matter as an occurrence that could be arranged and need cause no delay. He remained by his wife in the camp, with his other children and his horse, and promised soon to rejoin the main body, who proceeded on their march."**⁹⁸

(a marker on the Oregon Trail near North Powder, Oregon approximately locates the site)

Overland Astorians pressed onward while Dorion and his children remained with the mother

DORION FAMILY CATCHES UP WITH HUNT AND THE ASTORIANS

Pierre Dorion walked into the camp leading his skeleton of a horse -- December 31, 1812
which, perhaps with this emergency in mind, he had deliberately refused to have killed

author Washington Irving again describes the scene: **"In the course of the following morning the Dorion family made its reappearance. Pierre came trudging in advance, followed by his valued,**

⁹⁸ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, P. 70.

though skeleton steed, on which was mounted his [wife] with her new-born infant in her arms, and her boys of two and four years old wrapped in a blanket and slung at her side. The mother looked as unconcerned as if nothing had happened to her.”⁹⁹

McKENZIE- McCLELLAN-REED PARTY ARRIVES AT THE CLEARWATER RIVER

After twenty-one days of toil and suffering, the eleven Astorians crossed through the Seven Devils and Craig Mountains of the Rocky Mountain

They arrived at the southern fork of the Snake River (today's Clearwater River)

here they found wild horses -- the first they had seen west of the Rocky Mountains

Donald McKenzie, Robert McClellan and John Reed and their eight men

made their way to the Snake River where they found a friendly tribe of Indians

(probably Nez Perce) who provided food and shelter

Living with the Nez Perce was a young white man in a mentally unstable condition

when he was lucid he told the Astorians he was Archibald Pelton from Connecticut

he had worked for Manuel Lisa and came west with Andrew Henry

he had helped build Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho)

at the post he had survived an attack by hostile Indians and had wandered for three years

when he came upon this friendly band who took him in cared for him

Horses were acquired from the Indians -- one was slaughtered for food

McKenzie-McClellan-Reed Party members gratefully mounted the remaining animals

they set out to the west with Archibald Pelton accompanying them

ALEXANDER ROSS IS NOT HAPPY TO SPEND THE WINTER ALONE AT FORT OKANOGAN

Alexander Ross was unhappy to spend the winter among the natives alone at the post

he kept an account of his experiences in the wilderness: **“Only picture to yourself, gentle reader, how I must have felt alone in this unhallowed wilderness, without friend or white man within hundreds of miles of me, and surrounded by savages who had never seen a white man before. Every day seemed a week, every night a month. I pined, I languished, my head turned gray, and in a brief space ten years were added to my age. Yet man is born to endure, and my only consolation was in my Bible.**

“The first thing I did after my friends left me was to patch up the house a little and put the few goods I had, so tempting to Indians, into a kind of cellar, which I made in the middle of the house. This done, I set to in earnest to learn the Indian language, and wrote vocabulary after vocabulary;

⁹⁹ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, P. 72.

and although the task was a hard one, I soon found from my progress that perseverance would overcome many difficulties.”¹⁰⁰

ASTORIAN JOSEPH MILLER AND HIS TRAPPERS SEARCH FOR BEAVER STREAMS

Astor’s partner Joseph Miller along with Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor, and Martin Cass had successfully worked the Snake River Country
They left the region around Fort Henry on the Snake River (Idaho)
and veered south where the Snake River until it began to turn westward
they and trekked more than two hundred miles across the Continental Divide -- winter 1811-1812
but their route did not cross through any mountain pass

ASTORIANS ALONG THE COLUMBIA RIVER EXPAND THEIR AREA OF OPERATION

Astorians at the fort made the best of bad conditions -- winter 1811-1812
brisk trade was established with the neighboring natives
Indians kept them informed of other activities happening in the area
Astorians had competition from North West Company trappers
who had heard of Astor’s venture and did not wish to share the natural wealth
Partner Robert Stuart and Clerk Donald McGillis
led a trading party up the Willamette River to investigate Champoeg -- December 1811

ASTOR’S OVERLAND EXPEDITION WAS FORCED TO STOP

Wilson Price Hunt urged his party of thirty-three Astorians to hit the trail
but soon found that not a French-Canadian worthy of the name would travel on New Year’s Day
In spite of the pitiful conditions Hunt’s party faced,
permission for a holiday was granted and the celebration began
New Year’s Day 1812 was greeted with roasted, boiled, fried and fricasseed horsemeat,
edibles of dog and boiled roots and a punch composed almost entirely of hot water
musicians in the expedition brought out their fiddles as the voyageurs danced and sang

WILSON PRICE HUNT’S OVERLAND EXPEDITION IS AGAIN UNDER WAY

Having celebrated the New Year as best they could, Hunt and his party
began walking across (today’s Grande Ronde) valley
following a small stream for several miles into the Blue Mountains -- January 2, 1812
Local Indians pointed out a distant gap through which they must pass to cross the Blue Mountains

¹⁰⁰ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 80.

they assured the Astorians there would be little snow

and in three days they would arrive among the Cayuse Indians living beside the Great River

Hunt put no stock in this pronouncement as he had been deceived several times before

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S PARTY AGAIN ENTERS THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

Hunt and his people followed a small stream for several miles into the Blue Mountains

after crossing the (Grande Ronde) valley they climbed many pine-covered hills -- January 3, 1812

at the summits they waded through snow to their knees and at times to their waists

fresh water was not available

DORION FAMILY CATCHES UP WITH HUNT AND THE ASTORIANS

Wilson Price Hunt and his Astorians were high in the snow covered Blue Mountains

weather was overcast and cold

Pierre Dorion walked into the Shoshone Indian village

leading their of a skeleton horse -- January 4, 1812

which, perhaps with this emergency in mind, he had deliberately refused to allow to be killed

author Washington Irving again describes the scene: **“In the course of the following morning the Dorion family made its reappearance. Pierre came trudging in advance, followed by his valued, though skeleton steed, on which was mounted his [wife] with her new-born infant in her arms, and her boys of two and four years old wrapped in a blanket and slung at her side. The mother looked as unconcerned as if nothing had happened to her.”**¹⁰¹

BLUE MOUNTAINS CONFRONT HUNT'S OVERLAND ASTORIANS

Once more Wilson Price Hunt's thirty-three Astorians assailed the Blue Mountains -- January 5, 1812

as they trudged toward the mountains pass in the distance

There appeared to be no end to the difficult terrain

for three days they struggled along over boulders and fallen trees

as knee deep and sometimes waist-deep snow and added to their misery

they followed trails that ended in impassable mountains or canyons and had to retrace their route

they grew weak from hunger, fatigue and despair

McKENZIE- McCLELLAN-REED PARTY REACHES THE SNAKE RIVER

When the river they were following emptied into an even larger stream, the eleven Astorians realized

they had finally reached the Columbia River (at present-day Pasco, Washington)

¹⁰¹ Washington Irving. *Astoria*, P. 72.

From their knowledge of the Lewis and Clark Expedition
they now believed they had been riding along the Snake River
(only later did they discover in fact they had returned to the river they had earlier abandoned)
Here another gathering of Indians agreed to trade two canoes for the Astorians' horses
eleven men of the McKenzie-McClellan-Reed Party was water bound down the Columbia River
portaging around the rapids, waterfalls and obstacles at the Dalles and the Cascades

WILSON PRICE HUNT'S PARTY CROSSES THE SUMMIT OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

High in the Blue Mountains Wilson Price Hunt's remaining Overland Expedition members
saw the sun for the first time since climbing into the mountains -- January 6, 1812
far below them to the west was a broad plain
they reached a small stream that led them to an extremely narrow pass
Hunt's thirty-three Astorians crossed the Blue Mountains -- January 7
and began the descent down the Western slopes
everywhere they found horse trails used by Indians to hunt black-tail deer
many herds were seen
as the sun came out, warmer air melted the snow which disappeared
their little stream joined another much larger one
In the five days since leaving the Shoshone camp they had come about sixty miles
hard travel and the cold temperatures weakened some of the men so badly they could not keep up
their guide assured them they would be among the natives of the Columbia River the next day
an encouraged Wilson Price Hunt ordered the party to push on
he hoped to find a friendly Indian village on the (Umatilla Plains) ahead
where he might obtain food and shelter

DEATH AGAIN VISITS THE HUNT EXPEDITION

Wilson Price Hunt briefly noted in his journal -- January 7, 1812
"In the course of this day's march the recently-born child of Pierre Dorion died."¹⁰²
no record had been made of the child's name or gender
Marie Dorion amazingly had not caused a moments delay thus far on the trip
she had obviously withstood many more hardship than any man on the trek
There was not much of a funeral that evening as the little body was wrapped in a piece of cloth or fur
and with little ceremony was buried in an unmarked grave
(probably near Duncan Station, Oregon)

¹⁰² Washington Irving, *Astoria*, P. 75.

Pierre remembered a brief prayer which he spoke
rocks were mounded over the tiny grave to further protect the body from scavenging animals

WILSON PRICE HUNT HAS A FORTUNATE MEETING WITH FRIENDLY INDIANS

Hunt's party had only two horses left and both were reduced to skin and bones
in this desperate condition after so many terrible hardships
and the loss of several members of their party, another friendly encampment was seen
thirty-four Indian mat lodges could be seen along a small creek in the distance
Wilson Price Hunt pressed his thirty-three Astorians forward to reach the native village
many of the men dropped behind the main group because they were so feeble
they could not keep up with the already snail-like movement of the pacesetters
Hunt's Overland Party, including Marie Dorion and her two surviving children
arrived in the camp of friendly and prosperous Cayuse and Nez Perce Indians
who were camped on (today's Umatilla River) -- January 8, 1812
Indians informed Hunt the Columbia River was only two days away

These Indians had at least two thousand horses
their tepees were made of matting
they were clothed in good robes of buffalo or deerskin
they had deerskin shirts and leggings as good as the best-provided Indians Hunt had seen yet
they had kettles and copper pots in their homes which suggested trade with the coastal Indians
their tools consisted of axes and stone hammers used to pound roots, cherries and other fruit
as well as fish into pemmican
pointed pieces of elkhorn served as wedges to split wood into planks for all kinds of uses
women had willow-twig hats very neatly made and decorated
After the typical greeting, Hunt succeeded in buying a mare and colt which were immediately shot
and prepared for the stew kettle along with some roots
soon the hunger of the entire party was temporarily appeased

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS PARTY REMAINS WITH THESE NATIVES FOR SIX DAYS

Trade was conducted and horses were obtained very cheaply from the Cayuse and Nez Perce Indians
who owned a large herd
an old musket, a rifle, a tomahawk, a kettle and a small amount of ammunition
brought in return four horses, three dogs and a quantity of edible roots
a blanket or knife or a half pound of blue beads would purchase a horse
eight horses and two colts were purchased by Hunt
two of them were given to Hunt's guides as payment for their service

many of the men got horses for their individual use because of the low prices
Roots, horsemeat and dogmeat roasted on the fire for several nights
all feasted on these delicious provisions
several men became ill -- some from overeating and others apparently from eating roots
still other men remained lame from their trek across the Blue Mountains
Natives gave the expedition a great deal of information about conditions at Astoria
here Wilson Price Hunt and his thirty-two Astorians learned that a band of white men
had recently gone down the river (probably the Umatilla River)
which flowed by this encampment on to the Columbia River
Hunt and the members of his party were overjoyed to learn this good news
from the accounts of the party given him by the Indians
Hunt reasoned from the numbers and descriptions given
that they were the men led by Donald McKenzie, John Reed and Robert McClellan
Nez Perce Indians in the camp also spoke of Nor'Wester Jaco Finlay
with whom they had traded for tobacco
this indicated to Hunt that their Canadian competition was in the vicinity
Astorians remained with the Cayuse and Nez Perce Indians for six days
as stragglers staggered into camp until all but one voyageur, Michel Carriere, had arrived
he was expected momentarily as he had been seen the previous afternoon sitting on horseback
behind a Shoshone Indian in front of a lodge the expedition had passed
the night before a few miles from the camp
Astorians made preparations to continue their journey -- each person made himself moccasins
two men were sent to look for Michel Carriere but they could not find him
as the Shoshones seen with him had moved on and no information could be learned

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS ASTORIANS CONTINUE ON THEIR JOURNEY TO ASTORIA

Hunt and his thirty-two Astorians left the Cayuse and Nez Perce Indians' camp -- January 15, 1812
they followed the (Umatilla) river Hunt's downstream toward the Columbia River
Hunt's expedition reached a village of Cayuse Indians camped along the (Umatilla) river
they were superb horsemen who hunted deer by chasing them on horseback and surrounding them
then killed the animals with remarkable skill using bow and arrow
these Indians had some venison but they wanted to sell it at such a high price
the Astorians could not afford to purchase it
Indians informed Hunt that in about six nights they would be at the Great Falls of the Columbia
It rained so heavily during their stay on the banks of the (Umatilla) river
that water rose with amazing speed and the Astorians were forced to break camp in a hurry

three of the Astorians' horses tied to stakes in the lowlands drowned
Cayuse Indians also had to move to higher ground and Hunt bought four more horses from them
he wanted a lot of horses because the Cayuse Indians told him
he could get a canoe in exchange for a horse and Hunt had thirty-three people to transport

WINTER AT ASTORIA PASSED PEACEFULLY

Fears of Indian hostility proved unfounded
as winter pressed on the Indians seemed to disappear from the sea coast
to such an extent provisions became difficult to acquire for the Astorians
who often faced half-rations of food
hunters made frequent and wide excursions in search of game
but the terrain was so difficult and the forest so dense that little success was achieved
long lasting rains made keeping their weapons in order almost impossible

RAMSAY CROOKS STOPS AT A SHOSHONE CAMP

Astor's partner Ramsay Crooks with John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil who were both ill
reached a camp of Shoshone Indians -- January 1812
Crooks stopped to make a winter camp along Snake River
as they treated John Day's physical and mental deterioration
although Day was completely unable to travel Crooks refused to abandon his friend
who had served Crooks as a very faithful employee
Crooks, Day and Dubreuil were without resources and had nothing to offer the destitute Shoshones
who remained with them -- soon the Indians drifted away
over the days John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil deteriorated in health
Death seemed very near for everyone when a couple of Shoshone Indians passed by,
they started a fire and provided a meal to the Astorians before continuing on
somewhat revived John Day managed to kill a wolf that had been prowling around the camp
this improved the condition of Ramsay Crooks and the two very sick men
While the three Astorians remained in camp they were shocked by the arrival of three more Astorians
Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry
who had gone off on their own from Fort Henry (Idaho) to investigate beaver streams
along the Missouri River
(they had fallen in with a band of Shoshones and were attacked by Blackfoot Indians
northeast of the Snake River)
Ramsay Crooks and the two men with him remained in the camp for twenty days
occasionally they were assisted by friendly Indians passing by

JOSEPH MILLER'S PARTY OF TRAPPERS IS ROBBED BY INDIANS

Astor's partner Joseph Miller with Edward Robinson, John Hoback, Jacob Reznor and Martin Cass had crossed the continental divide of the Rocky Mountains by an unknown route and entered the (Utah) desert after almost a month of travel and their route took them to the Bear River they had traveled an erratic path that led them more than 1000 miles through land that had been seen only by Indians while on the lower end of the Bear River they found streams to be alive with beaver they halted to gather a rich harvest of pelts in (today's Great Salt Lake region) These five Astorians continued south into Arapaho Indian country where they saw their good luck run out as they were robbed by Arapahos -- January 1812 Joseph Miller with Edward Robinson, John Hoback, Jacob Reznor and Martin Cass set up a camp probably in (Wyoming's) northern foothills of the Medicine Bow Mountains (or perhaps to the northwest along the southern tributary of the Wind River Mountains) they had only two horses with them

McKENZIE- McCLELLAN-REED PARTY ARRIVES AT ASTORIA

Shouts went up when up from the men at Astoria -- about 5:00 p.m., January 18, 1812 two canoes carrying white men were approaching along the Columbia River Astoria commander Duncan McDougall being ill sent clerk Gabriel Franchere who hurried out to provide the welcome Donald McKenzie Robert McClellan, John Reed and their eight traveling companions all in dreadful condition McKenzie-McClellan-Reed party arrived at Astoria exhausted, emaciated and in rags they were the first of the Overland Expedition to arrive at Pacific Fur Company's Astoria Donald McKenzie estimated the length of his journey at more than 3,500 miles (although it does not exceed 1,800 miles in a direct line) these emaciated new arrivals scarcely resembled men even massive Donald McKenzie who normally weighed three hundred pounds resembled a hide-covered skeleton

DONALD "FATS" McKENZIE REFLECTS ON HIS NORTH WEST COMPANY ROOTS

Experienced, energetic, ambitious Donald McKenzie has suffered several personal set-backs "Fats" originally had been attracted by Astor's promises of wealth and advancement he had expected to be a co-leader of the overland expedition but Astor had put Wilson Price Hunt in charge of the expedition

McKenzie and Hunt had argued, often rancorously, about significant leadership questions
McKenzie's rational, informed opinions were usually ignored
by the impractical, impulsive and quite often unaware Wilson Price Hunt

WILSON PRICE HUNT WAS UNDER WAY ONCE AGAIN

Hunt bought yet another horse from the Cayuse Indians
(he later reported these were the cleanest Indians he had seen in his travels
like all other natives they were very proud people Cayuse natives ate neither dogs nor horses
and would not allow anyone to bring this meat into their tents)
they were very pleased to be told by Hunt that he would return to their village
with merchandise to trade for beaver pelts
they told a confusing tale of white men coming to trade with them
traders gave the Indians some tobacco and then sat and smoked with them
one of these white men had told the Indians he lived in a house on the Columbia River
Hunt's voyageurs believed these must be North West Company rivals)
Having regrouped their numbers and regained their strength after satisfying their appetites
Hunt and his thirty-two weary Overland Astorians set out down the Umatilla River
in the direction of the Columbia River -- January 19, 1812
several, including Hunt, were on horseback
one man, Michel Carriere, had not yet caught up so he was left behind to forage on his own

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS OVERLAND EXPEDITION REACHES THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Two days of gentle walking across a rolling prairie led Hunt and his thirty-two Astorians
to the Columbia River at the mouth of the Umatilla River -- January 21, 1812
they had trekked 240 miles through wintry wastes and the rugged Blue Mountains
since leaving the Snake River
Columbia River had been a cherished goal for a long, long time
they had come 1,751 miles and lived through unbelievable hardship and privation
since their departure from the Arikara Villages on the Missouri River
This area was occupied by a wretchedly poor tribe that had neither moccasins nor leggings
their clothing consisted of only a robe of buffalo, deer, rabbit, fox, or even duck skin
to this meager protection they sometimes add wolf-skin sleeves
their huts were well constructed of matting with roofs like the roofs of houses
these structures were very well lit and warm
holes scooped out of the ground and lined with mats were living quarters
women were usually naked -- some had a fragment of robe to cover their shoulders

but all of them wore around their waists a leather belt that passed between their thighs
and indicated an intention of modesty
these Indians were better stocked with food than the Shoshones as dried salmon was plentiful
they gave Hunt's party many fresh trout they had caught at the mouth of the Umatilla River
this was excellent fish
their canoes were made of pine tree trunks split in half
since they had no adze they used fire to hollow out their canoes
around them the area was filled with beaver dams
Hunt learned from native sources that people at "the large house" (Astoria)
were anxiously awaiting the coming of many of their friends from the east
Indians said there was a road on the north side of the Columbia River
when the members of the Overland Expedition were seen by a Yakima Indian
from across the Columbia River that evening he swam across the river to their camp
and gave the Astorians a detailed description of whites who preceded them downriver

WILSON PRICE HUNT LEADS HIS PARTY DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Hunt spent all day making the crossing the of the Columbia River
to the north (Washington) side -- January 22, 1812
Hunt purchased some fish and nine dogs -- January 23, 1812
he and his Astorians followed down the north bank of the Columbia River
this route along the river was very good
weather had become beautiful and very mild much like a beautiful day in [October]
camp that night was made close to a village of Indians who had about fifty canoes
Hunt purchased nine dogs that were quite fat and made a delicious dinner

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS OVERLAND EXPEDITION FOLLOWS THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Columbia ran almost directly west and the banks were bare making travel easy -- January 24-28, 1812
frequently the thirty-three Astorians came on Indian lodges and purchased fish and dogs
but they put such a high price on elk or deer venison that the Astorians could not afford it
departures in the morning were often delayed as Indians took the ropes tethering the horses
if not the horses themselves and time was lost capturing stray animals
Sixty miles were crossed before they reached hilly country where the Columbia River
became constricted between rocky banks and poured over numerous tumultuous rapids
Indians in this region appeared wealthier and arrogant
Hunt received word from these Indians that a number of white men had built a large house
at the mouth of the great river and surrounded it with a wooden wall

Wilson Price Hunt became aware the natives had turned untrustworthy -- January 22, 1812

Indians they met attempted to steal their stray horses

At one village they learned a successful native hunter had killed an elk
upon approaching him to obtain some venison

they soon found that his price was far beyond their ability to pay,

so they traded for dog meat and considered it a fine delicacy -- far superior to horse meat

WILSON PRICE HUNT CAMPS ACROSS FROM THE DESCHUTES RIVER

Camp was made along the north side of the Columbia River

across the river from the mouth of (today's Deschutes River)

Indians came in great numbers to dance in honor of the arrival of the Astorians -- January 30, 1812

but they arrived in such large numbers that Hunt became concerned

he pretended to be ill and asked to be left alone -- in a short time the Indians complied

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS OVERLANDERS PASS CELILO FALLS

Hunt's party reached the falls known to the Indians as Timm or Tumwater (today's Celilo Falls)

here the Columbia River's course was dammed by rocks over which the water rushed
violently through several channels

They reached a village of Wishram Indians on the north river bank -- early morning January 31, 1812
this was the greatest fishing area of the Columbia River

on both sides of the river the Astorians saw large platforms made of carefully woven stakes
used by the Indians to dry their fish.

ground around the platforms was covered with bones and heads of fish

(Hunt later reported that the Indians in this area were the most intelligent encountered so far
one of them who knew a few English words

he told Hunt that David Stuart had gone to one of the northern tributaries of the Columbia
to spend the winter -- in fact, this native had visited Stuart's trading post

he also recounted the disaster that overtook Alexander McKay and the ship *Tonquin*
as well as the tragic loss of Alexander McKay with the *Tonquin*

he asked for news about Mr. Lewis and Mr. Clark and some of their companions

however, this Indian had somehow learned of the death of Meriwether Lewis

an incredible amount of information reached the Indians of the Columbia River

Not far below the waterfalls they saw a snow-covered peak on the south bank

Hunt supposed this was Captain George Vancouver's Mount Hood

WILSON PRICE HUNT CONTINUES DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Hunt saw several extremely well made canoes with elevated bows and sterns -- February 1, 1812
some were capable of carrying three thousand pounds and more
however, he found it difficult to bargain with these natives who were more intent on pilfering
Hunt could purchase only one canoe which cost him a horse

After traveling another twelve miles on this day camp was made -- February 1, 1812

Wilson Price Hunt soon found he was surrounded by Indians loitering around the camp
seeking out what they could pilfer -- but a close watch impaired these activities

Toward evening a number of warriors entered the camp painted and dressed for battle
they were armed with lances, bows and arrows and scalping knives
they informed Wilson Price Hunt that a party of thirty or forty braves
were coming from a village downriver to attack the camp and steal the horses,

but that they were determined to stay with him and defend him

Hunt was unimpressed with their story but he gave them a pipe to smoke

he then set up a watch around the camp and the warriors dejectedly left

however, the warriors returned bringing with them a still more heroically dressed warrior
who was introduced as the chief of the attacking villagers

it was said that he had used his authority to prevent the attack on the Astorians

Hunt again produced the pipe and smoked with the chieftain and his companions

but made no further display of gratitude

the warriors remained all night but in the morning they left

having received nothing but smoke for the efforts

Despite Hunt's keeping a close watch the Indians managed to acquire an axe

encouraged by this success several of them followed the Overland Expedition the next day

WILSON PRICE HUNT FINDS HE IS IN A COMMUNITY OF THEIVES

Indians continually attempted to pilfer anything that was attractive or of interest to them

they snatched two guns -- February 2, 1812

although the horses were kept in the camp that night

one horse was lost about eleven o'clock

WILSON PRICE HUNT TAKES TO THE WATER

Hunt embarked in a canoe and sent his horses ahead along the trail -- February 3, 1812

he rejoined his Overland Expedition at a village at the mouth of the Klickitat River

there he purchased three additional canoes each costing one horse

but while the trade was being transacted Indians took a tomahawk and Hunt's last axe

Pierre Dorion assumed he was immune from theft because he was married to an Indian woman

and was a Metis himself

he decided to set his camp apart from the rest of the Astorians

his cherished horse tethered beside his tent was stolen during the night

much to his embarrassment and chagrin -- Marie was without a mount to ride

WILSON PRICE HUNT IS STOPPED BY BAD WEATHER

Violent winds forced Hunt to remain with these Indians for five days -- February 5-10, 1812

he believed the land portion of expedition was over as the trail ended at this village

cottonwoods, oaks and ash trees grew to the edge of the river

hills covered with pine trees became snow-covered once again

rain increased -- sometimes accompanied with snow

When Hunt tried to get canoes from his Indian neighbors he soon learned they were hard traders

after several days of watchful waiting and painful negotiations

he purchased another canoe for a horse and traded his last three horses for two more canoes

he now had enough canoes for the final leg of the trip to Astoria

however heavy winds delayed his start

RAMSAY CROOKS LEADS HIS MEN FROM THE SHOSHONE INDIAN CAMP

When John Day was finally well enough to be able to travel -- February 1812

Ramsay Crooks, John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil finally felt able to follow Hunt's trail

Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry chose to remain behind

they preferred their own miseries to unknown grief

they returned to a Shoshone encampment where they passed the remainder of winter

(historian Daniel Lee in *Ten Years in Oregon*, claimed Landry, La Chapelle and Turcotte

"deserted" Crooks, Day and Dubreuil

more likely they returned to the Shoshones who had guided Hunt [in October])

Ramsay Crooks and his party followed in Wilson's Price Hunt's tracks for several days

they usually slept in the open air and suffered untold hardships

eventually they came to a low prairie where the trail faded out

Ramsay Crooks, John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil became lost in the Blue Mountains

they wandered for weeks in and around the (Grand Ronde) valley

subsisting sometimes on horse meat, sometime on beavers and their skins

and part of the time on roots alone

LIFE IMPROVES AT ASTORIA

Shortages of game experienced during the winter were replaced by huge runs of smelt-like fish that the Indians called “uthlecan” (candlefish) that appeared at the mouth of the Columbia River in schools often more than five feet deep and easily scooped with nets at the end of long poles these had a delicious flavor and were so fat they often were burned like candles by the natives arrival of these fish soon brought the Indians back to the coast -- February men caught them and filled their canoes or piled them along the river bank women dried them and strung them on cords trade with the Indians was again conducted at Astoria sturgeon made their appearance shortly after the candlefish these were sometimes speared by the natives but more often were caught with hook and line occasionally a long line was sunk in the river with a buoy at one end to keep it floating hooks attached to short lines a few feet apart were baited with small fish these were set out at night and brought up in the morning often with several sturgeon although a large strong fish sturgeon seldom fight when caught

JOHN JACOB ASTOR’S SUPPLY SHIP ARRIVES IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

When Captain Cornelius Sowle reached the Hawaii with the supply ship *Beaver* -- February he heard rumors of the disastrous fate of the *Tonquin* this news increased doubts that a post had been constructed at the mouth of the Columbia River after some consideration the captain took on board twelve Kanakas (Hawaiians) to serve at Astoria -- if the post existed Captain Sowle sailed the *Beaver* for the mouth of the Columbia River

WILSON PRICE HUNT BEGINS THE FINAL LEG OF HIS JOURNEY TO ASTORIA

Hunt was finally able to set out down the Columbia River -- February 10, 1812 these last 220 miles downriver by canoe should have been calm, peaceful and refreshing after the distress and disasters of the previous winter however, Hunt’s troubles were not yet over violent head winds accompanied by snow and rain continued to impede his progress however, he was favored by the current so the flotilla made good progress Traveling fifteen miles from Celilo Falls they arrived at the beginning a series of a short rapids Hunt examined the north bank for a passage -- 10:00 a.m. February 10 he discovered a trail about a mile and a half long and the portage was made around the rapids these rapids provided the Indians with a second abundant fishery after making the portage around the short rapids Hunt’s Overlanders pressed on to a long rapids which required a portage of three miles

Oaks and ash trees became more common along with hazelnut trees

numerous little rivers plunged down from the mountains to add to the beauty of the countryside
here camp was made for the night

WILSON PRICE HUNT AND HIS ASTORIANS REACH THE CASCADES OF THE COLUMBIA

About eight miles from the long rapids Hunt and his thirty-two Overland Expedition members
again were forced to land their canoes and portage around the rapids at the Cascades

where the Columbia River crashes through the Cascade Mountains -- February 11, 1812

here the river dropped fifteen feet in a tumult of violent water 1½ miles long

(together Celilo Falls, the short, long rapids and Cascade rapids became known as the Dalles

[Wascopam to the natives] an eight miles stretch of violently turbulent water)

Below the Cascades Rapids the Columbia spread out until it was about three-quarters of a mile wide
hills diminished in size and retreated from the banks of the river

pine, oak, ash, cottonwood, maple, hazelnut and willow trees filled in the gaps

WILSON PRICE HUNT PASSES THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Hunt and his flotilla of canoes passed the mouth of (Oregon's Sandy River) -- February 13, 1812

twenty miles on they reached the (Willamette) river

with a large island (Sauvie Island) at its mouth

several small islands stretch out below the bigger island

seals became numerous indicating the nearby ocean -- rain, hail and snow fell all day long

WILSON PRICE HUNT MAKES CONTACT WITH THE SEA PARTY ASTORIANS

Mountains closed in on the Columbia River once again -- February 14, 1812

camp was made that night on the north bank of the (Cowlitz) river

here Indians talked about the trader living at the post on the Columbia River

they said it would be one more night before the destination was reached

Hunt led his canoes glided past several large islands in the Columbia River -- February 15, 1812

he stopped at some Indian huts and found four Astoria men trading for sturgeon and candlefish

after travelling twenty-seven miles camp was made on two low islands near the south bank

WILSON PRICE HUNT ARRIVES AT ASTORIA

Hunt and his Pacific Fur Company Overland Party set out early -- February 16, 1812¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Note: There is confusion as to the actual date of arrival as the Astorians at the post noted the date as February 15, 1812

four months after putting their canoes in at Fort Henry at Henry's Fork of the Snake River what remained of John Jacob Astor's Overland Party were joyfully welcomed to Astoria with cannon fire and salutes from rifles and muskets

Thirty-two Astorians had completed the expedition with Wilson Price Hunt -- February 16, 1812 his party, which had been given up for lost, was warmly welcomed by their fellow Astorians

Hunt noted the occasion: **"On the 16th we started early. It had rained all night. The fog was so thick that we could see only the lowlands and some small islands; all was covered by it. It disappeared in the afternoon at high tide. I found that we were navigating along a large bay, and shortly afterward I saw the fort of Astoria on the southerly bank.**

"I had the pleasure there of again meeting Messrs. McKenzie and McClellan, who had arrived more than a month before, after having suffered incredible hardships.... It was a very real pleasure for travelers harassed by fatigue to rest in quiet and be surrounded by friends after so long a journey in the midst of savages, of whom it is always prudent to be wary. We had covered 2073 miles since leaving the Arikaras' village."¹⁰⁴

PACIFIC FUR COMPANY EMPLOYEES CELEBRATE AT ASTORIA

Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall and the Astorians within the post held a grand celebration in honor of the arrival of Wilson Price Hunt and his companions
Cannon and small arms continued to be fired, liquor kegs were tapped,
a huge table in the banquet hall was spread with such delicacies as fish, beaver-tails,
and roasted venison

In fact, Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition had been a dismal failure

Astor's partners Donald McKenzie, Robert McClellan and company clerk John Reed had safely reached Astoria along with eight voyageurs

of Hunt's and Ramsay Crooks' combined parties of forty Astorians
thirty-three had reached Astoria

(only fourteen Astorians both the *Tonquin* and the Overland Expedition
will become permanent settlers of Oregon

William Canning (or Cannon), Joseph Gervais, Pierre Dorion, Marie Dorion,
Alexander Carson, John Coxe (Kanaka), Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil, "Sailor Jack,"
Louis I. LaBonte, Michel Laframbois, Etienne Lucier, Jean McKay, Francois Payette
and George Ramsey)

nothing had been seen of Ramsay Crooks, John Day, Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil,
and the three voyagers who early had dropped out of the march

¹⁰⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 72.

Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry
or of Astor's partner Joseph Miller along with the Kentuckians Edward Robinson,
John Hoback, Jacob Reznor accompanied by Martin Cass
they all were now counted as lost

WILSON PRICE HUNT TAKES COMMAND OF ASTORIA

Astor's partner and experienced trader Duncan McDougall was replaced by Wilson Price Hunt
who took over command of the Pacific Fur Company operations at Astoria
Hunt had no practical experience in leading an enterprise as large as Astoria
he had been spectacularly unsuccessful leading the Overland Party from St. Louis to Astoria

THREE FRENCH-CANADIANS SEEK OUT SHOSHONE INDIANS FOR ASSISTANCE

Astorians Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry were destitute
they had chosen to remain in a Shoshone camp but they wore out their welcome
La Chapelle, Turcotte and Landry informed the Shoshone chief
they knew where a great quantity of food and trade goods had been left in caches
by Wilson Price Hunt and his Astorians while they were traveling west
La Chapelle, Turcotte and Landry said there was enough there to enrich the whole tribe
These Astorians led the Shoshones to the caches at Caldron Linn
Shoshone Indians could not believe their good fortune as **“Blankets and robes, brass trinkets
and blue beads were drawn forth with chuckling exultation, and long strips of scarlet cloth
produced yells of ecstasy.”**¹⁰⁵
they were now armed, equipped and decorated with the riches they had uncovered

ASTORIA WAS IN DISARRAY WHEN HUNT TAKES COMMAND

Little settlement at Astoria was in agitation -- March 1812

several important things needed to be done:

- it was necessary to send a supply of goods to David Stuart's Fort Okanogan;
- cache of supplies left by Wilson Price Hunt at Caldron Linn
had to be collected and brought to Astoria;
- new trading posts had to be established to compete with North West Company
and to open new territory;
- dispatches had to be sent to John Jacob Astor in New York
reporting the loss of the *Tonquin*

¹⁰⁵ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, P.395.

announcing the arrival of the Overland Expedition informing him of conditions at Astoria and relating the unknown status of the several trading expeditions

that had set out from Henry' Fort on the Snake River (Idaho);

•trade with the Russian-America Company needed to be undertaken

Wilson Price Hunt believed Astoria now had enough personnel to expand their operation beyond simply Astoria and Fort Okanogan with excursions into the Thompson River region preparations were begun to develop new trading posts in the interior

PIERRE AND MARIE DORION LIVE IN COMFORT AT ASTORIA

Pierre Dorion worked as a hunter

being skilled in his trade he contributed his fair share to the larder at Astoria

Meanwhile, Marie Dorion lived in comparative luxury in the settlement

while her two boys regained their health

WHILE AT ASTORIA CLERK ROSS COX DESCRIBES A RED-HEADED INDIAN

In his journal Ross Cox reported on an Indian who visited Astoria

who had the name Jack Ramsay tattooed on his left arm **“His skin was fair, his face partially freckled and his hair quite red. He was about five feet ten inches high, was slender, but remarkably well made; his head had not undergone the flattening process; and he was called ‘Jack Ramsay’.”**¹⁰⁶

Clatsop Indians alleged that his father had been an English sailor

who had deserted from a trading ship and had lived for many years among their people

he married one of their women

when Jack was born his father insisted on preserving the child's head in its natural state

but while he was young the name “Jack Ramsay” was tattooed into his arm

Old Ramsay had died some twenty years before [about 1792] -- he had several children

Ross Cox noted in his journal that Jack Ramsay was fond of his father's countrymen

he had the decency to wear trousers whenever he came to the fort

therefore a collection of old clothes was taken for his use

this provided him clothing sufficient to last for several years

This must have been the same man William Clark had described [1805]

in his journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

NEWLY WEALTHY SHOSHONE INDIANS DECIDE TO HUNT BUFFALO

Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry

¹⁰⁶ Elliott Coues, editor, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, Vol. II, P. 768.

had shown the Shoshones the location of the caches left by Wilson Price Hunt
now rich beyond their wildest imaginings the party of Shoshone Indians
decided to go to hunt buffalo so their larder would match their new economic state
Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry accompanied them
as the Indians safely crossed the Rocky Mountains and descended on the east side
to the headwaters of the Missouri River where they generated havoc with the buffalo herds
Their hunting camp was full of meat and the Shoshone Indians gorged themselves
as they remained busy drying buffalo meat and making buffalo jerky
in the midst of their revelry a band of Blackfoot Indians surprised them
several Shoshone were killed on the spot as the others fled into the mountains
accompanied by the three French-Canadians without meat, horses or anything else

DAVID THOMPSON LEAVES SALEESH HOUSE TO GO TO SPOKANE HOUSE

Nor'Wester David Thompson had spent the [winter of 1811]-1812 at Saleesh House
where he made a couple of surveying expeditions along the Clark Fork River
he traveled to (today's Missoula, Montana) to see the route traveled by Lewis and Clark
later he made a journey to the south end of Flathead Lake
David Thompson left Saleesh House bound for Spokane House -- March 13, 1812
to build canoes for the journey east to North West Company headquarters at Fort William

ALEXANDER ROSS' SOLITARY LIFE AT FORT OKANOGAN

Clerk-in-charge of Fort Okanogan Alexander Ross had remained alone at the post
with no more company than his dog Weasel
Ross's plight continued until March 22, 1812
as he recorded in his journal: **"December now was passed, and the new year of 1812 ushered in, but still there was no account of the absent party. January passed, and likewise February, but no Mr. [David] Stuart; nor was it until the 22nd of March that little Weasel announced early in the morning the approach of strangers, and I was rejoiced to meet again at my lonely dwelling my long-expected friends all safe and well.**

"During Mr. Stuart's absence of 188 days I had procured 1,550 beavers, besides other peltries, worth in the Canton market 2,250 £ sterling, and which on an average stood the concern in but 5.5£ apiece, valuing the merchandise at sterling cost, or in round numbers 35£ sterling -- a specimen of our trade among the Indians!

"Here follows Mr. Stuart's account of his journey: 'After leaving this place,' he said, 'we bent our course up the Okanogan, due north for upwards of 250 miles till we reached its source; then crossing a height of land fell upon Thompson's River.... The snow fell while we were in the

mountains and precluded our immediate return, and after waiting for fine weather the snows got so deep that we considered it hopeless to attempt getting back and therefore passed our time with the She Whaps and other tribes in that quarter. The Indians were numerous and well disposed, and the country throughout abounds in beavers and all other kinds of fur; and I have made arrangements to establish a trading post there [today's Kamloops]The distance may be about 350 miles."¹⁰⁷

ASTORIAN DAVID STUART'S TRAPPING PARTY RETURNS TO FORT OKANOGAN

Astorian David Stuart and his trapping party of eight men returned to Fort Okanogan from the forks of the Thompson River (Kamloops) they provided Alexander Ross glowing accounts of the trade possibilities farther to the north

AT ASTORIA WILSON PRICE HUNT PREPARES THREE EXPEDITIONS

Robert Stuart would lead a four-man expedition including a young clerk, Ross Cox, to forge up the Columbia River to take supplies to David Stuart, Robert's uncle, at Fort Okanogan also they were to collect additional furs from the Indians along the way and to establish a new post on the Spokane River

Clerk Russell Farnham the tall "Green Mountain Boy" from Vermont would head an expedition east to pick up supplies that Wilson Price Hunt had cached along the way at Caldron Linn and to search for Ramsay Crooks, John Day and Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil gather any pelts accumulated by them and return to Astoria

Farnham was accompanied by another clerk, Donald McGiles, also a guide and eight additional men to assist in bringing home the cached goods

Clerk John Reed had just completed the westward ordeal with Donald McKenzie, Reed, an eager and energetic young Irishman, was entrusted to deliver dispatches to John Jacob Astor in New York City announcing the arrival of the Overland Expedition, loss of the *Tonquin* and other items of significance

reflecting his Irish enthusiasm for a task, John Reed had a shiny tin case made in which the letters and papers to Astor were soldered he planned to carry it strapped to his back at all times

Reed was accompanied by Kentucky hunter Ben Jones and two voyageurs it was hoped he might find Astor's partner Ramsay Crooks so Reed carried a small supply of goods and provisions to aid Crooks and those with him on their way to Astoria

Astor's partner Robert McClellan, who had announced his desire to give up his partnership and leave the country, decided to travel east with John Reed

¹⁰⁷ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State.*, P 83.

because he was a strong-willed man it was determined let him go without opposition

THREE GROUPS OF ASTORIANS WOULD TRAVEL TOGETHER

Route of these parties would be the same for nearly four hundred miles up the Columbia River and the notorious Wishram Indians would be encountered at The Cascades

it was thought advisable the three groups would start at the same time and to keep together as they traveled up the Columbia River as a unit led by Robert Stuart

to provide mutual protection in the treacherous region of the Dalles

accordingly seventeen men in two canoes set out from Astoria -- March 22, 1812

Clerk Ross Cox wrote a narrative of his exploits along the Columbia River

he also gave an account of an encounter of a different kind: **“We had half expected Indian trouble, but were totally unprepared for that overwhelming army of fleas that attacked on the front, flank, and rear. Our only defense was to strip off clothes and dip them in the water, thus drowning the swarms of invaders.”**¹⁰⁸

RAMSAY CROOKS, JOHN DAY AND JEAN-BAPTISTE DUBEUIL CONTINUE ON

Crooks, Day and Dubeuil, lost in the Blue Mountains, wandered aimlessly

their crossing was as harrowing as the exploits of the other Astorians

they were rescued and sustained from time to time by small bands of Indians

who often were not much better off than were Crooks and his men

Finally Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil gave out and was left in the lodge of a Shoshone Indian

who agreed to care for the French-Canadian hunter -- end of March

Ramsay Crooks and John Day still continued on now that the snow had diminished

they gathered information from the Indians regarding how to cross this last mountain range

happily, they succeeded and reached the lodge of Yeckatapam a Walla Walla Indian

living along the banks of the Walla Walla River who kindly received the wanderers

and killed a horse for them to eat

he gave them directions to find the Columbia River

ROBERT STUART LEADS THE ASTORIANS UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Robert Stuart continued to lead his expedition for Fort Okanogan

accompanied by two other expeditions

Russell Farnham was on his way the caches at Caldron Linn left by Wilson Price Hunt

John Reed was carrying a shiny box of dispatches to deliver to John Jacob Astor in New York

¹⁰⁸ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 15.

Robert Stuart arrived at the Long Rapids, a notorious plundering place -- early April
here it was necessary to unload the canoes and portage both canoes and cargoes by land
three miles to the head of the rapids
seventeen men were not enough to accomplish the task
they were forced to seek the assistance of Wishram Indians
who loaded some of the goods on their horses
Stuart's caravan set off accompanied by the Indians with their horses well loaded
first load was conveyed by John Reed and five well-armed men
with the gallant Irishman striding along at the head of the parade
his tin case of dispatches glittering on his back
while passing through a rocky and intricate defile some of the Wishrams
turned their horses up a narrow passage and galloped off
carrying with them two bales of goods and a number of smaller articles
following them was useless

ROBERT STUART'S ASTORIANS SPEND A WATCHFUL NIGHT IN CAMP

Stuart set up a guard at the Wishram village to protect the remaining supplies
this duty made sleep impractical
At first light the Astorians pushed up the Columbia River
Wishrams were not so easily discouraged from their desire to possess the trade goods
and especially the shiny tin box that was so securely guarded
that it must contain "strong medicine"
Astorians had not gone far when they discovered Wishram natives
whooping and yelling in groups along the river bank

ASTORIANS REACH THE LOWER END OF THE SHORT RAPIDS

Here they were surrounded by upwards of four hundred Wishram natives
armed with bows and arrows, war clubs and other weapons
Indians pressed forward with offers to carry the canoes and goods around the short portage
Robert Stuart declined to allow them to carry the supplies,
but did allow the canoes to be taken up river accompanied by eight well-armed Astorians
When the short portage was completed the Wishram became mischievous
to the point of attempting to destroy the canoes thus holding the Astorians hostage for more theft
this ploy was stopped by an old man who dispersed his fellow natives
although about fifty Indians crossed to the north side of the river and laid in wait

ROBERT STUART AND HIS EXPEDITION REACH CELILO FALLS

In an effort to outwit the Wishram Indians Robert Stuart roused his men in the dead of night
he proposed they portage the goods themselves by the bright moonlight
Stuart led the first group carrying supplies
while John Reed and Robert McClellan stayed below the falls with remainder of the goods
By dawn only two loads of goods remained to be brought to the head of the Dalles
Robert Stuart sent several men back to retrieve the remaining supplies
with instructions for John Reed to keep as many men as necessary
to protect the final load of trading goods
Reed decided he and McClellan were be able to protect the remnant themselves
and sent the other Astorians back upriver with all they could carry

JOHN REED AND ROBERT McCLELLAN COME UNDER ATTACK

Indian canoes carrying about fifty men arrived from across the Columbia River
they had been guided by the glint of the sun on the tin box carried by John Reed
thus what was meant to protect the dispatches in fact exposed them to peril
Reaching shore the Wishrams sprang toward the remaining trade goods
Robert McClellan saw a native holding a buffalo robe advancing as if to trade
McClellan stepped back just as the warrior lunged to stab him
raising his rifle, McClellan shot him through the heart
John Reed, at this time, was fumbling with his rifle
he was hit on the head with a war club that laid him senseless on the ground
his rifle, pistols and the glimmering tin box all were immediately stripped away

WISHRAM INDIANS ARE DRIVEN OFF

Just in the nick of time Robert Stuart who had heard the native war cries
reached the scene with Ben Jones and seven other men
Jones shot a one warrior who was standing over John Reed raising a tomahawk
all of the warriors took flight taking the tin box of dispatches with them
John Reed was carried to the head of the portage around Celilo Falls
where preparations were attempted to escape from the savage attack
confusion broke out when it was discovered
the expedition's canoes had been damaged and were too leaky to put in the water
and the paddles had been left at the bottom of the falls
Robert Stuart restored order
two men were sent to retrieve the paddles while the others caulked the canoes

ROBERT STUART MANAGES TO REACH A TRUCE WITH THE WISHRAM INDIANS

Robert Stuart discussed with his men the possibility of retreating back to Astoria to escape however, the two men who returned with the paddles reported the route was cut off by Wishram warriors who had traveled down the north side of the Columbia River on horseback faster than the Astorians could repair their equipment and travel on water Astorians held parlay with the Wishram chief who decided he would be appeased by the acceptance of blankets for the dead native and some tobacco for the living

ROBERT STUART'S EXPEDITION MEMBERS DECIDES TO TRAVEL TO FORT OKANOGAN

Since the tin box carrying reports and dispatches to John Jacob Astor had been lost the purpose of Robert Stuart's journey was gone All three parties of Astorians, Robert Stuart, Russell Farnham and John Reed, changed their courses to go to David Stuart's Fort Okanogan on the Okanogan River accompanied by Astor's partner Robert McClellan who had been frustrated in his effort to go home

JEAN-BAPTISTE DUBREUIL ATTEMPTS TO TRAVEL ON HIS OWN

French-Canadian voyageur Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil had been left in a friendly Shoshone village by Ramsay Crooks and John Day when they departed After leaving that village, Dubreuil had traveled alone and became lost in the Blue Mountains fortunately, he stumbled on a friendly village of Shoshone Indians where he was nurtured for the winter (he set out on his own once again in the [spring])

ASTORIAN DONALD MCKENZIE ENTERS THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Rebounding quickly from the ordeal of his overland crossing McKenzie left Astoria with William Matthews and Joseph Gervais to explore up the Willamette River educate the Indians on how to better preserve fur pelts that the trappers were especially interested in acquiring They reached a tributary of the Willamette River now bearing McKenzie's name there they started another promising trading post (near today's Eugene, Oregon) -- April 1812 When McKenzie and Matthews returned to Astoria they reported an abundance of beaver and wild game was available in the region to the south

ASTORIANS LEAVE FORT OKANOGAN TO RETURN TO ASTORIA

After their ordeal on the Columbia River at Celilo Falls portage

Robert Stuart led his party to Fort Okanogan on the Okanogan River
to supply his uncle, David Stuart

Robert Stuart and his party rested for two or three days at Fort Okanogan
before again taking the Columbia River back to Astoria

during that time Alexander Ross enjoyed the company of other Astorians at Fort Okanogan
in addition to his dog Weasel

Robert Stuart, Russell Farnham, John Reed and their parties along with Robert McClellan
left Fort Okanogan accompanied by David Stuart on the downriver journey to Astoria

David Stuart along with three members of his trapping party brought out 2,500 beaver pelts
that had been gathered at Fort Okanogan and while wintering in the Thompson River region
(Kamloops, British Columbia)

SHOSHONE BUFFALO HUNTERS RETURN TO THEIR SNAKE RIVER ENCAMPMENT

After being robbed while hunting buffalo the now destitute Indians

and Astorians Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry
plodded back to their homeland deprived of horses, meat and all of their possessions
La Chapelle, Turcotte and Landry were poorer than ever -- but they had their lives

By good fortune while staying with the destitute Shoshone Indians the Astorians

met Pacific Fur Company hunter Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil who wandered into camp alone

Dubreuil had become so exhausted he had been left by Ramsay Crooks and John Day
when they set out in an effort to reach Astoria [March 1812]

he had become lost in the Blue Mountains and wandered about alone and without hope

RAMSAY CROOKS AND JOHN DAY REACH THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Traveling from Yeckatapam's lodge on the Walla Walla River

Ramsay Crooks and John Day reached the Columbia River -- mid-April 1812

They followed the Columbia downstream for about one hundred miles

until they had just passed the mouth of a river (now known as the John Day River)

they came to within twenty miles of Celilo Falls

here they met the local Wishram natives who received them in a friendly way and fed them
but as the two Astorians were eating, their rifles were stolen

Crooks and Day were robbed of everything, stripped naked and were forced to leave
even Crooks' request for a flint and steel to make fire were refused

Fearing Indians downriver and in a desperate condition of deteriorating physical and mental health

Ramsay Crooks and John Day had no idea how far they were from Astoria
Now even worse off than they had been and with their spirits broken
they decided to try to retrace their steps back up the Columbia River
to friendly Walla Walla Indian Yeckatapam's lodge
Crooks and Day traveled about eighty miles back up the Columbia River
they subsisted on rotting fish they found along the river bank

DAVID THOMPSON ARRIVES AT SPOKANE HOUSE

After building canoes for his cross-continent trip to North West Company Fort William headquarters
David Thompson left Spokane House for the final time -- April 22, 1812
This time he led thirty North West Company voyageurs who paddled six canoes
as they transported 122 bales of furs each weighing ninety pounds
to the company's supply depot and central meeting place and headquarters
at Fort William on Lake Superior (now Thunder Bay, Ontario)
these furs were worth approximately \$50,000 on the London market
Thompson and the members of his expedition set out for their first stop at Boat Encampment
Kanaka (Hawaiian) Chief Naukane now known as "John Coxe" had arrived on the *Tonquin*,
he became a loyal North West Company employee
he accompanied David Thompson from Astoria by canoe and portage across the continent
Nor'Wester Finan McDonald remained in charge of Spokane House
he and the other Nor'Westers soon learned their fur trade monopoly in the Columbia Department
was being challenged by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company out of New York

RAMSAY CROOKS AND JOHN DAY ARE MIRACALOUSLY RESCUED

To their amazement Crooks and Day saw four canoes paddled by white coming down the Columbia
both of the desperate men shouted in an effort to catch the voyageurs attention -- May 1, 1812
Men in the canoes saw two wretched individuals standing beside the river entirely naked
they paddled to shore as Crooks and Day approached without weapons and nearly starved
these voyageurs proved to be the Astorians David and Robert Stuart, Russell Farnham, John Reed
and their expedition along with Robert McClellan
on their way from Fort Okanogan to Astoria
Ramsay Crooks and John Day experienced boundless joy to again be among their countrymen
who gave them a warm and hearty welcome
Crooks learned of the disasters which had befallen "Fats" McKenzie, McClellan and Reed
who were the first of Hunt's Overland Expedition to reach Astoria [mid-January 1812]
Astor's partner Robert McClellan had decided that the hardships and dangers

were not worth the company shares which he had been allotted

MANUEL LISA ARRIVES BACK IN ST. LOUIS

New Missouri Fur Company launched an aggressive trade expedition -- May 1, 1812

Manuel Lisa sent eighty-five men to the upper Missouri River region

on the way they built Fort Manuel among the Arikaras (south of Mobridge, South Dakota) to gain passage upriver Toussaint Charbonneau then making his third trip to the Upper Missouri hired out to fur trader Manuel Lisa

district judge of Louisiana Territory Henry M. Brackenridge traveling in the same group

wrote that Charbonneau “...**who had spent many years amongst the Indians, was become weary of civilized life.**”¹⁰⁹

although Charbonneau returned to the Arikara villages additional traces of the rest of his life occur in journals and records from other frontier travelers

(Later the New Missouri Fur Company dispatched trapping parties to the Wind River [Wyoming], the Little Big Horn River [southern Montana] and to the Arkansas River)

STUARTS AND THEIR ACCOMPANYING ASTORIANS CONTINUE DOWNRIVER

While traveling down the Columbia River from Fort Okanogan

Robert Stuart managed to enlighten the Wishram natives

regarding the high prices the Chinook Indians were getting for their furs at Astoria

(this information resulted in so many Indians eventually coming to Astoria

that it was necessary to call upon Chief Comcomly

to help maintain amicable relations during trading)

THREE ASTORIANS REACH THE SHOSHONE CAMP ON THE SNAKE RIVER

Shoshone Indians' encampment had become the home of voyageurs

Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte, and Francis Landry who had been join by

voyageur Jean-Baptiste Dubreuil when he wandered into the encampment alone

Three other stragglers members of Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition made their appearance

Alexander Carson, Louis St. Michael and Pierre Delaunay

all were trappers who had been accompanied by Pierre Detaye

they had been left by Hunt to trap beaver in the mountains [October 1811]

they had reached the upper Missouri River where they successfully trapped beaver

¹⁰⁹ Henry M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana, Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River in 1811*, P. 202.

but the group had been attacked by Crow Indians
Pierre Detaye was killed and the rest robbed
dejected and destitute Carson, St. Michael and Delaunay returned to the Pacific Fur Company

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER* REACHES THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Captain Cornelius Sowle, a timid and inflexible man, sailed the Pacific Fur Company supply ship
Beaver as near as possible to the mouth of the Columbia River -- May 6, 1812
two cannons were fired as a signal to John Jacob Astor's post -- if it existed
no answer was returned increasing doubts regarding the existence of a post
As night came on the *Beaver* stood out to sea -- as the land faded so too did hope

ASTOR'S SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER* RETURNS TO THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Captain Cornelius Sowle sailed to within four miles of shore and again fired his signal guns
again there was no reply from the post -- May 7, 1812
Captain Sowle dispatched a boat to find a channel over the sandbar so an entrance could be attempted
tremendous swells and breakers hampered the effort -- *Beaver* again turned out to sea
One more attempt was made to approach the river's entrance -- evening May 7
when the signal guns were fired there was again no response
all hope was given up and the *Beaver* stood off to sea once again
it was believed no post existed because the Astorians had been killed before they arrived
or a post had been built and Indians massacred the occupants
Astor's newest partner, tall, handsome, boastful and vain America John Clarke arrived on the *Beaver*
he was another former Nor'Wester who was experienced in the fur trade
John Clarke announced to Captain Sowle that he would establish a post
using the Astorians on board the *Beaver*

ONCE AGAIN THE SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER* APPROACHES THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA

Once again Captain Cornelius Sowle fired the *Beaver's* signal guns -- morning May 8, 1812
to the great joy of the ship's crew three distinct guns were heard in response
Captain Sowle, timid and hesitant by nature, remembered Astor's instructions
Sowle proceeded with great caution believing the Indians could be treacherous and cunning
perhaps the natives had fired the response signal to lure in the *Beaver* in to attack her
when a white flag was hoisted on Cape Disappointment as a signal those on the *Beaver* cried out
but the captain believed this too could be a trick
when a signal fire burned through the night Captain Sowle claimed it was treachery
and the hesitant captain turned out to sea

BEAVER ANCHORS OF CAPE DISAPPOINTMENT OUTSIDE THE BAR OF THE COLUMBIA

Beaver came to anchor off Cape Disappointment -- morning May 9, 1812

toward noon a canoe was seen making for the ship -- all hands were ordered on full alert

then a barge was seen following the canoe

hopes and fears were both raised for those on board the supply ship

Captain Cornelius Sowle ordered armed sailors to receive the visitors

it was soon discovered the canoe was occupied by Chinook Chief Comcomly and six Indians

the barge held Astor's partners Duncan McDougal and Robert McClellan and eight voyageurs

with the captain's fears quelled the *Beaver* crossed the bar piloted by the Astorians

and safely anchored in Baker Bay

BOTH STUARTS ARRIVE AT ASTORIA BRINGING RAMSAY CROOKS AND JOHN DAY

David Stuart and his nephew Robert, John Reed, Robert McClellan and Russell Farnham

arrived back at Astoria -- May 11, 1812

they were accompanied by the long-lost Ramsay Crooks and John Day

Robert Stuart had to report the disastrous loss of John Reed's dispatches and all of their trading goods to the Wishram Indians at the Dalles

David Stuart and his three companions delivered the only good news to be heard at Astoria

they had brought out 2,500 beaver pelts from the Fort Okanogan and Thompson River regions

they also gave a glowing account of conditions up the Columbia River

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON LEAVES BOAT ENCAMPMENT

Traveling from Spokane House on his way to deliver pelts to North West Company's Fort William

Thompson left Boat Encampment and the Canadian Rocky Mountains

he reached the house of William Henry on the Athabasca River -- May 11, 1812

("Henry House" was in the Jasper, Alberta area)

Thompson continued on to Fort Augustus and Boggy Hall (near present-day Edmonton, Alberta)

where his wife Charlotte lived with their five children

Accompanied by his family, Thompson and the brigade journeyed with \$50,000 in furs

to Cumberland House by way of the Churchill River

[he arrived there June 18, 1812]

CONDITIONS IMPROVE AT ASTORIA WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE *BEAVER*

Morale for the Astorians skyrocketed with the sight of the supply ship *Beaver*

soon the *Beaver* loaded with stores and trading equipment managed to get the supplies to Astoria

where they were unloaded -- at last the Astorians had abundant materials
New reinforcements of men also arrived and spirits soared at last
Beaver had brought out thirty-six more eager clerks and fresh workers
and twelve Kanakas (Hawaiians) hired to work at Astoria
in the Columbia River region a number of Kanakas served as voyageurs and laborers

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S PARTNERS HOLD A MEETING IN ASTORIA

Improved conditions and morale at Astoria were reflected as Wilson Price Hunt called a meeting
of Astor's partners to discuss future plans to develop the Pacific Northwest -- May 1812
Fort Okanogan on the Okanogan River was to be reinforced
four new posts were planned up the Columbia River
another attempt was to be made to recover the cached goods near Caldron Linn
it was still necessary to make a second attempt to deliver dispatches to Astor
in New York City
in spite of the almost euphoric mood at Astoria, there were major obstacles to success
unfriendly Indians, commercial pressure from the North West Company,
United States had instituted a policy of refusing to trade with Great Britain or France
and war with Britain was looming
Ramsay Crooks, like Robert McClellan, gave up his partnership status
both waited for an opportunity to return east and home

ARRIVAL OF THE SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER* MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO EXPAND OPERATIONS

Pacific Fur Company partners at Astoria could now establish new posts in the interior
Astor's partners would throw out a ring of forts thus blocking any advance
down the Columbia River by the North West Company:
David Stuart, recently arrived at Astoria from Fort Okanogan,
was to deliver supplies up the Columbia River to Fort Okanogan and to again lead
a party into the Thompson River region (today's Kamloops region for the winter)
Donald McKenzie, who had been staying at Astoria, was given the task to lead
a trapping party into Snake River country and open a third outpost (for the winter)
traveling with McKenzie was the Irishman John Reed
newly arrived Astor partner John Clarke was to construct a post up the Columbia River
at a location that would provide competition to the North West Fur Company
Robert Stuart, although he had arrived in Astoria aboard the *Tonquin*
and had never crossed the continent, was selected to lead an expedition east
to deliver dispatches to replace those lost by John Reed

first to St. Louis and then to John Jacob Astor in New York City

ROBERT STUART'S ASSIGNMENT WAS ESPECIALLY VITAL TO THE ASTORIANS

John Jacob Astor needed the reports to determined supplies, trade goods and personnel necessary to maintain Pacific Fur Company operations
Robert Stuart's youth and vigor were believed sufficient to equip him to lead the expedition
Four Astorians who had accompanied Wilson Price Hunt across the continent would accompany him
hunters Ben Jones and John Day, voyageurs Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc
in addition, John Jacob Astor's former partners Ramsay Crooks and Robert McClellan
who had given up their shares in the company would accompany Robert Stuart to the east

WAR OF 1812 BREAKS OUT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

President James Madison was pressured by "War Hawks" in Congress for a Declaration of War
this demand for war came from the American South to increase the area under slavery
and the West to increase the availability of cheap land for farming

War was announced by President Madison -- June 18, 1812

in fact the United States was not ready for war as few ships sailed under the American flag
and the United States Army was small and badly trained
oddly, this war which was fought for America's freedom of the seas
started with a United States attack on Canada

(throughout the war all of America's efforts to invade Canada failed)

News of the hostilities dampened the spirits of Yankee traders and merchants
many merchant ship captains hastened to tie up in neutral ports
to escape attack by British fighting ships

When the War of 1812 was declared the American trapper and trader Alexander Henry
enrolled in the United States Army and rose to the rank of major

Captain Oliver Hazard Perry built a small fleet of ships on Lake Erie
and, after a major battle, successfully cut off British supplies to their frontier forts

Perry proclaimed: "**We have met the enemy and they are ours**"¹¹⁰

British soldiers attacked Washington City in retaliation for America's invasion of Canada
they burned the capitol city to the ground and attacked Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor
during this battle Francis Scott Key wrote new words to an old English drinking song
this music became known as *The Star Spangled Banner*
(it will become America's national anthem [1931])

¹¹⁰ www.encyclopedia.com/doc

America's Navy enjoyed better success in the war effort than did the Army

UNITED STATES NEEDS INDIAN ALLIES IN DURING THE WAR OF 1812

U.S. Government was looking for someone to keep the Missouri River Indians neutral
or perhaps induce them to join with the Americans

on the recommendation of Louisiana Territory Governor William Clark

Manuel Lisa was chosen for the task

Lisa not only kept the Indians from joining the British

but he organized them into bands operating for the Americans

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S PLANS ARE THREATENED BY THE WAR OF 1812

It was a terrible blow for John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur company plans
when the War of 1812 broke out

No news had been heard of the fate of the *Tonquin* or her crew
or of Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition

Manuel Lisa had predicted the overland party would be destroyed

some North West Company employees had spread rumors to that effect

significantly elevating the levels of anxiety regarding the expedition

NORTH WEST COMPANY LEADERS LEARN OF THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

North West Company partners-in-the-field were gathered for their annual meeting at Fort William
(today's Thunder Bay, Ontario) on Lake Superior

they received word of America's declaration of war by express canoe from Montreal

they realized this event was a serious threat to their operations not only in Canada

but also in Pacific Northwest whose ownership was in doubt

North West Company employee John George McTavish along with Alexander Henry the Younger
were named leaders of the annual Nor'Wester supply brigade to the West from Rainy Lake House

they were to alert North West Company employees in the Columbia Department

to the danger

(Nor'Wester John George McTavish had wintered at Spokane House [1811-1812])

he also had accompanied David Thompson to the North West Company's headquarters

at Fort William [April 1812])

seventy-five singing, beaded, belled and fringed voyageurs

left the Montreal company headquarters

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY ESTABLISHES FORT ROSS IN CALIFORNIA

Russian trappers and traders in Russian-America (Alaska) found it difficult to grow their own food as the growing season was very short

Because of native hostility to Europeans and Americans in the territory south of Russian-America and because of the increasing presence of British and American traders in Oregon

Russian American Company abandoned all attempts to create trading outposts in Oregon

company leaders reasoned a permanent a settlement in California

would provide both food and access to the abundant sea otter trade there

War of 1812 had hardly more than begun when Ivan Kuskov in his capacity

as senior assistant to Russian-American Company leader Alexander Baranov

extended the Russian fur trade into Spanish California

Russian traders sailed from New Archangel (Sitka, Alaska) down to Bodega, California

where Kuskov constructed a trading post with permission from the Spanish authorities

which was subsequently transformed into a fort

Fort Ross (short for Russia) was built about seventy-five miles north of San Francisco -- 1812

(in the vicinity of today's Sacramento, California)

this was the most southern outpost of Russian power in America

it was composed of a fourteen-foot stockade with two-storied blockhouses

mounted guns protected fifty-nine buildings including living quarters, warehouses,

Russian Orthodox chapel, steam bath house and jail

fifty Russians resided at the fort within the redwood walls

they were occupied with hunting, shipbuilding, raising cattle and crop farming

Russians were assisted by a small encampment of Aleut Indians located outside the walls

(When Spanish authorities changed their mind and objected to the Russian fort in their territory

Russian settlers refused to budge despite the indignant cries from Mexico City

Fort Ross later was later sold to John Sutter for \$30,000 [1841])

FOUR PARTIES SET OUT FROM ASTORIA BOUND FOR THE WALLA WALLA RIVER

Astor's partners Donald McKenzie, David Stuart, Robert Stuart and newly arrived John Clarke

were given their assignments:

Donald McKenzie was to build a trading post on the Clearwater River

David Stuart was to return to Fort Okanogan

John Clarke was to compete with North West Company's Spokane House

Robert Stuart was to deliver news of the fate of the *Tonquin* to St. Louis

Four Astorians led their combined parties that numbered sixty Astorians including partners, clerks,

voyageurs, Kanakas (Hawaiians) and American hunters out of Astoria -- June 29, 1812

to proceed past the treacherous Dalles of the Columbia River

treacherous for two reasons -- rapids and Indians
guns of Astoria were fired in salute
This united expedition was to travel to the mouth of the Walla Walla River
where they would divide into their assigned tasks
they traveled in ten canoes and two barges and were to keep together for mutual protection

JOHN DAY BECOMES COMPLETELY DERANGED

They were barely under way when hunter John Day became restless and uneasy
this was shocking as he was usually very cheerful and easy-going
it appeared his previous trials in the wilderness seemed to weigh on his mind
While Robert Stuart and his Astorians were camped near the Columbia River's (Wapato Island)
John Day became increasingly agitated and he began to talk wildly and incoherently
and to show signs of becoming mentally deranged -- July 2, 1812
Ramsay Crooks explained the horrors and suffering both he and Day
had experienced during the horrifying journey West to Astoria
John Day became violent as the sight of Indians through him into a rage
Day's mental sufferings led him to become frantic and he attempted to kill himself
he was disarmed and became very quiet before apologizing for his actions
he pretended to fall asleep but just before daylight he leaped up and grabbed two pistols
in his rush to commit suicide he fired high and missed his head
he was secured and placed under guard in one of the barges
What to do with John Day became a concern for the members of the expedition
clearly he could no longer accompany them on their journey east
fortunately a party of Wapato Indians known to the Astorians was met
Robert Stuart sent John Day without a weapon back to Astoria in the care of Wapato Indians
who regarded insanity as a sign of being possessed by a great spirit
John Day returned safely to the Pacific Fur Company post on the Columbia River
where he continued to serve as a hunter and trapper primarily in the Willamette River Valley

ASTORIANS TRAVELING TO THEIR ASSIGNMENT REACH THE LONG RAPIDS

Fifty-nine Astorians camped at the foot of the Long Rapids -- July 6, 1812
Early the next morning guards were posted along the portage route -- July 7
every man was armed and his cartridge box was replenished
each wore an arrow proof overcoat of elk hide reaching from the neck to the knees
five officers took positions at each end of the three mile portage
lookouts were posted high on the cliffs above the portage route

everyone else busily dragged the barges and canoes up the Columbia River
and carried supplies and goods along the narrow portage trail
Their preparations proved profitable as a canoe overturned sinking some goods and floating others
immediately hordes of Indians who had remained unseen set out to claim the prize
one bundle washed up on an island and half of the treasure was divided among the natives
while the other half was stored in a lonely hut on the island
Robert Stuart set out in a canoe with five men and regained the lost items
Similar precautions were taken at the Short Rapids and at Celilo Falls
fifteen days were taken to ascend the eighty miles of rapids

WILSON PRICE HUNT DECIDES TO TRAVEL WITH THE SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER*

Wilson Price Hunt was John Jacob Astor's agent in charge of Pacific Fur Company operations
no one at Astoria was aware of the outbreak of the War of 1812
Astor's supply ship was to carry supplies to the Russian trappers and traders in Russian-America
it was decided by the council of partners at Astoria that Wilson Price Hunt would travel with her
on its journey to New Archangel (Sitka) Russian-America (Alaska)
he was to become acquainted with the coastal trade
and to negotiate the terms to be established in supplying Russian trappers and traders
and carry a portion of the Russian's harvest of pelts to Canton, China
Hunt was to return to Astoria on the supply ship [in October]
after which the *Beaver* would proceed to Hawaii and on to Canton, China

FIFTY-NINE ASTORIANS REACH THE HEAD OF THE DALLES

After reaching the area above Celilo Falls great speed was made on the Columbia -- July 19, 1812
as the Astorians took advantage of the smoother water only occasionally interrupted
by rocks and rapid that allowed the voyageurs to use sails to ease their efforts
hills, cliffs and forests disappeared -- tufts of short grass were scorched by the summer sun
Natives in this region all lived on the north side of the Columbia
they were hunters and fishermen and had a great number of horses
some of these were purchased and killed on the spot
however, finding fuel for fires was difficult
as threats from the natives diminished those concerns were replaced by rattlesnakes
which infested the rocks of the rapids and portage routes
at one place a nest of snakes lay coiled together basking in the sun
several guns were fired at them and thirty-seven were killed or wounded
to keep the snakes away at night tobacco was occasionally placed around the tents

Because they were in the region (of today's John Day River) where Ramsay Crooks and John Day had been robbed and stripped guards were posted at night around the camp

RAMSAY CROOKS RECOGNIZES TWO INDIANS WHO HAD ROBBED HIM

In the morning a number of Indians gathered around the camp during breakfast -- July 20, 1812 to his great delight Ramsay Crooks recognized two of the intruders who had robbed him they were instantly seized, bound hand and foot and thrown into one of the canoes where they lay in unhappy fear expecting to be executed Crooks, however, was not a vengeful man and agreed to release the offenders as soon as the pillaged property was restored Indians immediately started off in different directions before night the rifles of Crooks and Day were produced both of the thieves were released

FIFTY-NINE ASTORIANS REACH THE MOUTH OF THE WALLA WALLA RIVER

Continuing up the Columbia River the Astorians arrived at the Walla Walla River -- July 27, 1812 where the combined parties who had thus far voyaged together were to separate When Walla Walla Indians who had aided Ramsay Crooks and John Day learned of the arrival of the Astorians they traveled to greet them in celebration the Indians built a great bonfire in their camp men and women danced singing the praises of the white men and welcoming them

ROBERT STUART PREPARES TO UNDERTAKE HIS TRIP ACROSS THE CONTINENT

Trade with the Walla Wallas was begun to procure horses for the overland journey -- July 27, 1812 Stuart purchased twenty horses for his expedition -- some for riding; others for the baggage Robert Stuart spent two days arranging pack saddles and preparing for his arduous journey with the loss of John Day he was now accompanied by five men -- a small number for the task Robert McClellan and Ramsay Crooks, both had given up their partnerships in the company, hunter Ben Jones and two French-Canadians Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc all but McClellan were young men full of courage, health and good spirits they were stimulated by their travels to St. Louis rather than appalled by danger

ROBERT STUART SETS OUT TO CROSS THE CONTINENT

Robert Stuart and his five men mounted their horses to undertake their own adventures they took leave of their fellow Astorians to hearty cheers from those left behind -- July 29, 1812 Stuart traveled to the southeast down the Walla Walla River retracing the disastrous course

taken by Wilson Price Hunt (the winter before)
in the distance were seen the Blue Mountains they would have to cross
Robert Stuart's expedition continued up the Walla Walla River for about fifty miles
to where they found a Cayuse Indian village of forty huts covered with mats

REMAINING FIFTY-THREE ASTORIANS REMAINED AT THE WALLA WALLA RIVER

Expedition leaders and Astor's partners Donald McKenzie, David Stuart and John Clarke
met to lay plans
they agreed to rendezvous at the mouth of the Walla Walla River (beginning of [June 1813])
to provide mutual protection when they traveled together back to Astoria
during the necessary journey past the Wishram Indians on the Columbia River)

DAVID STUART CONTINUES UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER TO FORT OKANOGAN

David Stuart led a party of Astorians eight from the mouth of the Walla Walla River -- July 31, 1812
they continued up the Columbia River on their way back to Fort Okanogan
(when they arrived there he delivered a supply of trade goods and ammunition
to clerk-in charge Alexander Ross who had remained at the trading post)

DONALD MCKENZIE LEADS TEN ASTORIANS UP THE SNAKE RIVER

McKenzie set out from the Walla Walla River up the Columbia River
to the mouth of the Snake River
Traveling with his second-in-command clerk Alfred Seton, John Reed and eight other Astorians
this trapping party turned up the Snake River
wandering bands of Indian tribes were seen traveling in various directions
some of these people had large herds of horses

JOHN CLARKE IS ASSIGNED TO ESTABLISH A POST TO COMPETE WITH NOR'WESTERS

It was John Clarke's plan store his barges at the mouth of the Walla Walla River
and proceed overland about 150 miles to the east to reach the Spokane Indians
where he would construct a new trading post to compete with North West Company's
Spokane House operated by Finan McDonald
John Clarke bartered with the Nez Perce Indians for horses but they asked a high price
Clarke spent a week before he could acquire a sufficient number of animals to make the trip
during this time he was annoyed by repeated thefts
his demands to the chiefs for restitution resulted in no compensation
Ross Cox, a clerk traveling with John Clarke described the lifestyle of the Indians

“These Nez Percés [Pierced Noses] live in huts made of poles covered with mats of bark or rushes. Some houses were oblong, some cone-shaped, and some square. An opening at the top served the double purpose of window and chimney. They were clean, ambitious, smart-looking people who were fond of their children and kind to the aged. Apparently, they were all in good health, although many were afflicted with sore eyes. Both men and women wore a sort of leather shirt reaching to the knees. In addition, the men wore leggings made of some kind of skin. The Nez Percés were good hunters and excellent horsemen. Their saddles were made of dressed deerskin and stuffed with hair. The wooden stirrups were covered with raw skin which, when dry, became hard and lasted a long time. Bridles were merely ropes made out of the hair from horses’ tails.”¹¹¹

ROBERT STUART AND HIS FIVE TRAVELING COMPANIONS CROSS THE DESERT

Robert Stuart set out from the Cayuse Indian village along the Walla Walla River
he had counted on a more favorable season than (winter) as had been faced by Wilson Price Hunt
to provide abundant plant and animal life to provision them in their crossing of the continent
however, each season provided its own unique type of hardship
they had not gone far when they found themselves among arid hills without vegetation
sand and clay soil had been baked brittle and seemed to have never seen rain
not a spring, pool or stream of running water was to be seen
dusty ravines in the sun burnt landscape showed where the (winter’s) water once ran
One day they continued on without resting with a blazing sun over their heads
parched desert lay at their feet with just enough wind to surround them with dust from the sand
their sufferings became intense -- their only companion, a young dog, died of thirst
they were approaching despair when what appeared to be a fringe of forest was seen ahead
they knew where there were trees there would be water
they quickened their pace as even the horses seemed to sense water ahead
It was late at night when they reached the trees and heard a pleasantly rippling brook
their horses raced ahead, plunged their muzzles into the water and drank deeply
riders also took long drinks in an effort to quench their thirst
they had covered forty-fives that day before camp was made on the bank of the stream
they slept until well into the morning hours the following day

WILSON PRICE HUNT SAILS TO NEW ARCHANGEL RUSSIAN-AMERICA (SITKA, ALASKA)

John Jacob Astor’s supply ship *Beaver* under the command of Captain Cornelius Sowle
sailed from Astoria carrying Astor’s agent and commander of the Pacific Fur Company

¹¹¹ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 16.

Wilson Price Hunt to New Archangel, Russian-America (Sitka, Alaska) -- August 4, 1812
Hunt left former Nor'Wester Duncan McDougall in charge of Astoria
Hunt was to negotiate a contract to supply the Russian trappers of the Russian-American Company
carry the company's furs to Canton, China and sell them before returning to Russian-America
with more supplies and the proceeds from the sale of the pelts
once these arrangements had been completed the *Beaver* was to return to Astoria
to deliver Wilson Price Hunt to the post
before continuing on carrying Russian pelts to Canton
Beaver and Wilson Price Hunt were expected to return to Astoria [in October]

BEAVER PUT OUT TO SEA BOUND FOR NEW ARCHANGEL

With the departure of the *Beaver* and the various brigades, Astoria had only a few men remaining
this was soon noticed by the Chinook Indians who became more insolent and hostile
Fishing season brought villages of coastal Indians to the fishing grounds of the Columbia River
including the villagers who had massacred the crew of the *Tonquin* on Vancouver Island
these natives also were disrespectful and aggressive
Precautions were taken at Astoria to guard against danger
bastions around the post were heightened and guards were posted around the clock
fortunately the Chinooks and other resident people remained peaceful
old Comcomly maintained control of his people because he was aware of the advantages
of having white traders as allies and neighbors
he remained a firm friend of the Astorians and protected them against hostile visitors

ROBERT STUART AND HIS FIVE COMPANIONS SET OUT ONCE AGAIN

When camp in the trees along the babbling brook was broken in the morning
Robert Stuart and his four Astorians recognized the Umatilla River
where Wilson Price Hunt and his companions had arrived after their difficult and hazardous
crossing of the Blue Mountains which now lay ahead of them
Robert Stuart led his party into the Blue Mountains through dense forests and deep ravines
sometimes they followed the raging creeks below steep cliffs on either side
at other times to make progress they were forced to cross and re-cross stream beds
dark dense forest continued on for mile after mile
then, almost as if by magic, the landscape changed into beautiful hills
and sparkling gravel brooks surrounded by lush pasture
Leaving the Blue Mountains they entered the (Grande Ronde Valley) almost sixty miles across
rich soil was seen with streams meandering through in every direction

cottonwood and willow trees fringed the banks of the brooks

these provided an abundant resource for dams for the profuse beaver seen in the vicinity
Astorians passed beside a great pool three hundred yards in circumference fed by a sulfur spring
elk horns, which had been shed in the (springtime), were strewn about the pond

JOHN CLARKE FINALLY IS ABLE TO BEGIN HIS TREK TO THE SPOKANE INDIANS

After acquiring an adequate number of horses, John Clarke made arrangements for his departure
he laid up his barge and canoes in a sheltered location on the Walla Walla River
where they were protected from the sun by the shade of overgrown shrubs and willows
he promised compensation to an old Nez Perce chief for keeping a watchful eye of over them
during the Astorians' absence

John Clarke took his place at the head of the column of thirty-two Astorians and their horses
as they began the journey to the Spokane Indians -- August 7, 1812
like other expeditions traveling to the east they experienced steep and rocky hills,
cliffs and crags and miles of sunburned plains abounding with rattlesnakes
both men and horses suffered with intolerable heat and thirst

JOSEPH MILLER AND HIS TRAPPING PARTNERS RETURN TO (TODAY'S IDAHO)

(Joseph Miller with Edward Robinson, John Hoback, Jacob Reznor and Martin Cass
had been attacked by Arapaho Indians [January] and had made winter camp
somewhere in [Wyoming's] northern foothills)

During the (spring) and summer they had traveled to (Idaho's) Boise River
where they camped about seventy miles above the mouth of the river
and busied themselves with trapping -- August 1812

Martin Cass was no longer with the trappers

ROBERT STUART AND HIS FIVE COMPANIONS REACH (WOODVILE CREEK, IDAHO)

Robert Stuart and his party arrived on the banks of Woodvile Creek (western Idaho)
where they saw a herd of nineteen antelopes -- August 10, 1812
they attempted to shoot one but were unsuccessful as the animals remained out of range
Stuart had reached the region where Wilson Price Hunt had left Ramsay Crooks and John Day behind
before beginning their ascent of the Blue Mountains

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS ARRIVE AT THE SNAKE RIVER

Stuart continued to lead his five companions on their trek across the continent to St. Louis
they reached the banks of the Snake River -- August 12, 1812

each of Robert Stuart's companions with the exception of Stuart himself
remembered the hardships they had faced here -- August 12, 1812
they had reached the area of (today's Farewell Bend
where later the Oregon Trail would leave the Snake River as pioneer traveled westward)
They entered the Rocky Mountains following the southern bank of the Snake River

ROBERT STUART'S PARTY IS VISITED BY A LONE SHOSHONE INDIAN

A single Shoshone native visited the Astorians' camp -- August 14, 1812
he told Stuart there was a white man living with his tribe a day's journey up the Snake River
this was thought to probably be a survivor of Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition
everyone was eager to press on and find their lost comrade
Stuart and his men set out early in the morning -- August 15
they traveled for two days without finding the survivor

ALL OF THE OHIO VALLEY COULD BE LOST TO THE BRITISH

2,500 United States troops under General Hull captured most of (today's) Michigan
General Hull camped at Fort Detroit across the Detroit River from 100 British regulars,
300 militia and 150 Indians led by Tecumseh
General Hull crossed the river and made his headquarters in a Canadian farmhouse
he attempted to terrorize the Canadians in the Great Lakes region by distributing printed flyers
however, he failed to protect American forts on Lake Michigan
Fort Michilimackinac fell to a small force of British soldiers and Indians under Tecumseh
Fort Dearborn (Chicago) was lost to the Indians
After these small but strategic victories, small bands of Indians from the Ohio and Mississippi rivers
hurried north to join Tecumseh on the Canadian frontier
within a short time, the great Indian commander had more than six hundred braves
all ready and eager for battle
General Hull grew increasingly nervous at the thought of facing an enemy force of British regulars
sharpshooting Canadian backwoodsmen and hundreds of angry Indians
in near panic General Hull ordered his troops to retreat to Fort Detroit across the Detroit River
Fort Detroit was attacked by British troops and Indians under hundreds of Indians under Tecumseh
seeing advancing force and hearing hundreds of Indians raising their war cries
struck terror into General Hull who surrendered Fort Detroit -- August 16, 1812
although his forces outnumbered the attackers
in addition to winning an easy victory, the daring invaders captured valuable goods,
including thirty-three cannon, a large quantity of stores and equipment, a number of horses

and a newly built sailing ship
even more significantly the British had gained a valuable ally in Chief Tecumseh
U.S. Army suffered defeat after defeat against British, Canadians and Indians
it was obvious the whole Ohio Valley could be lost to the British

ROBERT STUART LEARNS OF A PARTY OF WHITE MEN IN THE AREA

Robert Stuart and his five companions arrived at the mouth of a large river
that entered the Snake from the east (today's Bruneau River) -- August 16, 1812
this was a major fishing area and meeting ground for the local Shoshone Indians
When Stuart encountered an Indian camp he enquired about the white man
he was told there were white men living with the Indians across the Snake River
Ramsay Crooks hoped these were the discouraged men he had left behind
Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry
others thought they might be Astor's partner Joseph Miller, Martin Cass
and the three Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
who had left the main body at Fort Henry (Idaho) to trap along mountain streams
Stuart sent an Indian across the Snake River to question the white men and bring them to his camp
that night swarms of mosquitoes prevented virtually any sleep

ROBERT STUART RECEIVED INFORMATION ABOUT SEVERAL WHITE MEN

Morning found Stuart and his five Astorians in an ill mood due to lack of sleep from mosquitoes
and the anticipation of finding their long lost companions -- August 17, 1812
when the Indian returned without any further information they grew even more irritable
As they broke camp and began their day's trek a Shoshone Indian galloped after them
Stuart stopped to wait for the Indian but when he arrived
he threw his arms around Stuart's horse's neck and appeared to attempt to kill the animal
the horse seemed neither alarmed nor displeased by this greeting
he said the horse had been his prized possession and had been stolen by Walla Walla Indians
in fact, this was a prized animal -- admirably shaped, graceful in movement and fleet of foot
Robert Stuart had intended to take him to New York and present him to John Jacob Astor
Suddenly some of the Astorians recognized the Shoshone Indian as an old friend and ally
who had guided Wilson Price Hunt's expedition to Fort Henry (Idaho) the preceding (autumn)
he had also been one of the two Indians left at Fort Henry to take charge of the horses
when Hunt set out with canoes
as the Astorians questioned the Indian he explained the cache had been plundered
and the saddles and equipment were carried off

this Indian said Joseph Miller and his companions had trapped for some time
but had fallen into the hands of marauding Crow Indians
who robbed them of their horses, weapons and trade goods
he said he had met with three other white men about ten days before
they were in miserable condition having one horse and one rifle among them
they had been mistreated by Crow Indians
when the Indian tried to pronounce the names of the whites it was suspected they were
three of the four hunters detached from Wilson Price Hunt's expedition
Alexander Carson, Louis St. Michel, Pierre Detaye and Pierre Delaunay
in the course of the conversation the Indian said the route taken by Wilson Price Hunt was bad
he knew a much shorter and easier way through the Rocky Mountains
Robert Stuart urged him accompany the Astorians as a guide and promised to reward him
with a pistol with powder and ball, a knife, an awl, some blue beads, a blanket
and a looking glass -- the native could not refuse such a generous offer
besides, he said, he was tired of salmon and longed for buffalo meat
he left immediately to get his weapons and equipment and promised to return the next day
he was good to his word

SHOSHONE INDIAN RETURNS TO GUIDE ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS

Because the Shoshone Indian said nothing more about Stuart's horse they traveled in harmony
although the Indian occasionally was seen looking wistfully at the horse -- August 18, 1812
They had traveled only about nine miles when they came to a great bend in the Snake River
here their guide told them that cutting across the hills would save them many miles
however, this route would be a long day's journey
he advised them to make camp for the night and get an early start in the morning
they took his advice

ROBERT STUART GETS AN EARLY START

All six Astorians rose early to begin their ascent of the Rocky Mountains -- August 19, 1812
they soon discovered their guide was missing and supposed he was checking the route ahead
when they began to collect the horses Robert Stuart's prized steed was missing
a quick search for the horse belonging the Shoshone Indian found it also was missing
tracks of two horses, one being ridden and the other following, were found leaving camp
it was obvious the horse had been taken during the night
they followed the tracks for a few miles until they crossed the Snake River
from then on the night was divided into three watches with one person mounted at all times

It was decided to keep to the Snake River rather than attempting the proposed short cut during the day heat was oppressive and the horses became almost frantic from the sting of flies nights were suffocating and it was impossible to sleep because of the swarms of mosquitoes

BEAVER ARRIVES AT NEW ARCHANGEL, RUSSIAN-AMERICA (SITKA, ALASKA)

Wilson Price Hunt sailing with Captain Cornelius Sowle aboard the supply ship *Beaver* did not reach New Archangel (Sitka) until August 20, 1812

New Archangel was a fort placed at the crest of a rocky promontory it displayed one hundred large and small guns, and was impregnable to Indian attack Hunt met with Count Alexander Baranov the Russian governor of the different colonies Count Baranov was a rough, rugged, hospitable, hard-drinking old Russian somewhat of a soldier, somewhat of a trader and above all a fun-loving, rowdy companion Count Baranov commanded sixty Russians and a vast number of Kodiak Indian hunters who continually came and went and lounged and loitered around the New Archangel fort Baranov, although addicted to vodka and amusement, was a strong disciplinarian seven guards were posted in the fort day and night

Baranov also commanded numerous maritime traders who extended the governor's power along the whole Pacific coast

American captains whose ships were engaged the maritime trade would arrive at New Archangel empty-handed

they would be furnished with about fifty canoes and a hundred Kodiak hunters who were given provisions enough to hunt sea otter

then the American captains would sail for California

where parties of hunters would be dropped off in their canoes

when enough pelts were collected the American captains would gather the hunters and return to New Archangel to deliver the hunters and the pelts

for their service to the hunters the captains kept one-half of the skins

ROBERT STUART AND HIS FIVE COMPANIONS AGAIN TAKE UP THEIR TREK

Robert Stuart continued to parallel the Snake River as the day grew sultry -- August 20, 1812 some of the Astorians became parched with thirst and left the others to go to the river bank as they passed through a line of willow trees they were surprised to see a white man fishing this proved to be the Kentucky trapper John Hoback -- one of their lost comrades

Almost immediately three other men who had been sleeping came out of the willows

Astor's partner Joseph Miller, Jacob Reznor and the long ago scalped Edward Robinson

Astorian Martin Cass who had traveled with the others was missing

all four had left Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition at Fort Henry (Idaho)
Stuart quickly made camp as Miller, Robinson, Hoback and Jacob Reznor expressed their great joy
all of the Astorians celebrated the amazing luck of the accidental discovery

JOSEPH MILLER AND HIS TRAVELING COMPANIONS TELL THEIR STORY

Joseph Miller, Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor explained
that after leaving Hunt's expedition at Caldron Linn they continued eastward with Martin Cass
along the south bank of the Snake River until they reached (today's Porteneuf River)
there they turned south aiming for a pass that Shoshone Indians had told them about
they made their way about two hundred miles where they trapped beaver on a river
which according to their account, discharge itself into the ocean to the south of the Columbia
(this actually proved to be the Bear River that empties into Lake Bonneville
west of the Rocky Mountains)
after collecting a large number of beaver pelts they made them into packs and loaded their horses
they traveled two hundred miles east where they encountered sixty Arapaho lodges
these natives attacked the trappers and robbed them of their pelts, most of their clothing
and several of their horses
fortunate to escape with their lives, some of their clothing and a few of their horses
they proceeded about fifty miles east and made camp (for the winter)
according to Joseph Miller, Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
tsuffered from starvation because of a lack of game and fish during the [winter 1811-1812]
Miller, Robinson, Hoback and Reznor resumed they journey [early in the spring]
but they encountered a Crow war party that frightened them to the north
as they fled along (what is today's Idaho-Wyoming border) the Crows followed,
stole every horse and left them afoot in the wilderness
Miller, Robinson, Hoback and Reznor had pressed on suffering great hardships
they still had their rifles and ammunition but the desert offered no game birds or animals
they were forced to follow rivers and subsist by fishing
but at times no fish were available -- starvation added to their suffering
then just two weeks before being found the trio had been robbed yet again
this time by Shoshone Indians who took one of their two horses, beaver pelts,
equipment and nearly everything else
they said their last horse was taken by Martin Cass
now without horses Joseph Miller and his three companions
endured hunger, thirst and exhaustion while traveling across barren wastes
their worn and gaunt look and naked condition spoke of their extensive suffering

(later when Edward Robinson was relating their story to Astorian John Reed
he stated that Martin Cass had been killed by Arapahos
because of these inconsistencies rumors spread that Cass's four companions had killed
and eaten him during the lean winter)

Once again the Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
spoke of going home only to decide to remain and trap
they agreed to remain with Astor's Pacific Fur Company
they were provided traps, weapons, ammunition and equipment for a two year hunt
(for nearly a year the three men trapped the country around Jackson Hole [Wyoming])
Joseph Miller decided to join Robert Stuart, Robert McClellan, Ramsay Crooks, Ben Jones,
Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc on their journey to St. Louis

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS CONTINUE THEIR JOURNEY EAST

Robert Stuart and his now six traveling companions set out together -- August 21, 1812
for several days they followed the Snake River occasionally taking shortcuts across hills
where the river bent and turned
they passed several Shoshone camps where they purchased salmon
Robert Stuart attempt to purchases horses for the recently discovered Astorians
but most often the Indians were too poor to be able to conduct trade

JOHN CLARKE ACCIDENTALLY LEAVES A MAN BEHIND

John Clarke's party of thirty-two Astorians continued on horseback
on their way to the Spokane Indians
Ross Cox, a young clerk, took a nap in the warm afternoon sun of an August day
he awoke about 5:00 to find the previous night's campsite deserted
coals from the fire indicated his companions left about three hours before
they had left him with no supplies, no equipment, no horse and no weapon
Ross Cox was unprepared for the adventures that might lie ahead and was terrified
he was not an experienced man of wilderness as indicated by the fact he wore
“a gingham shirt and summer trousers, badly worn moccasins, and no hat”¹¹²
Cox made camp for the night near the Astorians' former campsite
Early the next day he traveled east in an attempt to catch up with the other Astorians
on the following night he was confronted by a giant rattlesnake but he escaped unharmed
on the third night he was about to settle into a small cave

¹¹² James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 16.

when he was surprised and terrified by a large gray fox that emerged

GEOGRAPHER DAVID THOMPSON REACHES FORT WILLIAM ON LAKE SUPERIOR

David Thompson with thirty North West Company voyageurs who paddled six canoes and his wife Charlotte and their five children transported 122 ninety pound bales of furs worth approximately \$50,000 on the London market to North West Company headquarters at Fort William on Lake Superior (now Thunder Bay, Ontario) -- August 1812

David Thompson attended the annual meeting of North West Company partners-in-the-field there for six years he had been in charge of trading in the North West Company Columbia Department beyond the Rocky Mountains

North West Company sent a delegation to accompany the bundles of pelts to London England Kanaka John Coxe was a member of the delegation and was probably the first Hawaiian to visit England

NOR'WESTER DAVID THOMPSON RETIRES FROM THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

Now forty-five years old David Thompson was never again to travel west to the great rivers, the Rocky Mountains and beyond to the Columbia Department he had developed After the Nor'Westers meeting David Thompson moved to Terrebonne (near Montreal, Quebec) while many traders simply left their native families in the bush

Thompson settled down with his family

he had his children baptized and his marriage to Charlotte solemnized in a Catholic Church

Thompson, the "praying trapper" also was known as Koo-Koo-Sint

"the Man Who Looks at Stars"¹¹³ remained in eastern Canada for the rest of his life

David Thompson was now ready to attempt to draft a detailed map of the Columbia Department he had traveled over 1,200,000 square miles of Canadian territory

he had traveled over 500,000 square miles of eventual United States territory

North West Company put David Thompson to work for five years [1812-1817]

he constructed a monumental (ten and one-half feet by five and one-half feet) detailed map of the Pacific Northwest

ASTORIANS AND NOR'WESTERS MEET ON THE SPOKANE RIVER

John Clarke and his party of Astorians reached the Spokane River

where North West Company operated Spokane House under Finan McDonald

Cordial relations were quickly established between the trappers of the rival companies

¹¹³ Tom Shardlow, *Mapping the Wilderness: The Story of David Thompson*, P. 122.

Pacific Fur Company and North West Company men were most jovial toward each other
amiable horse races were held between the competing companies
after all, most of the men at Astoria were former North West Company associates
at the same time each company was sending scouts to watch Indian trappers
to assure their company would get first pick of the Indians' trapping successes

JOHN CLARKE BUILDS FORT SPOKANE FOR THE ASTORIANS

Astor's partner John Clarke began construction on the Pacific Fur Company trading post
on a point of land at the junction of the Spokane and "Pointed Heart" (Little Spokane) rivers
within a hundred yards of the North West Company's Spokane House -- August 1812
Fort Spokane was built on a grand scale to impress the natives (when it was completed in [December]
this post housed thirty-two laborers, clerks and traders who operated it
There was intense but friendly competition between the two companies
for trade with the Spokane, Kootenai and Flathead natives
Americans dispatched trading brigades to undercut the Nor'Westers
among the Kootenai and Flathead Indians [in the fall]
however, both companies agreed not to use alcohol to obtain furs from the Indians

ROBERT STUART AND HIS COMPANIONS REACH SALMON FALLS

Stuart and his seven traveling companions reached a great fishing place
which they named Salmon Falls (north of Twin Falls, Idaho) -- August 25, 1812
here on the north side of the Snake River was a twenty foot waterfall
while a series of rapids were on the south side
There were about a hundred Shoshone lodges at the falls
and the Indians were busy catching and drying salmon
shortly after sunrise the fish began to leap and the natives swam to the center of the falls
and stood on the rocks while others stood up to their waists in the water holding spears
salmon were taken in incredible numbers as they attempted to leap the falls
Robert Stuart purchased a good supply of salmon and the Astorians resumed their journey

ASTORIAN ROSS COX ARRIVES AT FORT SPOKANE

After two weeks on his own in the wilderness Ross Cox had shredded his clothes
his **"moccasins were completely gone, and... [his] feet were torn and bruised by thorns and sharp rocks"**¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 17.

unarmed, it was impossible to kill any game for nourishment

Cox encountered a grizzly bear and escaped when he climbed a tree and waited several hours)

For two weeks after he had fallen behind John Clarke's expedition to Spokane Indians

Ross Cox crossed the desolate country alone with no weapon for protection or food

Ross Cox chanced upon a Spokane Indian camp these friendly natives fed and clothed him

he was escorted by Spokane natives to the Spokane River the next day -- August 1812

where John Clarke and other Astorians were building a third post -- Fort Spokane

right next door to North West Company's Spokane House

Cox wrote of his reunion: **"My deerskin robe and tanned complexion deceived them for a minute, but when they recognized me a great shout went up. All the men thronged around me, asking me questions, and congratulating me upon being found. I had been given up for lost. Just the day before, my clothing had been sold at auction, but now the purchasers hurried to bring it back to me. A holiday was declared to celebrate my return, and the Indians who had taken care of me were liberally rewarded."**¹¹⁵

LORD SELKIRK'S COLONISTS ARRIVE AT THE RED RIVER

Governor Miles Macdonell led seventy colonists from the shore of Hudson Bay

toward Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's colony to be located almost forty miles

from the mouth of the Red River where the river bends sharply east forming Point Douglas

(in the present-day city of Winnipeg, Manitoba) -- August 30, 1812

Metis (mixed French and Indian blood) settlers living in the area received the colonist

wearing war paint and making threatening signs

this was the country of the fur traders -- settlers were not wanted

they must move further inland

in contrast, full-blooded Indians camping along the Red River welcomed the colonists

ROBERT STUART NOW TRAVELS WITH SIX COMPANIONS

Robert Stuart accompanied by Astor's former partners Ramsay Crooks and Robert McClellan

along with hunter Ben Jones, voyageurs Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc

and newly added Joseph Miller who declined to remain and trap with the three Kentuckians

set out to continue the journey to St. Louis -- September 1, 1812

they followed the Snake River eastward as the hills that had closed in on the river

opened to wide plains -- occasionally belts of green interrupted the dusty desert

fringes of willow and cottonwood followed the river bank and could be seen from hilltops

¹¹⁵ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 17.

which allowed shortcuts to be taken and return to the river
summer had parched the ground and little game was to be had
each of the Astorians searched in vain across the barren landscape
For a week they moved eastward suffering from thirst and hunger
they depended on the few fish the streams offered and an occasional dog
purchased from very poor and forlorn Shoshone Indians

DONALD McKENZIE AND HIS MEN REACH THE CLEARWATER RIVER

Donald McKenzie and his ten traveling companions had continued up the Snake River
for fifteen or sixteen days when they reached the Clearwater River
McKenzie dispatched John Reed and four men to continue up the Clearwater for two days
to look for the caches left by Wilson Price Hunt at Caldron Linn
McKenzie was planning to use these supplies to supplement what he had carried with him
John Reed was familiar with the surrounding countryside as he had been there the year before
McKenzie continued up the Snake River with six men for several days
but an absence of signs of beaver discouraged him
he returned down the Snake River to the mouth of the Clearwater River

DONALD McKENZIE AND HIS MEN CONSTRUCT McKENZIE'S POST

Donald McKenzie built McKenzie's Post on a prairie beside the Clearwater River
(about eight miles north of today's Lewiston, Idaho) -- beginning of September 1812
local Indians here will demonstrate little interest in trapping and trading
much to the frustration of Donald McKenzie and his Nor'Westers

TWO INDIANS ARRIVE AT McKENZIE'S POST ON THE CLEARWATER RIVER

John Reed was gone less than a week when two Indians arrived at McKenzie's Post
they announced the caches had been robbed by Shoshones
who had been guided by whites staying with the Indians
as proof they produced an English saddle and bridle that belonged to Ramsay Crooks

ROBERT STUART AND HIS SIX ASTORIANS STRIKE AWAY FROM THE SNAKE RIVER

Joseph Miller, now traveling with Robert Stuart and his men, visited the area earlier while trapping
he informed his companions he knew a better route that also avoided the Blackfoot Indians
tired of the trackless wastelands they had been crossing, Stuart's party followed the guidance
given by Miller and left the banks of the Snake River -- September 7, 1812
Joseph Miller soon became bewildered by the rugged hills and unknown streams

and the burnt and barren desert they faced

eventually they reached the river where Miller had previously trapped

Robert Stuart's Astorians named this "Miller River" (presumably today's Bear River, Utah)
they followed up the river for two or three days surviving on fish

ROBERT STUART'S PARTY BECOMES CONCERNED ABOUT CROW INDIANS IN THE AREA

Astor's partner's Robert Stuart Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan and Joseph Miller

along with hunter Ben Jones, voyageurs Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc

found themselves in very dangerous country

camp was made early to allow time for fishing -- September 12, 1812

when they returned to camp they found a number of Indians prowling about
to the concern of the Astorians they proved to be Crows

Upon seeing the whites the Crow chief, a huge Indian about six-foot-four,

approached them with a confident air -- however, he conducted himself peacefully

he sent some of his men back to his camp to collect buffalo meat to share

the huge chief informed Stuart that he was on his way to trade with the Shoshones

who resided below Fort Henry (Idaho) where they cultivated tobacco that was greatly desired
however, there was something sinister about this man

Little by little throughout the night an increasing number of Crow Indians arrived in camp

until there were twenty-one who became belligerent, disrespectful and troublesome

great uneasiness was felt by the Astorians who were concerned about their goods and horses

everyone kept a watchful eye during the night

ROBERT STUART IS CONFRONTED BY THE GIGANTIC CROW INDIAN CHIEF

Morning dawned without any incident having taken place -- September 13, 1812

Robert Stuart purchased all of the buffalo meat the Crow Indians could spare

As they prepared to depart the Indian chief requested gunpowder and offered horses in exchange

Stuart thought it ill advised to further arm these people and flatly refused

At this the gigantic chief stepped forward and slapped his chest indicating he was an important chief

it was customary for great chiefs to exchange gifts -- he requested Stuart's horse

when this was refused the chief grabbed Stuart and rocked him back and forth in the saddle

Stuart remained calm and shook his head

next the chief grabbed the horse's bridle and jerked it startling the animal

nearly knocking Stuart out of the saddle

Robert Stuart drew his pistol and pointed at the chief's head

ending his swaggering, the chief leaped behind his horse to escape the expected shot

as the other Crows watched from a distance
Stuart told his men to level their rifles on the Indians but not to fire
Indians fled or threw themselves on the ground out of sight
left alone the chief quickly recovered himself and began laughing to indicate this was a joke
Robert Stuart joined in -- knowing only the small size of the Indian party
and the alertness of the Astorians and prevented an open attack
After the Indians had departed it was discovered they had taken a bag
containing almost all of the eating utensils belonging to the party

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN CONTINUE THEIR TREK TOWARD ST. LOUIS

Robert Stuart set a course to the east over a chain of hills -- September 13, 1812
they had gone many miles when they saw columns of smoke rising in different directions
from the summits of the highest mountains
these signal fires were proof the Astorians were traveling through hostile country
great numbers of Indians could be expected in a short period of time
Robert Stuart changed direction to travel to the north away from Miller's (Bear) River
they followed a large tributary into the Salt River Range of the Rocky Mountains (Wyoming)
and made camp for the night
all of the horses were hobbled or tethered and an armed guard was posted until morning
everyone slept with his rifle on his arm

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS WERE AGAIN ON THE MARCH

Keeping in a northerly direction Robert Stuart and six his Astorians
soon began to ascend the Rocky Mountains -- September 14, 1812
no sign of the Crow Indians was seen but that did not improve the confidence of the white men
Camp was made on the edge of a stream after twenty-one miles had been covered
in the evening an alarm regarding the arrival of Indians was given and put everyone on alert
but they proved to be three Shoshones who were informed about the band of Crow Indians
prowling in the vicinity -- the Shoshones left showing signs of great concern

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN CONTINUE NORTH

Weary days and watchful nights had brought the seven Astorians to a rapid north-running stream
they concluded this was one of the branches of the Snake River -- September 15, 1812
(probably today's Salt River in Wyoming)
It was decided to follow this river as it would take them away from Crow Indian country
they would look for the route Wilson Price Hunt had taken on his way west

and follow it across the Rocky Mountains
that way they would at least be sure of their route

ROBERT STUART AND HIS COMPANIONS AGAIN REACH THE SNAKE RIVER

Following (Wyoming's Salt River) for three days brought Astorians to a large raging, roaring river
they camped on the banks of the Snake River -- September 18, 1812

Six days had passed since their encounter with the Crow Indians
they had traveled 150 miles to the north and west and began to relax their vigilance
where there was good pasture they lingered sometimes for half a day
as the horses needed time to rest and recover from their forced march over rugged hills,
among rocks and fallen timber and across swampy valleys

CROW INDIANS RETURN TO SEEK REVENGE

Robert Stuart and his six Astorians arose at dawn -- September 19, 1812

some had begun to prepare breakfast while others arranged the packs for the day's march
Stuart was on the bank of the Snake River when he heard a blood-curdling yell
as a Crow Indian galloped past the camp bearing a red flag and stopped on a knoll
where he sat on his horse and waved the banner
another blood-curdling yell was heard beyond the horses on the opposite side of the camp
Stuart described the scene: **"We were all up soon after the dawn and I had just reached the river bank, when I heard the Indian yell raised in the vicinity of our Camp, and the cry 'To Arms.' 'There's Indians' echoed by all of our Party -- We had just time to snatch our arms when two Indians at full gallop passed 300 yards to one side of our station driving off every horse we had...."**¹¹⁶

The horses became frightened and dashed across the camp toward the red flag that attracted them
as the Indian holding the banner galloped his horse away from camp

he was followed by the horse herd that was now even more frightened
by the shouts and howls of Indians behind them

Stuart and the Astorians grabbed their rifles and attempted to cut off the Indians following the herd
their attention was drawn to shouts and yells coming from the opposite direction

yet another party of Crow Indians were about to carry off their baggage
Astorians raced to secure their belongings but the Indians rode off yelling in triumph
the last to leave was the gigantic Crow leader who stood in the saddle
and made an insulting gesture

¹¹⁶ Robert Stuart's Journal

Ben Jones raised his rifle and took aim but Robert Stuart assured him
it would mean death for all of them
Now without horses or most of the belongings the Astorians gazed at the raiders in shame and despair
however, they did have to admire the daring of the twenty Indians who made the raid

ROBERT STUART AND HIS COMPANONS FACE A GRIM FUTURE

Seven disheartened Astorians surveyed the prospect of crossing rugged mountains
and vast trackless plains that lay before them on foot while carrying on their backs
what remained of their food, clothing, weapons and other necessities -- September 19, 1812
without options, they set about immediately creating packs of indispensable items
what remained was placed in caches -- all day was consumed with these preparations
after a small meal of their remaining provisions they slept to escape their grave concerns

ROBERT STUART AND HIS SIX COMPANIONS TRAVEL ON FOOT

At first light they were up and completed their preparations while Ben Jones visited a beaver trap
he had set on the river bank the night before
this effort was rewarded with a medium-sized beaver which served as breakfast
as Ben Jones was returning to camp he glanced the sight of two heads watching him from a cliff
he believed they probably were wolves but when they remained in place it occurred to him
they might be Indian scouts
had they not been out of range of his rifle he would have confirmed his suspicions
When he reached the camp he pointed out his observers and everyone agreed they were Indians
probably watching to see where the caches would be hidden
it was decided to deprive the Crows of their next reward and take everything he could with them
what remained was burned or thrown into the river

About 10:00 a.m. they set out along the bank of the Snake River -- September 20, 1812

Robert Stuart held out hope they might find Shoshone Indians to buy horses to carry the baggage
fatigue from carrying their heavy packs was accompanied by hunger
trout caught in the Snake River were inadequate to provide needed nourishment
fortunately they had taken a beaver trap with them which occasionally provided meat
that was immediately cut up and distributed

Eighteen miles a day were made before the seven Astorians stopped
to build two rafts to cross to the north side of the Snake River -- September 22, 1812

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS CROSS THE SNAKE RIVER

After completing the construction of the rafts and sleeping through the night

four Astorians on one raft and three on the other crossed the Snake River -- September 23, 1812
Discovering the rafts were sturdy enough to withstand the rushing water
they decided to float down the river with the current
mountains of black rock towered above them where the river had cut its channel
those on the east side were the Rockies
while the hills on their west side were bleak and barren
fortunately there were no rapids or waterfalls on this portion of the Snake River
vast quantities of beaver provided nourishment for the men
Ben Jones also killed a deer and a wolverine -- both were placed on a raft
For two days they kept to the river drawing their rafts on shore to camp at night -- September 23-24
in their travels they passed an island that was home to a herd of elk
Ben Jones killed one of the animals and the Astorians continued on as a storm was gathering
Next day they remained in camp -- September 26
sheltering themselves as best they could from rain and snow
this sign of early winter did not escape Robert Stuart, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan,
Joseph Miller, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc

McKENZIE'S POST ON THE CLEARWATER RIVER IS COMPLETED

Three weeks after beginning work on the trading post the task was finished -- later September
McKenzie's Post was composed of a store, a house for the men
and two additional houses for McKenzie and second-in-command clerk Alfred Seton
This was the season of migration and various tribes were passing and re-passing in great numbers
location of McKenzie's Post appeared to be a great thoroughfare
for tribes traveling across the Rocky Mountains to make war on the Plains Indians
and to hunt buffalo and gather roots
North West Company was bothered by no rival trading opposition whatsoever

JOHN REED GATHERS UP LOST ASTORIANS

Clerk John Reed and his party of four men had no difficulty in reaching the Snake River
there he camped with Shoshone Indians near Fort Henry (Idaho)
In the Shoshone encampment John Reed met six white men who had accompanied Wilson Price Hunt
on the Overland Expedition across the continent and had wintered east of the Blue Mountains
Alexander Carson, Louis St. Michael, Pierre Delaunay and Pierre Detaye
had been left by Hunt to trap beaver in the mountains (the proceeding October)
this group had been attacked by Crow Indians
Pierre Detaye had been killed and the others robbed

Andre La Chapelle, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and Francois Landry had led the Shoshone Indians
to the caches before joining the natives in a buffalo hunt
they were subsequently robbed and left destitute by Blackfoot Indians
they had returned to this Shoshone Indian camp with nothing but despair
All eleven of the Astorians now led by John Reed
headed back to McKenzie's Post on the Clearwater River with the sad news
that the Caldron Linn cache had been thoroughly plundered

ROBERT STUART AND HIS SIX ASTORIANS CONTINUE DOWN THE SNAKE RIVER

Although the storm had brought cold weather
their rafts provided easy transportation for two days-- September 25-26, 1812
they had floated about ninety-one miles when they discovered the mountains to the east
were reduced in size so they landed and prepared to again set out on foot
Reed and his men spent one day making moccasins from the elk hide
and jerky from the meat -- September 27
each man was given twenty pounds of jerky to carry

ROBERT STUART AND HIS PARTY ARE AGAIN ON FOOT

Stuart and his six Astorians traveled northeast keeping to the southern edge of the same mountains
where Fort Henry (Idaho) was located -- September 28, 1812
Their walk was slow and difficult as they traveled over rough hills
and passed through thick growths of willows, cottonwoods and hawthorns
Hunting was not possible as any shot might be heard by Blackfoot Indians
they came on a large horse trail and followed it until they made camp beside a small stream
where the Indians had camped about three weeks before

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN RECOGNIZE THERE ARE INDIANS IN THE AREA

In the morning the seven Astorians set out from camp -- September 29, 1812
they followed the well-marked Indian trail but after some time they discovered the Indians
had formed hunting parties and separated in every direction
in addition to losing the trail this meant the Indians had remained in the region
Caution was necessary and every Astorian kept a vigilant eye looking for scouts or smoke
nothing was seen as the landscape was harsh and lifeless
Camp was made that night in a deep gully near several hot springs
(about thirty miles from Tetonia, Idaho)
for two days Ramsay Crooks had been ill and he developed a high fever that night

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN BREAK CAMP JUST AFTER DAYBREAK

Stuart's six Astorians resumed their trek -- September 30, 1812

they stopped to hold a meeting to discuss their course of travel

they considered continuing to skirt the mountains and perhaps encounter Blackfoot Indians

it seemed more advisable to cross directly over the mountain

hot-headed and indolent Robert McClellan objected to this plan saying he would rather

face hostile Indians than attempt the difficult and painful mountain crossing

McClellan lost the discussion

As the younger Astorians began their ascent of the mountain following the Teton River upstream

McClellan who was twice their age soon lost his breath and fell behind the others

when it was McClellan's turn to carry the heavy beaver trap he suddenly stopped

he would go no further and threw the trap halfway down the hill

he was offered a package of meat to carry but he also threw this on the ground

STUART AND FIVE OF HIS ASTORIANS STRUGGLE OVER THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN

Robert Stuart, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, Ramsay Crooks, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar

and Francis Le Clerc continued their difficult climb through deep snow

over the Rocky Mountains -- October 1, 1812

although all of the other Astorians objected,

Robert McClellan set out to walk around the mountain rather than over it

being strong willed and something of a braggart

he often took pride in doing foolish things

Robert Stuart and his men crossed the summit early in the afternoon

and saw the familiar "Pilot Knobs" (Three Tetons)

below them was a river about fifty yards wide sometime gleaming in the sun

and other times running through the shadows of willows on the river banks

they descended into Jackson Hole (Wyoming)

those who had traveled west with Wilson Price Hunt pointed out the countryside to Robert Stuart

they indicated the direction to Fort Henry (Idaho) where they had abandoned their horses

On their way down the mountain the six Astorians saw Robert McClellan in the distance

he had continued to attempt to walk around the mountains

crossing through (today's 8,431 foot high Teton Pass)

McClellan made no indication of seeing them and continued in his brooding solitary travel

when the Astorians reached the plain they continued for about six miles

until they reached a knee-deep river fringed with willow trees -- here they made camp

During the night Ramsay Crooks' fever rose so high that it was impossible for him to travel
several of the men insisted they continue on and leave Crooks behind
they believed they were in imminent danger from Blackfoot Indians,
the season was late and the weather had turned very cold,
the mountains would soon be impassable with snow
their provisions were exhausted and there was no game to be seen
they could not fire their rifles anyway because of the fear of Blackfoot Indians
Robert Stuart refused to leave Crooks behind explaining the fever would break in a few days
and he would be able to travel

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIAN REMAINED WITH RAMSAY CROOKS

Astorians remained in the camp under the willow trees beside the shallow river -- October 2, 1812
as Ramsay Crooks was far too ill to travel
because they could not fire a rifle for fear of attracting Blackfoot Indians
they were forced to rely on the beaver trap
which had been retrieved after Robert McClellan's outburst

Since they were to remain in camp for several days and the beaver trap could not be relied on
Ben Jones received permission to risk hunting in an area away from their camp
he set off at daybreak to find a an area to hunt

while tramping through a thicket with the trap on his shoulder and his rifle in his hand
he heard a crashing noise and turned to see a growling grizzly bear advancing
leveling his rifle he fired -- the bear was wounded but not killed
luckily the great animal retreated and escaped

Ben Jones came upon a herd of elk and killed five about six miles from camp
Ramsay Crooks was carried to where the elk lay as he could not walk

Robert Stuart built a small oval hut of willows and covered it with a hide
he made the sick Ramsay Crooks crawl naked inside and steamed him red
by throwing water onto hot stones

Astorians remained there for three days drying meat to carry with them as Crooks recuperated

WILSON PRICE HUNT COMPLETES NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RUSSIAN LEADER

Wilson Price Hunt, Astor's Agent, attempted to negotiate with Russian Alexander Baranov
Russian-American Company's manager at New Archangel (Sitka), Alaska
Negotiations did not go well for the Astorian as Count Baranov subjected him to endless rounds
of bargaining punctuated by drunken brawls

Hunt, at heavy cost to his stomach, noted: **“He is continually giving entertainments by way of parade, and if you do not drink raw rum, and boiling punch as strong as sulfur, he will insult you as soon as he gets drunk, which is very shortly after sitting down to table.”**¹¹⁷

When an agreement was finally reached after forty-five days of drunken negotiations Astorians delivered \$56,000 worth of goods to be paid for with 80,000 seal skins to be sold in Canton, China
it was then revealed by the Russian governor that the seal skins were warehoused on the island of St. Paul in the Bering Sea

Wilson Price Hunt was required to travel to St. Paul Island with Captain Cornelius Sowle aboard John Jacob Astor’s supply ship *Beaver* -- October 4, 1812

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS CONTINUE ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Ramsay Crooks recovered sufficiently to continue the journey to the south -- October 5, 1812
his pack had been divided and they progressed very slowly
only eight miles through swamps made by beaver were traveled that day
they killed a grizzly bear which was added to their supply of elk jerky
Next day Ramsay Crooks was strong enough to carry his own rifle and pistols
eighteen miles were made that day -- October 6

ONCE AGAIN ROBERT STUART’S ASTORIANS FACE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS

Their journey through the Rocky Mountains became increasingly difficult
and their suffering increased dramatically as they were forced to walk in the channel of a river
they continued across the rugged summit of the Three Tetons
which were covered in snow nine inches deep
For several days they traveled eastward as much as possible
sometimes they walked along steep cliffs several hundred feet above the raging torrent
sometimes they crossed over rocky heights and deep ravines and across swift icy cold rivers
they reached the Hoback River following the route previously taken by Wilson Price Hunt
numb with despair they plodded along the grueling canyon of the river
from the river’s upper reaches they crossed to the sagebrush plains
which stretched farther than they could see
hunger added to their suffering as the small amount of meat they had been able to carry ran out
there was little time to hunt and little game to be seen
they ate nothing for three days but a small duck and a few small trout

¹¹⁷ James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 283.

antelopes were seen but they could not get within range of the shy animals
only one was killed and provided meager rations for several days (today's Green River)

JOHN REED RETURNS FROM HIS EXPEDITION TO THE CACHES AT CALDRON LINN

Clerk John Reed and his men reached Donald McKenzie's Post on the Clearwater River
from their journey to the caches -- October 1812
they were accompanied by three surviving members of the overland expedition
Alexander Carson, Louis St. Michael and Andre La Chapelle
Reed reported to Donald McKenzie that most of the caches had been discovered and destroyed

SIGNS OF ROBERT McCLELLAN ARE DISCOVERED BY ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN

Robert Stuart, Joseph Miller, Ramsay Crooks, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc
camped on a small stream near the foot of "Spanish River Mountain" -- October 11, 1812
(they were approaching today's Wind River Mountains section of the Rockies)
here they saw traces of Robert McClellan left behind on his solitary journey east
he had camped at this spot the night before and had dined on a miserable wolf
but he was better off than the five Astorians as they had nothing to eat

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS AROSE HUNGARY AND ALERT

Robert Stuart and his traveling companions left Wilson Price Hunt's trail
they set out for the pass south of the Wind River Mountains -- dawn October 12, 1812
these proved to be very steep and difficult
traces of ancient volcanic eruptions could be seen in several directions
their desperate detour to Fort Henry (Idaho) and the non-existent caches
they realized all too painfully had taken them 400 miles out of their way
Robert Stuart, Joseph Miller Ramsay Crooks, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc
reached the headwaters of the Green River (Wyoming) about noon
and continued to follow downstream through the afternoon
they had expected to find buffalo on the plain below -- this hope had driven them onward
to their great disappointment the river bank was deserted and the landscape barren
Starving, the Astorians continued on for several miles looking for signs of beaver
finding some they made camp and Ben Jones set out to trap
Suddenly the smoke from a large campfire was seen some distance to the southwest
great joy was expressed as food might be found
even fear of the Blackfoot paled in the face of starvation
Francis Le Clerc was sent by Robert Stuart to reconnoiter

remaining Astorians stayed up until midnight waiting for Le Clerc and hoping for food
when he did not appear they settled into a hungry sleep hoping the trap had better results

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS DISCOVER ROBERT McCLELLAN

At daybreak the famished campers walked to their beaver trap -- October 13, 1812
they found only a forepaw in the trap chewed off by its owner in the effort to escape
They took up their journey with dejected spirits and had not gone far when they saw Francis Le Clerc
they hurried to meet him hoping for good news -- he had none to give
Le Clerc said the fire belonged to Robert McClellan and had spread while he fished -- unsuccessfully
during the twelve days McClellan found little to eat
as alone he followed the route taken by Wilson Price Hunt on his westward journey
McClellan was ill, worn down and heartsick-- now even his stubbornness was exhausted
he announced to Le Clerc that he would wait in his camp for the others
hoping they would bring food

When Robert Stuart and his men reached McClellan's camp they found him so feeble
he could barely raise his head -- but the arrival of his old comrades revived him somewhat
they had no food to give him but encouraged him to get up continue with them
he shook his head -- he would die were he lay as there was no hope in continuing
After a great deal of persuasion McClellan rose to his feet and moved forward
in this way they traveled seventeen miles over level plains of sand
until they saw a few antelopes in the distance and made camp beside a small stream
everyone who was capable of exertion set out to hunt for a meal
they returned to camp after dark famished and without success

For the third night they prepared to lie down to sleep without food
Francis Le Clerc, wild with hunger, approached Robert Stuart
they would all die before they could reach St. Louis
it would be better to cast lots for one to die so the others could live
as an added inducement Le Clerc suggested the leader of the party would be exempt
Stuart's efforts to convince Le Clerc his horrible suggestion was unacceptable were ignored
at last, reaching for his rifle Stuart said if Le Clerc persisted he would be shot on the spot
Le Clerc dropped to his knees and begged forgiveness
promising never again to make such a suggestion

Robert Stuart, exhausted by the scene, spent a sleepless night considering their desperate prospects

STARVING ASTORIANS ARE AGAIN UNDER WAY

Robert Stuart and his six companions set out before daylight -- October 14, 1812

they had nothing to detain them and to linger was to starve
faint and weak they proceeded slowly past the skulls and bones of buffalo
that only mocked their misery

Traveling nine miles along the plain they climbed a range of hills for two more miles
at the crest of the hill they saw an old bull buffalo standing alone
taking great care as their lives depended on success they managed to kill the animal
he was instantly cut up -- they were so hungry they ate the flesh raw
they carried the remaining meat to a nearby brook, made camp, lit a fire and began to cook
Robert Stuart was fearful they would over indulge and become sick
he had a soup made of some of the meat to be eaten before supper
this apparently worked -- although they sat up late into the night eating no one became ill

ROBERT STUART'S ASTORIANS ARE ABLE TO PROCEED

Next morning the feasting resumed -- October 15, 1812
somewhat refreshed Robert Stuart, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar
and Francis Le Clerc set out once again toward a mountain towering to the east about midday
they expected to see the headwaters of the Missouri River on the other side
buffalo skeletons continued to be scatted about the plain in every direction
they crossed an Indian trail about fifteen days old that reached north
as they relentlessly walked toward the east in the direction of St. Louis

SEVEN ASTORIANS COME ACROSS AN OLD INDIAN CAMP

Robert Stuart and his men crossed a large river its banks covered with pine trees -- October 16, 1812
they found traces of a large Crow Indian camp and many buffalo bones strewn about
(in the vicinity of today's Pinedale, Wyoming)
this camp had apparently been abandoned about a month before
in the center was a lodge approximately 150 feet in circumference
it was supported by twenty tree trunks twenty-four feet long and twelve inches in diameter
pine and willow branches were piled against the framework to provide shade
at the west end of the lodge immediately opposite the door lay three bodies
buried with their feet toward the east
at the head of each grave was a red cedar branch planted in the ground
at the foot was a large buffalo skull painted black
ornaments and a large number children's moccasins were placed about the lodge
these were probably the bodies of noted warriors and hunters

ROBERT STUART AND HIS SIX MEN CONTINUE BESIDE THE WIND RIVER MOUNTAINS

Seven Astorians crossed two large tributaries
whose sources were in the Wind River Mountain section of the Rocky Mountains
surrounding peaks were spectacularly high, rugged and covered in many places with snow
They saw a few buffalo bulls and some antelope but could not kill any -- October 17, 1812
their supply of provisions began to run out
As they trudged southeast parallel to the spectacular peaks of the Wind River Mountains
game disappeared

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS CROSS THE WIND RIVER MOUNTAINS

Seven Astorians crossed the plain south of the Wind River Mountains -- October 18, 1812
they waded across branches of the "Spanish River" (today's Green River)
on one occasion they climbed a river bank and met about 130 Shoshone Indians
they were friendly and led the Astorians to their camp three miles away
Shoshone Indian camp was made up of about forty tepees made primarily of pine branches
these Indians were very poor and had been harassed by marauding Crow Indians
who took most of their horses, several women and most of their property
in spite of their poverty these natives were very friendly and welcomed the hungry strangers
Astorians purchased a supply of buffalo meat and leather for moccasins for a few trinkets
however, their most prized purchase was a sorry old horse -- the only one that remained
he had cost a pistol, an axe, a knife and a few other small articles
shifting their loads to the animal made walking easier
Robert Stuart learned a large encampment of Crow Indians was to the east
Stuart explained to them the power of the white man would soon be felt
Shoshones could ally themselves with the whites and take revenge on the Crows and Blackfoot
Shoshones expressed great joy for the opportunity
Indians and whites, both forlorn, smoked to their eternal friendship and vengeance on their enemies

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN FIND AN INDIAN TRAIL TO FOLLOW

By sunrise the seven Astorians had loaded their old horse with buffalo meat for five days
they took leave of their new friends, the poor but hospitable Shoshones -- October 19, 1812
they began once again through the increasingly cold weather toward the snowy mountains
here the ground was level surrounded by lofty mountains both east and west
They traveled about three miles to the south where they reached a large Crow Indian trail
that had been used four days before by a very large band of Indians
since it was easy to follow and ran to the southeast the Astorians decided to follow it

they cautiously followed the track of the Indians across mountain streams and along long ridges
and through narrow valleys as a cold wind blew from the northeast with flurries of snow
Robert Stuart and his men made camp early on the sheltered bank of a brook
Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc killed a young buffalo bull in the evening
as the wind blew snow about them the seven Astorians sat beside their campfire
and ate a hearty meal in warmth

ROBERT STUART AND HIS PARTY CONTINUE TO CROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Snow had fallen during the night
it was late morning before they again took up their trek -- October 20, 1812
they did not travel far before the trail they followed changed direction to the north-northeast
they abandoned the trail with some feeling of relief at leaving potentially hostile Indians behind
they traveled eighteen miles through beautiful rolling country
with the main chain of the Rocky Mountains on their left and high ridges on their right
Robert Stuart discovered a series of plains and plateaus leading across the Continental Divide
they passed over a low ridge to their right and came to a level plain about ten miles across
encrusted with salt twelve to eighteen inches deep
they had moved from Blackfoot and Crow country to that of the Sioux Indians
Camp was made on the open prairie with nothing to use to make a fire
they wrapped themselves in their blankets to escape the biting northeast wind
that evening Robert McClellan, who had regained his strength, killed a buffalo
but it was some distance from camp so they waited until morning to collect the meat

SEVEN ASTORIANS CONTINUE THEIR WALK ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

When they again took up their trek the weather was cold and snow fell -- October 21, 1812
they trudged toward the summit of a mountain that lay ahead
they again found a large Indian trail reaching a little to the right of the mountain peak
it was presumed this was another band of Crow Indians on a hunting expedition
With (winter) on the land the party was forced to stop after fifteen miles
where they found enough wood for a fire but no water was available in the vicinity

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN CROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Once again Robert Stuart and his party were up at daybreak -- October 22, 1812
they faced the challenge of scrambling eight miles up the mountains
which provided an easy gateway through the Rocky Mountains
they suffered from thirst and cold as they moved into a broad gray defile

(it is generally believed the party crossed South Pass in Wyoming's Wind River Range which is, in fact, the easiest route across the Continental Divide)

this experience led Robert Stuart to claim that **“a journey across the continent of North America might be performed with a wagon”**¹¹⁸

(indeed, South Pass was later used by wagons crossing the continent

its ascent was so gentle later travelers would have trouble locating the exact summit)

After a short rest at the summit to take in the beautiful but wild view

they began the rugged descent down the east side along deep ravines and defiles

and overhangs of crags and cliffs where bighorn sheep leaped fearlessly from rock to rock

two of these were shot to provide nourishment for the men

They passed through a low gap and reached the East side of the Rocky Mountains

(their route was later used as the route to Oregon, California and Utah between [1841] and [1869]

more than 250,000 emigrants followed the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail and California Trail

this route also was used by military expeditions, mountain men, hunters, trappers, Indians,

freighters, stage coaches, Pony Express riders, telegraph lines and Wyoming highway 28)

Robert Stuart and his six Astorians found a spring of water oozing out of the ground

which they fancied looked and tasted like the Missouri River

here they camped for the night and enjoyed mountain mutton

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS LEAVE THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Morning broke bright and very cold -- October 23, 1812

early in the day they came to a stream running east between low hills of blue earth

Robert Stuart supposed this was the headwaters of the Missouri River

and decided to follow its banks

After a march of twenty-six miles they arrived at the summit of a hill and he changed his mind

he saw a vast plain bounded only by the horizon with the stream wandering though it

since it ran south-south-east it could not be the Missouri River

Stuart changed his course to the east toward a range of mountains sixty miles away

now the weather was so severe and traveling so difficult Stuart decided to stop for the winter

that night they had to camp in the open near a small pool of water with no wood for a fire

ROBERT STUART AND HIS SIX ASTORIANS CAN FIND NO CAMPSITE FOR THE WINTER

An inhospitable cold northeast wind forced the Astorians to break camp early -- October 24, 1812

for two days they traveled in an easterly direction against the bitter wind and occasional snow

¹¹⁸ Derek Hays, *Historical Atlas of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*, P. 103

lack of water forced them to drink melted snow
lack of pasture reduced their poor pack horse to skin and bones
while they saw a few buffalo the wind blew in a direction that gave the animal warning
and they ran away

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN REACH THE SWEETWATER RIVER

Astorians turned east-northeast toward a wooded ravine through a mountain -- October 26, 1812
to their great joy they discovered an abundant stream running under willowed banks
(this was the Sweetwater River, Wyoming)
they had arrived at the headwaters of the North Platte River system
that eventually empties into the Missouri River

Sweetwater River was followed for twenty miles until it crossed a low prairie
which provided excellent pasture for numerous herds of buffalo

Late in the afternoon they came to where the stream became much larger
and carved its way through a narrow ravine of red stone two hundred feet high
this passage looked like a frightful spectacle in the gathering darkness

Here the seven Astorians halted for the night and Ben Jones luckily trapped a beaver
they killed three buffalo cows which provided them with three savory humps

Robert Stuart decided to remain in camp the next day feasting and resting -- October 27
their exhausted horse also earned a rest from his labors

ROBERT STUART AND HIS ASTORIANS CONTINUE ALONG THE SWEETWATER RIVER

Part of the day the Sweetwater River's wild wanderings took the Astorians
through a variety of scenes -- October 27, 1812

sometimes they were high on the plain with herds of buffalo around them
other times rocky defiles broken into cliffs and sheer drops

were home to blacktail deer and bighorn sheep that basked on the sunny cliffs

During the afternoon they came upon a spectacular sight as they passed across a mountain
here the Sweetwater River roared through a deep ravine out of sight far below
masses of rock that had fallen into the river stirred the river to a foaming rampage
as they crept along the terrifying heights they saw the river thunder down a succession
of waterfalls throwing up clouds of spray and making a remarkable roar
they stopped to gaze in awe at the furious cataract
which Robert Stuart named "The Fiery Narrows"

(although the name has been changed several times

today it is Pathfinder Canyon in Pathfinder National Wildlife Refuge)

ROBERT STUART AND HIS FIVE ASTORIANS DECIDE TO CAMP FOR THE WINTER

Morning dawned gloomy with showers of rain and sleet -- October 28, 1812

Robert Stuart, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc

resumed their journey in spite of the weather

after they had traveled about thirty miles along the Sweetwater River they stopped

they had no idea where they were

discussions were held to determine how they should proceed

it was determined not continue on in this weather which promised to become worst

they were still hundreds of miles away from the Missouri River

their route crossed immense barren and bleak prairies with no wood for fires

ahead were hostile Sioux or Cheyenne Indians or both

they decided to winter as this forlorn region provided protection against attack

When they came to an excellent wintering place the decision was unanimous

there was a bend in the river just below where it exited the mountains and turned northeast

this point of land was covered with cottonwood and willow trees for building and for fires

moderately high mountains stood about two miles away to the east, south and southwest

their cliffs offered innumerable bighorn sheep while the woods provided bear and deer

there were buffalo grazing on the lower ground

(they were camped along Poison Spider Creek

about twenty-eight miles west of today's Casper, Wyoming)

LIFE AT ASTORIA BECAME MORE DIFFICULT WITH THE CHANGE IN SEASON

Autumn began the season of scarcity in the Pacific Northwest and lasted until (February)

to better provision Astoria a number of men were dispatched to the Willamette Valley

this river entered the Columbia River about sixty miles upriver from Astoria

here the country bordering on the river is finely diversified with prairies and hills

forests of oak, ash, maple and cedar provide habitat for elk and deer

streams entering the Willamette River were well-stocked with beaver

Failure of the supply ship *Beaver* to return with Wilson Price Hunt

caused great anxiety at Astoria during October

she may have suffered the same fate as the *Tonquin* or been wrecked along the coast

Duncan McDougall, acting commander of Astoria in Hunt's absence, became despondent

his added responsibilities and concerns destroyed his confidence

and dampened his personality

Pacific Fur Company became a burden and every circumstance indicated disaster was near

DONALD McKENZIE HEARS OF OTHER WHITE MEN IN THE AREA

Indians had informed McKenzie at McKenzie's Post and his second-in-command, clerk Alfred Seton that white men were building houses at a location some two days away
McKenzie sent Seton with four men to investigate who this could be -- end of October 1812
food for two days was packed and the Astorians rode off to find who was rivaling them
after a day of hard riding their guide was asked when they would reach their destination
he told Seton the white men were three day's hard ride away
this was discouraging news as they had food for one more meal
it was not until three hungry days later they reached their destination and discovered the whites
were John Clarke and his men at Fort Spokane
who received their fellow Astorians as best they could
Clarke reported to Seton that North West Company was not happy about having competition
less than one hundred yards from their Spokane House post
Alfred Seton returned to Donald McKenzie's Post to report good trapping in the area of Fort Spokane
in spite of the very close competition with the North West Company

ASTOR'S SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER* ARRIVES AT ST. PAUL ISLAND (ALASKA)

Beaver carried Wilson Price Hunt from New Archangel (Sitka) to St. Paul Island,
one of five islands located in the Bering Sea, where she arrived -- October 31, 1812
Hunt found about one hundred native hunters living in cabins that looked like upside down canoes
these were formed from a whale jaw bone placed as rafters
pieces of driftwood covered with long grass, large sea animal skins and dirt cover the bone
these structures proved to be warm and comfortable
Hunt moved into of the cabins to oversee the loading of pelts on board the *Beaver*
this was a slow process as it was necessary to inspect every pack
before being taken in large boats out to the ship that remained some distance from shore
One night while Hunt and some of the crew were busy inventorying 80,000 seal skins
Captain Cornelius Sowle and the *Beaver* were caught in a Bering Sea storm
when daylight broke the supply ship *Beaver* could not been seen
all day a vigil was kept but in vain
day after day wintry storms pounded the village and the sea

ROBERT STUART AND FIVE OF HIS MEN GO HUNTING

Before they made camp for the winter the Astorians began gathering provisions -- November 2, 1812
Robert Stuart, Robert McClellan Ben Jones, Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc went hunting

leaving Robert McClellan to watch the camp
their hunting was unusually successful -- in two days they killed thirty-two buffalo
this meat was collected about a mile from the camp near a small brook
fortunately, a severe frost froze the river so the meat was easily carried to camp
next day a herd of buffalo came by and more fifteen were killed
they now had enough meat for the winter and freezing weather to preserve it
only the appearance of a grizzly bear caused alarm in this idyllic setting
All of the men set to work constructing a lodge eight feet wide and eighteen feet long
walls were six feet high and the whole structure was covered with buffalo hides
a fireplace in the center emitted smoke through a hole in the roof
Hunters were next sent out to acquire deer skins for clothing and moccasins
twenty-eight bighorn sheep and black-tail deer were killed in two days
now the party had an abundance of food and supplies
Evenings were spent in the peace and quiet of winter dining on roasted, boiled and broiled meat
feasting on venison, mountain mutton, buffalo hump and bone marrow
and telling stories of past adventures waiting for (spring)
when they would float down the (Sweetwater to the North Platte to the Missouri river
to reach St. Louis)
One morning at daybreak they were startled by a savage yell and they grabbed their rifles
two or three other voices repeated the yell
cautiously peering out of their lodge they saw several warriors all armed and in war paint
Joseph Miller informed his friends these were the same Arapaho warriors who had robbed him
preparations were made to fight it out
Robert Stuart, as the leader of the party, was selected to meet with the Indians
he stepped out of the lodge holding his rifle in one hand
he extended his other hand to the man who appeared to be the chief
both of the men shook hands in a token of friendship
The Arapaho Chief explained they were tracking a party of Crow Indians
who had attacked their village while the warriors were gone and had taken several of their women
and most of their horses
they were seeking vengeance but had had little to eat for several days
they had heard gunshots and seen the place where the deer had been killed
following the tracks they came to the lodge
Robert Stuart invited the chief and a lieutenant inside the lodge but made signs for the others to wait
twenty-three warriors gathered at the door as the two Indians entered
both the chief and his lieutenant looked longingly at the rafters where the meat hung

Stuart invited them to help themselves which they eagerly did
meat was passed outside to the others and a feast was begun that lasted into the night
after an incredibly huge meal the chief and lieutenant were invited back into the lodge
where they could be held hostage if the need arose
night was spent comfortably although occasionally and Indians sleeping outdoor would awaken
and indulge in another round of food
as the Astorians took turns standing watch through the night
In the morning Robert Stuart again invited the Indians to take what they needed with them
on their expedition to find the Crow Indians
the chief request gunpowder as they had none telling Stuart the whites would be rewarded
when the Arapaho warriors returned in two weeks with many horses and scalps
Stuart told them to bring the horses and then they would get gunpowder
When the Arapaho war party had traveled beyond hearing distance the Astorians held a council
their security had been breached and they faced three potential enemies:
Arapahos, Sioux and Cheyennes

DONALD McKENZIE'S POST IS A DISAPPOINTMENT

Astorian Donald McKenzie had endured an unsuccessful effort at McKenzie's Post
where the men suffered several desertions and death due to disease
he was heartily disgusted and disappointed with his trading post
he had difficulty with the Nez Perce Indians
who, being interested in horse trading and buffalo hunting,
did not turn their attention to trapping and had limited furs to offer
majority of his trade goods were spent acquiring horses to eat
rather than the few furs that might be available
also, the natives stole his goods and cut off his food supplies
McKenzie spent most of his time grumbling about the refusal of the Nez Perce to trap
returns were slim and he resolved to abandon the post
When Donald McKenzie heard from Alfred Seton that trapping and trading prospects were better
at Fort Spokane among the Spokane Indians he traveled to pay a visit to fellow his Astorians
to evaluate the prospects at John Clarke's and Ross Cox's post

NORTH WEST COMPANY OUTFITS A SUPPLY SHIP FOR THE COLUMBIA RIVER

North West Company's merchant ship *Isaac Todd* under Captain Fraser Smith
sailed from London to Canada -- fall 1812
on board were North West Company partner Donald McTavish

(not to be confused with John George McTavish currently en route to Astoria)
and partner John McDonald of Garth along with six voyageurs, four clerks
and Kanaka (Hawaiian) John Coxe returning to Astoria from London
Because of the ongoing war *Isaac Todd's* decks were refitted to accommodate twenty cannon
in case she met with American ships en route
North West Company partners asked the British government for protection
arrangements were made to sail the Atlantic Ocean with a fleet of merchant vessels
guarded by a convoy of Royal Navy warships
in addition, the British Admiralty agreed to provide a 36-gun frigate, H.M.S. *Phoebe*
to escort the *Isaac Todd* all the way through the Pacific Ocean to the Columbia River
In an effort to keep secret the final destination of the *Isaac Todd* and *Phoebe* the British Admiralty
issued sealed orders marked *Most Secret to the Phoebe's* Captain James Hillyar
to be opened in the South Atlantic after he cleared the port of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

LIVING CONDITIONS ALONG THE RED RIVER BECOME INCREASINGLY HARSH

Temporary tents and cabins were constructed -- fall 1812
colonists named their settlement Ossinibonia -- but it was commonly called Red River Colony
It became apparent the second (winter) in Canada threatened to be almost as difficult
as the first winter had been along the Red River
Governor Miles Macdonell found a suitable place to spend the winter south of the Pembina River
here a storehouse and other buildings were put up
and the little encampment was surrounded by palisades
as a finishing touch a flagstaff was raised in the stockade, and the post was named Fort Daer
in honor of one of Lord Selkirk's titles (located near today's Pembina, North Dakota)

ASTOR'S SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER* SAILS TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

After the storm passed the badly damaged *Beaver* returned to St. Paul Island -- November 13, 1812
quickly the remainder of the cargo was loaded and the *Beaver* put out to sea
Hunt wanted to return to Astoria, but Captain Cornelius Sowle refused
Captain Sowle determined the *Beaver's* sails and rigging had been so badly damaged
it would not be possible to cross the sandbar of the Columbia River to reach Astoria
Captain Sowle announced they would sail to Canton, China with the cargo of furs
however, if they sailed directly to Canton they would arrive so late in the trading season
that prices would be depressed by the flood of pelts that had arrived earlier
and the purchase of supplies for the return trip would be extremely expensive
Captain Sowle produced a letter from John Jacob Astor

giving him complete control over his ship's movement
Wilson Price Hunt considered it to be in the best the interest of the Pacific Fur Company
to proceed at once to the Hawaiian Islands where he would wait for the arrival
of John Jacob Astor's annual supply vessel from New York
and then take passage to Astoria aboard that ship
In a bargain struck between Captain Sowle and Wilson Price Hunt it was decided
to sail the *Beaver* for Hawaii where repairs could be made
Hunt would be left there as the *Beaver* sailed on taking her valuable cargo to Canton
Hunt could take passage on Astor's next supply ship while *Beaver* sailed for China

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S SUPPLY BRIGADE ARRIVES AT SALEESH HOUSE

Nor'Wester's supply brigade led by John George McTavish and Alexander Henry the Younger
accompanied by Nor'Wester James McMillan with fifteen men, goods and supplies
paddled upstream to the foot of the Rocky Mountains and crossed Athabasca Pass
they canoed down the Columbia to Kettle Falls
as they brought trade goods for the North West Company posts
(in present-day western Montana, northern Idaho and Eastern Washington)
at Kettle Falls they switched their cargo to ten horses for the last leg of their journey
traveling to Kootanae House on the Kootenay River
and Saleesh House on the Clark Fork River
Finan McDonald and James McMillan remained at Saleesh House
John George McTavish's brigade also carried the news of war
between the United States and Great Britain
after departing from Saleesh House Nor'Wester John George McTavish
led his fifteen men of the North West Company supply brigade on to Spokane House
where he had previously had been stationed

DONALD MCKENZIE LEARNS OF WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.

Donald McKenzie set out from McKenzie's Post on the Clearwater River for Fort Spokane
he left clerk Alfred Seton in charge of the post and the trappers in the area
He reached Fort Spokane -- November 17, 1812
he discovered that during his six months absence Spokane House was nearly completed
in spite of the fact North West Company's Spokane House was only one hundred yards distant
McKenzie was favorably impressed
As McKenzie was admiring the development of Fort Spokane when the North West Company's
annual supply brigade under John George McTavish and Alexander Henry the Younger

arrived at the Nor'Westers' Spokane House

JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH DELIVERS NEWS OF WAR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND BRITAIN

McTavish quickly and happily crossed the short distance to Pacific Fur Company's Fort Spokane to share the news that war had been declared on Great Britain by the United States

with his competitors Donald Mackenzie and John Clarke at Fort Spokane

McTavish produced a copy of President James Madison's proclamation of war

that had been delivered to McTavish at Lake Winnipeg by the North West Company partners

McTavish also informed the Astorians that a North West Company supply ship was due to arrive at the mouth of the Columbia [in the spring] escorted by a Royal Navy warship

this war ship was also bringing a new North West Company governor

John George McTavish further informed the Astorians at Fort Spokane

this was only a vanguard with other British warships to follow

Astoria was to be eliminated from the Pacific Northwest

McTavish further warned the Astorians that French-Canadians trading under the American flag would find themselves in difficulty with British authorities

Donald Mackenzie and John Clarke realized that the residents of Astoria must be informed

they decided the most sensible course of action would be for McKenzie

to return to the Clearwater River and close his trading post before traveling downriver to Astoria with his men

with the urgency of the news of the war on his mind, Donald McKenzie left John Clarke at Fort Spokane while he rushed back to the Clearwater River post

CONDITIONS AT MACKENZIE'S PORT ON THE CLEARWATER RIVER ARE DIFFICULT

Several parties that had been sent out to trap returned to the post extremely cold and hungry fearful that all of the Pacific Fur Company trapping parties could be suffering

Alfred Seton, then in charge of McKenzie's Post, sent for Donald McKenzie

WALLACE HOUSE IS CONSTRUCTED ALONG THE WILLMATTE RIVER (OREGON)

Astorian William Wallace established Wallace House to conduct trade in the Willamette Valley on edge of Champoeg (opposite Newberg, Oregon) -- November 23, 1812

Wallace House served as the wintering place for part of the expedition

and became the headquarters for several trappers in the Willamette Valley

William Wallace brought out seventeen packs of furs

and thirty-two bales of dried venison to help sustain the residents of Astoria

SUCCESSFUL PACIFIC FUR COMPANY OUTPOSTS HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED

William Wallace had established a trading post along the Willamette Valley at Champoege (Oregon)

Both John Clarke at Fort Spokane and Alexander Ross at Fort Okanogan

along with their clerks and assistants had succeeded admirably

in establishing branch stations for John Jacob Astor

David Stuart had enjoyed success in the Thompson River (Kamloops) region

he sent some of his company back to the mouth of the Columbia River

but he himself wintered at Okanogan

Donald McKenzie's Post had been less successful as he was not able to establish a permanent post

along the Clearwater River

DONALD MCKENZIE CLOSING HIS POST ON THE CLEARWATER RIVER

McKenzie made the three-day ride from Fort Spokane to McKenzie's Post on the Clearwater River

to prepare to lead his employees back to Astoria -- November 25, 1812

Donald McKenzie gathered his clerks together at his post along the Clearwater River

he informed Alfred Seton, John Reed and John Coxe and his men of the war that was in progress

McKenzie had already decided to return to Astoria with his men

remaining trade goods from his post would be delivered to John Clarke at Fort Spokane

who could make better use of them as they were in good beaver country

McKenzie set out for Fort Astoria in the rain

TWO ASTORIANS JOIN A BUFFALO HUNT

Buffalo hunting Shoshone Indians on their incursions into Blackfoot country

were sometimes accompanied by fur traders

this caused frequent skirmishes and brought Americans and French-Canadians

further into natives' conflict with the Blackfoot Indians

Astorians Ross Cox and Russell Farnham set out from Spokane House to hunt buffalo

in the upper Missouri River region -- November or December 1812

ALFRED SETON CARRIES SURPLUS MCKENZIE POST SUPPLIES TO FORT SPOKANE

Seton with three men and thirteen horses loaded with supplies from McKenzie's Post

he set out with provisions for ten days of travel -- early December 1812

on the first day out it began to snow but they pushed on until they were forced to stop

camp was made on a mountaintop where they made a temporary shelter out of two blankets

in an effort to keep the snow off

DONALD McKENZIE BECOMES CONCERNED ABOUT SETON AND HIS MEN

McKenzie suspected the snow had detained Alfred Seton and his men on their way to Fort Spokane
he backtracked and reached Alfred Seton's makeshift camp with the supplies
but the animals were too weak from lack of pasture to continue to Fort Spokane
Together Donald McKenzie and Alfred Seton set out together back to McKenzie's Clearwater post
after a walk of thirty miles in two feet of snow they reached the post an hour before sunset
Next morning forty fresh horses were taken to the makeshift camp, the horses were loaded
and the supplies were returned to McKenzie's Post
Delivering the supplies to Fort Spokane would delay the return of McKenzie and his men to Astoria
it was decided to lightly load some of the horses with McKenzie Post supplies
but it would be necessary to cache the remainder along the Clearwater River
Donald McKenzie set out down the Columbia River with John Reed and Alfred Seton
to deliver news of the war to Fort Astoria
cold weather and a raw wind made travel down the Columbia harsh
every drop of water they encountered was icy
low water in the river made the current very strong and the icy rapids very dangerous

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN SADLY SAID GOOD-BYE TO THEIR CAMP

Stuart and his six Astorians decided to leave their (Poison Spider Creek) winter camp
as the appearance of the Arapaho way party presented too much of a danger to remain there
They again took up their eastward trek following (today's North Platte River) -- December 13, 1812
toward its confluence with the Missouri River
if they could not get that far at least they could reach a part of the river
where canoes could be built
Travel was difficult as the snow was covered by a thin layer of frost not able to hold their weight
their feet became sore breaking through the crust and their legs exhausted by the lack of footholds
their horse suffered the same hazards walking
and had only the tips of willow twigs and cottonwood tree bark to eat
for the first three days the memory of their warm and comfortable camp increased their fatigue
Stuart's small party of Astorians grew stronger as they pressed on making 330 miles in fourteen days
during this time the weather varied -- sometimes the snow was deep
for a day or two it felt like a mild and tranquil (autumn) had set in
then the river froze so solid they could walk on the surface

ROBERT STUART SEES THE COUNTRY AROUND HIM CHANGE

As Robert Stuart, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar

and Francis Le Clerc traveled they noted the timber gradually diminished -- December 26, 1812
there was scarcely enough wood for fuel for their fire and game became scarce
snow was fifteen inches deep and progress was extremely painful
They reached a vast plain with no timber to be seen and not even the sign of an animal
they stopped to consider their situation
to continue to follow the (North Platte) river in this country was extremely dangerous
weather was threatening to change and a large snowstorm could be fatal
they had passed a sheltered place surrounded by forest populated by animals
but it was seventy-five miles behind them
they voted five to two to return to the sheltered place back up the (North Platte) river

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN DECIDE TO BACKTRACK

Seven Astorians retraced their steps seventy-five miles in intense cold
to make winter camp -- December 27, 1812
three days later a thick forest of cottonwood trees and herds of buffalo were their reward
They made a second winter camp along Muddy Creek (near today's Torrington, Wyoming)
where there was **"...a sheltering growth of forest trees and a county abundant in game."**¹¹⁹
several animals were killed, they put up a shed and began to build a lodge
here there were trees large enough to make canoes

ALEXANDER ROSS SPENDS A SECOND WINTER AT FORT OKANOGAN

Ross had spent the previous winter [1811-1812] in solitude at Fort Okanogan
now he spent the winter of 1812-1813 in the company of five men
who trapped in the area between Fort Okanogan and Fort Spokane
these six Astorians trapped and traded with the local Indians
and into the interior as far north as the Thompson River (today's Kamloops, B.C.)

WILSON PRICE HUNT REMAINS IN THE SANDWICH ISLAND (HAWAII)

Astor's supply ship *Beaver* under Captain Cornelius Sowle received repairs to her rigging and sails
after a stay of seven weeks she sailed from (Oahu, Hawaii) for Canton, China -- January 1, 1813
Hunt remained on Oahu to await the arrival of John Jacob Astor's annual supply ship
to deliver him to the Pacific Fur Company post of Astoria
Astor's next supply vessel was to have sailed from New York City [September 1812]
however wartime delays kept her in port

¹¹⁹ Robert Stuart's Journal

(Hunt's stay was far longer in Hawaii than he had anticipated
month after month he looked for the arrival of the supply ship -- always in vain
leaving his Pacific Fur Company companions at Astoria concerned and fearful
had Hunt followed Astor's orders the *Beaver* would have delivered him to the post,
taken on the cargo of furs and delivered them in Canton, China along with the Russian furs
huge profits would have been the reward for everyone involved in the enterprise)

ROBERT STUART AND HIS SIX ASTORIANS CELEBRATE THE NEW YEAR

Work in the winter camp along Muddy Creek (today's Torrington, Wyoming) was suspended
while the day was given to feasting -- January 1, 1813

choice buffalo hump and tongues were roasted and marrow bones were devoured
having no tobacco they cut up Joseph Miller's old tobacco pouch and smoked it
in honor of the day

Work was again taken up -- January 2, 1813

soon an abundance of buffalo were killed
winter passed without any visitors, hostile or friendly, and game remained plentiful
two large cottonwood trees were felled and shaped into canoes to carry them to St. Louis

ASTORIA WAS IN A CONSIDERABLY WEAKENED CONDITION

Since the sailing of *Beaver* with Pacific Fur Company Commander Wilson Price Hunt [August 1812]
nothing had been heard although the ship was due back at Astoria [fall 1812]

(months of September, October, November and December had passed
apprehension regarding the fate of the ship now began to plague the Astorians
perhaps the *Beaver* had been wrecked along the Pacific coast

or surprised like the *Tonquin*

no one was more concerned than acting commander of Astoria Duncan McDougall

whose confidence gave way to despondency regarding the future of their enterprise

To increase McDougall's concerns

Indians had raised their prices outrageously making trade very difficult to conduct
Astor's partners Alexander Ross, John Clarke, Robert Stuart and David Stuart were in the interior
Astor had provided for an annual supply ship but it was late in arriving
and the crisis at the fort had depleted stocks to well below normal levels

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND NORTH WEST COMPANY STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL

Metis (mixed-blood) workers for both the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company
were employed as free traders or buffalo hunters supplying pemmican for the fur traders

Metis workers reacted violently to the agricultural invasion of the Red River district
they feared losing their land since they were “squatters” and did not hold legal title
although they had long occupied the region
Hudson’s Bay Company wanted to stop the Metis
from selling pemmican to the North West Company
Red River Colony Governor Miles Macdonnell imposed a law
to stop the sale of pemmican -- January 1813
Metis leader Cuthbert Grant and his followers ignored the new law
which led to constant conflict between the Metis and the Red River Colony settlers

ASTOR’S SUPPLY SHIP *BEAVER* ARRIVES SAFELY AT CANTON, CHINA

In China, Captain Cornelius Sowle learned of the War of 1812
Captain Sowle also found a letter from John Jacob Astor waiting for him -- 1813
directing the captain to deliver new instructions to Astoria
Captain Sowle wrote a reply in which he refused the orders
he said he would wait in Canton until peace had been arranged between the U.S. and Britain
then he would sail to New York City
Captain Sowle was offered \$150,000 for the Russian furs he had taken on board at St. Paul Island
trade items provided to the Russians cost about \$25,000 in New York
Sowle could have taken the money and purchased Chinese goods for sale in New York
if he was concern about being intercepted by the British Navy
he could have placed his Chinese cargo in storage
and returned to Astoria without difficulty
there he could report the success of selling the Russian furs
and the prospect of even greater returns with the sale of American pelts
instead Captain Sowle refused the offer of \$150,000 and demanded higher terms
furs began to fall in value as new supplies reached Canton which only stiffed Sowle’s resolve
soon the price fell so low that Sowle could not sell at all
he had borrowed money at 18% interest on Astor’s account to repair his ship
and kept the ship in port while waiting for peace
expenses had outstripped potential income possibilities
(*Beaver* remained in hiding in Canton he until the war was over)

WAR OF 1812 U.S.WAS NOT GOING WELL FOR THE AMERICANS

American losses are high in (present-day) Michigan at the Battle of Frenchtown -- January 1813
those who survived the battle were killed by Indians the next day in the Raisin River Massacre

(more Americans were killed in this fighting than any other battle of the War of 1812)
Two weeks after the battle, Brigadier General James Winchester reported that 547 of his men were taken as prisoners-- only thirty-three escaped the battlefield

DONALD McKENZIE UNEXPECTEDLY ARRIVES AT ASTORIA WITH NEWS OF WAR

Donald McKenzie shocked Astorians when he unexpectedly returned to Astoria -- January 16, 1813
McKenzie brought news of the declaration of war on Britain by the United States [in June 1812]
that had been carried by Nor'Wester John George McTavish to John Clarke's Fort Spokane
McTavish also said there was talk of an impending British naval invasion
in addition McKenzie said John George McTavish was at this moment on his way to Astoria
this information immediately cast doubt on John Jacob Astor's ability
to send the yearly supply of provisions and trade goods necessary for continuing operations
Donald McKenzie was disappointed to discover Wilson Price Hunt was absent
he had boarded the supply ship *Beaver* and gone to meet with the Russians in New Archangel
no news had been received concerning the *Beaver* or her passengers and crew
this caused grave concern as the ship had been due to return to Astoria [in the fall]

DUNCAN McDUGALL AND DONALD McKENZIE DECIDE TO ABANDON ASTORIA

Pacific Fur Company's working agreement called for a formal partners' meeting
to abandon their posts and dissolve the enterprise if it proved to be unprofitable for five years
Duncan McDougall and Donald McKenzie were all that remained of Astor's partners
all of the others had either resigned or were in the interior on expeditions
Donald McKenzie, who had been demoted from Pacific Fur Company co-commander,
continued to bear several real and imagined grudges against John Jacob Astor
and the other partners for his loss of power and prestige to Wilson Price Hunt
Astor's two partners knew that a state of war made resupplying Astoria difficult if not impossible
without fresh supplies and trade goods no trade could be conducted
also, if Astor had failed to send them a relief ship there could be no escape by sea
Commander Duncan McDougall suggested the future fur trading prospects were in doubt
both of John Jacob Astor's partners believed Astoria should be abandoned
portable property should be removed to the interior before the British ships arrived
Pacific Fur Company partners, clerks and voyageurs must return across the Rocky Mountains
plans were laid to cross overland to St. Louis with the journey to begin [July 1, 1813]
(because of Donald McKenzie's previous overland ordeal with Wilson Price Hunt
this decision suggests desperate sincerity rather than treachery)
McDougall and McKenzie decided to keep the plan to abandon Astoria secret from their men

for fear their employees would become lazy and belligerent
Commander McDougall and McKenzie suspended all trade with the natives except for provisions
they already had more pelts than they could carry away and needed all of their trade goods
to barter for horses, clothing and food for their people when they crossed the continent
Donald McKenzie began preparations to travel to David Stuart's Fort Okanogan
and John Clarke's Fort Spokane to inform them of the decision to end the Pacific Fur Company

JOHN JACOB ASTOR HAD NOT FORSAKEN HIS POST ALONG THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Actually the merchant was playing every angle he could
Astor advised the United States government concerning the progress of his business at Astoria
he pointed out that even the slightest military support would hold the post
against any British attack by sea
Astor wrote a letter to Wilson Price Hunt the head of the Pacific Fur Company -- if it existed
he warned Hunt to be on his guard against any attempt of surprise attack from the British
or the Canadian North West Company

John Jacob Astor made every effort to supply his Columbia River post

John Jacob Astor had attempted to dispatch his annual supply ship
but because of delays caused by the war she did not put to sea from New York
when Astor was unable to secure an escort vessel from the American government
to defend his supply vessel from British seizure

he sent to his agents in London £12,000 to buy and outfit the British brig *Forester*
and sail her to the Northwest under British colors
chaos in England's war-harassed ports delayed the *Forester*

Astor took the bold step of outfitting the 300-ton *Lark* in New York City -- March 1813

Lark, a ship known for its speed, made ready to sail but at the last moment her captain
refused the assignment and the ship was placed under former first mate Samuel Northrup
Nicholas G. Ogden, a well trusted Astor employee, sailed as supercargo
(the person placed in charge of trade goods and conducting trade)

Astor finally sprang his annual supply ship through the British blockade -- March 6, 1813
by means of a sailing permit the Russian consul obtained from the English admiralty
on the pretext that the *Lark* was going to Russian-America (Alaska)

ROBERT STUART AND HIS SIX TRAVELING COMPANIONS BECOME WATERBORNE

Robert Stuart's expedition across the continent had been forced to spend (winter) along Muddy Creek
where that stream entered the North Platte River (near today's Torrington, Wyoming)
When the ice on the North Platte River broke up -- March 8, 1813

Robert Stuart, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc launched their two canoes in an effort to deliver dispatches to St. Louis before Robert Stuart would continue to New York City and meet with John Jacob Astor. They soon discovered the island-filled river was too shallow for their vessels; progress was difficult as they waded and dragged their canoe over sandbars and islands; at last the effort was abandoned and they were again on foot, aided by their faithful packhorse. Stuart correctly guessed they were on the North Platte River; they followed a more southerly route than that taken by Lewis and Clark. Inclement weather again forced a stop.

DONALD McKENZIE SETS OUT FROM ASTORIA BACK UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

With the decision to abandon Astoria made, several items of business needed to be addressed: it was necessary to close Fort Okanogan and Fort Spokane and retrieve the cache of goods that were not taken to Spokane House from McKenzie's Post; it also was necessary to purchase horses and provisions for the caravan back across the Rockies. Donald McKenzie set off for his abandoned post on the Clearwater River; he was accompanied by two of the clerks, John Reed and Alfred Seton, and seventeen men. McKenzie carried dispatches from Astoria, Commander Duncan McDougall, to David Stuart at Fort Okanogan and John Clarke at Fort Spokane, informing them of the intentions to close Astoria and giving them time to make preparations of their own: they were to close their posts and barter for horses to be used to carry all of the portable assets of the Pacific Fur Company to St. Louis. McKenzie and his men traveled in two canoes without any incident until they arrived in the neighborhood of the always difficult Columbia River Dalles rapids; after they stopped for a small lunch they portaged around the long narrows; when the portage was completed they faced a long evening that required watchfulness as they anticipated approaching the short narrows.

ANOTHER INCIDENT AT THE WISHRAM INDIAN VILLAGE

Across the Columbia River from where Donald McKenzie and his men made camp was a village of the Wishram Indians whose bad reputation was widely acknowledged; they previously had attacked John Reed and stolen his shiny tin box of dispatches. Reed's rifle was still retained by the villagers as a trophy. Donald McKenzie suggested to his men that if anyone would accompany him, he would cross the river and demand the return of Reed's rifle. Two volunteers, clerk Alfred Seton and cook Joe de la Pierre, stepped forward.

These three men soon crossed to the southern bank of the Columbia River
landing, they primed their pistols and rifles
they followed a path from the river for one hundred yards
as it wound among the rocks and crags to the village
no notice seemed to be taken of their approach -- even the village dogs were silent
When the three Astorians entered the village a boy made his appearance
silently he pointed to the largest house in the village
as they entered the lodge the three Astorians had to stoop to pass through the low opening
when they crossed the threshold, the narrow passage behind them
was filled by a sudden rush of Indians who had kept out of sight
McKenzie and his two companions were in a twenty-five by twenty-foot room
there was a bright fire on side of the room and nearby sat the sixty-year-old Wisham chief
one glance around the room revealed the dangerous assembly into which they had intruded
Indians in large numbers wrapped in buffalo robes sat in rows three deep
forming a semicircle around three sides of the room
all retreat was cut off by the crowd of natives which now blocked the entrance
Wishram chief pointed to the vacant end of the room opposite to the door
he motioned for the white men to sit there -- all three Astorians complied
there was a deadly silence as grim warriors sat like statues each in his robe watching the intruders
who felt they were in a perilous predicament
McKenzie said to his companions: **“Keep your eyes on the chief while I am addressing him.
Should he give any sign to his band, shoot him, and make for the door.”**¹²⁰
McKenzie moved toward the chief and offered a tobacco pipe but it was refused
McKenzie told the Indians of the reason for their visit
he proposed to exchange two blankets, an axe, some beads and tobacco for the rifle
when the Wishram chief responded his voice which was quiet at first
became increasingly loud and violent as he worked himself into a furious rage
matters were verging on a crisis as it became evident the warriors
were only waiting for a signal from their chief before springing on their prey
during the speech McKenzie and his two companions had gradually raised their rifles
resting the gun barrels in their left hand
McKenzie’s muzzle was within three feet of the speaker’s heart
Astorians cocked their rifles and the sound of hammers being drawn back gave the natives pause
Donald McKenzie, Alfred Seton and Joe de la Pierre casually but promptly

¹²⁰ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, P. 403.

made their way to the door of the lodge and the Indians fell back and allowed them to pass
Cautiously they walked back to their canoe, crossed the Columbia River and safely returned to camp
they decided the stolen weapon was not worth a second visit

DONALD McKENZIE MEETS NOR'WESTER JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH

Donald McKenzie with clerks Alfred Seton and John Reed and seventeen men broke camp
they resumed their struggle up the Columbia River on their way to Astor's interior posts
to retrieve the trade goods cached there
Some distance above Celilo Falls they saw two bark canoes merrily sweeping down the river
carrying fifteen white men and flying the British flag
French-Canadian voyageurs, as usual, were boisterously singing as they paddled
these canoes belonged to Nor'Wester John George McTavish who was commander
of the seventy-five North West Company employees employed at Spokane House
bound for the mouth of the Columbia River to await the arrival of their supply ship
and its British Naval escort
both Pacific Fur Company and North West Company voyageurs greeted each other as comrades
rather than as employees of rival trading companies whose countries were at war
Both the Astorians and the Nor'Westers made camp together that night

DONALD McKENZIE AND JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH GO THEIR SEPARATE WAYS

After breaking camp in the morning
Astorian Donald McKenzie resumed his difficult effort up the Columbia to the interior posts
to deliver Commander Duncan McDougall's dispatches to forts Okanogan and Spokane,
retrieve the caches and begin negotiations for horses with which to exit the country
Nor'Wester John George McTavish continued his leisurely trip down the Columbia River
to its mouth where they would await the arrival of the North West Company ship
and her British Navy escort

JOHN JACOB ASTOR HAS REASON TO WORRY ABOUT HIS PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

Astor received information justifying all of his concerns regarding British hostility -- March 20, 1813
North West Company had written a second memorial to the British government expressing fears
that if the establishment at Astoria was not crushed
North West Company could be driven from the Pacific Northwest
this was of great concern to Astor as a large portion of his employees in the Pacific Northwest
were Scotsmen and French-Canadians
several of whom had worked for North West Company

in fact, the partner in charge of the *Tonquin* expedition was Duncan McDougall
whose loyalty to the Pacific Fur Company had been attacked by Captain Jonathan Thorn
there was even a possibility the British government would send a military force
as this had previously been requested by the North West Company
Astor wrote to United States Secretary of State James Monroe but had heard no response
probably because the U.S. government was actively engaged in war

ROBERT STUART AND HIS MEN AGAIN TAKE UP THEIR TRAVELS TO ST. LOUIS

After being stopped in their journey to St. Louis by inclement weather
Robert Stuart and his six Astorians set out once again down the North Platte River
traveling in two newly constructed canoes -- March 20, 1813

NORTH WEST COMPANY SENDS A MERCHANT SHIP TO THE PACIFIC COAST

North West Company outfitted the *Isaac Todd* at Portsmouth, Ontario to travel to the Columbia River
carrying supplies and trade goods to its Columbia Department trading posts -- March 25, 1813
also aboard were North West Company partners Donald McTavish and John McDonald of Garth
along with six voyageurs, four clerks and Kanaka (Hawaiian) John Coxe
who was returning from Astoria from London

ROBERT STUART PARTY LEAVES THEIR CANOES AND SET OUT OVERLAND

Continual difficulties with the canoes forced the seven Astorians to abandon their canoes
they took up their eastward journey to St. Louis on foot -- March 27, 1813
Spring weather had brought pasture and the land was teeming with game
buffalo dung replaced wood as fuel for campfires to ward off the cold of the nights
three buffalo were killed one evening simply for their hides to make a shelter
Continuing on over the days they crossed one hundred miles of prairie without trees
they saw sixty-five wild horses -- buffalo seemed to cover the country
wild geese abounded and a swamp was home to immense flocks of ducks and a few swans
They found the sameness of the landscape became dreary and tiresome
(famous sights that would later mark the Oregon Trail were passed during this time:
Devil's Gate, Independence Rock, Upper Platte Canyon, Scotts Bluff, Chimney Rock,
Courthouse Rock and Jailhouse Rock)
they longed to see a forest, grove or even a single tree
they began to focus on signs they were nearing the end of the wilderness
bunches of grass or driftwood with axe marks were seen as positive signs
still, the hoped-for Missouri River eluded them

They found a Pawnee Indian hut that held three old women too sick to accompany their people who had gone south to hunt buffalo -- otherwise the country was completely deserted
Continuing on, Robert Stuart, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, Ben Jones, Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc passed from the North Platte River to the Platte River

LORD SELKIRK'S COLONISTS MOVE BACK TO THE RED RIVER

Governor Miles Macdonell moved his colonists back to the Red River after spending the (winter) at Fort Daer -- spring 1813

As the season advanced solid structures were constructed on this site

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's Hudson's Bay Company settlement became known as Red River Colony

attempts were made to farm but the only agricultural implement colonists brought was a hoe they tried fishing by the river produced an inadequate catch even the bushes failed to produce fruit -- they resorted to using weeds as food

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND NORTH WEST COMPANY CONFLICTS ESCALATE

When Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company trappers and traders invaded the same area they fought a series of battles in an attempt to control the region

As the competition heightened bloody incidents increased in frequency and intensity especially in the vicinity of the Red River Colony

owned by Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk

whose claim comprised parts of (today's Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Northern Minnesota and North Dakota)

ROBERT STUART AND HIS PARTY SEE THEIR FIRST SIGN OF CIVILIZATION

Stuart's six men recognized their first landmark, an island about seventy miles long -- April 6, 1813 this they assumed was Grand Island which meant they were 140 miles from the Missouri River Three days later they met an Otto Indian who confirmed their location -- April 9

NOR'WESTER JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH ARRIVES AT ASTORIA

John George McTavish paddling down the Columbia River from Spokane House arrived at Astoria with fourteen voyageurs -- April 11, 1813

John George McTavish met with the Pacific Fur Company Commander Duncan McDougall

and told him of the expected North West Company supply ship and British Royal Navy escort

John Jacob Astor's partner at Astoria decided to wait behind his fortified walls to see what developed

THERE SEEMED LITTLE CAUSE FOR ALARM AT FORT ASTORIA

Relations between the Astorians and the Nor'Westers were so friendly that the Nor'Westers were invited by their fellow French-Canadians at Astoria to participate in the post's annual birthday celebration -- April 12, 1813

John George McTavish and his North West Company employees enjoyed the good food and liquor which made for a festive time

John George McTavish proceeded down the Columbia River to its mouth to make his camp at Baker Bay below Astoria

there he would await the approach of the North West Company supply ship and her British Royal Navy escort

which he expected to arrive within a few weeks to seize the American post

in truth, the immediate future of Nor'Wester John George McTavish and his camp was in doubt they had only a slim store of provisions and their situation was uncertain

both of the North West Company ships were long overdue which raised doubts perhaps something had happened to them -- or perhaps the whole story was a bluff

But more than Astoria was a risk as the Columbia River itself was the great prize

American Captain Robert Gray had won it after British navigators had given it up [1792]

Nor'Wester David Thompson had explored the full length from source to mouth [1811]

but he found the Astorians' post had been constructed

and they controlled the river's commerce

British claims to the Columbia Department centered on David Thompson's trading posts to the north of Columbia and Spokane rivers

ROBERT STUART'S PARTY LEARN OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND BRITAIN

Robert Stuart and his six Astorians were guided to an Otto Indian village (located at present-day Yutan, Nebraska)

There they met two white trappers (who had arrived three days before) -- April 13, 1813

Baptiste Dorouin and Francois Roi were the first white men they had encountered since setting out from Caldron Linn [September 1, 1812]

Stuart and his men first learned of the outbreak of the War of 1812

Two days were spent with questions regarding national affairs and especially the war during this time the fur traders employed Indians to make a canoe frame

twenty feet long, four feet wide and eighteen inches deep to be covered with buffalo hide

Stuart left their faithful horse with Dorion

who gave the Astorians enough supplies to reach Fort Osage, Missouri on the Missouri River

ROBERT STUART AND HIS PARTY ARE AGAIN WATERBORNE EN ROUTE TO ST. LOUIS

Entering their buffalo hide canoe they again drifted down the Platte River -- April 16, 1813
they had traveled about ten miles when a high wind forced them to camp
here they set about making oars

Continuing merrily down the river the next day -- April 17
they traveled for thirty-five miles then merged into the Missouri River
whose current carried them briskly downriver

After a couple of hundred miles the frame of their canoe began to show the effect of the voyage
they found two wooded canoes left behind by some hunting party and took the larger
after another fifty-five miles they arrived at Fort Osage (today' Sibley, Missouri)
where Wilson Price Hunt's expedition had begun their journey eighteen months before

Robert Stuart and his travel companions remained at Fort Osage for two days
resting and waiting for the weather to clear
it was noted after their return to civilization that the luxury the seven Astorians most missed
was bread -- they had eaten none in over a year

COMPANY BATTLES ESCALATE INTO COMPANY WARS

Competition between the North West Fur Company and Hudson's Bay Company
exploded beyond all bounds of reason or sanity
bloodshed, debauchery of the Indians and a frantic stripping of the country
of every possible fur-bearing animal became integral parts of the struggle for supremacy

Although the Columbia Department lay far from the actual conflict around the Red River Colony
repercussions inevitably reached across the Rocky Mountains
as the discipline of the trappers and traders crumbled

Warfare kept the best North West Company voyageurs east of the Continental Divide
in their place Iroquois and Abenaki Indians from the St. Lawrence River region
were used in the Columbia Department
undependable at best, these untrustworthy, explosive Eastern Indians
harassed their Western Indian counterparts
wanton pillaging and horse thievery so inflamed the Willamette and Cowlitz Indians
that both of these fur-rich valleys had to be written off the books
as potential fur grounds for the next few seasons

ROBERT STUART AND HIS PARTY REACH ST. LOUIS

After incredible hardships Astorians Robert Stuart, Robert McClellan, Ramsay Crooks, Ben Jones,
Andre Vallar and Francis Le Clerc arrived at St. Louis in good health -- April 30, 1813

they had been joined late in their travels by trappers Baptiste Dorouin and Francois Roi
Their return caused quite a sensation in the town as they delivered the first news
of Wilson Price Hunt and his expedition
and of the establishment of Astoria, Fort Okanogan and trading operations in Oregon
Efforts to absorb the changes that had taken place in the United States during their three year absence
took them from houses to stores and taverns as they gather information regarding the war
they learned the Upper Great Lakes had fallen into British hands
and Indians there had joined the British cause against the Americans
Native Americans from as far away as the Missouri River were flocking to the British
Robert Stuart's Astorians had traversed 3,700 miles in 306 days
their route through (Idaho), (Wyoming) and (Nebraska) was almost precisely the path
later followed by the (Oregon Trail)

Robert Stuart wrote an account of the journey from Astoria to St. Louis: *Journal of a voyage across the Continent of North America from Astoria The pacific Fur Company principal Establishment on the Columbia To the City of New York kept by Robert Stuart* [sic]

in his rendition Robert Stuart identified sites for future Pacific Fur Company trading posts
in this literary effort, young Stuart traced the route which, with some modifications,
would later become famous as the Oregon Trail
(Accounts of Robert Stuart's exploits and those of the *Tonquin*
were written by American author Washington Irving in *Astoria* published [1836])

JOHN JACOB ASTOR HAD HEARD NO WORD FROM HIS PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

Although Astor was a great businessman and not easily discouraged
the dangers faced by his enterprise slowly eroded his spirits and confidence
he was gloomily sitting by a window at his home reflecting on the loss of the *Tonquin*
and the sad fate of her unfortunate crew fearing the overland expedition had met a similar fate
he received the evening newspaper and saw a paragraph that announced the arrival
of Robert Stuart and his party at St. Louis
they had carried the news that Wilson Price Hunt and his companions
had reached the mouth of the Columbia River

DUNCAN McDUGALL FINALIZES PLANS TO CLOSE THE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

Astoria Commander McDougall did not plan to defend Astoria against a North West Company
he saw no reason to treat his fellow Scotsmen with anything other than decent hospitality
McDougall announced to everyone that Astoria would close [July 1, 1813] -- May 21, 1813
McDougall busied himself with preparations to cross overland to St. Louis

McDougall's decision cast no small amount of doubt on his loyalty to the Pacific Fur Company
his old relationship with the North West Company seemed to have resurfaced
he had been very hospitable North West Company commander John George McTavish
as if he was a friend rather than a competing company employee come to reconnoiter
and to wait for the arrival of a hostile ship
had Duncan McDougall given the word, the Chinook Indians would have driven off the rivals
but instead McDougall supplied the Nor'Westers from the stores in Astoria
and treated them as friends -- thus they were accepted as such by the Chinooks

DONALD McKENZIE AND HIS MEN ARRIVE AT McKENZIE'S POST ON THE CLEARWATER

McKenzie, Alfred Seton and John Reed and seventeen men in two canoes hastened up the Columbia
until they reached the abandoned post on the Clearwater River
to begin work to retrieve the caches and to start bartering for the three or four hundred horses
that would be necessary for transporting the huge cavalcade to St. Louis
McKenzie's return to the deserted post was very distressing
he discovered, to his chagrin, that his caches had been found and rifled
in fact, he was dependent on the now stolen goods for the purchase horses from the Indians
McKenzie sent men out in all directions to locate the thieves
Nez Perce villagers, who the whites assumed were guilty, denied the thefts
Not believing the Nez Perce, McKenzie took reckless action
he and John Reed stalked angrily from tepee to tepee
they slashed open potential hiding places with their daggers
completely surprised by the Astorians' arrogance the Indians promised
to produce the stolen articles if the whites would stop their destruction
McKenzie gave in (although only a portion of the goods were returned)
this did nothing to enhance the Pacific Fur Company's relations with the Indians

JOHN REED WAS SENT BY DONALD McKENZIE TO THE OTHER INTERIOR POSTS

McKenzie sent far-wandering John Reed to deliver dispatches from Commander Duncan McDougall
to David Stuart at Fort Okanogan and John Clarke at Fort Spokane
stating his intention to close Astoria and return to the United States
David Stuart and John Clarke were to close their posts and barter for horses
to carry all of the Pacific Fur Company's portable assets to St. Louis
McDougall ordered them to rendezvous at the confluence of the Walla Walla
and Columbia rivers [June 1, 1813]

DONALD “FATS” McKENZIE’S OWN HORSE TRADING STARTS SLOWLY

Nez Perce Indians, resentful of his highhanded tactics regarding the stolen goods, declined to barter exasperated, McKenzie began pointing toward whatever animal he wanted, he offered a fair price, and then on being refused, shot the horse dead this was repeated until the Indians relented and began to barter McKenzie’s actions shocked and alarmed the Nez Perce who counted their wealth in horses

ASTORIA COMMANDER DUNCAN McDOUGALL’S DIRECTIVE IS NOT WELL RECEIVED

Astor’s partners David Stuart at Fort Okanogan and John Clarke at Fort Spokane had been very successful at their posts when they received the directive written by Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall they were very unhappy with McDougall making such a decision on his own without even waiting for their arrival at Astoria especially when he knew they would not agree they considered McDougall’s orders to abandon their posts to be rash and cowardly they refused to comply no arrangements were made by either Stuart or Clarke to leave the country instead they made preparations to expand their prosperous establishments however, they did prepare to take the winter’s catch to the rendezvous site

JOHN JACOB ASTOR LEARNS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY’S *ISAAC TODD*

John Jacob Astor learned the North West Company merchant ship *Isaac Todd* was en route to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil escorted by a British Navy frigate HMS *Phoebe* Astor was very aware of the menace this provided to his Pacific Fur Company and Astoria Astor wrote a letter to Secretary of State James Monroe asking that President James Madison be shown a copy of the report on the activities of the North West Company included by Astor although he had little hope of this actually happening President Madison was eventually shown the report and the United States government decided to send the frigate *Adams* under Captain William Crane to protect the American foothold and commerce in the Pacific Ocean When Astor learned of this plan he immediately outfitted the supply ship *Enterprise* with additional supplies to accompany the *Adams* bound for Astoria

ASTOR’S PARTNER JOHN CLARKE SETS OUT FROM FORT SPOKANE

As the appointed time for the rendezvous approached, John Clarke packed all his furs from Fort Spokane on twenty-eight horses

Clarke departed from Fort Spokane with fifty-seven men -- May 25, 1813
bound for the rendezvous site at the confluence of the Columbia and Walla Walla rivers
he left a clerk and four men in charge of the post

ASTORIANS FROM THE INTERIOR POSTS REACH THE RENDEZVOUS LOCATION

David Stuart paddled down the Columbia River from the company's first outpost at Fort Okanogan
he was the first to arrive at the rendezvous point on the Columbia River
where the Walla Walla River entered

Donald "Fats" McKenzie leading a retreat from his unsuccessful venture at McKenzie's Post
arrived next after he had incited of the Nez Perce Indians with his reckless actions
slashing tepees until he recovered part of the goods stolen from his Clearwater River cache
and shooting Indians' horses until the Nez Perce agreed to sell him adequate stock
to allow him to cross the continent to St. Louis

JOHN CLARKE REACHES THE LOCATION WHERE HE HAD LEFT HIS CANOES AND BARGE

John Clarke and most of the men from Fort Spokane reached the Nez Perce village
at the mouth of the Walla Walla River where they had exchanged their canoes and barge
for horses to continue on to the Spokane Indians
their vessels had been left under the protection of an old Nez Perce chief
who had kept careful watched over his charges
although Clarke planned to continue on to the rendezvous on horse back
his vessels were found in very good order needing only minimal repair -- May 30, 1813

Camp was made near the Indian village

because this village frequently engaged in pilfering, Clarke ordered a close eye be kept
John Clarke was a tall handsome man somewhat given to pomp and ceremony
which made him a person of note in the eyes of the natives
he had a silver goblet (drinking cup) which he used with a magnificent air
then, after an appropriate ritual, he would lock his goblet in a large wooden case
which accompanied him in his travels and stood in his tent when in camp
this goblet had been a gift from John Jacob Astor to his partner Alexander McKay
who had been killed in the explosion of the *Tonquin* and had arrived after the ship had sailed
Astor' partner John Clarke took possession and appreciated the cup's sentimental value
This glittering silver goblet could not help but be attractive to the villagers
such a wonder had never been seen in this land before
Indians talked about it among themselves and noted the care taken when it was used
they concluded that it must be of great worth

that night Clarke failed to lock up the prized possession
when the wooden case was opened in the morning the precious relic was gone

JOHN CLARKE IS OUTRAGED BY THE LOSS OF HIS SILVER GOBLET

Clarke threatened that unless the goblet was returned promptly he would hang the thief
should that unfortunate person ever be discovered
day passed into evening without the return of the goblet
That night guards were secretly posted about the Astorian camp
even at that, a native sneaked into the American camp undetected,
it was only when he attempted to leave the camp that he was discovered and captured
Astorian John Clarke was sure this was the thief who had stolen his precious goblet

SUPPOSED THIEF OF THE GOBLET WAS BROUGHT TO TRIAL

At daybreak the suspect was brought to trial and promptly convicted of theft -- May 31, 1813
immediately he represented the person responsible for all of the pilfering
done to the Astorians by these villagers
John Clarke passed a sentence of death upon him
Astorians constructed a gallows of oars, the village chief and his people were assembled
the offender was brought forward and his legs and arms were tied
Clarke berated the villagers telling them of all of the benefits they had received from the whites
and the many thefts and other misdeeds that had taken place and been ignored
this man was to be punished for his actions and as a warning to all of the other natives
Indians now gathered around John Clarke
they were willing that he be punished severely, but they pleaded that his life be spared
other Astorians, too, considered the sentence too severe
they advised Clarke to moderate the punishment but he remained unbending
Russell Farnham, a clerk who had himself been robbed of a pistol, acted as executioner
at the signal the poor Indian resisting, struggling and screaming was launched into eternity
Indians stood about in stunned silence and mute astonishment
but they had made no attempt to stop the execution, or even show any emotion whatsoever

JOHN CLARKE DECIDES TO TRAVEL DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER BY CANOE

John Clarke realized his party would have had to pass through Nez Perce Indian country
Nez Perce were all excellent horsemen and hard riders
they might pursue them to take vengeance for the death of their comrade
John Clarke changed his plans -- May 31, 1813

rather than proceeding on horseback as he originally intended
their loads were transferred to canoes to be taken to the rendezvous site
Clarke and his men set out down the Columbia River -- May 31, 1813
four members of Clarke's Party were sent back to Fort Spokane with the horses
although the four Astorians made light of the danger when they departed
they traveled quickly
(all four eventually were glad to find themselves safely at Fort Spokane)

ASTOR'S PARTNER JOHN CLARKE ARRIVES AT THE RENDEZVOUS LOCATION

John Clarke led fifty-three Astorians down the Columbia River -- June 1, 1813
on their arrival at the rendezvous point they found the other Astorians waiting
Clarke informed them of the punishment he had inflicted on the Nez Perce native,
he anticipated admiration would be heaped upon him for meting out justice
instead, he was strongly censured by Donald McKenzie for being inhumane,
and likely to provoke hostilities from the Nez Perce Indians
David Stuart and John Clarke intended to return to Fort Okanogan and Fort Spokane to trade
rather than continue on to Astoria as they had been ordered by Commander Duncan McDougall

INDIANS WERE ALSO IN THE VICINITY OF THE RENDEZVOUS POINT

Threatening Indians in large numbers were seen near the rendezvous point
word of the unprecedented hostile actions by Donald McKenzie and John Clarke
had spread quickly from village to village

ALL OF THE ASTORIANS AT THE RENDEZVOUS DECIDE TO RETURN TO ASTORIA

Astorians were warned of an impending attack by an agitated Indian chief
David Stuart and John Clarke decided to return to Astoria with Donald McKenzie
rather than journey back to Fort Okanogan and Fort Spokane
As a precaution camp was broken in the middle of breakfast -- June 2, 1813
Donald McKenzie and his twelve men along with David Stuart and his twenty Astorians
and John Clarke leading fifty-three more Pacific Fur company employees
formed a squadron of two barges and six canoes
they managed to escape to safety as more and more excited Indians arrived in the area

ASTORIANS OPERATING IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY REACH ASTORIA

William Wallace had led a fourteen-man trapping and trading expedition into the Willamette Valley
they had opened and maintained Wallace House in the area of Champoege

where he and his men trapped and traded for numerous packs of beaver pelts
Wallace abandoned Wallace House and return to Astoria carrying numerous packs of beaver pelts
as a result of seven months' worth of effort -- June 2, 1813

ASTORIANS SET OUT FROM THE RENDEZVOUS BOUND FOR ASTORIA

Donald Mackenzie paddled down the Columbia River from the rendezvous point -- June 3, 1813
he was accompanied by Astor's partner David Stuart, John Clarke and eight-five Astorians
who had come down the river from McKenzie's Post, Fort Okanogan and Fort Spokane
David Stuart and a group of twenty Astorians were attacked while making the portage at the Cascades
Stuart was wounded by arrows and their goods were stolen but the party escaped with their lives
David Stuart and his men reunited with the main party and continued down the Columbia River

DUNCAN McDUGALL ANNOUNCES THE CLOSING OF ASTORIA

Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall called a meeting of Pacific Fur Company clerks
to discuss the future of Astoria -- June 3, 1813
warnings were given not to tell the Indians about the decision to close the post
fearing their neighbors would take it as a sign of weakness and attack

INTERIOR TRADING PARTIES ARRIVE AT ASTORIA

Astor's partners Donald McKenzie David Stuart and John Clarke with eighty-five Astorians
delivered their valuable cargo of pelts from the interior posts to Astoria -- June 12, 1813
McKenzie, David Stuart and Clarke found Duncan McDougall actively preparing to close Astoria
in anticipation of departing to cross the continent to St. Louis (on July 1, 1813)
as had been agreed to by McDougall and Donald McKenzie
David Stuart and John Clarke expressed their vigorous opposition to this plan
McDougall's ties with the North West Company led to questions regarding his dependability
and his friendly treatment of Nor'Wester John George McTavish was provided
as evidence of disloyalty to John Jacob Astor
Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall, in turn, was disappointed to find
that neither David Stuart nor John Clarke had made preparations to comply with his directives
to purchase horses and provisions for a caravan across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis
it was now too late to make preparations necessary in time to cross the Rockies before (winter)
abandoning Astoria and the Pacific Fur Company's operations had to be postponed

CONDITIONS AT ASTORIA BECOME STRAINED

Population at Astoria swelled with the arrival of the interior traders

putting a huge strain on the limited store of supplies

Over the next two weeks bickering between Astor's partners and clerks added to the tension

Commander McDougall insisted they should quit the post, pack everything of value

and head overland across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis and the United States

McDougall asserted that the war and poor returns made abandonment inevitable

(actually trade had been quite productive as reported by the clerks on [June 1]

returns from the Columbia, Okanogan, Spokane and Willamette regions

had been better than anticipated)

David Stuart and John Clarke were reluctant to abandon the financial returns

they had achieved at Fort Okanogan and Fort Spokane based only on the strength

of Commander Duncan McDougall's spur-of-the-moment decision

with the support of Donald "Fats" McKenzie

they criticized McDougall's judgment and McKenzie's allegiance to John Jacob Astor

they insisted their trapping success in the interior justified holding the posts and the region

to say nothing of trade arrangements that might be made with the Russian-America Company

David Stuart and John Clarke also noted Astoria was well armed

and would withstand any attack short of a naval bombardment

they resented the decision of the two partners to sell Astoria to the North West Company

Duncan McDougall enjoyed the vocal support of Donald McKenzie

who used his skill and prestige to push for abandonment of the enterprise

McKenzie argued the only course was for the Astorians to save what they could

before the British navy came and took everything

summing up his position, Mackenzie noted, "**All these inauspicious circumstances taken**

together point out the absolute necessity of abandoning the enterprise as soon as possible."¹²¹

NOR'WESTER JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH IS RUNNING LOW ON SUPPLIES

It had become apparent the supply ship and British Naval escort had encountered difficulties

John George McTavish traveled from his camp at the Columbia River's Baker Bay to Astoria

there he requested a small supply of trade goods be provided to him

so he could conduct business with Indians during his return journey to Spokane House

John George McTavish's request was discussed by Astor's partners

Duncan McDougall urged the request be honored

he further suggested that Fort Spokane should be given up

as the Astorians lacked sufficient trade goods to compete with the North West Company

¹²¹ James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 281.

(in fact, this was not true -- the Astorians had more trade goods than the Nor'Westers)

JOHN JACOB ASTOR RECEIVES A LETTER FROM ROBERT STUART THEN IN ST. LOUIS

While Astor was making preparations to sail the supply ship *Enterprise* to Astoria escorted by the United States Navy frigate *Adams*

Astor received a letter from Robert Stuart (dated May 1, 1813) -- middle of June 1813 confirming newspaper accounts of his arrival in St. Louis

and of the arrival of Wilson Price Hunt's land expedition at Astoria

Robert Stuart also wrote of the success enjoyed by Astorians of the Pacific Fur Company Astoria was established and Fort Okanogan was in operation along the Okanogan River also successful trapping ventures had been conducted in the Willamette Valley and along the Thompson River (Kamloops)

at the same time Astor learned the supply ship *Beaver* had arrived at Astoria this provided Astor additional hope for success

Astor concluded the future of his Pacific Fur Company looked bright

Wilson Price Hunt, an American, led the operation and Astoria was being supplied

a third supply ship (after the *Lark*), *Enterprise*, was about to set sail for the post

Quickly these happy prospects faded away as Commodore Isaac Chauncey at Lake Ontario called for reinforcements to his command which was under attack by British forces

frigate *Adam's* crew was immediately transferred to Lake Ontario and the *Adams* was laid up

Astor decided to send the *Enterprise* to take her chances unescorted

but just then the British Navy arrived off New York City and blockaded the harbor

Enterprise was unloaded and dismantled putting Astor's hopes solely on his supply ship *Lark*

WILSON PRICE HUNT CHARTERS THE ALBATROSS TO SAIL TO THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Wilson Price Hunt had remained in the Hawaiian Islands since [November 1812]

where Astor's supply ship *Beaver* had deposited him before sailing on to Canton, China

Hunt had waited in vain for the arrival of the Pacific Fur Company's annual supply ship

American merchant ship *Albatross* sailing under Captain William Smith

reached the Hawaiian Islands from Canton, China -- June 20, 1813

Captain Smith delivered the news of America's war with Great Britain to the islands

this explained Hunt's long wait for a ship to take him back to Astoria

Hunt also learned a fleet of British warships had departed from Rio de Janeiro

HMS frigate *Phoebe* was joined by sloops-of-war *Cherub* and *Raccoon*

accompanied a North West Company's *Isaac Todd* mounted with twenty cannons

it was assumed Astoria was to be destroyed

Wilson Price Hunt immediately thought of the welfare of Astoria
he concluded the Pacific Fur Company employees would be in need of supplies and leadership
he chartered the *Albatross* for \$20,000 to deliver him at Astoria
supplies were loaded and the *Albatross* sailed for the mouth of the Columbia River
this would be the second time this American ship had visited the Columbia River
she had previously been brought to the Pacific Northwest by the Winship Brothers [1810]

FORMAL MEETING OF ASTOR'S PARTNERS IS NECESSARY TO ABANDON THE ENTERPRISE

Pacific Fur Company's Commander Duncan McDougall called an official meeting of Astor's
four partners in Astoria -- McDougall, Donald McKenzie, David Stuart and John Clarke
they were to discuss the future of Astor's Pacific Fur Company and Astoria -- June 25, 1813
this debate centered on relinquishing the post to the North West Company
even resident clerks were assembled although they had no vote in policy decisions

Commander Duncan McDougall responded to the criticisms of David Stuart and John Clarke

McDougall wrote his official explanation of his actions in the company letter book: **"We are now destitute of the necessary supplies on the trade, and we have no hopes of receiving more. We are yet entirely ignorant of the coast, on which we always had great dependence. The interior parts of the country turn out far short of our expectations. Its yearly produce in furs is very far from being equal to the expenses the trade incurs; much less will it be able to recover the losses already sustained, or stand against a powerful opposition and support itself. In fine, circumstances are against us on every hand, and nothing operates to lead us into a conclusion, that we can succeed."**¹²²

this version of events was carefully worded by McDougall to support his actions

DAVID STUART AND JOHN CLARKE BEGIN TO HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS

No supply ship had arrived from John Jacob Astor and the failure of the supply ship *Beaver*
to return with Wilson Price Hunt increased David Stuart's and John Clarke's concerns
that conditions were deteriorating

they began to listen to the arguments proposed by Duncan McDougall and Donald McKenzie
perhaps the Astorians situation of being left alone on a hostile coast surrounded by enemies
was as desperate and hopeless as it had been depicted

left without the support of John Jacob Astor they must shift for themselves or perish

By the end of the meeting all four of Astor's partners reached an agreement -- June 25, 1813

McDougall and McKenzie together had convinced Stuart and Clarke to accept their proposition

David Stuart and John Clarke consented to abandon Astoria

¹²² James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 283.

It was obvious Duncan McDougall's proposal to leave the country [on July 1] was unachievable any overland journey during the present summer was impossible because of delays in leaving the interior trading posts and the complexities of packing the furs, goods, supplies and provisions then at Astoria

ASTOR'S PARTNERS MAKE PLANS TO REMAIN IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FOR A YEAR

Commander Duncan McDougall stated Fort Okanogan and Fort Spokane would be sold to the North West Company

Astoria would be abandoned but the Astorians would spend one more year in the Northwest new departure date of [July 1, 1814] was set by the partners however, the store of goods at Astoria would not be adequate to meet the needs of all of the Astorians for a year

John Jacob Astor's partners agreed on the necessary tasks to remain in the field for another year:

- acquire enough food to exist until their anticipated departure [July 1, 1814];
- purchase enough horses to convey all of the Pacific Fur Company's portable goods over the Rocky Mountains and across the Great Plains to St. Louis;
- collect as many pelts as they could acquire with their diminished supply of trade goods

ASTOR'S PARTNERS AGREE ON ASSIGNMENTS FOR THE COMING (WINTER)

Astor's partner Duncan McDougall would remain in command of Astoria

he would keep forty men to ready a fleet of canoes to transport goods to the Willamette Valley if a British sail was sighted

because if the post was captured before they could depart everything would be lost men at Astoria would have to depend at least partially on local Chinook Indians for their food while they currently remained friendly it was feared if the future of the post was known, or how weak the post actually had become, the Chinooks might become hostile;

Partner Donald McKenzie, because it was necessary to make Astoria independent from the natives, would take four hunters and eight men to Wallace House to the Willamette Valley they would lower the strain on Astoria's limited supplies and supply needed provisions but also remain in a position to receive Astoria's trade goods if that became necessary;

Partner David Stuart and clerk Alexander Ross would travel to Fort Okanogan

Stuart would close the Thompson River operation among the She Whap Indians (near today's Kamloops, British Columbia)

clerk Alexander Ross would spend another (winter) at Fort Okanogan

Because there were too many clerks for the number to trappers and traders at Astoria three men, all British subjects, Ross Cox, Donald McGillis and Robert McClellan,

went to work for the North West Company
Ross Cox, who distinguished himself as an historian at Astoria,
was the first established trader to stress the practical need for missionaries
in the Pacific Northwest

NORTH WEST COMPANY TRAPPERS ARE ASSIGNED TO THE SNAKE RIVER REGION

Nor'Wester Clerk John Reed was to establish a (winter) headquarters on the Snake River plains
with hunters Pierre Dorion and Pierre Delaunay
voyageurs Francis Landry, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte, Andre La Chapelle and Gilles Le Clerc
Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
and American free trappers William Canning (or Cannon) and Alexander Carson
as usual Pierre Dorion was accompanied by his wife Marie and their two children
Reed was to trap for beaver along the Malheur River (eastern Oregon) on the Snake River plain
and gather supplies for the trip across the continent to St. Louis -- 1813

ASTOR'S FOUR PARTNERS SIGN A RESOLUTION TO ABANDON ASTORIA

With assignments now in place, an agreement was drawn up that stated unless John Jacob Astor
provided orders to continue Astoria and necessary support and supplies were received,
Astoria would be abandoned -- July 1, 1813

Commander Duncan McDougall was empowered to arrange for sale of all posts, goods and furs
to the North West Company

Pace of activities at Astoria quickened

furs had to be baled, remaining trade goods packed, personal items secured
all of this activity caught the attention of the Chinook Indians who began to ask questions

ASTORIA COMMANDER DUNCAN McDOUGALL NEGOTIATES WITH THE NOR'WESTERS

Faced with the bleak prospect of being unable to trade for provisions with the natives

Astorians made a remarkable proposal to John George McTavish:

- Nor'Westers would acquire Astorians' Kootenai House and Fort Spokane
in return the North West Company would promise the Astorians a year's free hand
in the Willamette Valley using Willamette House and the Snake River region
- Astorians would make available to the Nor'Westers whatever goods they could spare
to be paid for [in the spring] with horses;
- Nor'Wester John George McTavish was also requested to forward dispatches to Astor
by way of the North West Company winter express

McTavish and McDougall further agreed not to reveal news about the War of 1812

to the neighboring Indians or the common laborers until the British warship arrived
North West Company's Columbia Department was thus divided with the Astorians

NOR'WESTER JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH TRAVELS FROM ASTORIA

Supplies from Astoria were loaded into North West Company canoes
to be taken to Fort Okanogan or Fort Spokane -- both now under the Nor'Westers' control
McTavish and his voyageurs set out up the Columbia River -- July 5, 1813
in addition to added trade goods and a promise of horses in exchange Astor's forts
McTavish carried private letters, reports and dispatches to be delivered to John Jacob Astor
by the usual (winter) North West Company overland express

ASTORIANS BEGIN THEIR JOURNEYS TO THEIR (WINTER) ASSIGNMENTS

Sixty-eight Astorians pushed up the Columbia River led by John Clarke -- July 5, 1813
David Stuart and clerk Alexander Ross set out for Fort Okanogan and the Thompson River
John Clarke set out the Clearwater River to conduct a (winter) trapping operation
Alexander Ross and John Reed began their travels to their respective trapping assignments
clerk John Reed to trap in the rugged regions of the Snake River

DONALD McKENZIE GOES TO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Donald McKenzie with four hunters, two clerks and six laborers
the left Astoria for Wallace House along the Willamette River at Champoege
in the Willamette Valley -- July 8, 1813
McKenzie set up a hunting camp to feed Duncan McDougall's force at Astoria,
he also journeyed back and forth along the Willamette River bartering for fish
in an effort to lower the strain on Astoria's limited supplies

TRADE EXPEDITIONS FROM ASTORIA ARRIVE AT THE UMATILLA RIVER

Astorians David Stuart, John Clarke, Alexander Ross and John Reed reached the Umatilla River
John Reed was the first expedition leader to leave for his assigned area on the Snake River plains
twenty-one year old Marie Dorion urged Reed to go across the Blue Mountains
Pierre Dorion advised doing this because of the desirability of setting up winter camp
as soon as possible
John Reed chose to disregard this advice
rather he chose to lead his party by some route, now unknown, to the Snake River

REMAINING ASTORIANS SEPARATE AT THE UMATILLA RIVER

After John Reed's departure the other three parties of Astoria trappers and traders continued up the Columbia River:

- John Clarke to McKenzie's Post on the Clearwater River
- David Stuart and clerk Alexander Ross to Fort Okanogan
with Stuart continuing on to the She Whap Indians (near today's Kamloops)

AMERICAN PRIVATEER SHIP HARASSES BRITISH SHIPPING IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN

While communicating with Spanish officials in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

British Rear Admiral Manley Dixon discovered that the American privateer *Essex* under Captain David Porter was operating in the Pacific Ocean
he had captured fourteen British whaling ships as prizes

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S ISAAC TODD REACHES RIO DE JANEIRO

North West Fur Company merchant ship *Isaac Todd* under Captain Fraser Smith had been provided a British naval escort vessel to Rio de Janeiro

HMS *Phoebe* under British Royal Navy Captain James Hillyar accompanied the *Isaac Todd*
Shaken by the activities of the American privateer Captain David Porter of the *Essex*
British Rear Admiral Manley Dixon decided to dispatch two additional war ships to convoy the *Isaac Todd* to the mouth of the Columbia River
in addition to the *Phoebe*, HMS *Raccoon* and HMS *Cherub* were assigned to escort duty
Captain Hillyar on HMS *Phoebe* led the four ship convoy

ISAAC TODD AND HER ROYAL NAVAL ESCORT DEPART FROM RIO DE JANEIRO

After a short stay to replenish supplies both ships sailed into the Atlantic Ocean

as instructed, *Phoebe's* Captain James Hillyar opened his secret orders -- July 10, 1813

he learned that his mission was to **“render every assistance in your power to the British traders from Canada and to destroy and if possible totally annihilate any settlements which the Americans may have formed on the Columbia River or on the neighboring coasts”**¹²³

after reading his orders Captain Hillyar requested Nor'Wester partner John McDonald of Garth come aboard the *Phoebe* to serve as a representative of the North West Company
in the event she arrived first at the Columbia River

North West Company partner Donald McTavish would remain on board the *Isaac Todd*

NORTH WEST COMPANY PARTNERS MEET AT FORT WILLIAM ON LAKE SUPERIOR

¹²³ Barry M. Gough, *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810 - 1914, P. 14.*

North West Company held its annual meeting of partners-in-the-field
at its Fort William headquarters on Lake Superior -- July 18, 1813
Nor'Wester leaders decided to follow-up on partner Angus Shaw's message
to his nephew John George McTavish regarding the arrival of a company supply ship
and navy escort to the Columbia River with renewed action
Alexander Henry the Younger, Alexander Stuart and James Keith were ordered
to lead the summer express across the Rocky Mountains with seventy-five Nor'Westers
to augment the company forces already in the West
in addition Alexander Henry the Younger was to locate a transport route
from New Caledonia (British Columbia) via the Fraser River and Lake Okanogan
to the Pacific just as though Columbia Department was already in British hands
Nor'Westers' supply brigade brought out such items as 208 axes of different sizes, 3,000 thimbles,
335 brass and copper kettles, fifty bright new rifles and a quarter ton of ammunition,
sacks of Chinese beads, 500 pounds of tobacco, 1,000 darning needles, 2,000 cheap rings,
quantities of blankets, yard goods, shirts and wholesale foodstuffs
ranging from rice, salt, dried salmon to molasses and vinegar

DAVID STUART AND ALEXANDER ROSS CONTINUE UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Traveling together both Astorians hurried up the Columbia River to Fort Okanogan
previously established by David Stuart at the mouth of the Okanogan River
David Stuart and his party stayed at Fort Okanogan for only two days
after supplying the post with trade goods and ammunition
Stuart left clerk Alexander Ross in charge of the post where he was to spend the (winter)
and continued to the Thompson River operation among the She Whap Indians
(near today's Kamloops, British Columbia) to close that operation

ASTORIA COMMANDER DUNCAN McDOUGALL TAKES A COMPANION

McDougall was now less concerned with managing affairs at Astoria but eager to assure security
Commander Duncan McDougall sought the good will of the neighboring Chinook Indians
by wooing the head-flattened, oil-anointed eldest daughter of crafty old Comcomly
the tribe's one-eyed chief
Comcomly demanded the high price of fifteen guns, fifteen blankets and assorted small trinkets
McDougall took his companion -- July 20, 1813
Mrs. (Princess Choim) McDougall expressed a less than buoyant attitude toward her marital status
looking out of the window of her home one day she saw a large hog
that was rolling in the mud and basking in the sun

Choim called her husband to the scene and commented, **“You profess to be a Chief, but I see you hard at work every day, behind the counter, at the desk, and your time is so fully employed that you scarcely have time to eat your food, or to enjoy the society of your wife a moment.”**

pointing to the hog she noted, **“See there, that is the true chief; he has no labors to perform like a slave, when hungry his food is served him; he fills himself and then lies down in the cool mud, under the influence of the warming rays of the sun, sleeps, and takes his comfort.”**¹²⁴

ISAAC TODD PROVES TO BE A SLOW SHIP

Leaving Rio de Janeiro North West Company merchant ship *Isaac Todd* proved to be very slow because of the added weight of twenty cannons that arrangements were made to rendezvous with *Phoebe*, *Raccoon* and *Cherub* off the coast of Chile *Isaac Todd* sailed as best she could on her own in a gale off the coast of South America she became separated from her British Navy escort she failed to arrive for an appointed rendezvous off the Juan Fernandez Islands, Chile in the South Pacific (she would arrive five months late)

While waiting for the *Isaac Todd*, British Royal Navy Captain James Hillyar of the *Phoebe* considered his orders to capture or destroy any American facility he found on the Columbia River before planting the British flag on the ruins to the *Raccoon*'s Captain William Black Captain Hillyar decided to transfer North West Company partner John McDonald of Garth who was part of *Phoebe*'s cargo to the *Raccoon*

JOHN REED'S EXPEDITION REACHES THE SNAKE RIVER

John Reed led his party composed of hunters Pierre Dorion and Pierre Delaunay and voyageurs Francis Landry, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte, Andre La Chapelle and Gilles Le Clerk Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor along with two American free trappers William Canning (or Cannon) and Alexander Carson also Marie Dorion and her two children traveled with the party into the Snake River country They reached the mouth of the Weiser River (Oregon) where it enters the Snake River -- August 1813 two American free trappers William Canning (or Cannon) and Alexander Carson set out on their own beaver hunt

AN UNKNOWN SHIP ENTERS THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall was sitting with his wife Mrs. (Princess Choim) McDougall at their table when her brother, Gassacop, burst in

¹²⁴ Laura B. Downey Bartlett. *Student History of the Northwest and the State of Washington*, P. 118.

he announced a sail was seen off the mouth of the Columbia -- about noon August 20, 1812
McDougall, thinking this might be the anticipated North West Company ship hurried to the river,
jumped into a boat and ordered the hands to pull with all speed for the river's mouth of the river
those who remained at Astoria watched the entrance to the river
anxious to know if they would be greeting a friend or fighting an enemy
anxiety became intense until an American flag was seen on the ship
shouts of joy and cannon salutes thundered from the post
Duncan McDougall was seen to go aboard the ship where he stayed until late afternoon
Astorians along the river bank watched with straining eyes as the sun went down
evening was near before the ship was seen to be the *Albatross* under Captain William Smith
just arrived from the Hawaiian Islands and carrying Wilson Price Hunt
she came to anchor across the Columbia River from Astoria and fired a return salute
Duncan McDougall came ashore accompanied by Wilson Price Hunt
who was greeted like someone returning from the dead

WILSON PRICE HUNT LEARNS OF PLANS TO ABANDON ASTORIA

When Wilson Price Hunt learned of the decision of Duncan McDougall and Donald McKenzie
to abandon the Pacific Fur Company enterprise he was extremely exasperated -- August 20, 1813
but events had moved far beyond any possibility to oppose the decision
Hunt's own experiences had been discouraging and the amount of John Jacob Astor's money
that had been required to maintain the enterprise was far greater than Hunt thought acceptable
little by little Hunt came to accept the partners' decision
his only concern now was that Astor lose no more money
(Hunt did not understand the vast amounts of money that Astor was willing to invest)

HUNT MAKES ARRANGEMENTS TO SAIL TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

There were a large numbers of furs at Astoria which needed to go to market
and there were twenty-five Kanakas (Hawaiians) who needed to be returned to their homeland
as had been agreed to in their contract with the Pacific Fur Company
it was obvious a ship was necessary
but *Albatross* was already under contract to carry sandalwood to Canton, China
by way of the Marquesas Islands and the Hawaiian Islands
she could not be used to carry Americans to a safe port on the Eastern seaboard
Duncan McDougall agreed that Hunt would accompany the *Albatross* to the Sandwich Islands
to deliver the Kanakas to their homeland
Hunt would acquire another ship and return to Astoria by {January 1, 1814} if possible

bringing supplies and provisions to the post for the voyage to the east coast
if something happened to Hunt, it was proposed that Nor'Wester John George McTavish
be allowed to hire all the Astorians the North West Company could afford to pay
North West Company would be reimbursed these expenses from goods at Astoria
it was further decided that these arrangements, if they became necessary,
would be negotiated by Duncan McDougall

WILSON PRICE HUNT SAILS FOR THE MARQUEAS AND HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Captain William Smith agreed to carry Wilson Price Hunt back to the Sandwich Islands
where he could make arrangements for another ship to return to Astoria
while the *Albatross* proceeded on to the Marquesas Islands

Hunt was expected to sail back to the Columbia River with a new ship sometime in [January 1814]
Astorians could then take passage to the East coast after filling the Pacific Fur Company
contract for supplies with the Russians at New Archangel

However, disappointed so many times before, the Astorians had little confidence in this plan
an option was negotiated by Duncan McDougall and the others: **“Having already experienced
so many unforeseen disasters in the prosecution of our plans and Human life being so uncertain, it
is hereby agreed and concluded that Wilson Price Hunt draw three sets of exchange on John Jacob
Astor of New York to the amount of \$20,000 to be left with Duncan McDougall in case of being
disappointed in said Wilson Price Hunt’s return, to meet the demands of our people at St. Louis or
elsewhere.”**¹²⁵

once Hunt had sailed to Hawaii, McDougall was in full command of Astoria **“...to conclude any
arrangements we may be able to make with whoever may come forward on the part of the North
West Company.”**¹²⁶

In an effort to save what he could, Hunt departed from Astoria on the *Albatross*
after a visit of only six days at Astoria -- August 26, 1813
bound for the Hawaiian Islands by way of the Marquesas Islands
to take home thirty-two Kanakas (Hawaiians)
and find another ship for Wilson Price Hunt

JOHN REED’S PARTY CONTINUES UP THE SNAKE RIVER

John Reed, his nine Astorians along with Marie Dorion and her two children
and two independent American fur trappers reached a large Shoshone village on the Snake River

¹²⁵ James P. Rondo, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 286.

¹²⁶ James P. Rondo, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 286.

Less than a month after leaving the Columbia River

Reed's party arrived at Caldron Linn -- September 1813

there the remaining contents of the two or three caches left by Wilson Price Hunt
that had not been disturbed were retrieved

Reed then led this party to the Malheur River area of the Snake River plains today's eastern Oregon)

ALEXANDER ROSS REACHES FORT OKANOGAN

Alexander Ross expected to spend (winter) on the Okanogan River without rivals -- September 1813

he was surprised by the unannounced arrival of some seventy-five Nor'Westers headed to Astoria
with the summer supply brigade

they were led by Alexander Henry the Younger, John Stuart and James Keith

they had journeyed from North West Company headquarters at Fort William [July 1813]

Nor'Westers carried copies of newspapers dated [June 1813]

that carried stories of American defeat after defeat to both the British and the Canadians

Alexander Henry the Younger had succeeded in luring Astor's partner John Clarke

who had closed McKenzie's Post on the Clearwater River

into joining North West Company with promises of a quick promotion

NORTH WEST COMPANY SUPPLY BRIGADE REACHES COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Alexander Ross expected to spend (winter) on the Okanogan River without rivals -- September 1813

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JOHN REED'S ASTORIANS CONSTRUCT A BUILDING ALONG THE MALHEUR RIVER

John Reed was instructed to trap and trade on the Snake River plains along the Malheur River

Reed directed construction of a house along the Boise River as a (winter) shelter -- September 1813

located between Bully Creek and Willow Creek (near today's Vale, Oregon)

his party of Astorians was composed of French-Canadian voyageurs Francis Landry,

Jean Baptiste Turcotte, Andre la Chapelle and Gilles Le Clerc

hunters Pierre Delaunay and Pierre Dorion with his wife Marie and their two children

and Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor

while the others were out trapping Reed and one other man usually remained at the post

with Marie Dorion and her sons Baptiste and Paul
Natives in the area had a reputation as being friendly
but when the Reed Party arrived they became troublesome
these Indians asked for guns and ammunition which Reed refused to provide
because of two hostile acts committed by the natives:

- Andre La Chapelle had his great-coat stolen from him,
- an arrow was sunk into the flank of one of the horses

Reed's expedition was forced to relocate
as good judgment dictated they move from this location -- Astorians' house was abandoned
(it was later burned by the natives)

JOHN REED AND HIS PARTY BUILD REED'S POST ON THE BOISE RIVER

John Reed led his six Astorians and three Kentuckians
accompanied by Marie Dorion and her two children away from the Malheur River
back up the Snake River to the mouth of the Boise River
there Reed and his men worked with a will to build another house -- Reed's Post
on the banks of the Snake River near the mouth of the Boise River
(in the vicinity of present-day Caldwell, Idaho)

JOHN REED'S POST ALONG THE BOISE RIVER IS COMPETED

John Reed's Boise River post served as base for a (fall and winter hunt) on the Snake River plains
it served as protection for the trappers, their trade goods and supplies
his party of Astorians was composed of hunters Pierre Dorion and Pierre Delaunay
voyageurs Francis Landry, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte, Andre La Chapelle
and Gilles Le Clerc
and Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
as usual Dorion was accompanied by his wife and two children Baptiste and Paul
Parties of trappers were sent out to search for potential locations to establish remote trapping camps
Pierre Delaunay who was by disposition sullen, mean and moody set out alone
(he was not heard from again)
Marie Dorion managed the base camp while the men were gone sometimes for days at a time
she cooked and dressed pelts, made and mended clothing and took care of her two boys
friendly Shoshone Indians often visited the Astorians at their post

DONALD "FATS" MCKENZIE RETURNS TO ASTORIA

Donald McKenzie had led a party of four hunters, two clerks and six laborers to Wallace House

at Champoeg in the Willamette Valley to acquire supplies for the Astorians remaining at Astoria
this plan worked very well and McKenzie successfully hunted for food to sustain Astoria
McKenzie set out from Champoeg with two clerks
traveling down the Willamette River to the Columbia River -- October 2, 1813
they continued down the Columbia toward Astoria

ASTORIANS AND NOR'WESTERS MAKE CAMP

Both the Astorians and the Nor'Westers made camp together that night -- October 5, 1813
leaders of the two expeditions maintained a friendly atmosphere
although the North West Company voyageurs were less polite
they anticipated a British invasion of Astoria and the conquering of the Pacific Northwest
during the evening Donald McKenzie met secretly with his clerks
they decided to quietly break camp before daylight to rush to inform Duncan McDougall
McKenzie's plan failed the next morning when they were joined by the ever-alert McTavish
accompanied by two North West Company clerks and eleven men
this vanguard was to travel to Astoria leaving the remaining Nor'Westers behind
to await orders and protect their large quantity of furs ready to be shipped to market
with his scheme shattered Donald McKenzie and John George McTavish
both set out down the Columbia River on their way to Astoria

NOR'WESTER JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH ARRIVES AT ASTORIA

John George McTavish with his two clerks and eleven voyageurs reached Astoria -- October 7, 1813
so sudden an arrival of so many Nor'Westers stunned Duncan McDougall and the Astorians
(McTavish had previously visited Astoria [April 1813] and had stayed several months
awaiting the arrival of North West Company ship *Isaac Todd* and her military escort)
this time they expected the North West Company merchant ship *Isaac Todd*
and her escort ship to already be at the mouth of the Columbia River
Pacific Fur Company clerk Gabriel Franchere recorded the arrival of the Nor'Westers: **“Mr
McTavish visited us and gave us a letter addressed to him by Mr A[ngus] Shaw, one of the agents of
the North West Company, in which this gentleman informed him that the *Isaac Todd* had sailed last
March [1813] from London in company with the English frigate *Phoebe*, which was coming under
government orders for the express purpose of taking possession of our post, which had been**

represented to the Lords of the Admiralty as a colony established by the American government on the banks of the Columbia River”¹²⁷

John George McTavish’s thirteen Nor’Westers set up camp outside the walls of Astoria under the Pacific Fur Company’s guns where they raised the British colors
McTavish and his men took on the airs of invaders
some of the North West Company voyageurs could not help chuckling
that soon the British would be in control of Astoria
and the Americans would be driven out of the country

COMMANDER DUNCAN McDOUGALL EXPLAINS THE SITUATION TO HIS ASTORIANS

Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall read the letter from Angus Shaw carried by McTavish
Shaw was McDougall’s uncle and a principal partner in the North West Company
Shaw had reported the coming of the *Isaac Todd* and HMS *Phoebe*
“to take and destroy everything American on the northwest coast.”¹²⁸

Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall believed this was a disaster for the Astorians
as everything could be lost to the British

Astor’s partners and employees were themselves almost all British subjects
and former North West Company employees
even so, the Americans working at Astoria were greatly insulted
by the British flag flying outside of their post
they were also disturbed by the offensive actions of the Nor’Westers
these patriotic Americans were not frightened by the proposed arrival of British ships
because they would have to anchor many miles from Astoria and any boats sent to invade
could easily be destroyed by Astoria’s cannons -- after all there was a war going on
Astor’s employees at Astoria wanted to nail the American colors to the flagpole
but Pacific Fur Company Commander Duncan McDougall forbid the gesture

STATUS OF ASTORIA HAS CHANGED

With Pacific Fur Company Commander Wilson Price Hunt gone from Astoria once again
Astor’s partners at the post Duncan McDougall, Donald Mackenzie and John Clarke
were in a predicament because the Pacific Fur Company had already been dissolved
all that remained was the stock of trading goods, supplies, furs and the posts
if the British war ships arrived it would not be necessary for the Nor’Westers

¹²⁷ Gabriel Franchere, *Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America during the Years 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814*, P. 129.

¹²⁸ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, P. 436.

to give the Americans anything at all for the Astorians' assets
those Astorians remaining at the post had expected to wait behind their fortified walls
and enjoy a quiet (winter) before leaving for St. Louis [July 1, 1814]
these plans were now dashed by the arrival of Nor'Wester John George McTavish
if the British war ships arrived the Nor'Westers would simply capture Astoria
and take possession of all Pacific Fur Company assets and trading posts
Commander Duncan McDougall was a man who always viewed the darkest side of any situation
once again he was stampeded by the first hint of trouble

JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH MAKES AN OFFER TO BUY OUT THE PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

John George McTavish knew he could not stay long in his exposed camp under the guns of Astoria
he was low on supplies -- food shortages forced him to purchase provisions from the Astorians
also the Nor'Westers were protected from the Indians by the guns and good will of the Astorians
Nor'Wester John George McTavish approached the Duncan McDougall -- October 8, 1813
McTavish felt the *Isaac Todd* and HMS *Phoebe* were due to arrive at any moment
McTavish made what he believed was a reasonable offer to John Jacob Astor's partners at Astoria
he would buy all of the holdings of the Pacific Fur Company including Astoria,
Fort Okanagan on the Columbia River, Fort Spokane on the Spokane River,
and small outposts on the Clearwater, Clark Fork, Kootenai and Thompson rivers
everything from kitchen utensils and blacksmith tools, to furs and buildings
at a price approximately ten per cent above cost
salaries of the Pacific Fur Company employees would be paid and jobs provided
for those men who decided to switch allegiance to the Nor'Westers
McTavish's argument was simple: why risk death and destruction

ASTORIANS CONSIDER NOR'WESTER JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH'S PROPOSAL

Partners Donald Mackenzie and John Clarke empowered Astoria Commander Duncan McDougall
to negotiate the terms of sale of the Pacific Fur Company
in the event Wilson Price Hunt did not return from the Hawaiian Islands
in time to save the post for Astor
Duncan McDougall refused McTavish's offer and proposed terms better for the Astorians
but not at a price high enough to satisfy Astor's other partners
John George McTavish refused to negotiate with the Astorians -- October 8, 1813
he insisted on his offer was the only proposal he would accept

REMAINDER OF JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH'S NOR'WESTERS ARRIVE AT ASTORIA

North West Company fleet of canoes from the confluence of the Walla Walla and Columbia rivers arrived at Astoria where they joined John George McTavish's camp outside the walls of Astoria. Another round of negotiations was undertaken with the Nor'Westers assuming the role of victors. Astorians watched the scene with indignation and impatience; they were disgusted with the attitude of the Nor'Westers and with Duncan McDougall who they felt was both disloyal and spineless instead of remaining inside Astoria and receiving counter-offers; he continually visited the Nor'Westers' camp outside the walls of Astoria.

DUNCAN McDOUGALL BELIEVES THE SITUATION AT ASTORIA IS HOPELESS

Duncan McDougall convened a meeting of Astor's partners and clerks to discuss how to proceed in dealing with Nor'Wester John George McTavish -- October 9, 1813. In spite of escalating complications they faced most of the Americans at Astoria and some of the French-Canadians (and many later students of history) felt the Astorians should have put up a fight counting their Chinook allies, the Astorians' force was at least as strong as their rivals who were short of food. It was obvious the anticipated British warship could be easily evaded by loading their furs into canoes and retreating to an unnavigable tributary of the Columbia River where a large British warship could not enter.

ASTORIANS AND NOR'WESTERS COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING REGARDING ASTORIA

Duncan McDougall and Donald McKenzie were determined to abandon the Pacific Fur Company and cross the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis (they planned to depart July 1, 1814). Both McDougall and McKenzie felt they needed to reach a quick decision to their minds the safest course was to sell out to the North West Company. McDougall told John George McTavish that much remained to be settled -- October 12, 1813 there are two clues as to why the Astorians seriously considered the Nor'Westers' offer. Gabriel Franchere noted in his diary: **"Situated as we were expecting every day to see a warship arrive to deprive us of what little we had, we listened to those proposals and after several consultations set a price upon our furs and our remaining merchandise."**¹²⁹ Duncan McDougall in his will [1817] stated he hoped it might be known: **"...how much and how unjustly my character and reputation has suffered and been injured by the malicious and ungenerous conduct of some of my late associates in the later Pacific Fur Company -- And I here**

¹²⁹ James P. Rondo, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 288.

declare in the most solemn manner that I did every thing in my power to do the utmost justice to the trust and confidence reposed in me by John Jacob Astor....and the charge that devolved upon me in consequence of Wilson Price Hunt's absence, agreeable of and in conformity with the resolves of the Company, passed and signed by my associates and myself in the months of June, July, and August 1813, and the meaning and tenor of our agreement with aforementioned John Jacob Astor."¹³⁰

BARGAINING CONTINUES THE NEXT DAY

Duncan McDougall and John George McTavish continued to negotiate -- October 13, 1813
discussions quickly sank into a mire to accusations and protests
As was to be expected the main problem was the price
goods and furs had to be inventoried and priced prices and arrangements made for the employees
McDougall was willing to sell, but only at a high rate
he demanded full New York and Montreal prices -- McTavish demanded discounts
McTavish promptly left the post in a huff and returned to his camp outside the walls

DUNCAN McDOUGALL AND DONALD McKENZIE HIT ON A SCHEME

McDougall and McKenzie became so provoked by the superior attitude of John George McTavish
that they devised a plan to bring matters to a head
Astorians closed the gates of their post and manned the bastions
they trained the post's guns on John George McTavish's camp of Nor'Westers
Astorians sent a message giving the Nor'Westers a choice
close the sale in two hours or move to other quarters and get off Astor's property
John George McTavish had no intention of retaliating to the threat
as the post's defenses made such a venture foolhardy
besides Duncan McDougall's recent marriage to Chief Comcomly's daughter
made the Indians a strong possible ally to the Americans
also, McTavish wanted to conclude the sale before (winter) arrived

ASTOR'S SUPPLY SHIP *LARK* APPROACHES THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Lark approached the Hawaiian Islands but was not yet in sight of land as a gale sprang up
which blew with tremendous violence buffeting the ship -- October 13, 1813
mountains of water swept over the ship causing her to roll over on her side
orders were given by Captain Samuel Northrup to cut away the masts

¹³⁰ James P. Rondo, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 289.

but in the confusion the boats were also cut adrift and all of the hatch covers were removed
as recalled by Captain Samuel Northrop, **“The Ship was almost keelout. Being destitute of experienced officers and a greate parte [sic] of the Crew young and unacquainted with any kind of Seaman Ship [sic], we ware [sic] in greate Confusion and disorder”**¹³¹

when the hulk was righted *Lark* was full of water with heavy seas washing over her
she was kept afloat only by a number of casks of rum in the hold
When the masts had been cut away and began floating the rigging held them close to the ship
Lark lay on her side rolling in the heavy waves with masts and spars banging against her
half drowned crewmen clung to the floating masts or stood on debris in water up to their waists
being beaten against the ship by the sea and unable to escape
one man was missing and was later found drowned under the forecastle (front deck)
Lark filled with water until her superstructure alone was above water
Lark eventually was righted but she was mostly under water
she remained in this condition for four days and nights
sailors dared not sleep for fear they would let go and be swept away
the only dry place on the ship was the bowsprit and they took turns being tied to it
for half an hour at a time -- this was the only opportunity for sleep
Survivors using broken spars finally succeeded in building a make-shift platform
that were pieced together into a deck out of reach of the waves
so they could keep themselves dry and sleep comfortably
(this became a precarious perch for the crewmen for sixteen days)
Lark's first mate died at his post and was swept away by the surging ocean -- October 14, 1813

TALKS REGARDING OWNERSHIP OF ASTORIA AND THE OTHER POSTS CONTINUE

Still no supply ship *Isaac Todd* or British war ship were to be seen
uncertainty now began to afflict the Nor'Westers
suppose American ships had swept the sea clear of all British shipping
Both Astorians and Nor'Westers met again to settle accounts -- October 14, 1813
once again John George McTavish took on the role of conqueror
expecting the Americans to become the vanquished
once again North West Company proposals were received with indignation and impatience
by all of Astor's partners -- with the exception of Duncan McDougall

YET ANOTHER ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING THE FUTURE OF ASTORIA OPENS

¹³¹ James P. Rondo, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 286.

Donald McKenzie and John Clarke pointed out the Astorians' position was far from desperate
Astorians could hold out for their own terms in the negotiations
they were well housed and had ample provisions
they had sixty armed men with ammunition, boats and everything necessary
to defend themselves or to retreat
if an enemy might appear they could pack up the most valuable part of their property
and move to some place to hide -- or escape into the interior
Nor'Westers, on the other hand, were camped under the guns of the Astorians' post
they had little ammunition and few goods to trade with the Indians for provisions
they were so destitute they had to be fed from the Astorians' store of food
even as John George McTavish negotiated the purchase of Pacific Fur Company assets
they could hold out for better terms as the Astorians possessed food and trade goods,
Nor'Wester McTavish proposed an interesting bargain to Astorian Duncan McDougall
McTavish offered to purchase necessary supplies from the Astorians for \$858 to be paid
in horses or any other goods acceptable to Astor's four partners the following (spring)
Duncan McDougall chose to ignore the facts pointed out by McKenzie and Clarke
he lowered his asking price to meet that proposed by Nor'Wester John George McTavish
in addition both sides also agreed that during the coming weeks
they would not compete against each other when trading with the natives

DUNCAN McDOUGALL AGREES TO JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH'S TERMS

Passage home for the Kanakas (Hawaiians) was the last item to be arranged
John George McTavish promised North West Company would pay their passage and wages
each Kanaka was to receive a new gun, supplies of powder and three pounds of tobacco
Negotiations were completed and an agreement was reached -- October 16, 1813
North West Company would take possession of the Pacific Fur Company's Astoria,
Fort Spokane, Fort Okanogan their furs and merchandise for a little less than \$40,000
Pacific Fur Company had sold seventeen thousand pounds of beaver
and two thousand other skins worth upwards of \$100,000
North West Company would provide safe passage to all who desired to leave the country
and did not want to join with the Nor'Westers
back wages for the Astorians would be paid by the North West Company
with that expense deducted from the price paid for Astoria
total cost to the North West Company was \$58,291.02
this was an absurd sum considering the advantages the North West Company was receiving:
•Russian trade alone was worth many times that amount;

- Astor placed the value of his holdings at \$200,000:
 - in real value the furs alone were worth in excess of \$100,000,
 - additional goods purchased were worth at least another \$100,000

in the way of business, North West Company claimed a £3,000 loss

McTavish and McDougall also agreed not to reveal news about the War of 1812 to the neighboring Indians or the common laborers until the British warship arrived

Control of Astoria was transferred from American to British hands

Pacific Fur Company ceased to exist as the British flag was unfurled above the post

Pacific Fur Company would receive payment -- North West Company would gain the post

North West Company now had the coastal port they had long desired

Duplicate copies of the Bill of Sale of Pacific Fur Company to the North West Company were written

WRECKAGE OF THE *LARK* CLAIMS MORE VICTIMS

Two sailors, faint and exhausted were washed overboard -- October 17, 1813

but the waves threw their bodies back on the deck where they remained washing back and forth

a ghastly vision for the survivors

supercargo Nicholas G. Odgen called to the men nearest the bodies to fasten them to wreck

as a last horrible resource to ward off starvation if necessary

As the gale gradually subsided and the sea became calmer

sailors crawled feebly about the wreck clearing spars away -- October 17, 1813

anchors and cannons were thrown overboard and the bowsprit was rigged as a mast

waves continually broke over the *Lark* with such force the steersman had to be lashed to the helm

famine and thirst continued to take their toll on the men

these discomforts diminished when one Kanaka, an expert swimmer,

was able to enter the cabin and bring out a few bottles of wine

subsequent trips into the cabin resulted in rum and a quarter cask of wine being delivered

and a little raw pork was distributed among the sailors

TRANSFER OF ASTORIA TO THE NORTH WEST COMPANY IS COMPLETE

Duncan McDougall and his Astorians got down to the business of transferring Astoria to the North West Company -- October 18, 1813

clerks prepared inventories of goods and supplies

all the trade goods including blankets, knives, beads, cotton fabrics

and foodstuffs such as brandy, gin, flour and rice were identified and recorded

John Jacob Astor had invested \$400,000 -- most of the merchandise was gone

Duncan McDougall gave John George McTavish the keys to Astoria's storehouse -- October 22, 1813
in reality, whoever controlled the storehouse controlled the future of the region

John George McTavish and his Nor'Westers broke camp

and prepared to occupy their newly purchased post

(Throughout the rest of 1813 the Astorians and Nor'Westers shared a common life

they enjoyed a great deal of visiting and socializing as they waited for the British warship
which Nor'Wester John George McTavish continually declared was expected daily)

SOME ASTORIANS ARE SUSPICIOUS REGARDING DUNCAN McDOUGALL'S INTENTIONS

Duncan McDougall's motives were strongly questioned by Astor's other partners

they said he abused his position as commander

and sacrificed the interest of Astor and his partners

in the promise or hope of personally advancing in the North West Company

McDougall, however, insisted he had made the best bargain possible for John Jacob Astor

with the British frigate expected in the very near future -- then all would have been lost

(in fact, Duncan McDougall became a partner in the North West Company

he received a share in the company and a handsome income)

In the end, Astor's partners agreed to terms unfavorable to Astor for several reasons:

- they had national ties with the other Scotsmen of the North West Company,
- there were personal conflicts among John Jacob Astor's partners,
- there was a general feeling that Astor had insulted them by ignoring them
and would sacrifice them to the British

GAINS HAD BEEN MADE IN OREGON BY THE ASTORIANS BUT AT A HIGH COST

On the positive side:

- two parties, Wilson Price Hunt and Robert Stuart, had crossed the continent overland
by routes far different than that used by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark;
- after two years on the Okanogan and Spokane rivers vast regions had been thoroughly explored
as Astor's men took out 140 packs of furs
they had become familiar with Eastern Washington, Northern Idaho
and southern British Columbia;
- Willamette Valley had been opened to trappers and traders in the area of Champoege

On the negative side:

- John Jacob Astor had lost two ships -- *Tonquin* and *Lark*;
- altogether approximately sixty men had lost their lives:
-twenty-seven with the *Tonquin*,

- Snake River country claimed nine,
- eight crossing the Columbia River bar with Captain Thorn,
- the *Lark* took at least eight more,
- five with Wilson Price Hunt on the overland journey,
- three at Astoria,
- (one final victim lost his life just as the Americans were leaving for home)

TRAPPING COMPANY EMPLOYEES BECAME PERMANENT SETTLERS OF OREGON

Fourteen Astorians of the Pacific Fur Company remained permanently in Oregon:

Louis L. Bonte, William Canning (Cannon), Alexander Carson, (Kanaka) John Coxe, Pierre Dorion, Marie Dorion, Jean Baptiste Dubreuil, Joseph Gervais, Michel Laframbois, Etienne Lucier, Jean McKay, Francois Payette, George Ramsey and “Sailor Jack”

Twenty North West Company men remained permanently in Oregon:

Andre Belanger, Alexis Bellant, Julian Bernier, Angus Bethune, Augustin Boisvert, Jean Baptiste Bouchard, Michel Boullard, Antoine Cayalle, Joseph Cire, Michel Cotenoir, Joseph Gailloux, William Henry, Francois Latour, Etienne Longtain, Louis Majeau, Joseph Mochcomau, Antoine Moineau, Thomas Ocanasawaret, Amable Quesnel and Charles Rondeau

REMAINS OF THE *LARK* MAKES SLOW PROGRESS UNDER A SCANTY SAIL

With the bowsprit jury-rigged as a mast the wreck of the *Lark* slowly drifted toward land for a week numerous sharks swam about the *Lark* patiently waiting for their prey

when the cook died he was thrown overboard and was instantly seized -- October 24, 1813

Crewmen came within sight of the island of Maui about ten miles away -- October 25, 1813

this happy event was cloaked with fear as the sailors knew that when the ship struck the beach

it would be impossible to keep her from breaking up

their only hope was the reach land in native canoes and protect the wreckage

(for three more days they continued to drift within sight of the shore)

CREWMEN OF THE *LARK* SEE A CANOE APPROACHING

Sandwich Island natives came alongside the *Lark*

and brought a supply of potatoes -- October 28, 1813

Lark's second mate and a sailor went ashore in a of the canoe for water and provisions

and to get help from the natives in towing the wreck into a harbor

neither of the men returned nor was any assistance sent from shore

MORE NATIVES CANOES PADDLE OUT TO THE *LARK*

Ten or twelve canoes came alongside but they simply roamed around the wreck like the sharks they would give no help in towing the remains of the stricken ship to land -- October 29, 1813 Wreckage of the *Lark* finally reached the shore of (Maui) where all of the remaining sailors were able to scramble to the safety of the beach -- however, at least eight men had perished all of the survivors were immediately surrounded by the natives and stripped almost naked Wreckage of the *Lark* drifted ashore throughout the night numerous casks of provisions floated on the tide these were collected by the natives who wanted the iron hoops members of the crew were not allowed to gather the contents or to go on board the wreck When he got the opportunity supercargo Nicholas G. Ogden managed to slip away and make his way to the island of Oahu where he made arrangements with the Hawaiian king to assist his unfortunate companions however, the wreck of the *Lark* had to be given to the king this demand was agreed to by Mr. Ogden

SOME OF JOHN REED'S MEN ESTABLISH A SMALLER OUTPOST

John Reed and his party of trappers accompanied by Marie Dorion and her two sons had settled into Reed's Post on Snake River near the mouth of the Boise River (in the vicinity of today's Caldwell, Idaho) Pierre Dorion, Giles Le Clerc and Jacob Reznor traveled up the Boise River about five days distance from Reed's Post to an area well stocked with beaver they constructed a rude hut in this remote area and proceeded to work a beaver trap line

WILSON PRICE HUNT ARRIVES IN THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

Hunt had only just arrived in the Marquesas Islands -- November 15, 1813 when the islands were visited by the America war ship *Essex* under Captain David Porter who had made a sweeping cruise of the Pacific Ocean he brought with him a number of London whalers as prizes of war Captain Porter gave Wilson Price Hunt alarming news that the British frigate *Phoebe* was accompanying a British supply ship mounted with cannons to attack Astoria this ship was sailing from Rio de Janeiro accompanied by sloops-of-war *Cherub* and *Raccoon* bound for the mouth of the Columbia River Wilson Price Hunt became very concerned about the safety of Astoria he had been eager to remove all of the property there with as little loss as possible now it appeared the whole venture would be captured by the British Navy

it would be impossible to charter a ship in the Hawaiian Islands
when word the invasion was delivered to the islanders by Captain Porter
Hunt offered to purchase one of the whaling ships brought in by Captain Porter
but the American captain demanded \$25,000-- an impossibly high price
Captain Porter did tell Hunt he would sail the *Essex* to Astoria if the situation was warranted
but Porter was not sure that action would ever be warranted

MORE NORTH WEST COMPANY MEN ARRIVE AT ASTORIA

North West Company partners Alexander Henry the Younger and Alexander Stewart accompanied by
John Stuart, clerk James Keith and eighteen men of the Nor'Westers' supply brigade
traveling by canoe across the continent from Fort William on the shores of Lake Superior
arrived at Astoria -- November 15, 1813

John Stuart was the same explorer who had been with Simon Fraser
on the first waterborne voyage of the Tacoutche-Tesse (Fraser River)
Alexander Henry the Younger's party had been instructed to travel down the Columbia River
to assist Nor'Wester John George McTavish at Astoria
Alexander Henry was quite surprised to learn the *Isaac Todd* had not yet arrived
Pacific Fur Company clerk Gabriel Franchere recorded their arrival: **"They brought us some
Canadian newspapers, from which we learned that to date British arms had had the advantage.
They also confirm the news that a frigate was to come to seize our former establishment and they
even seemed surprised not to see the *Isaac Todd* in the roadstead."**¹³²

Alexander Henry the Younger found John Gorge McTavish
and his party of Nor'Westers at Astoria
both the Nor'Westers and the Astorians were running low on trade goods
Nor'Westers anxiously awaited the arrival of their supply ship and her armed escort
all the time fearing the sudden appearance of an American warship
Meanwhile, the Astorians found themselves in limbo
it was impossible to estimate whether an American ship might reach the Columbia River
anytime soon to carry them back to New York and it was too late in the fall
to attempt to cross the Rocky Mountains
Nor'Westers had agreed that their former rivals could remain in their posts (until spring)
when the overland route to the United States would be open
Nor'Westers hired several Astorian clerks and workers for their expanded operations

¹³² Gabriel Franchere, *Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America during the Years 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814*, P. 131

WILSON PRICE HUNT REMAINS STRANDED IN THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

Albatross remained in the Marquesas Islands conducting business
while Wilson Price Hunt grew increasingly concerned and frustrated
Albatross finally set sail for the Hawaiian Islands -- November 23, 1813
Hunt continued to hope that John Jacob Astor had sent another supply ship
that would stop in Hawaii to deliver him to Astoria

MYSTRY SHIP IS SIGHTED ENTERING BAKER BAY

Nervous Astorians and anxious Nor'Westers had been keeping a close eye
on the mouth of the Columbia River for a ship
Confusion at Astoria became complete -- November 30, 1813
Joseph Ashton reported the vessel fired no signal guns and she was flying a white ensign
this flag was used by both British and American ships
if she was American privateer she would bolster the American presence on the Columbia
and what would be the status of North West Company's newly-acquired possession
if she was British where was her accompanying ship
Nor'Westers wondered how they would explain to the captain
that Astoria had been purchased and the ship's voyage was unnecessary
Whoever's ship she was bad weather kept her anchored isolated in Baker Bay

DUNCAN McDUGALL AND JOHN GEORGE McTAVISH WORK OUT A PLAN

Duncan McDougall, who at least nominally remain in charge of Astoria,
launched a canoe manned by himself and former Astorians John Halsey, Joseph Ashton
and several others -- mid-morning November 30, 1813
they paddled for the ship and were to tell the captain they were either American or British
depending on the nationality of the ship
As an added precaution, Nor'Wester John George McTavish hastily filled two canoes
with furs and supplies and scurried them to safety up the Columbia River
out of sight behind Tongue Point three miles up the river
there he waited for a signal from McDougall indicating the nationality of the ship
if she was British all was well for the Nor'Westers
if American McTavish would have a head start to carry the furs to the interior

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BLACK ANNOUNCES HIS ARRIVAL

Raccoon, *Cherub* and *Phoebe* provided a military escort for North West Company's *Isaac Todd*

Captain William Black had orders to destroy any American settlements on the Pacific Coast
Raccoon arrived ahead of the others

Captain Black dispatched an armed cutter to the fort to find a place to tie off

Raccoon's cutter had not proceeded very far when a large birchbark canoe approached
carrying Duncan McDougall, chief agent of Astor's Pacific Fur Company

McDougall was ushered aboard the ship

Captain Black reported North West Company Partner John McDonald of Garth
was aboard the *Raccoon* -- he was to take charge of Astoria for the North West Company
also being carried as a passenger was the Kanaka (Hawaiian) John Coxe
who had boarded the ship in London and had returned to Astoria
because he was familiar with the Columbia River bar he acted as pilot

About 9:30 that night, the air was filled with songs, shouts and the splash of canoe paddles

John Halsey and several of the Astorians returned -- all were too drunk on wine to give details
but they did identify the ship as the British sloop-of-war HMS *Raccoon*
with twenty-six guns and 120 men commanded by Captain William Black
and carrying North West Company partner John McDonald of Garth
and John Coxe an old friend of the Astorians

Raccoon's mission and the location of the *Isaac Todd* remained unknown at the post

SAILORS ON THE *RACCOON* ANCHORED IN BAKER BAY WERE IN HIGH SPIRITS

North West Company agents had talked to the British sailors about vast amounts of contraband
that would become theirs with the capture of Astoria

Nor'Wester John McDonald of Garth had kept up the excitement during the voyage

When they learned a war-like attack was impossible because Astoria was already British property
by right of purchase their deep disappointment was obvious

Duncan McDougall who had sold Astoria to the North West Company

became so uncomfortable aboard the *Raccoon* that he was very happy to go ashore

CHINOOK INDIANS ARE PREPARED TO STAND BY THEIR ASTORIA ALLIES

Chinook Chief Comcomly had seen the arrival of the "big war canoe" flying the British flag

he knew of the war between the United State and Britain but did not know Astoria had been sold
he thought the Astorians remained trading partners with the Chinooks because

of the arrangement cemented by Duncan McDougall's marriage to the chief's daughter

BAD WEATHER KEEPS THE *RACCOON* AWAY FROM ASTORIA'S WHARF

However, a longboat reached Astoria -- December 1, 1813

in the longboat was North West Company Partner John McDonald of Garth
and the first mate of the *Raccoon*
both men were suffering from serious burns received in a cannon mishap
John McDonald of Garth explained how the *Raccoon* had arrived at Astoria before the *Isaac Todd*

CHINOOK CHIEF COMCOMLY COMES TO THE AID OF HIS FRIENDS

Duncan McDougall was busy making preparations for the arrival of Captain William Black
this flurry of activity at Astoria which was not missed by Comcomly
McDougall's father-in-law, one-eyed Chinook Chief Comcomly, appeared in a canoe in full war dress
accompanied by Chinook warriors painted and equipped in a warlike style -- December 5, 1813
Comcomly was prepared to defend the Astorians from the British invaders
in a long speech he professed great fondness for the Americans and he declared his intentions
he offered 800 warriors to fight any British ship to come along
Comcomly noted: **“King George has sent his great canoe to destroy the fort, and
make slaves of all the inhabitants. Shall we suffer it? The Americans are the first white men that
have fixed themselves in the land. They have treated us like brothers. Their great chief has taken
my daughter to be his [wife]: we are, therefore, as one people.”**¹³³

Comcomly offered to kill every one of King George's men if they attempted to land
he suggested the best approach was the ambush the new ship
Comcomly's son-in-law Duncan McDougall assured the Chinook chief
that wholesale slaughter would not be necessary much to Comcomly's shock and dismay
he told the chief to lay down their weapons and wash off their war paint
King George's men would not harm the Americans or their Indian friends
Comcomly was confused by the situation and it was only after repeated assurances
that he said something to his warriors who shrugged and returned to their village
to lay down their weapons -- at least for the present

CHIEF COMCOMLY CHANGES ALLIES

Rough weather continued to keep Captain William Black and his crew aboard the *Raccoon*
Chief Comcomly was cagey enough to be aware of the new inferior position
his son-in-law Duncan McDougall and his daughter shared
Comcomly visited the ship and talked with Captain Black expressing his admiration
for British ships and speaking contemptuously of the Americans
Captain Black gave the chief an old British flag, a laced coat, a cocked hat and a sword

¹³³ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, P. 442.

as a token of friendship

ASTORIA PASSES INTO THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH

Rough weather had kept the British sailors aboard the *Raccoon*

finally, Astoria's little boat *Dolly* was able to ferry Captain William Black

across the Columbia River with an escort of officers, sailors and marines

Captain Black landed with a military flare at dusk -- December 12, 1813

landing in the dark spared Captain Black the knowledge that Astoria

was not a well armed post protecting the Columbia River

which he had been prepared to destroy by bombardment if necessary

he and his men stumbled profanely over rocks and driftwood

and through puddles of rain water before they entered Astoria

Although Captain William Black knew Astoria now belonged to the North West Company

he insisted on taking formal possession of the post -- December 12, 1813

he entered Astoria and organized a proper ceremony

traders, military men, voyageurs and Kanakas assembled with their weapons

around a newly constructed flagstaff in the square

Captain Black took possession of Astoria in his Britannic Majesty King George III's name

he lowered the Stars and Stripes and ran the British Union Jack up the flagpole

in a dramatic gesture, Black smashed a bottle of Madeira (dessert wine) against the pole

he changed the name of the post from Astoria to "Fort George" to show British ownership

Black claimed the post and the surrounding country by right of wartime conquest

three rounds of artillery and musket fire punctuated three cheers

Indians who had offered to fight the British were present to witness

cheers, toasts and artillery salutes by Nor'Westers and Astorians alike

it was explained to them that this was a friendly transfer of ownership

but they shook their heads grimly and considered their American friends defeated

Comcomly was heard to mutter the Americans had sold themselves into slavery without a fight

the chief no longer took pride in being Duncan McDugall's father-in-law

whenever he was asked about his son-in-law

he replied that his daughter had made a mistake

Kanaka John Coxe only recently returned from London stayed on at the now renamed Fort George

with what remained of the original group of Astorians

NEXT MORNING REVEALED THE TRUTH ABOUT THE POST ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

New arrivals looked at Astoria, now Fort George, in the light of day -- December 13, 1813

North West Company Governor John McDonald of Garth was disappointed

he saw **“only a few stores and barracks surrounded by a few imperfect stockades with two or three swivels mounted near the gate.”**¹³⁴

Captain William Black was extremely shocked and unhappy with his prize

after hearing descriptions of the weapons he would have to employ to destroy Astoria

he had expected to find a place of importance

when he saw only stockades and bastions designed to defend against natives

he turned to Duncan McDougall and asked if this was the “real” fort

when told it was, he nearly doubled over with laughter: **“What, is this the fort I have heard so much of? Great God, I could batter it down with a four-pounder in two hours!”**¹³⁵

When Captain Black learned the value of the furs that had passed from the Pacific Fur Company to the North West Company he was outraged and insisted on an inventory

he viewed the sale of the property as a clever act on the part of the Americans

since no prize remained for him to take

anger raged among the crew members -- all had been denied the spoils of war

they had hoped to confiscate the post’s stores and furs as plunder

However, the mood lightened considerably when Comcomly sailed across the Columbia River to the trading post in full uniform flying the Union Jack

WILSON PRICE HUNT REACHES THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Wilson Price Hunt had sailed on the *Albatross* from the Marquesas Islands

he arrived in the Hawaiian Islands -- December 20, 1813

where he expected to find a supply ship sent by John Jacob Astor

instead, he learned of the wreck of the *Lark* commanded by Captain Samuel Northrup

rushing to the island of Maui he picked up the survivors

Wilson Price Hunt purchased the merchant brig *Pedler* for \$10,000 using John Jacob Astor’s money

Hunt placed Captain Northrup formerly of the *Lark* in command of the ship

DUNCAN McDOUGALL BECOMES A NORTH WEST COMPANY PARTNER

McDougall signed a secret agreement with John George McTavish making the former Astorian a partner in the North West Company -- December 23, 1813

McDougall told his new associates all he knew of John Jacob Astor’s plans

he even made copies of Astor’s business letters for them to read

¹³⁴ James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 296.

¹³⁵ James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire*, P. 296.

SEVERAL EMPLOYEES OF BOTH COMPANIES BECAME FREE TRAPPERS

Former Astorians John Day, William Canning (or Cannon), and Alexander Carson worked together as free trappers along the Willamette River as did former North West Company employee Registre Bellaire they had ended their relationship with their former employers -- winter of 1813-1814

LORD SELKIRK'S COLONISTS RETURN ONCE AGAIN TO FORT DAER

(An inadequate harvest forced Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's Red River colonists to travel back to Fort Daer [located near today's Pembina, North Dakota -- autumn 1813]) Snow fell thickly and lay in heavy drifts and buffalo migrated to better grazing regions North West Company sold the Hudson's Bay Company colonists a few provisions at the same time Nor'Westers encouraged local Indians to harass the colonists Fort Daer provided only extreme poverty -- many cases of frostbite were recorded starving bodies were wrapped only in rags before (spring 1814) arrived Red River Colony Governor Miles Macdonell had led his colonists well in spite of the harsh winter he was determined to assert his authority under Lord Selkirk's grant to establish a colony he was inclined to be stubborn and arrogant in his dealings with the North West Company

HMS *RACCOON* SAILS AWAY FROM FORT GEORGE (ASTORIA)

As the rainy month of December 1813 wore away with no sign of the North West Company supply ship *Isaac Todd*, Captain William Black lost patience satisfied his duty was completed he sailed out of the Columbia River -- January 1, 1814 (actually, he had done his country a great disservice) by capturing a property that was already British Fort George was left in the possession of North West Company which already owned the post, furs, supplies and trade goods

NORTH WEST COMPANY RELATIONS WITH THE COLUMBIA RIVER NATIVES IS TENUOUS

North West Company had not developed any relationships with the Columbia River Indians because the company's employees were focused on acquiring the Pacific Fur Company's posts supplies, trade goods and employees Indians along the Columbia River were aware their native enemies in the interior were being armed and equipped by Nor'Westers while they were being passed by as trade brigades traveled up and down the river Indians living along the rapids and falls of the Columbia Cascades had long charged a toll

to pass through their country -- North West Company felt no need to pay
theft of trade goods along the portage routes was a well-developed source of Indian income

REMNANTS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY SUPPLY BRIGADE LEAVES FORT GEORGE

Two canoes loaded with fifteen people led by Alexander Stuart and James Keith
set out from Fort George -- January 3, 1814
they carried seventeen packs of pelt each, dispatches, fifty guns, ammunition
and other trade goods to the interior posts up the Columbia River
Stuart was to remain at Spokane House
Keith was to continue on to Kootanae House

MORALE IS LOW AT FORT GEORGE

Victory over the Astorians brought no satisfaction to those Nor'Westers
who remained in the Columbia Department -- morale collapsed completely
After watching the overland brigade paddle up the Columbia River
Alexander Henry the Younger, the North West Company partner left in charge of Fort George,
lamented to his journal. **“Here we are at the mercy of chance on a barbarous coast,
among natives more inclined to murder us for our property than to assist us.”**¹³⁶
Henry, like his men, hated everything about Fort George

ODD DISCOVERY ALONG AN OREGON BEACH

From earliest remembrance beeswax has been found buried deep in the sand on Nehalem Beach
much of the wax was originally in blocks weighing about twenty pounds
each block was stamped with initials *I.H.S.* and *I.H.N.*
suggesting it was bound for West coast Catholic missions in California
in fact, the Spanish ship *San Jose* had disappeared [June 1769]
When Alexander Henry the Younger arrived as a leader of the North West Company Spring Brigade
he first saw the beeswax and recorded the event in his journal -- 1814
he wrote that Indians said it was from a Spanish ship whose crew had been killed by natives

GOVERNOR MILES MACDONELL EXERTS HIS AUTHORITY OVER RED RIVER COLONISTS

Red River Colony Governor Macdonell generated intense hostility among the traders and Metis
he issued a proclamation announcing it was unlawful for any person who dealt in furs
to remove from the Red River Colony supplies of meat, fish, grain, or vegetables

¹³⁶ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 107.

unless a special license had been granted to the supplying agent -- January 8, 1814
punishment would be meted out to those who offended this official order
Governor Macdonnell's goal was to keep a supply of food in the colony for use by the settlers
he was, however, issuing a challenge to the fur traders and Metis
since his policy meant they had no right to conduct business with one another
Once Governor Macdonnell published his edict he did not hesitate to enforce it
information was received at Red River Colony that North West Company
had stored a quantity of provisions in their trading post at the mouth of the Souris River
it was clear they meant to send food supplies to trappers elsewhere in defiance of the decree
Governor Miles Macdonnell decided on strong action
his secretary, John Spencer, was ordered to go to the Souris River in the capacity of sheriff
accompanied by a strong guard to deliver a warrant
when Spencer drew near the North West Company fort he found the gate closed
he ordered his men to batter the gate in with their hatchets
they obeyed and entered the fort taking charge of the contents of the storehouse
six hundred bags of pemmican were seized and carried away

NORTH WEST COMPANY BRIGADE STOPS AT THE COLUMBIA RIVER CASCADES

Nor'Westers' supply brigade led by Alexander Stuart and James Keith
camped at the Columbia River Cascades between the Long Narrows and the Short Narrows
they were attacked by Wishram Indians at the Short Narrows
who attempted to seize some of the property being carried along the portage route as tribute
when the members of the supply brigade fled from the Cascades they left behind
everything they were transporting including fifty guns and ammunition
Nor'Westers' brigade returned to Fort George where they arrived -- January 9, 1814
they reported they had gone as far as the Short Narrows
there they were ambushed by Indians on the north side of the Columbia River
during the skirmish shots and arrows were exchanged
before both sides retreated two Indians were dead and one Nor'Wester badly wounded

MARIE DORION REMAINS ALONE AT THE WINTER HUT KNOWN AS REED'S POST

Twenty-one year old Marie Dorion who with her sons Baptiste and Paul
were members of John Reed's trapping expedition
They remained at the winter hunt (in the vicinity of present-day Caldwell, Idaho)
while expedition leader John Reed, Marie's husband Pierre, Francis Landry,
Jean-Baptiste Turcotte, Andre La Chapelle, Gilles Le Clerc

and Kentuckians Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor
were out tending trap lines in the vicinity of the Snake River
One evening a friendly Shoshone Indian stopped by the hut -- around January 10, 1814
excitedly he told Marie that bad Indians called Dog-Ribs
had burned the abandoned the Oregon house built on the Weiser River
they were now approaching the rude camp up the Boise River where her husband,
Gilles Le Clerc and Jacob Reznor had established a trap line
these bad Indians were dancing and singing war songs with murderous intent
Marie knew the Astorians had to be warned of the impending danger
she took a horse and her children ages five and two
and set off for her husband's camp to warn them of the impending danger
because the poor trail was covered with snow she lost her way in the night
but found cover before they all froze to death
(since the date of January 10 is only approximate it is possible only to estimate the other dates
of the adventures of Marie Dorion and her two sons)

MARIE DORION CONTINES TO SEARCH FOR THE TRAPPING CAMP OF HER HUSBAND

Marie set out once again with her two sons -- early in the morning January 11, 1814
on the second day of her search for the trapping camp she saw heavy smoke ahead
thinking it might be an Indian village, she again took cover before they all froze to death
there they spent that night and all of the next day

MARIE DORION REACHES THE REMOTE TRAPPING CAMP

After fighting through mountainous snow for two bone-chilling nights
she came within view of the trappers' hut -- late evening January 12, 1814
she observed a lone man a short distance from the small building staggering as though deathly ill
this man turned out to be Giles Le Clerc scalped and weak from the loss of blood
he told Marie all three trappers had been attacked while working their traps that morning
Pierre Dorion and Jacob Reznor did not survive
Le Clerc barely had the strength to deliver this information before he collapsed on the ground
Although the trappers' hut was still standing Marie did not go into it
because a noise nearby startled her
she thought it had been made by the hostile Indians
however, what appeared to be bad luck actually turned out to be good luck
because the noise that she herd was made by horses once owned by the Dog-Rib Indians
Marie Dorion knew with a war party in the area her only chance to survive was to flee immediately

with great difficulty she caught two of the Indians' horses and put them to use
being as strong as most men she hoisted Giles Le Clerc onto one of the captured horses
after putting her boys on the other horse she told her older son Baptiste
to hold the reins of the horse carrying Le Clerc
mounting the horse ridden by her sons
she led the "string" into the woods so they would not be readily seen
under the cover of the brush she set out for John Reed's post

NORTH WEST COMPANY SENDS AN EXPEDITION TO RETRIEVE THEIR LOST GOODS

Immediately all of the North West Company men as well as Astorians at Fort George
who could be spared were assembled
sixty-nine men led by Alexander Henry the Younger laboriously paddled up the Columbia
in an armada of seven canoes to collect trade goods stolen at the Short Narrows
Alexander Henry the Younger led his expedition up the Columbia River in a violent storm
howling wind and rain held up their departure until 11:00 a.m., January 13, 1814
Before arriving at the site of the attack Alexander Henry sought the advice
of various friendly Indian village leaders living along the Columbia River
Chinook Chief Comcomly suggested the Nor'Westers kill all of the offending Indians
(probably with an eye toward acquiring their prime location at the Cascades)
Coalpo, headman of the Clatsop people, offered much the same advice
however, his wife, a woman of high birth and of some importance, was more helpful
she pointed out the Wishram Indians usually demanded blood vengeance
for the murder of any of their villagers
but they might accept compensation
for the death of the two Indians killed at the portage skirmish instead
next chief to be consulted was Casino the leader of the Willamette people

he knew about the attack on Stuart's party as Alexander Henry the Younger reported:
**"He informed us that the principal instigator of that affair was a [Wishram Indian] chief called
Canook, of the Cathlathlaly village [located on the north side of the Columbia River] This fellow, it
seems on seeing our party of two canoes only passing up river, formed a plan to pillage them. He
assembled the warriors of the two villages below and made a long speech, telling them that we
never traded anything of consequence with them, but took our property further up, to our enemies,
the Nez Perces, and that here was a favorable opportunity to better themselves. They agreed, and
all went armed up to the [Wishram] Cathlayackty village [on the south side of the Columbia River]**

where the harangue was repeated. That village also joined the party and...they all came down to meet our people at the portage on the S[outh], with Canook as their war chief.”¹³⁷

Casino had more advice for the Nor’Westers

he pointed out that he had relatives living in the village that had attacked the brigade

thus he also could demand blood vengeance for the killings of the two natives

instead, he agreed to join the expedition and negotiate with the Wishram village chiefs

Alexander Henry the Younger was now aware of how closely knit the family relations of villagers living along the Columbia River really were

it would be necessary to use peaceful steps to avoid making the Willamettes and other Indians hostile toward the North West Company

Casino and his sister-in-law Coalpo’s wife both were hired to act as mediators

After several hours of hard labor the expedition put ashore on the north side of the Columbia River preparations for any encounter were made

PROGRESS IS SLOW UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER FOR THE NOR’WESTERS EXPEDITION

Alexander Henry the Younger reported in his journal -- January 14, 1814

“...gale all night. At 6 A.M. we embarked. Our progress was slow....”

cold weather impeded their progress up the Columbia River

twice the Nor’Westers were driven to the river bank to build fires for warmth

they crossed to the south side of the Columbia and used a line to tow their canoes upriver

Alexander Henry reported that he saw a village of seven houses across the river -- January 14

“At ten we came nearly abreast of the Loto [Wishram Indian] village, where we saw the natives running into a low point of wood at the upper end of their village. They seemed to be in a great hurry and confusion.... We did not land, but desired Casino to assure them of our pacific [peaceful] disposition. After some time a chief came to the edge of the woods and made a long speech with many gestures, as if violently agitated.”

An old woman was the first person who venture down to the canoes shortly followed by a man

Alexander Henry purchased sixteen dogs for food

his expedition returned to the south side of the Columbia and built fires to warm themselves

Returning to the Loto village Henry continued in his journal: “... [We] **demanded the guns and kettles** [be returned]. ...**A long parley was held.... They delivered to us nine loaded guns.**”¹³⁸

it was hoped the peaceful nature of this encounter would convince the hostile villagers that the Nor’Westers were not seeking revenge

¹³⁷ Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *Exploration and adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri and Columbia Rivers*, P. 798.

¹³⁸ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 96.

Alexander Henry noted: **“At 1 P.M. we continued our voyage... and soon came in sight of the second village, which is that of the Cathlathlaly tribe”** [on the north side of the Columbia River]

women, children and old men, it could be seen, were scattered in the woods

this was a sure sign the warriors were ready to fight

warriors were seen stationed on the hill and behind the trees and rocks

from the upper end of the village along the portage route as far as could be seen

Nor’Westers landed their canoes and watched as six Indians in a canoe arrived at the village

they were singing their war songs and were met by an old woman on the river bank

she was singing and dancing a war song

Coalpo’s wife reported she was relative of one of the Indians shot in the skirmish

these gestures proved the natives did not believe the Nor’Westers’ expedition was peaceful

Alexander Henry was very concerned about confronting the Indians but he felt he had no other choice

Nor’Westers crossed to the south side of the Columbia River leaving Casino to negotiate

Indians left the woods and assembled at a large house where a long parley was held

Henry noted: **“...Casino had made a short speech to them. The natives ... assemble[d] at Canook’s house, where a long parley was held, with the result that Casino came back to us with four loaded guns, and thirty armed men accompanied him.”**¹³⁹

Casino and thirty villagers, including Canook the war chief, warily crossed the Columbia River

Nor’Westers remained in their canoes and invited the Indians to sit on the beach

Indians remained very suspicious -- they all had their bows bent and arrows at the ready

a pipe was filled for them and the Nor’Westers demonstrated friendship

Canook smoked and came down to the waters edge but he was very wary

Nor’Westers crossed to Strawberry Island where a defensive position was built and guards posted

Henry recorded: **“We loaded our guns and put everything in order to pass up the rapids along Strawberry Island. ... We feared that, on our pushing over to the village, they would shoot at us in desperation, and thus oblige us to fire upon them -- a thing we ardently wished to avoid.”**¹⁴⁰

Casino, who returned from the village, arrived on the island with two more guns

MAURADING INDIANS REMAIN IN THE AREA WITH MARIE DORION

After three days of cold terrifying travel Marie saw a number of Indians on horseback

traveling in an easterly direction -- January 14, 1814

she immediately dismounted with her children and helped Giles Le Clerc dismount

they all concealed themselves

¹³⁹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 97.

¹⁴⁰ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 97.

Fortunately they avoided being seen by the Indians
when she was sure they were once again safe they again set out
but had to proceed using the utmost caution
jolting of Giles Le Clerc's horse dislodged him from the animal's back
Le Clerc fell heavily on the ground and the impact opened his wounds
this fall, coupled with his injuries, made it impossible for him to travel further
that night they slept without a fire or water -- Marie kept her children warm in her arms
before morning Giles La Clerc died -- January 14
Marie covered his body with brush and snow
following this crude burial she put her children on the horses
Marie and her two boys set out for John Reed's post once again

MARIE DORION REACHES JOHN REED'S POST

Marie Dorion and her two sons set out once again with the dawn -- January 15, 1814
after hours of travel they reached John Reed's post which was deserted
all around was the blood of a furious massacre
old Edward Robinson and his inseparable companion John Hoback lay dismembered
further up the Boise River lay John Reed in like condition
all had been murdered, scalped and cut to pieces
they had suffered every type of mutilation and indignity that could be conjured up
Marie, concerned for the safety of her two boys, hurried into the sheltering woods
where they spent a lonely, frightened, cold and hungry night with fresh terrors gripping her

NOR'WESTERS PORTAGE THROUGH THE LONG NARROWS

Alexander Henry the Younger led his expedition to the Cathlathlaly village
on the north side of the Columbia River through an incessant rain -- 8:00 a.m., January 15, 1814
there they traded for nine dogs and a horse to be used as food
they remained for about three hours before beginning the portage along the Long Narrows
two of the three canoes filled with their provisions were almost lost in the effort
Nor'Westers next crossed to the south side of the Columbia River to portage the Short Narrows
this was where the skirmish had taken place
several armed Indians were seen on the river bank and in the woods
this portage is only 600 paces long but over very huge rough rocks
only one canoe remained to be carried across the portage but it was very weak and could break
Casino requested permission to go to Cathlayackty village on the south side of the Columbia
his relatives lived there and he could demand the stolen property be returned

this plan was agreed to and Casino set off across the Columbia River
When the Nor'Westers reached the east end of the portage they found kettles, hoops and staves
and a quantity of gunpowder laying in the sand
Alexander Henry walked to the village which stood in the woods some distance from the river
he noted: **"At 2 P.M. we went up to the Cathlayackty village** [on the south side of the
Columbia River] **by land... we found on the beach Casino with seven natives who delivered to us one
gun, a few kettles and two cotton shirts.... Nothing more being expected by fair means, we crossed
the river to the other Cathlayackty village, consisting of eight houses...."**¹⁴¹

all of the Indians at Cathlayaokg village were inside with the exception of an old woman
she was singing, dancing and crying on the river bank

Henry reported in his journal: **"We landed Casino who parleyed with them while we went in
search of a camp on an [Strawberry] island about half a mile above the village, telling him to bring
to the kettles and guns to us there."**¹⁴²

During this conference between Casino and the villagers the Nor'Wester continued upriver
to an island about half a mile above the village where Casino informed the villagers
they were to bring the guns, kettles and other stolen goods

Nor'Westers made camp for the night

Indians, probably slaves, came into the Nor'Westers' camp

they delivered a small cotton cloth torn into pieces

this was to say the Indians had returned some of the property

the rest would be delivered when the murderers were surrendered to be killed

In the North West Company camp this gesture led to confusion as to how to proceed

whenever the Wishram Indians brought a few items into the camp

they put themselves in the control of the Nor'Westers

some of the Nor'Westers wanted to hang the Indians at once

others wanted to continue negotiating

Clatsop Chief Coalpo was opposed to hanging the envoys

but instead proposed inviting the Wishrams to parley

and then seize them as hostages to exchange for the property

this was the plan finally adopted

Nor'Westers remained in their camp and watched as four canoes loaded with baggage

crossed over from the village on the north to the village on the south side of the Columbia River

they began to believe Casino was playing a double role by serving both sides

¹⁴¹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 98.

¹⁴² W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 98.

however, he arrived in camp bringing sixteen Indians, five guns, a few kettles, rifle balls
some dried salmon and a other odds and ends with him
Heavy rain hit again that night as guards remained vigilant

MARIE DORION PREPARES TO FLEE FROM THE THREAT OF THE MAURADING INDIANS

Marie Dorion remembered a large store of fish had been cached nearby -- morning January 16, 1814
she left her boys behind wrapped warmly in her buffalo robe and set out alone
she scouted the area for unfriendly Indians and decided to delay her search until night
she returned to her boys and lit a fire despite the risk of being seen
because she and her children were freezing
After darkness, she put out the fire and rolled her boys in the buffalo robe
then she went to the trappers' hut and ransacked it for food, coverings and weapons
she found some deer hides and a great deal of fish scattered about
she soon gathered up the hides and as much of the fish as she could carry
she returned to her children who were nearly frozen and were weak from hunger
despite the danger of discovery, she made a fire and cooked some of the fish
they had their first meal in three days -- January 16
That night she went back to the hut and gathered another load of fish
her exertions caused her to collapse from exhaustion and she was unable to move for three days

ALEXANDER HENRY'S EXPEDITION ARRIVES AT THE NEXT CASCADES VILLAGE

Morning was bright and clear with a hard frost and ice on the ponds -- January 16, 1814
Nor'Westers proceeded to the Cathlayaokg village (on the north side of the Columbia River)
where everything was quiet with the exception of the old woman lamenting her relative's death
Alexander Henry the Younger walked into the village where there were only a few men -- well-armed
an arrangement to buy horses was made
Canook, the war chief of the Cathlathlaly village, arrived in Cathlayaokg on horseback
he was accompanied by seven men from below the Short Narrows
other armed men were seen behind the houses of the village
by the time the horses arrived twenty armed men could be seen
when the first horse was shot fifty armed men came into view and took up defensive positions
Nor'Westers learned the Wishram Indians had not been intimidated
in fact, Canook proposed a counter demand:
when the whites had surrendered the killers of the two villagers
all of the stolen property would be returned
Alexander Henry intended to seize Canook

but the chief remained out of reach among his companions
three horse were butchered and the Nor'Westers paddled to the south side of the Columbia River
landing Alexander Henry walked to Cathlayackty in the woods some distance from the river
he walked into the home of the old, very respectable looking portly chief
Cathlayackty received the Nor'Westers with great civility -- but no stolen goods were collected
After leaving the chief, Henry made camp at the Short Narrows where the scuffle had taken place
Casino arrived with a few more kettles and requested to sleep in the village that night
to enable him to find more of the stolen goods -- his request was granted
Coalpo's wife provided Alexander Henry information regarding Casino's treachery
he had offered her a bribe to join him in his efforts to deceive the Nor'Westers
she startled the Nor'Westers by declaring she also was a blood relative
of one of the Indians who had been killed at the portage
now the Clatsops like the Willamettes could demand payment for the dead natives
or extract vengeance for the killings
Indians long the Columbia River were obviously more interrelated than could have been imagined
revenge taken on the villagers who stole the goods could result in reprisals by united natives
North West Company employees at Fort George could not risk this possibility
as they were dependent on the Columbia River Indians for trade and provisions

ALEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER TAKES A HOSTAGE

Alexander Henry began to move his Nor'Westers and their baggage over the Short Narrows portage
as a few Indians watched but remained at a distance and unarmed -- 7:00 a.m., January 17, 1814
two horses and a dog were purchased

Casino was put on shore as the Nor'Westers crossed to Strawberry Island and their old camp
two old women stood on the river bank near the village
each holding a stick about five feet long singing, crying and dancing

Nor'Westers received several visitors at their camp

Alexander Henry reported: "**At noon Casio came over in a canoe accompanied by a [Wishram] chief, a boy, and a woman.... Three men ... were ordered to seize [the chief]. Casino explain[ed] to the prisoner our intention of keeping him until our property was returned; that not only the guns and kettles were wanted, but every article they had taken from us; ...and [we] were ready to fight if necessary. We then called out to the Indians that we were ready for peace or war, as they thought fit....**"¹⁴³

Nor'Westers prepared for battle by buying old horses and eighteen dogs for use as food

¹⁴³ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 99-100.

when they were supplied for several days the Nor'Westers announced their intention to punish the offending Indians with death and burning their villages if the warriors did not return the guns and kettles - no mention of the other goods stolen was made because the guns were the most significant items lost

Changing strategy Alexander Henry the Younger decided to try to frighten the Wishram Indians he made a great show of the number of traders present and they fired their guns across the river to demonstrate it was possible to reach the Indians even across the river however they were very careful not to hit anyone he then called out to the Indians that he were ready for either peace or war it was up to the Indians to decide

horsemen could be seen riding at full speed to the villages above and below the rapids

This ploy appeared to work as two of the wives of the hostage arrived with three guns and thirteen kettles while the village remained quiet

Twelve armed Indians arrived in the village from below the narrows and two canoes with armed men -- about 5:00

Prisoner's two wives again came over with nine more guns and a few additional articles they held a long conference with the prisoner during which they all sobbed and cried Nor'Westers gave the Indians two days to deliver the remainder of the stolen goods before they would take the hostage with them out to sea

ALEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER WAITS FOR THE STOLEN GOOD TO BE RETURNED

Both the prisoner and Casino scolded the villagers for not delivering the stolen articles fast enough the same two women continued to deliver a few trifling goods -- January 18, 1814 it was reported that all of the stolen goods in the village had been surrendered it would be necessary to convince the surrounding villagers to cooperate

After about three days at the Cascades supplies were running low for the Nor'Westers but the Indians stopped selling horses and dogs to them now food became a problem for Alexander Henry the Younger

During a long conference it became obvious no further deliveries of goods would be forthcoming Indian riders were seen traveling to the neighboring villages Winter storms accompanied by a driving rain hit in the evening

NOR'WESTERS REMAIN IN THEIR CAMP ON STRAWBERRY ISLAND

A few more articles were delivered to Alexander Henry the Younger -- morning January 19, 1814 but nothing more appeared to be coming

Nor'Westers loaded their canoes and prepared to depart much to the concern of their prisoner
his wives delivered a few more items and begged the Nor'Westers to wait one more day
this was agreed to with the understanding that all of the stolen goods must be returned
Casino was sent to the Cathlayackty village to ask his relatives to deliver what they could
as was Coalpo's wife -- both were offered a bale of trade goods if everything was returned
Camp was broken and the Nor'Westers drifted to the lower end of Strawberry Island
where a new camp was made at a pleasant spot as the Nor'Westers waited to see what resulted
When Casnio arrived at the village was immediately surrounded by armed Indians
he made a long speech and began walking upstream along the river bank followed by sixteen men
Indians conducted a series of meeting in their village
Alexander Henry fired a brass cannon and several sky rockets to harass them

MARIE DORION AND HER CHILDREN FLEE FOR THEIR LIVES

After she had recovered from her three days of exhaustion Marie packed the fish
and a small quantity of beaver meat on the two horses
she placed her sons Baptiste and Paul each atop load -- January 19, 1814
Taking the reins of one horse she led the two horses toward distant Astoria and safety
she would have to cross the Snake River which she most likely swam despite the intense cold

NOR'WESTS REMAIN IN CAMP

Both of the prisoner's wives again came into camp with a few trifling articles
they said there was nothing more to be found -- January 20, 1814
they had even sold a slave to Canook to purchase the stolen beads he possessed
there was no hope of receiving more
During a meeting the Wishram Indians asked if the Nor'Westers
were going to provide any compensation for the two natives killed in the skirmish at the rapids
Alexander Henry decided to present the remainder of the stolen goods as compensation
even though the Indians had been the aggressors
in this way the family members of the slain men were compensated, war was avoided
and efforts could be undertaken to enhance interracial relationships

ALEXANDER HENRY THE YOUNGER RETURNS TO FORT GEORGE

Henry concluded his journal entries regarding this incident -- January 21, 1814
“There being no hope of recovering anything more, we prepared to depart.”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*, P. 100.

Nor'Westers embarked from Strawberry Island -- 9:00 a.m.

they dropped down to the Loto Village with the prisoner

the Nor'Westers were accompanied by a canoe carrying his two wives, children and relatives

When the Loto Village was reached no one was to be seen

only two houses had smoke rising from them and the others appeared abandoned

with their doors were barricaded

Casino and Coalpo's wife went up to the houses

soon armed men were seen coming from the woods in every direction

Alexander Henry and his men stood on the beach and attempted to convince the Indians

to give up more of the stolen goods -- with very limited success

Alexander Henry berated the prisoner and this message was loudly repeated by Casino to the villagers

Henry gave the prisoner two blankets and other articles including a North West Company flag

and placed him on the beach much to the joy of his family and relatives

he was instantly taken to the houses and the Nor'Westers pushed off

as pleased to be on their way home

as the Indians were to be rid their troublesome visitors

WILSON PRICE HUNT SAILS FROM THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Captain Samuel Northrup, formerly of the ill-fate *Lark*, was still in the Sandwich Islands

when Wilson Price Hunt arrived from the Marquesas Islands [December 20, 1813]

Hunt purchased the ship *Pedler* and put Captain Northrup in command

Pedler set sail from Oahu bound for Astoria -- January 22, 1814

with the intention of removing all of the Pacific Fur Company property as quickly as possible

to be taken to the Russian-America Company's New Archangel (Alaska)

to prevent it from being captured by the British Navy

then he would take the Pacific Fur Company Kanakas back to the Sandwich Islands

and the other employees on to New York

MARIE DORION MAKES CAMP TO WAIT OUT THE WINTER

Marie and sons Baptiste and Paul traveled away from the death and desolation that was Reed's post

for a week they traveled only at night as she led the two animals through the snow

more concerned for her children than for herself she occasionally built a fire to warm them

At length they reached the Blue Mountains near the upper Walla Walla River

she pushed on following the river in a northwesterly direction

until one of the horses could no longer continue

faced with this serious dilemma Marie stopped and made camp in a wild lonely ravine

beside a spring in the Blue Mountains -- January 26, 1814
this became her place of winter refuge (near present-day La Grande, Oregon)
Marie proceeded to kill both animals
she lit a fire and smoked the meat so there would be no waste
she hung the meat in a tree for use as their winter food
Marie constructed a tepee from a buffalo robe and three deer skins, pine bark and cedar branches
she added the horse hides to the hut
she then packed snow around the crude habitation for additional warmth
her only tool was a knife whose blade was used to butcher animals, scrape the hides, cut poles,
peel bark and cut all of the fuel she used during her nearly two month stay with her two sons
(best estimate is from approximately January 26 to March 23, 1814)

UNKNOWN SHIP IS SITED AT FORT GEORGE

Alexander Henry the Younger, the North West Company partner in charge of Fort George,
was standing at on post's stockade platform -- February 28, 1814
he spotted two Indians waving at a distant object
moments later an Indian women at the gate of the post told Henry
that a ship had been seen outside the Columbia River bar
This news raced through Fort George
soon dozens of traders ran down to the shore for a closer look
Alexander Henry the Younger walked down to Point George hoping to identify the ship
three shots were fired by the post's cannon
but no response came from the ship and her colors remained unknown
they even set signal fires to get the ship's attention but to no avail
As darkness came on everyone at the fort wondered about the ship's origin
she was a brig with black sides and a white bottom but she displayed no flag
however her lines convinced some at the post that she was an American privateer
some of the traders even bet hats and furs on her nationality
Nor'Westers feared an attack and made preparations to defend their post

MYSTERY SHIP IS IDENTIFIED AS THE *PEDLER*

Chinook Indians brought positive identification of the ship as the chartered American brig *Pedler*
they reported she was carrying Wilson Price Hunt
Hunt sent a letter from the ship to his fellow Pacific Fur Company employees
at Fort George (which Hunt believed was still Astoria) -- evening of March 1, 1814
he noted that while searching for a ship in Owyhee (Oahu)

he had learned of the wreck of John Jacob Astor's supply ship *Lark*
rushing to Maui he had picked up the survivors

WILSON PRICE HUNT ARRIVES AT FORT GEORGE (ASTORIA)

Wilson Price Hunt learned that instead of abandoning Astoria as had been planned
Astor's remaining partners had sold the post and its contents to the North West Company
Hunt was surprised to learn that Astoria was now under the British flag
worried about his own safety, Hunt asked for a meeting aboard the *Pedler*
Duncan McDougall, who was already making arrangements to join the North West Company,
refused to meet with Wilson Price Hunt aboard the *Pedler* but a delegation was sent
John McDonald of Garth, Thomas McKay and Donald Stuart
visited with Hunt aboard the *Pedler* -- March 2, 1814
details of the sale of the post were explained to John Jacob Astor's partner

WILSON PRICE HUNT GOES ASHORE TO FORT GEORGE

Talks began between Hunt and the Nor'Westers at the post -- March 4, 1814
Hunt challenged the values placed on various goods and provisions
but his real effort was to lure as many Pacific Fur Company employees as possible
away from North West Company employment
Nor'Westers worked equally hard to maintain their expanded work force
by the end of the day, four of Astor's former clerks had agreed to rejoin with Hunt
Wilson Price Hunt returned to the *Pedler* where he remained for several days
Discussions resumed at Fort George -- March 8
Hunt insisted the trade goods had been sold too cheaply
heated talks and broken agreements were exchanged day after day
finally both sides confirmed the agreed-to terms -- March 20, 1814

ASTOR'S EMPLOYEES DECIDE WHETHER TO STAY OR LEAVE THE REGION

John Jacob Astor's employees who wished to go home were allowed passage to Canada
with the North West Company to be reimbursed from the proceeds of the sale of Astoria
others were taken into the service of the North West Company
Most of Astor's old partners accepted positions with the North West Company
Duncan McDougall was the key man in the transaction to sell Astoria
he soon became North West Company partner
he remained at Fort George and served the Canadian company as Chief Trader
although this was a demotion from the position with which Astor had honored him

this situation aroused suspicions he may have been disloyal to Astor all along
two of Astor's partners remained in his service

(Robert Stuart and Ramsay Crooks were already in St. Louis

both served Astor in the Great Lakes region after their return from the Pacific coast)

Many of Astor's clerks and laborers went with the new owner and became Nor'Westers

twenty former Astorians remained in the Columbia Department to impact the history of the region

Duncan McDougall, Ross Cox, Alexander Ross, John Day and Donald McClennan

were among those who entered North West Company's service

twelve former Astorians retired and settled in the middle of the Willamette Valley

William Canning (Cannon), Alexander Carson, Marie Dorion, Joseph Gervais,

Thomas McKay, Louis I. LeBonte, Michel Laframbose, Etienne Lucier, Sailor Jack,

Baptiste Dorion, Jean Baptiste Dubrieul and Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay

all married Indian women and lived by hunting, fishing and trapping

three other Astorians stayed on at Fort George but did not settle in the Willamette Valley

John Coxe, Francois Payette and George Ramsay

three of the Astorians died soon after the sale of the post

JOHN REED'S PARTY HAD TO BE BROUGHT BACK TO ASTORIA

(It was not known at Fort George that John Reed's expedition into the Snake River region
no longer existed)

Since John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company had been sold to the North West Company

it was not necessary for Astorians to hike across the continent to return to the East

as had been planned the year before

Astor's former partners decided to send out messengers to announce the situation

to John Reed and his trappers who had been preparing to supply those trekking East

MARIE DORION SETS OUT ONCE AGAIN FOR ASTORIA

Marie Dorion and her sons six years old Baptiste and three year old Paul had remained safely hidden
in an encampment (since the end of January)

because by this time the food was nearly all gone -- around March 23, 1814

her decision to move may have hinged on the lack of provisions

another decisive factor may have been a break in the weather

Marie packed the remainder of her provisions and carried them on her back -- March 1814

as she led her helpless three and five year old children across a ridge of the Blue Mountains

but she became snow blind the second day out and was incapacitated for three days

When she regained her sight Marie set out once again

she and her two children reached the Walla Walla River and she spent the remainder of the month following downriver toward the mouth -- the confluence with the Columbia River they must have walked a pitifully few number of miles because of their weary condition she had to carry the children much of the way

BRIG *PEDLER* LEAVES FORT GEORGE WITH SEVERAL ASTORIANS ABOARD

John Jacob Astor's leased ship was loaded with supplies and Wilson Price Hunt -- April 1, 1814
Hunt left Fort George bound first to New Archangel, Russian-America (Sitka, Alaska)
then back down the coast to California, Mexico
and on to the Eastern Seaboard and New York
Hunt took several Pacific Fur Company clerks and employees who had elected to go home by sea
Bad weather forced the *Pedler* to remain inside the Columbia River bar overnight
Pedler cleared the bar of the Columbia River -- April 2, 1814

ALEXANDER ROSS LEADS THE NOR'WESTERS' BRIGADE FROM FORT GEORGE

Former Astorian Alexander Ross now with North West Company led ten canoes up the Columbia River to Athabasca Pass on their way to Montreal -- April 4, 1814
Ross escorted the Pacific Fur Company partners, clerks and laborers who wished to return to the East
John George McTavish traveled to Montreal to make his report to company headquarters
Donald "Fats" McKenzie, David Stuart, John Clarke, Gabriel Franchere and others accompanied in all ninety men in ten canoes began the journey to Montreal
Alexander Ross also carried orders to pick up the John Reed's trapping party somewhere on the Snake River plains

NORTH WEST COMPANY MEN REMAINING AT FORT GEORGE SETTLE IN

Alexander Henry the Younger remained the partner in charge of Fort George
he stood with his remaining men and watched the brigade paddle up the Columbia River
Henry authorized two chief traders who took up their duties
Duncan McDougall, the former Astorian who had been a leader in the transaction to sell Astoria, became a North West Company partner and was named chief trader
although this was a demotion from the position with which Astor had honored him
McDougall's acceptance of any position with the North West Company aroused suspicions that he may have been disloyal to Astor all along
McDougall's father-in-law, Chief Comcomly also was not especially happy with his change to a lower in status
James Keith also was made a chief trader at Fort George -- 1814-[1818]

MARIE DORION AND HER CHILDREN CONTINUE THEIR INCREDIBLE JOURNEY

Marie Dorion and her sons Baptiste and Paul had little to eat as they descended the Walla Walla River in an effort to reach the Columbia River and possible help from trappers traveling that river. After fifteen days of walking through the Blue Mountains they reached the plains -- April 7, 1814 they suffered intense hardships due to lack of food.

There had been little to eat for the past week and nothing at all to eat for the last two days. Marie saw smoke in the distance.

She left her children wrapped in a buffalo robe and set out in an effort to reach a friendly village. She was too exhausted to walk and was only scarcely able to crawl. Occasionally she slept -- which was nature's way of recouping her strength.

WALLA WALLA INDIANS CARE FOR MARIE DORION AND HER CHILDREN

Marie Dorion dragged herself into a camp of Walla Walla Indians -- noon April 8, 1814. These Indians proved to be friendly and she was treated kindly by them. She told them where her children could be found and immediately a search party went out. They found it easy to follow the trail made by her body as she had dragged herself along. Marie's two sons, Baptiste and Paul, were brought into the village that night. Marie was overjoyed to learn they were still alive.

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S *ISAAC TODD* FINALLY ARRIVES AT FORT GEORGE (ASTORIA)

Isaac Todd was the slow-moving North West Company merchant vessel armed with twenty cannons under the command of Captain Fraser Smith.

She arrived at Fort George and anchored at Baker Bay -- April 17, 1814. She found the Union Jack flying over the former Fort Astoria now rechristened Fort George. *Isaac Todd* carried everything necessary for trade throughout the entire Columbia Department. In addition to trade goods and supplies, she brought additional men.

Who were added to those already employed by North West Company. This provided a force sufficient to occupy the entire region. *Isaac Todd* also brought four head Spanish cattle from California -- two bulls and two heifers. Most significantly aboard the *Isaac Todd* was the new head of the Columbia Department, irascible old Donald McTavish -- a poorer choice could hardly have been made.

(He is not to be confused with John George McTavish who was then returning to Montreal). Governor Donald McTavish was a partner in the North West Company. He had been lured from retirement in England with the offer of this choice position.

NORTH WEST COMPANY GOVERNOR DONALD McTAVISH BRINGS A COMPANION

Governor Donald McTavish was determined to bring with him aboard the *Isaac Todd*

what he considered the to be the comforts of civilization

among them an ample supply of hard liquor

and a white mistress -- Jane Barnes¹⁴⁵

she was a lively, flaxen-hair, blue-eyed, rosy cheeked barmaid from Portsmouth, England

she was the first white woman to arrive in the Pacific Northwest

she had taken passage to see the world -- under the protection of Donald McTavish

McTavish made every effort to save her from the boredom of a long ocean voyage

JANES BARNES IS AN IMMEDIATE ATTRACTION AT FORT GEORGE

Jane Barnes brought an extravagant wardrobe with her to the Pacific coast

one day her hair would be decorated with feathers and flowers

the next day her hair would be placed in braids with no enhancements

each costume she donned excited wonder and admiration

Indians flocked to the white woman -- the first they had ever seen

she and her wardrobe were a constant wonder to them

Jane appears to have relished the attention of the trappers and traders

she ruled Fort George as a "First Lady" might, commanding attention wherever she went

she was known to stroll through the fort in her finery

dinnertime usually found her promenading along the sandy banks of the Columbia River

because of the attention she drew from whites and Indians alike

Governor Donald McTavish could be found walking with her to provide protection

Astorians' little schooner *Dolly* named originally for John Jacob Astor's wife,

was promptly rechristened by Governor Donald McTavish as the *Jane*

MARIE DORION AND HE CHILDREN CONTINUE THEIR JOURNEY TO ASTORIA

Marie, her sons Baptiste and Paul gratefully rested in the Walla Walla camp for nearly two weeks

after which time she insisted on going to the Columbia River

where she hoped to meet white traders traveling down the river

friendly Walla Walla Indians who had rescued the family

took them to the Columbia -- about April 22, 1814

NOR'WESTER'S EASTERN BRIGADE REACHS THE WALLA WALLA RIVER

¹⁴⁵ Note: Jane Burns in Alexander Henry's journal; Jane Barnes in Ross Cox's account.

Nor'Wester Alexander Ross and his brigade accompanied by Astorians returning East reached the mouth of the Walla Walla River three hundred miles upriver from Fort George, members of the North West Company's brigade saw three canoes putting out from shore they were surprised to hear a child calling out *Arretez donc, Arretez donc!* French for stop, stop!

Alexander Ross stopped his flotilla of canoes until the strangers could reach them to their surprise they recognized who had hailed them

Marie Dorion, the wife of Pierre Dorion, and their two children, Baptiste and Paul they had been brought here by friendly Walla Walla Indians only a few days before in fact, Ross had been assigned the responsibility of finding Clerk John Reed and his trapping party which included Marie and her children

MARIE DORION IS REUNITED WITH WHITE TRADERS ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Nor'Westers and Astorians listened in awe to the tale Marie told using French and sign language of the loss of her husband, Pierre Dorion, and the rest of the John Reed party

Marie's listeners were horrified to learn that all of the trapping party except herself and two sons had been cruelly slaughtered

this attack appeared to be entirely unprovoked

some Astorians believed it was the act of a roving band of Blackfoot Indians

others ascribed the attack, perhaps more accurately, to the tribe of Nez Perce Indians

acting in revenge for the hanging of one of their people by John Clarke

Alexander Ross and Gabriel Franchere were both present while Marie told her story

they wrote what she told them in their journals

both reported their amazement that Marie and her children had survived

Ross invited Marie to join North West Company's brigade

and return to her own people in the East but Madame Dorion declined

no argument would deter her from her plan to return to Astoria (Fort George)

so the members of the North West Company brigade boarded their canoes

and continued on their way as she bade them good-bye

Marie Dorion eventually made her return to Fort George with her tale of terror

officials there did not offer any special reward to her for the survival skills she demonstrated under conditions that killed nine men

"MADAM" MARIE ALOE (IOWA) DORION BECAME A DEEPLY RESPECTED WOMAN

Marie Dorion settled on French Prairie in Oregon's fertile Willamette Valley with her children

where her white neighbors called her “**an impressive and admirable woman**”¹⁴⁶

she was often referred to by the title “Madam”

Madam Marie Dorion moved north to Fort Okanogan and married again

this time to Louis Joseph Vagnier (or Vanier) probably in a tribal ceremony [1818]

her first daughter, Marguerite, was born [1820 or 1821]

before her husband was killed by natives

Marie’s third marriage was to Jean Baptiste Toupin [about 1824]

who was an interpreter at Fort Nez Percés at the time

she bore two more children, Francois and Marianne, before this marriage was solemnized

by Father Francis Norbert Blanchet [July 19, 1841]

he gave her the tile “Marie Aloe” (Iowa -- in honor of her tribe)

(Francois Toupin’s descendants are still living in Oregon)

Madam Marie Aloe (Iowa) died at French Prairie [September 5, 1850]

she was the only woman member of the Astor Expedition that had traveled overland

from St. Louis, Missouri to what became Astoria, Oregon [1811–1812]

caring for two babies and giving birth to a third who died during the journey

several historical sites along the Walla Walla River commemorate Marie Dorian

as the “Madonna of the old Oregon Trail”

according to an article written by Harriet D. Munnick for *The Mountain Series*: **“She is buried ‘under the steeple’ of the original log church at St. Louis [Oregon]. When a frame church was built a few rods further to the west some years later, the exact site of her grave was lost; a nearby marker indicated only the general area where she lies.”**

being buried “under the steeple” in the Catholic cemetery was an honor and sign of reverence

given to this Indian woman by her community and church

When the original church burned down [1880] and the current church was built,

the location of Marie Dorion’s grave was forgotten (and remains unknown to this day)

it was only when the church register was translated from French into English,

many years after the original church had burned down

that it was learned Madam Marie Aloe (Iowa) was buried there

JANE BARNES CAUSES A DIPLOMATIC RIFT AT FORT GEORGE

Jane Barnes, left to her own devices, caused a great deal of controversy at Fort George

which led to a diplomatic rift -- this made her presence at the post a liability

Chief Comcomly’s son Cassakas visited Fort George one day dressed in his finest costume

¹⁴⁶ National Women’s History Museum

with his face painted red and body reeking of whale oil
he told Ms. Barnes if she would become his wife
he would send a hundred choice sea otter skins to her relatives
he would never ask her to carry wood, dig roots, or do other manual labor
she would rule over his other four wives
she could wear her own clothes
he would allow her as many pipes of tobacco a day as she wished
when he was rejected Cassakas plotted to abduct Jane Barnes during one of her riverside strolls
it became necessary to restrict her walks to the neighborhood of the Fort George
and always with a protector

LORD SELKIRK'S COLONISTS ONCE AGAIN TRAVEL TO THE RED RIVER

After spending their second harsh (winter) at Fort Daer (located near today's Pembina, North Dakota)
Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's colonists traveled north to the Red River -- spring 1814
they resolved never again to set foot within the gates of Fort Daer
where hardships and suffering had been overwhelming
Lord Selkirk's Hudson's Bay Company Red River Colony (later Winnipeg, Manitoba) was located
directly across the main North West Company supply route
North West Company voyageurs could be cut off from their Montreal supplies

NORTHWEST COMPANY GOVERNER DONALD McTAVISH MUST VISIT OTHER POSTS

Governor Donald McTavish was required to visit outposts as part of his duties
McTavish was forced to ask Alexander Henry the Younger to serve as "associate protector"
for Jane Barnes while the governor traveled throughout the region
Jane, accepting Alexander Henry's offer for protection
while Governor McTavish was away she made herself at home in Henry's living quarters
Irritable and grouchy old Governor McTavish returned from a trip to the outlying posts
to discover Jane Barnes preferred to be protected by Alexander Henry
a natural amount of jealousy ensued
after a few sharp words Governor McTavish contented himself
with a Chinook consort incongruously known as "Mrs. Clapp"

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN RISES IN THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

(Dr. McLoughlin's success as a trader and leader of men were recognized by his superiors
which allowed him to successfully rise in the ranks of the North West Company [1811]
his first son, Joseph, was born to a Chipewyan Indian woman that year

whether they had been legally married is still unknown
John McLoughlin married Marguerite Wadon McKay [1812]
she was the Metis daughter of a Swiss trader and Cree Indian mother
and the widow of Alexander McKay who had been lost with the *Tonquin*
Marguerite was thirty-five, eight years older than he was, when McLoughlin met her
she was the mother of Thomas McKay
who was fourteen when the *Tonquin* disaster took his father
Dr. McLoughlin next was given the title Chief Trader at Fort William on Lake Superior
North West Company's headquarters at Thunder Bay)

Dr. John McLoughlin was granted a full partnership in the North West Company -- 1814
after eighteen years in the fur trade he was placed in charge of one of four company departments
(fur trading regions)

FORT WILLIAM ON LAKE SUPERIOR WAS THE NOR'WESTERS' INTERIOR HEADQUARTERS

Fort William was a good sized village and the heart and soul of the North West Company
located on Lake Superior's Thunder Bay -- it had been named in honor of William McGillivray
the chief director of the North West Company
in addition to being the company's headquarters the post served as supply depot,
starting point for supply brigades and fur depository
from [May to September] a flotilla of boats and canoes would arrive from Lachine, Quebec
carrying goods to be sent inland to barter for furs
these boats would then set out on their homeward journey to Fort William
carrying pelts collected from far and near
every summer North West Company partners-in-the field arrived to meet in Fort William
with two or three principal partners who arrived from Montreal

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IS FORCED TO CHANGES ITS BUSINESS OPERATION

Over the years Hudson's Bay Company has succumbed to the ills of old age
it had grown overconfidence in its own power and prestige
it suffered from indolence and a loss of vitality
By contrast North West Company had youth, vigor, aggression and an obvious competitive spirit
competition with North West Company forced Hudson's Bay Company to change
its system of trade and establish posts in the interior
rather than waiting for the Indians to come to them

WILSON PRICE HUNT ARRIVES AT NEW ARCHANGEL ABOARD THE *PEDLER*

Wilson Price Hunt arrived at New Archangel (Sitka) Russian-America (Alaska)
aboard the brig *Pedler* under the command of Captain Samuel Northrup
Astorian clerk Russell Farnham had been assigned to carry Pacific Fur Company records
and the proceeds of the sale of Astoria to John Jacob Astor's New York office
Farnham was dropped off at New Archangel
(Farnham took the ship *Forester* to Kamchatka, Russia and traveled across Siberia on foot
to St. Petersburg, Russia and Copenhagen, Denmark before sailing on to New York City
this journey took almost three years to complete)
(*Pedler* carrying Wilson Price Hunt and the other Astorians sailed for California, Mexico
and on to New York City)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATES WITH GREAT BRITAIN TO END THE WAR

Negotiations continued in Ghent, Belgium to conclude United States and British hostilities
Congress was unaware of events on the Columbia River
federal administration officials instructed its peace commissioners
to keep Astoria in mind when discussing term of peace with Great Britain
John Jacob Astor had his own representative present in Ghent
he was eager to learn what could be, and finally what was, to be done about Astoria
Secretary of State James Monroe wrote instructions expressing that the British
had no right to any territory whatever on the Pacific coast
he asserted: **“On no pretext can the British Government set up a claim to territory south
of the northern boundary of the United States.”**¹⁴⁷
U.S. Congress also passed a law that forbid any British or Canadian business interests
to trade with the Native Americans of the Missouri River Basin -- 1814

DOUBLE TRAGEDY ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

North West Company Governor Donald McTavish and Alexander Henry the Younger
were intent on transporting goods from the *Isaac Todd* to Fort George
together they put out from the fort with a crew of six
in a small single-sailed, split-cedar boat from the *Isaac Todd* ballasted with stones
heavy surf was running -- legend adds, perhaps unjustifiably, that both men were inebriated
Isaac Todd's boat swamped and capsized at five o'clock on the windy afternoon -- May 22, 1814
only one of the hands managed to swim to shore
loss of Governor Donald McTavish and Alexander Henry the Younger

¹⁴⁷ American State Papers, III, P. 731.

was a double tragedy for Jane Barnes

Alexander Henry left a narrative of his exploits: *The Journal of Alexander Henry, Jr.*

which covered his wanderings as a fur trader from [1799] to the closing of Astor's outpost
(this is one of the most important documents in Pacific Northwest history today)

Doctor Swan, who had arrived at Fort George aboard the *Isaac Todd*, offered his services as protector
as did almost all of the men at the post -- but Jane Barnes showed little interest

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S FORT GEORGE IS DESCRIBED

Fort George was visited by free-lance shipper Captain Peter Corney -- July 7, 1814

he noted: **"The North West Company's Establishment lies about seven miles from Point Adams, on the south side of the river, above a small bay, where ships are in great safety out of the strength of the tide. There is a very good wharf with a crane for landing or shipping goods. The settlement is a square of about two hundred yards, surrounded by pickets about fifteen feet high, and protected by two bastions, one on the southwest and the other on the northeast corner. Each of these bastions mounts eight guns, four and six pounders; and three are loopholes for musketry. The grand entrance is through a large double gate on the north side above which there is a platform for the sentry to walk; on this are several swivels [guns] mounted.**

"As you enter the fort, or square, there is a two-story house, with two long eighteen-pounders in front of it on the south side; on the east is a range of low buildings where the clerks have their apartments, and in the same row stands the grand hall where the gentlemen assemble to dinner, etc. The houses for the men are on the same side and behind the two-story or governor's house. In the southwest corner is the magazine well secured; along the west side stands a range of stores, tailor's shop and Indian trading shop; in the southeast corner the blacksmith's and cooper's shops, and on the northeast corner a granary for the corn. In the northwest corner stands a very high flagstaff, erected by the crew of the *Columbia*. The whole of the settlers here do not exceed 150 men, most of whom keep Indian women, who live inside of the fort with them. Nearly all the settlers are Canadians. The clerks and partners are Scotch....

"The Company have a train of posts from the Columbia River to the Rocky or Stony Mountains, and from thence to Montreal. All the furs that are collected on the west side of these mountains are brought to the Columbia, and sent from thence to China; and all that are collected on the east side are sent to Montreal and from thence to England...."¹⁴⁸

NORTH WEST COMPANY PARTNERS MEET AT FORT WILLIAM

North West Company partners-in-the-field met for their annual western rendezvous

¹⁴⁸ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*, P. 104-105.

held at the Nor'Westers' Fort William headquarters on Lake Superior -- July 11, 1814
Company partners debated several issues of primary concern to the company:

- removal of the Pacific Fur Company from the Columbia Department was discussed

minutes of this meeting read: **"...the first Business introduced was the transactions in the Columbia last Winter & Fall,... no material objection was made to the terms on which the Purchase from the Pacific Fur Company had been made, except as to the Payments, the near period at which they are fixed being considered highly advantageous to the concern.... The Advantages derived from the Arrangement were deemed considerable, by means of it the Posts were supplied for the Winter...and it greatly facilitated the getting out of the Country our Competitors the American Fur Company."**¹⁴⁹

•plans were made to develop a much desired sea approach to the Pacific coast: **"If a favourable connection could be made with an American House -- it was the general opinion -- it should be adopted for facilitating the Business in China"**¹⁵⁰

- Hudson's Bay Company's Red River Colony had reached a critical juncture

Nor'Westers' their hope that Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's colony would languish and die failed -- instead, the Red River Colony was flourishing and with strength the colonists were becoming aggressive

bitter animosity was expressed against Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company something must be done to crush this troublesome settlement

partners decided to persuade as many Red River Colony settlers as possible

to desert the colony -- then arouse the Indians against those who remained

notice was sent to the Hudson's Bay Company to leave the area of the Red River;

Two North West Company partners-in-the-field were sent to deal with the Red River Colony settlers

Duncan Cameron was a sinister character and the more resourceful of the two Nor'Wester agents

he was a born actor -- he decided to visit the settlers to deceive them

Alexander Macdonell, a very crafty character, exerted some influence over the local Indians

he decided to attract a band of natives to the colony to create panic among the settlers

Shortly after the meeting at Fort William Cameron and Macdonell started for the Red River

when they arrived at North West Company's Fort Gibraltar half a mile from Red River Colony

they split up

Duncan Cameron made his appearance at North West Company's Fort Gibraltar

with extensive pomp he presented himself

¹⁴⁹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Old Oregon Country: A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation and Travel*, P. 36.

¹⁵⁰ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Old Oregon Country: A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation and Travel*, P. 36.

as Captain Duncan Cameron of the Voyageur Corps
(although the Voyageur Corps had been disbanded the year before)
Alexander Macdonell set out to stir up the Indians against the colony

JOHN JACOB ASTOR LEARNS OF THE LOSS OF HIS PACIFIC ENTERPRISE

North West Company's ten canoe brigade led by former Astorian Alexander Ross
arrived at Montreal -- late August 1814

delivering Nor'Wester John George McTavish and Astorians Donald "Fats" McKenzie,
David Stuart, John Clarke, Gabriel Franchere and others

John Jacob Astor learned the worst -- he had lost Astoria and the Pacific Fur Company ceased to exist

Astor blamed Duncan McDougall and Donald McKenzie for the loss of his property

he refused to give up the Pacific Fur Company as lost to the North West Company

most of North West posts were actually on American soil

as represented by the claims of the Louisiana Purchase and Lewis and Clark Expedition

Astor was determined to resume the enterprise at the first opportunity

NORTH WEST COMPANY HAS A MONOPOLY IN THE COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

North West Company owned a chain of posts across Canada from Montreal to Fort George

Fort George served as the company's Columbia Department headquarters

annual meetings of the Columbia Department partners-in-the-field were held at Fort George

to plan trapping and trading operations and to make assignments

North West Company overland express brigades imported supplies and exported furs annually

Interior posts in the Columbia Department belonging to the North West Company included:

- Fort Alexander on the south bank of the Winnipeg River;

- Fort Okanogan on the Okanogan River;

Alexander Ross at Fort Okanogan worked the area to the north as far as 300 miles;

- Fort Thompson at the confluence of the North and South Thompson River (Kamloops, B.C.);

- Kootanae House on the Kootenai River;

- Spokane House on the Spokane River;

trapping and trading expeditions also ventured into the Snake River Country

Nor'Westers and former Pacific Fur Company employees both

encouraged the natives to be unfriendly with the other

because of this competition prices for furs elevated which served the Indians well

for the next three years trade was poor for the North West Company along the Columbia River

due in no small way to the harsh treatment the Indians had received at their hands

WILSON PRICE HUNT IS DETAINED IN CALIFORNIA BY SPANISH AUTHORITIES

Wilson Price Hunt sailed with Captain Samuel Northrup on the merchant ship *Pedler* they arrived in Spanish California from New Archangel (Sitka) Russia-America (Alaska) Hunt was detained by the Spanish authorities in California for illegal trading and was forced to remain in California -- August-September 1814

JANE BARNES APPEARS TO HAVE BECOME SOMETHING OF A PROBLEM

Death of her two "protectors," Governor Donald McTavish and Alexander Henry the Younger, complicated Jane Barnes' life at Fort George
Governor Donald McTavish was replaced as Governor for North West Company by Chief Trader James Keith who concluded that Jane Barnes' continued presence at Fort George would hinder operations -- she was asked to leave by James Keith
Jane Barnes she took passage to Canton, China on the *Isaac Todd* -- September 1814

DONALD "FATS" MCKENZIE MEETS WITH JOHN JACOB ASTOR

Donald McKenzie traveled from Montreal to meet with John Jacob Astor in New York to convey papers connected with the negotiations to sell Astoria -- September 27, 1814
McKenzie also sought employment -- this time with the Astor's American Fur Company operating in the Great Lakes region of the United States
Astor declined to reemploy McKenzie as the businessman believed Mackenzie and his associates had accepted too low a price for the Astoria post
Having failed to secure reemployment the former Nor'Wester and Astorian went to Canada where both North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company attempted to lure him into service

WILSON PRICE HUNT CONTINUES HIS WORK FOR JOHN JACOB ASTOR

After being released by the Spanish authorities in California
Wilson Price Hunt accompanied Captain Samuel Northrup and the *Pedler* back to Russian-America (Alaska) where they arrived -- October 1814

JANE BARNES ARRIVES IN CANTON, CHINA

While in Canton Jane Barnes found Captain Anthony Robson of the merchant brig *Columbia* more to her liking than Captain Fraser Smith of the *Isaac Todd*
she lived magnificently in Canton at expense of the East India Company and Captain Robson
(Jane traveled with the *Columbia* from Canton, China back to Portsmouth, England
in England she married Captain Anthony Robson
as a captain's wife she visited the Columbia River on a trade mission again [1818])

with their two children
she continued to sail with her husband as he ran trade routes between Britain and South America
she appeared in Montreal several years later where she attempted to collect
an annuity promised to North West Company Governor Donald McTavish
instead, North West Company billed the East India Company
for the expenses she incurred while she traveled about the world
Jane Barnes was far more liberated, discriminating and independent than was usual for her time,
she entered the completely male-dominated world of the fur traders
and earned the titles: “Oregon’s First Lady” and “First White Woman in Oregon”)

DAVID THOMPSON DRAWS A PRELIMINARY MAP OF HIS EXPLORATIONS

North West Company geographer David Thompson completed his preliminary map of the region
from Sault Ste. Marie to the Pacific Ocean between the 45th and the 60th parallels
Thompson gathered together the data he had collected during his thousands of miles of surveys
he was the first person to map many of the features of present-day southern Manitoba
and the region near the headwaters of the Mississippi River
this collection of primary source material surpassed that of any other scientific explorer
and he combined his own findings with information from other sources
including other sources inevitably led to errors on the map
Thompson, based on native accounts, included the fictitious Caledonia River
supposedly located south of the Fraser River and flowing into Puget Sound
Thompson’s original effort does not appear to have survived
(but there is a similar map by him in the possession of the Public Archives of Ontario)
David Thompson regarded his map or maps drawn in [1811]-1814 as preliminary drafts
most of the names were handwritten, not printed
(he later corrected the Caledonia River and other errors
when he drew another, more accurate map of the west for the North West Company)

TREATY OF GHENT IS SIGNED BY THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

Treaty of Ghent which ended the War of 1812
was signed at Ghent, Belgium -- December 24, 1814
In this treaty American expansionist’s interests were well-served in the treaty
some of the results achieved on the battlefield were reversed: **“All territory, places, and
possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, ...[should] be restored
[to the original owner] without delay....”**
When the Treaty of Ghent was signed Fort George (Astoria) and the adjacent country

was to be returned the United States and John Jacob Astor

Less well defined was the relationship of Indians with the government of the United States
(several treaties of allegiance and land transfer between the Indians and the United States
were imposed on the natives to open the way to American expansion and settlement)

Some significant issues failed to be addressed at all by the Treaty of Ghent:

- certain boundary disputes between Canada and the United States
would later be referred to arbitration commissions;
- both United States and British governments agreed to use their best efforts
to abolish the international slave trade -- but slavery itself in America was not considered

LORD SELKIRK BECOMES CONCERNED ABOUT THE SAFETY OF HIS COLONY

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk received news that North West Company
was plotting against the settlers of Red River Colony -- early in 1815

Filled with anxiety Lord Selkirk petitioned the British secretary for war asking for protection
his request was granted and Canadian Lieutenant-Governor Sir Gordon Drummond
was ordered to look into the matter

Drummond decided not to grant protection to Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IMPOSES NEW POLICIES ON THE INDIANS

War of 1812 had caused violent disturbances and frequent dislocations of Native Americans
in both the Northwest and Southwest

Indian troubles in Ohio Valley ended as the United States imposed its dominance over the tribes
newly opened land offices sold public land at \$1.25 an acre

“Ohio fever” spread through New England as people streamed over mountains
to a land of rich soil, mild climate and the promise of opportunity
across the Atlantic Ocean, especially in England, Ireland and Germany,
thousands of immigrants boarded ship for America
forest became fields, fields became villages and towns and towns became cities

CHRISTIANITY REACHES THE SHOSHONE INDIANS

Many of the Hudson's Bay Company employees were eastern Indians
descended from converts made by Catholic priests in French Canada
two Christian Iroquois, for example, settled among Shoshone people of (western Montana)
they conducted missionary work among the uninstructed Indians

Sometime between [1812] and [1820] a band of twenty-four Iroquois Indians l
ed by Ignace La Mousse went among the Shoshone Indians of (Montana) -- 1815

Ignace La Mousse (“Big Ignace” or “Old Ignace”) was in the employ of Hudson’s Bay Company
he had been education at the Jesuit Catholic Caughnawaga Mission near Montreal
Old Ignace was a zealous teacher of the Christian faith

Ignace La Mousse was held in great esteem by the Shoshone Indians

“It was not long until Old Ignace acquired an ascendancy and great influence over the tribe, which he wielded for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his adopted brethren. Often would he speak to them of the Catholic religion, its teachings, its prayers, and its rites, the conclusions of his discourses being always the same; namely, the advantages and the necessity of having Black Robes or Catholic missionaries among them by whom they would be instructed and taught the way to heaven.”¹⁵¹

through intermarriage these Iroquois became members of the Shoshone band
Shoshone Indians developed a desire for Canadian Catholic priests, “black robes”
of whom they had been told

NORTH WEST COMPANY FAILS TO ESTABLISH A TRADE LINK WITH CHINA

North West Company’s effort to develop sea trade from the Northwest Coast to Asia
was blocked by the powerful East India Company and South Seas Company
both businesses enjoyed British monopolies on trade
East India Company in China
South Seas Company along the Pacific coast
even holding a port on the Pacific coast had brought the Nor’Westers little tangible gain
all efforts on the part of the North West Company to reach an agreement
with the British government to enter the China trade failed
North West Company was refused the opportunity to carry Chinese goods

NORTH WEST COMPANY CONTRACTS WITH AN AMERICAN COMPANY

In desperation the North West Company leaders finally were forced to resort to subterfuge
they made arrangements with J. and T.H. Perkins Company of Boston
to supply their Pacific coast posts and carry furs to China -- 1815
this Boston firm was free of restrictions placed on British trade
as an American company they could carry goods at will to all ports of the world
that had been approved by the United States’ government
J. and T.H. Perkins Company transported the annual North West Company supplies to Fort George

¹⁵¹ Father Lawrence Benedict Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest; A History of Catholicity in Montana*, P. 9.

where the supplies were exchanged for Columbia Department pelts to be taken to Canton in China the furs were traded for Chinese goods to be taken back to Massachusetts for marketing or for transshipment to London

North West Company furs moved to the Asian market rather than to Europe on their first voyage to Canton Fort George pelts sold for \$101,000 on the Canton market these were exchanged for teas and other Asian goods to be taken back to Boston where they were sold at a great profit or were transported on to London for sale there

On the surface it appeared profits were high for the North West Company but when Chinese, American and London port charges were figured in the balance sagged

JOHN JACOB ASTOR WANTED TO REVIVE HIS BUSINESS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

With the conclusion of War of 1812 and the signing of the Treaty of Ghent that demanded the return of captured property to its original owner

John Jacob Astor saw a favorable opportunity for his trapping and trading enterprise however, North West Company held the Columbia River, its tributaries and trading posts and conducted trade throughout the region in defiance of the laws of Congress to remove them would be very difficult as the Nor'Westers were well armed and skilled company wars between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company showed what could be expected in a commercial fight in the lawless wilderness

John Jacob Astor applied to the U.S. government to restore his property on the Columbia River he stated that if possession was returned to him he would resume trapping operations

NORTH WEST COMPANY PLOT AGAINST THE RED RIVER COLONY HAS SOME SUCCESS

North West Company morale suffered from the life-and-death struggle being waged east of the Rocky Mountains with Hudson's Bay Company's Red River Colony owned by Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk

"Captain" Duncan Cameron of the (disbanded) Voyageur Corps left the Nor'Westers' Fort Gibraltar he crossed the Red River to the colony where he made an effort to befriend the colonists he said he heard news from the interior that a body of Indians would raid them in the spring he invited some of the colonists to dine with him several evenings -- he always fed them well all the while sympathizing with their intolerable living conditions he implied Lord Selkirk had abandoned them but he would gladly act as their deliverer if they would throw themselves on the mercy of the North West Company signs of wavering allegiance among the colonists were soon evident

Meanwhile Cameron's colleague in the North West Company plot, Alexander Macdonell, was not succeeding in his efforts to incite the local Indians against the colony -- May 1815

he could recruit only a handful of Plains Indians but they were brave only when they were drunk when their chief visited the Red River Colony and informed Governor Miles Macdonell they intended the colonists no ill -- Nor'Wester Alexander Macdonell gave up the plot

“CAPTAIN” DUNCAN CAMERON TRIES A NEW PLAN TO HARASS RED RIVER COLONY

Finding it impossible to arouse the Indians to raid the Red River settlement

North West Company agent “Captain” Duncan Cameron

adopted other methods to entice disloyalty

colonists deserting the colony increased in number every day

Nor'Westers joined by deserters made camp a short distance down the Red River

near the North West Company's Fort Gibraltar

“Captain” Cameron's recruits were drilled to instill some level of military discipline

they were furnished with loaded muskets and ammunition by the North West Company

Cameron's men were marched toward the Red River Colony governor's house -- June 11, 1815

James White, the surgeon of the colony, was walking by the governor's house

as a puff of grey smoke came from where the Nor'Westers were hidden -- the shot went wide

then colony storekeeper John Bourke heard a bullet whiz past his head

Colonists grabbed their weapons and returned the Nor'Westers' fire

they were at a disadvantage in the exchange of volleys however

as their adversaries remained hidden from view

when the Nor'Westers left, four colonists had been wounded

Captain Duncan Cameron, continuing his strategy to create disloyalty,

he now said that his main object was to capture Governor Miles Macdonell

for North West Company

if this were accomplished he would leave the Red River settlers in peace

to safeguard the colony Governor Macdonell voluntarily surrendered himself to the Nor'Westers

Cameron was jubilant -- with the loyal settlers almost defenseless and the governor his prisoner

Cameron could dictate his own terms

Duncan Cameron issued an explicit command that the settlers must leave the Red River without delay

most of the colonists decided to obey the order and their exodus began under Cameron's direction

about one hundred forty colonists, including women and children, departed

they traveled in North West Company canoes 400 miles to the north to safety

at Hudson's Bay Company's Norway House at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg

Red River Colony Governor Miles Macdonell was arrested and taken to Montreal for trial

this was the location of North West Company's headquarters and home of the managing partners

NORTH WEST COMPANY AGENT ALEXANDER MACDONELL RAIDS RED RIVER COLONY

Nor'Westers' agent Alexander Macdonell dealt with the forty or fifty colonists who refused to leave muskets were brought into play; horses and cattle belonging to the settlers were spirited away several of the colonists were placed under arrest on trumped-up charges

Harassment of Red River Colony culminated in a raid led by Alexander Macdonell and Metis leader Cuthbert Grant -- June 25, 1815

settlers, though barely one-half the strength of the raiders, resolved to make a stand they placed themselves under the command of Hudson's Bay Company's John McLeod colonists took what shelter they could find and prepared for battle advancing Metis hesitated and halted in dismay when faced with the courage of the defenders John McLeod remembered an unused cannon at a small Hudson's Bay Company post he sent two men to bring the weapon to the colonists' position this was soon done and heavy cart chains were cut into sections for use as shot when a raking volley of chain shot was fired the attackers galloped out of range but the colonists were at the end of their resources -- they decided to quit the colony they followed the other colonists to Hudson's Bay Company's Norway House Alexander Macdonell and the Metis under Cuthbert Grant burned Red River Colony to the ground

RED RIVER COLONY APPEARS TO BE AT AN END

After three years of self-sacrifice the effort seemed to have been wasted

Red River Colony was gone but Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk had received the alarming news of events

Lord Selkirk's recruiter Colin Robertson had met Hudson's Bay Company leaders in London [1814] (after recruiting colonists in Scotland for Lord Selkirk

Robertson had been employed by Hudson's Bay Company

although he had previously worked for North West Company

he knew the value of voyageurs in traveling through the Canadian frontier)

Robertson was authorized to raise a large force to protect and expand the Red River Colony

160 voyageurs and three former Nor'Westers in sixteen canoes left Montreal

and sped to the defense of the colony

en route Robertson met Red River colonists who were fleeing to Montreal for safety

Robertson inspired the settlers to return once again to the Red River

Colin Robertson led his party to Hudson's Bay Company's Norway House

where many of the colonists had sought refuge

When Robertson's band of voyageurs and returning colonists reached the Red River

they were surprised to see their crops had suffered little damage

ASTORIA'S OWNERSHIP REMAINS IN DISPUTE

Sale of Astoria to the North West Company and the and capture of Astoria by the British navy did not mean in any sense that Americans were yielding their claim to Oregon to the British British government replied that the Treaty of Ghent did not apply to Astoria as that was a private business venture located on soil

to which the United States had no recognized claim of sovereignty Astoria had been transferred to a Canadian Company by sale and purchase -- not by seizure Secretary of State James Monroe retorted that the actions of Captain Black of the *Raccoon* in running up the Union Jack and announcing that he was taking possession of the country constituted seizure and the property must be returned

Astoria (or Fort George), itself, was a prize of questionable value by hacking at the forest the inhabitants had managed to clear some two hundred acres but only twenty acres were able to be farmed however, seeing the prospect of victory, John Jacob Astor proposed that the United States establish a military post on the Columbia, manned with fifty soldiers and that Astor himself be given a commission as a lieutenant this was a stronger step than Secretary of State James Monroe was prepared to take nor was President Madison interested in protecting a commercial enterprise in the wilderness using the American military

United States government asked the British government to restore Astoria under the Treaty of Ghent since it had been captured by Captain William Black of the *Raccoon* the post thus must be returned -- July 18, 1815

Article One of the treaty stated that **“all territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the War, or which may be taken after the signing of the Treaty,...shall be restored without delay.”**

in fact, the unnecessary ceremony staged by British Captain William Black technically placed Astoria under the authority of Article One had the post simply changed hands as a result of a legitimate sale, America would have had little or no grounds for the demanded return of the post (even so, two years elapsed before any action was taken)

DAVID THOMPSON BECOMES A SURVEYOR FOR THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

With an end to the War of 1812 and the signing of the Treaty of Ghent it became necessary to establish an official international boundary between the United States and Canada from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean -- 1815

David Thompson and his family moved from Terrebonne (near Montreal) to Glengarry County, Ontario where he took a position with the British Boundary Commission which was established to define and map the international boundary between Upper Canada and the United States from St. Regis, Quebec to the Northwest angle of Lake of the Woods (located in parts of today's Canadian provinces of Ontario and Manitoba and the U.S. state of Minnesota)

Retired Nor'Wester Thompson surveyed the Ontario section of the U.S.-Canadian boundary a task he accomplished in ten months

Driving himself and his entourage through sub-zero blizzards by dog sled covering 4,000 miles of mostly uncharted territory and earning the respect of North West Company partner Alexander Mackenzie who had previously forged routes to the Arctic and Pacific oceans [1789 and 1792] Thompson's trips "should have taken two years" Mackenzie marveled

David Thompson continued to work for the British representative to the Boundary Commission for eleven years -- 1815-[1826]

NORTH WEST COMPANY BUSINESS ETHICS DECLINED TO A LEVEL OF SAVAGRY

Cooperation between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company traders continued to decline as competition grew more intense

North West Company cheated Indians with an unmatched viciousness

Indians were generally outfitted a year in advance

they might be given a blanket, a cheap gun, a little powder and shot

for which they were charged with \$40 or \$50 debt to the North West Company

at the end of the season, the Indian's catch was supposed to liquidate his debt

but seldom did

North West Company was more violent and ruthless than any other organization which did business in North America

it lied, committed murder and starved its enemies

it cheated the Indians and their own men with an unmatched viciousness

North West Company not only charged outrageous prices but cheated in quality and quantity

liquor became the standard method for enticing natives to surrender their furs

rum, with proof as low as 4% would be diluted 50-75% with water

then measured out to Indians

(Indian quickly caught on to the trick of diluting the rum

an Indian would take a small amount in his mouth and spit it into the campfire

if it flared up it was “fire-water” and acceptable for trade)
North West Company even cheated its own men
once the interior was reached, rum which cost \$1 a gallon in Montreal
was sold to employees at \$8 a quart
“Company store” system of exploitation was practiced full scale
company prices were trebled and quadrupled
illiterate voyageurs were encouraged to buy finery
which were charged against his annual wages that averaged only £40 a year
North West Company used its own money system
company money corresponded in name to Canadian coins -- but were half the value
uneducated voyageurs could neither add nor subtract
the employee, thinking in Canadian money, became hopelessly confused
money itself represented a huge profit for the company
personal violence as well as general violence were common occurrences
duels, arrests, counter-arrests, kidnappings and ambushes were frequent
Hudson’s Bay Company trading posts were attacked and pillaged
at other times, Hudson’s Bay Company men were starved for a few days
until they became “reasonable” and joined the North West Company
these tactics caused the death of half the men engaged by Hudson’s Bay Company
in the Athabasca Region

MORE NEW RECRUITS ARRIVE TO REBUILD RED RIVER COLONY

About ninety new recruits enlisted by Lord Selkirk arrived from Scotland -- October 1815
with them was retired British army Captain Robert Semple
Hudson’s Bay Company had appointed him governor-in-chief not just of Red River Colony
but of all of the company’s interior trading posts as well
Semple was an honest and courageous man but he lacked patience and diplomacy
another important arrival was church elder James Sutherland
who had been authorized by the Church of Scotland to baptize and perform marriages
Colonists constructed their new houses on the plain known as Frog Plain
and reached toward an elevated plateau
a few homes appear to have been built on the plateau itself
Governor Robert Semple’s two-story house and the buildings near it
were surrounded by a strong palisade
this grouping became known as Fort Douglas (now Winnipeg’s Point Douglas)

RED RIVER COLONY AGAIN SUFFERS THE AFFECT OF COMPANY RIVALRY

North West Company employees at Fort Gibraltar were not pleased with the return of the colony
sinister “Captain” Duncan Cameron returned to Fort Gibraltar from Fort William
where he attended the headquarters meeting of North West Company partners-in-the-field
Hudson’s Bay Company employee Colin Robertson was distressed by Cameron’s return
Robertson decided to take immediate and radical action -- the capture of Fort Gibraltar
Colin Robertson’s surprise raid was successful -- October 15, 1815
property belonging to the colonists during the Nor’Westers [June] raid was recovered
Hudson’s Bay Company’s trade goods were recovered
several of Fort Gibraltar’s cannons were removed
“Captain” Duncan Cameron was taken prisoner but being a smooth talker
he made promises of his future good behavior and was soon released
Robertson then traveled across the Red River to begin the rebuilding of the Red River Colony
there he spent the (autumn) fending off threats from the North West Company
In spite of their hard work and determination to acquire food, colonists were once again forced
to (winter) at Fort Daer on the Pembina River (North Dakota)
under the leadership of Governor Robert Semple
rumors abounded at Fort Daer
Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk’s settlers became disturbed when they heard
large numbers of Metis were gathering to attack the colony [in the spring]

LORD SELKIRK TRAVELS TO CANADA

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk decided his Red River Colony needed his personal attention
he, his wife Lady Selkirk and their three children sailed from Scotland to New York
he learned of the overthrow of his colony
when they arrived in America -- November 15, 1815
Lord Selkirk quickly set out for Montreal where he acquired eye-witness accounts of the tragic events
that Nor’Westers Duncan Cameron and Alexander Macdonell had undertaken
one of Lord Selkirk’s eyewitnesses was Governor Miles Mcdonell who was being held prisoner
by North West Company officers as he awaited trial (these charges were later dropped)
Lord Selkirk pled for military assistance from the Canadian government to protect his colony
he requested judicial magistrates at Montreal and York (today’s Toronto)
gather information in support of his request

LORD SELKIRK ATTEMPTS TO ENCOURAGE HIS SETTLERS

Hudson’s Bay Company’s Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk wintered in Montreal -- 1815-1816

where he busily made preparations to travel to his Red River Colony [in the spring]
Lord Selkirk wrote several letters to his colonists
explaining he had recently arrived on North America and was gathering a force to assist them
these letters were dispatched by a courier to be delivered to the colonists
North West Company leaders learned of the courier and ordered him waylaid and his dispatches taken
this was done and the packet of letters were diverted
to North West Company headquarters at Fort William

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CHANGES ITS METHOD OF OPERATION

Hudson's Bay Company procedure called for establishing a trading post visited by Indians
who provided pelts to the trader in exchange for a large variety of trade goods
Because of attacks on its posts and employees Hudson's Bay Company leaders
decided to send a trapping expedition into the Athabasca District -- winter 1815-1816
they hired Colin Robertson and John Clarke, a former Nor'Wester, to acquire men
and lead them to Lake Winnipeg where they would gather supplies for the venture
Robertson left the expedition at Lake Winnipeg to travel to Fort Daer
to lead the Red River colonists staying at the fort back to the Red River Colony
Former Astorian John Clarke led a large party of Hudson's Bay Company trappers
into Athabasca District but they had a terrible winter -- 1815-1816
North West Company men attacked the party and robbed them of a large quantity of goods
Indians encouraged by Nor'Westers refused to supply the Hudson's Bay Company trappers
when Hudson's Bay Company men were caught and encircled by Nor'Westers in Athabasca
eighteen of them starved to death because their rivals would neither feed them
nor permit the Indians to sell to them
about fifty of the others were kept without food for two or three days
before they took an oath they would leave and not return
North West Company, by contrast, claimed the expedition had not been properly supplied
and the deaths were therefore the fault of the Hudson's Bay Company
North West Company had stopped the spread of their rival
Hudson's Bay Company did not have five full packs of pelts in the whole Athabasca Department
none of the four trading establishment lasted through the winter
as they were either seized or plundered
half of the party was dead or had left the district to avoid starvation -- winter 1815

RED RIVER COLONISTS ATTACK NORTH WEST COMPANY'S FORT GIBRALTAR

Hudson's Bay Company Robert Semple led his colonists from Fort Daer back to the Red River

In response to the rumors of Metis preparing to attack the Red River Colony and its Fort Douglas Semple again attacked Fort Gibraltar across the Red River from Fort Douglas -- March 17, 1816
sinister Duncan Cameron was again taken prisoner but this he was not released
Hudson's Bay Company employee Colin Robertson escorted "Captain" Cameron to England
(there a trial found it impossible to convict him of any crime and he was released
Cameron later sued Lord Selkirk for illegal detention and won £3,000 in damages)

VIOLENCE ERRUPTS IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

North West Company trapping party of ten men killed a Multnomah chief
when he demanded tribute for safe passage around the Clackamas rapids on the Willamette River
in the skirmish that followed two of the trappers were wounded
North West Company Chief Trader James Keith dispatched twenty-five men to restore peace
but the natives refused the compensation offered for the loss of their chief
North West Company men departed by canoe downriver back to Fort George
during the voyage one of the men in the party was wounded in a night attack

RED RIVER COLONISTS DESTROY FORT GIBRALTAR

About one hundred settlers returned to Red River Colony from Norway House
more than 400 miles away -- April 1816
Robert Semple replaced the imprisoned Miles Macdonell as governor of Red River Colony
but he did not appear to assumed his duties at once
After Colin Robertson had departed with "Captain" Duncan Cameron as his prisoner
Hudson's Bay Company's Governor Semple decided to dismantle Fort Gibraltar
which was owned by the North West Company to eliminate the fort a rallying point
for Nor'Westers and Metis trappers
thirty Hudson's Bay Company men were sent to tear down Fort Gibraltar -- end of May
they dismantled the encircling surrounding wall and built a raft to carry salvaged items
to Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Douglas in the Red River Colony for use there
When this was done Red River Colony Sheriff Alexander Macdonell
seized North West Company's Pembina House (located in today's North Dakota)
military stores were taken to Fort Douglas
prisoners from Pembina House were released on their promise of good behavior
and the post was returned to North West Company

NORTH WEST COMPANY MEN RETALIATE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF FORT GIBRALTAR

Matters along the Red River were now ripe for a collision

hotheaded North West Company Metis free trappers struck first
Hudson's Bay Company employee Pierre Pambrun was authorized to lead a party of men
in five boats to carry twenty-two bales of furs and six hundred bags of pemmican
to a safer location
They were attacked by an armed force of forty-nine Nor'Westers led by Metis Cuthbert Grant
all of the Hudson's Bay Company men were taken captive -- May 12, 1816
Events rapidly escalated into an inevitable battle

NOR'WESTERS GATHER METIS TRAPPERS TO ATTACK BRANDON HOUSE

Pierre Pambrun and his captured men, boats, furs and pemmican were taken down the Red River
toward Red River Colony by North West Company agent Alexander Macdonell
they were accompanied by Metis on horseback led by Cuthbert Grant -- end of May
additional Metis were recruited as they proceeded in the direction of the settlement
until there was a force of about seventy Nor'Westers and Metis
Cuthbert Grant captured Hudson's Bay Company's Brandon House
located along the Assiniboine River (in today's Winnipeg, Manitoba)
Grant stripped the post of all of its stores

LORD SELKIRK COMPLETES PREPARATIONS TO COME TO THE AID OF HIS COLONY

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk staying in Montreal hoped to reach his colony in time
he had been appointed justice of the peace for Upper Canada and the Indian Territories
by the Canadian government
he was provided one non-commissioned officer and six men to assure his personal protection
Although Lord Selkirk had been denied military troops by the Canadian authorities
he had recruited a new contingent of settlers for his Red River Colony
these were trained Swiss mercenaries, disciplined and experienced on many battlefields
whose units had been disbanded at the close of the War of 1812
four officers and eighty professional soldiers entered the service of Lord Selkirk

LORD SELKIRK LEADS HIS SETTLER/SOLDIERS OUT OF MONTREAL

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk set out up the St. Lawrence River
for his Red River Colony -- June 4, 1816
He led about one hundred discharged soldiers and Hudson's Bay Company colonists
as they set out to stiffen the defense of his settlement
they stopped en route to recruit at least twenty additional military veterans
Lord Selkirk reached Lake Ontario and skirted the north shore

until they reached York, the capital of Upper Canada (Ontario)
It was common knowledge among the Nor'Westers that Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk
was on his way to his Red River Colony with a body of armed men
and that his route would pass near North West Company headquarters at Fort William
there was evidence that a plot to seize or kill Lord Selkirk was considered some weeks before
Lord Selkirk and his party arrived at the Canadian military post on Drummond Island (Michigan)
where he learned of efforts by the North West Company arouse the Indians against his colony
and also of efforts by a trapper named Grant to intercept a messenger
carrying Lord Selkirk's dispatches to his colony

NOR'WESTERS PREPARE FOR WAR

Competition between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company exploded beyond all sanity
bloodshed, debauchery of the Indians, and frantic stripping of the country
of every possible fur-bearing animal became an integral parts of the struggle for supremacy
North West Company partners had resolved to finally uproot
Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's colony from the banks of the Red River
After his successful attack on Hudson's Bay Company's Brandon House
Cuthbert Grant continued to lead his force of about seventy Nor'Westers and Metis
toward Red River Colony
when they arrived at the southern tip of Lake Winnipeg
Grant set up a crude fort and placed two swivel guns inside -- June 16, 1816

RED RIVER COLONY'S FORT DOUGLAS IS ATTACKED BY NOR'WESTERS

Nor'Wester agent Alexander Macdonell continued his preparations to attack Red River Colony
he had accumulated about 120 Nor'Westers, Metis and Indians all well-armed and mounted
when this force was ready to march Macdonell turned them over to Metis Cuthbert Grant
Macdonell did not wish to take part in the upcoming raid himself
Settlers at Red River Colony had prepared for the obvious danger they faced
Fort Douglas was strengthened and guards were posted around the clock
however, Governor Robert Semple did not seem to take the situation very seriously
he finished preparations to depart for Hudson's Bay Company's York Factory on business
Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's colonists were warned by two Cree Indians -- June 17, 1816
who announced there would be an attack on the Red River Colony in two days

RED RIVER COLONISTS COME UNDER ATTACK

Cuthbert Grant led a party of about sixty Metis on horseback

as they attempted to carry provisions past the Red River colony -- 5:00 p.m., June 19, 1816
they plundered some outlying posts on the Assiniboine River then stopped at a place
called Seven Oaks near the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Douglas
Red River Colony Governor Robert Semple gathered twenty men and rode out to meet them
en route he was met by a number of colonists running toward Fort Douglas shouting in fear
after an attempt to discuss concerns with the Nor'Westers failed
one of Semple's colonists was sent back to bring up a cannon
and any men who could be spared from Fort Douglas
Governor Semple waited for reinforcements and the cannon -- but he became impatient
he ordered his men to advance on the Nor'Westers who were concealed behind a stand of trees
as the colonists advanced the Nor'Westers dressed as Indians galloped out
they were well equipped with guns, knives, bows and arrows and spears
In the skirmish Governor Semple was wounded in the thigh and his men gathered around him
Nor'Westers surrounded the now helpless colonists and opened fire
most of Semple's men fell at the first volley as those remaining cried out for mercy
all but six of Governor Semple's men were killed by Cuthbert Grant's Nor'Westers
who suffered only man killed and one wounded
this became known as the Seven Oaks Massacre

COLONISTS REMAINING AT RED RIVER COLONY ARE ALLOWED TO DEPART

North West Company employee Metis Cuthbert Grant and twenty men entered Fort Douglas
what followed became a reign of terror as arson was committed and barns were destroyed
Grant agreed to allow the women, children and surviving colonists to evacuate -- June 20, 1816
however, they were forced to surrender all public property and most of their private property
two hundred evicted colonists set out in canoes down the Red River
once again disaster had overtaken Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk's colonists

COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT IS IMPACTED BY THE COMPANY WAR

North West Company's Columbia Department (Oregon) lay far from the actual conflict
between the Nor'Westers and Hudson's Bay Company
but repercussions inevitably reached across the mountains
fur trappers and traders who were displaced from their assignments by conflicts
or who were in trouble with the law for their part in the battles
often found their way to the Columbia Department to escape arrest and punishment
company warfare kept the best of the voyageurs east of the Continental Divide
in their place the Northwest Company's Columbia Department

received more and more undesirables
Discipline crumbled in the Columbia Department and extravagance became endemic
Iroquois and Abenaki Indians from the St. Lawrence River region arrived
undependable at best, these trigger-happy Eastern Indians perceived
the lack of discipline and control and responded in kind
their wanton horse stealing and raping so inflamed the local natives
of the Willamette region to the south and the Cowlitz Indians to the north
that both rich valleys had to be abandoned for the next few seasons

NORTH WEST COMPANY POLICY REGARDING COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT CHANGES

Although battles were raging between the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company
Nor'Wester headquarters post at Fort William on Lake Superior,
continued to demand results from the Columbia Department
North West Company changed its policy -- 1816
partners in Montreal believed coastal trade was only marking time as retired trappers
in the Columbia Department were absorbing all of the profits with their leisurely life style
Columbia Department was divided into two administrative districts
region West of Rockies became known as "New Caledonia"
(north-central portions of present-day British Columbia)
this division was to get supplies from Fort George instead of from the East
"Western Division" was instructed to extend to the south toward California
strong trapping parties were to range through the country rather than living at the posts

DONALD "FATS" MCKENZIE IS HIRED BY THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

North West Company startled the former Astorian Donald McKenzie
by offering the then princely salary of five hundred pounds a year
to see what he could do about increasing the Columbia Department's inland trade
this price was more than he could turn down
he was again going to Fort George (Astoria) -- this time as governor

LORD SELKIRK LEARNS OF THE DISASTER THAT BESET HIS COLONY

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk led his colonist/soldiers from Drummond Island
to the town of Sault Ste. Marie (Ontario)
only a few miles out of town he encountered two canoes
in one of these was Red River Colony Governor Miles Macdonell
who had been released from arrest in Montreal

for the first time Lord Selkirk learned of the massacre of Governor Robert Semple
and his men at Seven Oaks

and of the eviction of his settlers from his colony by North West Company employees
Lord Selkirk wrote a letter to recently-appointed Governor of Canada Sir John Sherbrooke to explain
that he was forced to act -- or allow a daring and vicious crime to go unpunished -- July 29, 1816

LORD SELKIRK LEADS HIS SOLDIER-SETTLERS TO FORT WILLIAM

Lord Selkirk acted on his own authority

he had a force of military veterans large enough to enter Nor'Westers' Fort William headquarters
but he was in a difficult position

he had been appointed justice of the peace for Upper Canada and the Indian Territories

but it did not seem proper to try lawbreakers who were attacking his personal interests

Lord Selkirk requested two Canadian magistrates to accompany him to Fort William

both declined as Fort William was a North West Company town in every regard

Selkirk reported his request in writing to Governor-General of Canada John Sherbrooke

Lord Selkirk diverted his private army to North West Company headquarters at Fort William

he divided his contingent into two forces

he led one division speedily toward Fort William

his second division of soldier-settlers advanced more slowly

Lord Selkirk reached the islands that block the approach to Lake Superior's Thunder Bay

he entered the bay and ascended the Kaministikwia River

for about half a mile -- early August 1816

there he built a temporary camp across the river from Fort William

most of the wintering partners had departed except those bound for Red River, Winnipeg River

and Lake Superior who were there with their outfits

LORD SELKIRK CATCHES THE NOR'WESTERS OFF GUARD

Lord Selkirk was reinforced by his slower moving second contingent of men -- August 12, 1816

Lord Selkirk wrote a letter to North West Company Chief Director William McGillivray

to ask why Hudson's Bay Company men were being held prisoner

he demanded their immediate release

several of the prisoners were released and allowed to go to Lord Selkirk's camp

Acting as a justice of the peace for Upper Canada and the Indian Territories

Lord Selkirk held court and heard evidence from the released prisoners

he quickly acquired enough information that he felt justified to bring legal action

against some of the Nor'Westers at Fort William

LORD SELKIRK ORDERS WILLIAM MCGILLIVRAY ARRESTED

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk sent two men as constables with a warrant to arrest North West Company Chief Director William McGillivray -- August 13, 1816 these constables were accompanied by nine fully armed soldier-settlers McGillivray was found writing a letter in his room he read the warrant and commented that he was prepared to accompany them he only requested that two North West Company partner Kenneth McKenzie and Fort William Chief Trader Dr. John McLoughlin be allowed to go along to post bail all three Nor'Westers were taken to Lord Selkirk's camp

When Lord Selkirk was informed the prisoners were in his power he acted imprudently:

- he seized Fort William and confiscated North West Company furs for his own benefit (North West Company later claimed that there were goods worth £8,000 and six hundred packs of furs valued at £60,000 which Selkirk held at Fort William);
- he released the prisoners being held in custody by the North West Company;
- he investigated the events along the Red River and took depositions from witnesses;
- he refused bail for William McGillivray and wrote indictments against McKenzie and McLoughlin he ordered the two North West Company partners also be held;
- Lord Selkirk next wrote orders to arrest all of the other partners remaining in Fort William both constables were dispatched accompanied by twenty-five soldiers who served as escorts

ALL OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY PARTNERS AT FORT WILLIAM ARE ARRESTED

Siding with Lord Selkirk, arrest warrants were issued by the Canadian government for all North West Company partners for their part in what became known as the Pemmican War When constables arrived at Fort William they faced many French-Canadians, Metis and Indians who had gathered at the entrance to the post Lord Selkirk's constables saw two North West Company partners and apprehended them John McDonald, a third partner, was found but he put up a strong show of resistance some Nor'Westers attempted to close the gate to Fort William as the constables struggled to enter when a shout for support went up from one of the constables twenty-five soldiers advanced in spite of the angry crowd, Lord Selkirk's men entered the gates of Fort William six North West Company partners were arrested: Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, John McDonald, Kenneth McKenzie, Allan McDonald and Hugh McGillis when they were marched away two soldiers remained to search the papers of those who had been arrested

Lord Selkirk's actions probably did not cause more bloodshed because North West Company was reluctant to clash with the professional soldiers he had employed

HOLDING THE PRISONERS WAS A PROBLEM FOR LORD SELKIRK

When Lord Selkirk finished his examination of the new prisoners it was late -- August 13, 1816 he arranged that they should return to their quarters at Fort William for the night with the understanding they would behave properly and do nothing hostile toward their captors

In the morning a search of Fort William showed that many papers had been burned word was delivered to Lord Selkirk that guns and ammunition had been removed during the night Lord Selkirk issued another warrant authorizing a search for weapons fifty or more guns were found hidden in a barn under a pile of hay eight barrels of gunpowder were found recently hidden in a swamp not far from the fort nine North West Company partners were again taken as prisoners

Lord Selkirk moved his tents to the ground near Fort William he ordered Fort William occupied by his soldiers most of the French-Canadians, Metis and Indians employed by the North West Company were ordered to leave the fort and cross to the other side of the river their canoes were confiscated

Lord Selkirk conducted a hearing he decided all nine company officials should be taken to York (today's Toronto) for trial North West Company Chief Director William McGillivray, Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, John McDonald, Kenneth McKenzie, Allan McDonald and Hugh McGillis, Kenneth McKenzie and Fort William Chef Trader Dr. John McLoughlin

BRINGING THE NORTH WEST COMPANY OFFICIALS TO TRIAL IS DIFFICULT

Three canoes were provisioned to deliver the nine Nor'Westers across Lake Superior to York (today's Toronto) for trial -- August 18, 1816 they were guarded by a contingent of Lord Selkirk's soldiers Indians regularly employed by North West Company were hired as voyagers and guides

LORD SELKIRK PUNISHES NORTH WEST COMPANY

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk held Fort William in his power he sent his soldiers out to capture four nearby North West Company trading posts he sent other soldiers to the Red River area to restore order and assist the return of his colonists Fort Douglas was retaken from the North West Company

TRAGEDY STRIKES THOSE DELIVERING NORTH WEST COMPANY PARTNERS TO TRIAL

Three canoes carrying the nine company partners under guard to York (Toronto)

stopped for dinner -- 1:00 p.m., August 26, 1816

while they were eating a heavy westerly breeze sprang up

but they were on the leeward side of an island and did not notice its full strength
even so, the lieutenant in charge of the guards had misgivings

he asked North West Company partner and expert canoeman William McGillivray's advice

McGillivray believed they could continue if the voyageurs were careful

voyageurs disagreed and advised staying on the island -- this advice was ignored

Soon after setting out on the river a heavy squall hit the canoes which began taking on water

when the lead canoe turned toward an island the other two followed

quickly the lead canoe became swamped and capsized in rough water near the island

other canoes were too heavily laden to be of assistance

they paddled to shore, partially unloaded and returned to help their struggling friends

in spite of the most heroic efforts nine of the twenty-one people in the canoe drowned

including North West Company partner Kenneth McKenzie

Chief Trader Dr. John McLoughlin was dragged ashore unconscious

fable says the experience turned his great halo of silken hair snow white

(probably the change came more naturally)

but whatever the cause, the premature graying contributed no little bit

to the patriarchal reputation that gradually began to grow up around the man

For their part in the Pemmican War none of the north West Company partners were found guilty

FORT OKANOGAN IS REBUILT

Ross Cox replaced the original driftwood buildings of Fort Okanogan with a strong fort

he stated in his book *Adventures On The Columbia River, Including The Narrative Of A Residence Of Six Years On The Western Side Of The Rocky Mountains, Among Various Tribes Of Indians Hitherto Unknown*: **“Before the month of September we had erected a new dwelling-house for the person in charge, containing four excellent rooms and a large dining hall, two good houses for the men and a spacious store for the furs and merchandise, to which was attached a shop for trading with the natives. The whole was surrounded by strong palisades fifteen feet high and flanked by two bastions. Each bastion had, in its lower story, a light brass four-pounder; and in the upper,**

loopholes were left for the use of musketry.... The point of land on which the fort is built is formed by the junction of the Oakinagan [sic] river with the Columbia.”¹⁵²

Fort Okanogan was an important storage depot and horse rendezvous that served as the gateway to Fort Thompson (Kamloops) and New Caledonia -- August 26, 1816

EIGHT NORTH WEST COMPANY OFFICIALS FACE A JUDGE IN YORK

After the tragic accident another canoe was procured at Sault Ste Marie to deliver the now eight North West Company officials to trial they arrive in York (Toronto) -- September 3, 1816

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk’s lieutenant charged with guarding the partners sought out the attorney-general to take the proper legal steps, but found that he was absent

Meanwhile in an effort to go before a judge and prove they were being detained illegally his eight prisoners applied for a writ of habeas corpus when they appeared in court Lord Selkirk’s soldiers were ordered to take the prisoners to Montreal that is, to take them to the home of the North West Company where they would be supported by powerful influences

EIGHT NORTH WEST COMPANY OFFICIALS ARE DELIVERED TO MONTREAL FOR TRIAL

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk’s soldiers delivered eight North West Company officials to the North West Company headquarters town of Montreal where the company was all-powerful Trials of the Nor’Westers began in an Upper Canada courtroom -- September 10, 1816 North West Company principal partner William McGillivray was acquitted in court (perhaps because Judge Reid was married to McGillivray’s sister) seven other North West Company officials delivered by Lord Selkirk’s soldiers were immediately tried and acquitted in less than an hour however, North West Company Chief Trader Dr. John McLoughlin was disheartened by the experience and by the mutually ruinous violence which brought his employers to the edge of bankruptcy

RESULTS OF THE CONTINUING COMPANY WARS

So many people died in the encounters between the rival fur trading companies that British political leaders became aroused

¹⁵² George W. Fuller, A History of the Pacific Northwest, P. 120.

British Government virtually ordered an end to hostilities and threatened official intervention including the possibility of revoking of the charters of both North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company -- this forced the rival companies to meet to unite the two rivals into a single company

NORTH WEST COMPANY CHIEF TRADER DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN SEEKS PEACE

Nor'Wester Dr. John McLoughlin spearheaded a drive to talk peace with the Hudson's Bay Company North West Company wintering partners listened to him they gave him their proxy votes to carry to London Fort William Chief Trader Dr. McLoughlin traveled to London to represent the North West Company in negotiations with Hudson's Bay Company according to legend, in London he was a dominant figure in working out details of a merger actually his voice was seldom heard but his leadership talents were recognized Officers of Hudson's Bay Company also quickly recognized Dr. McLoughlin's merits

DONALD MCKENZIE RETURNS TO FORT GEORGE (ASTORIA)

Chief Trader James Keith remained the senior North West Company partner in charge of Fort George he was placed in charge of New Caledonia -- fall 1816 he also managed shipping to China and general outfitting of trapping brigades into the interior Donald McKenzie was placed in charge of New Caledonia's interior trade it was strange reunion when McKenzie arrived at Fort George (Astoria) -- 1816 he met with jealousy and suspicion from resident traders especially Chief Trade James Keith who placed every obstacle in his way

DONALD "FATS" MCKENZIE DEVELOPS TRADING IN THE SNAKE RIVER REGION

Exploitation of the Snake River Country was an assignment specifically given to Donald McKenzie McKenzie developed a plan of splitting the Columbia Department into inland and coastal districts this idea would water down the prestige of Chief Trader James Keith and would drain manpower and goods from Fort George However McKenzie was a proven and able leader in every respect patiently he listened to the objections of James Keith and the other Nor'Westers then he organized groups of trappers into brigades (whom McKenzie believed would work harder than the natives to secure more furs) McKenzie took the men from Fort George that Chief Trader James Keith gave him this was, in fact, a dismaying gang of Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders and castoff voyageurs McKenzie spent two years -- 1816-[1818]

reassessing the country he had once considered to be profitless
Donald McKenzie was firm and just in his treatment of the Indians, but at the same time, friendly
since he was the chief of the white traders he acted toward the Indians as a chief
he did not treat the natives as inferior people -- he would not bully or cheat them
along the way he sought the good will of the thieving natives of the portages
and carefully appeased the hostility of the more distant Nez Perce and Shoshones
he followed their customs in many ways so the Indians came to trust him
he was so respected that he could go among the natives unarmed
but he kept his traders well-armed and disciplined -- just in case
McKenzie spent his time at Fort George, Spokane House
and the North West Company headquarters at Fort William on Lake Superior
Donald McKenzie ruled the interior country and built up a large trade with the Indians
he provided valuable service to the North West Company
by developing a rich trade in (today's southern Idaho)

WILSON PRICE HUNT RETURNS TO NEW YORK CITY

(After trading with the natives in Russian-America, *Pedler* was impounded by Russian authorities
for illegally trading with the Indians [July 1815]

Wilson Price Hunt left New Archangel [Sitka] Russian-America [Alaska]
on the *Pedler* [November 1815]

he arrived in the Hawaiian Islands [on December 12, 1815]

after a short visit he continued on the Canton, China

Wilson Price Hunt accompanied Captain Samuel Northrup and the ship *Pedler* left Canton
they around Africa's Cape Horn to return to John Jacob Astor

Pedler sailed into New York City after circling the globe -- October 16, 1816

Hunt's story would make the front page of the New York City newspapers
Americans displayed a remarkable amount of interest in the exploits of men like Wilson Price Hunt
and the members of the Pacific Fur Company

NORTH WEST COMPANY PUBLISHES DAVID THOMPSON'S ORIGINAL MAP

This map, which showed the fictitious Caledonia River south of the Fraser River, was published
in a North West Company pamphlet without David Thompson's permission -- 1816

although a more accurate map had been produced by Thompson

This map became a prime source of other maps for about twenty years after that
all of them showing the same error

(It was unfortunate that David Thompson was not successful in his many attempts

to get his more accurate map published during his lifetime
his incorrect maps later formed the basis for a map of western Canada
that was published for settlers' use in [1857]
it became the basic map of the West for almost another fifty years)

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S DONALD McKENZIE JOURNEYS TO FORT WILLIAM

Donald McKenzie started from Fort George bound for Fort William on Lake Superior -- late fall 1816
at the Cascades of the Columbia River he found the river choked with ice
he was compelled to stay in the villages of natives until the ice broke up
during this time he was treated as a chief
when the ice broke he continued his journey up the Columbia River

LORD SELKIRK TRAVELS FROM FORT WILLIAM TO HIS RED RIVER COLONY

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk in the Red River Colony
spoke to a large gathering of his settlers at the Red River Colony -- 1817
in view of the hardships they had endured he provided additional land free of dues
to reward his soldiers he gave them land on both sides of the Red River
not far from Fort Douglas in case they were needed to put down trouble
he encouraged the settlers to build roads, construct bridges and build flour mills
he began a parish of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland for the Red River Colony
Lord Selkirk's religion was deep-seated
and he was resolved to make provisions for worship

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S DONALD "FATS" McKENZIE ARRIVES AT FORT WILLIAM

Donald McKenzie arrived at the North West Company headquarters
at Fort William at Thunder Bay on Lake Superior -- 1817
During his first year as leader of the New Caledonia interior trade
he reported out a larger catch of furs of better quality than ever before but competition
between the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company dramatically increased

BRITISH GOVERNMENT BECOMES INVOLVED IN THE COMPANY WARS IN CANADA

Hostilities in the fur country were being considered in England
Secretary of State Lord Bathurst thought the home government should take action
he sent an official notice to Governor of Canada Sir John Sherbrooke
instructing him to deal with the situation
all forts, building and property involved in the conflict

should be restored to their rightful owners

When Sherbrooke received this dispatch -- February 1817

he selected two military officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Bachellor Coltman and Major John Fletcher to go to the Indian Territories to arbitrate the issues causing dissension

MANUEL LISA'S BAD REPUTATION FORCES HIS RESIGNATION AS INDIAN AGENT

Manuel Lisa had acted as Indian Agent for the United State since the end of the War of 1812

he resigned his commission in a letter to Louisiana Territorial Governor General William Clark

in his letter Lisa analyzed his strengths: **“But I have had some success as a trader; and this gives rise to many reports. Manuel must cheat the government, and Manuel must cheat the Indians, otherwise Manuel could not bring down every summer so many boats loaded with rich furs.**

“Good, My accounts with the government will show whether I receive anything out of which to cheat it. A poor five hundred dollars, as sub-agent salary, does not buy the tobacco which I annually give to those who call me father.

“Cheat the Indians! The respect and friendship which they have for me, the security of my possessions in the heart of their country respond to this charge, and declare with voices louder than the tongues of men that it cannot be true.

“But Manuel gets so much rich fur!

“Well, I will explain how I get it. First, I put into my operations great activity; I go a great distance, while some are considering whether they will start today or tomorrow. I impose upon myself great privations; then months in a year I am buried in the forest; at a vast distance from my own house. I appear as the benefactor, and not as the pillager, of the Indians. I carried among them the seed of the large pompion [pumpkin], from which I have seen in their possession the fruit weighing 160 pounds. Also the large bean, the potato, the turnip; and these vegetables now make a comfortable part of their subsistence, and this year I have promised to carry the plough. Besides, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak and of the old men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of these nations, and the consequent choice of their trade.”¹⁵³

Manuel Lisa returned to the fur trade-- 1817

he journeyed up and down the Missouri River running his fur trapping and trading operation

each of Manuel Lisa's seasonal trips carried supplies into the wilderness, brought out furs

and drove another wedge in the process of opening the wilderness

(after many years of controversial fur trade life

¹⁵³ Gordon Speck, *Northwest Explorations*, P. 265.

Manuel Lisa died near St. Louis, Missouri [August 1820])

EFFORT TO REESTABLISH PEACE WITH THE NATIVES IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Former Astorian now Nor'Wester Alexander Ross led a force of forty-five North West Company men in an attempt to pacify the Multnomah Indians

Ross brought with him a large quantity of tobacco -- a precious commodity

Camps were established along the Willamette River

Multnomahs camped along the east bank of the river just below Willamette Falls

North West Company men supported by two field pieces camped on the west bank

After three days of peaceful attempts, Ross met with Chief Kesno

calumet (peace pipe) was smoked, a flag offered, tributes and restitutions were given and received
an Indian slave was given to Ross but was returned

although Ross appreciated the meaning of the gesture

North West Company was given permission to travel on the Willamette River

and portage around the falls -- however, they were forbidden to take salmon at the falls

After his return to Fort George Alexander Ross was sent

to the post on the Thompson River (Kamloops) for a year

CANADIAN MILITARY OFFICERS ARRIVE AT RED RIVER COLONY

Canadian Commissioners Lieutenant-Colonel Bachellor Coltman and Major John Fletcher

led forty men of the 37th Regiment from Sault Ste Marie [May 1817]

Coltman arrived at Red River Colony first -- July 5, 1817

he met with Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk

while in Montreal Coltman had formed the opinion that Lord Selkirk was a domineering autocrat
after meet his lordship and evaluating the situation

he believed Selkirk was neither irrational nor self-seeking

Coltman was impressed with Lord Selkirk's evident attempt to avoid violation of the laws

he advised the accusations against Lord Selkirk should not be brought into the courts

at the same time he imposed bail of £10,000

to appear in Upper Canada (Ontario) for trial

Commissioners Coltman's and Fletcher's report to the Canadian governor-general

was a carefully prepared impartial statement of events

as a result, both Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company blamed the report
for not giving the full facts of the case

LORD SELKIRK PURCHASES THE TITLE TO SOME INDIAN LAND

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk had gained the respect of the Indians who gave him the unusual name of the "Silver Chief"

To avoid future disputes Lord Selkirk was anxious to buy their ancient title to the land along the Red and Assiniboine rivers he gathered the local Cree and Saulteaux chiefs together at Fort Douglas natives leaders gave eloquent speeches and stated they would give up a portion of their land on either side of the Red River upstream from its mouth as far as the Red Lake River (now Grand Forks, North Dakota) and on either side of the Assiniboine River to its junction with the Muskrat River

Lord Selkirk concluded a treaty after distributing presents -- July 18, 1817 it was stipulated that one hundred pounds of good tobacco should be given annually to each nation

LORD SELKIRK LEAVES THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

Having firmly established his colony, Lord Selkirk left his settlement and journeyed south he traveled through the unorganized lands of the Louisiana Purchase belonging to the United States and reached St. Louis on the Mississippi River before continuing on to Washington City, Albany, New York and the New England states he arrived at the Canadian province of Upper Canada (Ontario) where he discovered agents of the North West Company had laid plans to attack him in the courts four charges were filed against him regarding his activities at Fort William he was ordered to appear at Sandwich, a judicial center on the Detroit River

When Lord Selkirk arrived at Sandwich one of the charges was quickly dropped all of the other three charges were held over until witnesses could arrive

Lord Selkirk was released on £350 bail and the case was moved to Montreal headquarters city for the North West Company

DONALD McKENZIE RETURNS TO FORT GEORGE

Nor'Wester Donald "Fats" McKenzie traveled with the returning supply brigade going from Fort William on Lake Superior back to Fort George -- 1817

McKenzie had administered North West Company's New Caledonia interior trade for year without any casualties or bloodshed and had increased the amount and value of pelts delivered but a lot of manual labor was needed at Fort George

also the fort could not rely entirely on food supplies brought in by ship crops had to be planted to feed the employees there

two hundred acres of land had been cleared but only a fraction of that planted -- 1817

OWNERSHIP OF THE PACIFIC COAST REMAINS UNDER DISPUTE

At one time or another five nations claimed the Pacific Northwest:

- Spain had claimed the Pacific coast from California to Russian-America but she relinquished her claim under the Nootka Treaty as part of the Nootka Agreement [January 11, 1794];
- France had claimed all land west of the Mississippi River she was eliminated by the Louisiana Purchase [April 30, 1803];
- Russia maintained a claim to the same area once claimed by Spain from Russian-American in the north to Spanish-America (California) to the south Fort Ross on the Russian River (Sacramento, California) had been constructed to demonstrate their claim;
- United States continued to claim the West by right of discovery, exploration and settlement;
- Britain continued to claim the West by rights of discovery, exploration, settlement and treaty

United States and Great Britain attempted to establish a boundary in the Pacific Northwest but no agreement could be reached

both nations claimed the land from the California boundary (42° north latitude) to the Alaska boundary claimed by Russia (54°-40' north latitude)

STEPS ARE TAKEN TO RESOLVE THE OWNERSHIP OF FORT GEORGE (ASTORIA)

Representatives of the United States and Great Britain were again at the conference table attempting to compromise issues not addressed in the [1814] Treaty of Ghent specifically the ownership of the major trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River operated by the Canadian North West Company

but claimed by American John Jacob Astor

John Jacob Astor managed after four years to get the United States government to send a man-of-war to Astoria to retrieve his property

United States government notified the British government of its intent to reoccupy the fort
United States government notified the British government of its intent to reoccupy the fort

AMERICAN TAKES ACTION TO RE-ACQUIRE ASTORIA

American sloop-of-war *Ontario* under Captain James Biddle was dispatched by the United States government to sail around Cape Horn to the Columbia River

Ontario carried American Commissioner J.B. Prevost

who was sent to Fort George as a special agent by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams

Prevost was ordered to the Columbia River “...to assert there the claim of sovereignty in the name and on behalf of the United States by some symbolical or other appropriate mode of setting up a claim to national authority and dominion”

Commissioner Prevost left the *Ontario* at Valparaiso, Chile -- 1817

where he awaited transportation to the mouth of the Columbia River

BRITISH RESPONSE TO CAPTAIN BIDDLE’S ORDERS

Charles Bagot, British Minister at Washington, learned about orders given to Captain James Biddle instructing him to repossess Astoria

Bagot protested to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams

Astoria was not one of the “**places and possessions**” referred to in the Treaty of Ghent the fort had been purchased by British subjects before the arrival of HMS *Raccoon* nor was the Columbia valley “**territory...taken...during the war**”

it was rather a region that had “**early taken possession of in His Majesty’s name,** [by Lieutenant Broughton of the George Vancouver expedition] **and that it had long since been considered to form a part of His Majesty’s dominions.**”¹⁵⁴

BRITISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT AGREE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHARLES BAGOT

British Foreign Secretary Lord Castlereagh disagreed with his British Minister at Washington City as the British secretary found reasons of policy under the Treaty of Ghent

for conceding Astoria to the United States

however, the British Foreign Secretary refused to concede the American claim to the whole region

British Foreign Secretary Castlereagh offered to restore the Columbia River post to the United States and submit the question of title to the country as a whole to arbitration

UNITED STATES RESPONDS TO THE CLAIMS OF THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams accepted the offer to restore Astoria to John Jacob Astor but refused the offer to arbitrate the boundary between Canada and the United States

however, America was obviously in a weak position to push the boundary line to the north thus the question of international boundary for Oregon remained unresolved

NOR’WESTER DAVID THOMPSON IS HIRED TO DRAW THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY

Retired Nor’Wester David Thompson was appointed to the British commission that was established

¹⁵⁴ The Westminster Review, Volume 45, P. 437.

to define and map the boundary between Canada and the United States

he surveyed the region from St. Regis, Quebec to the Northwest angle of Lake of the Woods
which is a lake that occupies parts of Canada's provinces of Ontario and Manitoba
and the state of Minnesota

North West Company hurried him off to identify the location of the new boundary

he accomplished the task in ten months

driving himself and his entourage through sub-zero blizzards by dog sled
covering 4,000 miles of mostly uncharted territory

and earning the respect of even North West Company partner Alexander Mackenzie

who had previously forged routes from Lake Athabasca to the Pacific and Arctic oceans

Thompson's efforts "**should have taken two years**"¹⁵⁵ Mackenzie marveled

David Thompson spent nine years as the British representative to the commission -- 1817-[1826]

(tragically David Thompson and his work was almost completely ignored by history

interest did spark for a brief period during the Oregon dispute of the [mid-1840s]

but waned quickly when ownership of Oregon once again came under dispute)

AMERICA'S EXPANSION WEST WAS OF LITTLE POLITICAL INTEREST

United States government demonstrated little real interest in the Pacific Northwest

presidents of the United States during that time were from the South or the Atlantic seaboard

they were not especially concerned with the Far West

Congress was dominated by Southerners who were focused on slavery

South Carolina U.S. Senator John C. Calhoun usually led the South's senators

he was single-minded on the issue of slavery -- especially in expanding westward

Massachusetts Congressman Daniel Webster spoke for New England manufacturers

who dominated political power in the Northeastern states

they were focused on protecting business interests through protective tariffs

expansion of the nation to the West was not on their political agenda

Kentucky Congressman Henry Clay was interested in nationalism and expansion

but even he did not apply those ideals to the "Westmost West"

Secretary of War Southerner John C. Calhoun had an ambitious defense plan in mind -- 1818

he called for military posts extending from the Great Lakes to the upper Missouri River

his underlying idea was to control the Indians in the region

and to provide protection to the American fur trade there from British incursions

but he had no interest in the West coast of North America

¹⁵⁵ Pritt J. Vesilind, *National Geographic*, May 1996, Vol. 189 Issue 5, P. 112.

or even beyond the Rocky Mountains

PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE WANTS BETTER RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN

President James Monroe had served as Secretary of State during the War before his [1816] election in an effort to improve American-British relations he had negotiated the Rush-Bagot Treaty that resolved one of the border disputes held over from the War of 1812

Rush-Bagot Treaty was named after acting-Secretary of State Richard Rush and British Minister to the United States Charles Bagot

when ratified by the United States Senate -- April 16, 1818

it demilitarized the Great Lakes by limiting the number of ships and cannons either nation could have on Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario

LORD SELKIRK'S MEN ARE BROUGHT TO TRIAL IN MONTREAL

North West Company agents had filed charges against Hudson's Bay Company employees including Lord Selkirk's colonial recruiter Colin Robertson

who were charged with willful destruction of North West Company's Fort Gibraltar [1815] trials began Montreal but the jury refused to convict the defendants -- May 1818

PETER SKENE OGDEN ARRIVES IN COLUMBIA DISTRICT

Peter Skene (sometimes Skeene, Skein or Skeen) Ogden was a modest, courageous and durable employee of North West Company -- 1818

Peter Skene Ogden was born in [1794] the son of Sarah (Hanson) Ogden and her husband Canadian Chief Justice Isaac Ogden of Quebec

little was recorded regarding his education other than the fact he was well-schooled

he was tutored in law by a local minister but showed little interest

he signed a seven year apprenticeship as a clerk with the North West Company [1809]

Ogden was assigned to a trading post on the prairies north of the Saskatchewan River where he systematically harassed rival traders from the Hudson's Bay Company

his bullying tactics included slashing his rivals' clothes, smashing their fingers with sticks and slapping their faces -- always in an ever-expanding pattern of intimidation

he took a Cree Indian woman as his common-law wife and they had a son

Ogden crossed the line between physical assaults which had become a commonplace in the trade war, and killing which was not, when he became involved in the well-documented murder

of an Indian who insisted on trading with the Hudson's Bay Company house rather than with Ogden [1816]

Ogden was charged with murder and the North West Company

moved him the Columbia District in an attempt to avoid any further confrontations
with the Hudson's Bay Company
When Peter Skene Ogden arrived at Fort George many Nor'Westers remarked on his intelligence
and keen sense of humor while others noted his profanity, difficult disposition and brawling ways

TROUBLE FOLLOWS PETER SKENE OGDEN TO THE COLUMBIA DISTRICT

Peter Skene Ogden began work for the North West Company at Astoria
He was asked to negotiate a solution to a dispute between a group of Iroquois Indian trappers
and a band of Cowlitz Indians accompanied by the Iroquois,
Ogden traveled up the Columbia River to the Cowlitz village
but the Iroquois were not interested in mediation
they massacred a dozen men, women and children as Ogden helplessly watched
when he finally got the situation under control Ogden convinced the Cowlitz chief
that Astoria would provide safety for the villagers
but when he escorted the refugees downstream to the fort,
Nor'Westers inside the post mistakenly opened fire on the new arrivals
relations between the Cowlitz people and the fur company became hostile
and Peter Skene Ogden learned a hard lesson about leadership

DONALD McKENZIE EXPANDS NORTH WEST COMPANY OPERATIONS IN NEW CALIDONIA

After two years of trapping in the wilderness, McKenzie returned down the Columbia River
with a plan that brought howls of outrage
from tradition bound Chief Trader James Keith at Fort George -- June 5, 1818
since the inland natives could not be persuaded to trap
Donald "Fats" McKenzie had determined to take his own hunters into the field,
this was a revolutionary procedure which although sporadically tried
had never become standard policy for any responsible fur company
furthermore, McKenzie proposed to establish as a base of operations a new post
at the mouth of the Walla Walla River surrounded by very unfriendly inland natives

CHIEF TRADER JAMES KEITH REACTS TO DONALD McKENZIE'S PLAN

Chief Trader James Keith believed the plan to place white trappers in the field
and to build a post among hostile Pacific natives seemed impossible or insane
yet Donald McKenzie had the authority to carry out his idea
in fact, new orders to that effect had just arrived
from North West Company headquarters at Fort William

North West Company leaders demanded a new central depot for their interior trading posts
be built among the Nez Perce Indians in the interior
With monumental bad form, Keith reluctantly handed over forty men to McKenzie

SITE FOR NORTH WEST COMPANY'S FORT NEZ PERCES SELECTED

North West Company employees spent a good deal of time searching for a location in the interior
that would combine efficient transportation facilities, friendly Indians
and a reliable supply of beaver

Fort Okanogan had not proven to be up to the task

Donald McKenzie declared Spokane House to be an expensive luxury

McKenzie and forty men journeyed up the Columbia River from Fort George

they camped beside the river near the mouth of the Walla Walla River

McKenzie selected this site for Fort Nez Perces -- July 11, 1818

it was to be located to be on a treeless plain overlooking a broad curve

of the sun-struck green-shimmering Columbia River near the junction of Walla Walla River

(near the location of today's Wallula, Washington)

essentially all company exports and supplies passed through the Columbia Gorge

this location protected the route -- Fort Nez Perces was the most important post in the interior
fur trade headquartered here focused on the Snake River watershed and central Rocky Mountains,
it provided the opportunity to trap in the territories of Shoshone and Nez Perce Indians,

and enabled the North West Company to reduce the fighting among the natives

this was a gathering place for natives and proved to be a favorable location

however, where McKenzie was to build was, in fact,

located among the Walla Wallas and Cayuse natives -- not the Nez Perce

(later the name of the post was changed to Fort Walla Walla)

ALEXANDER ROSS SERVES AS CHIEF TRADER AT FORT NEZ PERCES

Fort Nez Perces was established by the North West Company as outfitting and trading post

Alexander Ross was assigned to the position of Chief Trader of Fort Nez Perces

among his employees were twenty-five French-Canadians, thirty-eight Iroquois Indians
and thirty-two Kanakas (Hawaiians)

(Ross was very successful at his new assignment

he met and traded with as many as 10,000 Indians in [1819] alone)

Alexander Ross arrived at the site for the new post from Fort Kamloops on the Thompson River

he wrote of the difficulties involved with construction: **"We were in an unfriendly land with a gigantic task on our hands. In the whole country, this spot was the hardest! Nevertheless the region**

had to be made safe for the fur trade, the friendship of the natives secured, buildings made, furs collected, and new territories added. This was a big program, and we did not dare see obstacles ahead. Our orders were to occupy the position, so on the dreaded spot we took our stand to run every risk, and brave every danger.”¹⁵⁶

FORT NEZ PERCES IS CONSTRUCTED AT THE MOUTH OF THE WALLA WALLA RIVER

Nor’Westers cut trees growing upstream, these were tied together

and floated them down to the building site

this was some of the earliest “boom” logging (where log rafts are floated) in the Northwest
Fort Nez Perces was a most strongly fortified post when it was constructed -- July 1818

it was built with a double palisade unique among North West Company posts

it had a 200-foot-square wall twenty feet high and six inches thick

blockhouses were placed at each of the corners in which cannon were mounted

a water tower for use against a fire attack was located in each blockhouse

a second defensive inner wall twelve feet high made of sawed timbers

surrounded a storehouse and dwellings

Indians admitted for trade were required to carry on negotiations

through a wicker window in an inside wall

except for special councils Indians were not allowed inside

Completed post was described by Alexander Ross: **“The whole establishment was surrounded by a palisade made of ponderous planks of timber twenty feet long, two and half feet broad, and six inches thick. The outside of this wall was made very smooth to keep the enemy from climbing it. Built on the top of the palisade was a range of balustrades, [a protecting wall made of planks put close together in the form of a railing] four feet high which served the double purpose of ramparts [walls] and loopholes [used to fire rifles through]. On the inside, a strong gallery five feet wide, extended all around. Sentinels on guard paced back and forth along this gallery.... At each corner, where a strong bastion or blockhouse was built, was a reservoir that held two hundred gallons of water as a security against fire, the thing we dreaded most in the plots of natives. Inside the wall were built ranges of storehouses, and cabins for the hands. In front of these buildings was another wall twelve feet high, with portholes and slip doors, which separated the buildings from the open square inside.... The outer gate was cleverly made to open and shut by pulley, and two double doors secured the entrance.”¹⁵⁷**

Weapons were formidable

¹⁵⁶ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 20.

¹⁵⁷ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 21

four cannons, ten swivel guns, sixty muskets, twenty pikes, and a box of hand grenades for added precaution Ross recalled, **“all trading was done through a hole in the wall of the trading shop, we standing on the inside, and the natives on the outside.”**¹⁵⁸

Even at that, Iroquois Indians plotted against Donald Mackenzie they attacked him one night but he was saved

by **“...some of the Canadians and faithful Owhyhees [Hawaiians]”**

NORTH WEST COMPANY MAINTAINS A CHAIN OF TRADING POSTS

Despite efforts by the U.S. Congress to prohibit trading on American soil

British and Canadian trading efforts continued to conduct trade without interference

North West Company's Columbia District posts included Fort George on the Columbia River,

Spokane House on the Spokane River,

Fort Okanogan on the Okanogan River,

Fort Thompson at the confluence of the North and South Thompson rivers (Kamloops, B.C.)

Fort Alexander on the south bank of the Winnipeg River,

Fort Nez Percés on the Columbia River near the mouth of the Walla Walla River

also trapping and trading expeditions ventured into Snake River country

U.S. COMMISSIONER J.B. PREVOST RESUMES HIS JOURNEY TO FORT GEORGE

Vice-Admiral Sir Richard King commanded the British fleet assigned to the East Indies Station

Admiral King was assigned the task of providing transportation to Fort George

for United States Commissioner J.B. Prevost so a ceremony could be held

to deliver North West Company's Fort George

back to its original owner, John Jacob Astor

Captain Sheriff, the senior officer of the British ships in the Pacific Ocean

was ordered to provide a witness to the surrender of Fort George on the Columbia River

Captain Sheriff learned of U.S. Commissioner J.B. Prevost's presence in Valparaiso, Chile

Captain Sheriff extended the courtesy of providing Prevost transportation to the Columbia River

aboard H.M.S. frigate *Blossom* under Captain F. Hickey -- Prevost accepted the offer

Blossom sailed from Valparaiso, Chile -- July 12, 1818

Commissioner Prevost was fully empowered to receive possession of Fort George

to be returned to John Jacob Astor as Astoria

LORD SELKIRK ASKS FOR CATHOLIC PRIESTS TO SERVE HIS RED RIVER COLONISTS

¹⁵⁸ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 22.

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk was interested in bringing Catholic priests to his colony to address the ongoing war between the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company
Lord Selkirk requested Joseph-Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, send missionaries
Bishop Plessis created the Catholic District of the North West
permission for Catholic priests to travel to the Red River Colony
had to be secured from earnest Anglican (Church of England) North West Company
however, permission was granted

Father Joseph-Norbert Provencher together with Father Severe Dumolin and seminarian Guillaume Etienne Edge arrived at Fort Douglas to establish a mission east of the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers
when the priests arrived in Red River Colony they made quite an impression -- July 16 1818
Father Provencher stood six foot four inches in his flowing robes and weighed 300 pounds
their mission was to convert the Indians to Christianity
and to "morally improve" delinquent French-Canadians
they were to also to educate the young, and assist in colonization
but any involvement in the company wars was to be strictly avoided
in the first two weeks the clerics performed seventy-two baptisms
many of these were the Indian women French-Canadians had taken as wives

LORD SELKIRK APPEARS IN AN UPPER CANADA COURT TO ANSWER TO CHARGES

Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk appeared in York (Toronto), Upper Canada to face charges regarding his actions at North West Company headquarters at Fort William -- September 1818
Chief Justice Dummer Powel presided
During the investigation by the grand jury no witnesses appeared
members of the grand jury complained that Provincial Attorney General John Beverley Robinson was interfering with their deliberations -- they refused to present an indictment
Chief Justice Powell waited two days for the grand jury to complete its work
when no verdict was forthcoming he imposed bail and adjourned the case
Lord Selkirk's case was never reopened

FUR TRADING COMPANY WARS CONTINUE

Red River colony was not the only scene of violence between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company as their rivalry spread
Hudson's Bay Company made a persistent effort to expand its area of influence to the Athabasca region which was beyond the company's charter
they asserted that being British subjects they had as much right as anyone

to trade in that region

North West Company had no charter rights at all but was determined they would not tamely submit to the loss of their virtual monopoly in the Athabasca trade
North West Company's harassment of Hudson's Bay Company resulted in vast profits
Nor'Westers brought nearly four hundred and thirty packs out of Athabasca -- 1818
while the Hudson's Bay Company's men under did not take out a single pack
Both Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company conducted raids and clashes on their rival
Fort Weddeburn (first built by Hudson's Bay Company in 1815) was rebuilt to provide competition to the Nor'Westers' Fort Chipewyan -- 1818
men under Colin Robertson appeared in force at North West Company's Fort Chipewyan
Great Slave Lake region was the scene of fighting as was the Mackenzie River Department and the region around the Peace River

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S DONALD McKENZIE RESHAPES THE FUR INDUSTRY

Donald McKenzie's great contribution to trapping was the invention of the brigade system which revolutionized the western fur trade
Before McKenzie the fur trade had been based on the trading post to which the Indian trappers brought their pelts for exchange because Nez Perce Indians were reluctant to do this work,
McKenzie decided to form parties of company employees to go into the field to trap rather than establish posts and trapping camps
these trapping brigades would carry their own supplies and equipment on pack horses, trappers would be accompanied by their women and children
and be free to follow the beaver wherever supplies were greatest
brigades provided mobility and flexibility
they removed from Indian Country the tempting target of a well-stocked trading post
it also removed a symbol of the advancing white civilization from the view of increasingly concerned Indians

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S DONALD McKENZIE LEADS HIS TRAPPING BRIGADE

After putting Alexander Ross in charge of Fort Nez Percés
Donald McKenzie moved his trapping operation deep into the Snake River country -- fall 1818
He pushed his brigade of fifty-five men equipped with 300 beaver traps and 195 horses across the Blue Mountains, down the Snake River to the Bear River
as far as the hairpin bend in southern Idaho
and on to the headwaters of the Snake River

To help maintain discipline and to convince suspicious local Indians of his peaceful intent, McKenzie took along with the brigade the families of many of his men
this meant more mouths to feed and more horses to worry about
children had to be provided for -- many were even born on the long marches
but in compensation the wives set up the lodges, attended to the domestic chores
and dressed the furs leaving the men free to fan out along the streams,
each armed with six beaver traps
as long as the majority of the hunters produced beaver, the camp remained stationary
otherwise down came the lodges and on went the cavalcade to the next valley
if the Indians they met chose to trade that was fine -- there were goods for that
but now the main dependence for the company was on the trapping brigade itself
After settling the main party along the Snake River under the charge of Michael Bourbon
McKenzie led half a dozen scouts northward to the sources of the Snake River
they carried a large stock of merchandise, but no provisions as they lived off the land
traveling often on snowshoes, they reexamined the Jackson Hole and Teton country
McKenzie had first seen [in 1811] after leaving Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition
Using the brigade system from 1818 to [1821]
Donald McKenzie probed for furs deep in the Snake Country
reaching almost as far south as the Great Salt Lake

BRITISH AND AMERICAN WAR SHIPS REACH THE COLUMBIA RIVER

After picking up United States Commissioner J.B. Prevost in Valparaiso, Chile
British Royal Navy frigate *Blossom* under Captain F. Hickey
arrived at Fort George -- October 1, 1818
Commissioner J.B. Prevost, unlike British Captain William Black before him, found
a strongly fortified post that served North West Company as the headquarters of New Caledonia
Nor'Westers had managed to clear some two hundred acres, **"20 of which is planted to potatoes
for use of the gentlemen. They have twelve head of cattle, with some pigs and goats imported from
California. The stock does not increase for want of proper care. Wolves often carry off goats and
pigs."**¹⁵⁹

U.S. Commissioner J.B. Prevost was graciously received
by North West Company Chief Trader James Keith
Commissioner Prevost assured James Keith North West Company would retain actual possession
and could continue to occupy and protect the post -- if the post was returned to the United States

¹⁵⁹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 108.

CEREMONY TO RETURN FORT GEORGE TO THE UNITED STATES AS ASTORIA

American Captain James Biddle had sailed his sloop-of-war *Ontario* from Valparaiso, Chile up the West coast of the Americas under orders to reoccupy Astoria or Fort George
Ontario arrived at Fort George -- October 6, 1818

she was the first United States naval vessel to enter the Columbia River

An appropriate ceremony to retake possession of the post for America was held -- October 6, 1818

Commissioner for the United States J.B. Prevost

signed an act restoring Astoria (Fort George) to the United States
representing Great Britain's government was Captain F. Hickey of H.M.S. *Blossom*
and James Keith of the North West Company
both signed the act of acceptance

U.S. Captain James Biddle enacted the order to repossess Astoria

it seems to have been a good natured affair

Commissioner Prevost, Captain F. Hickey and Chief Trader Keith

watched as Captain Biddle lowered the British Union Jack down the flagpole
and watched the United States stars and stripes to up

Captain Biddle for good measure also claimed both sides of the Columbia River
in the name of the United States

these were the first official acts of the United States government
to assert title to the Northwest

Americans believed the act was in conformity to the Treaty of Ghent
in restoring ownership of the property to John Jacob Astor

Placards declaring the surrender of Fort George to the Americans

were placed on either side of the entrance to the Columbia River on Cape Disappointment (north)
and on Point Adams (south) -- these were soon removed by the Indians

FORT GEORGE IS NOW ONCE AGAIN ASTORIA

Canadian North West Company continued as the sole operators of the fort,
now once again trading under the name Astoria

This post was now quite powerfully built

it consisted of a strong stockade of fir logs twelve feet high

that enclosed a parallelogram 150 feet by 250 feet

within it were shops, store houses and powder magazines

on the walls were two eighteen-pound cannon, two six-pound cannon and seven swivel guns

JOHN JACOB ASTOR ABANDONS THE PACIFIC TRADE

Astoria had been returned to John Jacob Astor -- if only as a formality
by this time North West Company trappers were too firmly established for Americans to compete
Great Britain controlled all of the Pacific coast trade for the next twenty years
and virtually ruled New Caledonia
Astor made no move to reoccupy the post
he abandoned his Pacific Fur Company and leased Astoria to the North West Company
commercially Astoria was a failure -- but politically it was a great success
Astor had kept alive United States' claim to the Northwest
Although Astor's Pacific Fur Company had dissolved his American Fur Company had expanded
it now included the upper Missouri River area, upper Mississippi Valley
and the Rocky Mountains
several former Pacific Fur Company employees were involved in the American Fur Company
Wilson Price Hunt, Robert Stuart, and Ramsay Crooks
were employed in highly responsible positions

LORD SELKIRK BRINGS CHARGES IN THE ONGOING COMPANY WARS

Montreal was the location of courts empowered to deal with offences in the Indian Territories
Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk stood before a Montreal judge
to charge six North West Company partners including Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser
for various crimes against the settlers of the Red River Colony [1815 and 1816]
including being principals or accessories in the murder of
Red River Colony Governor Robert Semple
evidence given regarding the Seven Oaks Massacre [June 19, 1816]
was especially compelling
Results of these trials were disheartening for Lord Selkirk
of the various people who were accused not one was found guilty
this may not have been surprising given the importance of the North West Company
to the Canadian economy and livelihoods of Canadian citizens
(after the trial Lord Selkirk returned to England where he enticed a friend
to bring the matter of the company wars before the House of Commons
all papers regarding the company wars were gathered and published as the *Blue Book of 1819*
this was a valuable official source of information regarding the disturbances
that had centered around Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony)
(Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk remained vitally interested in the Red River Colony
for the remainder of his life

but poor health caused him to seek a temperate climate in the south of France
where he died [April 8, 1820] at Pau, France in the Pyrenees Mountains foothills
Lord Selkirk's character has been both lauded and vilified
while he was a man of dreams, his vision was born out by history
he demonstrated the Canadian prairie was valuable far beyond its furbearing animals
his worst fault was his unfailing belief that Hudson's Bay Company was completely virtuous
and that North West Company was perpetually cast in the role of villain
had his Hudson's Bay Company Red River Colony settlers met the Nor'Westers halfway
suffering and hardships might have been avoided entirely
Lord Selkirk's only son, Dunbar James Douglas, inherited the family title
when he died [1885] the line of Selkirk became extinct)

BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA REMAINS UNCLEAR

British claims were based on:

- voyage of Captain James Cook [1778];
- Nootka Sound Treaty where Spain gave up exclusive right to the area [1790];
- explorations of Captain George Vancouver 1792]; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie [1793]
who ascended part of the Fraser River;
- establishment of Fort McLeod by North West Company [1805];
- first settlement in the Oregon interior (Spokane House);
- fur-trading activities of the Hudson's Bay Company
which amalgamated all British and Canadian fur-trading operations 1821

America's claims were based on:

- explorations of Captain Robert Gray [1792];
- Lewis and Clark expedition [1804-06];
- fur-trading post at Astoria [1811];
- rights to the Pacific coast north of the 42nd parallel under treaty with Spain
and to the coast south of 54°40', under treaty with Russia;
- actual occupation by American settlers at Astoria and other trading posts

UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN SIGN THE TREATY OF 1818

President James Monroe's efforts to better relations with Britain resulted in a second agreement
(after the Rush-Bagot Agreement to become effective [April 1818])

Treaty of 1818 (Anglo-American Convention in London) was signed -- October 20, 1818

it identified the international boundary between the U.S. and Canada along the 49th parallel
from the Lake of the Woods (Minnesota) to the Rocky Mountains (Montana)

this important issue had remained unresolved since the [1814] Treaty of Ghent
Treaty of 1818 marked the last loss of territory by Britain in what is the Continental United States
Great Britain gave up all of Rupert's Land south of 49° North latitude
including all of the Red river Colony south of that latitude
United States ceded the northernmost edge of the Missouri Territory north of the 49°
Neither Great Britain nor the United States admitted the other nation
owned the Pacific coast nor could they agree on a boundary in that region
Convention of 1818, however, was an admission by Great Britain that the United States
had some claim to the region although neither country accepted responsibility
for providing law and order

TREATY OF 1818 CALLS FOR JOINT OCCUPATION OF "OREGON COUNTRY"

Treaty of 1818's Joint Occupation agreement professed to safeguard the rights of other nations
but neither Spain or Russia had formally yielded their respective claims to the Pacific coast
and the claims of Native Americans were completely ignored

Article III of the Treaty of 1818 provided for Joint Occupation West of the Rocky Mountains
for the next ten years in the region that was known to Americans as "Oregon Country"
and to the British and Canadians as the "Columbia District"
which included the southern portion of New Caledonia
(Oregon Country included present-day Washington, Oregon, Idaho
and portions of Montana, Wyoming and British Columbia

Article III stated in part: **"...any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony [Rocky] Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open, for the terms of ten years...to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two Powers....this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim, which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country...."**

Article III was, in fact, an agreement to disagree
no provision was made by either country to form a government in the Pacific Northwest
this agreement's logic was clear in Great Britain, but was less well accepted in the U.S.
Treaty of 1818 was all that was needed to activate anew burst of public spirit
for American occupation of the West

UNITED STATES IS ALSO HOLDS TALKS WITH SPAIN

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spanish diplomat Luis de Onis y Gonzalez-Vara
met to resolve the questions of boundaries between the United States and Mexico

purchase of East and West Florida by America was one of the topics discussed
also an international boundary needed to be drawn for the Louisiana Purchase
which was broadly the land between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains
Adams demanded Spain agree to withdraw her claim of land from the Rockies to the Pacific
Americans insisted they held Spain's right to first exploration north of 42° north
since the Columbia River with its source in the high latitudes
was discovered, explored and first occupied by Americans

ALEXANDER ANDREYEVICH BARANOV OF THE RUSSIAN AMERICAN COMPANY IS FIRED

Alexander Baranov had been the head of the Russian-America Company for twenty-eight years
he overcame tremendous obstacles to become successful in the (Alaskan) frontier
he was faced with serious problems of hostile Native Americans
who were able to purchase firearms from other traders
his base colony was made up of criminals from Siberia
and natives who were little more than slaves
his colony was short on manpower and food and racked with disease
In addition to establishing trading centers and presiding over vast expanses of territory,
Baranov was credited with organizing native Alaskan hunters to expand their range
to include even the coast of California
he also advocated more educational opportunities for native Alaskans
under his leadership schools were created and frontier communities became less isolated
Baranov began to rely more and more on American traders, including John Jacob Astor,
who sent in food and items to trade with the Indians and took out cargoes of fur
rumors sprang up that Baranov had secretly siphoned money to American banks in his own name
but a subsequent financial audit disproved the rumors
he had been scrupulously honest regarding his personal wealth
not one penny was misappropriated
not one scrap of evidence of graft or corruption was ever presented
After nineteen years in Russian-America, Baranov requested a replacement
Baranov was arbitrarily removed from office by the Russian-America
he was cast off without reward or consideration when he was no longer useful to the company
he was forced to beg his passage home -- November 1818
Baranov sailed back to Russia by heading south and then sailing around Africa's Cape of Good Hope
(unfortunately, Alexander Baranov became very ill on the journey
he died in Java [today's Indonesia on April 28, 1819]
he was buried at sea far from both his native and his adopted lands)

PETER SKENE OGDEN IS PLACED IN CHARGE OF SPOKANE HOUSE

Possibly to remove Ogden from the volatile situation he had created at Astoria he was assigned to take charge of Spokane House -- winter of 1818-1819 at about this time he took as his wife a Spokane Indian-Metis Julia Rivet having left his Cree wife and his first child along the Saskatchewan River Peter Skene Ogden led fur brigades from Fort Spokane and opened to the public much of Idaho, Utah and Northern California Julia traveled throughout the West with Ogden and their children

DONALD McKENZIE CONTINUES TO TRAP THROUGH THE WINTER

Donald "Fats" McKenzie shifted camps and trapped throughout a large region -- winter 1818-1819 this was a vast departure from the usual practice of establish trading post and trapping camps Alexander Ross and Daniel Potts led a trading party to within sight of the Teton Range (Wyoming) they apparent saw some of the thermal geysers (in what is today Yellowstone National Park) Once, when the huge McKenzie and three of his men were alone in one of the camps, a band of Shoshone Indians started to swarm across the whites' inadequate defenses McKenzie rolled out a keg of gunpowder and lit a spill as a demonstration he then threatened to blow them all up, himself included -- he bluffed the Indians off on another occasion two Sandwich Islanders were killed by Indians beside a steam (near what is now the southern part of Idaho-Oregon boundary) McKenzie gave the river the name it still bears, Owyhee (an early spelling of Hawaii) As winter pressed on, one of McKenzie's Iroquois Indians, Oskonoton, returned to Fort Nez Perces when he arrived alone and exhausted Oskonoton said twenty-five men were given permission to hunt and trap a small river where a band of Shoshone Indians appeared McKenzie's trappers joined the natives -- all except Oskonoton Oskonoton carried no news of the main party since he had lost contact but he described how rich the region was in furs

ADAMS-ONIS TREATY IS SIGNED BY THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spanish diplomat Luis de Onis y Gonzalez-Vara signed the Adams-Onis Treaty -- February 22, 1819 Spain relinquished her claims to Oregon Country north of 42° north United States acquired Florida at no cost to the U.S. except the assumption of some \$5 million in claims by U.S. citizens against Spain in return for Florida the U.S. gave up all claims to Texas under the Louisiana Purchase

this treaty also defined the Western limits of Louisiana Purchase

Mexico would also keep the vast region of New Mexico

(all of present-day California and New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Arizona
and sections of Wyoming and Colorado)

Russia's concerns regarding her claim to the Pacific Northwest was not addressed at this time

(Russia will continue her claim on the Pacific Northwest into the [1820s])

Neither the United States Senate nor the Republic of Mexico

ratified the Adams-Onís Treaty until [1831]

leaving possession of the Pacific Northwest in grave doubt (for nine years)

CONGRESS ENACTS THE FIRST APPROPRIATION TO "CIVILIZE" THE INDIANS

Christian missionaries serving the Indians along the East coast and in the Mississippi River region

had long urged an expenditure of government money to "civilize" the Indians

Congress appropriated \$10,000 to be made available through mission societies

to undertake the task of bringing Christianity to the Native Americans -- March 3, 1819

although a small amount of money it stimulated powerful interest in missionary activity

although most Americans were not motivated to contribute to solve Indian problems

this appropriation did serve as seed money for the more concerned activists

AMERICANS FEAR BRITISH CONTROL OF THE FUR TRAPPING INDUSTRY

To counter the British efforts to expand fur trapping into regions claimed by the United States

Secretary of War John C. Calhoun sought to establish army garrisons

on the upper Missouri and Mississippi rivers -- 1819

Colonel Henry Atkinson commanded one division of the US Army Western Department

on the Missouri River headquartered at St. Louis

Atkinson's effort to establish a fort at the mouth of the Yellowstone River proved too ambitious

as steamboats and other logistical problems could not provide the scheduled serves

required to supply a post that far up the Missouri River

blunted by the breakdown of and other logistical failings

Colonel Atkinson settled for a post, Fort Atkinson, far down the Missouri River

at Council Bluffs forty miles above the mouth of the Platte River

even so, the presence of American troops facing the British from the edge of the Indian Country

gave heart to St. Louis entrepreneurs

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS SEE A MAJOR CHANGE OCCUR

Hawaiian King Kamehameha (I) had unified the islands under his control

he developed a unifying legal systems for all of the islands in his domain

he took several steps to ensure the islands would remain united even after his death:

- he used products he collected in taxes to promote trade with Europe and the United States;
- under his law elderly people, woman, and children who were noncombatants in war were provided safety -- this saved thousands of lives during Kamehameha's battles;
- foreigners could not buy land in the Hawaiian Islands which assured independence even as many of the other islands of the Pacific fell to the colonial powers (Hawaii remained independent until annexed by the United States in 1898)

Kamehameha spent his time after [1812] at Kamakahonu -- a compound he built in Kailua-Kona (now the site of the King Kamehameha Beach Hotel)

King Kamehameha (also known as Kamehameha the Great) died -- May 8, 1819

Liholiho (Kamehameha II) ascended the throne

NORTH WEST COMPANY'S DONALD McKENZIE REPORTS TO FORT NEZ PERCES

After a period of great anxiety regarding the safety of Donald "Fats" McKenzie's expedition

he and six men returned to Fort Nez Perces -- July 1819

he confirmed Oskonoton's story that nineteen of his men

had joined a band of Shoshone Indians and deserted

McKenzie had stayed in the Snake River area

after several adventures and narrow escapes he had succeeded

in uniting only a few of his the scattered hunting parties

McKenzie reported he had taken the opportunity to investigate the navigation possibilities

of the lower Snake River -- then cut restlessly southward to the Boise River

he and his men had traveled 600 miles on snowshoes in Blue Mountains

this had been a gigantic effort, but it was reported McKenzie was scarcely winded

McKenzie had delivered an unusually large and valuable catch

this confirmed the value of his decision to build Fort Nez Perces

for skeptical North West Company partners

Snake country expeditions from Fort Nez Perces became an annual affair

(they regularly produced a large portion of company's entire fur export west of the Rocky Mountains)

PROTESTANT MISSIONAIRES SAIL TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent their first missionaries

to the Hawaiian Islands to provide training in Christianity to the natives

Congregational minister Hiram Bingham and his new bride Sybil (Mosley) Bingham

accompanied by Asa and Lucy (Goodale) Thurston sailed out of Boston -- October 23, 1819
(they traveled aboard the brig *Thaddeus* for five months
before arriving at the heathen village of Kilua, Oahu where they were met
by almost naked villagers shouting and playing on the beach much to the disgust
of the righteous and proper intruders [April 2, 1820])

1820-1829

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."**¹⁶⁰

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
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

¹⁶⁰ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 54.

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 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 been 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 Owyhee 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."**¹⁶¹
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

¹⁶¹ Joshpe Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P.96.

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
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"**¹⁶²said 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

¹⁶² David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 115.

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
 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 i

n 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 Perces 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 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.”**¹⁶³

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.”**¹⁶⁴

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”

¹⁶³ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 99. Joseph Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 99.

¹⁶⁴ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P.100.

who would not be a very formidable as an Indian trader
Simpson was, in fact, an ideal choice
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”**¹⁶⁵

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”**¹⁶⁶ to engage in the lucrative fur trade -- March 20, 1822
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

¹⁶⁵ Stephenie Flora, www.oregonpioneers.com/rmfc.htm

¹⁶⁶ 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.

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:

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.”¹⁶⁷

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

¹⁶⁷ Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*. P. 45.

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]
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."**¹⁶⁸

FINAN McDONALD NEW LEADER OF THE SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE

McDonald 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)

¹⁶⁸ 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 TRAVELER 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."¹⁶⁹

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

¹⁶⁹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P.111.

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
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 his 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 heart¹⁷⁰

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

¹⁷⁰ 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 Arikara Indians

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 IS RAISED BY HIS AUNT

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 IS THE NEW HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY HEADQUARTERS

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 Fur 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
Galloping 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 out¹⁷¹
 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

¹⁷¹ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 52.

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 ARIDARA 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
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"**¹⁷²
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

¹⁷² Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 57.

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

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 miles¹⁷³ 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

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

¹⁷³ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 58.

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 captancy, although he bore scars for the rest of his life.”**¹⁷⁴

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.”**¹⁷⁵

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)

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)

¹⁷⁴ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 56.

¹⁷⁵ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 71.

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 Freeman
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 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 muddled 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 SETTLEMENT¹⁷⁶

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
and 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

¹⁷⁶ Stephen B. Emerson, Essay 8615 HistoryLink.org, May 28, 2008.

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 SUPPLIES 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 skins 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.**"¹⁷⁷
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

¹⁷⁷ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 154

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

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.**"¹⁷⁸

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

¹⁷⁸ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 118.

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."**¹⁷⁹

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

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."¹⁸⁰

there would be no more of that

rivers teemed with fish; the soil would grow potatoes -- these were good enough for any man

¹⁷⁹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 57.

¹⁸⁰ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

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 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"**¹⁸¹ no one bothered to farm because, as the traders stated, farming was not part of the fur trade

¹⁸¹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

Governor Simpson frostily noted, **“Every pursuit tending to lighten [sic] the Expesce [sic] of the Trade is a branch thereof”**¹⁸²

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”¹⁸³ 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

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”**¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121..

¹⁸³ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

¹⁸⁴ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121.

GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON REFLECTED ON HIS JOURNEY

Wrote of his journey to the Columbia Department -- 1824

“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.”¹⁸⁵

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”¹⁸⁶**

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

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

¹⁸⁵ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 121

¹⁸⁶ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P 121.

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 River
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 filed -- 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."**¹⁸⁷

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 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."**¹⁸⁸

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

¹⁸⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 71.

¹⁸⁸ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 187.

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

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 4th 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.”**¹⁸⁹

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

¹⁸⁹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 58.

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
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."**¹⁹⁰
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

¹⁹⁰ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 68.

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

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.”**¹⁹¹

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

and several buildings were subsequently added to Fort Colville)

MISSIONARY WORK OF HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY

¹⁹¹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 58.

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 ATTACK¹⁹²

Cowichan Indians of Vancouver Island lived very near (today's Victoria) and were formidable

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

(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

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

¹⁹² David Wilma, Essay 7855 HistoryLink.org, July 28, 2006.

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

GENERAL 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.**”¹⁹³

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

¹⁹³ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 75.

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

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 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 that 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”**¹⁹⁴

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 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

¹⁹⁴ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*(,P. 81.

(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 Freeman

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

GENERAL 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 provide 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.”**¹⁹⁵

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

¹⁹⁵ Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 85.

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 fall 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 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

GENERAL 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.”¹⁹⁶

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
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,

¹⁹⁶ Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 88.

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.”¹⁹⁷

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 rip saw 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

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

¹⁹⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 76.

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.”**¹⁹⁸
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

¹⁹⁸ Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 92.

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

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."**¹⁹⁹

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:

¹⁹⁹ Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*. P. 93.

- 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 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
 traveled to the Colorado River basin and as far to the northwest as Fort Colville
 on a two-year trading expedition Company – 1827-(1829)

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."**²⁰⁰
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
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 canal into Fraser's River but without preceding any**

²⁰⁰ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 83.

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.”²⁰¹

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
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

²⁰¹ Robert M. Utley. *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 94.

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."**²⁰²

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

²⁰² John Terrill, *Life of De Smet*, P. 14.

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 spent 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
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.”²⁰³

remainder of the Klallams in the area retreated to a nearby village to negotiate
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

²⁰³ Donald E. Waite, *The Langley Story*, P. 2.

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 lieutenant²⁰⁴ 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."**²⁰⁵
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

²⁰⁴ Brevet rank was an honorary position give for battlefield gallantry or meritorious service much as medals are awarded today.

²⁰⁵ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 118.

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 Alexander)

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;
- 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.”**²⁰⁶

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

²⁰⁶ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 131.

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)
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."**²⁰⁷

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

and within two hundred yards of the river bank

²⁰⁷ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 131.

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 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.”²⁰⁸

To counteract excessive drunkenness, gamboling, 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.”²⁰⁹**

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

²⁰⁸ Tom Koppel, *Kanaka*, P. 23-24.

²⁰⁹ Tom Koppel, *Kanaka*, P. 25.

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
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 otters 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."**²¹⁰

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;
- 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

²¹⁰ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 136.

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"**²¹¹

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' 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."**

²¹¹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 239.

Indians burned the cabins and the pile of squared timbers meant for construction of a sawmill 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."**²¹²

"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."²¹³

"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."²¹⁴

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

²¹² W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 120.

²¹³ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 122

²¹⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 125.

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.”²¹⁵

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
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

²¹⁵ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 111.

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

1830-1839

SERIES OF GREAT EPIDEMICS DECIMATES COASTAL NATIVES

Swept through the Northwest (between the years [1829 and 1832] and peaking in [1833]) which had a devastating effect on the native people within a brief period of time, the native population was greatly diminished loss of life was particularly heavy along the lower Columbia River with families and even entire villages wiped out by pestilence These epidemics came in the form of white man's diseases such as malaria (cold sick), smallpox, measles, cholera, influenza, fevers and venereal diseases possibly or even probably brought by sailing ships' crews of vessels harbored on the Columbia River because of ignorance, unsanitary habits, and unusual practices in treating illness natives became easy prey to the devastation Many Indians blamed Captain Dominis and the crew of the American brig *Owyhee* in particular which anchored off Deer Island in the Columbia River -- [February 1829] and loaded cargo for months soon after she arrived, an epidemic of Malaria-like fever broke out among the Indians which began the devastation of the Chinook people

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Also known as the Pacific Northwest by Americans ranged from 42° north to 54° north from Pacific Ocean to Rocky Mountains and was divided by Columbia River British unofficially claimed everything north of the Columbia River they were also reluctant to allow Americans south of the River

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONTROLS THE ECONOMY

From the 1830s to [1850] Hudson's Bay Company maintained the standard of exchange in the Northwest imperial English bushel (seventy pounds) served as the standard Fort Vancouver was home of five hundred to seven hundred residents it was most the important community on the entire Pacific coast

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EARLY CATTLE FARMING

Cattle was purchased and allowed to multiply 700 head of cattle grazed on lands adjacent to Fort Vancouver up from 200 head the year before

BOSTON MERCHANTS SEND A TRADING SHIP TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Boston merchants owned the brig whose cargo consisted of trading merchandise Captain William Henry McNeill sailed the brig *Llama* from Boston 12,000 miles around Cape Horn to the Pacific Northwest on a fur trading expedition -- 1830 Hudson's Bay Company purchased the *Lama* and its cargo and retained McNeill as captain

but in order to work for the company, McNeill was required to become a British citizen

HALL JACKSON KELLEY -- AUTHOR AND PUBLICIST

Boston author who published a very influential book:

A Geographical Sketch of that Part of North America called Oregon -- 1830

book is more famous for its effects in stirring migration than its factual accuracy
contained an exaggerated account of the wonders of the west

(despite the fact it would be five years before he actually got to the Pacific Northwest.)

Kelley wrote: **“When improved and embellished by the white man, Oregon will become the loveliest and most envied country on earth. Oregon cannot be outdone whether in wheat, oats, rye, barley, buckwheat, peas, beans, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, onions, parsnips, carrots, beets, currants, gooseberries, strawberries, apples, peaches, pears, or fat and healthy babies.”**

Kelley described the Pacific Northwest as a place where **“mountains are high and rough [but where also] the air is more salubrious and the country better furnished with natural facilities for application of labour.”**²¹⁶

he urged his readers to go to the Pacific Northwest: **“The settlement of the Oregon country, would conduce to a freer intercourse, and a more extensive and lucrative trade with the East Indias.”**²¹⁷

Kelley published a second pamphlet: *A Manual of the Oregon Expedition -- [1831]*

WILLIAM SUBLETTE’S EXPEDITION TO THE WIND RIVER

Smith, Jackson, & Sublette Mountain Men led by Captain William Sublette
conducted a successful hunt along the Wind River -- Winter 1829-1830
Captain Sublette, Moses “Black” Harris and others of the fur-trading party
returned to St. Louis -- February 1830

HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY SHIPPING

Annual supply ships arrived at Fort Vancouver -- usually in March of each year
delivered cargo for next season’s trade

It was a disaster when a ship was wrecked like the *William and Ann* [1829] *Isabella* [1830]
losses seriously affected trade by reducing outfits

and disrupted schedule of trade with company outposts and lowered employee morale

SUPPLYING THE WIND RIVER RENDEZVOUS

Partnership of Smith, Jackson & Sublette was formed by Jedediah Smith, and David Jackson
and three Sublet Brothers led by William, along with Milton, and Andrew
two heavy wagons left St. Louis -- April 10, 1830

Followed Platte and Sweetwater rivers

ten 5-mule teams pulled two heavy wagons carrying eighteen hundred pounds each
accompanied by twelve head oxen and milk cows
buffalo provide food for the party

²¹⁶ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 120.

²¹⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 120.

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY WESTERN DEPARTMENT

John Jacob Astor had appointed Pierre Chouteau as the director of the department
his mission was to directly compete with Smith, Jackson & Sublette
in providing supplies to trappers at the Wind River Rendezvous
Two pack caravans were organized by Chouteau to search out the Rendezvous of 1830
one led by Lucien Fontenelle and Andrew Drips
second was under Kenneth McKenzie
Fontenelle and Drips set out from St. Louis in search of the 1830 Rendezvous
Lucien Fontenelle at age thirty was the temperamental and hard-drinking
son of a New Orleans French plantation owner
Andrew Drips at forty-one had emigrated from Ireland as a child
had matured into a plainspoken man of decisive action
who combined stability with good judgment
At the same time, Kenneth McKenzie launched his mule caravan from Fort Union
under the leadership of William H. Vanderburgh
Vanderburgh had been educated at, but not graduated from,
West Point Army military academy
he enjoyed wide respect and as an accomplished trader and leader of men

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION FOR INDIANS

Five more Indian boys went to the Red River settlement (Winnipeg, Manitoba) -- 1830
began their Christian education at the Northwest Mission of the Church of England
where they joined Spokane Garry and Kootenai Pelly
during this time, Pelly fell off a horse and was killed
(next year they were joined by a sixth Indian youth -- [1831])

INDIAN REMOVAL ACT

U.S. Government plan to relocate the remaining 200,000 Indians East of the Mississippi
to receive new "homelands" in the region West of the Mississippi River
Indian Removal Act was passed by Congress -- May 28, 1830
whites were anxious to get control of Eastern Indian land
missionaries who served these people favored the removal of natives
believed Indians would not be civilized even if they lived close to whites
because of the degrading influence of such things as liquor
Eastern Indians were sent Westward across the Mississippi River
which caused great distress among the Native Americans
newspapers recited stories of the Indian's suffering
which produced a great wave of sympathy for the displaced natives
Roman Catholic Church authorized their missionaries to stay with the deported Indians
Catholic and Protestant missionaries followed some tribes West
laboring among the people they had known East of the Mississippi River
however some missionaries worked among native groups not known to them before
they preached Christianity and taught children to read and write
induced natives to farm and live in permanent houses like the whites

sometimes the government employed missionaries as teachers or Indian Agents

NATURALIST DAVID DOUGLAS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AGAIN

Returned for a second time to the Northwest (after an absence of three years) -- June 1830
continued his scientific (if sometimes inaccurate) study of native plants
After arriving at Fort Vancouver, Douglas investigated the Willamette Valley
traveling down the Umpqua and McKenzie rivers and along Pacific Northwest coast
he proceeded overland to Monterrey, California
in addition to his botanical work, he found the people of California to be very pleasant

EWING YOUNG TRAPPING IN CALIFORNIA

Seized an opportunity to make himself useful to the Mexican authorities in California
and thus smooth the way for the sale of his furs in San Francisco
Some of the San Jose Mission Indians had revolted and taken refuge
with other tribesmen in the Sierra foothills
weak contingent of soldiers had failed to dislodge them
Mexican officials asked for American help
Young sent twelve men, including Kit Carson, to oblige the Mexicans -- July 1830
after the offending Indian village was attacked and burned,
runaways were turned over to Young's men
who escorted them back to the San Jose Mission
these prisoners were gratefully accepted by the Mexican government
Not surprisingly Ewing Young encountered no official interference
with the sale of his furs to the master of a schooner tied up in San Francisco
With the proceeds of the sale of his furs Young bought horses and mules both for his own needs
and to sell on his return to New Mexico

RENDEZVOUS 1830 HELD

Wind River Rendezvous held just below the mouth of the Popo Agie River (near Riverton, Wyoming)
opened -- July 4, 1830
although supplies would not arrive for another two weeks
(trade was conducted, off and on until about [August 3, 1830])

AMERICAN TRADING SHIPS COMPETE WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Owyhee and *Convoy* moved to Puget Sound -- July 1830
for a brief time they cut briefly into Fort Langley's trade
at last they departed with twenty-nine hundred pelts
mediocre return for a year and a half's effort,
but a serious loss to Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE SUPPLY CARAVAN SUPPLIES THE 1830 RENDEVOUS

Two heavy wagons led by William "Billy" Sublette proceed toward the Wind River Rendezvous
Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine caravan journeyed through South Pass
and the Rocky Mountains

mountain passes and valleys were green with food for the stock
Sublette reached the headwaters of the Wind River
and arrived at the Rendezvous without mishap -- July 18, 1830

SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE SUPPLY CARAVAN SUPPLIES THE 1830 RENDEVOUDS

Two heavy wagons led by William "Billy" Sublette proceed toward the Wind River Rendezvous
Smith, Jackson and Sublette Combine caravan journeyed through South Pass
and the Rocky Mountains

mountain passes and valleys were green with food for the stock
Sublette reached the headwaters of the Wind River
and arrived at the Rendezvous without mishap -- July 18, 1830

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY CARAVANS

Both mule pack trains failed to find the 1830 Rendezvous
pack train under the leadership of Lucien Fontenelle and Andrew Drips
cached their merchandise at Ham's Fork of the Green River
after wandering vainly in search of the rendezvous site
divided their men into groups for a fall hunt which trapped a few pelts
(before they spent the winter in the Cache Valley [1830-1831])
William H. Vanderburgh's pack train also failed to reach the 1830 Rendezvous
Vanderburgh turned his fifty men into trappers (for a fall hunt)
toward the Three Forks of the Missouri River -- 1830
where they were attacked and routed by Blackfoot Indians
American Fur Company leaders had a great deal to learn
as demonstrated by the fact they failed to even find the site of the rendezvous

BRIG *OWYHEE* -- AMERICAN TRADING SHIP

Left the Columbia River with Captain John Dominis in command -- July 1830
they moved to Puget Sound, cut briefly into Fort Langley's trade, and at last departed for Boston
with twenty-nine hundred pelts -- a mediocre return for a year and half's effort,
but a serious loss to Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
In addition to her cargo of furs, *Owyhee* carried pickled Columbia River salmon
salted down and placed into sixty empty rum hogsheds (barrels)

SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE COMBINE SOLD

With a comfortable profit to show for their four-year operation
partnership of Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson & William Sublette agreed among themselves
to withdraw from the fur trade -- thus ending their company's influence
on both Hudson's Bay Company, and Astor's American Fur Company
and also on all independent trappers
sale of Smith, Jackson & Sublette was complete -- August 4, 1830
with the understanding that Smith, Jackson & Sublette
would supply a caravan for the next [1831] Rendezvous
After the sale, Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson and Captain William Sublette set out for St. Louis

with the furs they had gathered in the field and at the Wind River Rendezvous

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY FORMED

Owners of the new company consisted of a partnership composed of

Tom Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, Jim Bridger, Henry Fraeb, and Jean Baptiste Gervais

Five partners, all accomplished mountain men, styled themselves the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
this was a very successful the next four years 1830-[1834]

Two trapping expeditions were organized by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
Henry Fraeb, and Jean Baptiste Gervais

led a small party into the Colorado Mountains for a year

Tom Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, Jim Bridger

went to the Powder River Valley in Montana

SMITH, JACKSON & SUBLETTE CARAVAN

Arrived at St. Louis from the Wind River Rendezvous -- October 11, 1830
to complete the sale of their assets and disband their company

Townspersons took note of the caravan because

in addition to the usual pack animals and about fifty Indians

it included two heavy wagons

for the first time, wagons had gone to the Rocky Mountains and returned

St. Louis newspaper editorialized **“The ease with which they did it and could have gone on to the mouth of the Columbia shows the folly and nonsense of those ‘scientific’ characters who talk of the Rocky Mountains as the barrier which is to stop the westward march of the American people.”**²¹⁸

Smith, Jackson & Sublette sold their catch in St. Louis

for more than eighty-four thousand dollars

START OF THE SANTA FE TRAIL

Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and William Sublette

were no longer associated with supplying trappers at rendezvous or even with the fur trade
they pondered forming a new company

to carry supplies from the Missouri River to Santa Fe (New Mexico)

they could then supply the trappers at future rendezvous from the south

Smith, Jackson and William Sublette now turned their interest to linking Missouri and (New) Mexico
over the Santa Fe Trail

but first they had to arrange to provide the [1831] rendezvous caravan

as they had agreed with the new owners of their old company

now called the Rocky Mountain Fur Company

JEDEDIAH SMITH WAS DISTRESSED

He had received word of his mother's death and now he was homesick

his strong religious convictions left him guilt-ridden over neglecting his parents

²¹⁸ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 98.

and hungry for the comfort and support which could be provided by the clergy

PACIFIC NORTHWEST EPIDEMICS REACH CRISIS LEVELS

In the wake of the *Owyhee* and other trading ships, devastating plagues broke out -- October 1830 characterized by an intermittent fever followed by chills and sweating

although it would linger for several years, the first months of the onslaught were the worst

Along the lower Columbia River, where alcohol and venereal diseases

had long since undermined native resistance to illness,

nine-tenths of the native population lay dead amid scenes of indescribable filth and misery
Chinook Indians, remembering Duncan McDougall's threat at Astoria [1811]

to open a vial of smallpox among them, blamed the outbreak on "bad water"

let loose by American trading brigs such as the *Owyhee*

other Indians, and several whites, attributed the outbreak to bad atmosphere (pollution)

rising from the newly-plowed ground near Fort Vancouver

While not fatal to whites, the disease was painfully incapacitating

at one time seventy-five of Vancouver's employees were on the sick list

work almost came to a standstill

Dr. McLoughlin, irritably recollecting his almost forgotten medical knowledge,

was forced to take personal charge of the improvised hospital

Other diseases of the whites spread from families to villages to entire tribes

all were at risk of being wiped out by measles, smallpox, influenza, fevers, and venereal diseases

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRAPPING BRIGADES CAME TO A STANDSTILL

Only the trapping brigades to the south continued to function with anything like normal vigor
stimulated by Jedediah Strong Smith's stories,

Peter Skene Ogden investigated the wastelands of the Great Basin

to the lower regions of the Colorado River

Ogden's brigade was attacked by fierce Mojave Indians

Hudson's Bay Company men used short wooden spears to fight them off

twenty-six natives were killed

Ogden's party then set traps all the way down the river to the Gulf of California before turning back

Details of Ogden's epic journey are only sketchily known

after reaching Fort Walla Walla with his catch Ogden started down the Columbia River

to French *voyageurs* "dalles" meant a place where water was confined by rocks

and forced its tumultuous way through the chutes or rapids

"grand dalles" referred to the great rapids located just east of (today's city of The Dalles)

one of Ogden's canoes capsized at the Grand Rapids and nine lives were lost

including Joseph Portneuf and his two children

Portneuf River (in Idaho) was named in his honor

five hundred furs, and all of Ogden's records also were lost

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY POWDER RIVER VALLEY EXPEDITION

Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton G. Sublette, James Bridger of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company

went North from (Wyoming) into (Montana) with a party of trappers

reached Powder River Valley where they found a few of the men
attached to Fontelle and Drip of the American Fur Company already there
Disgusted, the partners slipped away to find another field
only to be followed relentlessly by the Astorians
Thomas Fitzpatrick now had his back to the wall
he offered to compromise with the American Fur Company
by dividing the territory between them
Astor's men declined and the battle for streams was on
(hide-and-seek game continued throughout the [winter of 1830-1831])

BEGINNINGS OF "OREGON FEVER"

Jedediah Smith wrote a letter to the Secretary of War -- October 29, 1830
detailing the return trip from the 1830 Rendezvous
and the ease with which loaded wagons and even milk cows
could be taken over the Rocky Mountains through South Pass
he also chronicled his life in Oregon
Smith, David Jackson, and Captain William Sublette all signed the letter
which later became Senate Document 39 of the 21st Congress
Joshua Pilcher, leader of the Missouri Fur Company, also wrote a letter
on the suitability of Oregon for settlement
These letters were the genesis of "Oregon Fever"
as farmers and settlers got the idea they could migrate to and settle in Oregon

JEDEDIAH SMITH WANTED TO PUBLISH HIS KNOWLEDGE

He carried with him to St. Louis his maps and journals
that recorded his experiences and geographical observations in the Far West,
from the Continental Divide to the Pacific Ocean
He intended to publish a book and a master map of the American West
as he wanted to lay his vast store of knowledge before the public
From personal experience, he understood the Great Plain, the northern Rockies,
the Great Basin, the lower Colorado,
and the Pacific Coast from southern California to the Columbia River
equally important, he understood how they fitted together
At each rendezvous he quizzed others about territory he had not seen,
and on his map drafts he identified these sources
In St. Louis during the winter of 1830-1831 he worked on his maps and journals

BONNEVILLE REQUESTS A LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM THE WAR DEPARTMENT

U.S. Army Captain Benjamin Bonneville was stationed at Cantonment Gibson (later Fort Gibson)
in Oklahoma Territory with the Seventh New York Infantry, "B" Company
At age thirty-six, he had served in the regular army for fifteen years
had become extremely bored with military life in a remote post
Bonneville possessed an imaginative disposition which had become fired up
with the thought of leading an expedition to the Far West

After gaining experience with the fur trade while serving at frontier posts,
Bonneville requested a leave of absence from the army -- late 1830
to lead a privately financed trapping expedition
on an extended military reconnaissance west of the Rocky Mountains
along with trapping beaver in that region

In his letter to commanding general, Alexander Macomb requesting leave,

Bonneville proposed: **“To explore the country of the Rocky Mountains and beyond, with a view to ascertaining the nature and character of the several tribes of Indians inhabiting those regions, the trade which might profitably be carried on with them, quality of soil, productions, minerals natural history, climate, geography and topography, as well as geology of the various parts of the country within the limits of the territories of the United States between our frontier and the Pacific.”**²¹⁹

DISASTERS SWEEP THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

New type of fever, perhaps measles or the flu -- 1831
killed many Indians inland all the way to the Walla Walla Valley
Mt. St. Helens (in Washington near the Columbia River) erupted this year

METHODIST CHURCH MISSIONARY EFFORT

Began steps to initiate the first missionary effort to the natives of the Pacific Northwest
Dr. Wilbur Fisk was appointed [1826] principal of the Methodist Academy
located in Wilbraham, Massachusetts
Jason Lee, six feet three inches tall and hard-muscled from years of dawn-to-dusk farm labor,
decided to supplement his meager education by enrolling at the school [1826]
overage (twenty-three-year-old) applicant impressed Fisk
Impressing his teachers, Jason Lee was ordained by Bishop Elijah Hedding
into the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church
(now the United Methodist Church)
Likewise, Dr. Fisk’s success with the academy was noted by many Methodists
Dr. Fisk was offered the presidency of the new Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut
he accepted the position as its first president -- 1831

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR ENCOURAGING THE SETTLEMENT OF OREGON TERRITORY

Hall Jackson Kelley had formed this organization [1829]
in anticipation that three thousand emigrants would join him journeying West
A General Circular to All Persons of Good Character, Who Wish to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory
was written by Kelley about the Pacific Northwest Country while in Boston -- 1831
this was another request that all persons interested in traveling to Oregon Territory (sic)
contact him
When only 400 signed up, he rescheduled the group's departure date [from January to June 1832]
frustrated by the delay, many who previously had signed on dropped out

²¹⁹ Washington Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*. P. 282.

Kelley published a second pamphlet seeking additional recruits:
A Manual of the Oregon Expedition -- 1831

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH BECOMES INTERESTED IN OREGON

Captain Wyeth (an honorary title) was a talented, well-educated and energetic man from Cambridge, Massachusetts at age twenty-nine he served as manager of Frederic Tudor's Cambridge ice company they made money exporting ice from Fresh Pond, Cambridge to South America

Wyeth was described by James Russell Lowell: **"He was a very remarkable person, whose conversation I valued highly. A born leader of men, he was fitly called Captain Nathaniel Wyeth as long as he lived."**²²⁰

Undoubtedly Captain Wyeth had been influenced by the report of Rev. Jonathan Green concerning the Pacific Northwest but he was much more influenced by the written propaganda of Hall Jackson Kelley

HALL JACKSON KELLEY CONVINCES NATHANIEL WYETH

Wyeth caught some of Kelley's enthusiasm and became a convert to his ideas -- 1831 he borrowed books from Kelley and futilely searched the local libraries for more he believed it was time to prove the Pacific Northwest was part of the United States he believed even more that a great deal of money could be made in Oregon

Captain Nathaniel Wyeth agreed to abandon Tudor's bizarre business (although eventually it would make fortunes for both of them) and accompany Hall Jackson Kelley into the West

Kelley's motives in going to Oregon were philanthropic and patriotic -- Wyeth's were commercial Wyeth was bent on making a fortune in the Pacific Northwest but he had no experience in the fur trade

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN LOUIS EULALIE DE BONNEVILLE BECOMES INTERESTED

Bonneville had been born in France

well educated, he was a West Point graduate

Ben Bonneville possessed an imaginative disposition

that was inspired by the writings of Hall Jackson Kelley

and editorials in the *St. Louis Enquirer* written by Thomas Hart Benton

Bonneville wanted to explore the west, and if possible, join the westward movement

his imagination became fired up with the thought of leading an expedition to the Far West

Captain Bonneville met with Hall Jackson Kelley

soon thereafter Kelley appointed Bonneville to lead one of two expeditions to Oregon

Nathaniel Wyeth was to lead the other contingent

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR ENCOURAGING THE SETTLEMENT OF OREGON TERRITORY

Two obstacles were insurmountable

for the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory:

²²⁰ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 162.

- first was the uncertain diplomatic situation;
- secondly, antagonism to Kelley's plan broke out from the fur companies
both American and British fur traders fearing competition from settlers
circulated rumors that he had underestimated the ease of transportation to Oregon
and had overestimated its natural resources

Adverse press also criticized his efforts

Hall Jackson Kelley was a better talker than an organizer

his extravagant hopes and irritating personality hurt his own cause

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR ENCOURAGING THE SETTLEMENT OF OREGON TERRITORY FAILED

Captain Nathaniel Wyeth quickly became impatient with Boston schoolteacher Hall Jackson Kelley

American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory

broke up in disagreements, recriminations and bitter arguments

Kelley rushed to Washington City in the hope that personal interviews

might stir laggard congressmen into voting him aid for his efforts in Oregon

PACIFIC TRADING COMPANY

Nathaniel Wyeth formed a Joint stock company -- 1831

planned a powerful commercial colony to break the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly

brilliant planner but he was not a man who was easily diverted by the advice of others

Wyeth concocted a scheme much like John Jacob Astor had attempted

by sea and land he would advance on the Columbia River

where he planned to establish a three-pronged enterprise:

- he would tap the fur resources of the Rocky Mountains,
supplying his trappers from the Columbia River
and shipping the furs to market by sea
- he would ship barrels of salted salmon harvested from the Columbia River
to the east on his own vessels
- finally, he would begin an American agricultural colony in the Willamette Valley

American sailing brig *Sultana* was furnished to Captain Nathaniel Wyeth

by a company of Boston merchants

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE DEVELOPS A SCHEME

With the failure of Hall Jackson Kelley's organization

Bonneville would lead his own trapping and exploring party throughout the West

Historians still argue about the true purpose behind Bonneville's seemingly wild idea

to lead a privately financed trapping expedition to collect geographical and other data

along with beaver trapping, in the region west of the Rocky Mountains

Some historians, such as Hiram M. Chittenden and H. H. Bancroft,

believe that Bonneville's reasons for beginning such an expedition

were entirely commercial in nature

however, Bonneville's request for a leave of absence indicates a different intent

FORTUNATE MEETING

To succeed in his plan, Ben Bonneville needed an experienced mountaineer
to recruit, organize, and lead the trappers
and to coach him in the ways of life in the wilderness
Joseph Walker stopped at Cantonment Gibson, in Oklahoma Territory
where Captain Bonneville was stationed -- early 1831
Bonneville could not have found a more qualified man to serve him as a leader
Walker had earned a reputation for being an explorer, mountain man,
and an individual who had pursued many occupations in his life
currently Walker was on a return trip from Texas
where he had been involved in horse trading
During this chance meeting at the post, Walker impressed Captain Bonneville
he explained to Walker his proposal for an expedition and its purpose
Bonneville asked Walker if he might be interested in acting as his chief scout
and second in command
Walker agreed and left for his home Fort Osage, Missouri
where it was agreed that Walker would organize and begin the expedition

JOSEPH "JOE" WALKER

May have been the greatest Mountain Man of all
certainly he was second only to Jedediah Smith
in the value of his contribution to geographic knowledge
and the expansion of national interests
He was born in Roane County, Tennessee -- [December 13, 1798]
At age fifteen, he along with his older brother, he fought under Andrew Jackson
against the Creek Red Stick Indians in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend
He moved to the extreme western boundary of Missouri along the Missouri River -- [1818]
where he rented government land near Fort Osage and tried farming
he also traded with local Indians and served as county sheriff
But restless by nature, Walker left Missouri for the New Mexico area
where he had hoped to trap beaver in an effort to make a living [1820]
unfortunately, he was accused of spying for the United States
was taken into custody by the Spanish authorities, but was later released
under the promise that he would help the Spanish fight their war
against the Pawnee Indians
after cooperating with the Spanish, Walker returned to the Fort Osage area
Joe Walker looked the part of the Mountain man
large, six feet four inches tall and more than two hundred pounds,
he sported a heavy, full beard
he acquired the dress and trappings of his comrades
for himself, his Indian wives, and his horses
in addition to physical strength, endurance, and fortitude
he added the Mountain Man's restlessness, rootlessness, individualism
and an aversion to authoritarian restraint
His leadership skills were sharpened by practice

he knew Mountain Men could be led but not commanded

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY -- SHIPPING COMPANY

(Not to be confused with Nathaniel Wyeth's Pacific Trading Company)

Jedediah Smith, David Jackson, and Captain William Sublette were in St. Louis where they formed a shipping venture -- Pacific Fur Trading Company to deliver supplies by wagon from St. Louis to Santa Fe wagons were just beginning to be used in the Santa Fe trade first, however, their company was supposed to provide a caravan for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company from St. Louis to the 1831 Rendezvous to be held at Cache (or Willow) Valley (Utah) west of Bear Lake

JOSEPH GERVAIS JOINS ETIENNE LUCIER AT FRENCH PRAIRIE

Former Astorian and retired Hudson's Bay Company employee Etienne Lucier acquired as a neighbor on French Prairie long-time resident of the Pacific Northwest Joseph Gervais Joseph Gervais had stayed at Fort Astoria (winter of [1813-1814]) next he worked for the North West Company at the newly-named Fort George for several years he labored as a Nor'Wester and as an independent trapper before joining Hudson's Bay Company out of Fort Vancouver [1824] leaving the fur industry, Gervais took up land at Chemaway [1828] and lived there for three years Joseph Gervais settled on French Prairie (where the town of Gervais is today) -- 1831 he built a square-cut 18 by 24 foot two-story log cabin in stages he added a vertical-planked barn he planted an apple orchard and grew sixty-five acres of wheat he added several outbuildings including a grist mill

FRENCH PRAIRIE BECOMES A HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SETTLEMENT

Retired French-Canadian traders were encouraged by Dr. John McLoughlin to settle on farms at French Prairie even though Hudson's Bay Company had its own farms French-Canadians, primarily retired Hudson's Bay Company trappers, who once worked out of Fort Vancouver were the first non-native settlers in the Willamette Valley they farmed along an old brigade trail over the Chehalem Mountains to Fort Vancouver Willamette River also provided the transportation link to Fort Vancouver Joseph Delor and John Perrault, also Astorians before joining Hudson's Bay Company, joined Etienne Lucier and Joseph Gervais French Prairie was soon home to eight retirees from Hudson's Bay Company who owned little farms scattered along the southern bank of the Willamette River they had Native American wives and large numbers of children who were known as "Metis" (pronounced Matee) Very soon thirteen retired French-Canadian trappers and their Mestis families occupied small farms along the Willamette River on the southern edge of French Prairie they lived in log cabins with their Indian wives and Metis families Dr. McLoughlin furnished them stock and provisions

French-Canadian families gave a name to the area

FRENCH PRAIRIE REMAINED FRENCH IN NATURE

Biggest collection of French-Canadian settlers was located on French Prairie
(located south of today's Champoeg Park)

French-Canadians retained their nationality, religion, and language
their spoken French was retained from old Quebec

although modified in many ways during the previous two hundred years

their language remained basically the vernacular of French King Louis XIV

while very verbal, these people were mostly illiterate

their Catholic faith and loyalty to the Hudson's Bay Company

set them apart from American pioneers

These settlers were assisted in their farming efforts by Hudson's Bay Company

Dr. McLoughlin provided loans for discounted supplies and a pair of cattle

(these animals were on loan from the company

and were not to be used for founding the settler's own herd)

calves must be returned to the Company to maintain its monopoly

wheat was grown exclusively

Dr. McLoughlin furnished seed and bought their wheat

vast amounts were sent down river to Fort Vancouver by barge or bateau

or was ground into flour by local mills

(French-Canadians domination lasted on French Prairie almost twenty years

successful Metis agricultural communities developed in several locations

French Prairie was the oldest and largest of these

other locations included Elliott Prairie, Chehalem Hills, Pudding River and Mission Bottom)

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY OPENS A NEW POST (MONTANA)

Kenneth McKenzie accomplished the incredible feat

of opening negotiations with the Blackfoot (Piegan) Indians --1831

and secured their approval for a trading post high on the Missouri River

near the mouth of the Marias River

Fort Piegan (later renamed Fort McKenzie) opened a shaky trade with the natives

EWING YOUNG SHOWS A PROFIT

Young was back in Taos, (New) Mexico with his party of trappers -- April 1831

his effort in California was highly profitable in both beaver pelts and horses

PACIFIC NORTHWEST FISH IS INTRODUCED TO BOSTON

American brig *Owyhee* commanded by Captain John Dominis returned to Boston

from the Columbia River after three year's absence with a cargo of furs -- April 15, 1831

in addition, *Owyhee* carried a shipment of pickled Columbia River salmon

that sold for 10¢ a pound and caused quite a stir among American entrepreneurs

together furs and fish brought in \$96,000

However Captain Dominis had to pay import duty on the salted salmon

because President Jackson's Revenue Department insisted the importer pay duty on what was identified as "foreign-caught fish"
a somewhat incongruous stand in view of cries currently rising in Congress regarding American ownership of the Northwest

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY'S *YELLOW STONE* (SIDE-WHEEL STEAMBOAT)

Built for the American Fur Company in Louisville, Kentucky [during the winter of 1830-1831] by permission of John Jacob Astor
First vessel to be constructed with a shallow draft that is required for navigation of the Missouri River
120-foot-long side-wheeler of 144 tons was delivered to St. Louis [April 1, 1831]
Navigation of the upper Missouri River began under the command of Captain B. Young
Yellow Stone left St. Louis on its maiden voyage -- April 16, 1831
arrived at Fort Tecumseh (now in the vicinity of Pierre, South Dakota) --[June 19] before being stopped by low water
then delivered its first cargo back at St. Louis -- [July 5, 1831]

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE DEPARTS FROM THE ARMY

Military officer exited from Cantonment Gibson, in Oklahoma Territory -- April 24, 1831 to meet with Joe Walker at Fort Osage, Missouri
who was making arrangements for the expedition into the west although no leave of absence had yet been granted to Bonneville

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY RENDEZVOUS

Annual gathering of American Mountain Men
this year was to be held west of Bear Lake (Utah) in the Cache (or Willow) Valley -- 1831

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY CARAVAN

Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and Captain William Sublette had agreed to assist their old company, now known as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, by supplying the 1831 Rendezvous
Rocky Mountain Fur Company lead partner Tom Fitzpatrick was still actively playing hide and seek in the Powder River Valley (Montana) with American Fur Company trappers
thus Fitzpatrick did not arrive in St. Louis at the time he was anticipated
Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and Captain William Sublette decided to supply the 1831 Rendezvous themselves out of the south from Santa Fe (New) Mexico along the Santa Fe Trail rather than from St. Louis
this route was not well defined
Pacific Fur Trading Company caravan set out from St. Louis bound for Santa Fe
pack train was composed of eighty men
were responsible for the care and driving of twenty new freight wagons loaded with supplies
caravan was large enough to assure safety under normal circumstances

TOM FITZPATRICK -- ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY PARTNER

Tom Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, Jim Bridger, Henry Fraeb, and Jean Baptiste Gervais were the five partners who now owned the Rocky Mountain Fur Company as it became known. Fitzpatrick had intended to return to St. Louis from the Powder River Valley in Montana in time to have Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson, and William Sublette help him organize a supply caravan for the Cache Valley 1831 Rendezvous as had been arranged during the purchase of their company. Tom Fitzpatrick, en route to St. Louis, arrived in Missouri two months later than arranged however, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company partner met his old friends Jedediah Smith, William Sublette and David Jackson traveling with the twenty new Pacific Fur Trading Company freight wagons on the road to Santa Fe and Taos, (New) Mexico -- May 1831. Smith, Jackson and Sublette persuaded Tom Fitzpatrick to accompany them to Taos they promised to supply his Cache Valley Rendezvous needs from the South out of Santa Fe or Taos. Fitzpatrick could assemble his own caravan there for the journey to the Cache Valley rendezvous. Tom Fitzpatrick had no other option than to accompany the Pacific Fur Trading Company caravan to (New) Mexico along with Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and Captain William Sublette.

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY SUPPLY CARAVAN FALTERED

Jedediah Smith lost his way in the desert drought-stricken Cimarron Cutoff of the Santa Fe Trail overwhelmed the caravan company's water was gone, their eyes ached, tongues became thick, and speech difficult animals suffered even more than the men. Together Jedediah Smith and Tom Fitzpatrick set forth in an attempt to find water at a dry hole, Fitzpatrick stopped to dig while for water. Jedediah Smith left his expedition to find water by himself following a buffalo trail he came to the dry bed of the Cimarron River aware of the nature of desert streams, Smith dug a hole watched the water seep and rise into the depression.

JEDEDIAH SMITH KILLED

While on the verge of saving the lives of his men, he lost his own near the Cimarron River fifteen or twenty Indians, probably Comanche warriors, suddenly burst from hiding and surrounded Smith -- May 27, 1831 he made peace signs, which they ignored after wary maneuvering a Comanche chief fired a musket ball into Smith's back he reeled in the saddle, raised his rifle, and sent a fatal shot into the warrior others swarmed over Smith with lances life of Jedediah Smith, the Praying Trapper was ended -- he was thirty-two his body was never found. When he died, most of Smith's knowledge died with him his papers disappeared, probably in a fire.

fragments of copies of his journals turned up a century later,
but no map was ever found
luckily, some of the information was incorporated into maps made by others,
but for the most part, the knowledge was lost

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY CARAVAN PARTNERSHIP

With Jedediah Smith dead on the Santa Fe Trail remaining partners, Tom Fitzpatrick,
William Sublette, Jim Bridger, Henry Fraeb and Jean Baptiste Gervais
faced the difficult of prospect of running the company without Jedediah Smith
Jackson and William Sublette decided to continue on to Santa Fe,
with the expert guidance of Tom Fitzpatrick

CHRISTOPHER “KIT” CARSON

Was only twenty-two when the Pacific Fur Trading Company expedition arrived in Santa Fe
had nonetheless ended his apprenticeship under Ewing Young with high marks
this self-effacing youth had not only developed into an exceptional trapper
but had become an excellent marksman, hunter, and wilderness traveler
he had impressed Young with his courage and endurance,
his unfailing dependability, and his growing leadership qualities
like Young himself, Carson had shown himself a fearless, no-nonsense Indian fighter,
untroubled by sentiment or sympathy

OLD IGNACE LA MOUSSE -- INDIAN MISSIONARY

Old Ignace (Ignace La Mousse) grew up near Montreal, Canada where he learned the Catholic faith
fur trading expeditions eventually led him and twenty-three other Iroquois to settle in Montana
where they were accepted by and married into the Flathead tribe
Old Ignace, as leader of the band of Iroquois, witnessed to his Catholic beliefs
this native missionary taught the receptive Flatheads about the Catholic God and Church
natives learned the Sign of the Cross and many other prayers
Sunday was the Lord’s Day to be set aside for contemplation, prayer and rest
people in danger of death were to be baptized

NATIVE QUEST FOR A CATHOLIC PRIEST

Flatheads, along with the Iroquois, longed for a priest to teach them more and to bring the Sacraments
because of his travels into the Pacific Northwest,
Old Ignace knew about the famous explorers Lewis and Clark
and that William Clark, a tribal folk hero, was living in St. Louis
Old Ignace also believed that Clark, a Catholic, would help them in their quest
natives met in council and decided to send four volunteers all the way to St. Louis
to bring back a “Black Robe” (priest) to accompany them on their return (to Montana)
Four volunteers, two Flatheads and two Indians from the neighboring Nez Perce tribe,
set out across the Rocky Mountains for the Great Plains and St. Louis

“In the spring of 1831, the four braves who had volunteered to undertake the expedition began the long perilous journey.”²²¹

perhaps another motive for the trip was simply curiosity
as the Indians wanted to see where the whites were coming from
Meanwhile, Old Ignace continued to witness his faith and teach the Flatheads
his influence and that of other Catholic natives proved very successful
(later arriving whites were surprised by the refusal of Nez Perce to hunt on Sunday
because it would dishonor the Great Spirit
and lived in peace and followed the Ten Commandments very strictly)

INDIAN DELEGATION JOURNEYS TOWARD ST. LOUIS

On the headwaters of the Missouri the Indian delegates met more Nez Percés and Flatheads
who were hunting buffalo
discussions, the usual Indian vacillations, and sudden fears all depleted the number of pilgrims
This was the first of at least four separate groups of Indians
who asked for “Black Robes” and the “White Man’s Book of Heaven”
and desired information concerning the “Christian’s Book” and “White Man’s God”

SPOKANE GARRY AND KOOTENAI PELLY MINISTER TO THE SPOKANE INDIANS

Spokane Garry had been born [1811]
had been sent to school by Hudson’s Bay Company Governor George Simpson [1826]
along with another Indian: “Kootenai” Pelly
both were educated for five years in the Red River (Winnipeg) School
at Northwest Mission of the Church of England
to be of service to their own people and to the Hudson’s Bay Company
They returned to the Spokane Indians -- 1831
brought back a Protestant Bible, and some knowledge of English and French
both men also possessed an interest in agriculture and a veneer of culture
Kootenai Pelly fell off a horse and was killed
Garry opened a makeshift school among his people -- near Drumheller’s Springs (Spokane)
he read to young and old students from the Bible;
he taught the Ten Commandments;
he tried to teach farming, but the occupation was rejected by the Indians as “women’s work”

INDIAN DELEGATION ARRIVE IN ST. LOUIS

After months of weary travel, the four Indians, two Flatheads and two Nez Perce,
reached St. Louis -- summer 1831
They came to seek General William Clark whom old men remembered had visited them
they found the General (Superintendent of Indian Affairs) and were hospitably received by him
General Clark happily put the natives into contact with the Catholic Church
however, no one could understand their native dialect

²²¹ L.B. Palladino, *Indians and Whites in the Northwest*, P. 10.

NATIVES'S PLIGHT INSPIRES OTHER CONCERNED RELIGIOUS LEADERS

There is some confusion regarding what the Indians were seeking in St. Louis as the Catholics report the story, the Indians asked for Blackrobes (priests), as Protestants tell the same story, the quest was for the white man's "Book of Heaven" All of the protestant missionaries who later came to Oregon traced their inspiration to this event as these natives were exhibited before a large public as the heroes of a heartrending saga together these four Native Americans sparked the imagination of the public and intensified an interest in missionary work in the Northwest

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH'S FRUSTRATION

Nathaniel Wyeth's enterprise had not grown as he had hoped which only added to his frustration eleven men and three boys each had paid \$40 each to join Nathaniel Wyeth and take part in the land expedition they also were required to sign a pledge to be good citizens most signed their real names

NATHANIEL WYETH'S PACIFIC TRADING COMPANY ORGANIZED

Preparations were undertaken in Boston for an expedition across the continent Wyeth designed a brightly colored uniform for his party: outfitted each man in coarse jackets, pantaloons, striped cotton shirts and cowhide boots, each also carried a musket or rifle and a bayonet and large clasp knife in a broad belt and each man carried a bayonet and large clasp knife in a broad belt Wyeth knew the trip would be partly overland and partly on water he invented three vehicles he called "amphibia" which he had constructed his new invention could be used either as a wagon bed or as a boat wagon boxes were caulked and fitted for quick conversion into boats could be drawn on wheels or sailed on water these amphibia proved less useful than hoped -- but were an inspiration for much humor Sea Expedition was composed of the brig *Sultana* furnished to Captain Nathaniel Wyeth by a company of Boston merchants she was laden with Wyeth's trade goods and supplies for the new colony he expected soon to have a business earning \$200,000 a year

HALL JACKSON KELLEY DECIDES TO JOIN WITH NATHANIEL WYETH

Kelley who had already convinced ten companions to join with him, made arrangements to accompany Nathaniel Wyeth's Pacific Trading Company westward across the continent Kelley abandoned his plans to lead a continent himself across the country because he was still lobbying for support in Washington City Kelley's ten companions joined with Wyeth's eleven men and three boys in forming the membership of the Pacific Trading Company since Kelley himself was not ready at the appointed time, he was left behind

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY REACHED SANTA FE

Tom Fitzpatrick's trade caravan arrived in Santa Fe
where he met a young man, Kit Carson, and signed him up as trapper
When they reached St. Louis William Sublette and David Jackson
agreed to disband their company -- the Pacific Fur Trading Company
but first the partners decided they would honor their commitment to provide supplies
for Tom Fitzpatrick to take to the rendezvous
once this obligation had been met, both Sublette and Jackson could return to St. Louis
from the rendezvous
then David Jackson and Captain William Sublette would be free to act on their own behalf
in all business dealings

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY CARAVAN TO THE RENDEZVOUS

When Tom Fitzpatrick finally got the supply caravan under way from Santa Fe
Kit Carson rode as one of Tom Fitzpatrick's company
he made an ideal recruit for the caravan
Supply caravan arrived at the Cache (or Willow) Valley 1831 Rendezvous -- September 3, 1831
but they were far too late -- thus there was no rendezvous that year due to lack of supplies
Tom Fitzpatrick began the return trip to St. Louis -- September 9

MARINE DEPARTMENT OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CHANGES

Head Captain Amelius Simpson died suddenly -- 1831
Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin took charge of the vessels: *Cowlitz*, *Columbia*, and *Vancouver*
managed to make them an auxiliary to the trading posts
McLoughlin saw Peter Skene Ogden was the "man to get things done"
McLoughlin placed the blocky little trader in charge of the Marine Department
as supervisory officer of the vast (for the time) shipping enterprise
Ships made frequent trips to London carrying furs from the outposts
returned to Fort Vancouver each year with supplies and trade goods

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SHIPPING PUSH

Peter Skene Ogden himself took two ships toward the Arctic
He proposed to the Russians that they use the Hudson's Bay Company,
rather than any of the several the fly-by-night American traders currently in the area,
as a source of goods and farm produce for the Alaskan settlements

JOHN WORK PROMOTED BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Was elevated by Dr. John McLoughlin to Snake River Country Brigade leader
as a replacement for the promoted Peter Skene Ogden
Strong physique, great endurance, and very practical mind
His services ranked with Peter Skene Ogden in value to the Hudson's Bay Company

FORT SIMPSON CONSTRUCTED

Hudson's Bay Company's Peter Skene Ogden constructed the last of the company outposts
Fort Simpson on the Nass River about twenty miles upriver from the mouth -- 1831

This post was dedicated solely to fur trapping
but also served as an indicator to the Russian trappers
that Hudson's Bay Company had every intention of remaining in the area to trap
and to be a source of provisions

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADING POSTS – 1831

Were all very similar
six to eight houses served as lodgings for officers and men, mess halls, workshop,
trading store, and storage places
all within a square wall from fifteen to twenty feet high
in two of the four corners and rising above the walls were wooden bastions
usually octagonal shaped and opened on all sides
to accommodate six- and twelve-pound cannon
surrounding countryside was within range of the cannon fire

WILLIAM WALKER SPREADS THE WORD

Half-breed interpreter and Indian Chief from Wyandotte Reservation in Ohio
(this reservation was to be moved to new lands)

Walker was a responsible and respectful leader

who had received a reasonably good education on the reservation in Ohio

He traveled to St. Louis -- autumn 1831

to confer with Superintendent of Indian Affairs General William Clark

General Clark told Walker of the recent visit by Indians from Rocky Mountain area

Walker talked with one of Indians who was near death at Clark's home

Wishing to make a good story even better by personalizing it,

Walker said that he had witnessed things which had, in fact, reached him only by word of mouth

he told of interviewing the delegation and learning of their epic journey

for **“a book containing directions how to conduct themselves”**²²²

he said that Clark had given the Indians **“a succinct history of man,”**

and a briefing on the doctrines of salvation

no easy feat, if at all possible, in sign language

Walker also added a drawing of the visitor's heads, misshapen to slope backward from their eyebrows
to a peak above their ears

this typical Pacific coast deformation he could have been gotten from various sources

but not from the Indians Walker since the artist George Catlin

sketched two survivors [spring 1832]

their heads were normal

(in fact, Flatheads did not flatten their heads and Nez Perce did not pierce their noses)

these names came from clumsy European translations

of the sign-language gestures for the tribes

INDIAN DELEGATION IN ST. LOUIS

²²² David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. P. 156.

Of the four natives who arrived at St. Louis, two old men soon became gravely ill
priests were sent for and both had received a Catholic baptism
and they gave expressions of satisfaction
each received little crosses which they took with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly
the gift could be taken away only in death

Funeral services for the two old men were conducted in a Catholic church
where they were buried with Catholic rites
burial register of the cathedral at St. Louis
gives the baptismal names of the Indians as Narcisse and Paul

It is said the two remaining Indians gave a speech while in St. Louis
(although the speech has never been authenticated, and it is not held in high historical repute)

they were reported to say: **“I come to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. You [General Clark] were the friend of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with an eye partly open for my people, who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind, to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms through many enemies and strange lands that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. Two fathers came with us. They were the braves of many winters and wars. We leave them asleep here by your great water and wigwams. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out.**

“My people sent me to get the White Man’s Book of Heaven. You took me to where you allow your women to dance, as we do not ours, and the book was not there. You took me to where they worship the great (sic) Spirit with candles, and the book was not there. You showed me images of the good spirits and the pictures of the good land beyond, but the book was not among them to tell us the way. I am going back the long and sad trail to my people in the dark land. You make my feet heavy with gifts and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, yet the book is not among them. When I tell my poor blind people after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young men. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness and they will go a long path to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them, and no White Man’s Book to make their way plain I have no more words.”²²³

NATHANIEL WYETH’S BRIG *SULTANA*

Set sail from Boston -- fall 1831

was sent around the Horn to the West coast, bound for the Columbia River
she was to return to Boston with furs for sale

CAPTAIN BEN BONNEVILLE RECEIVES A LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM THE ARMY

Commanding General Alexander Macomb in granting Bonneville's request -- October 1831

(six months after he had departed from Cantonment Gibson, in Oklahoma Territory)

added several stipulations: **“The leave of absence which you have asked...has been sanctioned.**

You are, therefore, authorized to be absent from the army until [October, 1833] ... It is understood that the government is to be at no expense”²²⁴

²²³ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P.139-140.

²²⁴ Washington Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* p. 282.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE'S INSTRUCTIONS

Whatever Bonneville's intent it is undisputed

that the army's commanding general, Alexander Macomb backed by the War Department, not only granted the leave of absence but left Captain Bonneville explicit instructions on how his leave of absence was to be spent

War Department specifically emphasized collecting data concerning Indians

"the nature and character of the several tribes of Indians inhabiting"

the region which was to be explored (**"the Rocky Mountains and beyond"**)

in particular, the Army wanted more information on Indian warfare,

asking Captain Bonneville to observe: **"...the number of warriors that may be in each tribe or nation that you may meet with; their alliances with other tribes, and their relative position as to a state of peace or war, and whether their friendly or warlike dispositions toward each other are recent or of a long standing."**²²⁵

he was further requested to note the Indians': **"...manner of making war; of the mode of subsisting themselves during a state of war, and a state of peace; their arms, and the effect of them; whether they act on foot or on horseback; detailing the discipline and maneuvers of the war parties: the power of their horses, size, and general description...."**

In conclusion, General Malcom indicated: **"You will avail yourself of every opportunity of informing us of your position and progress, and at the expiration of your leave of absence, will join your proper station."**²²⁶

These instructions make it apparent that while Captain Bonneville

did intend to do some trapping and trading during his travels,

his major purpose in organizing the expedition was the collection of intelligence information

Commercial activities, which helped finance the expedition

and allowed him to hire civilians to carry out his plans

provided Captain Bonneville an almost covert element to his adventure

"Spy" is too strong a term

but clearly Captain Benjamin Bonneville had objectives far beyond mere trapping

It is also undisputed that a friend of John Jacob Astor's

who in turn had close ties to the highest levels of the federal government

bankrolled a trapping operation led by an army officer

who was lacking either military distinction or trapping experience

It is again undisputed is that Bonneville devoted less effort to gathering beaver

than to gathering data about the military capabilities of the Indians

and, especially, the strength and disposition of the British in Oregon

and the Mexicans in California

A proud and committed military man, Bonneville took his orders seriously,

fulfilling his obligations as best he could

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE GOES TO FORT OSAGE, MISSOURI

Captain Bonneville used his leave of absence from service in the U.S. Army,

²²⁵ Washington Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* p. 282.

²²⁶ Washington Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, P. 283

as a foundation from which to traverse the western states with a small group
regions which today compose Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming were visited
Bonneville will spend the next four years exploring and dabbling in the fur trade

WILLIAM H. ASHLEY ELECTED TO CONGRESS

Possessing a fortune earned in his successful trapping and trading enterprise
General William Ashley retired to the life of a politician
was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives for one term -- November 11, 1831
Ashley had in his possession one or more of Jedediah Smith's maps
which he took them with him to Washington City

PIERRE PAMBRUN EXPOSES INDIANS TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH

Hudson's Bay Company's Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun served as Chief Trader -- 1832
he previously had been a clerk at Stuart Lake [1825]
Pambrun gave Catholic religious instruction to Indians at the locales he served at Fort Walla Walla
he stayed in command of this post until his death [1840]

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN -- MAN OF VISION

Chief Factor sent a crew to the Willamette Falls to blast a channel for a mill-race
sawmill to cut dressed lumber was located on Mill (later Abernathy) Island
this was the first use of water power in the Columbia Department
(later grind stones for a grist mill were added to grind coarse flour)
Hudson's Bay Company's Dr. William Tolmie and a crew of Klikitat and Iroquois Indians
cut a cart road around Willamette Falls on the east bank
Dr. McLoughlin had the ground surveyed by Hall Jackson Kelley and laid out into lots for a town
Hudson's Bay Company crew also built cabins at Dr. McLoughlin's "land claim"
on the east bank of the Willamette River just below the falls
this time local Indians allowed the buildings to remain
these buildings became the first permanent white settlement in the Willamette Valley
Dr. McLoughlin's claim was operated mainly by Kanakas (Hawaiians)
who had signed on for a two-year term of service
in addition to the sawmill, workers farmed the nearby land
Chief Factor McLoughlin and several other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company -- March 1832
issued a prospectus to Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson
for "The Oregon [sic] Beef and Tallow Company"
this proposal was not be associated in any way with the Hudson's Bay Company,
but rather was a private venture financed and operated by McLoughlin and his colleagues
prospectus described a joint stock company to develop export trade with England and elsewhere
dealing in tallow, beef, hides, horns etc. generated through the purchase
of seven to eight hundred head of California cattle for breeding stock
to be raised and slaughtered in the Columbia Department
Governor Simpson, for whatever reason, held the proposal without acting on it

DR. McLOUGHLIN'S PERSONALITY

Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson noted in of Dr. McLoughlin's personality -- 1832 in his secret *Book of Servant's Characters*: **"A very bustling active man who can go through a great deal of business but is wanting in system and regularity and has not the talent of managing the few associates and clerks under his authority; has a good deal of influence with Indians and speaks the Soulteaux tolerably. Very zealous in the discharge of his public duties, and a man of strict honor and integrity but a great stickler for rights & privileges and sets himself up for a righter of wrongs. Very anxious to obtain a lead among his colleagues with whom he had not much influence owing to his ungovernable violent temper and turbulent disposition, and would be a troublesome man to the Comp'y if he had sufficient influence to form and tact to manage a party, in short, would be a Radical in any Country under any Government and under any circumstances; and if he had not pacific people to deal with, would be eternally embroiled in 'affairs of honor' on the merest trifles arising I conceive from the irritability of his temper more than a quarrelsome disposition. Altogether a disagreeable man to do business with as it is impossible to go with him in all things and a difference of opinion almost amounts to a declaration of hostilities, yet a good hearted man and a pleasant companion."**²²⁷

1832 RENDEZVOUS LOCATION IDENTIFIED

Rocky Mountain Fur Company partners

Tom Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, Jim Bridger, Henry Fraeb, and Jean Baptiste Gervais

had fixed the site in a valley about twenty miles long and perhaps two miles wide

This valley called Pierre's Hole was located between two mountains perpetually covered with snow west of the Teton Mountains (in present-day Teton County near Teton, Idaho)

it took its name from "Old Pierre" Tevanitagon

an Iroquois Indian who had been killed by Blackfeet in a fight there [1827]

south fork of the Teton River ran north through lush mountain meadows

grassy, well-watered basin at the western foot of the Grand Teton Mountains

was flanked by stands of timber that ran to the Snake River

valley was sheltered to the west and southwest by the Big Hole Mountains

to the south rose the Palisade Range

Through a gap in the Palisades a trappers' trail wound into the valley,

branching up from the well-used route between the Green River and the Snake

Across the Teton Mountains through Teton Pass was another lush valley, Jackson's Hole named, like Pierre's Hole, for an early trapper

Although it was the Rocky Mountain Fur Company's Rendezvous, anyone could attend

NATHANIEL WYETH'S PACIFIC TRADING COMPANY SETS OUT

At the appointed time, Nathaniel Wyeth and his eleven men and three boys

were joined in their expedition by Hall Jackson Kelley's ten companions

since he was not ready at the appointed time Kelley was left behind

Nathaniel Wyeth, in command of the Overland Party,

led the twenty-one men and three boys out of Boston -- March 11, 1832

Party, fully armed, equipped, and smartly dressed, marched overland to Baltimore, Maryland

²²⁷ Dale Lahey, *George Simpson: Blaze of Glory*, P. 135.

at Baltimore, four additional men were added
making the total about twenty-eight men and boys
From Baltimore they proceeded by road and river steamboat to St. Louis, Missouri

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY (not to be confused with Wyeth's Pacific Trading Company)

David Jackson, and William Sublette were in St. Louis
they organized another caravan to deliver supplies by wagon from St. Louis
to Santa Fe and, this time, to the Pierre's Hole Rendezvous
Pack train was composed of eighty men responsible for the care and driving
of twenty new freight wagons
under normal circumstances this party would be large enough to assure their safety

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY DIVISIONS CHANGE THEIR PURPOSE

Kenneth McKenzie's Upper Missouri Outfit of the American Fur Company
shifted its focus from trapping to trading -- Spring 1832
Pierre Chouteau's Western Department of the American Fur Company
would oversee the battle with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company -- Spring 1832
in supplying mountain men at rendezvous,
in transporting returns to St. Louis,
and in fielding competing trapping parties

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY SUPPLY EFFORTS

John Jacob Astor had become involved in the rendezvous supply effort
Astor had underwritten Captain Benjamin Bonneville's supply caravan to the west
co-led by his partners Joe Walker and Michael Cerre
now journeying toward the rendezvous
in addition, Astor's American Fur Company Western Department headed by Pierre Chouteau
who used the latest technology -- the Steamboat *Yellow Stone*
to carry goods up the Missouri to a waiting mule train
led by Lucien Fontenelle and Etienne Provost
Now the battle for control of the mountain fur trade began in earnest
speed was essential for the Pacific Fur Trading Company in their race against the Astorians
supply expedition which arrived first got most of the free trapper's business
both in sale of merchandise and the purchase of pelts

YELLOW STONE (SIDE-WHEEL STEAMBOAT) SAILS UP THE MISSOURI RIVER

John Jacob Astor's steamboat did not set out upriver from St. Louis until -- March 26, 1832
of the four Native Americans who visited St. Louis and General William Clark
two survivors, both Nez Perce, started their journey home aboard the *Yellow Stone* -- 1832
ethologist and painter George Catlin traveled upriver with them
to Fort Union (North Dakota) very near the mouth of Yellowstone River
it was his intention to document a vanishing race
Catlin later reported about this trip in the *Smithsonian Report* [1885]: **“These two men when I painted them, were in beautiful Sioux dresses which had been presented to them in a talk with the**

Sioux, who treated them very kindly, while passing through the Sioux country. These two men were part of a delegation that came across the mountains to St. Louis, a few years since, to inquire for the truth of representation which they said some white man had made among them that our religion was better than theirs, and that they would all be lost if they did not embrace it. Two old and venerable men of this party died in St. Louis, and I traveled two thousand miles, companion with these fellows, toward their own country, and became much pleased with their manners and dispositions. When I first heard the objects of their extraordinary mission across the mountains, I could scarcely believe it; but, on conversing with General Clark on a future occasion, I was fully convinced of the fact.²²⁸

One of the Nez Perce died near Fort Benton
(the other Indian eventually arrived safely home)
collectively these four Native Americans sparked imagination of the public
they intensified the interest in missionary work in the Northwest

JOE WALKER MAKES PREPARATIONS

After his encounter with Captain Bonneville at Cantonment Gibson, in Oklahoma Territory
Walker returned to his home at Fort Osage, Missouri
there he began to take the necessary steps to assemble an expedition -- April 1832
With his reputation, it was easy for him to recruit experienced trappers and traders eager to head west
Walker hired several Delaware Indians to serve as hunters
He ordered supplies and acquired equipment including twenty wagons
in which a wide assortment of goods were packed to be transported to the upcoming rendezvous
Walker used wagons to save the delay of packing and unpacking horses at night
and fewer horses meant less chance of them getting stolen by the Indians
wagons also were easily defended and provided good protection
By the time Benjamin Bonneville arrived at Fort Osage,
Joe Walker was already deeply engaged in the manning and outfitting of the expedition

ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN LOUIS EULALIE DE BONNEVILLE

Joined with Joe Walker in making preparations for a Western expedition
to supply American trappers in the Rocky Mountains at the 1832 Rendezvous
Bonneville secured private financial backing and organized a fur trapper's expedition
found a willing private sponsor in John Jacob Astor of American Fur Company fame
who was still deeply interested in the fur trade of the Rockies and Far West
wide assortment of goods were packed into the twenty wagons

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE'S EXPEDITION SETS OUT

Bonneville's and Walker's twenty freight wagons -- May 1, 1832
set out Westward from Fort Osage, near Independence, on the Missouri River
they were bound for the 1832 Rendezvous at Pierre's Hole
According to Benjamin Bonneville's own count, 121 men, including twenty employees of his own,
accompanied him into the West

²²⁸ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P.138.

along with assorted mules, horses, and oxen
Expedition leadership consisted of a loose triumvirate,
Bonneville captained, Joe Walker and Michael Cerre were his second in command
Walker was a mountaineer and leader of men
Cerre was a young man with experience on the Santa Fe Trail
who demonstrated great talent as a businessman
curiously the three sometimes acted together and sometimes acted independently
Walker in particular simply set his own course
when Bonneville's designs made no sense to him
Bonneville maintained strict military discipline with his men
however, he proved to be popular with his employees and with Indians alike
Their journey took them through the Kansas plains
on the way, Bonneville made friends with the Kansas Chief White Plume

SOME OF NATHANIEL WYETH'S MEN DESERT

Dissension developed among Nathaniel Wyeth's Pacific Fur Company along the way to St. Louis
only twenty of the original members remained with the expedition
Wyeth called a meeting, but he permitted no discussion
he merely asked for a vote on the question of going on
nine had decided that Wyeth's western adventure was not for them
voted not to proceed which reduced Wyeth's party to eleven

MEETING IN ST. LOUIS

Captain Nathaniel Wyeth reached St. Louis with eighteen men
after crossing the continent from Boston
ten Pacific Fur Company participants, including the three boys, had lost heart and turned back
Wyeth and his remaining men discovered how unprepared they were compared to their competitors
dismayed, three more of the company promptly resigned
Wyeth however was a man of boundless optimism and compelling charm
he learned that Captain William L. Sublette and David Jackson were in St. Louis
making preparations for a Pacific Fur Trading Company supply caravan
bound for Santa Fe and Taos, and then to the 1832 Rendezvous at Pierre's Hole
in an effort to assure safe passage, Wyeth approached William Sublette
and made arrangements to join the expedition
William Sublette agreed to guide Wyeth and his Pacific Trading Company men
to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company Rendezvous at Pierre's Hole by way of Santa Fe
provided Wyeth did not bring along his amphibia
Wyeth agreed to dump the boat-wagons in St. Louis
but regarding the remainder of his goods and men his enthusiasm was unabated

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY SUPPLY CARAVAN SET OUT

Captain William L. Sublette, David Jackson completed their preparations
for their Pacific Fur Trading Company caravan to Santa Fe
and to the 1832 Rendezvous at Pierre's Hole

train was composed of twenty supply wagons driven by eighty men
including William Sublette's brother Pickney
Captain Nathaniel Wyeth and the twenty-four men of his Pacific Trading Company
joined forces with them
They all set out from St. Louis bound for Independence, Missouri -- May 12, 1832

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY SUPPLY CARAVAN LEAVES INDEPENDENCE

Leaving Independence, the route West followed the Platte River

Captain William Sublette's column traveled military-style

- camping in a hollow-square formation,
- changing their guards every four hours,
- standing-to before dawn each morning

At least one more of Nathaniel Wyeth's men deserted

leaving about seventeen members of the Pacific Trading Company

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY ENTER SANTA FE

William Sublette's Pacific Fur Trading Company twenty wagons arrived in Santa Fe

accompanied by Nathaniel Wyeth and the remaining members of the Pacific Trading Company

William Sublette discovered he would have a great deal of competition supplying the Rendezvous

PACIFIC FUR TRADING COMPANY'S EFFORT TO SUPPLY THE 1832 RENDEZVOUS

In Santa Fe Captain William L. Sublette and David Jackson

made ready to journey to the Rendezvous at Pierre's Hole

William Sublette departed from Santa Fe with a 180-mule supply caravan and more than 100 men

including Sublette's brother Pickney and Rocky Mountain Fur Company's Tom Fitzpatrick

escorting Nathaniel Wyeth and his few Pacific Trading Company followers

Bill Sublette was now in a race with the Astorians

YELLOW STONE REACHES FORT UNION (MONTANA)

She journeyed slowly up the Missouri River a distance of approximately 2,000 miles

to American Fur Company's Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone River

steamer's late start and slow pace up the Missouri River forced a long wait for supplies to arrive

When the *Yellow Stone* eventually tied up at the riverbank in front of Fort Union (Montana)

American Fur Company Western Department leader Pierre Chouteau disembarked

(but the supply effort was already doomed to failure)

Lucien Fontenelle's and Etienne Provost's American Fur Company supply mule caravan

trip to the 1832 Rendezvous did not get away from Fort Union until [June 19]

HALL JACKSON KELLEY FRUSTRATED IN BOSTON

Returning to Boston after his failed efforts in Washington City

Kelley learned that Nathaniel Wyeth had already left for the west with twenty-four men and boys

He frantically tried to advance his own dream -- summer of 1832

Kelley engaged a ship, rented warehouse space, scheduled weekly meetings,

and bombarded the newspapers with letters rehashing all of his old arguments

He even added a new (but not original) vision
which very shortly, in different hands, would have a potent impact:
sending missionaries to the Columbia Department to convert the Indians to Christianity

EWING YOUNG BACK IN CALIFORNIA

Had accompanied a second expedition from Taos (New) Mexico to California
After their safe arrival, Young remained in California
to trap the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys
He tried his hand at hunting sea otter -- summer 1832
but he promptly abandoned the enterprise
For the next two years, Young captained a company of trappers
that swept the Central Valley of California
all the way to the head of the Sacramento River
After his return to Los Angeles, Young's beaver hunting days were over
he found California congenial
and replete with ways of making a living that did not depend on beaver
he would stay

TOM FITZPATRICK CAME CLOSE TO LOSING HIS LIFE

Famous Mountain Man rode ahead of Captain William L. Sublette's and David Jackson's
Pacific Fur Trading Company supply train to alert the trappers camping at Pierre's Hole
of the caravan's approach
when he had a confrontation with a grizzly bear
Following that event, he was riding alone down a narrow canyon with steep, rocky sides
leading a pack horse carrying his supplies
he knew there were dangerous Indians in the area
but he was in a hurry to inform the rendezvous of the trading caravan's arrival
About thirty Blackfoot Indians charged down the canyon walls and surrounded him
Indians on foot chased Fitzpatrick for hours
He dropped the lead of his pack horse and dug his spurs into his horse which reared up
several Indians were scattered to the ground
Fitzpatrick, still mounted on his horse, jumped over them, and charged up the rocky hill
In a short time his horse became exhausted and Fitzpatrick jumped off
he rolled around looking for a good hiding place
he found a crevice several feet deep in the ground and quickly plunged into it
Tom maneuvered some brush and rocks around the top of his hiding place to camouflage it
this effort was successful as the Indians went back and forth
over his hiding place several times but never discovered him
Indians searched in vain until it became dark
they left taking his horses and returning to their village
Fitzpatrick crept from this hiding place and descended only to blunder into the Blackfoot camp
hastily backing out, he returned to his hiding place for the night
Next day warriors resumed the search without success
with nightfall, Fitzpatrick again set out this time traveling far enough to feel safe

Fitzpatrick escaped with his scalp, but unfortunately both of his horses were gone
he started walking in the direction of Pierre's Hole
Day after day he pushed forward living off roots and berries
fearful that a rifle shot aimed at game would alert the Indians
crossing a stream, he saw his rifle and shot pouch swept away
one night a pack of wolves assailed him
he escaped only by climbing a tree and remaining until daylight
shreds of meat carved from a rotting buffalo carcass saved him
but he grew weaker and weaker until he expected each day to be his last

1832 WAS THE LARGEST RENDEZVOUS EVER

This was the Rocky Mountain Fur Company Rendezvous but anyone could attend
in addition to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, free trappers, company trappers, and Indians
had already begun to gather at Pierre's Hole from all across the Rockies
Beginning in late June, trappers rested in the ten-mile wide valley and waited to commence trading,
they told tales of isolation and hardship and comrades dead in last season's Indian fights
for a few days each year, the Mountain Men could enjoy plenty of raw whiskey
and compliant Indian women
as the saying went they could "sleep with both eyes shut" for awhile
it may be true the valley was be full of rattlesnakes
but no Indian war party would dare disturb so many armed men
for a little while they left behind the hardships and dangers of the high mountains
for the peace and quiet in a valley of deep grass and plentiful game
This was the largest as well as the most significant rendezvous held in the Rocky Mountains
Vanderburgh and Drips arrived with ninety American Company trappers -- early July
ultimately there may have been a thousand or more people, along with their stock,
assembled in Pierre's Hole to do their trading and sow a few wild oats
But men's fashions were changing as silk hats were introduced in Europe and America
beaver hats were on the verge of being replaced

WILLIAM SUBLETTE CARAVAN ARRIVED AT THE RENDEZVOUS

Race covering 1,800 miles of tough trail from St. Louis to supply trappers in the field,
was won handily by William Sublette and David Jackson -- July 8, 1832
At noon, the popping of gun shots announced the arrival of the Pacific Fur Trading Company
180-mule supply caravan
at the column's head was its "booshway" (bourgeois, or boss)
veteran trapper-turned-trader, scar-faced Bill Sublette
followed by more than one hundred men
It had not been an easy trip
Pacific Fur Trading Company had repulsed a Blackfoot nighttime horse raid in the Wind River
they lost ten horses, but the raiders did not further attack
nobody was hurt on either side
Pacific Fur Trading Company had beaten its rivals to Pierre's Hole (near Tetonia, Idaho)

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY CARAVANS

Arch competitor, Astor's American Fur Company caravan,
led by Lucien Fontenelle and Etienne Provost was still far to the north in the Big Horn Valley
after getting a late start from Fort Union
due to the delayed arrival of the steamer *Yellow Stone*
rendezvous was over before they even reached the Green River
John Jacob Astor's other venture to make supplies available to the trappers
led by Benjamin Bonneville, and financed by Astor, never even got to the rendezvous

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY PARTNERS ARRIVE

Milton G. Sublette and Jim Bridger reached Pierre's Hole Rendezvous
but they had not supply caravan
After surveying the scene at the rendezvous, they believed their partner Thomas Fitzpatrick
might have returned to St. Louis
partners sent Henry Fraeb to search for him

NATHANIEL WYETH'S PACIFIC TRADING COMPANY IS FRACTURED

Newcomer of importance at the Rendezvous was Nathaniel Wyeth
hardheaded businessman who was successful as a Boston ice merchant
leading his eleven remaining loyal New England emigrants -- seventeen had deserted
Wyeth decided to journey to the Salmon River about 200 miles to the West
where he would conduct trade with the natives and independent trappers of the region
accordingly he purchased twenty-five high-spirited horses from the large herds owned by Indians
Wyeth now faced a rebellion among even these members of his company
he called a meeting, but he permitted no discussion
he merely asked for a vote on the question of going on
three more men, including Wyeth's own brother, the surgeon of the expedition, and a cousin
who took measure of the opposition around them and bitterly tossed in their hands,
but not before casting recriminations against Wyeth
this momentarily reduced Wyeth's Pacific Trading Company members to eight

TOM FITZPATRICK'S ABSENCE FROM THE RENDEZVOUS

Dampened the celebration of the arrival of the Pacific Fur Trading Company pack train
he had not been seen since riding ahead of the caravan
After weeks alone on foot, he at last fell in with two friendly Iroquois
who brought him safely to Pierre's Hole
barely alive, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company partner
trudged safely into the Rendezvous in the evening -- July 8, 1832
exhausted and emaciated, his feet bare, his clothing in shreds,
without horses or weapons,
his hair turned prematurely snow-white by his ordeal
he was a grim reminder that death lurked everywhere in the wilderness
At the Rendezvous he told the story of his encounter first with a grizzly bear
and then with thirty Blackfoot Indians

RENDEZVOUS BEGINS IN ERNEST

William Sublette's supply caravan had brought the necessary furnishings
now both celebration and trading could begin
Nathaniel Wyeth and his New England emigrants gazed in awe
Sublette would have first crack at the bales of fine furs brought in
by Rocky Mountain Fur Company trappers, whose rendezvous (in theory) it was,
and by unaffiliated trappers, company trappers, Astorians, added to the revelry
and by the several hundred Indians
about 120 lodges of Nez Perce, some Flatheads, and a few Iroquois and Delawares
Trading with the Pacific Fur Trading Company employees went on for more than a week
trappers exchanged their precious beaver pelts for powder and ball, knives, hatchets,
kettles, blankets, and the bright trade goods coveted by Indian women
they also traded for fresh horses
Nez Perce bred a particularly fine pony: the Palouse horse -- ancestor of today's Appaloosa
Mountain Men did not seem to mind that everything was marked up
as much as 2,000 percent over prices in St. Louis
life in the mountains was uncertain at best -- cash was of little value
Trappers and Indians partook copiously of Sublette's little square kegs of pure alcohol
since it was unlawful to give or sell liquor to Indians,
Sublette had gotten a "passport" in St. Louis to carry up to 450 gallons of whiskey
"for the special use of his boatmen"
that was pure fiction, of course since Sublette had come overland and had no boatmen
at the rendezvous, nobody cared how the alcohol got to Pierre's Hole
most of the men present simply enjoyed it,
got gloriously drunk and found cooperative Indian women

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE EXPEDITION

Composed of twenty white-topped wagons drawn by oxen
now 110 men, pack horses and mules captained by Bonneville
while Joe Walker and Michael Cerre served as copartners
They struck the fork where the Platte River divided into North and South Platte rivers -- July 11, 1832
though the route along the North Platte was unknown to him
he took it because he was headed to the Rocky Mountains
herds of buffalo became more plentiful on this route
and as they passed between Chimney Rock and Scott's Bluff, (Nebraska)
they noted that the prairie was black with buffalo

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE'S CARAVAN

His party continued on their way to the Rendezvous
had progressed from the Platte River to the Sweetwater River -- by mid-July 1832
coming at last into view of the Rocky Mountains

END OF THE 1832 RENDEZVOUS

Whiskey drunk and furs gone, Pierre's Hole Rendezvous came to an end
Rocky Mountain Fur Company trappers began to pack for the high country
to return to their traps and the beaver streams, of the Green, Yellowstone, Snake,
and Humboldt rivers
and to impatiently await the Winter Fair on the Laramie River
as did all of the other company and independent trappers
while Indians, visitors, and dignitaries went their separate ways
They could not know that 1832 was the last great harvest of the beaver trade,
but they did know that it was good to take life as it came -- enjoying it while they could

WILLIAM SUBLETTE'S PACK TRAIN DEPARTED FROM THE RENDEZVOUS SITE

After the Pierre's Hole Rendezvous, Nathaniel Wyeth's deserters
were to return East with Alfred K. Stevens and a party of four trappers
accompanying William Sublette to St. Louis
Bill Sublette set out for St. Louis with the Pacific Fur Trading Company furs -- July 15, 1832
first day's journey was only a mere eight miles before they camped south of Pierre's Hole
perhaps the short distance was the result of too much celebration at the rendezvous
perhaps they were just cautious
wary from Tom Fitzpatrick's terrible experience

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH CHANGES SUBLETTES

Wyeth had left William Sublette's Pacific Fur Trading Company protection
and placed themselves under Milton Sublette Rocky Mountain Fur Company
until they could clear Blackfoot country in the lower Snake River region
then they would strike out for the Columbia River on their own
after adding three more adventurers, Wyeth was now accompanied by eleven men
Wyeth decision to seek additional protection and expert assistance was a sound one
with fewer than half of his original Pacific Fur Company men,
with more than half of his trade goods lost or expended an no supply depot nearer than St. Louis,
it is very probably they would never reach the west side of the Rocky Mountains
without the help of, first William and now Milton, Sublette

MILTON SUBLETTE LEADS ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY BRIGADE WEST

Captain Milton G. Sublette, William Sublette's younger brother, led a party of company men
southwestward out of Pierre's Hole bound for the Salmon River -- July 17, 1832
they intended to cross the Snake River Mountains
and work their way southward to the Humboldt River for a Fall beaver hunt
In addition to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and Nathaniel Wyeth and his followers,
also with Milton Sublette were fifteen free trappers under veteran Alexander Sinclair
and a few Flathead braves tagged along as there was safety in numbers in this perilous land

MILTON SUBLETTE'S ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY PARTY TRAVELS SLOWLY

Camping at the southern end of Pierre's Hole these men awoke -- July 18, 1832
as they were breaking camp a caravan of something was seen

proceeding through the pass and into the valley
it was expected to be the American Fur Company supply train
under Lucien Fontenelle and Etienne Provost
which was late in arriving to the Rendezvous
or it could be a herd of migrating buffalo
After using a telescope, the remains of their holiday mood vanished
approaching from the Palisade Mountain Range to the south
wound a long column of Indians, as many as 200, emerging from Teton Pass
displaying a British flag
they were Gros Ventre Indians, but this morning they had their families with them
and did not seem to be looking for trouble just then

GROS VENTRE INDIANS

All Mountain Men knew the “Big Bellies”
so-called for their insatiable appetites -- capable of wearing out anybody's hospitality
even their kinsmen, the Arapaho, called them “spongers”
American trappers simply called them “Blackfoot”
lumping them together with that much-stronger nation
whose language they often spoke, and with whom they often allied against the white man
Gros Ventre were, however, a distinct tribe, not only acquisitive but also very tough
This group was returning from a visit to the Arapaho Indians
a vacation taken in part to escape the wrath of the British Hudson's Bay Company,
to whom the Big Bellies had been a perpetual plague and menace
in fact, this Gros Ventre party had stolen their British flag
from a Hudson's Bay Company party they had recently ambushed

CAPTAIN MILTON SUBLETTE’S ENCOUNTER WITH THE GROS VENTRE

As the trappers watched, most Indian women and children returned to the mountains
this was an ominous sign
Milton Sublette dispatched two men to seek reinforcements from his brother
who was about eight miles away
Gros Ventre Indian braves came on
Mountain Men sent a couple of trappers back to the rendezvous for reinforcements
Milton Sublette ordered a barricade made of their packs
and they waited to see what the Indians intended
Perhaps as a ruse, perhaps sincerely,
Gros Ventre sent an unarmed war chief, Baihoh, to the trappers
Baihoh wore a red robe and carried a medicine pipe,
a holy article with a green soapstone bowl and long, decorated wooden stem
Baihoh may have thought he was dealing with Lucien Fontenelle’s American Fur Company men
whom he knew should be in that area
Gros Ventre were momentarily at peace with the American Fur Company
as an Arapaho brave said later, Baihoh would never have advanced alone and unarmed
if he knew he was dealing with his enemies the Rocky Mountain Company men

Milton Sublette was willing to talk, but he chose the wrong envoys
he sent Antoine Godin, the mixed-breed Iroquois who had rescued Tom Fitzpatrick
Godin hated the Blackfeet as two years earlier they had killed his father on the Big Lost River
in Godin's eyes this chief was just another killer
beside him rode a Flathead chief whose tribe had been repeatedly savaged
by both Blackfoot and Gros Ventre war parties
As Baihoh extended his hand, Godin gripped it hard and shouted to the Flathead "Fire!"
Baihoh toppled from his horse
before the Gros Ventre could react
Godin and the Flathead were galloping back to the trappers' barricade,
whooping and waving the red robe -- and the chief's scalp

BATTLE OF PIERRE'S HOLE

Rage erupted from the Gros Ventre, and the fight was on
Big Bellies quickly took cover in a wooded, swampy area,
fortifying their position with logs and branches
and trenches dug furiously by some of their women
Both sides filled the air with lead, but there was little movement

WILLIAM SUBLETTE BRINGS REINFORCEMENTS

Hearing of the threat to his brother Milton and his men,
Captain William Sublette ordered every man at the rendezvous site to get ready immediately
Bill Sublette had brought, by frontier standards, a whole army
with him rode some 200 white trappers, plus about 200 Flatheads and 300 Nez Perce warriors,
all eager to fall on the hated Gros Ventre
Taking command, William Sublette got Wyeth's greenhorns out of the line of fire,
then led a force of some sixty volunteers into the willow-shaded swamp
with Sublette was veteran frontiersman Robert Campbell,
he and Sublette exchanged "oral wills" as they moved into combat

BATTLE GROWS MORE INTENSE

Fighting soon turned into a murderous point-blank hail of arrows and rifle balls
Indian's barricade proved difficult to penetrate
veteran trapper Alexander Sinclair went down, mortally wounded
he was carried out of the line of fire
William Sublette hit one Gros Ventre brave peering through a cleft in the barricade,
but it was difficult for the trappers to get a clear shot
Gros Ventre were shooting well
veteran trapper Henry Fraeb lost a lock of hair to a well-aimed ball
Even under such circumstances, William Sublette and others pressed ahead into the fire
Sublette decided to charge the natives and ordered his men to follow him
six men standing beside Billy Sublette joined in hand-to-hand combat
of these seven four were wounded and one killed
Sublette was standing behind a tree reloading when he was hit in the shoulder by a ball

which went on to strike another trapper in the head
Other trappers and Indian allies fell under the Gros Ventre' accurate fire
one boozy trapper wobbled into the open,
climbed onto the logs of the Indian barricade,
and promptly took two bullets in the head
There was considerable confusion, and the attackers recoiled
although William Sublette remained in command for a time, his shoulder blade was broken,
and he was losing blood
he finally collapsed and was carried back to safety
a flanking party led by Milton Sublette also failed to gain any ground from the Gros Ventre.
Even the bravest of the trappers were glad to fall back
one of them, the indestructible Zenas Leonard, later wrote
that he was delighted to carry away a wounded trapper
it gave him a chance to fall back without anybody questioning his courage,
and he lost no time in packing his companion out of the fight

TRAPPERS SET UP A CROSS-FIRE

Trappers had now managed to cover two sides of the Gros Ventre' position,
but in doing so, they were shooting at each other as well as their enemies
it was desperate work at close quarters
some of the trappers began to lose any enthusiasm they might have had
Nathaniel Wyeth, in the thick of the fight, observed dryly, **“The idea of a barbed arrow sticking in a man's body, as we had observed it in the deer and other animals, was appalling to us all, and it is no wonder that some of our men recoiled from it.”**²²⁹
nevertheless, the attackers worked in closer and closer to the Gros Ventre line,
both sides screaming insults at one another
As the day wore on, however, ammunition began to run low
so low, in fact, that after the fight the trappers would have to return to the battlefield
to dig lead from the trees

MOUNTAIN MEN CHANGE STRATEGIES

Finally, the attackers decided to burn the Gros Ventre out
they began to gather dry wood and brush
Indian allies were not happy with the idea
fire would destroy the plunder they hoped to gain
Before any fire was laid, the Gros Ventre shouted that they would be avenged,
that 400 lodges of their tribe were near and would exterminate the white men utterly
Somehow this threat got mistranslated into a warning that a multitude of Gros Ventre
were even now plundering the trappers' main camp back at the rendezvous
Leaving only a small guard to watch the Gros Ventre,
most of the trappers immediately raced off north to save their possessions
other trappers heard only **“Blackfeet comin’, heap Blackfeet, heap big fight.”**²³⁰

²²⁹ Nathaniel Wyeth, *Wyeth's Oregon or a Short History of a Long Journey*, 1833. P. 72.

²³⁰ Stanley Vestal, *Jim Bridger Mountain Man*, P. 83.

this was enough to convince them that unseen Gros Ventre reinforcements
were about to attack them directly
many whites and Indian allies ran for their lives
It did not take them long to realize that no hostile reinforcements were nearby, however
trappers who had raced off to defend their own camp found their possessions intact
no Gros Ventre warriors had even come near the camp
some returned to continue the siege of the Big Belly breastworks
but most trappers did not return to the fight until after dark

TRAPPERS WAIT OUT A LONG NIGHT

With the dawn trappers began again to close in on the Gros Ventre stronghold
closer and closer they crept, and no shot was fired
finally, they mounted a charge, up and over the logs and branches, to find...nothing
sometime during the darkness, the Gros Ventre had skillfully withdrawn,
taking their wounded with them
Inside the Indians' defensive position lay twenty or thirty dead horses,
but only nine Indian corpses
a few more Gros Ventre bodies turned up
as the trappers fruitlessly followed blood trails into the woods
trappers also found a few forgotten white men,
a wounded mountain man who soon died
a wounded Gros Ventre squaw whom the Flatheads murdered forthwith

BATTLE OF PIERRE'S HOLE WAS OVER

Nathaniel Wyeth somewhat melodramatically wrote: **“The din of arms was now changed into the noise of the vulture and the howling of masterless dogs.”**²³¹
that was all that remained, except to bury the dead and collect the plunder
there was lots of that, blankets and other personal possessions
and a herd of several dozen horses -- including the treasured pony Tom Fitzpatrick had lost
during his escape from the Blackfoot Indians
Gros Ventre body count rose to sixteen
Big Bellies later admitted that twenty-six of their people had been killed and thirty-five wounded
since Indians customarily understated their losses,
this was probably substantially below their actual casualties
Of the fur company men, seven were dead and thirteen wounded
seven friendly Indians had been killed and seven more injured
Gros Ventre had fought well, against great odds
Zenas Leonard honestly wrote that the Big Bellies had shown themselves
to be both smarter and braver than their attackers
they had, he thought, deserved to win
William Sublette and the other trappers returned to Pierre's Hole
for a few days, giving Sublette time to heal a little

²³¹ F.G. Young, editor, *Sources of the History of Oregon*, Vol. 1, P. 160.

However, there were beavers to trap and miles to cover
Mountain Men began to filter off toward the far rivers

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY SUPPLY CARAVAN

Rendezvous was over before Astor's pack train led by Lucien Fontenelle and Etienne Provost reached the Green River after traveling from Fort Union
pressing on, however, the American Fur Company supply train reached the Rendezvous site
Because of the great rivalry between the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and Hudson's Bay Company both corporation maintained separate camps
Rendezvous continued on for several additional days -- [until July 30]
after the final departure of the Pacific Fur Trading Company company's leader William Sublette
Although their arrival was tardy
this venture demonstrated the ability of steamboats to navigate the Missouri
and transport large quantities of trade goods up and furs down the river
Henceforth, although often thwarted by the vagaries of the Missouri River,
cargoes of merchandise would be transported upriver
and cargo of pelts and robes carried down river much more cheaply and swiftly

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE CARAVAN CROSSES (WYOMING)

En route to the Rendezvous, they continued up the North Platte River
(crossing into today's Wyoming) to the Sweetwater River
They were the first expedition to cross the Rockies north of Mexico with wagons
wheeled vehicles had come to the mountains before,
but never had a wagon train of this size surmounted South Pass
was the first to take wheeled vehicles over the continental divide of the Rocky Mountains
(a trail that would prove essential to the overland emigration that followed)
Bonneville and his 121 men reached the Wind River Mountains on July 20, 1832
wagon train left the Sweetwater and headed west over a rocky ridge -- July 24, 1832

BUSINESS AGREEMENT SIGNED

William Sublette and Tom Fitzpatrick signed an agreement -- July 25, 1832
before either launched a Fall beaver hunt
Fitzpatrick represented the five partners of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
himself, Milton Sublette, Jim Bridger, Henry Fraeb, and Jean Baptiste Gervais
but Billy Sublette represented only himself
Sublette would take the Rocky Mountain Fur Company's beaver pelts down to St. Louis
to dispose of them and handle all outstanding debts
Fitzpatrick did not understand the terms and conditions of the legal agreement
in effect, he had mortgaged the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to Sublette
who could now manipulate the agreement and take the company under his control
William Sublette, acting as agent, acquired 168 packs of furs worth \$85,000
and the power to resolve all debts owed by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
he set out from the rendezvous site -- July 30

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE CARAVAN ENTERS THE NORTHWEST

With Joe Walker they crossed the Continental Divide over the Rocky Mountains
and entered into the Northwest

They proceeded to a point three miles below the confluence of the Salmon River forks
this route would prove to be too rough for wagons

Pressing on, however, the American Fur Company supply train
reached the Rendezvous site -- early August 1832
arriving far too late to conduct any business

BEN BONNEVILLE ARRIVED AT THE RENDEZVOUS SITE MUCH TOO LATE

Ninety mountaineers and packers settled into the Green River valley -- early August
to rest their livestock, hunt, and replenish what stores they could

With no prospect of finding customers, Bonneville realized that his wagons and many of the supplies
could be cached along the upper Green River near the rendezvous site
in the vicinity of the mouth of Horse Creek (near today's Daniel, Wyoming)

CAPTAIN WILLIAM SUBLETTE EN ROUTE TO ST. LOUIS

On his way east with 168 packs of precious beaver pelts
belonging to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company,

His party ran head-on into the main Gros Ventre body, angry and painted for war
but the Indians were short of powder, and long on experience
they were a little reluctant to tangle with "Cutface" as they called Bill Sublette
so-named for the scar on his chin

Sublette avoided a fight, mixing a judicious combination of ready rifles
and a gift of twenty-five pounds of tobacco
he could afford the present; his pelts were worth \$85,000

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH AGAIN ORGANIZES HIS MEN

The ten remaining members of the Pacific Trading Company made new preparations
Mr. Abbott (fur trapper), John Ball, W. Breck, G. Sargent, John Sinclair, J. Woodman Smith,
Solomon H. Smith, Calvin Tibbits, Guy Trumbell, and Mr. Whitier

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY MEN GO WEST

Milton Sublette once again set out from the Pierre's Hole Rendezvous site
Captain Nathaniel Wyeth and his ten men of the Pacific Trading Company
accompanied Sublette through Blackfoot Country all the way to the Snake River
which they reached after several savage encounters

GROS VENTRE REVENGE

Three day's journey after the fight near Pierre's Hole about thirty Gros Ventre warriors
lay in ambush twenty yards off the trail on the slopes of Jackson's Hole
suddenly they sprang up and fired into the small party of trappers
as the horses wheeled about, George More was thrown and Alfred K. Stevens killed
natives raced past More as they knew they could not get away from them

five trappers successfully reached the top of hill and were considering how to save More when one of the warriors shot him through the head perhaps a better fate than if he had been captured and tortured to death (Other trappers were picked off by ones and twos that year and later, in the merciless wilderness ironically, a veteran leader of the unoffending American Fur Company trappers was among those ambushed and murdered by the Gros Ventre before the year was out)

FORT BONNEVILLE CONSTRUCTED

After the rendezvous, Captain Bonneville became apprehensive about the presence of hostile Blackfoot Indians in the vicinity he realized that his wagons and many of the stores could be cached in the Green River Valley Bonneville stored what he could, buried the wagons, cached most of their goods near the Green River and directed his men to construct a fort (near Daniel, Wyoming) on the right bank of the Green River between the river and Horse Creek Bonneville and Mountain Man Joe Walker differed over this scheme but Bonneville was determined to build a fort on the Green River Walker argued that the location, while excellent for a rendezvous, provided a terrible setting for either trapping or a trading post:

- open valley afforded no shelter from winter storms
- also, trapping brigades wintered at various sites depending on game and forage not at a trading post

perhaps Bonneville never visualized the post as a primary base for tapping or trading his mind's eye may have pictured it garrisoned by United States soldiers rather than rough mountaineers if so, the site made strategic sense Considerable amount of labor was expended in the construction of Fort Bonneville designed primarily for protection, stockade structure was completed -- August 9, 1832 Fort Bonneville was an impressive fort of logs set firmly in the ground fifteen feet in height with protruding blockhouses at two opposite corners

FORT BONNEVILLE WAS ABANDONED

Nature changed Captain Bonneville's mind when the early and heavy fall snows caused him to abandon the site -- apparently now believing the location to be a poor one Bonneville divided his company into groups:

- twenty men stayed at Fort Bonneville
- ninety men were sent off in three brigades to hunt buffalo and other game

Sarcasm and ridicule were directed at the post as the gathered force of trappers laughed many of the trappers referred to it as "Fort Nonsense" or "Bonneville's Folly" Trapping brigade, wagons, and animals moved south and west from the Green River -- August 22, 1832 exploring the region (of what is now Wyoming)

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE AND HIS MEN JOURNEYED WESTWARD

They were hungry and thirsty when the ninety men and their animals finally reached the upper Salmon River -- September 19, 1832 at a point three miles below the confluence of the Salmon River forks Here they established their winter quarters -- September 26 near the mouth of the Lemhi River and Carmen Creek (by today's Salmon, Idaho) at a place unsuitable for a permanent camp Game was scarce that winter and they had a hard time feeding themselves altitude and severe weather indicated predictable problems would prevail this unsuitable location proved to be an even worse place to winter than the upper Green River (Wyoming) would have been

WILLIAM SUBLETTE ARRIVED IN ST. LOUIS

His caravan came out of the high country safely, his animals laden with the last great beaver harvest Washington Irving, out on the frontier with a government commission, watched Sublette lead his men home: **“Their long cavalcade stretched in single file for nearly half a mile. Sublette still wore his arm in a sling. The mountaineers in their rude hunting dresses armed with rifles and roughly mounted. . . looked like banditti returning with plunder.”**²³²

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY FORMED

William Sublette and Robert Campbell formed their own fur company -- fall 1832 with the goal of challenging John Jacob Astor's American Fur company along the upper Missouri River

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE MADE CONTACT WITH THE LOCAL NATIVES

They met and befriended a band of five Nez Perce families on the upper Salmon River Nez Perce joined them -- October 8, 1832 they had no food either, but they showed the captain a few edible wild plants Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles, known as “hanging ears,” also were camped in the area

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY LEARNS OF BEN BONNEVILLE'S VISIT

Word of Bonneville's presence and activities reached Fort Vancouver's John McLoughlin in very terse and direct terms, the Chief Factor forbid company traders to associate with Bonneville or his men having established themselves and developed trade relationships with the Indians, Chief Factor McLoughlin was determined to maintain control of the fur trade in the West Hudson's Bay Company had been trapping and trading in the region since the early [1820s], and although (as indicated by Washington Irving): **“...the Indians were sorely tempted by his [Bonneville's] blankets and other trade goods, they refused to trade with him because they feared that when he had gone the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company would not buy their furs....”**²³³

²³² Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, P. 46.

²³³ Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, *Benjamin Bonneville Route*, End of the Oregon Trail Interpretive & Visitor Information Center, April 2, 2019.

Caught between the Hudson's Bay Company's control
and the tribes' reticence to stir the Company's wrath
success and survival in Oregon for Bonneville was difficult

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH AND HIS MEN REACH THE SNAKE RIVER

Pacific Trading Company men had stayed with Milton Sublette's trapping caravan
a hundred miles west from Pierre's Hole through the Blackfoot Country
eventually Wyeth and his men reached the Snake River
after several savage encounters with the natives

CAPTAIN MILTON SUBLETTE TURNS TOWARD CALIFORNIA

Milton Sublette left the Pacific Trading Company to care for themselves (for the winter)
as the captain and his Rocky Mountain Fur Company trappers turned toward the Humbolt River

WYETH ADDS FIVE TRAPPERS TO HIS PARTY

After taking leave of Milton Sublette and his Rocky Mountain Fur Company men
Wyeth and his remaining men were joined by five free trappers
Wyeth and his men followed Wilson Price Hunt's route -- [1811-1812]
down the Snake River and over the Blue Mountains
this trail was still being used by the Hudson's Bay Company Snake Country Expeditions
Wyeth hunted beaver in the scraggly hills along the present Utah-Idaho boarder
he proved to be fairly successful as a trapper
however, bad luck hounded the effort -- three of his remaining men departed
Wyeth was forced to cache his furs as his party was too small to carry them out
they hurried northward ahead of winter to the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Walla Walla

PACIFIC TRADING COMPANY REACHED FORT WALLA WALLA

Wyeth and his followers were met by Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Pierre Pambrun
who gave Wyeth a new suit of clothes, agreed to care for the party's horses (until spring)
and put the men aboard a downriver barge
Eleven days after portaging around the roaring falls at the Dalles and The Cascades,
and after staring at the vast cone of Mount Hood
and, most particularly, after studying the ways of the river Indians,
Wyeth reached Fort Vancouver

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH ARRIVED AT FORT VANCOUVER

Ten bedraggled Americans led by a thirty-year-old Bostonian named Nathaniel Wyeth
appeared at Dr. John McLoughlin's gate calling themselves the Pacific Trading Company
five who had accompanied Wyeth across the continent from Boston:
John Ball, Osborne Russell, John Sinclair, Solomon Howard Smith, and Calvin Tibbetts
five free trappers who had joined with Wyeth along the Snake River
Mr. Abbott, W. Breck, G. Sargent, J. Woodman Smith, and Guy Trumbell
they were the first American party to traverse westward the entire length
of what would become the Oregon Trail

Chief Factor noted their arrival that day in his report to Hudson's Bay Company London headquarters
**“He says he came to ascertain if possible to make a business of curing Salmon in the River,
& at the same time to supply [with trade goods and equipment] the American Trappers in the
Rocky Mountains.”**²³⁴ -- October 29, 1832

Dr. John McLoughlin made him welcome
at first because of his natural courtesy
and later because Wyeth's magnetic charm won the factor over completely
an admiration the American returned in full
However, Wyeth's plans to enter the fur trade got no cooperation from the British

HALL JACKSON KELLEY RAISES FUNDS IN NEW YORK

Left Boston for New York City -- November 1, 1832
in New York he somehow obtained credit, plus contributions, Bibles, and religious tracts
for uplifting the Indians of Oregon

NATHANIEL WYETH COULD SEE HIS PLAN UNWRAPING

Wyeth was extremely disappointed to learn his ship, the *Sultana*, had not yet arrived
without the *Sultana* the sea expedition was a failure
overland expedition had not fared as well as hoped either
less than a fifth of the members of the Pacific Trading Company had reached Fort Vancouver
Completely disheartened, the last of his partners now asked to be released from their contract
Wyeth acceded and granted his five men temporary leave -- November 19, 1832
to shift for themselves

Wyeth and his men scattered
two men, John Ball and Solomon H. Smith stayed the winter of 1832-33 at Fort Vancouver
where they were hospitably entertained as the guests of Dr. McLoughlin
(at various times they taught Oregon's first schools at Fort Vancouver
and later farmed -- Ball at Champoege and Smith on the Clatsop Plains)
two of Wyeth's ex-associates Osborne Russell and Calvin Tibbets
drifted up the Willamette River to French Prairie to try farming
John Sinclair suffered from chills and fevers and left Oregon via ship [October 1833]
eventually most of the company returned to the United States, but at least two stayed in Oregon

JOHN BALL BEGINS THE FIRST SCHOOL IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

He had been a New York lawyer and successful businessman
and had accompanied Nathaniel Wyeth as a member of the Pacific Fur Company
Ball was hired by Dr. John McLoughlin to serve as the first teacher for children at Fort Vancouver
at the first “white” school in the Pacific Northwest which operated within Fort Vancouver's walls
classes were begun -- November 19, 1832
where he taught eight half-breed children of French-Canadian families at Fort Vancouver
they spoke a variety of tongues, but no English

²³⁴ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 138-139.

ONE OF JOHN BALL'S STUDENTS IS A FUTURE WORLD TRAVELER

(Ranald MacDonald was born at Fort Astoria [February 3, 1824]
to Archibald MacDonald, a Scottish Hudson's Bay Company fur trader,
and Raven (also known as Princess Sunday) the daughter of Chinook Chief Comcomly
she died shortly after giving birth to Ranald
Ranald MacDonald (as he spelled his name) was raised for his first two years
in an Indian lodge at Fort George by his mother's people
much of Ranald's first nine years were spent with his Chinook relatives)
Archibald McDonald moved his son to Fort Vancouver where he attended school --1832-[1833]
taught by John Ball, the first teacher in Oregon Country

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Official company policy frowned on the effort to settle south of the Columbia River
in the eyes of the London directors, farming and the fur trader did not go together
furthermore, the firm's government license
forbade leaving discharged servants in the Indian's country
however, the Willamette Valley did receive retired trappers
Rather than drive retirees into the arms of rival companies, McLoughlin worked out a compromise
if a would-be settler was married and had fifty pounds credit on the company books
that is, if the farmer was solvent enough not be easily tempted by the sea peddlers' offers
McLoughlin would loan him enough equipment and livestock to get his farm started
and would guarantee him a market for his produce -- principally wheat
By the time of Nathaniel Wyeth's arrival nine families had started tilling widely separated farms
on what would soon be known as French Prairie
one overriding doubt plagued them:
when the joint occupation treaty ended, the land south of the Columbia
would almost certainly go the United States
what would happen to their land claims?

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH VISITED THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Where he made plans to establish his business ventures
Wyeth made note of the conditions he found: **"...Hudson's Bay Company [has] exclusive control, they are at peace with the Indians, and the Indians among themselves. Wars with the Indians on the British frontiers have long since ceased....**
"A further evil that attends our loose laws and their looser execution is that the Indian country is becoming a receptacle for fugitives from justice. The preponderance of bad character is already so great amongst traders and their people that crime carries with it little or no shame. I have heard it related among white American trappers as a good joke that a trapper who had said he would shoot any Indian whom he could catch stealing his traps, was seen one morning to kill one, and on being asked if the Indian had stolen his traps he answered no, but he looked as if he was going to. An Indian was thus wantonly murdered and white men were found to laugh at the joke...."²³⁵

²³⁵ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 129.

Regarding America's role in Oregon Wyeth summed up: **“In conclusion I will observe that the measures of this Company have been conceived with wisdom, steadily pursued, and have been well seconded by their government, and the success has been complete. And, without being able to charge on them any very gross violations of the existing treaties, a few years will make the country west of the mountains as completely English as they can desire. Already the Americans are unknown as a nation, and as individuals their power is despised by the natives of the land. A population is growing out of the occupancy of the country whose prejudices are not with us, and before many years they will decide to whom the country shall belong, unless in the meantime the American Government make their power felt and seen to a greater degree that has yet been the case.”**²³⁶

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE CONTACTS THE NATIVES

Bonneville sent brigades out to hunt and reconnoiter -- November 1832

Bonneville's hunters established friendly relations during his first winter in the West

While his men were securing the winter's supply of meat,

Captain Bonneville, himself, continued visiting tribes along the Snake River

he had counted on tribal trade to replenish his supplies

he met with the local Nez Perce, Flathead, and Pend d'Oreille Indians

collecting information and pelts and anything else that was fit for trade

he camped near the Bannock Indians, hunting buffalo

and experienced decidedly unfriendly contacts with the Blackfoot Indians

Bonneville also met with small groups of white trappers

among them Captain Milton Sublette and Joseph B. Gervais

NATURALIST DAVID DOUGLAS'S THIRD VISIT TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Douglas again returned to Fort Vancouver aboard a Hudson's Bay Company ship -- late fall 1832

he went to Spokane House to see gunsmith Jaco Finlay

who was the only man within 800 miles able to repair Douglas' gun

(Finlay was a half-breed who along with Finan McDonald had built Spokane House -- [1810])

Douglas undertook preparations for an extensive journey ranging from California to Alaska

and continuing overland to Russia and Europe

winter was spent at Fort Vancouver where arrangements for the excursion were finalized

BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE AND HIS MEN FACED A FOOD SHORTAGE

To find game he and his men were forced to move their camp -- December 9, 1832

to the north fork of the Salmon River where there was lots of bunchgrass to feed the horses

and elk and mountain sheep were plentiful

but they had to be constantly on the watch for enemy Blackfoot Indians

he and his men trapped hardly at all

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE'S EXPLORATIONS

Bonneville surveyed the Indian tribes he met his first winter in the West

²³⁶ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 130.

His assessments of the tribes (as reported later by his “biographer” Washington Irving) were characterized by a keen and genuine interest in the cultures and customs of the tribes he met. Captain Bonneville learned that the Indians were deeply religious as demonstrated by their passionate belief in a supreme being. Bonneville’s report of the Nez Perces serves as an example of his insight: **“Simply to call these people [Nez Perces] religious would convey but a faint idea of the piety and devotion which pervades their whole conduct. Their honesty is immaculate. Their purity of purpose and their observance of the rites of their religion are uniform and remarkable.... Their customs and manners are all strongly imbued with religion.”**²³⁷

SULTANA IS LOST

Nathaniel Wyeth learned his ship *Sultana* had been wrecked along the coast of South America she had hit a reef at the Society Islands and had sunk with all supplies lost this marked the end of the Pacific Trading Company and Nathaniel Wyeth’s high hopes

ANOTHER GREAT EPIDEMIC

Swept through the Northwest many of the Indians in the region were stricken and died of the disease

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN L.E. BONNEVILLE INVESTIGATES THE SALMON RIVER AREA

He and his trappers occupied themselves more with reconnoitering than with trapping they made their first attempt at trapping-- January 1833 Bonneville arrived at the Godin River -- February 28

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH’S BUSINESS PROPOSAL

Wyeth had learned the year before that Francis Ermatinger had taken trade goods into the Snake country to swap good for furs with American trappers. This made good sense to Wyeth -- working out of Fort Vancouver using cheap Nez Perce horses as pack animals and mounts and French-Canadian labor would be cheaper and easier than traveling from St. Louis. Enthusiastic about the notion of supplying trappers from the West instead of from St. Louis, Wyeth would cooperate with Hudson’s Bay Company by providing supplies he could purchase goods at Fort Vancouver to sell to trappers South of the Columbia River away from Hudson's Bay Company posts and to take on pack trains to the rendezvous, he would collect furs from trappers by underselling the American supply companies, and return the pelts to the Hudson’s Bay Company depot at a guaranteed price. Trapping threat proposed by Nathaniel Wyeth did not worry Dr. John McLoughlin. Hudson’s Bay Company’s brigades could easily outmaneuver the American any real danger lay in the possibility that rebuffing Wyeth’s proposal might lead the Yankee to counter with cheap goods or, most damaging, alcohol imported from outside sources

²³⁷ Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, P. 171.

also the Chief Factor was certain that Wyeth's scheme would in time fail
through its own inadequacies
Seeing no need to grind down Wyeth, a man whom he liked, McLoughlin agreed to the proposal,
providing confirmation could be received from his superiors

CAPTAIN WYETH WRITES TO GOVERNOR OF RUPERT'S LAND GEORGE SIMPSON

Wyeth proposed in a letter written to Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson
written from Fort Colville

that Wyeth become a supplier of goods for trappers in the field

After acquiring Wyeth's proposal, Governor Simpson immediately appreciated the idea
(until the London directors' uproar against intruding Americans reached him)

Dr. McLoughlin also thought the idea was a good one -- at first

The confirmation never materialized

NATHANIEL WYETH LEAVES FORT VANCOUVER BOUND FOR BOSTON

Wyeth signed on with Hudson's Bay Company man Francis Ermatinger
who was in charge of the Snake River expedition that year
and was just setting out for Flathead post (in present Montana)
Snake River Brigade left Fort Vancouver -- Spring 1833

NATHANIEL WYETH REACHES FLATHEAD POST

After sending the letter to Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson from Fort Colville,
Wyeth settled down with Ermatinger at Flathead post
to learn how the Hudson's Bay Company ran its business

TWO OF NATHANIEL WYETH'S MEN BEGIN FARMING

John Ball finished his first (and only) term as teacher at Fort Vancouver -- March 1, 1833
he was only partially successful as a teacher
after one term he was replaced as teacher at Fort Vancouver by Solomon H. Smith

SOLOMON HOWARD SMITH -- TEACHER AND FARMER

Had arrived in Oregon as one of four Pacific Fur Company men to accompany Wyeth
He replaced John Ball as teacher at Fort Vancouver
and kept the teaching position for eighteen months -- 1833-[1834]
He became involved with an Indian woman -- the wife of the baker at Fort Vancouver
she left her husband and joined Smith
Smith left teaching to farm on the Clatsop Plains near the mouth of the Columbia River
He was the only member of Wyeth's company
who remained in the Pacific Northwest as a permanent settler

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (AMERICAN BOARD)

American Board missionary effort was established by New England Congregationalists
[officially chartered in 1812]
this was the first American Christian foreign mission agency

Congregational organization expanded its financial base by adding other denominations
was now composed of three national churches headquartered in Boston:

- Congregational
- Presbyterian
- Dutch Reform

Missionaries were sent to various counties and American possessions
but their work in Hawaii was especially notable

(from [1820 to 1848] more than eighty missionaries
introduced Christianity, Western education and printing there)

American Board organization followed very closely the efforts of the Methodists in Oregon

CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE AND JOURNAL

Was a Protestant Christian magazine published in New York

William Walker served as interpreter for Wyandotte Indians

and Agent for Methodist businessman G.P. Disoway in New York

Walker wrote a letter to Mr. Disoway regarding a story he had heard in St. Louis
about four Indians traveling to St. Louis seeking the Bible

Disoway submitted the letter, along with his commentary,

to the editor of Methodist newspaper: *The New York Christian Advocate and Journal*

Walker's letter was published -- March 1, 1833

Disoway wrote in his postscript: **"How deeply affecting is the circumstances of the four natives traveling on foot three thousand miles through thick forests and extensive prairies, sincere searchers after truth! The story has scarcely a parallel in history.... There are immense plains, mountains and forests in those regions whence they came, the abodes of numerous savage tribes. But no apostle of Christ has yet had the courage to penetrate into their moral darkness.**

"Adventurous and daring fur traders only have visited these regions, unknown to the rest of the world.... May we not indulge the hope that the day is not far distant when the missionaries will penetrate into these wilds where the Sabbath bell has never yet tolled since the world began! ...Not a thought of converting or civilizing them ever enters the mind of the sordid, demoralizing hunters and fur traders. These simple children of nature even shrink from the loose morality and inhumanities often introduced among them by the white man. Let the Church awake from her slumbers and go forth in her strength to the salvation of these wandering sons of our native forest!"²³⁸

this message, if not the writing, struck deep-rooted feelings of concern
and interest was created among several church denominations

Information in Walker's letter was summarized by Dr. O.W. Nixon (Chap. III):

General Clark presented the two remaining chiefs a banquet on their last night in St. Louis

one of the chiefs gave a speech (although the speech has never been authenticated,
and it is not held in high historical repute)

he was reported to say: **"I come to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friends of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with my eyes partly**

²³⁸ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 139.

open for my people who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people?

“I made my way to you with strong arms through many enemies and strange lands that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. Two fathers came with us, they were the braves of many winters and wars. We leave them asleep here by your great waters and wigwams. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out.

“My people sent me to get the ‘White Man’s Book of Heaven.’ You took me to where you allow your women to dance as we do not ours, and the book was not there. You took me to where they worship the ‘Great Spirit’ with candles and the book was not there. You showed me images of the good spirits and the pictures of the good land beyond, but the book was not among them to tell us the way. I am going back the long and sad trail to my people in the dark land. You make my feet weary with gifts and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, yet the book is not among them.

“When I tell my poor blind people after one more snow in the big council, that I did not bring the book, no word will be spoken by our old men or our young braves.

“One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go a long path to other hunting grounds.

“No white man will go with them, and no ‘White Man’s Book’ to make the way plain. I have no more words.”²³⁹

Story was later re-published in several religious papers

this created additional keen interest and sparked imagination of the public

this was the beginning of interest in missionary work in the Northwest

Story also was responsible for the first misstatement of facts

it was an imaginative account written to please Protestant readers

EARLY ASIAN SHIPWRECK

Japanese junk (boat) was driven ashore fifteen miles south of Cape Flattery -- March 1833

three survivors of the crew of seventeen were taken to Fort Vancouver

they were sent East by Hudson’s Bay Company to be returned home via England -- [1834]

these men, however, may not have been the first Asian visitors to the Pacific Northwest

STEAMBOAT ASSINIBOINE

Joined John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Company steamboat *Yellow Stone*

to make the keelboat seem like a relic of antiquity

METHODIST CHURCH INTERESTED IN THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

Christians believed in the goodness of God and in his personal direction of their lives

Christians should work not to gain salvation, but to do good deeds for the love of God

News of the great number of “unsaved” Indians in the Pacific Northwest

sparked missionary zeal in New England

Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York began steps to initiate the first missionary effort

to the natives of the Pacific Northwest

faithful knew that their lives would not be easy -- temptation was always present

²³⁹ Laura B. Downey Bartlett, *Student’s History of the Northwest*. Vol. I, P. 130-131.

adversity required courage
hardships could come for inexplicable and unexpected reasons

DR. WILBUR FISK -- INCREASES INTEREST IN THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

Dr. Fisk, now President of Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut
New England's foremost Methodist spokesman
seems to deserve credit for the opening move

he wrote: **"Hear! Hear! Who will respond to the call from beyond the Rocky Mountains? The communications of G.P. Disoway...has excited in many of this section intense interest. And to be short about it, we are for having a mission established there at once.... Let two suitable men, unencumbered with families and possessing the spirit of martyrs, throw themselves into the nation, live with them -- learn their language -- preach Christ to them.... Who will go? Who? ...Were I young and healthy and unencumbered, how joyfully would I go. But this honor is reserved for another. Bright will be his crown; glorious his reward."**²⁴⁰

Dr. Fisk enlisted the interest of his former student, Rev. Jason Lee
who was currently engaged in missionary work in Quebec

Rev. Jason Lee grasping the significance of the Fisk's gesture set out for Utica, New York
to meet with the New England Methodist Church Conference

REV. JASON LEE -- YOUTHFUL AND FERVENT MINISTER

Born on a farm near the town of Standstead, Quebec [June 28, 1803]
grew up to be a tall, athletic and industrious young man
both emotional and religious

Twenty-three-year-old Jason Lee and his twenty-year-old nephew Daniel Lee
had been converted to the Methodist Church
at a backwoods revival meeting -- [1826]
(both later became ordained ministers)

Both answered the Methodist call for missionaries

Jason Lee was given the title of Chief Missionary
and Daniel that of Mission Associate and Junior Assistant

Spring [and summer] sped by dedicated to preparations and in stumping the East for contributions

REV. JASON LEE DESCRIBED

Methodist minister, youthful at 31 years of age, was a big man, in both size and spirit
tall, six foot three inches in height, athletic, slow-moving and physically commanding
he was industrious and possessed tremendous endurance
friendly, and fearless, he was sometimes lacking in firmness of attitude
practical, he was not polished or graceful in manner, but was powerful in spirit
he was full of zeal and dedication
he was a fervent minister with an unswerving faith in God
most important to him was an active search for the will of God
through prayer, study, and being receptive to religious experiences

²⁴⁰ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 140.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S FORT McLOUGHLIN

Fort McLoughlin was built by Hudson's Bay Company on Milbanke Sound -- 1833
off the coast of central British Columbia (near Bella Bella, British Columbia)
as part of chain of posts that stretched to Alaska

FORT NISQUALLY-- "SCENT OF FLOWERS"

Hudson's Bay Company established what was known as Nisqually House
at the mouth of the Sequelitchew (Chambers) Creek
about two miles north of the Nisqually River on the bank of Puget Sound -- spring 1833

(Later that year the operation was moved inland to a more permanent location to the east
this second post became known as Fort Nisqually

this fur trading post was built to help the British claim area North of Columbia River

Chief Trader Archibald McDonald directed construction of a 15x20 foot storehouse

this was the first European settlement in Pierce County

McDonald noted in his journal: "**Little as it is, it possesses an advantage over all the settlements we have made on the Coast.**"²⁴¹

other buildings were added to the post as was a stockade which enclosed them
located near the mouth of Sequelitchew Creek

on the route between Fort Vancouver and Fort Langlie on the Fraser River

Fort Nisqually served as way station between the two forts)

DR. WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE -- FACTOR AT FORT NISQUALLY

Trained in medicine at the University of Glasgow

had arrived at Fort Vancouver by ship -- 1833

Hudson's Bay Company employee

assisted by Dr. McLoughlin in medical practice at Fort Vancouver

he was in charge of medical activities in the Columbia Department

until the Company withdrew from the area [1849]

Dr. John McLoughlin confided to young doctor William Tolmie

that he believed the beaver trade was coming to an end -- spring 1833

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SAWMILL

Sawmill operation on Mill Island had been expanded to meet the increased demands of the company
plus the needs of newly arrived immigrants

Even with increasing local demands, enough lumber could be cut

to create a fifty thousand board foot surplus of planking each year

which was exported to China

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONFRONTS THE RUSSIANS

Peter Skene Ogden having received little response from the Russian traders

to the completion of Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Simpson near the mouth of the Nass River

²⁴¹ Tacoma-Pierce County Civic Arts Commission brochure, 1974.

or to the construction of Fort McLoughlin on Milbanke Sound
or to the offer to supply the Russians at their posts
Ogden now pushed boldly north from Fort Simpson into the Stikine River area
whose mouth the Muscovites held
Ogden, the “man to get things done” promptly created an international incident
(which would resonate for the next half dozen years)

CAPTAIN WYETH JOINS A TRAPPING PARTY

Still learning, Captain Wyeth from Francis Ermatinger and his handful of Canadians
he accompanied them on the slow journey through the chill Montana Rockies
Soon the hunters fell in with a nomadic village of perhaps a thousand Flatheads and allied Indians
like most whites, Wyeth admired the mountain savages
they were cleanly, honest, handsome, and amiable
they were also protection against marauding Blackfoot natives
British and American trappers stuck close to their Indian allies
as they crossed the Divide to hunt buffalo on United States territory,
then swung erratically back to the headwaters of the Salmon River (in central Idaho)
there they picked up nine more whites traveling with a group of Nez Perces
In an incredible picture of confusion, twelve hundred Indians driving nearly two thousand horses,
wandered southward into Snake country
Out of the swarming mob Wyeth picked up two natives
who would play their own accidental but significant part in the history of the United States
one was a twenty-year-old Nez Perce employed by Wyeth as a sort of roustabout
as chance would have it this Indian had a slightly deformed skull
other native was an alert, shiny-eyed little Flathead-French-Canadian half-breed named Baptiste,
twelve or thirteen years old, whom Wyeth decided to train as an interpreter

REV. SAMUEL PARKER -- CONGREGATIONAL MINISTER

Pastor of a Congregational Church in Middlefield, Massachusetts
preacher and scholar had, among other things, once served as the headmaster
of a girls' boarding school
he was a keen observer, fastidious, elderly, critical and somewhat pedantic man
full of energy, religious zeal and enthusiasm
He read published accounts of Indians looking for “white Man’s Book of Heaven”
and sought the opportunity to conduct missionary work in Northwest
Rev. Samuel Parker of Middlefield, Massachusetts offered his services
in a letter to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Mission -- dated April 10, 1833

NATURALIST DAVID DOUGLAS’S FINAL VISIT TO THE NORTHWEST

Douglas left Fort Vancouver journeying up the Columbia River -- spring 1833
to investigate New Caledonia (British Columbia) on his way to (Alaska)
Douglas went to Spokane House to see gunsmith Jaco Finlay
who was the only man within 800 miles able to repair Douglas’ gun
Finlay was a half-breed

who along with Finan McDonald had built Spokane House [1810]
Douglas planned to continue his scientific work after crossing the Pacific Ocean into Russia
and return to Europe overland across Siberia
however the terrain was unforgiving and the weather harsh
David Douglas returned to Fort Vancouver from Alaska
tragically during this effort he capsized his canoe and lost all his supplies and over 400 specimens
By now his eyesight was failing, as his eyes had suffered further damaged
from the bright California sun

SNAKE RIVER BRIGADE TRAVERSES THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Francis Ermatinger's Hudson's Bay Company men -- spring 1833
they lead the huge cavalcade of Indians
accompanied by Nathaniel Wyeth
also with them are the two young Indians he had acquired as servants
By fits and starts the cavalcade moved through the Rockies working their trapping lines

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY EXPANDS

During the spring and summer [and into the fall] William Sublette's and Robert Campbell's company
built a dozen or so posts -- each in close proximity to an American Fur Company fort
Robert Campbell set out for the rendezvous -- May 1833
with supplies valued at \$15,000

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN L.E. BONNEVILLE TRAPS (CENTRAL IDAHO)

Bonneville and his trappers and traders operated along the upper Snake River
during the spring and summer of 1833
Ben Bonneville and his comrades returned to their cache on the Salmon River
to resupply and reorganize -- beginning of June 1833
they remained on the Salmon River a few days, then split up again
Bonneville, with one of his parties of men, made an attempt to barter with the Indians
but the local Hudson's Bay Company man had such a grip on them that they would not trade
Bonneville and his ninety men set out trapping (central Idaho)

NATHANIEL WYETH MEETS CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE

Francis Ermatinger's Hudson's Bay Company trapping party constantly changed in size
sometime increasing with additional natives; sometimes fragmenting as various groups departed
While en route they met Captain Benjamin Bonneville on the upper Snake River
Francis Ermatinger's Snake River Brigade eventually turned back to Fort Vancouver
Wyeth and Bonneville formed a partnership
to hunt for beaver skins South of the Columbia River while in the Rocky Mountains

EARTHQUAKE SHAKES PUGET SOUND

Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, Factor of Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Nisqually along with four others
were examining land near the fort
Tolmie and Francis Heron were on horseback and the other three walked

Dr. Tolmie reported in his journal: **“Mr. Heron returned about 9 this morning to breakfast. Afterwards we mounted the north bank of Coe by the path & were occupied nearly all day in collecting specimens of the soil H[eron] and I on horseback. While thus engaged our three attendants, [John] McKie, [William] Brown & Peter Tahi, the islander, felt the earth under them shake violently at least twice. Brown first exclaimed, & seemed much alarmed -- He & McKie were on their knees at the time & felt violently lifted up, the sensations of Peter I could not ascertain, Mr. H & I did not perceive anything remarkable -- this happened at 20 minutes from 2 ... which is not far wrong. On returning to the house we learn’t that the shock had been felt there, the boards in the floor of the house rattling together. The Indians were much struck & said, “The chief’s [Heron’s] medicine is strong, He has gone up the hill to shake the grounds.’ In some quarter of the globe, perhaps the Almighty has wrought some dire devastations by earthquake, one of the most powerful & calamitous instruments of chastisement employed against Mankind. The steep & broken faces to Eastward of the islands in the sound render it probable, that they have been severed from the main shore by an earthquake.”²⁴²**

This small earthquake was not felt outside of the vicinity of Fort Nisqually

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY SUPPLIES THE RENDEZVOUS

Thomas Fitzpatrick sent Henry Fraeb east to intercept Robert Campbell’s supply train and purchase all of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company’s goods
if the pack train had as yet not set out, Fraeb was to continue to St. Louis to buy supplies
Fraeb met Campbell’s supply train at Laramie Creek where he bought the outfit
Fraeb and Campbell proceeded up the North Platte and Sweetwater rivers and on to South Pass where Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton G. Sublette, Joseph B. Gervais were met

CAPTAINS BONNEVILLE AND WYETH MEET THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY

Bonneville and his ninety men and Wyeth and his two companions and two natives
all traveled together as they hunted for beaver in the Rockies
Captain Benjamin Bonneville was surprised and disappointed to meet another American expedition
St. Louis Missouri Fur Company pack train on their way to the 1833 Rendezvous
led by Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton G. Sublette, Joseph B. Gervais, Henry Fraeb
and Robert Campbell
Bonneville and Wyeth learned the rendezvous site [to be held summer of 1833]
was to located in the vicinity of the fort which Captain Bonneville had built and abandoned
in the valley of the Green River

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY SUPPLIES THE 1833 RENDEZVOUS

Company steamboats *Assiniboine* and the ill-fated *Yellow Stone* tied up at the company’s Fort Union
this journey saw the *Yellow Stone*’s crew stricken with cholera
all died except the captain and a young pilot named Joe LaBarge
Yellow Stone was met by Lucien Fontenelle and Andrew Drips
who led the pack train to the rendezvous site

²⁴² Greg Lange, HistoryLink.org Essay 5104, January 23, 2003.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY RENDEZVOUS SITE

General rendezvous would take place Fort Bonneville

along the Green River at Horse Creek (near Daniel, Wyoming) -- July 8-[24], 1833

location of Captain Benjamin Bonneville's post proved to be well suited

"Fort Nonsense" or "Bonneville's Folly" served as a major center of trade

Was the first of six rendezvous held there

this site, and others in the Wind River area, or Idaho and Utah, were chosen

because there was ample space for up to 500 mountain men and 3000 Indians

ample grazing and water was needed for the thousands of horses

all of the rendezvous were held in Shoshone territory

rather than farther east or north where the hostile Sioux, Blackfoot, and Crow

dominated the region

This year's Rendezvous would, in fact, be spread out for ten miles along the Green River

Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton G. Sublette, Joseph Gervais Henry Fraeb and Robert Campbell

arrived -- July 5, 1833

with their supply train at the confluence of the Green River and Horse Creek

Rocky Mountain Fur Company would set up their camp ten miles south of Fort Bonneville

Lucien Fontenelle and Andrew Drips arrived -- July 8

American Fur Company would have an encampment about five miles south of the fort

between the Rocky Mountain Fur Company camp and Fort Bonneville

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY 1833 RENDEZVOUS

Some 350 whites and 500 Shoshone, Flathead, and Nez Perce Indians gathered

on the upper Green River where all could inspect and make fun of Fort Nonsense

All the big names of the mountains turned up for the festivities

Joe Walker, Michael Cerre with Benjamin Bonneville

Tom Fitzpatrick, Jim Bridger, Robert Campbell, Henry Fraeb, Benito Vasquez

and Milton Sublette Joseph B. Gervais of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company

American Fur Company trappers and Astor's traders led by Lucien Fontenelle and Andrew Drips

who arrived on time this year after picking up supplies at Fort Union

from the steamships *Yellow Stone* and *Assiniboine*

Benjamin Bonneville and Nathaniel Wyeth arrived at the Rendezvous

Captain Bonneville's ninety men were looking for another adventure

he counted only a dismal return on his year's labor -- he failed even to cover expenses

Captain Nathaniel Wyeth was journeying back to Boston

Attacks over two or three successive nights in both of the lower camps by a rabid wolf (or wolves)

contributed to the early break-up of the rendezvous

about a dozen men were bitten savagely on the face

several of these men over several weeks and months subsequently died of hydrophobia

Generally, the harvest of beaver pelts was good

more than 165 packs of beaver worth about \$60,000 was taken out of the mountains

however, this amount was split among four companies:

- Rocky Mountain Fur Company
- American Fur Company

- St. Louis Missouri Fur Company
- Benjamin Bonneville

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH STRIKES A DEAL

In his mind, Wyeth's business plans underwent fluctuations
 he at first agreed to undertake a trapping expedition in California for Captain Bonneville
 then changed his mind when he saw the outrageous prices trappers at the rendezvous
 were paying to get trinkets for their Indian women, and alcohol
 and a few bare necessities they purchased for themselves
 Convinced anew that a fortune lay in supplying future rendezvous from the Columbia River,
 Wyeth decided not to wait for Governor George Simpson and the Hudson's Bay Company
 to play ball with him,
 but would drum up his own financing in Boston, send a shipload of goods around the Horn,
 meet the brig in the Columbia River, and load her with salmon and furs
 As an added enhancement he acquired a contract
 (either at the rendezvous or on the caravan trail to the Big Horn River)
 to ship from St. Louis (not Fort Vancouver as previously proposed)
 Rocky Mountain Fur Company's [1834] requisition of supplies
 worth about \$3,000 in trade goods

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE WRITES TO THE U.S. ARMY COMMANDING GENERAL

He realized that a year was insufficient time to finish his information-gathering,
 he could not keep his promises to General Macomb to return to the States (by October)
 there was too much yet to accomplish

While the trappers cavorted in alcoholic frolics, Bonneville sat in his tent
 penning a letter to Commanding General Alexander Macomb: -- July 1833

- documenting his reconnaissance work to date
- asking for an extension of his leave of absence
- citing several reasons for lingering in the West

he had been on the upper Salmon and Snake rivers -- technically part of Oregon
 he described at length the Hudson's Bay Company's operations and successes
 and his interest in their operations in New Caledonia (British Columbia)
 and the Cottonais (Kutenai country, Montana)

he also wrote a long report which furnished much of the information
 that General Macomb had requested about the country and the Indians
 he detailed his explorations

noting watersheds and rivers he traveled
 tribes he met and their temperaments,
 and the soils' potential for sustainable agricultural operations

but he noted he had yet to visit the stronghold of the Hudson's Bay Company itself
 on the lower Columbia River

even so, he wrote: **"The information I have already obtained authorizes me to say
 this much: that if our Government ever intends taking possession of Origion [sic] the sooner it shall**

be done the better, and at present I deem a subalterns [lower military rank] command equal to enforce all the views of our Government.²⁴³

BEN BONNEVILLE DEVELOPS A PLAN TO RECONNOITER

Bonneville and his men remained at the rendezvous for almost two weeks

Bonneville now felt he and his men were now seasoned enough
for a little more challenging adventure

Bonneville had three regions he wanted to explore before his return to duty:

- he wanted to go west, especially to the lower Columbia River and the Willamette Valley in Oregon
- he wanted to see California and gather information about the geography, resources, economy, and government as well as ascertain how best to get there
- he wanted to see the Great Salt Lake and assess its potential for trapping

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE DECIDED TO SPLIT HIS COMMAND

In an effort to accomplish his ambitious dreams

Bonneville ordered experienced trapper Michael Sylvester Cerré back to St. Louis
Cerre, a trustworthy courier, was entrusted

to carry the few furs which had been collected to St. Louis

along with Bonneville's letter to Commanding General Alexander Macomb

Bonneville suggested to Joe Walker that he should take a party of men to California
by way of the Great Salt Lake

beaver appeared to be in decline throughout the Rocky Mountains

Bonneville thought that new trapping opportunities would be found
in this unexplored territory

Bonneville, himself, after accompanying Walker to Salt Lake,

would visit the lower Columbia River and return by way of California

It was decided his men would rendezvous with Bonneville

at the Bear River Valley (Southern Idaho) the next year -- [summer 1834]

JOSEPH WALKER -- CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE'S PARTNER

Circulated around the rendezvous recruiting free trappers to accompany him
on an expedition to California

His reputation as a mountaineer and leader, combined with the lure of California
attracted plenty of recruits of which forty-five were selected for the journey

Walker was outfitted for a year's expedition

MICHAEL CERRE LEFT THE RENDEZVOUS

Second in command of Bonneville's expedition along with Joe Walker

Cerre, a trustworthy courier, was assigned to carry to St. Louis 4,000 pounds of beaver pelts
that they had collected over the past year

and a large package of intelligence information to Washington City

²⁴³ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 120-121.

that had been collected during the same time
along with Bonneville's letter to Commanding General Alexander Macomb

BEN BONNEVILLE AND JOE WALKER LEFT THE RENDEZVOUS

Traveling from the Rendezvous site at Fort Nonsense
they continued their trek through the Rocky Mountains
first night they camped on Henry's Fork, a tributary of the Snake River -- July 22, 1833

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY LEAVES THE RENDEZVOUS

Robert Campbell, Nathaniel Wyeth, and the partners of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
transported fifty-five packs of beaver

This strong force circled down through South Pass
and up to the junction of the Shoshone and the Bighorn rivers,
where they embarked on bullboats for the mouth of the Yellowstone River
At the mouth of the Yellowstone River, Wyeth was entertained at the palatial Fort Union
by the famous American Fur Company trader Kenneth McKenzie
McKenzie displayed a great deal of pride in his new still -- used to manufacture alcohol
Wyeth was outraged:

- 1) at the price charged the natives and trappers for the product
- 2) at the fact McKenzie would not sell them any liquor for their own trade efforts

CAPTAIN BEN BONNEVILLE AND JOE WALKER AT SALT LAKE

They reached the Great Salt Lake's northern shore -- August 1833

Ben Bonneville and Joe Walker part company

with Bonneville's instructions to head west: **"...through unknown country toward the Pacific,
and...he should return to the Great Salt Lake the following summer."**²⁴⁴

Before leaving on his own trek to the Northwest

Captain Bonneville gave each man under Walker's command

four horses, blankets, ammunition, trade goods, and a small supply of food

it was with these provisions that Walker and fifty-eight men set out

Bonneville took the remaining company, numbering an estimated forty members,
struck a round-about course that visited the Colorado River

JOE WALKER SETS OUT FOR CALIFORNIA

He and his fifty-eight companions

left the northern shore of the Great Salt Lake August 20, 1833

Their journey was a great success

Walker's party became the first Americans to discover and explore California's Yosemite Valley
on their return trip, Walker discovered a good route through the Sierra Nevada mountains
(later named Walker Pass)

BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE IN THE GREEN RIVER VALLEY

²⁴⁴ Hiram Martin Chittenden, *History of The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, P. 407.

Traveling with forty men, he came to the Green River Valley -- September 17, 1833
where he re-supplied himself from his caches
from there they continued south toward the Colorado River

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY ADDS MORE TRADING POSTS

William Sublette's and Robert Campbell's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company
established a dozen or so trading posts in the same areas
where American Fur Company posts were located -- summer [and autumn 1833]
one of Billy Sublette and Campbell's post was Fort William
established near the mouth of the Yellowstone River
about three miles below Astor's American Fur Company's Fort Union
However, the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company was unable to compete
with Astor's powerful American Fur Company which did everything possible
to destroy William Sublette and Campbell's company
Astor even paid two-three times the market price for beaver (as much \$12 per pound)
to keep any furs at all from being obtained by his competitor

CATHOLIC CHURCH SEEKS ASSISTANCE IN EUROPE

Many Missouri-area Jesuit priests had been born in Holland and Belgium
(De Smet had first come to American -- [1821] where he studied for the priesthood
after his ordination into the clergy [1827]
he learned about Indian customs and other useful information)
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet offered to go to Europe to seek funding and recruits
in advancing the Catholic work among the Indians of the plains
ten years of deprivations on the frontiers had seriously affected the priest's health
he urgently needs some rest
Due to health problems, Father De Smet left St. Louis en route for Europe -- end of September 1833

TWO OF NATHANIEL WYETH'S MEN MOVE TO FRENCH PRAIRIE

John Ball retired from teaching to Champoeg along Willamette River
on the North edge of French Prairie
with assistance of French-Canadian ex-employees of Hudson's Bay Company
John Ball built a cabin and put in a wheat crop
there he was the first American lawyer in the Pacific Northwest
and he operated the first American farm along with John Sinclair, another Wyeth man
After a successful harvest Sinclair, who suffered from bouts of fever and chills,
left Oregon by ship -- October 18, 1833

NATURALIST DAVID DOUGLAS GOES TO HAWAII

At Fort Vancouver Douglas decided to take a ship to the Hawaii -- October 1833
hoping next to sail on the next ship bound for the British Isles
Douglas continued his botanical study as he visited Hawaii

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE AND HIS MEN

Reached Liberges Fork, a tributary of the Colorado River -- October 25, 1833
there were signs of a large Indian party that had recently passed,
so they determined to continue on
Approximately forty men headed to Janes Fork, another tributary to the Colorado River
he stayed there overnight before they followed the Bear River (Southern Idaho)
which flows into the Great Salt Lake

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE SET UP WINTER CAMP

Ben Bonneville continued from the Bear River to the Snake River which they crossed
before turning to the Portneuf River Valley arriving there -- late October 1833
Bonneville and his men camped at Little Lake -- November 6, 1833

NATHANIEL WYETH BACK IN BOSTON

Arrived from Fort Vancouver back at his home in Cambridge
with his two Indian companions -- November 7, 1833
Eager to try his luck in the west once again he began looking for a wealthy backer
to finance a scheme to supply Mountain Men in the Rockies and build a salmon-salting company

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY REJECTS CAPTAIN WYETH'S PROPOSAL TO SUPPLY TRAPPERS

Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson, taking his cue from the London Board of Directors
rejected Wyeth's proposal
Simpson then scolded Dr. McLoughlin for giving aid and comfort to the enemy
Mortified, the Chief Factor retorted with an array of official statements
which Simpson thought presumptuous
this dispute added one more rift between the quick-tempered governor
and his self-assertive subordinate

METHODIST MISSIONARIES APPOINTED TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Rev. Jason Lee visited the Methodist Church headquarters in Utica, New York
he was the first to respond to natives' call for religious guidance
and the first who grasped the possibilities of being of service
Rev. Lee was appointed by the New England Methodist Conference
as superintendent of a mission to the Pacific Northwest -- 1833
he was given the title "Missionary to the Flatheads" (he never did serve the Flathead Indians)
Rev. Lee named as his associate Rev. Daniel Lee (Jason's 28 years old nephew)
Daniel was quiet and self-effacing -- he was more successful as a missionary than was his uncle

NATHANIEL WYETH BEGINS HIS NEW ENTERPRISE

Once again following John Jacob Astor's example
two efforts to reach Ft. Vancouver were launched from Boston:
•Overland Expedition: Wyeth's second trip across the continent
•Sea Expedition: Wyeth's second effort to get a ship to the Columbia River
Tucker and Williams, Boston merchants, invested with Wyeth
formed the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company in Boston

May Dacre was outfitted in Boston to conduct a salmon-salting operation
on the lower Columbia River
Wyeth also began preparation for another overland expedition
he spent the fall and winter 1833-1834
gathering supplies to take to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company rendezvous

JASON AND DANIEL LEE PREPARE TO GO WEST

Lees held a farewell service in New York City
then read in the next morning's newspaper that Captain Nathaniel Wyeth
had just returned to Boston from Oregon with two Flathead Indians
Excited by this good luck, Jason and Daniel rushed north to Boston to consult with Captain Wyeth
at this meeting they learned the confident and persuasive mountain man had already raised money
for a second expedition to the Columbia River
he had used his contract to supply the 1833 Rendezvous as a lever
Two Methodist ministers gained even more than they had dared hope for

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE TRAPPING AND EXPLORING (TODAY'S IDAHO)

Took three men from his camp at Little Lake on the Portneuf Plain
near the Portneuf River (in the vicinity of today's Pocatello, Idaho)
area was a lava plain with many crevasse and gullies requiring rough going
Here they met some Bannock Indians with whom they went buffalo hunting
Bonneville and his small contingent continued to the Snake River which they crossed
Captain Bonneville set up a temporary camp
forage for horses was barely adequate being mostly wormwood (sage)
but it provided a rest
and the opportunity for several short reconnaissance trips away from the post
Bonneville was not successful
in his plan to visit the lower Columbia River and return by way of California
he tried -- but, in fact, not very hard

MEETINGS TO GENERATE INTEREST IN THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT HELD IN BOSTON

Captain Nathaniel Wyeth met a tall, bearded, electrically excited man who asked him for an interview
he introduced himself as Jason Lee
Lee asked breathlessly whether it was true, as newspapers said, that Mr. Wyeth
had recently brought two Flathead Indians from the Columbia
but a Flathead! could -- would Mr. Wyeth bring the Indians to a missionary meeting
at the Bromfield Street Church on Friday evening, November 29, 1833
Captain Wyeth was one of the featured speakers for the evening
after the meeting Rev. Jason Lee discussed traveling out West with Wyeth
Jason and Daniel Lee intended to locate among the Nez Perce and Flathead Indians
who had earlier [1832] sent representatives to St. Louis

METHODIST MISSION SOCIETY SPONSORS MISSIONAIRES

Methodist Mission Society learned from Rev. Jason Lee that Nathaniel Wyeth

was expecting to again cross the continent Utica, New York
Methodist Mission Society at once opened negotiations with Captain Wyeth
arranged to have all supplies, provisions and equipment for a new mission
to be shipped on Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company's *May Dacre*
Methodist Mission Society agreed to meet with Wyeth in Independence, Missouri
for the overland trip
Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew Rev. Daniel Lee proceeded westward
to meet with Captain Wyeth in St. Louis

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE SETS OUT TO MEET THE BRITISH

Bonneville set out from his temporary camp with three men
along the Portneuf Plain to explore the Columbia River -- December 25, 1833
and to set up fur trading operation to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company
They journeyed down the Snake River toward Fort Walla Walla
trip was more difficult than necessary -- Bonneville having chosen the most difficult way
area they crossed was a lava plain which was rough going with many crevasse and gullies
here they met Bannock Indians with whom they went buffalo hunting

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE SETS OUT FOR THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Left Fort Bonneville (Idaho) once again -- January 9, 1834
this time with three of his men and a Shoshone guide
they were aiming for the Willamette Valley by way of the Columbia River
they followed the Snake River until their guide departed for other obligations
leaving Bonneville to his instincts
Party traveled into the steep gorge (today called Hell's Canyon) -- January 12, 1834
past the (present-day site of Homestead, Oregon, the Big Bar,
and the present Hell's Canyon dam site)
eventually the canyon's craggy walls became too steep to safely maneuver
After backtracking upriver a bit, the group found their way out of the canyon,
up and over the Wallowas near (today's Himmelwright Springs)
they passed into the Grande Ronde Valley which was now deep in snow

THREE JAPANESE SAILORS ARE SHIPWRECKED OFF CAPE FLATTERY

(In an effort to insulate the country from outside influences Japan had been closed to foreigners
by order of the Emperor since the early [1600s] thus leading to the name the "Hermit Kingdom"
to assure this policy was enforced, construction of ships capable of ocean voyages was prohibited
Japan relied instead on single-masted vessels designed for navigation in shallow coastal waters
Japanese ships had sturdy hulls but were easily disabled during storms
Sailors of the fifty-foot *Hojun Maru* left their home port of Onoura, Japan [October 11, 1832]
bound for Edo (Tokyo) with a cargo of rice and porcelain
Sometime after making a call at the port of Toba south and east of Tokyo [early November 1832]
Hojun Maru was hit by a typhoon, stripped of its rudder and mast and drive off to sea
crew members had rice from the cargo and fish from the sea to eat
they were able to collect rainwater and to desalinate seawater for drinking

but they had no access to Vitamin C
By the time the ship ran aground near Cape Flattery -- January 1834
all but three of the crew had died -- probably of scurvy
Iwakichi, 28; Kyukichi, 15, and Otokichi, 14
all were from the same village on Japan's Honshu Island
"Three kichis" (as they became known) were discovered by a group of Makah Indian seal hunters
they were briefly held as slaves before Captain William McNeil of the American brig *Llama*
delivered the Japanese castaways to Fort Vancouver
When word of their capture reached Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
he had them ransomed and brought to Fort Vancouver
"Three kichis" stayed at Fort Vancouver for about five months where they learned a little English
during this time they met a young boy, Ranald Mac Donald, who developed a fascination
with the Japanese castaways and their culture
he cherished a desire to investigate the forbidden mysteries of the "Hermit Kingdom" (Dr.
McLoughlin arranged to send the "Three kichis"
to Hudson's Bay headquarters in London [November 1834]
he thought the British government could use the men to establish trade relations with Japan)

RANALD MacKINZIE FURTHERS HIS EDUCATION

(Archibald McDonald was assigned to the Hudson's Bay Company post at Kamloops
he journeyed there with his new bride [1833])
Archibald's son, Ranald, stayed with his Chinook relatives until his tenth year -- 1834
when he joined his father and step-mother in Kamloops
Archibald MacDonald showed great concern about young Ranald's education
Ranald was sent to the Red River Settlement (Winnipeg, Manitoba) to attend school

THOMAS "BROKEN HAND" FITZPATRICK

It was on a trapping trip that Thomas Fitzpatrick received his nick name of "Broken Hand" -- 1834
he was discovered by a band of Blackfoot Indians who began to chase him
during the chase, Fitzpatrick and his horse leaped from a high bluff into the Yellowstone River
where he landed on a sand bar
when the Indians continued their pursuit, Fitzpatrick attempted to remove his rifle cover
he accidentally shot himself in the left wrist costing him two fingers

AMERICAN SHIP *MAY DACRE*

Was the fishing portion of Nathaniel Wyeth's Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company
May Dacre was under charter to Wyeth
she was outfitted and set sail from Boston -- February 7, 1834
to journey down the Eastern seacoast and around the Horn to the Columbia River
with trade supplies and salmon fishing, salmon salting and packing equipment
she carried hundreds of knocked-down barrels to be filled with pickled salmon
and also carried Methodist missionary supplies and equipment

NATHANIEL WYETH'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION

Wyeth had signed a contract to provide supplies for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company trappers at their upcoming Rendezvous at Ham's Fork

Three months after his return home in Boston

Nathaniel Wyeth again set out overland -- February 7, 1834

bound for St. Louis and then on to the Pacific Northwest

trading portion of Nathaniel Wyeth's Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company

Accompanying Wyeth were three lay (not ordained) members of the Methodist Mission Society:

- Cyrus Shepard-- lay assistant missionary
- Philip L. Edwards -- teacher and writer who signed on as a lay assistant missionary
- Courtney M. Walker -- former trapper who served as an additional hired hand

CAPTAIN BEN BONNEVILLE'S PARTY IN THE IMNAHA VALLEY

Still traveling in deep snow through the Grande Ronde Valley

all four men were growing very hungry,

Party eventually ran out of food and went for three days without eating

men finally got food when one mule died and was butchered

Continuing toward the Imnaha Valley they reached the banks of the Imnaha River

where they found lush grass for the horses which was just turning green

On the banks of the Imnaha River (at the present community of Imnaha) -- February 17, 1834

Bonneville was welcomed by Nez Perces who saved the expedition from starvation

in a description echoing his attitude toward Indians he met during a western trek

historian Edith Lovell wrote: "**Bonneville enjoyed royal treatment. He won good will by**

fashioning turbans for the women from his own plaid jacket; the Indians eyed his shiny pate and titled him 'The Bald Chief.' In a dos-a-dos of gift giving, Bonneville received a fine horse in exchange for a rifle, hatchet [for the chief's son], and ear bobs [for the chief's wife]."²⁴⁵

Bonneville's party followed the Imnaha River to the Snake River

where they met a band of lower valley Nez Perce led by an old chief -- Yo-mus-re-cut

who butchered a colt as a welcome to his village

BONNEVILLE AND HIS MEN DEPART FROM THE IMNAHA VILLAGE

They were led toward Fort Walla Walla by old Chief Yo-mus-re-cut and a guide

Alvin Josephy describes Bonneville's departure from the Imnaha village: "**When it came time to leave that settlement they were accompanied by the headman and a young Indian, who guided them up and down the steep draws and across high, broken country from the lower valley of the Imnaha to the deep canyon of Joseph Creek. They reached that stream near its junction with the Grande Ronde River, which Bonneville called the Way-lee-way, close to where it flowed past the high goosenecks of land to empty into the Snake. As the travelers approached the mouth of Joseph Creek, their guide informed them that he had sent word of their arrival ahead to an important village at the junction of the Grande Ronde. Rounding a high grassy hill, they came upon the Indian settlement, the sheltered winter camp of the principal chief of the Wallowa Nez Perces, Tuekakas. The father of the more celebrated Chief Joseph [who would be born in this vicinity six years later], Tuekakas was in his late forties....**

²⁴⁵ Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE ROUTE, End of the Oregon Trail Interpretive & Visitor Information Center, *April 2, 2019*.

“Nowhite man knew of the Wallowa Valley, much less wanted it at that time, and the Indians welcomed Bonneville and his companions as representatives of a friendly and honorable people.”²⁴⁶

BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE’S PARTY VISITS THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Tuekakas, chief of the Wallowa Nez Perce, and his people welcomed Bonneville with a reception in which the Nez Perce individually greeted Bonneville and pledged friendship to him and his three companions celebratory feast was followed by a long and intense conversation about the United States and the Nez Perce Benjamin Bonneville and his companions decided to stay awhile Bonneville ministered medically to the Indians they had heard stories of his medical skills from their relatives, the upper Nez Perce

BONNEVILLE CONTINUES ON TO THE GRANDE RONDE RIVER

Captain Bonneville was again accompanied by Chief Yo-mus-re-cut and the Indian guide after leaving the large Nez Perce village in the Wallowas Following the Grande Ronde River to its confluence with the Snake River Bonneville's party entered another Nez Perce village (near the modern town of Asotin, Washington) Bonneville met Apash Wyakaikt, (later called Looking Glass) (his son, also named Looking Glass, became the War Chief of the Nez Percés [1877]) Apash Wyakaikt worked closely with the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla and on the Snake and Clearwater rivers he knew that the Americans “gave better terms” than did the British and was eager to trade with Bonneville Bonneville’s Party was greeted with another warm reception and celebratory feast journals and reports recounting the meeting do not include what arrangements the men might have negotiated After this meeting, Bonneville continued down the Snake River entered the Columbia River and continued on to Fort Walla Walla Hudson’s Bay Company post located at the mouth of Walla Walla River

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE MEETS HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY

Bonneville and his men had been traveling through the winter for fifty-five days journey was more difficult than necessary having chosen what was in fact the most difficult way from the Portneuf River Bonneville reached Fort Walla Walla at the mouth of the Walla Walla River -- March 4, 1834 where they were greeted by six or eight Hudson’s Bay Company men this Hudson’s Bay post, traded with Nez Perce, Walla Walla, and Cayuse tribes Chief Trader Pierre C. Pambrun, in charge of the fort, was most hospitable he enjoyed some success in bringing the Catholic religion to the Nez Perce

²⁴⁶ Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE ROUTE, End of the Oregon Trail Interpretive & Visitor Information Center, *April 2, 2019*.

he extended a cordial welcome but would provide no supplies
made it clear to Bonneville the Company would not outfit the rival

BONNEVILLE RETURNS TO HIS MAIN PARTY

Benjamin Bonneville was so indignant at Chief Trader Pierre Pambrun
he refused the Chief Trader's offer to accompany a British party about to cross the mountains
on their way to Fort Vancouver
instead Bonneville punished himself with another toilsome journey back to the Portneuf River
Bonneville's expedition thus far had taken longer than he had intended
and now he had to regroup with the rest of his party at the Portneuf River
he set out empty handed with his three men retracing his original route -- March 6, 1834
Bonneville was discouraged by the Hudson's Bay Company rejection at Fort Walla Walla
but he was persistent, too
he had seen enough to know that American fur trading in Oregon could be successful
On their return trip they passed by many of the same villages they had previously visited
and were greeted warmly as the Nez Perce provided him guides
Once past the Blue Mountains, their Nez Perce guides left them to return home
deciding the difficult part was over
Bonneville followed the Snake River through basalt lava cliffs encountering American Falls
they traveled past many plains and canyons and other odd rock formations

WILLIAM SUBLETTE PLANS TO ELIMINATE A RIVAL

He expected the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to collapse financially within the year
by virtue of the agreement he had made with Tom Fitzpatrick after the [1832] Rendezvous
Sublette held all of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company's debts
which he believed the 1834 proceeds could not possibly cover
Holding the Rocky Mountain Fur Company's debts
Sublette also held the power to destroy the company whenever he chose
William Sublette fully intended to go up the Missouri River
and help Robert Campbell close out the rival partnership's operation

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI FUR COMPANY SOLD

William Sublette and Robert Campbell sold all of their assets
to their rival -- Astor's American Fur Company
St. Louis Missouri Fur Company posts were abandoned -- spring 1834
as part of the buyout agreement between the American Fur Company
and the St. Louis Fur Company,
William Sublette had assured the American Fur Company that the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
would go out of business
(however, the partnership of Sublette and Campbell would continue on
but as a shipping company rather than a trapping operation)

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY SOLD

Having purchased William Sublette's and Robert Campbell's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company

John Jacob Astor retired from the fur industry to enter real estate and retire in Europe
American Fur Company Northern Department which centered on the Great Lakes trade
was sold to Ramsay Crooks who became president of the company
he was joined by Caleb Wilkins, Mountain Man, and pioneer farmer
who had come West with Captain Bonneville and Wyeth ([1832]-1834
(trapped with American Fur Company in Rocky Mountains 1834-[1840]
this business was also known as the American Fur Company
Western Department of the American Fur Company
was purchased by Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau
although the official name of the company was Pratte, Chouteau and Company
it and its successors also would be known as the American Fur Company

WILLIAM SUBLETTE CHANGES HIS STRATEGY

In St. Louis William Sublette accidentally became aware of surprising news
when a letter addressed to his brother Milton was erroneously delivered to William
This letter outlined a secret deal between the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and Nathaniel Wyeth
(which had been worked out the previous autumn on the Yellowstone River)
Milton Sublette and Tom Fitzpatrick had arranged with Nathaniel Wyeth
to supply the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1834
for half of the cost charged by the shipping firm of (William) Sublette and Campbell
Wyeth could do this because he planned to take the furs on to Oregon
and ship them to market by water aboard his ship the *May Dacre*
William Sublette's contract with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
allowed either party to default by paying a penalty of five hundred dollars to the other firm
Billy Sublette was suddenly confronted with the unwelcome prospect
that the Rocky Mountain Fur Company might not go under after all
if the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was re-supplied by Wyeth
Captain William Sublette abruptly changed plans
there would be a race to the mountain between rival pack trains
to re-supply the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
Billy Sublette put his younger brother, Solomon Sublette, to work with Robert Campbell
purchasing supplies in St. Louis
William Sublette hurriedly made up a supply caravan in St. Louis in the name Sublette and Campbell
he was determined to force the Rocky Mountain Fur Company into liquidation

NATHANIEL WYETH OVERLAND PARTY

Arrived in St. Louis from Boston -- March 1834
Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew Rev. Daniel Lee were in St. Louis with Nathaniel Wyeth -- 1834
they were accompanied by lay members of the Methodist Mission Society
Cyrus Shepard, Philip L. Edwards,
and Courtney M. Walker -- a hired man served who joined in the Christian effort
William Sublette, in an effort to stop Wyeth from supplying the 1834 Rendezvous,
forced Wyeth to pay a high price for 130 horses and forty mules
Wyeth also had to make heavy advances in wages to hire employees

METHODIST CHURCH MISSIONARIES IN THE WEST

Captain Nathaniel Wyeth, along with Rev. Jason and Daniel Lee and three traveling companions, arrived at Independence, Missouri from St. Louis -- April 24, 1834
Independence served as the general frontier starting point

FLATHEAD INDIANS RECEIVE NEWS OF THE COMING OF MISSIONARIES

Overjoyed natives sent emissaries to meet the Methodist missionary party -- 1834
Indians were sorely disappointed to find these missionaries
did not meet the description of Black Robes given them by the Iroquois

“The missionaries spoken of by the Iroquois wore long black gowns, carried a crucifix with them, prayed the great prayer [the Mass] and did not marry. But the newcomers wore no black gowns and, upon inquiry, had no cross to show, prayed not the great prayer, and besides, they married. They surely could not be the teachers they had sent for.”²⁴⁷

Flatheads refused to accept these ministers

COLUMBIA RIVER FISHING AND TRADING COMPANY

Trading portion of Wyeth’s Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company
left Independence, Missouri -- April 25, 1834
carrying goods ordered the year before by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
to supply trappers at their Ham’s Fork 1834 Rendezvous before going on to Oregon
Wyeth was racing against time to get to the rendezvous ahead of his chief rival, William Sublette
Expedition was composed of some seventy-five men
about twenty employees of Wyeth along with traders, hunters, and trappers
this number would include Milton Sublette, Osborne Russell, Calvin T. Briggs
five Methodist missionaries: Rev. Jason Lee and Rev. Daniel Lee
and their three lay companions: Cyrus Shepard, Philip L. Edwards, Courtney M. Walker
two famous Philadelphia scientists:

Thomas Nuttall -- botanist and ornithologist

shy, frugal, self-educated curator of Harvard University’s Botanical Garden

Dr. John Kirk Townsend -- Nuttall’s twenty-five-year-old protégé

a Philadelphia surgeon-naturalist and ornithologist

drafted by American Philosophical Society to make a study of Western ornithology

he collected specimens of birds for two years

and sold many of these to his friend John J. Audubon

Nathaniel Wyeth took two hundred fifty horses and a number of wagons from Independence
traveled along rivers and into Rocky Mountains toward the rendezvous site
racing against time to get to the rendezvous ahead of his chief rival, William Sublette

OTHER PACK TRAINS SET OUT FOR THE 1834 RENDEZVOUS

William Sublette’s party consisted of thirty-seven men and ninety-five horses
left Independence, Missouri ten days after Nathaniel Wyeth -- May 5, 1834

²⁴⁷ L.B. Palladino, *Indians and Whites in Northwest*, P. 21.

Also leaving Independence that spring would be two additional pack trains:

- led by Michael S. Cerre with supplies for Captain Benjamin Bonneville
- and Andrew Drips and Lucien Fontenelle with supplies for the American Fur Company

These supply caravans would take the familiar route

up the North Platte River to the Sweetwater River and over South Pass

WILLIAM SUBLETTE TRAVELS THE FASTEST

With his great experience in packing supplies into the Rocky Mountains

William Sublette's Sublette and Campbell pack train

easily overtook and passed Nathaniel Wyeth -- May 12, 1834

who was slowed by the missionaries and two naturalists traveling with him

Wyeth sent a letter ahead to Thomas Fitzpatrick at the rendezvous site

imploing him not to trade with William Sublette

promising the Rocky Mountain Fur Company partner that Wyeth's train
would be at the rendezvous no later than [July 1, 1834]

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE ATTEMPTS TO REUNITE HIS PARTIES

After passing American Falls, Bonneville and his three men continued on

In an effort to link up with the men under Joseph Walker

who, as had been previously arranged, had visited the Great Salt Lake region

Bonneville reached his headquarters on the Portneuf River -- May 12, 1834

but he and his companions were so late in arriving the Salt Lake party was gone

Bonneville's situation was dire because he desperately needed provisions

they cached what they had on an island in the Portneuf River and went hunting for several days

Forys were conducted to American Falls, Blackfoot River, and Bear Lake areas

these occupied Bonneville's time through the (early summer) of 1834

HALL JACKSON KELLEY GOES WEST

Boston schoolteacher ventured from New York City to New Orleans

on his way to the Pacific Northwest

he took with him high ambitions:

- to develop trade in fish and lumber in the Pacific Northwest and in Mexico;
- to create an American colony to drive the British Hudson's Bay Company out of Oregon;
- to raise the cultural and moral level of the natives

Small party of American recruits journeyed south and west by sea to New Orleans to join with him

after meeting Kelley in New Orleans, instead of joining him, they robbed and deserted him

Now alone, Hall Jackson Kelley crossed into Mexico, walking part of the way

he proceeded North by land and water to San Diego

HALL JACKSON KELLEY FINDS MORE RECRUITS

At Puebla (near San Diego) Kelley met a group of Americans led by Ewing Young -- May 1834

Young was a man of great natural abilities and some education

Kelley, as he usually did, launched into his now standard sales pitch about Oregon
for some reason Mountain Man Ewing Young listened to the tenderfoot

Kelley fell in with the far-ranging Mountain Man and his followers
former schoolteacher spent a month in California surveying and making maps
although the Spanish government refused to grant him permission to do so
Kelley persuaded Young to accompany him to the Pacific Northwest

EWING YOUNG -- FUR TRAPPER

Had been one of the first to trap out of the Taos, (New) Mexico
he had ranged the Uinta Basin and the Gila River and its tributaries,
and had blazed trails from (New) Mexico to California
He had trapped California's Central Valley and its bordering mountains,
and had even tried his hand at hunting sea otter out of (San Francisco)

BONNEVILLE REUNITED HIS MEN

While on a hunting foray, Captain Bonneville found a few of his men
who also were out hunting
At this time he learned the rest of his party was camped on the Blackfoot River
another tributary of the Snake River
Captain Bonneville organized the few men with him
and they immediately set out from Bonneville's base encampment (Idaho)
on a journey to the Ham's Fork Rendezvous on the Green River (Wyoming)
and to find the remainder of his men
throughout the trip they had to be vigilant in guarding against hostile Blackfoot Indians

WILLIAM SUBLETTE ORDERS FORT WILLIAM BUILT

On reaching the confluence of the Laramie and North Platte rivers,
William Sublette directed a number of his men from his Sublette and Campbell supply train
to remain at this location and commence construction of Fort William -- May 30, 1834
to trade with the Indians
(later the fort's name will be changed to Fort Laramie)
Sublette would then continue on with the remainder of his party and supplies for the rendezvous

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE'S JOURNEY TOWARD THE 1834 RENDEZVOUS

Bonneville and his men arrived at Little Snake Lake (Little Lake) -- June 13, 1834
on the Bear River (Southern Idaho) as had been arranged (at the [1833] Rendezvous)
this area was explored by the party for several days
A short distance away Bonneville met his other group under Joe Walker
which Bonneville had dispatched to study the Great Salt Lake the year before
Walker reported on the results of their experiences

GREAT SALT LAKE EXPEDITION'S REPORT TO CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE

Small group led by Joseph Walker
had been assigned by Captain Bonneville to visit Salt Lake
Walker had led his small group around part of the Great Salt Lake
and determined there wasn't much of interest there

They decided to trap along Ogden's River
(named for Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Peter Skein Ogden)
they had to be watchful of the Digger Indians, who constantly stole their equipment
they probably traveled through Yosemite and followed the Merced River into California
They continued exploring on across California to the Pacific coast and down to Monterey
they also saw the Baja peninsula, where sugar cane and indigo grew
Walker's party returned by way of Walker's Pass -- 1834
(tracing the future emigrant route to California)
he reported that California was a land of abundance, and sketched important maps
Bonneville was very disappointed that the Great Salt Lake was not explored
and that his trade goods had all been wasted at Monterey

WILLIAM SUBLETTE REACHED THE RENDEZVOUS SITE

On Ham's Fork of the Green River two days in advance of Nathaniel Wyeth
this was time enough to confront Tom Fitzpatrick with Rocky Mountain Fur Company's debt
Billy Sublette forced the exchange of Sublette and Campbell's supplies
for Rocky Mountain beaver -- June 15, 1834
before Nathaniel Wyeth had even arrived at the Rendezvous

NATHANIEL WYETH COULD NOT FIND THE RENDEZVOUS

Wyeth arrived at the confluence of the Sandy and Green rivers with the supplies he was carrying
to find no one there -- June 18, 1834
although this location had been agreed upon as the rendezvous site

HAM'S FORK RENDEZVOUS

Was strung out this year along the sun-blasted wastes of Ham's Fork River (Wyoming)
a tributary of the Green River then in Mexican territory -- June 19 to [July 2], 1834
Six hundred or more whites cavorted in fantastic fur caps and greasy black buckskins
through the year's great holiday partaking of raw alcohol, compliant squaws, fights,
shooting matches, horse races, and hair-raising hunts
one grizzly bear and one buffalo were even chased through the camp itself

NATHANIEL WYETH AT THE RENDEZVOUS

Captain Wyeth arrived at the actual Ham's Fork Rendezvous site with the supplies he was carrying
two days after William Sublette -- June 19, 1834

Wyeth found a scene of wild disorder as noted by his traveling companion
scientist John K. Townsend: mounted Indians dashed to and from **“yelling like fiends [and the]
barking and baying of savage wolf-dogs, and the incessant cracking of rifles and carbines, render
our camp a perfect bedlam.”**²⁴⁸

NATHANIEL WYETH HAD FAILED TO BEAT WILLIAM SUBLETTE TO THE RENDEZVOUS

Traveling upstream from the rendezvous site,
Wyeth found the encampment of Thomas Fitzpatrick and William Sublette

²⁴⁸ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 103.

To Wyeth's disappointment, William Sublette had already collected on the promissory note
Fitzpatrick owed him

it is likely that William Sublette was able to accomplish this broken contract
by calling in the debts owed by the partners of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
thus forcing it into insolvency

Rocky Mountain Fur Company broke its contact with Wyeth
and refused to purchase his trading goods

There Wyeth sat amidst the revelry with more than a hundred rejected horse loads
of red- and yellow-edged blankets, red-handled butcher knives, vermilion, looking glasses, lead,
powder, coffee, bales of tobacco, and metal canisters of alcohol

Nathaniel Wyeth, with this surplus of goods on his hands and no prospects to sell them,
had no option but to carry these trade goods, in addition to his own supplies, further West
in an attempt to supply independent American trappers in the Rocky Mountains

ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY CEASED TO EXIST

Because of the financial pressure applied by Billy Sublette

Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick ended his Rocky Mountain Fur Company -- June 20, 1834
as had been plotted by William Sublette

Fitzpatrick combined his party with the Sublette and Campbell expedition
thus uniting with his former adversary

REV. JASON AND REV. DANIEL LEE AT THE RENDEZVOUS

Accompanied by their lay assistants Cyrus Shepard, Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker,
they traveled under the protection of Nathaniel Wyeth's train -- 1834

At the rendezvous on Ham's Fork, they met Nez Perce and Flathead Indians
who welcomed them with their customary courtesy

Lees also met Tom Fitzpatrick who, at the moment was distracted
by the need to default on his supply contract with Wyeth
and was otherwise occupied presiding over the collapse of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BEN BONNEVILLE AT RENDEZVOUS

Bonneville arrived at the rendezvous site

although supplies he had ordered from the American Fur Company were several days away

Bonneville failed to deliver on his \$3,000 contract with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company
to bring in trade goods from the West

he did, however, describe the activities seen at the rendezvous: **"There were contests of skill at running, jumping, wrestling, shooting with the rifle, and running horses. And then their [were] rough hunters' feastings and carousels. They drank together, they sang, they laughed, they whooped; they tried to out-brag and out-lie each other in stories of their adventures and achievements.... The presence of the Shoshonie [sic] tribe contributed occasionally to cause temporary jealousies and feuds. The Shoshonie beauties became objects of rivalries among some of the amorous mountaineers."**²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Duncan, Dayton. *Miles from Nowhere: Tales from America's Contemporary Frontier*, P. 139-140.

The arrival of supplies from the East made things even more wild: **“Every freak of prodigality was indulged to its fullest extent, and in a little while most of the trappers, having squandered away all their wages, and perhaps run knee-deep in debt, were ready for another hard campaign in the wilderness.”**²⁵⁰

Bonneville also was concerned about his status with the U.S. Army
he wrote the first of a volley of letters to the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass,
this was received in Washington, D.C. about [September 26, 1834]

JIM BRIDGER ARRIVED AT THE RENDEZVOUS

After spending the [spring] season trapping in Northwest (Colorado)
he made his entrance carrying only fifty-five packs of beaver pelts -- June 25, 1834
but it was more than the others had achieved

WILLIAM SUBLETTE MOVES HIS CAMP

Having broken the Rocky Mountain Fur Company,
Bill Sublette and his Sublette and Campbell supply train along with Tom Fitzpatrick
moved upstream a few miles seeking better pasture – June 28, 1834

NATHANIEL WYETH MOVED HIS CAMP

Captain Wyeth and his traveling companions moved about ten miles upstream -- June 28, 1834
several of Wyeth’s men were hired away from him by rival trapping operations

OTHER PACK TRAINS ARRIVE AT THE RENDEZVOUS

In addition to William Sublette’s and Nathaniel Wyeth’s caravans,
two other pack trains arrived at the Rendezvous
Although the date of their arrival is not recorded American Fur Company supply trains
•Andrew Drips and Lucien Fontenelle camped at the mouth of Ham’s Fork
•Michael S. Cerre bringing supplies for Captain Benjamin Bonneville
Thus there were three camps along Ham’s Fork spreading over about fourteen miles
William Sublette, Nathaniel Wyeth,
American Fur Company: Andrew Drips and Lucien Fontenelle, and Michael S. Cerre
Both Nathaniel Wyeth and Lucien Fontenelle were successful in recruiting trappers
who formerly were associated with the now defunct Rocky Mountain Fur Company

NATHANIEL WYETH TRAVELS ON TO OREGON

Wyeth, after trading as much of his goods for beaver pelts as possible, left Ham’s Fork Rendezvous
with a caravan loaded with \$3,000 worth of supplies and merchandise -- July 2, 1834
which had been refused by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company at the rendezvous
Wyeth, according to Joe Meek, made an ominous vow to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company partners:
“Gentlemen, I will roll a stone into your garden that you will never be able to get out.”²⁵¹
Wyeth’s caravan proceeded accompanied by five Methodist missionaries
and in the company of Thomas McKay of the Hudson’s Bay Company

²⁵⁰ Duncan, Dayton. *Miles from Nowhere: Tales from America’s Contemporary Frontier*, P. 139-140.

²⁵¹ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 146.

and traveling with a small band of Nez Perces and Flatheads,
and an English sportsman, Sir William Stewart
who was so absorbed with mountain life that for years he stayed in the woods

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE PLOTS TO APPROACH OREGON AGAIN

After being re-outfitted at the rendezvous with supplies

Bonneville decided to make a second attempt to trade in the Pacific Northwest -- Summer 1834
and to acquire supplies from Hudson's Bay Company

he also resolved to explore the Columbia and Multnomah rivers

He would lead twenty-three men on this expedition back across the Blue Mountains
primarily to enter the fur trade and compete with Hudson's Bay Company

His idea was to pass the year on the Columbia River

he hoped this time to establish trading relationships along the way
with the Nez Perce and Cayuse natives

he was again determined to try trading with the Hudson's Bay Company
at Fort Walla Walla and at Fort Vancouver

he also proposed to stay the winter in the vicinity of the Multnomah River
to trade with the local Indians

and return across the mountains in time for the rendezvous [in July 1835]

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE DEPLOYS HIS FORCES

He sent a trapping brigade to the Crow country (of Wyoming)

and a second brigade traveled to St. Louis with the few pelts he had obtained

Bonneville, himself, and a group of twenty-three men would revisit Oregon

CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE SETS OUT FOR OREGON

With his men on a hot day -- July 3, 1834

they proceeded down the Portneuf River then to the Snake River

This time, Bonneville followed an easier course into the Nez Perces' country
through the Blue Mountains,

Bonneville was impressed by the Cayuse and Nez Perce horse herds
and their Christian perspectives

according to Alvin Josephy, Bonneville noted the way in which

Christian traditions were: **“grafted onto ancestral beliefs and practices”**²⁵²

this demonstrated the changing culture introduced by Hudson's Bay Company

Bonneville's party was unmolested by Indians and hunts were good along the Snake River

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET -- CATHOLIC MISSIONARY

Father De Smet had spent a year in Europe as a fund raiser for his American Catholic mission
everywhere he journeyed he managed to secure some funding for his mission effort

nine months of fund-raising resulted in \$60,000

he acquired a complete library for the university of St. Louis

²⁵² www.oregonhistoricaltrailsfund.org

in France he bought a complete laboratory and an important mineral collection
he also convinced five recruits to join the efforts of Catholic missionaries in Missouri
On his return journey to American, Father De Smet became violently seasick -- 1834
was eventually forced to return to his home in Belgium
because he felt he was a failure, he submitted his resignation
to his superior in Missouri -- Father Pierre Verhaegen
however, De Smet carried on fund raising for the mission on the frontier

AMERICANS TRAVEL OUT OF SAN DIEGO

Hall Jackson Kelley persuaded Ewing Young to accompany him to the Pacific Northwest
Kelley, the visionary champion of an American colony in Oregon, needed someone to guide him
on his only visit during his long career as the Oregon publicist
Ewing Young agreed to guide Kelley northward from Monterrey, California to the Willamette Valley
as the trapper had been busy gathering a herd of horses to drive to Oregon to sell
although he received no cooperation from Spanish Governor Jose Figueroa
Hall Jackson Kelley set out for Oregon with Ewing Young and his men -- July 8, 1834
Young's twelve-man party was a reckless and mixed entourage
ranging from well-educated and energetic Joseph Gale and steady Wesley Hauxhurst
all the way down to irresponsible louts and horse thieves
Young and men were driving a herd of about one hundred head of California horses and mules
seventy-seven of these belonged to Ewing Young -- the others possessed no bill of sale
they followed an old trail used by Hudson's Bay Company trader Peter Skene Ogden
who was guided by Indians over Siskiyou Summit [1827] to Fort Vancouver

RENDEZVOUS COMES TO AN END

William Sublette set out for St. Louis with a caravan load of furs -- July 10, 1834
thus effectively ending the rendezvous

NATURALIST DAVID DOUGLAS IS KILLED

While in Hawaii Douglas stumbled and fell to his death in a Hawaiian bull pit (trap) -- July 11, 1834
During his lifetime he collected hundreds of specimens that others would continue to study
however, due to his lack of formal education, many of his classifications proved to be incorrect
these were later corrected by trained botanists
he introduced Pacific Northwest botanical specimens that were new to the scientific world
including more than fifty species of trees previously unknown
such as Douglas Fir tree named in his honor (which he misidentified)
and the Sugar Pine tree (which he identified correctly)
he also introduced more than one hundred species of shrubs, ferns, and other plants
David Douglas was the first to apply the name Cascade Mountains or Cascade Range of Mountains
Lewis and Clark had called this range the "Western Mountains"
Coastal Indians gave him the name "Grass Man"
because of his insatiable interest in botanical specimens
(After his death many species of plants were named in his honor
as was a county in Washington State)

FITZPATRICK, (MILTON) SUBLETTE AND BRIDGER COMPANY

This short-lived enterprise was organized
American Fur Company had promised William Sublette
when the company of Sublette and Campbell was purchased
to stay out of the Northern Rocky Mountains [in 1835]
Sublette and Campbell had further agreed to sell Fort William to Fontenelle and Fitzpatrick
Those still at the encampment -- July 12, 1834
then moved upstream an additional fifteen or twenty miles

NATHANIEL WYETH CONTINUES WEST

When they reached the confluence of the Snake and Portneuf rivers (near today's Pocatello)
Wyeth was forced to stop and to cache his \$3,000 worth of unsold goods -- July 18, 1834
about 1/2 acre of ground was cleared near the mouth of the Portneuf River
Wyeth, with the help of his men, began trading with the local natives
soon several hundred Bannock and Shoshone Indians camped nearby with their families
seemingly this was a good omen for the future of the venture

FITZPATRICK, (MILTON) SUBLETTE AND BRIDGER COMPANY ABANDONED

After only a few days, the newly formed company dissolved -- August 3, 1834
a new company, Fontenelle and Fitzpatrick was quickly formed
partners included Lucien Fontenelle, Tom Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, James Bridger,
and Andrew Drips

NATHANIEL WYETH BUILDS FORT HALL

Whether or not Nathaniel Wyeth actually stated, as reported by Joe Meek,
that he would roll a stone into the Rocky Mountain Fur Company's garden
that is what he did along the Snake River -- summer of 1834
Wyeth began constructing his post to cache his supplies on a grassy meadow
near the confluence of the Portneuf and the Snake rivers in what is now southeastern Idaho
an eighty feet square stockade was completed on 1/2 -acre of ground -- August 4, 1834
built of Cottonwood trees set on end sunk 2-1/2 feet in the ground
and standing about fifteen feet high
two two-story blockhouse eight feet square were constructed at the opposite angles
dwellings, stores, barns were placed inside the walls
here Wyeth placed the excess trade goods

TIME SPENT AT FORT HALL

Time spent at Fort Hall was an idle time for the missionaries,
broken by Tom McKay's unexpected request, one hot Sunday,
that Jason Lee conduct religious services
Though feeling unwell, the gaunt Methodist minister
walked with about thirty whites and as many Indians to a shady spot under rustling cottonwoods

“The Indians,” Dr. John Townsend wrote, **“sat upon the ground like statues. Although not one of them could understand a word that was said, they nevertheless maintained a most strict and decorous silence, kneeling when the preacher kneeled, and rising h\when he rose, evidently with a view of paying him and us a suitable respect.”**²⁵³

After the service there was horse racing

one of McKay’s French-Canadians was mortally hurt in a violent collision -- that night he died

“Service for him.” Wyeth noted in his journal with customary lack of punctuation, **“was performed by the Canadians in the Catholic form by Mr. Lee in the Protestant form and by the Indians in their form...he at least was well buried.”**²⁵⁴

McKay started west the next day accompanied by Jason and Daniel Lee and Sir William Stewart

CAPTAIN WYETH STAYED AT HIS POST FOR ANOTHER WEEK

To complete construction of his post which he christened Fort Hall

in honor of Henry Hall, the oldest member of the New England Company financing his enterprise

'Stars and Stripes' were unfurled to the breeze over the American trading post

in the heart of the savage and uncivilized country -- sunrise, August 5

“We manufactured a magnificent flag from some [unbleached] sheeting and a little red flannel, and a few blue patches -- and after all, it makes, I do assure you, a very respectable appearance amid the dry and desolate region of central America.”²⁵⁵

in further celebration they **“saluted it with damaged powder, and wet it in villainous alcohol.”**²⁵⁶

Here trade would be conducted with the Pawnee, Shoshone, Nez Perce and Flathead Indians

both beaver pelts and buffalo robes were acquired from the natives

FONTENELLE AND FITZPATRICK LEAVE THE RENDEZVOUS

One primary problem faced by the new company

was their dependency on the American Fur Company for supplies

Tom Fitzpatrick traveled with American Fur Company’s Andrew Drips and Lucien Fontenelle

to make arrangements to supply the [1835] rendezvous

set out for St. Louis – August 7, 1834

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH LEAVES FORT HALL

Nathaniel Wyeth left one man, Robert Evans, in charge of Fort Hall to conduct trade

Wyeth’s expedition continued its journey on to Oregon

hurrying to Fort Vancouver to drive Hudson’s Bay Company out of business

HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY ACCEPTS DIVERSIFICATION

Governor George Simpson eventually forwarded to the Hudson’s Bay Company London Directors

a copy of Dr. John McLoughlin’s prospectus for “The Oragon (sic) Beef and Tallow Company”

with a recommendation that Company embark on such an undertaking -- summer 1834

²⁵³ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 161.

²⁵⁴ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 161.

²⁵⁵ Cecil Dryden, *History of Washington*, Portland, Oregon, 1968, P. 84.

²⁵⁶ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 161

rather than Company employees engaged in a private enterprise as McLoughlin proposed
With the urging of Simpson, who believed cattle could become a profitable trade for the Company,
Governor and Committee now authorized £300 for McLoughlin to buy cattle for the Company
but did not direct that the purchase be made immediately
Chief Factor McLoughlin saw no merit in pursuing his ideas for the benefit of the Company
therefore, he did not aggressively search for new stock

EWING YOUNG'S CATTLE DRIVE TO OREGON

Driving nearly one hundred horses,

Ewing Young and Hall Jackson Kelley got seriously under way -- August 1834
with seven men including the well-educated and energetic Joseph Gale
and steady Wesley Hauxhurst

As Young and his herd moved north up the Sacramento Valley
they were joined by another seven men driving more than fifty horses of their own
however, they were not burdened by any bill of sale

These irresponsible louts, were called by Kelley "the marauders" -- and such they were
as they repeatedly killed, plundered, and raped the Indians, friendly or hostile,
who crossed their path

Ewing Young made excuses to Kelley for the outrages of the marauders
aside from his attitude toward Indians, Ewing Young was an honest, principled man
he had fairly purchased the horses he drove over the mountains to the Willamette
doubtless he suspected the marauders had stolen their stock, but he did not question them closely
they had chosen to travel with him, and he was reluctant to turn them away,
even had it been possible
for this attitude Ewing Young would pay a severe penalty

WILLIAM SUBLETTE RETURNS TO ST. LOUIS

Furs he carried into St. Louis from the Rendezvous -- late August
were valued at \$12,250
but not all of these belonged to the, now defunct, Rocky Mountain Fur Company
those were valued at less than \$10,000
not enough money to cover the debt owed to William Sublette
remainder of the furs belonged to William Sublette's new shipping company:
Fitzpatrick, (William) Sublette and Bridger -- which had been formed during the Rendezvous

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE MAKES CAMP

Traveling with his twenty-three men Bonneville reached the Powder River
they traced this river until, fortunately, they found an old Indian trail
that led them to the headwaters of Grande Ronde River -- August 26, 1834
where he witnessed a enormous prairie fire that obscured their vision,
burned their lungs, and blurred the horizon

Traveling down the Grande Ronde Valley, Bonneville decided to make camp
while scouts looked for a way to the Willamette or Multnomah rivers
but the huge fire made much exploration useless

Captain Bonneville was very much impressed

by the breadth and scope of modern farming practices used by Indians
in the Grande Ronde Valley

he believed the efforts demonstrated the impact of the British on the natives

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH AND CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE MEET

Nathaniel Wyeth during this second visit to the Pacific Northwest

met Bonneville and perhaps discussed the beginning of a joint trading effort

Correspondence indicates they were negotiating with the Nez Perces and Cayuse

both men planned to meet Chief Apash Wyakaikt on the Asotin River,

but Bonneville needed food and supplies first

Eventually both parties of Americans moved along parallel routes to the Columbia River

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE REJECTED BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

After several more days in camp, Bonneville traced the Walla Walla River

and reached a position about thirty miles above Fort Walla Walla

Bonneville sent ahead a small party to the fort seeking provisions

they were courteously treated by Hudson's Bay Company

When Bonneville again approached Chief Trader Pierre Pambrun at Fort Walla Walla

he found the same warm welcome he had received the year before

but Pambrun again refused his request for supplies

also refused to help Bonneville establish American trading posts

Bonneville was no more successful than he had been on his first effort

Without food or supplies, Bonneville's position became more desperate

rather than go back to Fort Bonneville (Idaho), he turned down the Columbia River

hoping to get to Fort Vancouver and the Willamette Valley

“Notwithstanding the unkind reception of the traders, I continued down the Columbia, subsisting on horses, dogs, roots, and occasionally a salmon, until I reached the vicinity of Mounts Hood and Baker [Adams]....”²⁵⁷

NATHANIEL WYETH IN OREGON

Wyeth's Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company

arrived at Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia River -- September 1, 1834

Wyeth found the missionaries camped in their white tents just outside the post's stockade

“But Mr. McKay,” he wrote in puzzlement in his journal, “for some reason remained in the mountains.”²⁵⁸

Reason for Tom McKay's absence soon became clear

near one of the twin mouths of the Boise River in a decaying horse pen

where first John Reed of the Astorians and later Donald McKenzie of the Nor' Westers

had tried to establish posts, McKay built a hut of crooked cottonwood poles

next he set about undermining Fort Hall's trade,

(and did it so well that soon his ramshackle hut was replaced, on a slightly different site,

²⁵⁷ Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, *Benjamin Bonneville Route*, End of the Oregon Trail Interpretive & Visitor Information Center, April 2, 2019.

²⁵⁸ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 161.

with a more imposing adobe structure to be called Fort Boise)
At Fort Walla Walla the Methodist missionaries learned the Flathead tribe was a small one
but they showed a genuine interest in the white's religion
Jason and Daniel Lee handed over to Chief Trader Pierre Pambrun at the fort
their ten horses, four mules, and three cows in exchange for other livestock and goods
to be picked up at Fort Vancouver

WYETH AND HIS COMPANIONS LEAVE FORT WALLA WALLA

Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company and the missionaries
hired a Hudson's Bay Company flatboat and took passage down the Columbia River
Wyeth's trappers following in three canoes (two of which were smashed)
they ran through buffeting head winds and drenching rain
to a hearty welcome by John McLoughlin

BONNEVILLE JOURNEYS DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Bonneville proceeded down the Columbia River fifty miles below Fort Walla Walla
he hoped to conduct trade with the Chinook Indians but found them hesitant
they were unwilling to leave Hudson's Bay Company for an unknown company
they were under the influence of the Dr. McLoughlin
and the natives respected Hudson's Bay Company's wishes
Bonneville was no more successful than he had been on his first effort

COLUMBIA RIVER FISHING AND TRADING COMPANY ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

Nathaniel Wyeth and his party of Americans reached Dr. McLoughlin's gates -- September 14, 1834
this was Wyeth's second appearance at the Hudson's Bay Company post
since he had been motivated by Hall Jackson Kelley's proselytizing nearly four years earlier
Newly arrived Americans **"we were most hospitably received by Dr. John McLoughlin, and that night slept in a bed under a roof, for the first time for one hundred and fifty-two nights"**²⁵⁹
Outward bound journey had been valuable to Rev. Jason Lee
it showed he could get along with rough and uneducated men
it had demonstrated the physical strength of his party of missionaries

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN WELCOMES THE METHODIST MISSIONARIES

Rev. Jason Lee accompanied by his nephew Rev. Daniel Lee
were well received by Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin -- September 15, 1834
who greeted the missionaries with the utmost interest and cordiality
as were assistants Cyrus Shepard, Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker
Rev. Jason Lee stated he intended to locate among the Nez Perce and Flathead Indians
these were the same natives who had sent representatives to St. Louis looking for "Black Robes"

CAPTAIN NAHANIEL WYETH'S SHIP *MAY DACRE* ARRIVED

After an extremely rough crossing,

²⁵⁹ Laura B. Downey Bartlett, *Student's History of the Northwest*. Vol. I, P. 133.

salmon salting ship reached Fort Vancouver -- September 15, 1834
Ship was to have arrived much earlier but had been hit by lightning in the Society Islands
this delayed their arrival for three months
which meant Nathaniel Wyeth could not start the seasonal salmon packing
it was too late for the fishing season -- too late for the salmon run
May Dacre carried newly arrived Hudson's Bay Company employees on board
twenty Sandwich Islanders, two coopers, two smiths, and a clerk debarked
May Dacre also carried Boston newspapers
from these Dr. McLoughlin learned of Hall Jackson Kelley's exhortations
regarding the Hudson's Bay Company
and of his plans to drive the British out of the Pacific Northwest by colonizing the country
When *May Dacre* arrived with their supplies,
missionaries began to explore in earnest for a suitable site for their mission

DR. McLOUGHLIN ENCOURAGES REV. JASON LEE TO ABANDON EASTERN WASHINGTON

At the urging of the Chief Factor, Jason Lee traveled up the Willamette River
into the Willamette Valley for a visit
Dr. McLoughlin provided them with horses and guides to explore the Willamette Valley
there were already white settlers, retired French-Canadians there
A dozen white men already occupied little farms scattered along the Willamette River
they lived in log cabins with their Indian wives and families
most were former employees of Hudson's Bay Company
Dr. McLoughlin furnished them stock and provisions
Advantages of settling in this locale were obvious:

- water navigation to the sea was within easy reach,
- they would be within easy distance of salt water commerce,
- they were near enough to Fort Vancouver for safety, accessibility to the mails and supplies,
- valley demonstrated extraordinarily scenic charm and pleasant climate,
- natives appeared peaceful and open to whites

DR. McLOUGHLIN RECEIVED AN ADDITIONAL WARNING

California Governor Jose Figueroa informed the chief factor
by way of Company ship then at Monterey
in his letter the governor stated one "Joachim" Young and certain adventurers had "**committed the crime of robbing upwards of two hundred head of horses belonging to various Mexican citizens...and I doubt not but that you will in case there marauders should make their appearance in you quarter take such measures as will be efficient to apprehend them and either chastise them or despoil them of the booty.**"²⁶⁰

SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC

Was sweeping through several Indian villages
Disease was rampant

²⁶⁰ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 147.

there was great fear among natives that Wyeth's Fort William was the source

NATURALISTS IN OREGON

Thomas Nuttall and John K. Townsend had been traveling with Nathaniel Wyeth
arrived at Fort Vancouver two days after the main party -- September 16, 1834

Dr. Townsend not able to entirely cast off his role as physician

he was persuaded to pinch hit for several months as resident doctor

at makeshift hospital Hudson's Bay Company opened at Fort Vancouver

"The [Indian] depopulation here has been truly fearful. A gentleman told me that only four years ago as he wandered near what had formerly been a thickly peopled village, he counted no less than sixteen dead men and women, lying unburied and festering in the sun in front of their habitations. Within the houses all were sick; not one had escaped the contagion; upwards of a hundred individuals, men, women and children, were writhing in agony on the floors of the houses, with no one to render them any assistance. Some were in the dying struggles; and clenching with the convulsive grasps of death, their disease-worn companions shrieked and howled in the last sharp agony."²⁶¹

BONNEVILLE REACHED THE JOHN DAY RIVER

As the U.S. Army Captain neared the junction of the John Day and Columbia rivers

he realized that his meeting with the British would probably be unsuccessful

Chief Factor John McLoughlin would likely greet him

in the same manner as Chief Trader Pierre Pambrun at Fort Nez Perce with the same futile result

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE AT FORT VANCOUVER

Running out of supplies, Bonneville arrived at Fort Vancouver -- 1834

could not make any advance against Hudson's Bay Company

because he was dependent on them for provisions

Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla and Fort Vancouver

and their Indian allies refused to trade with them

Desperate straits made them turn back to the Blue Mountains

where there would be game

REV. JASON LEE DECIDED ON SERVING THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

After spending nine days in prayer and reflection

Jason Lee changed his mind

about working among the Flatheads and Nez Perce -- September 23, 1834

Lee concluded that his mission headquarters should be in the Willamette Valley

not on the plateau country or in the mountains

he never recorded the reason for his decision

however he was probably persuaded by Dr. McLoughlin

REV. JASON LEE RETURNED TO FORT VANCOUVER

²⁶¹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 133.

After his visit to French Prairie Rev. Lee began his work
he preached two sermons at the fort-- Sunday, September 28, 1834
these were the first sermons to be heard in (today's Washington)
worshippers were Roman Catholic French-Canadians enhanced by a gathering
of French-Canadian trappers and settlers of the Willamette Valley region,
English and Irish attendees, and half-caste listeners

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE'S PARTY RETURNS EASTWARD

Bonneville noted: **"I now discovered that if I advanced much farther, the snow that was then falling in the mountains would soon prevent my retreat from this impoverished country and that in the spring I would not have a horse left, as it became indispensably necessary to slaughter them for subsistence. I consequently took a south course and entered the mountains of John Day's river, gradually turning my course towards the mountains of the upper country..."**²⁶²

Reluctantly, Bonneville and his men turned back toward the Snake River region
they arrived at the Blue Mountains -- October 1, 1834
huge fires had been put out by September rains
He and his twenty-three trappers were back on the Snake River -- (end of October)

FORT WILLIAM FOUNDED ON WAPPATOO (NOW SAUVIES) ISLAND

Nathaniel Wyeth built his second post (after Fort Hall)
this one on Wappatoo Island in the Columbia River near mouth of the Willamette River
storehouses, blacksmith shop, dwellings, and cooper shops completed -- October 6, 1834
Became the western home of Wyeth's Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company -- 1834- [1836]
this outpost was a direct challenge to British traders

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH DISPERSES HIS MEN

Wyeth himself reached a mutual agreement with Dr. McLoughlin not to compete with each other
this was more a tribute to their mutual friendship than to any economic necessity of McLoughlin's
Wyeth assigned several of his men to newly constructed Fort William on Wappatoo (Sauvies) Island
in the Columbia River where trade was attempted
Other Wyeth men were put to work on a farm on French Prairie
Twenty Kanakas (Hawaiians) recently arrived aboard the *May Dacre*
were used mainly to work at Fort Hall far up the Snake River
one group of thirteen Kanakas quickly deserted the fort
taking horses and trade goods with them
Captain Wyeth arranged for Courtney M. Walker to take charge of Fort William
Walker was briefly employed as the keeper of the fort
Wyeth, himself, spent the winter trapping south of the Columbia River
principally on the Des Chutes River

EWING YOUNG ARRIVED IN OREGON

In the company of Hall Jackson Kelley and fourteen drovers who tended the horse herd

²⁶² Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, *Benjamin Bonneville Route*, End of the Oregon Trail Interpretive & Visitor Information Center, April 2, 2019.

He was captivated by the rich pasturage and fertile soil of the Willamette Valley
South from the Tualatin Plain across a low ridge of mountains
lay a lush meadow watered by Chehalem Creek
Ewing Young and his trappers were the first American mountain men
to settle permanently on the Willamette
Young left his men and horses in the Chehalem Valley
and went to Fort Vancouver accompanied by Hall Jackson Kelley
to make their acquaintance with Dr. McLoughlin

YOUNG AND KELLEY ARRIVED AT FORT VANCOUVER

Ewing Young, traveling with Hall Jackson Kelley who was sick and penniless,
arrived at Fort Vancouver -- October 27, 1834
There they encountered the awesome power of the Hudson's Bay Company
governor of California had reported Young as a horse thief
which placed him beyond the benevolent support
with which Dr. McLoughlin greeted all other newcomers
Ewing Young could expect nothing, in purchase, trade, loan, or charity,
from the farms and stores of Fort Vancouver
Hall Jackson Kelley was ravaged by malaria and was coldly received by a Dr. McLoughlin
who was aware of Kelley's writing regarding the Hudson's Bay Company
Kelley, while irritably moping about the fort, was surprised to see Captain Nathaniel Wyeth
Both Americans were closely observed by Chief Factor John McLoughlin
McLoughlin then added to the insult by blanketing the neighborhood with warnings to people
to have nothing to do with the newcomers
this built up in Ewing Young a fury that in time would play its own odd part in Northwest history
Still, Chief Factor John McLoughlin made sure they received food and clothing
but he did not accept them as social equals
in fact, they were welcomed as horse thieves by Dr. McLoughlin

REV. JASON LEE SELECTS A SITE FOR HIS MISSION IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Methodists ascended the Willamette River to a point near a group of farms
that had been constructed by the retired French-Canadian employees of Hudson's Bay Company
sixty miles to the south of Fort Vancouver where a large assortment of goods was available
a horseback trip or canoe paddle down the Willamette River -- fall 1834
Rev. Jason Lee chose an area near a small but thriving settlement that he named "Mission Bottom"
near the farm of Hudson's Bay Company's Thomas McKay
son of Alexander McKay who had been killed on the *Tonquin*
and stepson of Dr. John McLoughlin
and near the home of French-Canadian Joseph Gervais on the Champoeg Plain
(by today's Willamette Mission State Park)

MISSION SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

First permanent American settlement in the Willamette Valley was planted by Methodist missionaries

French-Canadians already settled on French Prairie helped to build the Methodist Mission with supplies provided by both Nathaniel Wyeth and Dr. John McLoughlin

“On the east side of the [Willamette] river, and sixty miles from its mouth, a location was chosen to begin a mission. Here was a broad, rich bottom, many miles in length, well watered and supplied with timber, oak, fir, cottonwood, white maple, and white oak, scattered along its grassy plains.”²⁶³

First missionaries to take up residence in Willamette River Valley were led by Rev. Jason Lee:

- Rev. Daniel Lee -- Jason Lee’s nephew,
- Courtney M. Walker -- trapper and missionary worker,
- Cyrus Shepard -- lay assistant and third teacher at Fort Vancouver 1834-[1835]
(later left his teaching position -- moved to join Rev. Jason Lee at Champoeg)
(later still, started a school which became primarily an orphanage for sick children)
- Philip L. Edwards -- lay assistant, missionary teacher and writer

Rev. Jason Lee’s mission had no title to the land where the mission was located yet their rights were recognized and respected by other early settlers

METHODIST MISSION BOTTOM CONSTRUCTION

Even as Ewing Young stubbornly planted himself in the Chehalem Valley,

Rev. Jason and Daniel Lee began constructing the log buildings of the Methodist mission on the fringe of French Prairie
supplies were brought from Fort Vancouver to the missionaries

Rev. Jason Lee and his missionaries lived in tents -- November 1, 1834

cabin was quickly built at Mission Bottom adjacent to the Willamette River
(north of present-day Salem)

when rains of winter set in, the Methodists had a respectable shelter
at the same time land was fenced for cropping, and a barn was built

Jason Lee later wrote in a letter: **“We landed where we now are in October 1834 and pitched out tents, unloaded out canoes, and commenced building a house. The rainy season was approaching, and I did not like the idea of living in an Indian hut. We labored under disadvantages, for we were not carpenters. We however went into the woods and cut the timber. We took the green trees and split them, and hewed out boards for our floors.”**²⁶⁴

Other improvements were made

rails were split for a corral, oxen were broken to the plow, and [in spring] land tilled

Webley Hauxhurst constructed a grist mill at Mission Bottom
that served needs of the Willamette Valley

METHODIST EFFORT BEGINS AT MISSION BOTTOM (CHAMPOEG)

Rev. Jason Lee led the mission work in the Willamette Valley at Mission Bottom -- 1834

they set to work at once with zeal, patience, and intelligence

Missionaries visited Indian lodges

Indians, though few in number received devoted attention at Mission Bottom

²⁶³ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 117.

²⁶⁴ Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee, prophet of New Oregon*, P. 72.

possibility of having a missionary live with the Indians was rejected
because the natives were mobile
and because they would more slowly learn civilized practices in that way
Jason Lee ministered to the Catholic families on French Prairie praying and preaching, even baptizing
and the missionaries served the few American families

MISSIONARIES COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Traders feared the missionaries would persuade the Indians
to abandon the fur trade to become farmers
and that they would report to the British public that the Company's employees
were introducing vice to the native Americans

NATIVE RESPONSE TO THE GOSPEL

Indians had religious beliefs: creation, afterlife, spirits -- before the missionaries arrived
missionaries believed these to be the first steps to Christianity
Indians, at least at first, were receptive to the missionaries and their message
But problems quickly arose
Indians wanted Christianity for the same purposes as their own religion
to gain a more successful mastery over nature and to increase their wealth
unlike Christianity, their faith was not focused upon attainment of the next world

MISSIONARIES FACED MANY PROBLEMS

Missionary's tasks were much more difficult than other white immigrants
like all of the others, they had to make a living from the country
face loneliness, accident, and death
but they also had to reckon with the salvation of souls -- an intangible product
Things began to go wrong from the beginning
it was the Methodist goal to convert the Indians to Christianity
and then to provide the vestiges of American civilization
At the time their efforts to "improve the lives of the natives" seemed to be rewarded
then pestilence would attack the Indians
followed by native suspicion and excitement -- all gains would be lost
Working among the whites and their half-breed families was more encouraging
missionaries focused their efforts on the social institutions among whites

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE'S EXPEDITION IN WINTER CAMP

Ended up going all the way back to the Portneuf River -- November 15, 1834
before they found enough buffalo and game to meet their needs
Once out of the Oregon, Bonneville and his men stayed the winter with the Shoshone Indians
in the familiar game-rich haunts of the upper Bear River (eastern Wyoming) -- Winter 1834-1835
He had not succeeded in carrying out his plan
to visit the lower Columbia and return by way of California
this failure was due primarily to lack of effort

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY MAINTAINS ITS GRIP

Hudson's Bay Company handled 405,472 beaver pelts worth \$2.50 to \$4.00 each -- 1834-[1837]
Hudson's Bay Company retirees and missionaries alike were dependent on the company
any aid too openly extended to Ewing Young
would cast the dark cloud of McLoughlin's displeasure over their communities
Rival company trading and trapping efforts had ceased in Columbia Department -- 1834
Dr. McLoughlin ruled supreme in the Pacific Northwest
retired employees settled the land

FORT BOISE CONSTRUCTED

Hudson's Bay Company also was working in the Big Bend area of the Snake River
Tom McKay's rude post was greatly expanded by order of Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
"Old" Fort Boise was moved a few miles from the mouth of the Boise River -- Fall 1834
very near to Fort Hall -- in a good location to compete
Hudson's Bay Company's plan was to drive Nathaniel Wyeth out of business
(they eventually succeeded by overbidding Wyeth for the purchase of furs
and underbidding him in the sale of goods to the Indians)
Tom McKay (Dr. McLoughlin's rambunctious stepson) operated Fort Boise
which absorbed the trade that might have come from the west
McKay was prepared to trade with Americans or Indians as well as to trap,
and he carried with him a full complement of goods
Nathaniel Wyeth's scheme to sell trade goods out of Fort Hall fell through:
•at Fort Hall in Idaho several of his men deserted
•Blackfeet stole horses and equipment, and killed various trappers
•an irresponsible clerk squandered trade goods in drunken mismanagement
(Wyeth later sold Fort Hall to the Hudson's Bay Company,
which indeed made it a heavy [British] stone in the garden of American trappers
Fort Hall became the chief refuge for trappers and travelers
and, even later, became an important stop on the Oregon Trail)

DOMINATION OF OREGON (COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT)

Struggle for possession of the Pacific Northwest between the United States and Great Britain
was carried on in three places:
•in the Pacific Northwest itself where the struggle began;
•in the capitals of the two nations where diplomats met to discuss the question;
•in the American nation where people were motivated to most West
U.S. and British claims were balanced and off-setting:
•Captain Gray vs. Captain Vancouver
•Lewis and Clark vs. David Thompson
•John Jacob Astor vs. North West Fur Company
War of 1812 added to the confusion as did the Treaty of Ghent

FIRST INDIAN MISSION SCHOOL IS OPENED BY THE METHODIST MINISTERS

It was decided to bring Indian children to live with the missionaries at the headquarters

Rev. Jason Lee began the first church school in the Pacific Northwest for Indians at Mission Bottom on the east side of the Willamette River

First student body consisted of three Calapoosa Indian boys -- winter 1834-1835

here Indians learned English, Christianity, and the customs of civilization

additional Indian children joined the school and some made fair progress

orphans were adopted into the mission family from time to time

but additional enrollments were few

Besides formal education and Christianity, missionaries also tried to teach the Indians farming, industrial arts and homemaking

Record book refers to daily instructions to as many as twenty students -- November

states that "several of the children are making laudable improvement"²⁶⁵

missionaries were more successful with their neighbors than with natives

Although the Indian Mission School was not a boarding school as such, historical records suggest that during the mission school's brief existence students lived there and worked on the farm

METHODIST ACCOMPLISHMENTS WERE SLOW

At the Mission Bottom (Champoeg) location

missionaries operated a school and maintained religious services

however, their school's religious services were not gathering results

they organized a temperance society to tout the evils of alcohol

aimed primarily at Ewing Young and his still

Lees were joined by many of the white men thanks in large part to Dr. McLoughlin's effort

Champoeg Mission turned its attention mainly to agriculture

Methodists were dependent on the grain, cattle, and tools

which Chief Factor John McLoughlin supplied them -- often without cost

he would only ask them to help others as he had helped them

REV. JASON LEE ASKS THE METHODIST MISSION SOCIETY FOR MORE MISSIONARIES

Methodist Missionaries worked more among white settlers than among the natives

it was wise to send unmarried men to be missionaries

they could move easily through Indian Country following mobile tribesmen

Rev. Jason changed his original plan and requested

Mission Society of the Methodist Church send families as additional helpers

Methodist Mission Society quickly complied

AMERICAN OUTCASTS SETTLE IN

Hall Jackson Kelley passed the winter recuperating in a cabin outside Fort Vancouver -- 1834-1835

after he recovered his health, he spent some time surveying property on the Columbia River

Ewing Young moved south, across a low ridge of mountains from the Tualatin Plain,

to a lush meadow in the Chehalem Valley watered by Chehalem Creek

away from Fort Vancouver and Dr. McLoughlin,

where he took up a great tract of land and devoted himself to raising his livestock

²⁶⁵ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 208.

NATHANIEL WYETH'S BRIG *MAY DACRE*

Wyeth cut some lumber on Wappatoo (Sauvies) Island for export
by the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company -- 1834-1835
May Dacre spent the winter hauling an unprofitable load of lumber and salmon to Hawaii

CAPTAIN NATAHNIEL WYETH'S BRIG *MAY DACRE* RETURNS TO THE COLUMBIA RIVER

After carrying an unprofitable cargo of lumber to the Hawaii
for his Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company
but he had not fully planned how to develop a market
return cargo included a few dairy cattle brought from the Sandwich Islands

COLUMBIA RIVER FISHING AND TRADING COMPANY

At Fort William, Nathaniel Wyeth grazed the small herd of dairy cattle on Wappatoo (Sauvies) Island
recently arrived from the Hawaiian Islands
Wyeth installed salmon processing machinery and engaged in a fish packing enterprise
he now discovered the salmon-catching and processing equipment she carried
was inadequate for the job
and the Fall's salmon run was small

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EXPANDS ITS MARITIME OPERATIONS

Diversification had become the order of the day for the Company
three years after the Fort Simpson opened along the Nass River it was relocated
to the north end of the Tsimpsean Peninsula (near today's Prince Rupert) -- 1834
John Work sailed north on the Hudson's Bay Company brig *Lama*
(during the next ten months supervised the construction of Fort Simpson
which operated for several years a very profitable trading post)
Peter Skene Ogden was promoted to the position of Chief Factor
this was the highest field rank in the company service
he was assigned to Fort St. James on Stuart Lake where he worked [until 1844]
John Work replaced Peter Skene Ogden as Marine Department supervisory officer -- 1834
working from Fort Simpson
he traded along the north coast of New Caledonia (British Columbia),
northern Vancouver Island and among the Queen Charlotte Islands
always with keen competition from American coastal traders [until his transfer 1846]

SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC

Again swept through several Indian villages
Disease was rampant
there was great fear among natives that Wyeth's Fort William was the source

ACQUIRING MORE LAND

Early settlers were infected with the "Spirit of Democracy"
many successes they achieved were spectacular

they felt compelled to extend the area of freedom for the good of all American people
they believed the democratic form of government had been tested and found whole
As Americans ventured west acquiring more land, self defense became a problem
Indians were a perpetual concern as were both the Mexican and British government
Further expansion, driving our enemies before us, appeared the solution
in fact, if expansion was completed across the continent
protection of the American population would be relatively simple
U.S. would be securely surrounded by water “natural boundaries”
Atlantic Ocean, Gulf of Mexico, Pacific Ocean, Arctic Ocean

BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE WAS IN WINTER CAMP

On the upper Bear River (Southern Idaho) -- February 1835
where Bonneville’s party had joined with Bonneville’s partner Joe Walker and his men
Michael Cerre came up from St. Louis with the supply caravan
Cerre had been dispatched by Bonneville [July 1833] to Washington City
carrying Bonneville’s report and a request for an extension of his leave of absence
Cerre told Bonneville of journeying to Washington City
and laying Bonneville’s report before General Macomb himself,
who, Cerre said, read it in Cerre’s presence and expressed satisfaction
what Cerre left vague in talking with Bonneville, however,
was the status of Bonneville’s leave of absence from the army

HALL JACKSON KELLEY GAVE UP

Still strongly anti-Hudson’s Bay Company and delusional
suffering from a persecution complex he argued with Dr. McLoughlin
Kelley found it was easier to receive from the company than to give
he accepted from Chief Factor McLoughlin a gift of seven pounds
and passage to the Sandwich Hawaiian Islands -- March 15, 1835

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE AND HIS MEN

Set out on a return expedition to the Green River -- April 1, 1835
where they had spent the [spring before] working their way east
over the Wind River Range (Wyoming) toward Missouri
Bonneville and Joe Walker now split their command to better investigate the region

SECOND INDIAN DELEGATION GOES TO ST. LOUIS

Four volunteers, two Flathead and two Nez Perce natives had been gone for four years
they still had not returned from St. Louis
Indian missionary Ignace La Mousse (Old Ignace) himself along with his two sons
decided to take the hazardous journey themselves in search General William Clark in St. Louis
Perhaps the original volunteers could not adequately communicate their desires for a priest
since he spoke French, maybe Old Ignace would have more success

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

Organization composed of three national church denominations:

- Presbyterian
- Congregational
- Dutch Reform

They were active in (Hawaii) and desired to enter the mission field of the Northwest American Board organization followed very closely the efforts of the Methodists

REV. SAMUEL PARKER -- AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARY

Although fifty-six years old, he was finally accepted as a missionary by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions He was dispatched from Boston to travel to St. Louis to make a survey of the field -- spring 1835 he was to join the annual trade caravan bound for the Jackson Hole Rendezvous but he arrived in St. Louis too late to travel West with the fur caravan Rev. Parker hastened back to Boston to receive new instructions

REV. SAMUEL PARKER INTRODUCED TO DR. MARCUS WHITMAN

On his trip from St. Louis back to Boston -- 1835 Rev. Parker stopped at a meeting in Prattsburg in upstate New York to campaign there for church support Rev. Parker was approached by a weather-beaten country doctor named Marcus Whitman who was currently practicing in Wheeler, New York Dr. Marcus Whitman was very devout -- an elder in the Presbyterian Church he was looking for an opportunity to serve as a missionary although he had been turned down several times before -- due to poor health at the time, he was engaged to be married to a spirited choir leader -- Narcissa Prentiss Although very committed, Narcissa did not seem quite like missionary material she was full-bodied, with a lovely, disturbing voice, copper glints in her blond hair, and possessed wide eyes with sparkling vivacity

REV. SAMUEL PARKER RECRUITED DR. MARCUS WHITMAN

Congregationalist minister enlisted Dr. Marcus Whitman in his mission effort -- 1835 Rev. Parker requested Dr. Whitman and Narcissa Prentiss postpone their marriage Parker proposed to take Dr. Whitman along with him when he returned to St. Louis Whitman would serve as mule skinner, campfire cook, and handyman on the journey Dr. Whitman accepted the offer and, although she did not lack admirers, Narcissa remained unmarried

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN DESCRIBED

Thirty-two years old -- [born September 4, 1802] Had been raised in Rushville, New York pious physician had practiced medicine in Canada had returned home to Rushville, New York where he ran a sawmill with his brother Tall, spare man with deep blue eyes, wide mouth, iron-grey hair he possessed enormous physical strength and endurance with an iron constitution

he was energetic, athletic and capable of surviving any degree of fatigue
Dr. Whitman was man of fine mind and appealing character, sincere, and honest
he always wished to believe best in everyone
he cherished no grudge -- he heeded no warning
he successfully accommodated himself to any circumstance
He was above all tenacious in pursuing any purpose he set for himself
he remained flexible and even variable until his mind was made up
at that point he possessed an inflexible resolution and was very set in his stance
he was decisive but impatient -- a man of single purpose
he was determined others should accept his view
Whitman was no less godly than others of his calling
he displayed none of the narrow prejudices
that cramped other men's minds and offended the more worldly
but he was no less dedicated to the religious and cultural transformation of races
who had been denied the blessings of Christianity
Whitman was always ready to offer his professional or other services to those in need

ADDITIONAL EMIGRANTS TRAVEL FROM CALIFORNIA TOWARD OREGON

Down in California John Turner was talking about Oregon to a handful of dissatisfied trappers
to join him in an adventure traveling from California to Oregon
Turner had lived an epic life
after surviving the massacre of Jedediah Smith's party on the Umpqua River,
he had joined the Hudson's Bay Company as the guide for their southern brigades
in this capacity he met various Americans -- spring 1835
some of whom had been associated with Ewing Young before he went of Oregon
seven men, including a ship-jumping young English doctor named William J. Bailey,
decided to ride north with the trapper to see the fine new land
William J. Bailey had been born and educated in England where he studies medicine
he was brought to America by his mother
after several years, he shipped to the West coast and deserted his vessel in San Francisco
he joined John Turner's fur trapping party journeying to the Pacific Northwest -- 1835

EWING YOUNG REMAINS INDEPENDENT

Although Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin put out some tentative peace feelers,
Ewing Young angrily rejected them
In contrast to all other Oregon residents,
Young would stand up to the Hudson's Bay Company
as the years passed, he heaped abuse on McLoughlin to all who would listen
At the same time, Young and his men did well enough to survive
they tended their horses, hunted game, fished the streams and ponds,
and trapped the Coast mountain range for beaver
Because Chief factor John McLoughlin refused to trade with them
they traded their furs to the masters of American vessels on the Columbia River
Nathaniel Wyeth also took out a load of Young's furs

At the same time, the Methodists and the French Canadians relaxed enough to have occasional dealings with him

SCHOOLS AT FRENCH PRAIRIE

Solomon H. Smith having left his teaching position at Fort Vancouver he moved to the Willamette Valley
there he opened school at French Prairie in the home of Joseph Gervais
this was the first non-mission school (in today's Oregon)
there he taught the half-breed children of Joseph Gervais -- 1835-[1837]
Philip L. Edwards -- lay assistant to Rev. Jason Lee
taught at the mission station school on French Prairie -- 1835-[1836]
he kept a diary of his life -- (which became a very important historic record)

FORT WILLIAM (FORT LARAMIE) CHANGES HANDS

Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick had taken possession of Fort William -- April 1835
log trading post which had been erected by William Sublette and Robert Campbell
on the Laramie River just above its confluence with the North Platte [in 1834]
(later Fort William was renamed Fort Laramie, Wyoming)

PRATTE, CHOUTEAU & COMPANY SUPPLY TRAIN

Pierre Chouteau, Jr. resigned from John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company [1834]
and formed a combine with partner Bernard Pratte
Pierre Chouteau, Jr. prepared a caravan captained by Lucien Fontenelle -- 1835
which was going to Fort William

FIRST STEAMBOAT IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST -- *BEAVER 112*

Hudson's Bay Company's hundred-foot-long steamship *Beaver*
was launched at Blackwall Yard in London, England -- May 9, 1835
to be delivered to Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver
Beaver had been rigged as a three-masted schooner for sailing to America
Beaver was built for service rather than for looks
snub-nosed with no figurehead, square-sterned, black-hulled
she could brag of only one ornament: the shield of the Hudson's Bay Company
she had four brass cannons mounted on her deck
with muskets, cutlasses, and hand grenades within easy reach

REV. PARKER AND DR. WHITMAN SET OUT FOR THE WEST

Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman together left for the wilderness
from Liberty, Missouri -- mid-May 1835
joined Lucien Fontenelle and the Pratte, Chouteau & Company westbound supply caravan
going to Fort William (Fort Laramie)
only mountain men had the knowledge, skill, and experience
to get them safely across the continent
Fontenelle and his men resented the missionaries Pierre Chouteau had inflicted on them

mountain men hurled insults, catcalls and even rotten eggs at the missionaries
they wanted no purveyors of gloom and doom spoiling their fun
or sending back to the eastern newspapers protests about their dealings with the Indians
Parker, remembering how desperately he had worked to raise money,
refused to part with enough cash to buy adequate equipment
what livestock he did purchase the two greenhorns could scarcely handle
nearly every day, the mountain men shouted in delight
as the tenderfeet's ill-balanced loads either fell off the mules or were bucked off
Retreating deep into the ivory tower of his superior age and education,
Rev. Parker transferred more and more of the camp chores and responsibilities to Whitman
then the minister shuddered fastidiously when the overworked doctor
cooked their meals while reeking of mule sweat and ate his ill-prepared food with his knife

REV. SAMUEL PARKER WAS NOT ACCEPTED BY FELLOW TRAVELERS

He adapted less readily to western travel than did Dr. Whitman
Rev. Parker continually made carping complaints
noting the lack of comforts and refinements he had left behind
He openly disdained the ungodly -- even those he was attempting to save
he was described by another missionary as **“inclined to self-applause, requiring his full share of ministerial approbation or respect.”**²⁶⁶
Mountain Man Joe Meek regarded him less primly as “pious humbug”

REV. PARKER AND DR. WHITMAN EN ROUTE TO THE RENDEZVOUS

Danger greater than angry mountain men soon appeared
at Bellevue, Nebraska, before the caravan was even well started, a cholera epidemic broke out
that brought the pack train to a dead stop
As men began to fall sick Lucien Fontanelle, the Pratte, Chouteau & Company wagon master,
sent a frantic call for help to the tent where Whitman and Parker
were camped all by themselves -- beyond the unfriendly abuse of their detractors
Although the doctor was in misery from a chronic ache in his side,
he crawled out of bed to see what he could do
Dr. Whitman ministered heroically to the stricken -- including Lucien Fontenelle himself
his common-sense nursing alleviated the crisis and improved morale
he moved the stricken men onto high, clean ground, kept them warm and fed and encouraged
Whitman's effective medical practice kept the caravan intact
after twelve exhausting days of work he had the caravan back on the trail
From that day on, the missionaries were spared hostile jeering and cat-call
(until they arrived at the frantic, alcohol-sodden rendezvous at Fort Bonneville)

MOUNTAIN MEN SHOW THEIR GRATITUDE

Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman left their wagons at Blackhills Fort
out of appreciation of Dr. Whitman's service,

²⁶⁶ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 159.

Lucien Fontanelle of Pratte, Chouteau & Company would accept no payment for their safe keeping

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BEN BONNEVILLE AND JOE WALKER MEET

At the mouth of Popoasia Creek on the Bighorn River (Montana) -- June 10, 1835

traveling together they returned to the Wind River (Wyoming) -- June 22

It was decided that Walker should spend another year trapping with fifty-nine men before returning to Missouri

Benjamin Bonneville would return to the United States

collecting those men who wished to return home, Bonneville led the party back to Missouri

PRATTE, CHOUTEAU & COMPANY SUPPLY CARAVAN REACHED FORT WILLIAM

At Fort William (Fort Laramie), Lucien Fontenelle turned over the wagon train to his partner Tom Fitzpatrick

Fontenelle stayed to manage the American Fur Company fort

With the groundwork well laid, Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick and Whitman took up where Lucien Fontenelle and Whitman had left off

like most mountain men, "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick

did not approve of missionaries tampering with Indian lives

When the caravan reached the rendezvous at Fort Bonneville on the Green River at Horse Creek (also known as Fort Nonsense or Bonneville's Folly)

much of the hostility had dissolved thanks to Whitman -- if not Rev. Parker

Fitzpatrick and Marcus Whitman cemented a friendship

(that would prove important to the work of Dr. Whitman)

U.S. ARMY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN L.E. BONNEVILLE RETURNS TO CIVILIZATION

Bonneville had been gone from the military for three years and four months and five days

he was secretly investigating fur trade locations and possibilities:

- had ranged far and wide and he is credited with mapping major areas of the West
- was acknowledged by a number of reputable historians
 - to have been the first white to see the Wallowa Valley
- his easy way and generosity with the Indians made their encounters positive ones
- in addition to his own explorations, Bonneville sent emissaries into California and Utah -- [1832-1834]

However, as a commercial enterprise, the expedition was a complete failure

IGNACE LA MOUSSE AND HIS SONS ARRIVE IN ST. LOUIS

Having arrived safely, they were presented to Bishop Joseph Rosati

Old Ignace was able to easily communicate the desires of the Flathead and Nez Perce people

Ignace's two sons were baptized and all received the Sacraments of Penance and Communion

They received a promise that priests would be sent at the first opportunity

encouraged, the three Indians hurried back to the Flathead people (in Montana)

Sadly, however, the Jesuits in St. Louis were poor and few in number -- no priests could be spared

Indians' wait for the arrival of Black Robes would be long

JACKSON HOLE RENDEZVOUS -- 1835

Was held on the Green River & Horse Creek (Fort Bonneville, Wyoming) -- August 12 to 21
Supplies from the east were brought in for the Pratte, Chouteau & Company -- August 12, 1835
by Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick

This rendezvous was much like those which preceded and followed it

several hundred thirsty whites and thousands of lively and unpredictable Indians

gyrated about on the fragrant sagebrush prairie in their colorful and showy finery

Utes were there, Snakes, and large bands of handsome Nez Perces and Flatheads

Joseph Chouinard, a French-Canadian bully,

challenged a man of any race or nationality to fight him

tiring of the bombast, the young, slightly-built Kit Carson answered his challenge

mounted on horseback, the two charged each other

both fired their pistols at the same instant

Chouinard's pistol ball went wild,

while Carson's smashed his opponent's hand, wrist, and arm

according to a disgusted Rev. Samuel Parker,

this duel characterized a people and a place where **"human nature is not oppressed by the tyranny of religion, and pleasure is not awed by the frown of virtue."**²⁶⁷

RESPECT FOR DR. WHITMAN EXPANDS

Word of the missionaries' coming had preceded the arrival of the caravan

Whitman positively impressed many people at the Rendezvous

word of his medical feat treating cases of cholera on the trail during the outbreak

positively impressed the mountain men

In another incident, Jim Bridger still carried a three inch, iron Blackfoot arrow embedded in his back

he had been shot three years earlier and asked Dr. Whitman to remove it

as a crowd of Indians watched and marveled, surgery as described by Rev. Parker was performed:

"It was a difficult operation, because the arrow was hooked at the point by striking a large bone and a cartilaginous substance had grown around it. The Doctor pursued the operation with great self possession and perseverance; and his patient manifested equal firmness. The Indians looked on meanwhile, with countenances indicating wonder, and in their own peculiar manner expressed great astonishment when it was extracted."²⁶⁸

NATIVE AMERICAN VIEW OF RELIGION

Unlike Protestants and Catholics, Indians prayed for triumph today -- not salvation tomorrow

"Medicine" was power, to be wooed by incantations

and such charms as feathers, hair balls, magic stones,

or whatever else struck the individual's fancy

to the Indian mind it was quite clear that the white man's guns, knives, cloth, burning glasses,

and talking paper were the product of extra powerful medicine

²⁶⁷ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 163.

²⁶⁸ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 162-163

DR. WHITMAN AND REV. PARKER CONFER WITH THE INDIANS

Several Columbia River tribes were waiting at the rendezvous site

Dr. Whitman found Nez Perce Indians who were especially eager to be taught
but all of the natives seemed anxious to receive the missionaries

Rev. Parker established contact with individual Indian tribes

he learned Rev. Jason and Rev. Daniel Lee had bypassed the Flathead people

After a conference with the Flathead and Nez Perce Indians at the Rendezvous

Rev. Parker and Dr. Whitman became convinced

these people were eager to accept Christian doctrine

Rev. Parker and Dr. Whitman conferred and agreed to serve the Nez Perce and Flatheads
that accomplished, there was no reason for both men to continue on to Oregon

They decided to separate

Parker would resume his explorations of the Pacific Northwest with an Indian escort

Whitman should return with Fitzpatrick's pack train to St. Louis

Whitman would report to the American of Commissioners of Foreign Missions

organize a mission party to come out west in the next year [1836]

and thus save a year in preparing to serve the natives

REV. SAMUEL PARKER LEFT THE RENDEZVOUS

Parker also took the pack mules -- August 22, 1835

leaving Dr. Marcus Whitman only five dollars to buy an emaciated horse

that Whitman wrote to the American Board, **“was a disgrace to any man to pack on
account of his extreme sore back”**²⁶⁹

For a week Parker traveled with Jim Bridger's trappers

with a small group of Nez Perce Indians

and French-Canadian trapper Charles Compo who was hired as interpreter

and his Nez Perce wife

They journeyed in a Northerly direction past the towering Teton Mountains

and over the wondrous pass that lead out of Pierre's Hole

Trappers set up trap lines in that region leaving Rev. Parker to continue his way west
in the company of his Indians and his inadequate interpreter

DR. WHITMAN LEFT THE JACKSON HOLE RENDEZVOUS TO RETURN TO NEW YOR

Dr. Marcus Whitman left the Rendezvous to return to his home in Rushville New Yor

he departed with two traveling companions, Nez Perce boys Richard and John -- August 27, 1835

they had learned enough English to serve as interpreters and also served as guides

perhaps Whitman also contemplated using them as the Lees used Wyeth's Indians,

in appeals for support

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN L.E. BONNEVILLE REACHES CIVILIZATION

When Bonneville arrived in Independence, Missouri -- August 29, 1835

he learned Michael Cerre, in fact, had failed to deliver his [July 1833] letter to General Macomb

²⁶⁹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 169.

requesting an extension of his leave of absence
in fact, Bonneville had been ordered to return to Fort Gibson [in October 1833]
Captain Bonneville had overstayed his leave of absence from the Army
he had been Absent Without Leave (AWOL) for almost two years
he also discovered to his chagrin that his commission had been revoked
he had been dropped from the army rolls and had been given up for dead
Protesting mightily and demanding reinstatement,
Bonneville stirred a bureaucratic storm in the War Department
he ultimately won the support of the commanding general and the Secretary of War
President Andrew Jackson recognized his contributions to American geographical knowledge
Captain Bonneville was he taken back into the military service

REV. SAMUEL PARKER TRAVELS WELL

Continuing on with French-Canadian Charles Compo and his Nez Perce wife
accompanied by a small group of Nez Perce natives
Parker was not shy about having his needs met
He hinted broadly for special food and special treatment
which he received from his attentive Nez Perce
he would later boast that he was never forced to eat horse or dog
although, at times, his companions were
When new bands of Indians were encountered,
the entire group would line up single file to shake his hand in excited welcome
chiefs first and on down to the littlest children
they bolstered the minister's vanity by building shady temporary shelters for him to preach in
then touched him deeply by listening with utter fascination
to his explanations of original sin, salvation, resurrection, and judgment

COLUMBIA RIVER FISHING AND TRADING COMPANY

Wyeth also found the Indians (as McLoughlin had surmised they would)
went right past his ship and past Fort William on Wappatoo Island
to trade their fish at Hudson's Bay Company's more familiar depot
also the Indians did not understand the salmon had to be fresh
in fact, they did not want to be professional fishermen
Captain Wyeth spent most of the autumn at Fort William -- 1835
he also explored up the Deschutes River into the interior

JOHN TURNER'S ADVENTURERS ATTACKED

Traveling north from California bound for Oregon, they arrived just beyond Mount Shasta
Rogue River Indians attacked and killed half of the party
survivors, including John Turner, groped their way northward living on roots
they were hideously injured -- William Bailey in particular
Bailey's half-severed face was tied together with a handkerchief
with the others, Bailey made his way to the Methodist Mission on the Willamette River
where he was cared for before being sent on to Fort Vancouver

his face would heal scarred and repulsively distorted so that no one seeing him later
(after he had become one of Oregon's leading citizens)
would ever doubt the price he had paid to reach the territory

BAD LUCK CONTINUED TO PLAGUE CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH

Rains and colds brought chills that disabled several of the men including Wyeth himself
Wyeth wrote to his wife in a letter dated -- September 22, 1835

“I have been very sick but have got well, and shall be on my way to the mountains, to winter at Fort Hall, in about six days. I expect to be home about the first of November [1836] ... We have lost by drowning, disease, and warfare seventeen persons up to this date, and fourteen are now sick.”²⁷⁰

Actually, Dr. McLoughlin was behind much of Wyeth's bad luck,
as the chief factor wrote his home office: **“... I prevented his [Wyeth's] Interfering with Us in Any place where we had no previous opposition and I did this without Actually giving up any thing as though we did not raise the price of Salmon We opposed him as much as was Necessary. ... We may be certain Wyeths Losses are Great....”**²⁷¹

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH LEAVES FORT WILLIAM ON WAPPATOO ISLAND

Broken in spirit and health, defeated at every turn, Nathaniel Wyeth made a retreat
Wyeth put Courtney M. Walker in charge of Fort William on Wappatoo Island
(Walker was one of the lay assistants who came to Oregon with Jason Lee [1834])
Walker was instructed to lease or sell Fort William on the best terms possible,
but because the place lay so close to the overwhelming presence of Fort Vancouver
no takers appeared at any price

Bits and pieces of Fort William's equipment were sold away to the Willamette settlers
either by Wyeth himself or by Walker
one significant component was a large copper kettle used originally for pickling salmon
which went to Ewing Young (and became part of a far-reaching chain of events)
Young, still suffering under Dr. McLoughlin's banishment,
planned to use the kettle as a whiskey still
this could result in undermining Hudson's Bay Company's control of the local economy

His debts were paid with a moderate number of pelts
Wyeth set out for his post at Fort Hall (Idaho)
behind him at Fort William he left several ex-employees who would become permanent settlers,
they would be vocal Americans in a wilderness dominated by a British trade empire

REV. SAMUEL PARKER CONTINUED WEST

Until he reached Fort Walla Walla -- October 6, 1835
where he was warmly received by Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader Pierre Pambrun
Parker continued down the Columbia River -- October 1835
Escorted by three half-naked Walla Walla Indians

²⁷⁰ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 105.

²⁷¹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 104-105

REV. SAMUEL PARKER MEETS CAPTAIN NATHANIEL J. WYETH

Approximately seven weeks after leaving the Pierre's Hole rendezvous
Parker was cautiously working his way along the stony portages
where the Columbia River burst through the Dalles
at the foot of the compressed torrent he met Nathaniel Wyeth journeying toward Fort Hall
to rescue what he could from the crash of his hopes
Entrepreneur and minister paused long enough for Wyeth to write out for Parker
a basic vocabulary of the Chinook language
during the process they most certainly talked
Rev. Parker was by nature garrulous, curious and alert
and Wyeth had a genius for drawing men out
Parker also gave Wyeth a letter addressed to Dr. Marcus Whitman
offering advice on the route to be taken to Fort Vancouver
and locations for possible mission stations
Chinook vocabulary copied, the two men parted
Wyeth to spend the winter at his Fort Hall (Idaho)
Rev. Samuel Parker to Fort Vancouver

REV. SAMUEL PARKER ARRIVED AT FORT VANCOUVER

He was greeted by Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin -- October 16
minister drew on Hudson's Bay Company's good will
for clothing and goods to pay his Indian guides and provisions for the men
Dr. McLoughlin would take no pay for these supplies
Rev. Parker spent the winter at Fort Vancouver
he noted the comforts of the post and good cheer
mildness of the climate was conducive to good health
waters provided plentiful fish and game was easy to obtain
animals could forage on their own in winter
in striking contrast with grinding and perilous life of settlers in the Middle West
Rev. Parker also visited Astoria and the Lees' Methodist Mission in Willamette Valley
although plagued by bad weather, inexperience, and ill-health, he found much to admire
pioneer missionaries had in little more than a year

- build a secure house and barn close to the riverbank,
- cultivated thirty acres of virgin soil, and
- established a school where frail Cyrus Shepard, who had come with Jason Lee
was teaching reading and salvation to nineteen listless Chinook children

NATHANIEL WYETH REACHED FORT HALL (IDAHO)

Having left Courtney M. Walker in charge of his Fort William post,
Wyeth spent the winter at his other venture: Fort Hall -- 1835-1836
where he discovered his trader had drunk up the profits

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN RETURNS EAST

Arrived at Angelica, New York -- fall 1835

in an effort to gather assistants and supplies
accompanied by two Nez Perce boys: Richard and John
who had learned enough English to serve as interpreters
Whitman gave a positive report to American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
regarding establishment of missions among the Columbia River Indians
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions authorized a mission
appointed Dr. Whitman to superintend the effort

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN HAD DIFFICULTY FINDING HELPERS

He continued traveling throughout the East in his search for support of his missionary effort
he arrived at Rushville, New York -- early winter 1835
Arriving home late on a Saturday night he stopped first at his brother's house
no one else knew he had returned
Dr. Whitman made his public appearance in the Presbyterian Church the next day
his usually staid and proper mother who was attending Sunday church service
lost her emotions entirely
she leaped to her feet shouting, "**Why, there is Marcus!**"²⁷²

REV. JASON LEE BEGINS A TEMPERANCE SOCIETY IN OREGON

To his other good works Methodist Rev. Jason Lee added a temperance society
he persuaded three of the Willamette settlers to sign the pledge -- February 11, 1836
This attack on trade-disrupting alcohol so impressed Chief Factor John McLoughlin
that he sent to the mission, which he had already aided with loans of livestock and tools,
a contribution of twenty-six English Pounds that had been raised
among the "principal gentlemen" of Fort Vancouver

DR. WHITMAN SEEKS REINFORCEMENTS TO WORK IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Dr Whitman approached the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
(also known as the "American Board")
they were impressed with Dr. Whitman's [1835] experience in the wilderness
he was selected as superintendent to lead a missionary effort to the Pacific Northwest
this was the second missionary group to the West
(after the Methodists' Jason and Daniel Lee)

DR. AND NARCISSA WHITMAN ARE MARRIED

Dr. Marcus Whitman was desperate to find assistants
his marriage to Narcissa Prentice took place in Angelica, New York -- February 18, 1836
she was the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Stephen and Clarissa Prentiss
and she wanted to become a missionary
This couple hardly knew each other when they exchanged vows
but their common interest in mission work forged a strong bond between them
Their departure for Oregon was set for the end of the same month

²⁷² William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 147.

but only if one more husband-and-wife teams could be found
to travel with he and Narcissa as fellow workers

NARCISSA PRENTISS WHITMAN WAS A VERY INTENSE WOMAN

At twenty-one years old, somehow Narcissa did not seem like missionary material
she was a woman of liberal education for her times
she was admired for her clear lovely, disturbing, soprano voice
“as sweet and musical as the chime of bells”²⁷³

Narcissa was full-bodied, very lady-like, refined and attractive
her beautiful long blond hair shown copper glints
her wide blue eyes sparkled with liveliness
observant, sometimes vivacious and company-loving
she possessed a cheerful disposition and fine spirit
dignified, devout and somewhat reserved, she could be intense and emotional
but also sharp-tongued, lonely and foreboding, she lacked an understanding of others

DR. WHITMAN ADDS RECRUITS FOR THE JOURNEY WEST

Dr. Marcus Whitman learned Rev. Henry and Eliza (Hart) Spalding
had just departed to establish a mission among the Osage Indians in Missouri
their child had been still born so they were therefore free to travel to Oregon
Dr. Whitman rode out overtake them
after two day's riding Whitman he found them and changed their destination
Henry Spalding and his wife Eliza agreed give up his own mission to go with the Whitmans

REV. HENRY HARMON SPALDING WAS A DRIVEN MAN

Was an illegitimate child obsessed with shame
he had an intense desire to right himself by righting the world
nervous and crotchety, he was remarkably industrious
Henry had been a schoolmate of Narcissa Prentiss and was an early suitor
some years before he had proposed and she had rejected him
he was jealous of Marcus Whitman and his great physical energy
Rev. Spalding was talented, hard-working, dedicated, versatile, non-dogmatic and a skilled teacher
he taught Indians agriculture, home economics and thoughtful living
he was eager to accomplish a task, but he could only work alone
He had intense likes and dislikes which he never failed to express
tall and dour, he was a difficult man with whom to get along
the Presbyterian minister was thin-skinned and critical of others
sometimes he seemed unbalanced of mind

ELIZA HART SPALDING WAS VERY EASY-GOING

Rev. Henry Spalding had married Eliza Hart [October 13, 1833]
Eliza was as dark and scrawny as Narcissa Prentiss was golden and buxom

²⁷³ Federal Writers Project, *Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State*, The Washington State Historical Society, P. 135.

plain looking and tall, Eliza possessed rather coarse features
Spalding had offered himself and his bride to the American Board for missionary work
although in fragile health, Eliza was dedicated to the missionary effort,
she was frail, reserved, modest and gentle by nature
although an invalid, she was keen for the enterprise of journeying West and teaching
Eliza was better educated than her husband and a skillful teacher,
understanding, agreeable, hardworking, tolerant, wise, pleasant and long-suffering
her fearlessness was admired, and even loved, by the Indians
She was much less fastidious and reserved than Mrs. Whitman

WILLIAM H. GRAY -- LAY ASSISTANT TO THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES

William H. Gray, a young, fine-looking, daring and athletic man
who had trained as a cabinet maker
he was very skillful in making and handling boats, teams and wagons
he was appointed by the American Board to serve as a lay-assistant (not ordained)
as a mechanic and farmer
for some reason he apparently was not required to marry
Gray was so positive, and even violent, in his views that he alienated many
his headstrong and antagonistic acts were a disturbing element -- he had a chip on his shoulder
he was personally ambitious and exalted his own position
he harbored an intense hatred of Hudson's Bay Company and Roman Catholics alike
William Gray kept a record of his journey to the West
which was later included in his book *The History of Oregon*

AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES COMPLETE THEIR PREPARATIONS

Building on Dr. Whitman's experience of the previous year,
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions spent upwards of \$3,200
to provide their missionaries with cattle, mules, horses, Indian trade goods,
camp equipment, medicine and two wagons
one of the wagons the women loaded, against Whitman's cautions,
with what seemed to them to be a bare minimum of household goods
their other wagon was a small, springless dearborn wagon
(light two-horse wagon) with yellow wheels
originally Rev. Spalding had intended it for his Osage mission
now it was dedicated to carrying the women
actually Narcissa preferred horseback riding even on an insecure sidesaddle
Eliza suffering from the loss of their infant,
never quite mastered the art of the sidesaddle
she insisted on staying in the jolting dearborn wagon

WHITMAN PARTY SET OUT FOR ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Dedicated missionaries left New York for St. Louis, Missouri -- February 19, 1836
with a heavy farm wagon and a light two-horse wagon
and additional saddle and pack horses

In addition to Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding and William Gray were two Nez Perce boys, Richard and John, who had accompanied Whitman to the East from the Jackson Hole [1835] Rendezvous the year before
At first the Whitman Party traveled in the relative comfort of boats from Pennsylvania they cruised down the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers
Their plan was to meet the American Fur Company caravan at Council Bluff and travel with the several hundred men and their six hundred animals to the Northwest
American Fur Company packers, learning that women would be traveling with them, moved out earlier than planned to avoid the encounter

HALL JACKSON KELLEY RETURNED TO THE EAST COAST

After a year in the Hawaii the “Prophet of Oregon” returned to the Atlantic coast by ship never to see the Northwest again -- 1836
once home Kelley petitioned Congress for reimbursement of his expenses while visiting Oregon but was unsuccessful

Kelley’s knowledge of the west was extensive

he published a *Geographical Memoir of Oregon* [Boston, 1830] accompanied by the first map of Oregon that was ever published

He resumed his agitation for American settlement of the Pacific Northwest

for thirty-eight more years he continued writing of American ownership of the region:

- he provided his readers with much useful information about the Pacific Northwest;
- he published his book, *Narrative* [1852];
- he published a manual of the Oregon expedition from California and Oregon for the guidance of emigrants;
- his final effort was *A History of the Settlement of Oregon and of the Interior of Upper California, and of Persecutions and Afflictions of Forty Years' Continuance endured by the Author*

(Springfield, Massachusetts, [1868])

Finally the former Boston schoolteacher spent the last three years of his life as a hermit at Three Rivers, Massachusetts [1871-1874]

doing occasional engineering work but mainly living on the charity of neighbors

Hall Jackson Kelley died [on January 20, 1874] blind and poverty-stricken although he had failed personally, his writings had helped change American attitudes toward Oregon by causing many to regard the region as a good place to settle

EDUCATION IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Teacher Cyrus Shepard continued his educational work at Fort Vancouver -- 1836 taught Indians, half-breeds, and an occasional child of white immigrants

Rev. Jason Lee believed in improving the Calapooya Indians at Mission Bottom through the development of a manual training school

GOVERNMENT INTEREST IN OREGON

U.S. government printed important documents for both the Congress and the American public that described the exploits of several American traders

written by General William H. Ashley, Major Joshua L. Pilcher, and Lewis Cass, William Clark, and the partners of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company they gave their observations of possible wagon routes over the Rocky Mountains on orders from the Secretary of State John Forsyth State Department official Robert Greenhow drafted a brief supporting the United States' claim he titled:

Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Northwest Coast of North America

in addition to fur dealers,

Yankee traders, trappers, would-be settlers, naturalists, ship captains, and missionaries each gave their own version of events and activities happening there wrote of their impressions and exploits

all of these views were intensely personal

this information, frequently reprinted, created great interest in the West

However, President Andrew Jackson needed a more dispassionate estimate of the situation

PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON NEEDS GUIDANCE

He wanted an analysis from a competent, experienced, unprejudiced investigator to inspect conditions in the West

President Jackson also was anxious to buy Northern California from Mexico to secure the fine harbor of San Francisco and to receive a report on settlement in the Pacific Northwest

He asked his Secretary of State, John Forsyth, to send a man to the Columbia River who would serve as a Special Agent of the State Department

Naval Lieutenant William A. Slacum was selected

he was instructed to gather information on British inhabitants in the Pacific Northwest:

- to secure precise firsthand information regarding conditions on Pacific coast;
- to visit all white settlements on and near the Columbia River and take a census;
- to assess what Americans in the Pacific Northwest thought about their rights;
- to note the sentiments of whites toward the United States;
- to visit all Indian villages to make a census of Indians and whites;
- to collect geographical data

U.S. Navy Lieutenant Slacum's orders were from the Secretary of State: **"Upon your arrival on the northwest coast of America you will embrace the earliest opportunity to proceed to and up the river Oregon [sic] and ascertain the sentiments entertained by all in respect to the United States... and generally endeavor to obtain all such information, political, physical, statistical and geographical, as may prove useful or interesting to the Government."**²⁷⁴

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Mexican government was not strong during this period

question of America annexing Texas into the Union was perpetual

eventually an assembly of Texans met at Washington-on-the-Brazos -- March 1, 1836

- declared Texas to be an independent nation: The Lone Star Republic
- adopted a constitution which legalized slavery

²⁷⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 144-145.

- set up an interim government

both the U.S. and Mexico expressed feelings of uneasiness
President Jackson also pressed the British government to reopen negotiations on the boundary
England was not prepared -- and was not willing to prepare

BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE RETURNS TO THE U.S. ARMY

Bonneville had been absent from the army for three years and four months and five days
secretly investigating fur trade locations and possibilities
Through the support of President Andrew Jackson
Bonneville was reinstated in the army -- spring 1836
his fortunate resignation from his regiment averted the need to disturb the seniority list
Bonneville found himself once again a captain in the Seventh Infantry
with duty station at Fort Gibson, Oklahoma -- Spring of 1836
(Cantonment Gibson was renamed -- [1832])
Bonneville had a long and distinguished career in the army
served in the Mexican War [May 11, 1846-February 2, 1848]
was stationed, as a colonel, at the Columbia Barracks
adjacent to old Fort Vancouver, (which became a U.S. Army post in [1849])
he retired in [1861] but reentered the army during the American Civil War
was promoted in [1865] to the rank of brigadier general
he retired again in [1866]
No report was ever made by Captain Bonneville to the War Department
although he had made many interesting and valuable observations
on the Salmon, Clearwater, Snake, Portneuf, and Columbia rivers
Bonneville's principal achievement had a great influence on Americans and America
he brought wagons through South Pass for the first time
as far as Green River in Southern Wyoming
showed that an overland trek to the Pacific Northwest was possible for settlers
as a leader, Bonneville was a great success
but as an explorer, he showed a greater interest in the fur trade
Several western landscape features were either named by Bonneville himself
or in honor of Bonneville's efforts
Lake Bonneville (prehistoric) and Bonneville Salt Flats (in Utah),
Bonneville Power Administration and the Bonneville Dam are named in his honor

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN L.E. BONNEVILLE'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Bonneville never did reach the Pacific coast or the Willamette Valley as he had set out to do
he journeyed west only as far as Fort Vancouver
this was due primarily to a lack of effort on his part
Later in his career Ben Bonneville served in the Mexican War [May 11, 1846-February 2, 1848]
Still later he was stationed, as a colonel, at the Columbia Barracks
adjacent to old Fort Vancouver, (which became a U.S. Army post [in 1849])
Colonel Bonneville retired in [1861] but reentered the army during the American Civil War
was promoted in [1865] to the rank of brigadier general

he retired again in [1866]
Bonneville's principal achievements had a great influence on Americans and America
he brought wagons through South Pass for the first time
as far as the Green River (in Southern Wyoming)
he showed that an overland trek to the Pacific Northwest was possible for settlers
his camps were popular with free trappers because of his hospitality
his easy way and generosity with the Indians made their encounters positive ones
he had ranged far and wide and he is credited with mapping major areas of the West
he is acknowledged by a number of reputable historians
to have been the first white to see the Wallowa Valley
in addition to his own explorations, Bonneville sent emissaries
into California and Utah -- [1832-1834]
As a commercial enterprise, the Bonneville Expedition was a complete failure
he could do nothing without purchasing supplies from Hudson's Bay Company
which could hardly be expected to furnish a rival
As a leader, Bonneville was a great success
to his credit he had not lost a man under his personal command
but as an explorer, he showed a greater interest in the fur trade

OLD IGNACE RETURNS HOME FROM ST. LOUIS

Iroquois Christian leader Ignace La Mousse and his two companions
returned to the Flathead and Nez Perce people after seeking Catholic missionaries in St. Louis
arriving to deliver the sad news the wait for Black Robes must continue -- spring 1836

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH ABANDONED HIS POSTS

At Fort William on Wappatoo Island, desertions occurred and some trade goods were stolen
business manager Courtney M. Walker abandoned Fort William
Wyeth sold both Fort William on Wappatoo Island and Fort Hall (Idaho) their goods and equipment
to Hudson's Bay Company for a paltry \$8179.94 for both posts
even after the sale of Fort Hall and such other assets as he could scrape together,
Wyeth ended with a net loss of twenty thousand dollars
for his five-year effort to invade the Northwest
Dr. McLoughlin took over Wappatoo Island

NEW ENGLISH EMPLOYEES ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

Hudson's Bay Company ship *Columbia* (Captain Dandy)
arrived at the Pacific Northwest headquarters -- March 1836
carried William and Elizabeth (Wright) Capendale
William Capendale was to manage the agricultural operation at Fort Vancouver
Elizabeth Capendale, Oregon's only white woman, was to operate the dairy
Dr. John McLoughlin gave the couple a chilly reception
he apparently resented their interference in his operation of farming at the fort
he perceived an implied insult
he delayed assigning them living quarters

finally he moved them to Wappatoo Island where the dairy was established
Mr. and Mrs. Capendale did not stay long on the island as they moved to Fort Vancouver
(Jean Batiste Sauvie successfully took over the duties and lived there so long
that today the spot is known as Sauvie's (or Sauvie) Island)

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH STARTED EAST FROM FORT HALL

Bound for his New England home, Cambridge, Massachusetts in his last futile effort
to raise money from Eastern financial backers
he traveled with the Hudson's Bay Company Brigade
captained by Thomas McKay and John McLeod
en route to the 1836 rendezvous at Fort Bonneville

FORT ST. JAMES IS A KEY LINK IN HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADE

As chief post in Hudson's Bay Company's New Caledonia District (British Columbia)
Fort St. James was the transshipment center for the furs and trade goods
exchanged at all the company posts in the territory
Furs traded at Fort St. James were sent by company schooner and pack train
to steamers on the Skeena River and Pacific Coast
for trans-shipping to the fur markets of the world
Isolation, severe winters, hard work, and a monotonous diet of smoked dried salmon
earned Fort St. James the name "the Siberia of the fur trade"

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY FORT UMPQUA PROTECTS SOUTHERN OREGON

Chief Factor John McLoughlin maintained another small post, Fort Umpqua
on the Umpqua River near the coast of central Oregon
as a deterrent to anyone attempting to trap or trade to the north of northern California

"THE LOG CHURCH" IS BUILT IN THE HOPE OF ATTRACTING A CATHOLIC MISSIONARY

Small Catholic French-Canadian community existed along the Willamette River -- 1836
retired Catholic Hudson's Bay Company employees who settled the area
hoped priests might be enticed west from Canada
they had repeatedly requested the services of a priest from Father Joseph Provencher,
Bishop of Juliopolis, head of the Roman Catholic missions east of the Rockies,
located at the Red River settlement in what is now Canada
Retired trappers built a crude log chapel on French Prairie -- the first church in Columbia Department
along the Willamette River at a place where the river could be crossed in the [summer]
this structure, first known as "the Log Church" was soon referred to
as "Mission Du Walamette" although it was unoccupied

CALL FOR CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

Retired Astorian, Nor'Wester, and Hudson's Bay Company trapper Etienne Lucier
was busily raising his eight children (the product of two marriages)
at Champoeg at French Prairie
farming pigs and hogs, cattle, peaches, and wheat over 80 acres enclosed by a split rail fence

his farm was adjacent to French-Canadian Pierre Belleque's farm
Etienne Lucier, Pierre Belleque and fourteen other French-Canadian settlers
representing seventy-seven settlers and their children signed a petition -- March 22, 1836
requesting a priest for the settlement from Joseph Provencher
Catholic bishop at Red River Settlement (Manitoba)
none were sent and Mission Du Walamette remained unoccupied

CALL FOR METHODIST MISSIONARIES

Rev. Jason Lee wrote to Wesleyan University President Dr. Wilbur Fisk
telling of the need for tradesmen and farmers -- March 1836
he complained that there was little time for the business of religion
Rev. Jason Lee and W.H. Qillson
chose the site for a second Methodist effort at Wascopam Mission
on the South bank of the Columbia River at Celilo Falls

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONARY TO COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

While Hudson's Bay Company French Canadian employees were Catholic
board of directors of the company were members of the Church of England
Enacting a rampant instance of insensitivity, Hudson's Bay Company directors
sent Church of England minister Rev. Herbert Beaver and his wife Jane to serve as
"chaplain and missionary for the education and religious instruction of the Indians"
oddly, they had been selected by Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson

WHITMAN PARTY REACHED ST. LOUIS

Whitmans, Spaldings, William H. Gray and Nez Perce boys Richard and John
arrived in St. Louis -- March 31, 1836
there they completed arrangements with representatives
of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
Moses "Black" Harris helped guide the Whitman-Spalding Party to Oregon
Confusions, delays and trickery had kept the party
from leaving for the frontier with the American Fur Company's annual caravan
when mountain men learned missionaries and women would be traveling with them,
they set out for the Rendezvous earlier than planned to avoid the encounter

REV. SAMUEL PARKER'S TOUR OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Great areas where still more missions might be located remained to be explored
when winter relaxed its grip -- mid-April 1836
Parker left Fort Vancouver and resolutely set out for the upper country
journeyed back up the Columbia River with a Hudson's Bay brigade to Fort Walla Walla
At Fort Walla Walla Rev. Parker stopped and preached to a multitude of Indians there
Dr. Parker selected Fort Walla Walla as a desirable place for a mission
about twenty miles from the Columbia River he observed **"a delightful situation for a
missionary establishment.... A mission located on this fertile field would draw around an interesting
settlement, who would fix down to cultivate the soil and to be instructed. How easily might the**

plough go through these valleys, and what rich and abundant harvests might be gathered by the hand of industry.”²⁷⁵

At Fort Walla Walla he secured horses and an Indian guide for a trip up the Walla Walla River Valley

REV. SAMEUL PARKER CONTINUED HIS TOUR OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Missionary left Fort Walla Walla and traveled up the Snake River
then struck off Northeast exploring the Spokane River Valley

Rev. Parker was looking for possible mission locations

he was accompanied by Nez Perce and Flatheads who had requested a missionary
together they journeyed to the natives' homeland to select a building site

Spokane Garry interpreted Rev. Samuel Parker's sermons to the Spokanes near Loon Lake
again the Indians appeared anxious for religious instruction

Dr. Parker noted the state of the vanishing savage in his report:

“Since the year 1829 probably seven-eights -- if not, as Dr. McLoughlin believes, nine-tenths -- have been swept away by disease, principally by fever and ague [smallpox].”²⁷⁶

Dr. Parker became lost for some time and wandered through the Inland Empire area

he rode hundreds of rolling miles before he was set right by a friendly Spokane Indian
and arrived at the ruins of Spokane House

this experience very nearly led to his death in the wilderness

He swung northward and westward as he journeyed on to Fort Colville

Archibald McDonald, his hospitality was famous, was in charge of the fort 1836 to 1843]

From Fort Colville to Fort Okanogan, Dr. Parker had two French voyageurs with him

who paddle down Columbia River threading their way through the vast, hushed Grand Coulee
and back to Fort Walla Walla

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

Refused to give Rev. Samuel Parker a permanent assignment as a missionary
because he was fifty-seven years old and in poor health

Later he left his contribution to history: *Travels Beyond the Rocky Mountains*
after Lewis and Clark, his journey had been the one across the continent
that produced a book of high standard

PUBLICITY ABOUT THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

John Jacob Astor in his retirement wanted to secure a place in history

he offered many of the original journals of the Astorians to well-known author

Washington Irving who produced a two-volume work which was a wild success:

Astoria; or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains -- 1836

Astoria contained a map of the routes of Wilson Price Hunt and Robert Stuart

based on information collected from Benjamin Bonneville

map was poorly done perpetuating the image of the Rocky Mountains

as narrow and easily crossed on foot or by wagon

even showing one branch of the Missouri River crossing the Continental Divide

²⁷⁵ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 120.

²⁷⁶ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 142.

Astoria was so popular that many settlers thinking of coming to Oregon would have a poor perception of the magnitude of the actual journey ahead of them

FONTENELLE, FITZPATRICK & COMPANY WAGON TRAIN

Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick once again led a supply caravan to the Rendezvous this one to be held on the upper Green River at the mouth of Horse Creek -- 1836 he was to transport his goods by wagon as far as Fort William (Fort Laramie) but there he would repack onto mules

WHITMAN PARTY DEPARTURE FOR THE WEST

American Board missionaries Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding, William Gray and the two Nez Perce Indians, Richard and John made final preparations for the pioneering journey which had never before been attempted both women, Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding, kept journals of the trip After a few adjustments and improvements to equipment and supplies missionary party left St. Louis bound for Independence, Missouri -- May 1836 they traveled by horse and mule, the yellow-wheeled dearborn carried Eliza Spalding heavy farm wagon was laden with baggage laden with baggage and trailing four milk cows and two calves In Independence, Dr. Whitman hired two teen-age youths to attend to the chores livestock was to be handled by the Nez Perce boys Richard and John and by a third Nez Perce unaccountably picked up on the frontier but the responsibilities, the decisions, and soothing of perpetually ruffled tempers were Whitman’s

WHITMAN PARTY CATCHES TOM FITZPATRICK’S SUPPLY TRAIN

After a month of traveling alone Whitman Party caught up with Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick at Liberty, Missouri Fontenelle, Fitzpatrick & Company supply train was going to the Green River Rendezvous Whitman and his companions joined the westbound caravan that would provide the only protection available as the supply packers proceeded toward the Rocky Mountains and Fort Bonneville Narcissa Whitman wrote to her family, **“Our manner of living is far preferable to any in the States. I never was so contented and happy before. Neither have I enjoyed such health for years.”**²⁷⁷ This idyllic journey became less idyllic when Henry Spalding was dragged from a ferryboat by a cow shortly thereafter he was further chilled by an icy rainstorm that blew down his and Eliza’s tent he contracted a cold that clung so persistently that the bulk of the work fell, once again, on Marcus Whitman

AMERICA WAS EXPANDING

Three states West of the Mississippi River had entered the Union Louisiana [April 30, 1812], Missouri [March 2, 1821], and Arkansas -- June 15, 1836

²⁷⁷ L.E. Bragg, *More Than Petticoats*, P. 12.

Americans were farmers -- as many as 20,000 new farms were begun each year
prosperity was reflected in land ownership
land was regarded as a source of happiness
this belief grew with the feeling of Manifest Destiny
many farms were a long distance from population centers
There was a great need in transportation facilities to ship corn, wheat, and meat
speculators invested heavily in anticipation of prosperity
hundreds of miles of canals were dug and railroad construction was begun
to provide East-West transportation link with the Mississippi River

METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY SENDS ASSISTANTS

Although Hudson's Bay Company partners in London knew,
Dr. John McLoughlin as yet was not aware of a disturbing fact
eight more earnest souls had sailed from New York via the Horn and the Hawaiian Islands
to reinforce Rev. Jason Lee's mission in the Willamette Valley -- June 1836
two married men with their wives and children, one bachelor, and three unwed women

MISSIONARIES AND PACKERS ARRIVED AT FORT WILLIAM (FORT LARAMIE)

Originally known as Fort William when built in [1834]
by fur traders William Sublette and Robert Campbell
at the junction of the Laramie and North Platte rivers
Fontenelle, Fitzpatrick, & Company wagon train under Tom Fitzpatrick
reached their destination of Fort William
here the trade goods were unloaded and repacked on to mules
for the journey to the 1836 Rendezvous

FORT WILLIAM (FORT LARAMIE) IS LEFT BEHIND

Dr. Whitman left the heavy farm wagon at the fort
deciding to drive Rev. Henry Spalding's light two-horse wagon as far as possible
Pack train and Whitman missionaries set out for the 1836 Rendezvous

REV. SAMUEL PARKER CHANGES HIS PLANS

Originally he had intended to travel from Fort Walla Walla to the Green River rendezvous
with migrating Nez Perce Indians, who he thought would follow the direct trail
across the Blue Mountains stopping at Fort Boise and Fort Hall
At Fort Walla Walla, however, he learned that the Indians wanted to hunt buffalo en route
and so they had decided to strike directly across the uninhabited wastes of central Idaho
On hearing this, Parker's took pause
he had just finished a grueling ride,
and the path of the wandering buffalo hunters would add unknown hundreds of miles
to the journey that lay ahead
In addition trappers told him that deep snow in the mountains would mean long delays
perhaps so long that he could not reach the rendezvous in time to meet Marcus Whitman
Nor could he forget that during his outward journey he had nearly died

in the very mountains the Indians now proposed to re-cross
How much easier it would be to float down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver,
sail on a Hudson's Bay Company ship to the Sandwich Islands,
and there board a vessel bound for the United States
Rev. Parker's return to Fort Vancouver was made by canoe
he had thoroughly investigated the Snake, Clearwater, and Columbia rivers
and made a detailed record of his observations
together with a thoughtful identification of mission fields and sites

REV. SAMUEL PARKER RETURNS TO FORT VANCOUVER

He had accomplished both of his goals:

- proved the interior could safely be penetrated;
- proved the favorable disposition of the natives

At the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters Parker was met by a harbinger of the future
steamer *Beaver* -- new hundred-foot-long, stubby-bowed, square-sterned, black-hulled steamship
she had arrived on the river having come from England around the Horn during the winter

Rev. Parker took an excursion on the Columbia River on the steamer *Beaver*

REV. SAMUEL PARKER LEAVES OREGON

Without waiting for Dr. Whitman's arrival

Rev. Parker took a ship from Fort Vancouver to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands
returned to New York via Cape Horn

MISSIONARY WOMEN EXPERIENCE THE WEST

Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding received their first jarring introduction into mountain life
after crossing South Pass and turning to the Big Sandy River

With the setting sun bathing the Wind River Mountains

over a hilltop galloped a dozen or more shrieking horsemen,
who charged full tilt at the pack caravan and loosed a volley of rifle balls overhead

Tom Fitzpatrick, pointing to a white cloth tied to a rifle barrel, identified them as friends,
as indeed they were

Joe Meek and a few companions with a contingent of Nez Perce
had come to welcome the supply train in the traditional way

That night the missionaries spread an oilcloth on the grass

they invited two of their Nez Perce visitors to dine on venison and buffalo roast

“seasoned with a little salt, with ample sand and dirt.”²⁷⁸

one of the Indians was a noted chief, Rotten Belly

other was a young man who, under the name of Lawyer,

(was destined to play a pivotal role in the relations of his tribe with the white people)

A SIGHT UNSEEN BEFORE

Hundreds of trappers and Indians gathered at Fort Bonneville on Horse Creek in early celebration

²⁷⁸ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 165.

suddenly commanding their astonished attention was a unit of Tom Fitzpatrick's caravan containing Whitman's Oregon-bound missionary party -- July 1, 1836

Narcissa, blue-eyed, of fair skin and complexion, large framed yet attractive, cheerful and outgoing, often impetuous

Eliza Spalding dark and coarse-featured, frail and sickly, withdrawn, serious, yet of stubborn fortitude and steely resolve

Indians, especially the women, found instant rapport with Eliza

who immediately began to learn their language

missionaries' wagon and cows, too, captivated the Indians at the rendezvous

Narcissa and Eliza created a sensation among the trappers, also

who discovered a sudden interest in religion,

as they attended the daily services conducted by the missionaries

and eagerly accepted the Bibles Narcissa handed out

THOMAS JEFFERSON HUBBARD GETS AWAY WITH MURDER

Although no laws existed in the Pacific Northwest

and therefore, murder was not a legal violation

a murder trial held at Wyeth's Fort William on Wappatoo (now Sauvie) Island -- July 5, 1835

Thomas Jefferson Hubbard, a sailor, had jumped ship Yerba Buena (San Francisco) the year before

was employed by Nathaniel Wyeth as a gunsmith at Fort William

He was accused of shooting and killing the tailor, Mr. Thornburgh, in a quarrel over an Indian girl

Hubbard was held on Sauvies Island until a determination of guilt could be rendered

Thomas Hubbard's trial was the first in the early Pacific Northwest

ornithologist John Townsend acted as magistrate although he had no authority in law

jury was empaneled and heard the evidence

verdict exonerated the accused "justifiable homicide" was determined

Thomas Hubbard married the girl, Mary Sommata, on [April 3, 1837]

Rev. Jason Lee performed the ceremony

(Hubbard would later distinguish himself as a political leader in the colony)

CARAVAN ARRIVES AT THE 1836 RENDEZVOUS

Rendezvous was held at the conjunction of the Green River and Horse Creek -- July 6- July 18, 1836

at the site of Fort Bonneville (Bonneville's Folly and Fort Nonsense in today's Wyoming)

Hundreds of trappers and Indians gathered at Horse Creek -- July 1836

commanding their astonished attention was a unit of Fitzpatrick's caravan -- July 1

containing Whitman's Oregon-bound missionary party

Narcissa blue-eyed, of fair skin and complexion, large framed yet attractive, cheerful and outgoing, often impetuous

Eliza Spalding dark and coarse-featured, frail and sickly, withdrawn, serious, yet of stubborn fortitude and steely resolve

Indians, especially the women, found instant rapport with Eliza

who had begun to learn their language even before leaving the rendezvous

missionaries' wagon and cows, too, captivated the Indians at the rendezvous

Narcissa and Eliza created a sensation among the trappers, also

who discovered a sudden interest in religion,
attended the daily services of the missionaries
and eagerly accepted the Bibles Narcissa handed out

NEZ PERCE INDIANS OFFERED TO GUIDE THE MISSIONARIES

Nez Perce expected the missionary party to accompany them to their mountain homeland
this was a northern route over steep mountains
longer and more tiring than the more familiar route down the Snake River
and across the Blue Mountains
Spalding's light wagon and the stock would have to be left behind
there was concern this journey would be so slow
missionaries would not reach Fort Walla Walla before winter

As the issue of selecting a route festered, a brigade of
Hudson's Bay Company brigade led by John McLeod and Thomas McKay
arrived from Fort Vancouver
also with them was Nathaniel Wyeth on his way home to Cambridge
Wyeth brought a letter from Rev. Samuel Parker urging the Whitmans and Spaldings
to continue the journey with McLeod and McKay
Hudson's Bay Company men offered to lead the Whitman Party
on the shorter, more familiar route through the desert
this offer was accepted rather than accompanying the Nez Perce
(Whitman, Spaldings and William H. Gray eventually reached Fort Walla Walla
where Narcissa Whitman remained while their missions were constructed)

NATHANIEL WYETH ARRIVES AT THE RENDEZVOUS

As the issue of selecting a route festered for the missionaries,
a Hudson's Bay Company brigade led by Thomas McKay and John McLeod
journeying from Fort Vancouver via Fort Hall arrived at the 1836 Rendezvous
they had crossed through the withering heat of June and July
before reaching the barren valley of the Green River
also with them was Nathaniel Wyeth on his way home to Cambridge
Captain Nathaniel Wyeth saw proof that despite his own bankruptcy his countrymen would succeed
there in the midst of the turmoil of the rendezvous sat a hard-used wagon
beside the wagon stood a tent housing something utterly new to the interior West
two white women: the wives of Marcus Whitman and a fellow missionary, Henry Spalding
Wyeth brought a letter from Rev. Samuel Parker urging the Whitmans
to continue the journey west with McLeod and McKay
Hudson's Bay Company men offered to lead the Whitman Party
on the shorter, more familiar route back west through the desert
this offer was accepted rather than accompanying the Nez Perce

WHITMAN PARTY LEAVES TOM FITZPATRICK

Missionaries and the young natives hired hand moved from Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick's camp
and joined the Hudson's Bay Company camp -- July 14, 1836

Both Dr. Whitman and Rev. Spalding
acknowledged their debt to Fitzpatrick in seeing them safely to the rendezvous
Whitman asked Fitzpatrick for his bill to cover the services furnished
in reply, Fitzpatrick asked for Dr. Whitman's bill for medical services
Whitman said there was no bill
Fitzpatrick answered that likewise he had no bill

WHITMAN PARTY LEFT THE RENDEZVOUS

Whitmans, Spaldings, William H. Gray and the Nez Perce boys Richard and John
set out on the trail to Fort Hall (Idaho) -- July 24, 1836
under the guidance of Hudson's Bay Company packers Thomas McKay and John McLeod
There was no small amount of irony in the sight of Hudson's Bay Company escorting to the West
the first protestant missionaries to establish missions north of the Columbia River
several Nez Perce Indians also accompanied the missionaries on their trek

DR. WHITMAN STRUGGLED TO KEEP THE LIGHT WAGON MOVING WEST

This effort worried Narcissa, **"Husband has had a tedious time with the wagon [sic] today. Got set in the creek this morning while crossing, was obliged to wade considerably in getting it out. After that in going between two mountains, on the side of one so steep that it was difficult for horse to pass the wagon upset twice.... It is not very grateful to my feelings to see him wear out with such excessive fatigue and I am obliged too. He not as fleshy as he was last winter. All the most difficult part of the way he has walked in his laborious attempt to take the wagon over."**²⁷⁹

Three days later an axletree on the light wagon was broken -- July 28, 1836

Narcissa rejoiced, thinking that now the vehicle would be abandoned
but no -- **"they are making a cart of the hind wheels this afternoon and lashing the forward wheels to it, intending to take it through in some shape or another."**²⁸⁰

STEAMER *BEAVER* ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOJEVER FROM ENGLAND

Beaver first appeared at the mouth of the Columbia River -- spring 1836
upon arrival at Fort Vancouver from London, England, the steamer *Beaver* was refitted
her three-masted schooner rigging was taken down and was replaced with brick furnaces,
a low-pressure iron boiler, and side-lever engines to drive the side-wheels
Captain William McNeill, formerly of the *Llama*, took over as the *Beaver's* captain
(he remained in that position until [1851])

However, she soon proved to draw too much water to service as a river boat

Beaver was sent to Fort Nisqually to serve as a guard ship

Most of her life was spent on Puget Sound

where she greatly facilitated the maintenance of order among the coastal Indians
doing exploratory work in and out of hundreds of Northwest coast inlets
this faithful little steamship proved indispensable
she returned to Fort Vancouver only occasionally

"Old Steamer *Beaver*," as pioneers fondly came to call her, had a long and varied life

²⁷⁹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 176.

²⁸⁰ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 176.

fur and a countless variety of supplies were hauled by her crew

CHIEF FACTOR McLOUGHLIN WAS CONCERNED ABOUT A CHANGE IN COMPANY POLICY

Dr. John McLoughlin did not share in the revelry surrounding the arrival of the steamer *Beaver*

this steamship represented a denial of his policies

he believed the fur trade could be better conducted from trading posts

commanding the routes used to bring pelts in from the interior

as the trade goods flowed back to the outposts

he had directed the construction of a chain of forts

from the Umpqua River in southern Oregon to Russian Alaska in the north

these posts, he felt, were cheaper to operate than ships:

- they needed no insurance;
- they were more easily manned because they needed no trained crews;
- they exerted stronger and more lasting influence over the Indians because they stayed permanently among the fickle natives

Trading ships were the wrong direction to go, Dr. McLoughlin believed

indeed, when the company had sent him an extra trading ship [n 1834]

he abruptly ordered her to turn around and go home

and when he heard of the original plans for a steamship to serve the Northwest,

he objected vigorously

STEAMER *BEAVER* PUT TO NEW USE

Most of her life was spent on Puget Sound doing exploratory work

in and out of hundreds of Northwest coast inlets

returning to Fort Vancouver only occasionally

for this work the faithful little steamship proved indispensable

“Old Steamer *Beaver*” as pioneers fondly came to call her, had a long and varied life

cargoes of furs and a countless variety of supplies were hauled by her crew

WHITMAN PARTY ARRIVED AT FORT HALL

Hudson’s Bay Company men, for all their courtesy, began chafing at the delays it caused

keeping the wagons was becoming extremely difficult

one of the hired hands quit because of difficulties with the light two-horse wagon

No road existed in the desert beyond Fort Hall

Rev. Henry Spalding’s light yellow-wheeled dearborn wagon had served them well

it had carried Mrs. Spalding due to her feeble health

but at Fort Hall the dearborn was abandoned

Missionaries decided not to attempt further repairs on the heavy wagon

to lighten the strain on the precious running gear Whitman converted it into a two-wheel cart

At Fort Hall the Nez Perce Indians turned north along their preferred route

WHITMAN PARTY SET OUT FROM FORT HALL

Whitmans, Spaldings, William H. Gray and the two Nez Perce Indians Richard and John

traveled west toward Fort Vancouver -- August 1836

with Hudson's Bay Company trappers Thomas McKay and John McLeod

WHITMAN PARTY ARRIVED AT SNAKE FORT (FORT BOISE)

Whitmans, Spaldings, William H. Gray and two Nez Perce Indians Richard and John traveling with the Hudson's Bay Company brigade arrived at Fort Boise -- August 19, 1836
two-wheeled cart was the first vehicle to travel so far West
At Fort Boise the traders assured the stubborn doctor that the Blue Mountains, lying ahead, were utterly impassable to wheels
Narcissa persisted in pressuring the doctor
exhausted and racked by rheumatism, Whitman finally agreed to leave the cart with the intention of coming back to get it the next year

WHITMAN PARTY SET OUT FOR FORT WALLA WALLA

Hudson's Bay Company man Thomas McKay remained at Snake Fort
Foot-sore cattle could no longer keep pace
with the impatient escort of Hudson's Bay Company employees
thus Spaldings, accompanied by a guard of Nez Perce Indians,
were delegated to drop behind with the animals
In the meantime, the others were to hurry ahead with the trappers to Fort Vancouver in an effort to catch Samuel Parker before his departure for the Sandwich Islands
Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, William H. Gray and two Nez Perce Indians Richard and John set out from Snake Fort (Boise) in an effort to reach Fort Walla Walla
guided by Hudson's Bay Company's John McLeod
hardships of the journey were recorded by both Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding
Whitman Party arrived at Fort Walla Walla -- September 1, 1836
brought out the first milk cows to the Northwest from America
It was discovered the overloaded bateaux that was to take the furs from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver could not accommodate the missionaries
they had to wait for another boat to be made ready
during the delay the Spaldings arrived with the cattle

REVEREND HERBERT BEAVER ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Church of England minister and his wife Jane arrived at Fort Vancouver -- September 3, 183
on the company ship *Nereide* under Captain Royal
He had been dispatched from London by the Hudson's Bay Company directors to care for the spiritual needs of the fort's several hundred Catholic French-Canadians
a worse choice could hardly have been made
Herbert Beaver was thirty-six years old when he arrived at Fort Vancouver
he was a small, relatively short man with light brown hair, light complexion and a feminine voice
he was **"a product of early nineteenth century English aristocratic tradition, where the squire and the parson ruled the social order, directed the education of the children, and the relief of the poor."**²⁸¹

²⁸¹ Thomas Jessett, ed., *Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver*, xix, 1959.

Both Church of England minister and wife were strongly anti-Catholic
Rev. Beaver also felt his clerical dignity was affronted by the men of Fort Vancouver
because of their interracial marital unions
Jane Beaver, too, was appalled at the domestic conditions of Fort Vancouver
especially the intermarrying
she continually held herself aloof from the rest of the population

REV. AND MRS. BEAVER NOT A GOOD FIT FOR FORT VANCOUVER

From the perspective of the fort's first resident missionary,
Chief Factor McLoughlin had provided anything but a cordial welcome
no church building existed
adequate housing was not available for the Protestant minister
Herbert Beaver and his wife Jane at once offended Dr. McLoughlin
by demanding better housing than he could provide

“They were assigned to part of a house, separated by only a thin partition from the noisy inhabitants of the other section, and were obliged to allow men of the Fort access to the attic. They were required to assemble their own crude furniture ... one can imagine the couple resolving to secure redress for their humiliation.”²⁸²

Almost immediately after their arrival at Fort Vancouver
Rev. Beaver began to feud with the French-Canadians and Dr. McLoughlin
noting Dr. John McLoughlin and others lived in sin
as their marriages to Indian women had no religious sanctions
never mind that no clergy had been available to perform such services
McLoughlin's quarrel intensified when the Beavers plied evening visitors
with more wine and brandy than the tee totaling factor thought was fitting,
and finally reached white heat when the clergyman began sniffing about morals
Rev. Beaver asked that several “half-breed women” be moved out of his way
so that he and his wife Jane could pass in safety
one of the women to which he referred was Dr. John McLoughlin's wife

REV. BEAVER ASSIGNED TO TEACH AT THE FORT VANCOUVER SHOOL

Rev. Beaver served as Fort Vancouver's chaplain from 1836 to [1838]
he also served as teacher to fifty-one boys and girls attending school inside the fort
located in a twenty-by-twenty-foot room with a large stove in the middle of the floor
children who faced their hostile new teacher were from French-Canadian family
Dismayed at the lack of religious influence in the school,
Rev. Beaver believed he had an opportunity to change what he called the school's “defectiveness”
he reportedly checked with the fathers of the Catholic children
attained their consent (with one exception) to provide religious instruction in the school
Dr. McLoughlin, himself Catholic, feared the consequences of Rev. Beaver's attitude
when he learned that Beaver was not only distributing Bibles and the *Book of Common Prayer*
but also was teaching the catechism of the Church of England,

²⁸² Thomas Jessett, ed., *Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver*, xix, 1959.

he instructed some of the children to come to his residence during the evening
for instruction in the Roman Catholic faith
After one week, Chief Factor McLoughlin ordered the minister to leave the classroom
but allowed him to continue to conduct the services of the church

WHITMAN PARTY LEFT FORT WALLA WALLA

After a few day's rest and with resumed constraint the reunited the entire Whitman party
left Fort Walla Walla bound for Fort Vancouver -- their final destination
Dr. and Mrs. Whitman enjoyed their time together
and reported the difficulties of the trail with noticeable light hearts
although William Gray was always there to dampen the mood
Narcissa also informed her husband she was pregnant
They proceeded down the Columbia River in a Hudson's Bay Company bateau
pressures of the journey and unrestrained forces of bold personalities
led to confrontive conversations followed by combative challenges
somewhere along this trip the incompatible Whitmans and Spaldings
agreed that one mission station could not house both families

DR. WHITMAN'S PARTY REACHED FORT VANCOUVER

Missionaries approached Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Factor -- September 12, 1836
Dr. McLoughlin's reception was most cordial and dignified
he was as enchanted by the white women as the trappers at the rendezvous had been
he treated the missionaries with the company's accustomed hospitality
and even helped them get established
Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding were the first women travel over what became the Oregon Trail

NEW FREINDSHIPS ARE FORMED AT FORT VANCOUVER

To the two American brides the Fort Vancouver was a haven of luxury
to the other two white women recently arrived by different ships from England
Fort Vancouver was considerably less desirable
Narcissa Whitman had heard of Mrs. Elizabeth Capendale as far away as Green River Rendezvous
she was the wife of William Capendale, Hudson's Bay Company farming supervisor
she had been brought in to run the dairy at Fort Vancouver
Whitman Party had brought out the first milk cows overland to the Northwest
Both women had met as anticipated on Mrs. Whitman's arrival at the fort
they never spoke again as when Mrs. Capendale was not mingling she sulked in her quarters,
badgered her husband, and finally drove him back to England (on the autumn fur ship)
as Dr. McLoughlin dryly reported the affair,
"Things [were] different to what she expected."²⁸³
Narcissa was delighted to meet Jane Beaver -- Rev. Herbert Beaver's wife
Mrs. Beaver maintained her husband's feud with the Chief Factor

²⁸³ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 179.

POSSIBLE MISSION SITES

Rev. Samuel Parker had suggested two possible mission sites
one located among the Cayuse Indians twenty-five miles East of Fort Walla Walla
other was located among the Nez Perce on the Clearwater River six days from Fort Walla Walla
Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Henry Spalding were in competition
Spalding was jealous of Whitman's ambition, energy, and constant effort
Whitman's demanding a dominate role as leader also was an irritant
Spalding's early interest in Narcissa and his inability to work as a team member
increased the rivalry
Dr. McLoughlin advised against both mission stations recommending they stay west of the mountains
but Dr. Whitman stubbornly followed Rev. Parker's advice
Missionaries spent ten busy days gathering necessary supplies and information
from a very obliging Dr. John McLoughlin

U.S. NAVY LIEUTENANT WILLIAM A. SLACUM TRAVELS TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Special Agent of the State Department used a round-about approach to get to the Northwest
he journeyed first to Mexico and next to Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands
in Honolulu, he learned of the British domination of the Pacific Northwest Slacum decided
not to depend on English Hudson's Bay Company for transportation
he chartered, at his own expense, American brig *Loriot*: **"I considered it necessary to have a vessel under my entire control in order to be independent of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have absolute authority over the inhabitants on either side of the Columbia River, and from whom alone the commonest wants or supplies could be procured; at the same time, to have a shelter under the flag of my country."**²⁸⁴

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYETH IN CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Wyeth arrived home just as the economic depression of the late 1830s
was beginning to paralyze business and trade
his financial backers refused to listen to his pleas for more money
Reentering the ice business with Frederick Tudor, Wyeth paid off his debts
and made a handsome living for himself in a business the two entrepreneurs
spread almost around the globe
shipping ice packed in free sawdust from local sawmills discarded as waste
many of the mechanical devices used in today's ice business
are direct descendants of inventions by Nathaniel Wyeth;
even so, it is probable that his "failure" in the Northwest turned out, in the long run,
to be of greater worth to his country than his inventions were

DR. WHITMAN AND REV. SPALDING RETURN UP RIVER

Men of the mission party, Dr. Whitman and Rev. Spalding with grumpy William Gray
retraced their way from Fort Vancouver by Hudson's Bay Company bateau
back up the Columbia River to Fort Walla Walla -- September 21, 1836

²⁸⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 145.

to visit the two mission sites identified by Dr. Samuel Parker
it was their intention to work together only until they would return for their wives
In fact, Whitman and Spalding could not work together at all
they bickered and reconciled several times -- a relationship that would continue on

MRS. NARCISSA WHITMAN AND MRS. ELIZA SPALDING REMAIN AT FORT VANCOUVE

Where they were under the protection of Hudson's Bay Company's Dr. McLoughlin
until their husbands could construct a mission shelter
Eliza cheerfully took on the tutorship of Dr. McLoughlin's daughter
Narcissa in particular soon became a favorite
of the half-breed wives of John McLoughlin and James Douglas, his second in command,
and of the fort's children, whom she taught to sing
At least once a week they rode horseback around the region,
marveling at the orchards and vineyards, the rolling grain fields and the dairy, the sawmills,
and the grist mill
Narcissa and Eliza also visited a company sailing ship
Weeks passed pleasantly for the American women
they relished the lavish hospitality provided by Hudson's Bay Company
there were comfortable quarters to sleep in, good things to eat
they were lionized
to the two American brides the fort was a haven of luxuriousness

REV. HENRY SPALDING RETURNS TO FORT VANCOUVER

Less than a month after the two husbands had gone upriver in the company of William Gray
in search of mission sites
Rev. Henry Spalding returned to Fort Vancouver
with the Westbound Montreal Express -- October 18, 1836
bringing news that two locations for mission work had been selected
Whitman and Gray were already building a house at Waiilatpu "Place of the Rye Grass"
that would be located among the Cayuse Indians in the broad valley of the Walla Walla River
Waiilatpu Mission would be run by the Whitmans
Spalding's own site lay a hundred and twenty-five miles farther east,
at Lapwai or "Place of the Butterflies"
where a small stream broke through the tall brown hills into the Clearwater River Valley
ten miles above its junction with the Snake
as soon as the building at Waiilatpu was finished, William Gray would go to Lapwai
to build a house there

NARCISSA WHITMAN REFLECTED ON HER JOURNEY THUS FAR

Now three months pregnant, wrote to Rev. Samuel Parker -- October 24, 1836
"...[Y]ou ask whether I regret coming by land? I answer No! by no means. If I were at home now, I could choose to come this way in preference to a seven month voyage. Nothing can equal the purity of the mountain air; and its exhilarating effect on the system; together with the healthful exercise of a horseback ride. Never have I slept more sweetly, than after a day thus spent.

How unlike the close atmosphere of stages, boats, and disturbed rest of a crowded cabin, together with such an appetite as one has in this traveling. I found so much pleasure, mixed with the little suffering and fatigue endured; that the fatigue is entirely forgotten. I once could not believe such a journey could be made with so little inconvenience, to a lady, as I have experienced. I believe I was prepared for the worst, but happily have been disappointed. True! I have had some hindrances, and been hungry at times, because we had nothing but buffalo meat dried in the sun by the Indians to eat....”²⁸⁵

REV. HENRY SPALDING, ELIZA AND NARCISSA LEAVE FORT VANCOUVER

Dr. McLoughlin was troubled by the decision to travel to the mission sites
winter, he felt, was no time for untrained white women to risk the interior
he urged them to stay at the fort
Reluctantly Dr. McLoughlin sold them clothing, household furniture, provisions and farming supplies
he felt winter was no time for untrained white women to risk traveling in the interior
he urged them to stay at the fort
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Missionaries insisted on leaving
Dr. Marcus Whitman was already at Waiilatpu constructing the buildings of the station
Narcissa wanted her baby (due in March) to be born in her new home
Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding were very anxious to begin their work among the natives
Both missionary families loaded their goods into two boats
Dr. John McLoughlin had loaned to them -- November 3, 1836
and they were rowed by his crews to Fort Walla Walla

WILLIAM ASHLEY SERVES IN POLITICAL OFFICE

William Ashley was elected to Congress from Missouri as a Whig
for a two-year term -- November 1836
he was known as an able advocate of measures favorable to western development

MISSIONARIES AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Almost immediately after reaching the Hudson’s Bay Company post, the Spalding left for Lapwai,
but Narcissa stayed at Walla Walla until her home at Waiilatpu was more nearly suitable

LAPWAI MISSION OPENED

“Place of the Butterflies” was begun in Nez Perce Country where Lapwai Creek
joins Clearwater River (near today’s Lewiston)
for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
Rev. and Eliza Spalding and William H. Gray opened Lapwai [November 29, 1836]
first white home in what is (now Idaho)
These Nez Perce Indians were more interested than were the natives at Whitman’s station
they participated in the first year’s farming operations with enthusiasm
farms were plowed and sown with the aid of sixty or seventy Indian families
gardens were planted and apple trees set out

²⁸⁵ L.E. Bragg, *More Than Petticoats*, P. 15.

Church, flour mill, sawmill, blacksmith shop, and a loom all were constructed
school was constructed for young and old Indian's religious training

AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES WERE DEDICATED TO THEIR TASKS

Working in the central and eastern portion of the Pacific Northwest

All of the men and women were devoted to Indian welfare:

- preached as regularly as possible
- gathered children and the tribal elders in the schools
- translated portions of the Bible into Indian languages
- helped Indians build permanent homes for themselves
- showed them how to till and irrigate fields for crops
- constructed mills to cut lumber, grind corn and wheat

Much of the work was repetitive and routine

sometimes marked by tedium and angry clashes of personality

Yet a great deal was attempted and many things accomplished

DR. McLOUGHLIN'S FEUD WITH REV. HERBERT AND JANE BEAVER INTENSIFIES

Rev. and Mrs. Beaver provided visitors to the fort with more wine and brandy in the evening
than the tee-totaling Chief Factor thought was fitting

Finally violence resulted when the Church of England clergyman began sniffing about morals
somehow the minister had learned that John McLoughlin and his wife Marguerite

had begun living together -- even before her first husband, Alexander McKay's, death
in a letter to Hudson's Bay Company Governor Simpson and the committee in London

Beaver referred to the woman, to whom McLoughlin was devoted as **"a female of
notoriously loose character...the kept Mistress of the highest personage in your service at this
station."**²⁸⁶

Beaver's slur came back to Chief Factor McLoughlin

furiously he descended on Rev. Beaver as the minister was walking toward his house,
where his wife was standing in the doorway

as the clergyman reported the event: **"...this monster in human shape...came behind me, kicked
me several times, and struck me repeatedly with his fists on the back of the neck. Unable to cope
with him for the immense disparity of our relative size and strength, I could not prevent him from
wrenching out of my hand a stout stick with which I was walking, and with which he...inflicted
several severe blows on my shoulders. He then seized me from behind, round my waist, attempted
to dash me on the ground exclaiming 'you scoundrel, I will have your life.' In the meantime, the
stick had fallen to the ground; my wife on impulse...picked it up; he took it very viciously out of her
hands and again struck me with it severely. We were then separated by the intervention of other
persons...."**²⁸⁷

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET -- CATHOLIC MISSIONARY

De Smet continued to improve in health

he longed to return to his Jesuit province in Missouri -- 1836

²⁸⁶ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 179.

²⁸⁷ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 179-180.

he requested to be readmitted to the Jesuit Order
On this attempt to cross the Atlantic he was accompanied by four missionary recruits
before they could set sail, De Smet acquired a high fever that forced him to stay in Paris
his four young recruits set out to cross the ocean without him
De Smet made a last effort to fulfill his dream and join his destiny
off the coast of France he asked the skipper of a small boat
to try to catch up with the large sailing vessel
De Smet's good luck held -- his health improved every day of the ocean crossing
Three weeks after arriving in New York City
Pierre-Jean De Smet reentered the small village of St. Ferdinand de Florissant
Father De Smet was once more admitted to the Jesuit Order
by the Provincial of Missouri, Father Pierre Verhaegen -- November 29, 1836

FIRST REINFORCEMENT OF METHODIST MISSIONARIES ARE SELECTED

In answer to Rev. Jason Lee's request for skilled mission assistants
Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York sent three men and five women and five children
including the first white women to live in the Willamette Valley
New Methodist missionary contingent was composed of:
leader was Dr. Elijah White and his wife Sarepta, their son and adopted teenage son
he was slim with exuberant blue eyes and possessed a quick step
he also had a glib tongue and was overbearing
accompanied by his fourteen-year-old adopted son George, and an infant son, Jason
also blacksmith Alanson Beers, his wife Rachel (Beardsley) and three children
he was a Revolutionary War trained blacksmith
skilled ship's carpenter William Holden Willson
who studied medicine under Dr. Elijah White en route
Miss Anna Maria Pittman -- born and educated as a teacher in New York
Methodist Mission Society hoped she would be a compatible wife for Jason Lee
Miss Susan Downing -- teacher
small, attractive and well liked, she possessed a keen sense of humor
Miss Elvira Johnson -- teacher
Mr. J. L. Whitcomb -- teacher
Missionaries sailed aboard the Hamilton leaving Boston -- late 1836
bound for Hawaiian Islands where they would await the ship Diana to take them
to the Pacific Northwest

WAILLATPU MISSION IS READY TO BE OCCUPIED

Waiilatpu Mission had been constructed by Dr. Marcus Whitman
for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
120 miles West of Lapwai Mission
Waiilatpu Mission was located near Hudson's Bay Company's post of Fort Walla Walla
to minister to the Cayuse Indians
Chief Umtippe provided Whitman some of his land to build a mission
missionaries lived at first in buffalo-skin lodges

Marcus and Narcissa's home was completed -- October 16, 1836
since wood was scarce, the house was built of adobe
clay bricks twenty inches long, ten inches wide, and four inches thick baked in the sun

ST. LOUIS HAD CHANGED WHILE FATHER DE SMET WAS AWAY

During Father Pierre-Jean De Smet's four-year absence St. Louis has grown considerably
number of inhabitants has doubled (to 15,000)
French and Spanish colonists are no longer in the majority
6,000 German immigrants made themselves new homes
in and around the ever-expanding city
University of St. Louis has become is a great success
Belgian financial aid, much of raised by Father De Smet,
gave the parishes of Florissant and St. Charles much needed assistance

DR. MARCUS AND NARCISSA WHITMAN MOVE INTO WAILLATPU

Marcus Whitman finally came to Fort Walla Walla to take Narcissa to her new home
Waiilatpu Mission was located among the Cayuse Indians -- December 10, 1836
Chief Umtippe provided Whitman some of his land to build a mission
missionaries lived at first in buffalo-skin lodges

Dr. Whitman was as driven as usual
sawmill was constructed in the Blue Mountains twenty miles away
Sunday School was provided to offer religious instruction for Indian children
Dr. Whitman was better fitted to be a captain among pioneers
than a missionary among natives
he had a great capacity for hardships and stubbornness in the face of difficulties
his firmness on issues was renown
and he was heedless of the possible consequences of that firmness

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HARDSHIPS FOR AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES

Narcissa Whitman's and Eliza Spalding's hardships did not end with the journey's completion
they had already been separated from their homes and families in the East
of necessity these two women had become friends on the trail and at Fort Vancouver

now they found themselves also separated from each other by 120 miles
and from all of the other acquaintances they had made on the journey west
Although at separate mission stations, Narcissa and Eliza by previous agreement,
communed with each other every morning at nine o'clock
by silently thinking of each other and praying for the welfare of their households

NAVAL LIEUTENANT WILLIAM A. SLACUM REACHES OREGON

Loriot carried almost no cargo when she arrived at Astoria -- December 23, 1836
her sole passenger was an inquisitive American with alert eyes and active pen
Purser in the United States Navy and Special agent for the State Department,
Naval Lieutenant William A. Slacum
Lieutenant Slacum spent several days investigating the area at the mouth of the Columbia River

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM A. SLACUM REACHES FORT VANCOUVER

Lieutenant Slacum, President Andrew Jackson's representative,
was commissioned to report on affairs as he found them in Oregon
he sailed aboard the brig *Loriot* from Astoria to Fort Vancouver
where he arrived -- January 2, 1837
Disembarking, Slacum presented himself to Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
as a private merchant bent on gaining commercial information
Dr. John McLoughlin pretended to believe him
Slacum was courteously received by Dr. McLoughlin
privately, however, he identified Williams Slacum for exactly what he was
a secret agent of the United States government whose task was to strengthen U.S. claims
Chief Factor blandly answered the American's questions
although perhaps not always with complete truthfulness

McLOUGHLIN ENLISTS SLACUM'S HELP IN SOLVING AN EMBARRASSING PROBLEM

Chief Factor told Lieutenant Slacum that two and a half years before, American Ewing Young
had led into the district a small party of men driving a herd of horses
reputedly stolen in California
acting impulsively, Dr. McLoughlin had ordered the French-Canadian farmers in the Willamette
to have no dealings with Young
McLoughlin himself refused to accept, in exchange for needed supplies,
some furs Young had sent to Fort Vancouver with Nathaniel Wyeth
since then McLoughlin had come to the conclusion that perhaps he had acted hastily,
and that probably Young was not a horse thief
In the meantime, however, the American and a partner, Lawrence Carmichael,
remained infuriated by their treatment at the hand of Dr. McLoughlin,
they decided to turn the wheat of their Chehalem Valley farm (near today's Newberg)
into a product whose marketing would not be dependent
on the Hudson's Bay Company -- alcohol
they were brewing their liquor in a salmon pickling kettle once owned by Nathaniel Wyeth
unless they were stopped there was no telling what kind of havoc they might wreak

METHODIST MISSIONARIES BECAME ALARMED ABOUT EWING YOUNG'S STILL

Missionaries convened the first meeting of the Oregon Temperance Society -- January 1837
which adopted a formal resolution asking Young to scrap the alcohol-producing venture
and offering to reimburse him for his investment

As intended by the Methodists, the Hudson's Bay Company also took alarm

Young's whiskey would find a market among the French Canadians
and eventually debauch the Indians on whom the company's trade depended

Missionaries' social reform effort was joined by many of the mountain men
thanks, in large part, to Dr. McLoughlin's efforts

Missionaries found that working among the whites and their half-breed families
was more encouraging than dealing with Indians

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLACUM JOURNEYS UP THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Six *voyageurs* rowed Slacum's canoe for twenty-two unbroken hours
they cheerfully bucked the Willamette River's current, portaged around the waterfalls
above the cataract they swung west for twenty miles along the great curve of the river
their destination was an ancient Indian camp ground called Champoeg
an open, sandy peninsula on the south side of the river

Lieutenant William Slacum noted Fort Vancouver offered the only source of supplies for Americans
he also noted the large surplus of wheat, as well as great quantities of oats, peas, and potatoes
but Slacum also saw a great need for American cattle in the Pacific Northwest

SLACUM'S VOYAGEURS DEPOSIT HIM AT CHAMPOEG

Stepping ashore at Champoeg, Lieutenant William Slacum met tall, bearded Rev. Jason Lee
who somehow had learned of the secret agent's visit
and had ridden from the Methodist mission, eighteen miles farther upstream, to meet him

WILLIAM SLACUM GOES TO MISSION BOTTOM

Next morning the two men, in all probability accompanied by the residents of the vicinity,
rode horseback to Lee's station at Mission Bottom to visit the Americans
Several more people were waiting there ready to pour out their troubles
to the first official of the United States who had ever bothered to come their way
Most of their complaints had to do with the Hudson's Bay Company
yes, John McLoughlin was kind
he had willingly loaned tools and seed, horses and cows to everyone who needed them
but he would not sell them animals under any circumstances
and demanded that all offspring be turned back to the company
Chief Factor McLoughlin would not allow American farmers to become stockmen
he said his reason was that he needed to build up Fort Vancouver's jealously nurtured herd
but in the opinion of the settlers he was trying to keep the entire Willamette Valley,
its newcomers as well as retired Canadians, in economic subservience
proof rested in how the system worked:
•a man could not have a cow except on McLaughlin's terms

cattle could be borrowed for work and milk, but all calves had to be returned;

- there was no place to sell wheat or furs but at the company warehouse;
- there was no place to buy goods except at the company store;
- even a broken tool could not be repaired without taking it to the company forge

if the Pacific Northwest, as everyone seemed to believe,
was going to fall under United States sovereignty, help from Congress was necessary
Lieutenant Slacum's only advice was that the settlers draw up a petition stating their case
and send it to Washington City, the nation's capital
however, Slacum's interest in the Pacific Northwest was encouraging to the Americans
his presence generated new discussions about the future of Oregon
his being there was to them evidence the U.S. Government
was interested in Americans in the Pacific Northwest
it even appeared possible that Congress might respond to an appeal for help

NEXT LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SLACUM TURNED TO THE MATTER OF EWING YOUNG

Concern about Ewing Young's and Lawrence Carmichael's disruptive whiskey also was still an issue
missionaries and settlers were as disturbed about the sale of alcohol
as Chief Factor McLoughlin was -- especially regarding the Indians
Navy Lieutenant Slacum carried with him an apology and an offer from the Chief Factor
and assurances from Duncan Finlayson acting for an absent Dr. John McLoughlin
if Young would abandon his whiskey project
he would not only be allowed to trade at the Hudson's Bay Company store
he would be granted a loan for purchasing whatever he needed
But what would Young and Carmichael do for a living?
Lieutenant William Slacum saw great need for American cattle in the Pacific Northwest
this would provide impetus to loosen the chains binding people to Hudson's Bay Company
while negotiating an end to the whiskey threat,
Young and Slacum talked of the need for cattle owned by the settlers rather than the company
Ewing Young said that California contained plenty of cheap Spanish cattle
that could be driven over the mountains to the Willamette just as his horses had [in 1834]
At this point either Slacum or Young or both of them together had a dazzling inspiration
Ewing Young's reputation would be cleared
if he agreed to drive another herd north from California
since he had developed the trail from the South and was familiar with it
Young would assume the leadership of the venture if enough Willamette settlers
would chip in money to buy a herd in California and go along to help drive it to Oregon
in fact, Young would put in a thousand dollars himself to start things rolling
Lieutenant Slacum offered the use of his chartered brig, *Loriot*, anchored on the Columbia River

WILLAMETTE CATTLE COMPANY IS FORMED

Ewing Young and Lawrence Carmichael bowed to popular opinion
they agreed to drop their alcohol production "for the present"
if enough Willamette settlers would chip in to buy a herd and go along to drive to Oregon
Plan to bring cattle north from California gave birth to the Willamette Cattle Company

U.S. Naval Lieutenant William A. Slacum and Rev. Jason Lee drew up the papers
an association was formed by the Methodist missionary group -- January 13, 1837
to buy cattle in California and drive them overland to the Pacific Northwest
Ewing Young would assume leadership of the venture

MONEY IS RAISED FOR THE WILLAMETTE CATTLE COMPANY

Nine Americans including Ewing Young, Lieutenant Slacum and Methodist Missionaries,
and two French-Canadians settlers on French Prairie scrapped together about \$2,000
partly in cash and partly in credit due them for wheat delivered to Hudson's Bay
if they could collect the money from the company
Ewing Young put in \$1000 himself going (he eventually contributed a total of \$1119.27½)
Lieutenant William Slacum, U.S. Navy advanced \$100 or so on his own account
Slacum loaned Jason Lee enough money so the missionary was able to invest \$624
on behalf of the Methodist Mission

When the adventurers reached Fort Vancouver and timidly asked Chief Factor McLoughlin
to pay what was due to them to everyone's surprise he not only obliged
but added \$558 in his own name
and \$300 in the names of two of his lieutenants for stock certificates worth \$2,500
Hudson's Bay Company also needed cattle

Willamette Cattle Company was capitalized at almost \$9,000
it planned to buy a herd of wild but inexpensive slim-flanked Spanish cattle
in California and drive them overland to the Willamette Valley
along the route followed by Ewing Young and Hall J. Kelley [1834]

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM A. SLACUM SAILS TO CALIFORNIA

Eleven American men and three hired Indian hands to serve as drovers
along with Willamette Cattle Company Manager and Purchasing Agent Ewing Young
sailed out of the Columbia River on the American brig *Loriot* -- January 22, 1837
they were destined to take part in the West's first great cattle drive

From beginning to end it was miserable voyage
at the storm-tortured mouth of the Columbia River
a gale snapped the *Loriot's* anchor cables and drove the brig ashore
only a valiant effort by Hudson's Bay Company men saved the day
one man dropped out and went home

It was three rain-drenched weeks before the *Loriot* at last crossed Columbia's bar
in his report to the U.S. government, Slacum noted: **"I beg leave to call your attention to
'Puggits' sound' and urge, in the most earnest manner, that it should never be abandoned."**²⁸⁸

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY DIVERSIFIES

Fort Vancouver became a market for local farm goods raised at French Prairie
newly arrived settlers received credit until they could raise a wheat crop
accounts were settled from the surplus harvest

²⁸⁸ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 185-186.

At Fort Colville, farm production soon outgrew consumption -- 1837

Archibald McDonald, one of the men in charge of the fort, described the farm -- 1837

as being then **“on an extensive scale...upwards of 5000 bushels of grain...3000 of wheat, 1000 of corn and more than 1200 of other grain.”**²⁸⁹

surplus commodities were made available for export to other posts

Hudson’s Bay Company had established a large surplus -- 1837

of wheat, oats, peas, and potatoes

wheat was ground into flour at two mills at Vancouver

grain and flour were regularly shipped to the Russians in Alaska and also shipped to Hawaii

Besides shipping grains and flour salmon caught in lower Columbia River also was sold abroad

Hudson’s Bay Company also shipped goods from Montreal and London

to their store at Fort Vancouver and their branch store at Willamette Falls

FORT VANCOUVER BECAME A MARKET

For local farm goods raised at French Prairie

newly arrived settlers received credit until they could raise a wheat crop

accounts were settled from the sale of the surplus harvest to Hudson’s Bay Company

Fort Vancouver became a market for local farm goods raised at French Prairie

newly arrived settlers received credit until they could raise a wheat crop

accounts were settled from the surplus harvest

ADDITIONAL PRODUCTS SHIPPED BY HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY

Company quickly established a large surplus of wheat, oats, peas, and potatoes -- 1837

wheat was ground into flour at two mills at Vancouver

grain and flour were regularly shipped to the Russians in Alaska and also shipped to Hawaii

Besides shipping grains and flour

salmon caught in lower Columbia River also was sold abroad

Hudson’s Bay Company shipped goods from Montreal and London

to their store at Fort Vancouver and their branch store at Willamette Falls

HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY DECIDES TO RENEW ITS LICENSE TO OPERATE EARLY

Although the Hudson's Bay Company's exclusive license for English trade west of the Rockies was not due to expire [until 1842]

Board of Directors in London needed to justify themselves to the British government

at the time, Company arrangement with the government was under fire in Parliament

particularly since fur-trading was not seen as compatible with colonization

Governor of Rupert’s Land George Simpson and the Hudson’s Bay Company directors in London

decided to attempt to secure license renewal, before a change in government

could adversely affect the Company's monopoly -- 1837

To bolster its license request, Hudson’s Bay Company

stressed its intention to promote settlement and to develop export trade

through expansion of its agricultural efforts

²⁸⁹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Old Oregon Country A history of frontier trade, transportation and travel*, P. 67.

it was noted this would increase British interests and influence in the Pacific Northwest and reinforce its possession and control of the region under dispute with the United States Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson wrote a letter to his associate Governor John Henry Pelly in London -- February 1837 Simpson noted the company hoped to strengthen England's claim north of the Columbia River **"by forming the nucleus of a colony through the establishment of farms"**²⁹⁰

BRITISH EXPANSION INTO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY SEEMS INADVISABLE

That region, south of the Columbia River, could go to the United States therefore, Chief Factor John McLoughlin turned his attention northward Cowlitz portage was the end point of river travel on the Columbia, and the embarkation staging area for the overland route north to Puget Sound A large prairie was located about a mile from the landing, and from the mid-1830s on cattle from Fort Vancouver were driven to the site to graze

COWLITZ PRAIRIE RECEIVES ITS FIRST FARMER

Good pasture was to be found at the southern end of Puget Sound, where Fort Nisqually had been built as a fur trading post less than half a dozen years before Dr. McLoughlin envisioned a settlement to rival the Willamette Valley on the good farmland Simon Plomodon and his very pretty Indian wife became the first settler on the Cowlitz Plains when he retired after sixteen years' service for the company -- 1837 Dr. McLoughlin provided them with seed, livestock, tools, and promises of protection

DR. McLOUGHLIN'S PLAN TO MOVE WILLAMETTE FRENCH-CANADIANS

Hudson's Bay Company believed their retired and former employees living along the Willamette River on already established farms in the Willamette Valley could provide one source of pro-British settlers for the lands north of the Columbia River never mind that these French-Canadians had already put down roots and had no interest in moving

To encourage other pro-British settlers to join Simon Plomodon, Chief Factor McLoughlin prevailed on the company to send in Roman Catholic priests something the Willamette Valley did not have Father Joseph Provencher, Bishop of Juliopolis, asked the Company to assist the overland passage of two Roman Catholic priests to the Columbia region -- 1837 Company agreed to do so if the priests would persuade the Willamette settlers to relocate to the new farm areas north of the Columbia Conditions of the agreement were mutually accepted (however, it later turned out the Willamette settlers had no interest in leaving their established and freely-owned farms and budding communities)

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BOUGHT FORT HALL

Cottonwood stockade built by Nathaniel Wyeth [1834]

²⁹⁰ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 191.

was the chief refuge for trappers and travelers in a great region of Indians and sagebrush
Fort covered half an acre of ground
dwellings, stores, and barns were overshadowed by a two-story block-house
Final change of ownership was transacted -- 1837

DAVID THOMPSON COMES OUT OF RETIREMENT

He had spent his retired life in farming and purchasing poor investments
he failed to collect debts he was owed and was forced back to work -- 1837
At age 67 Thompson surveyed the Muskoka region of southern Ontario
to find an alternate shipping route to avoid the Great Lakes
he trekked from Georgian Bay to the Ottawa River in a cedar canoe

REV. SAMUEL PARKER WRITES A BOOK ABOUT HIS ADVENTURES

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
refused to give Rev. Samuel Parker a permanent assignment on the mission field
because he was fifty-seven years old and in poor health
Rev. Samuel Parker began work on his written contribution to history:
Travels Beyond the Rocky Mountains
after Lewis and Clark, his journey had been the one across the continent
that produced a book of high standards

TEXAS INDEPENDENCE WAS IMPORTANT TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

United States had acquired Texas from Mexico -- [1836]
Americans had set up an independent Government -- the Lone Star Republic
which was recognized by the United States
on President Andrew Jackson's last day in Office -- March 3, 1837
There was a national desire to also acquire the Pacific Northwest,
where land was rich and the climate healthful and pleasant

AMERICA WAS EXPANDING

Three states West of the Mississippi River had entered the Union
Louisiana [April 30, 1812], Missouri [March 2, 1821], and Arkansas [June 15, 1836]
Americans were farmers -- as many as 20,000 new farms were begun each year
prosperity was reflected in land ownership -- land was regarded as a source of happiness
many farms were a long distance from population centers
There was a great need in transportation facilities to ship corn, wheat, and meat
speculators invested heavily in anticipation of prosperity
hundreds of miles of canals were dug and railroad construction was begun
to provide East-West transportation link with the Mississippi River
Pioneers had two reasons to travel across the North American continent:
•leaving part of the country which was in deep depression
•going to a place which held the promise of a more prosperous and happy life
Late 1830s [and early 1840s] -- most emigrants come to the Pacific Northwest by vessel
some around The Horn, others across the Isthmus of Panama

taking a ship up the coast to San Francisco

BEN BONNEVILLE BECOMES FAMOUS

Washington Irving, one of America's most gifted and successful authors of his time,
interviewed Captain Benjamin Bonneville

Irving wrote down the captain's adventures in engrossing prose

he published two accounts of Bonneville's efforts

Adventures of Captain Bonneville: History Made Man -- 1837

and a two volume version: *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A.,
in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West* -- 1837

Irving's books were an important factor in inspiring public sentiment for continental expansion

became another potent force in turning American's thoughts toward the west

widely read, it linked graphic portrayals of the western lands and peoples

with the impulse to spread the dominion of the American Republic

over Oregon -- if not California as well

Several western landscape features were either named by Bonneville himself or in honor of his efforts

Lake Bonneville (prehistoric) and Bonneville Salt Flats (in Utah),

Bonneville Power Administration and the Bonneville Dam are all named in his honor

ALICE CLARISSA WHITMAN BORN

Daughter of Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman

Beautiful blond baby girl was the first white child born in the Pacific Northwest

on evening of Narcissa's twenty-third birthday -- March 14, 1837

Indians were fascinated by the color of her hair

WILLIAM H. GRAY DAMPENS MORALE

Lay mechanic missionary to the Whitmans and Spaldings became restless -- spring, 1837

was an enormously contentious and egotistical man with swollen piety and self-esteem

He was increasingly unhappy with the relationships among the male missionaries

of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

OLD IGNACE GOES ONCE AGAIN TO ST. LOUIS

Still determined to bring Black Robes to the Flathead and Nez Perce people

Ignace La Mousse set out a second time for St. Louis -- 1837

this time accompanied by a Nez Perce chief and three Flatheads

For safety they joined Lucien Fontenelle's American Fur Company caravan

went with the white traders down the Missouri River to civilization seeking White Man's religion

on the North Platte River, near Fort Laramie, Old Ignace and all of his friends

were killed by Sioux Indians

UNITED STATES FINANCIAL PANIC OF 1837

Early indications of an economic downturn surfaced early in the year

and grew in severity as the year progresses

In the United States 618 banks failed

work on the transportation infrastructure stopped
thousands of men were thrown out of work
value of land dropped and prices of farm products declined
prosperity was replaced by financial panic

Whigs blamed Democrats for the Depression

Whig Party appealed to those who did not like the Democratic Party:

- businessmen suffering from the Depression
- citizens who wanted federal money to build roads, canals, and railroads

Beaver trade suffered a heavy blow in the Panic of 1837

market softened and would never again offer the rewards trappers and traders had enjoyed
competition from American companies and with the Hudson's Bay Company
took a dreadful toll on the beaver population

Economic conditions were especially difficult in the Middle West

Positive, lyrical writings about the Pacific Northwest by enthusiasts
created an even more attractive image as the place to escape poverty

REASONS TO IMMIGRATE TO OREGON

Pioneers had two reasons:

- leaving part of the country which was in deep depression
- going to a place which held the promise of a more prosperous and happy life

Late 1830s [and early 1840s] -- most emigrants come to the Pacific Northwest by ship
some around The Horn, others across the Isthmus of Panama taking a vessel
up the Pacific coast to San Francisco before continuing on to the Columbia River

ALPHONSO WETMORE -- AUTHOR

Produced *Gazetteer Frontier Sketches* -- 1837

geographical dictionary of the west

this text generated a great deal of enthusiasm about the Pacific Northwest

WILLAMETTE CATTLE COMPANY IN CALIFORNIA

Loriot safely deposited the Oregon drovers in San Francisco, California

Oregonians found jobs to support themselves

while Ewing Young began the nerve-fraying process

of cajoling Mexican government permission for taking cattle out of the province

Lieutenant William Slacum sailed home to the United States to file his report

FIRST METHODIST MISSIONARY REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

New arrivals were led by slim, blue-eyed, intrusive, impertinent Dr. Elijah White

his wife Sarepta, their adopted son George, and an infant son Jason

they were accompanied by Alanson Beers, his wife Rachel (Beardsley) and three children

bachelor William H. Willson, Miss Anna Maria Pittman, Miss Susan Downing

and teacher Miss Elvira Johnson sailed from the Hawaiian Islands on the *Diana*

Dr. White also began a long and heated feud with Jason Lee over leadership of the missionaries

Mr. Alanson Beers his wife Rachael and three children

moved into a house and blacksmith shop at the Champoeg (Mission Bottom) Mission
he took charge of the mission farm and built several houses and mills
William H. Willson, a bachelor ship's carpenter who had studied medicine under Dr. Elijah White
en route to the Pacific Northwest
Three intensely devout unwed women also arrived with Dr. White
Miss Anna Maria Pittman -- born and educated as a teacher in New York
she had been dispatched by the Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York
with the understanding that, if matters proved agreeable, she was to wed Rev. Jason Lee
Miss Susan Downing -- teacher
Miss Elvira Johnson -- teacher

REV. JASON LEE NOT UP TO LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES

Married or single, Methodist missionaries were not selected with great care
nor were they very skillfully prepared for their task
Jason Lee, although he recognized some of these problems, was not well suited to handle them
he hated to write reports to his superiors
who consequently lacked information on how best to assist the missionaries
he hated controversy and thus tried to iron out disputes
and settle personality conflicts by delay or consensus rather than using his authority
he was not a systematic man; he did not visit mission stations in a regular manner
he did not organize local congregations when the Indians were converted
he was poor with financial accounts

PACIFIC NORTHWEST SETTLERS

Factions living in the Pacific Northwest were suspicious of each other
Methodist missionaries, French-Canadian settlers, Mountain Men and Indians
had little in common
Few permanent American settlers had arrived
primarily thirty to thirty-five Mountain Men who were oriented toward self determination
known for brutality, cruelty, ingenuity, individualism, cockiness, courage, and humor
they usually settled along the Willamette River on the North edge of French Prairie
Control of these semi-civilized Americans fell upon Rev. Jason Lee
of course, more and more Americans who could be expected to arrive
surely good people would not immigrate to a lawless land
No love was lost between the Americans had been competitors with Hudson's Bay Company
and the British company or government
this antagonism was strengthened with growing Yankee patriotism
No longer could the relocated American citizens
depend on Hudson's Bay Company for protection

NATIVE RESPONSE TO THE GOSPEL

Indians had religious beliefs of their own before missionaries arrived: creation, afterlife, spirits
missionaries believed these to be the first steps to Christianity
Indians, at least at first, were receptive to the missionaries and their message

But problems quickly arose

Indians wanted Christianity for the same purposes as their own religion
to gain a more successful mastery over nature and to increase their wealth
unlike Christianity, their faith was not focused upon attainment of the next world

Missionaries faulted the Indians for various aspects of their culture

some were polygamous
others were suspected of being cannibals

Missionaries thought Indians were vain in adorning themselves with necklaces, paint and headdresses
and perverse in slashing their flesh and flattening their heads

Natives' economic principles were abhorrent

a clever economic maneuver or necessity to an Indian was theft to a missionary
missionaries found slavery and the treatment of slaves abhorrent

Christians believed that labor assigned to women was outrageous
and their subordinate social position to be repulsive

Indians' indifference, or often contempt, toward the handicapped
shocked American humanitarian principles

AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARY PROBLEMS

Discord was often present among the missionaries north of the Columbia River
one problem was that Rev. Spalding was the rejected suitor of Narcissa Whitman
other differences were over matters of principle or status
but these soon elevated into personality conflicts

Lay missionary and mechanic to the Whitmans and Spaldings William H. Gray
became restless and unhappy with the relationships among

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions male missionaries -- summer 1837

Gray was an enormously contentious and egotistical man with swollen piety and self-esteem
he wanted permission to construct a new mission of his own

he hoped to find a wife in the East and return as a fully anointed missionary
when that idea was rejected by Dr. Whitman and Rev. Spalding

Gray insisted on going East to gather reinforcements for the Oregon missions

WILLIAM H. GRAY SETS OUT FOR THE EAST

Restless and dissatisfied with his status among the American Board missionaries

Gray left his superior Dr. Whitman without the approval of anyone
he traveled with Francis Ermatinger's Hudson's Bay Company Flathead Brigade
which had started for Montana

Gray was hoping to find a field for a mission station of his own

Along the way, in the snowbound land of the Spokane natives,

Gray re-encountered Rev. Henry Spalding, plowing through the drifts from Lapwai
with some Nez Perce Indians to visit Fort Colville on the Columbia River
while waiting for the trails to open, the reunited missionaries met Spokane Gerry

Gerry fed Gray and Spalding native-grown potatoes,
showed them the log schoolhouse his tribe had built under his tutelage,
and translated when Rev. Spalding delivered a sermon

tremendously impressed, Spalding and Gray
decided that the country of the Spokanes was a propitious spot for Gray's proposed mission
William Gray and Rev. Henry Spalding further decided
that Gray should go east to present the case to the American Board in person,
taking some Indians along with him to strengthen his arguments
more practically, he would also drive along a herd of cheap Nez Perce horses
and trade them in Missouri for cattle to bring back with him
Gray left the region for the Missouri River with a considerable number of horses
and four Nez Perce Indians to serve as drovers

WILLIAM GRAY FINDS A LOCATION FOR HIS MISSION

Traveling with Francis Ermatinger's Brigade
they crossed the snow-bound land of the Spokane Indians
Gray re-encountered Rev. Henry Spalding, plowing through the drifts from Lapwai
with some Nez Perce Indians on a visit to Fort Colville on the Columbia River
While waiting for the trails to open, the reunited missionaries met Indian missionary Spokane Garry
one of the natives Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson had taken across the mountains
to be educated at Red River Colony
Garry fed Gray and Spalding native-grown potatoes
he showed them the log schoolhouse his tribe had built under his leadership
and translated when Spalding delivered a sermon
Tremendously impressed, Spalding and Gray decided that the country of the Spokanes
was a promising location for Gray's proposed mission station
Spalding and Gray also decided that Gray should continue east
to present the case for a new mission to the American Board in person
Gray would take some Indians along with him to strengthen his arguments
more practically, he would also drive with him a herd of cheap Nez Perce horses
and trade them in Missouri for cattle to bring back with him on his return

THOMAS "BROKEN HAND" FITZPATRICK GOES TO THE 1837 RENDEZVOUS

Now in the employ of Pierre Chouteau & Company,
Fitzpatrick captained the supply train for a third year -- this one to the 1837 Rendezvous
Once more the rendezvous was staged on the upper Green River at Horse Creek
at Fort Nonsense or Bonneville's Folly
Fitzpatrick escorted no missionaries to the rendezvous this year

1837 RENDEZVOUS

Held for a third year in succession
at the confluence of the Green River and Horse Creek July 5-[July 19], 1837
where a ramshackle remnant of Bonneville's Fort Nonsense served as the trading store
William H. Gray traveling East with a Hudson's Bay Company Brigade
appeared at the rendezvous and anxiously waited to continue on his way
he dithered over delays caused by Tom Fitzpatrick
and fretted at the sinful ways of the mountaineers

After spending most of July 1837 at the rendezvous,
Gray decided he could not wait for Fitzpatrick to get the train under way
for the return journey to St. Louis

WILLIAM H. GRAY DEPARTS THE RENDEZVOUS FOR ST. LOUIS

He set out with two white companions
and six Indian youths (four Flatheads, a Nez Perce, and an Iroquois)
destined for schooling in the East
Gray considered these young men and God to be sufficient escort
Jim Bridger tried to set him straight “**Sir.**” he barked, slapping his rifle, **“the grace of God won’t
carry a man through these prairies! It takes powder and ball.”**²⁹¹
(none would prevail -- neither the youths, nor powder and ball, nor God)

FIRST WEDDING IN PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Scarcely two months after Miss Pittman’s arrival the Northwest on the brig *Diana*
first all-white wedding was solemnized in a grove of fir trees
Double wedding performed by Rev. Daniel Lee -- July 16, 1837
Miss Anna Maria Pittman married Rev. Jason Lee
Miss Susan Downing, missionary teacher,
married Rev. Cyrus Shepard the mission’s frail schoolteacher
These two were the first Christian brides in the Pacific Northwest

WILLAMETTE CATTLE COMPANY ATTEMPTS TO GATHER A HERD

For three months Ewing Young shunted back and forth -- from San Francisco to Monterey,
south to Santa Barbara, north again and across the Golden Gate to Sonoma
before finally he was allowed to purchase eight hundred cattle at \$3 each -- summer 1837
And such cattle!
because the Mexican officials pocketed Ewing Young’s money, the missions and ranchos
were ordered to furnish the stock naturally palmed off on the foreigners
Young was moving as fast he could
he bought forty riding horses at \$12 a head from the Russian settlement on the Russian River
he added his five more footloose Americans to his crew
and began throwing the rebellious cattle together into a trail herd
En route, they had met Jacob Lease, a sheepman, whom they persuaded
to drive his flock north to sell to Rev. Jason Lee’s missionaries

CATHOLIC EFFORT IN THE MID-WEST EXPANDS

Great number of Potawatomi Indians, after being forced to give up their homelands,
were relocated on the banks of the Missouri River
not far from the mouth from the Nebraska (or Platte) River
their principal settlement was near Council Bluffs (opposite modern Omaha)
for some time these Potawatomis had asked for the assistance of a Catholic priest

²⁹¹ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 168.

Jesuits serving in Missouri decide to install a second mission
near the mouth of the Nebraska (or Platte) River -- 1837

FATHER PIERRE JEAN DE SMET IS ASSIGNED A MISSION IN WESTERN IOWA

Father De Smet had spent ten years serving as a Catholic priest to the Native Americans in the East
now was assigned for three years to serve as Catholic missionary in Western Iowa 1837-[1840]

WILLIAM H. GRAY'S EXPEDITION TO ST. LOUIS SUFFERED ATTACK

Crossing the Plains his party was attacked at Ash Hollow on the North Platte River
Sioux Indians jumped the little band of travelers who dashed across the river to escape
with warriors in close pursuit, Gray sought safety atop a hill
after an exchange of rifle fire a French Canadian trader with the Sioux met with Gray

and told him the Indians meant to wipe out the defenders
at this point, according to Gray, warriors burst into the defenses
and killed all four of the young Indians and took the horses
although robbed, Gray and two white companions were allowed to depart with their lives
Gray and his two white companions barely escaped, but they continued their journey to St. Louis

WILLAMETTE CATTLE COMPANY DELIVERS ANIMALS TO OREGON

Ewing Young and his tired, bedraggled Americans returned to the Willamette Valley
with no less than 630 head of lean Spanish cattle
some seven hundred miles from their starting point in the Sacramento Valley
and eighteen or nineteen weeks after heading the herd northward
They reached a corral on Young's Chehalem Valley pasture -- mid-October 1837
about 1/4 of 800 cattle and forty horses were lost on drive to Fort Vancouver
Ewing Young's acquaintance with California and knowledge of overland route
were important factors toward achieving success
Young had done well considering length of the difficult overland trip
After the herders had been paid in cattle at the rate of twenty dollars a month,
remaining stock was distributed among the investors
Methodist mission received eighty head
Young's share was 135 head
he had shown the way, and in years to come
many a herd followed the Siskiyou Trail from California to Oregon

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY MONOPOLY ON CATTLE IS BROKEN

Willamette Cattle Company sold cattle to settlers in Oregon
at a higher price than Hudson's Bay Company
but the owners could keep the calves -- a practice the Hudson's Bay did not allow
ability to keep calves broke the Company's beef monopoly
Spanish animals provided the core of the American herd
for the new community of American mountain men
Methodist mission received eighty head

Ewing Young acquired considerable property by this effort
Young's share was 135 head
he had shown the way, and in years to come
many a herd followed the Siskiyou Trail from California to Oregon
Effect of the animals on public morale was tremendous
until this moment the thirty-odd settlers in the Willamette Valley
had possessed almost nothing they could call their own
titles to their land were clouded, since no sovereignty yet existed
crops had value only if Hudson's Bay Company chose to buy
now owners could keep the calves -- a practice the Hudson's Bay did not allow
ability to keep calves broke the Company's beef monopoly

EWING YOUNG'S FINANCIAL EMPIRE GROWS

Young acquired considerable property through his cattle drive effort
His struggles with the Hudson's Bay Company behind him,
Young maintained cordial relations established with the Methodists and the French Canadians
His new-found prosperity was grounded in cattle and horses
which thrived because of his ambition, energy and an acute business sense
was the heart of his agricultural and mercantile domain
Ewing Young, mountain man, emerged as the wealthiest citizen of the Willamette Valley

WAILLATPU DIVERSIFICATION

Dr. Whitman returned to Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Boise
to retrieve the two-wheeled cart
he drove it to Fort Walla Walla -- September 1, 1837
which opened the Oregon Trail as far as the Hudson's Bay Company fort
Whitman's school was opened in the missionary's kitchen -- 1837-[1838]
during the first year ten to fifteen pupils were taught by Narcissa
school soon moved into a larger room where hired teachers instructed
a growing number of French-Canadian children and a decreasing number of native children
Dr. Whitman fenced 250 acres and cultivated 200 acres with grain
he began an irrigation project at the mission
Indians were impressed with the magic water worked on the land
Dr. Whitman built a small grist mill to provide corn, rye, and wheat meal
At this time a frequently fatal fever swept through the Cayuse villages
near the Waiilatpu Mission in the Walla Walla Valley

SECOND REINFORCEMENT TO THE METHODIST'S CHAMPOEG MISSION

Methodist Mission Society added three more Americans to assist the Lees at Mission Bottom
who arrived at Fort Vancouver directly from Boston aboard the Sumatra -- September 7, 1837
after a two hundred day voyage
Leader Rev. David Leslie and Mary A. (Kinney) Leslie and three children was in charge of the effort
Leslie, along with his siblings, was orphaned as a child when his mother and minister father died
he had become acquainted with Jason Lee during Lee's fund-raising and recruiting tour

both men were alumni of Wilbraham Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts
Bachelor Rev. Henry Kirk W. (or H.K.W.) Perkins and teacher Miss Margaret Smith Jewett
accompanied Rev. Leslie
Margaret Smith Jewett had been recruited as a teacher for the mission
however, when Rev. David Leslie told her that teaching would not be possible
the young woman protested the injustice and noted other faults with the mission operation
she and Rev. Leslie spent most of the voyage locked in a bitter argument

WILLIAM J. BAILEY RETURNS TO THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

Dr. Elijah White his wife Sarepta and their two sons were stationed at Jason Lee's Champoeg Mission
there Dr. White performed perhaps his greatest service to the community
when he discovered the medical background of ship-jumping, repulsively distorted
and scar-faced from an Indian attack William Bailey
Dr. White convinced William Bailey, recently returned from the cattle drive,
to resume his medical studies (and eventually begin his practice)

EXPANSION OF METHODIST MISSIONARY EFFORT

Champoeg Mission at Mission Bottom expanded to include a hospital and granary
this was the foundation of the small American settlement located in the area
Rev. Jason Lee kept a shocking record of death among the natives
he thought of them as a "dying race"
new efforts were made to convert the Indians of the Willamette Valley
Methodist missionaries began to have increased economic control in the community
they gave credit or issued drafts for labor negotiable at mission stores or at Fort Vancouver
mission store competed with Ewing Young -- now the wealthiest American settler
Additional mission sites were elected by Rev. Jason Lee besides The Dalles
Clatsop near the mouth of the Columbia River
Willamette Falls offered the potential of water power
Nisqually Mission on Puget Sound was considered

WILLIAM H. GRAY ARRIVED IN ST. LOUIS

Met with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions leaders
who probably believed Gray's version of the loss of the young Indian men
mountain men who later learned of the incident did not
Mountain men never forgave William H. Gray for what they believed
to be a cowardly trade brokered by the French-Canadian negotiator
Indian lives for white
Hudson's Bay Company itself also censured William Gray
on account of the loss of the Indian young men
Gray also reported his version of the conditions as they existed at Waiilatpu and Lapwai
misrepresented himself to American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
and created the impression he had been sent East for help
Gray convinced the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
more missionaries were needed to assist Dr. Whitman and Rev. Spalding

Commissioners decided to enlarge the missionary effort at Waiilatpu and Lapwai
and to entrust Gray to lead the reinforcements West from St. Louis
Gray met and married Mary (Augusta Dix) Gray
Gray, envious of Dr. Marcus Whitman, took a few medical courses
he began to refer himself as Dr. Gray

REV. HENRY SPALDING FOCUSES ON THE NEZ PERCE LANGUAGE

Rev. Spalding was the first missionary to attempt writing a book in the Nez Perce language -- 1837
however, he soon discovered the alphabet he devised was not adequate to the native tongue
his seventy-two-page "primer" was never printed

ANOTHER WEDDING AT REV. JASON LEE'S MISSION

Rev. H.K.W. Perkins married Miss Elvira Johnson -- November 21, 1837
she who had been a member of the first reinforcement effort to the Methodist effort

LUMBER MILL CONSTRUCTED IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

First sawmill in the Willamette Valley was established by Ewing Young -- 1837-1838
on Chehalem Creek where Ewing Young's distillery had begun to rise two years before
Webley Hauxhurst was builder
mill supplied incoming settlers with lumber for homes at inflated prices
Soon two sawmills with powerful and energy efficient overshot wheels
were operated by Hudson's Bay Company
both mills in Fort Vancouver area shipped dressed lumber
Profitable export trade in lumber for the Hawaiian Islands developed
lumber sold in Hawaii at \$35 to \$80 a thousand foot

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT WILLIAM A. SLACUM RETURNED TO WASHINGTON CITY

Slacum provided the United States government a full report -- December 1837
made specific mention of the Hudson's Bay Company: **"The Hudson's Bay Company have extended their enterprises over an extent of country almost incalculable.... A large ship arrives annually from London and discharges cargo at Vancouver: chiefly coarse woolens, cloths, baizes, and blankets; hardware, cutlery, calicoes, cottons and cotton handkerchiefs; tea, sugar, coffee and cocoa; tobacco, soap, beads, guns, powder, lead, rum, playing cards, boots, shoes, ready-made clothing, etc., etc., besides every description of sea stores, canvas, cordage, paints, oils, chains and chain cable, anchors, etc. to refit the company's ships that remain on the coast. These are the ship *Nereide*, the brig *Llama*, the schooner *Cadborough* and sloop *Broughton*; the steamboat *Beaver* of 150 tons, two engines of thirty horsepower each, built in London last year."**²⁹²

"An express, as it is called, goes out in March annually from Vancouver and ascends the Columbia 900 miles in bateau. One of the chief factors, or chief traders, takes charge of the property and conveys to York Factory on Hudson's Bay the annual returns of the business conducted by the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains in the Columbia district. This party likewise conveys to the different forts along the route goods suitable to the Indian trade.

²⁹² W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 145-146.

Other parties take up supplies, as they may be required, to Walla Walla, 250 miles above Vancouver; to Colville, 600 miles above; to the fort at the junction of Lewis's River, [Fort Hall] 700 miles above; to the south to Fort McKoy on the river Umpqua; and last year chief trader McLeod took up to the American [Green River] rendezvous a large supply of British manufactures."²⁹³

"From what I have seen, I feel perfectly satisfied that no individual enterprise can compete with this immense foreign monopoly established in our own waters. For instance, an American vessel, coming from New York or Boston to trade on the Northwest coast or the Columbia, would bring a cargo chiefly of British manufacture on which the duties had been paid,...²⁹⁴ whereas the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels come direct from London, discharge at Vancouver, pay no duty, nor are they subject to the expense and delay of discharging and reloading in a foreign port."

"In [1829] the American brig *Owyhee*, Captain Dominis of New York, entered the Columbia and commenced trading with the Indians for beaver skins and peltries. In the course of nine months Captain Dominis procured a cargo valued at \$96,000. It happened that this year the fever that has since desolated the Columbia from the fall to Oak Point appeared, and Dr. McLoughlin, the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, with all the gravity imaginable, informed me the Indians to this day believe that Dominis, of *the Boston ship*, brought the fever to the river. How easy was it the Hudson's Bay Company's agents to make the Indians believe this absurdity!...²⁹⁵

"...The next American vessel that entered the river after the *Owyhee* was the brig *May Dacre* of Boston. She arrived in [835] to procure a cargo of salmon.... The owner and agent [Nathaniel Wyeth] agreed not to purchase furs, provided Dr. McLoughlin would throw no impediment in his way of procuring salmon. This enterprise failed; only 800 or 900 pounds of salmon were obtained.

"Stock of the Hudson's Bay Company is held in shares (100). Chief traders and chief factors who reside in America are called partners... but they are not stockholders in perpetuity, as they cannot sell out to other stockholders, but have only a life estate in the general stock. A council annually assembles at York Factory, where reports from the different districts east and west of the Rocky Mountains are read and recorded, and their proceedings forwarded to London to the Hudson's Bay House. Chief factors and chief traders hold a seat at this council board, and Governor Simpson presides.

"It is here that every new enterprise is canvassed, expense and probable profits carefully inquired into, as each member feels a personal interest in every measure adopted. If it is ascertained that in certain districts the quantity of beaver diminishes, the trappers are immediately ordered to desist for a few years, that the animals may increase, as the wealth of the country consists in its furs. And so strict are the laws among many of the northern Indian tribes to kill a beaver out of season is a crime punishable with death."²⁹⁶

"The price of a beaver skin in the Columbia district is ten shillings, or \$2 payable in goods at 50 per cent on the invoice cost. Each skin averages one and a half pounds, and is worth in New York or London \$5 per pound -- value \$7.50. The beaver skin is the circulating medium of the country....

"The navigation of the Columbia is absolutely necessary to the Hudson's Bay Company; without this they have no passage into the heart of their finest possessions in the interior. I know not what political influence they command, but this monopoly is very wealthy, and when the

²⁹³ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 147.

²⁹⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 148.

²⁹⁵ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 148-149.

²⁹⁶ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 149.

question of our western lines of territory is settled, they will make the most strenuous efforts to retain free navigation of the Columbia -- more important to them than the free navigation of the St. Lawrence is to the people of the United States.

“I beg leave to call your attention to the topography of Puget Sound and urge in the most earnest manner that this point should never be abandoned. In a military point of view, it is of the highest importance to the United States. If it were in the hands of any foreign power, especially Great Britain, with the influence she could command through the Hudson’s Bay Company over the Indians at the north on those magnificent straits of Juan de Fuca, a force of 20,000 men could be brought by water in large canoes to the sound in a few days; from thence to the Columbia, the distance is but two days’ march via the Cowlitz.

“I am now more convinced than ever of the importance of the Columbia River, even as a place where for eight months in the year our whalers from the coast of Japan might resort for supplies.... A custom house established at the mouth of the Columbia would effectually protect the American trader from the monopoly which the Hudson’s Bay Company enjoy at this time, and a single military post would be sufficient to give effect to the laws of the United States, and protect our citizens in their lawful avocations.”²⁹⁷

Slacum had charted the location of principal Indian villages

had visited Fort Vancouver to learn about the fur trade and other businesses

had gone to the Willamette Valley to the Methodist Missions

and visited nearly every settler’s cabin he passed on the way

he pronounced the Willamette Valley **“the finest grazing country in the world. Here there are no droughts as on the Pampas of Buenos Ayres or the plains of California, whilst the lands abound with richer grasses both winter and summer.”**²⁹⁸

In his positive and thorough report to Congress Lieutenant Slacum stated

United States should not settle any northern boundary with Great Britain which lost Puget Sound rather America should hold out for 49° North

REVOLT AGAINST FEUDALISM IN CANADA

Uprisings took place the winter of 1837-1838

in response to frustrations in political reform and ethnic conflict

Larger and more sustained conflict began in Lower Canada (Quebec) -- November 1837

led by Robert Nelson and Louis-Joseph Papineau

Less involved Upper Canada (Ontario) revolt led by William Lyon Mackenzie

(which began the next month)

probably was inspired by events south of them

Insurrection was put down but it led to several changes, some immediate; some gradual

one immediate result -- great increase in emigration from Canada to the U.S.

individual traders, merchants, industrial and commercial workers

demanding all feudal barriers be removed immediately from Canada

however, when the exclusive license of Hudson’s Bay Company came due -- [1838]

it was once again renewed by the government

²⁹⁷ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*, P. 150.

²⁹⁸ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 128.

LITTLE NATIONAL INTEREST IS SHOWN IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

President Van Buren submitted a report to Congress about the Pacific Northwest -- December 1837
president drew attention to the fact the British were still in control of Fort Astoria
Congress was in no mood to antagonize England
abolitionists in the North were dividing the nation into sections
segregationists in the South were occupied with expanding their area of influence
financial depression was still gripping the nation
caused, in part, by President Jackson's dismantling the national banks
Texas and California were also problems hampering our relations with Mexico

CATHOLIC INTEREST IN COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Indian Catholic converts from East of the Rocky Mountains
for several years had been preaching to the natives of the Inland Empire
Dr. John McLoughlin counted twenty-six families in the French Prairie region
French-Canadians had made preparations for the arrival of priests on French Prairie

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ACCEPTS A NEW ASSIGNMENT IN NEBRASKA

Father De Smet wrote a letter to his superior, missionary Pierre Verhaegen -- January 26, 1838
demonstrating his eagerness to be assigned to the new mission among the Potawatomi
not far from the mouth from the Nebraska (or Platte) River
Father Verhaegen gave in to De Smet's arguments

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IS GRANTED A NEW LICENSE TO OPERATE

Hudson's Bay Company board of directors in London

"needed to justify themselves before Parliament" -- 1838

"Governor J.H. Pelly in London reported during the license renewal hearings that the Columbia Department's thousand employees, twenty-one trading posts, six vessels, and two migratory trading and trapping brigades really produced no great profit but were useful to England in that they 'compelled the American adventurers, one by one, to withdraw and are now pressing the Russian Fur Company so closely that...[we] hope at no very distant period to confine them to the trade of their own proper territory.'"²⁹⁹

Parliament renewed the exclusive license of Hudson's Bay Company
and, English diplomats stiffened their demands that the Columbia River
and not the forty-ninth parallel be made the international boundary

POWER OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EXTENDED OVER ALL BRITISH SUBJECTS

New Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company gave it complete governmental power
over all British citizens in jointly occupied Oregon
if that was not sufficient the company's complete economic power made up the difference
prices were set by the Hudson's Bay Company
it paid settlers for their crops at whatever rate the Company chose
it fixed prices for goods sold to settlers -- usually doubling the London prices

²⁹⁹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 191.

Americans felt they were at the mercy of the British Company
only respect for Dr. John McLoughlin kept the situation from deteriorating more than it did
in fact, only one or two Americans ever directly challenged the Company

AMERICAN EXPANSION REMAINS A NATIONAL ISSUE

For years, congressional expansionists had agitated the Oregon question
to them the Convention of 1818 was a sellout of American interests,
the Convention of 1828 was an even worse sellout
United States, they argued, held valid title to Oregon
at least as far north as the forty-ninth parallel, if not beyond
If diplomacy could not fix a boundary west of the Continental Divide,
they wanted to abrogate the joint occupation treaty and establish a United States territory
on the Columbia River -- even at the risk of war with Great Britain
This issue took on special urgency when, beginning in [1834],
Protestant missionaries founded enclaves of American citizens
in the heart of Hudson's Bay Company domain
Debates, resolutions, and bills rocked the Congress,
directed at forcing resolution of the boundary dispute, supporting Americans living in Oregon,
and promoting the emigration of settlers to solidify the nation's hold on that distant realm

BOOKS GENERATE INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

After his return to the East Rev. Samuel Parker published a journal of his adventures in the West:
An Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains -- 1838
Rev. Parker focused on the years [1835, 1836 and 1837]
he described the geography, geology, climate,
and the number, manners and customs of the natives
he also included a map of Oregon
this book generated a great deal of popular interest in the Pacific Northwest
Parker also published a journal of his adventures in the West:
An Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains -- 1838
Zenas Leonard wrote *Narratives* -- 1838
this book stirred enthusiasm in the West
C.A. Murray completed *Travels in North America* -- 1838
these writings popularized the Pacific Northwest

U.S. SENATOR LEWIS F. LINN PROPOSES TO OCCUPY OREGON

Senator Linn was an ardent Oregon booster who had been elected to the U.S. Senate from Missouri
he became an outspoken friend of the Pacific Northwest in the formative years
he believed thoroughly in American rights on the Pacific Coast
Following the report of Lieutenant William Slacum to Congress
Senator Linn proposed to create a Territorial government for the Pacific Northwest
he insisted on taking military possession of the Columbia River
and establishing military protection
he wanted not only military occupation of the Columbia River

but also the construction of an army fort on its bank
Sen. Linn introduced the first Bill to “reoccupy” the Pacific Northwest
presented to the United States Senate -- February 7, 1838

“authorizing the occupation of the Columbia or Oregon River, establishing a territory north of latitude 42 degrees, and west of the Rocky mountains to be called Oregon Territory; authorizing the establishment of a fort on that river, and the occupation of the country by the military forces of the United States....”

In this effort, he was backed less noisily but not less effectively
by his Missouri colleague, Senator Thomas Hart Benton
Although not successful on this try, Senator Linn followed up
by presenting memorials from the people of Pacific Northwest
and by submitting numerous resolutions asserting America’s claims

WILLIAM GRAY REACHES BOSTON

Gray was coolly received by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
after his perilous ride across the continent,
but the trip gained him two positive changes in his life:
•he attended medical college briefly,
•and he married Mary Augusta Dix

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS SEEKS RECRUITS

At this time the American Board was recruiting the only reinforcements it was to send to Oregon
William H. Gray agreed to lead out to the mission field
three Congregational ministers and their wives who were headed for Oregon:
•serious-minded Rev. Cushing Eells and his invalid, frail-looking wife,
Myra (Fairbanks) Eells
•tall, shy Rev. Elkanah Walker and his cheerful wife, Mary (Richardson) Walker
•fault-finding but intelligent Rev. Asa Bowen Smith
and his frail and sickly wife Sarah (Gilbert) Smith
Gray and his wife joined this group, and the party headed overland for Oregon -- March 1838
(before they reached St. Louis, they were joined by bachelor Cornelius Rodgers, a lay helper)

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN PLANS TO GO ON FURLOUGH

Long-planned trip to London had been scheduled to begin -- March 22, 1838
Chief Factor was to travel with the annual Company express across Athabasca Pass
When Rev. Jason Lee heard of the opportunity, he asked if he might go along
Dr. McLoughlin uncharacteristically turned down Lee’s request
Dr. McLoughlin also asserted his land claim to the minister including his right to Governor Islan

REV. DANIEL LEE AND REV. H.K.W. PERKINS SEEK A NEW MISSION SITE

Methodist missionaries Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H.K.W. Perkins
left the Willamette station by canoe -- March 14, 1838
with a small cargo of supplies to establish a new mission

After their arrival they selected a site about three miles below the Dalles of the Columbia River and about a half a mile from the shore on the south side (at today's town site)

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY REJECTS AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL

Hudson's Bay Company provided the only law and order in the Columbia Department
Methodist missionaries suggested two persons be named as magistrates
to administer justice according to American law
this suggestion was rejected by Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

WILLAMETTE SETTLERS HOLD A MEETING

Rev. Jason Lee summoned a meeting at the Methodist mission house -- March 16, 1838
it was attended, in addition to the resident missionaries,
by more than a dozen American settlers and by nine French Canadians
purpose of the meeting, as they knew in advance, was to approve a petition
to the Congress of the United States along lines suggested more than a year ago
by Naval Lieutenant William Slacum

"OREGON MEMORIAL" IS WRITTEN

Rev. David Leslie and young Philip L. Edwards -- lay-assistant to Rev. Jason Lee
wrote the "Oregon Memorial" to President Martin Van Buren
they asked the president to **"take formal and speedy possession of the Oregon country"**
Memorial asked for American "Law and Order" in the Pacific Northwest
it was a plea for American rights and an extension of the laws of the United States
especially regarding the protection of Americans' land claims
without access to courts, Americans remained dependent on Hudson's Bay Company
it stated in part: **"We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great state.... The country must populate. The Congress of the United States must say by whom. The natural resources of the country, with a well-judged civil code, will invite a good community. But a good community will hardly emigrate to a country which promises no protection to life or property."**³⁰⁰

In addition, the Memorial spoke of the fertility of the Willamette and Umpqua valleys
noted the unsurpassed facilities for stock raising
reported on the mild and pleasant climate of Western Oregon
made special note of the growing trade with the Hawaiian Islands

OREGON MEMORIAL SIGNED

Next the Memorial was circulated in the Willamette Valley by Rev. Jason Lee
of the fifty-one American settlers in the Pacific Northwest twenty-one Americans signed
all ten of the mission members and eleven other American settlers such as
John Turner, who had arrived with Jedediah Smith [1828]
Solomon H. Smith and Calvin Tibbetts, who had come with Wyeth's first expedition;
and Ewing Young, who more than anyone else had produced the material support
for the advancement of American dreams

³⁰⁰ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 134.

also fifteen French-Canadians or others in the Willamette Valley signed signatures for most were only marks such as former Hudson's Bay Company employees John Deportes and Joseph Gervais, who, along with Etienne Lucier, were the area's first settlers
Thirty-six residents in all signed the petition

CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN EXPANDS COMPANY INTERESTS

Inspired by the success of Ewing Young's cattle drive and by the knowledge that livestock could be pried loose from the Mexican governors of California, Dr. McLoughlin ordered his brig *Nereide* under Captain William Brotchie to deliver a cargo of Fort Vancouver produce and timber to Hawaii and import eight hundred head of sheep from San Francisco -- spring, 1838

DR. McLOUGHLIN ATTACKS REV. HERBERT BEAVER

Somehow Church of England minister Rev. Herbert Beaver learned that Dr. McLoughlin and his wife Marguerite had begun living together before Alexander McKay's death aboard the *Tonquin* in a letter to the governor and committee in London

Beaver referred to the woman, to whom McLoughlin was devoted, as: **“a female of notoriously loose character...the kept Mistress of the highest personage in your service at this station.”**³⁰¹

This slur came back to Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin furiously he descended on Rev. Beaver as the latter was walking toward his house, where his wife was standing in the doorway as the clergyman reported the event of March 19, 1838: **“...this monster in human shape...came behind me, kicked me several times, and struck me repeatedly with his fists on the back of the neck. Unable to cope with him from the immense disparity of our relative size and strength, I could not prevent him from wrenching out of my hand a stout stick with which I was walking, and with which he ... inflicted several severe blows on my shoulders. He then seized me from behind, round my waist, attempted to dash me on the ground, exclaiming ‘you scoundrel, I will have your life.’ In the meantime, the stick had fallen to the ground; my wife on impulse...picked it up; he took it...very viciously out of her hands and again struck me with it severely. We were then separated by the intervention of other persons....”**³⁰²

CHIEF FACTOR DR. McLOUGHLIN GOES ON FURLOUGH

Dr. McLoughlin was to travel with the annual express across Athabasca Pass a trip that had been planned far in advance

When Rev. Jason Lee heard of McLoughlin's plan to journey East, he asked if he might go along

McLoughlin, uncharacteristically, turned his request down

Three days after the incident with Rev. Herbert Beaver

Dr. McLoughlin left Fort Vancouver on furlough for England -- March 22, 1838

³⁰¹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 179.

³⁰² David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 179-180.

While McLoughlin was visiting England,
James Douglas was to be placed in command of operations in the Columbia Department
however, Dr. McLoughlin's vacation was delayed for two months

METHODIST MISSION IS BUILT AT THE DALLES

Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H.K.W. Perkins build Wascopam Mission
on the site chosen by Rev. Jason Lee and W.H. Qillson at Celilo Falls
this location was named after Wascopam Indians of the region
Immediately after their arrival at the station, meetings were held with the Indians on Sunday
these meetings were held under the oak and pine trees with scattered stones used as seats
however, most sat on the ground, which the natives preferred
communication was through an interpreter and a mix of Chinook Jargon and native dialects
Construction on a house was started near a natural spring, with a good supply of timber
and an extended view of the Columbia River -- March 22, 1838
While construction progressed, Rev. Henry K. W. Perkins returned by canoe to Willamette station
to bring his wife and family to their new home
When Perkins and his family arrived at the Dalles,
they occupied the new dwelling even before it had a roof
fortunately the climate was dry and rain seldom fell during the summer months
This was the only branch Methodist mission that had any success converting natives
(it also became an important mission station)

WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY PASSES AWAY

Fur trading businessman William Henry Ashley died in Boonville, Missouri -- March 26, 1838
as per his wishes he was buried at the top of an Indian mound overlooking the Missouri River
near his home in Cooper County, Missouri
even in death, his body remained near the river
on which he pursued so many adventures and found riches

REV. JASON LEE BEGINS A JOURNEY TO THE EAST COAST

Pacific Northwest settlers had two needs which only Congress could meet:

- protection by the laws of the United States
- a guarantee they might keep the lands they had already taken up
although no official claim could be filed as no government existed

Rev. Jason Lee started overland toward New York City -- March 26, 1838
he carried Rev. David Leslie and Philip L. Edwards' "Oregon Memorial"
to Congress in Washington City
in an effort to stimulate colonization of the Pacific Northwest
for proselytizing purposes he took five native boys with him
two appealingly peak-headed teenage Chinook Indians boys
who had been rechristened William Brooks and Thomas Adams,
after two famed preachers of the day
and an additional three Calapooya teenagers
also traveling with Lee was young Philip L. Edwards

who had come west with the missionary and was now returning to Missouri
Rev. Lee also wanted to approach the Methodist Mission Society
to request additional supplies and further reinforcements for his mission efforts
In Rev. Jason Lee's absence Rev. David Leslie, co-author of the "Oregon Memorial,"
took on the role of acting superintendent (an assignment that lasted two years)

JASON LEE MAKES STOPS ON THE WAY UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

On his way up the Columbia River, Rev. Jason Lee paid a leisurely visit
to his nephew Daniel Lee and Rev. H.K.W. Perkins and his wife Margaret
at their new station, Wascopam Mission at Celico Falls
He then moved on to Fort Walla Walla
where he intended to join the annual brigade bound for the rendezvous
but learning that the trappers would not leave for five more week,
he passed the time by visiting his counterparts at Waiilatpu and Lapwai

REV. JASON LEE VISITS WAILLATPU

Rev Jason Lee waiting for the Hudson's Bay Company supply caravan to form
traveled from Fort Walla Walla to Waiilatpu for a visit with the Whitmans
he wrote April 14, 1838: "**Went to Dr. Whitman's. The water was high in the streams.**

**Overtook Mrs. Pambrun and daughter, and a very old woman [Madame Marie Dorion-Toupin] who
crossed the mountains with Mr. Hunt and a grown daughter. We were obliged to cross on small
trees, which bent and trembled with us so as to make it difficult to keep the center of gravity. I
thought a man who was with us and I should have enough to do to cross all the stuff. I took a little
girl in my arms and started across, and to my astonishment was followed by the females with larger
loads than I should probably have ventured with, consisting of children, saddles, blankets, saddle
bags, dogs, etc., and all came safe over."**³⁰³

On the same day, Narcissa Whitman wrote in her diary: "**Saturday [April 14, 1838] Mrs. Pambrun
came with her three daughters, Maria, Ada and Harriet, also two daughters and a son of an Iowa
[Indian], the old woman spoken of in Washington Irving's *Astoria* [Madame Marie Dorion-Toupin
was then about 52]....She is now the wife of a Frenchman now residing at the Fort [Walla Walla]."**³⁰⁴

REV. JASON LEE MEETS WITH DR MARCUS WHITMAN

Rev. Jason Lee shared his plans to expand his mission effort with Dr. Whitman and Rev. Spalding
these plans made even William Gray's scheme look petty
Impressed, and taken back, by the scope of Lee's ambition,
Whitman addressed an almost frantic letter
to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission
in it, the Presbyterian asked for two hundred and twenty helpers, missionaries,
teachers, physicians, laborers, and their wives, plus a flour mill,
bales of hardware and trade goods and "**several tons of iron and steel**"³⁰⁵
However, at that very moment though they could not know it,

³⁰³ Jerome Peltier, *Madame Dorion*, P. 29.

³⁰⁴ Jerome Peltier, *Madame Dorion*, P. 29.

³⁰⁵ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 194.

William Gray was starting back to the Northwest not with two hundred helpers but with eight,
and with no more equipment than could be packed on horseback
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was stretched to the limit
by the 360 stations it supported throughout the world
in truth, no more equipment than could be packed on a horse
would be dispatched to Oregon
Rev. Jason Lee carried this correspondence east
Jason Lee next stopped at Fort Hall
Lee was to pick up three more traveling companions
Thomas McKay's half-breed sons who were taken east to be educated

JASON LEE CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY EAST

At Fort Hall, Lee was to pick up three more traveling companions
the half-breed sons of Thomas McKay, John and Alexander, and take them east to be educated
to each young man he revealed, during the long nights of talk,
the expansion he envisioned for Methodism in Oregon
Thomas McKay's two daughters, Margarett and Henrietta, bordered at the Whitman's mission
where they attended school

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET TRAVELS UP THE MISSOURI RIVER

Aboard the steamboat *Howard* -- May 2, 1838
he was joined by Father Felix Verreydt and Brother John Mazelli at Fort Leavenworth
Howard had technical problems and passengers changed to the *Wilmington*
Steamboat travel was not without danger
Missouri River is a difficult river to navigate
it is full of obstacles, small islands or sandbanks, and its waters can be very shallow
ship could sink in no time when it became impaled on an invisible obstacle
in the shallow and murky waters
Missouri runs at the foot of high cliffs dotted with dark caves
river cuts through thick forests and endless grasslands, called "la prairie" by the French
riverbanks were mostly deserted
Missouri's current is strong
to make way, boat must have sufficient draught and push its power to the limit
risk of an exploding boiler is real
On the journey Father De Smet visited with the local tribes, such as Iowas, Sauks and Otos,
whenever the boat stopped to refuel

INTEREST IN ACQUIRING CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT REMAINS

Catholic Indian converts from East of the Rocky Mountains
had been preaching to the natives of the Inland Empire
French-Canadians had been preparing for the anticipated arrival of priests on French Prairie
Dr. John McLoughlin counted twenty-six families in the French Prairie district
Mission Du Walamette (later also known as the Log Church or St. Paul's Catholic Church)
had been built [1836]

and was waiting for the arrival of a Catholic priest to serve the community

NEW HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY WAS GRANTED A NEW BUSINESS LICENSE

British Government granted the Company a new operating license
to run for a twenty-one-year term -- May 1838
a portion of the new agreement committed the Company to agricultural expansion

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CHANGES ITS POLICY ON RELIGION

Original policy stipulated no missions could be established south of the Columbia River
"as the sovereignty of that country is still undecided."
Now the company changed its policy based on arguments from Dr. McLoughlin
and the fact Rev. Jason Lee and his companions were already active there
Hudson's Bay Company Governor Simpson sent word the Company no longer objected
to a Catholic Mission located in Willamette Valley
Hudson's Bay Company even agreed to subsidize the traveling expenses of two Catholic priests

FATHER BLANCHET AND FATHER DEMERS APPOINTED TO THE COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Both Catholic priests were under the supervision of the Archbishop of Quebec Joseph Signay
Father Francois Norbert Blanchet of Montreal Diocese was appointed
to serve as Father in the Columbia Department
he was to teach, build and administer the sacraments
with the permission of Hudson's Bay Company
Father Modeste Demers, a young priest from Red River colony (Winnipeg, Canada)
was named Father Blanchet's assistant
When their orders were written, they were charged to serve the Indians
as well as the Christians of the area

TWO CATHOLIC PRIESTS ARE APPOINTED TO THE COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Francis Norbert Blanchet was born at St. Pierre, Canada [September 3, 1795]
and died [June 18, 1883]
he was the son of a Canadian farmer and attended Catholic seminary in Quebec, Canada
He spent several years gaining experience pastoring the Micmac Indians
in French speaking New Brunswick, Canada
as conditions demanded in that wilderness region,
he traveled by canoe, dog sled, horse and snow shoes
there he had shown his enthusiasm for the natives by learning their language
and learning English so that he could minister to a group of Irishmen living there
Next he was occupied with missionary work in the Montreal District [until 1838]
he won general admiration during a serious plague
when he showed himself fearless in caring for the ill -- despite his own danger of infection

CATHOLIC PRIESTS JOURNEY TO THE NORTHWEST

Father Francis Norbert Blanchet left Montreal, Canada -- May 1838
he and Father Modeste Demers traveled with a large company of settlers and traders

in the Hudson's Bay Company annual westbound "Columbia Express"
crossing Canada bound for Fort Vancouver
John Rowand was the man designated to bring them safely to their destination
by canoe, boat and barge, as well as on foot and horseback
this trip covered 5,325 miles and took six months to reach the Columbia Department
with stops made at forts Colville, Okanogan, and Walla Walla
Father Blanchet preached all along the way

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S COLUMBIA EXPRESS WAS A MOTLY CREW

Voyageurs were very much like sailors with a wife in every port
Hudson's Bay Company preferred servants without home ties
and was indifferent to their temporary relations with native women
Company employees formed unions which were often permanent
some were even blessed by the Church
While the voyageurs working for Hudson's Bay Company did not indulge in shameless licentiousness
as did the freemen who work for the Company
the voyageurs did manage to scandalize the Catholic missionaries who traveled with them
Father Blanchet described the brigade
as **"a hideous assemblage of persons of both sexes, stripped of all moral principles"**³⁰⁶
yet after working with the boatmen for fifteen days, he baptized forty
he performed thirteen marriages and broke up a number of free unions

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN LEAVES FORT VANCOUVER ON VACATION

Date of the Chief Factor's departure was moved [from March 22] to May 1838
Dr. McLoughlin left Fort Vancouver for England
Tall, slim and imperially erect James Douglas was placed in charge of Columbia Department
he was so dark complexioned that men occasionally called him after a famous Scottish namesake,
"the Black Douglas"

POWER OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY KEEPS ORDER IN THE COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company gave it complete governmental power
over all British citizens in jointly occupied Oregon
if that did not suffice, the company's complete economic power made up the difference

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S REPORT TO PARLIAMENT

Governor John Henry Pelly in London told Parliament
during the hearings about the renewal of the company's license -- 1838
that the Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia Department's thousand employees,
twenty-one trading posts, six vessels, and two migratory trading and trapping brigades
they did not produce a great profit but were valuable to England because
they **"compelled the American adventurers, one by one, to withdraw** [Wyeth and
Dominis, for example] **and are now pressing the Russian Fur Company.**"³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ Fuller. *A History of the Pacific Northwest*. P. 92.

³⁰⁷ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 191.

PROTESTANT MISSIONARY REINFORCEMENTS ORGANIZED IN ST. LOUIS

As agreed to with American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in St. Louis

William H. and Mary Gray would lead

three Congregational ministers and their wives to the mission field

Rev. and Mrs. Cushing (Myra Fairbanks) Eells who was an invalid

Rev. and Mrs. Elkanah (Mary Richardson) Walker

Rev. Asa Bowen Smith and his wife Sara (Gilbert) Smith who was frail
also traveling West with the expedition was twenty-three-year-old bachelor

Cornelius Rodgers, a lay (not ordained) helper

this was all the assistance the overwhelmed American Board

would ever be able to dispatch to Oregon as they also were responsible

for three hundred and sixty other stations throughout the world

SUPPLY CARAVAN FOR THE 1838 RENDEZVOUS CARRIES PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES

Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Company caravan was led from St. Louis by Andrew Drips,

as Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick left the trapping scene for a year

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Missionary reinforcement

led by William Gray

attached itself to the 1838 supply caravan

once more Mountain Men helped plant Americans in Oregon

four white women and their husbands

and a bachelor lay helper

These reinforcement missionaries left mainly a sour residue on the pages of history

William H. Gray had crossed the continent twice,

but the others did not demonstrate anything like the adaptability

of Jason Lee, Marcus Whitman, or even Samuel Parker

These missionaries complained eternally about the weather, land, food, unceasing labor,

forced desecration of the Sabbath, the sinful mountaineers,

and especially the difficulty of rendering proper homage to God

"Often I have no time to read the Bible from morning to night."³⁰⁸

Rev. Asa Smith complained

but these faults paled beside an utter incompatibility among themselves

that produced daily quarrels over mostly trivial matters

as Mary Walker noted: **"We have a strange company of Missionaries. Scarcely one who is not intolerable on some account."**³⁰⁹

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET MEETS THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS

Region where the Potawatomis were forced to reestablish themselves

was situated in the western portion of Iowa

it was the hunting ground of the Sioux who disliked all intruders

De Smet, Father Felix Verreydt and Brother John Mazelli

³⁰⁸ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 169.

³⁰⁹ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 169.

disembarked from the *Wilmington* -- June 1, 1838
on the banks of Lake Manawa, a secondary channel of the Missouri River
They were met by 2000 Indians who displayed much indifference
their chief William (Billy) Caldwell, a half-bred of Irish ancestry,
welcomed the missionaries and offered to them three huts
four miles north of his camp,
De Smet and his companions accepted the invitation
previous year one of these huts was occupied by Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny
his task was to protect these relocated tribes from Indiana and Illinois,
from their neighbors -- the fierce Sioux Indians
Log hut is built to be used as the mission church -- "St. Joseph church"

ST. JOSEPH MISSION TO THE POTAWATOMIS OPENS

More huts were built next to St. Joseph church
by Father De Smet, Father Felix Verreydt and Brother John Mazelli
(mission stood approximately on the corner of today's Pierce and Union streets
in Council Bluffs)
this was the second Catholic effort in the Mid-West -- after St. Ferdinand de Florissant
(which had been established in Missouri more than fifty years previous)
Hundreds of Indians became sick
they did not have any defense against the most common European diseases
when there is an epidemic the number of victims is enormous
each year the Indian population is again decimated
St. Joseph Mission was surrounded by the "American desert"
(during the winter months the missionaries must use their weapons
to protect themselves from aggressive and famished animals such as bears and wolves)

DEATH OF MRS. ANNA MARIE PITTMAN LEE

While Rev. Jason Lee was away in the East his wife gave birth to a son -- June 23, 1838
this child lived only two days and the following day Anna Pittman Lee died
Immediately the first rider in a chain of messengers was dispatched
to inform Jason Lee of the tragic losses

1838 WIND RIVER RENDEZVOUS

Annual gathering of the Mountain Men and natives was held -- July 5-[12], 1838
this year it was moved east to where the Popo Agie River flows into the Wind River
to create the Bighorn River (near today's Riverton, Wyoming)
As might be expected, several trappers went to the usual site
at Fort Bonneville on Horse Creek
instead of the fourth successive event, there they only found a large herd of buffalo
and a note telling of the new location
At the rendezvous, the missionaries traveling with William and Mary Gray
found solace in Sabbaths undisturbed by the demands of travel
however, the wicked antics of the Mountain Men upset them terribly

“...when Jim Bridger’s brigade stormed into camp and promptly staged a scalp dance in front of the missionaries’ tents, ‘They looked like the emissaries of the Devil worshiping their own master,’ clucked Myra Eells.”³¹⁰

But it was more than quarrelsome and sanctimonious behavior
that made these missionaries objectionable to the trappers and traders
Mountain Men knew how William Gray, the year before, had defied everyone’s advice
and led his little party of Indians to their death
no one doubted that he had, in fact, sacrificed their lives to save his own
now here was Gray again at the rendezvous enjoying the protection and hospitality
of the recently reorganized Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Company fur traders

THREAT TO WILLIAM GRAY’S LIFE

Pious and judgmental William Gray managed to infuriate even the fun-loving Mountain Men
with Independence Day celebrations still rollicking around the trapper camp
Mountain Men’s resentment of William Gray overflowed -- about 1:00 A.M July 5, 1838
Mr. and Mrs. Gray and Rev. and Mrs. Eells awoke to a **“rush of drunken men coming directly towards our tent. Mr. Eells got up immediately and went to the door of the tent in a moment. Four men came swearing and blaspheming, inquiring for Mr. Gray.... They said they wished to settle accounts with Mr. Gray, then they should be off.”³¹¹**

Cushing Eells stalled while William Gray and Myra Eells fumbled frantically to load a rifle
and slip under the back tent flap
Eventually the Mountain Men withdrew to their camp

HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY ARRIVES AT THE RENDEZVOUS

Francis Ermatinger led the arrival of the company brigade into the rendezvous -- July 8, 1838
it was noted by the missionaries as a glorious Sabbath day featuring divine worship services
Ermatinger brought letters from Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Henry Spalding
and stood ready to escort the American Board reinforcements on to the Columbia River
Also with the newcomers was Rev. Jason Lee on his Eastward journey
to organize reinforcements for his own Methodist enterprise

REV. DANIEL LEE DRIVE A HERD OF CATTLE TO THE WILLMAETTE VALLEY

Rev. Daniel Lee took the first cattle across the Cascade Mountains
when he drove fourteen head from the Willamette Valley to Wascopam Mission
over what became known as the Rev. Daniel Lee Trail -- summer 1838
Daniel Lee’s route was difficult and dangerous
and in many places far too narrow to be used by wagons
due to steep cliffs that fell straight into the Columbia River

FATHER BLANCHET CONTINUES WEST

Catholic priest picked up another priest, Father Modeste Demers,
at the Red River settlement -- July 10, 1838

³¹⁰ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 169.

³¹¹ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 178-179.

additional stops were made at forts Colville, Okanogan, and Walla Walla
Appearance of Catholic missionaries on their way to Fort Vancouver
caused fresh uneasiness among Protestant missionaries and settlers
as they were considered by Americans to be British reinforcements

REV. JASON LEE DEPARTED FROM THE RENDEZVOUS

After leaving the Wind River Rendezvous, Jason Lee arrived at the Missouri border
where he was overtaken by the last of a series of relay riders bearing word
that the Methodist missionary's wife and first-born son had both died in childbirth
There was no time for grief -- Lee continued on his journey to the East
exchanging horses for canoes, he swept down the Missouri River, into the Mississippi

FLATHEAD AND NEZ PERCE NATIVES LEARN OF THE DEATH OF OLD IGNACE LA MOUSSE

When the sad news arrived two Iroquois, Young Ignace (a.k.a. Francois Xavier) and Pierre Gaucher,
bravely set out to complete the mission begun by Old Ignace six years before
Traveling with a Hudson's Bay Company brigade, they learned of a Black Robe
who was bringing the Catholic faith to the Pottawatomie Indians
at a little mission in Council Bluffs, Iowa

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN IN LONDON

Chief Factor took leave of absence from Fort Vancouver [spring] and summer 1838
He met with Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson and the Hudson's Bay Company directors
to discuss expanding agricultural efforts in the Columbia Department
Dr. McLoughlin again proposed his idea of forming "The Oregon Beef and Tallow Company"
To avoid possibly invalidating the Company's charter
(which did not provide for using capital for agricultural purposes)
a subsidiary enterprise, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, was formed
only stockholders and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were allowed to purchase stock
in the new enterprise

LIFE AT FORT VANCOUVER

Business was the first consideration -- no idlers were tolerated
farmers, gardeners, and dairymen, blacksmiths, carpenters, tanners, millwrights,
coopers, and a baker were all kept occupied
carpenters also built boats for the river trade and even coasting vessels
coopers made barrels for shipping flour and salted salmon
Officers were nearly all well-educated gentlemen
who enjoyed good living, books, and agreeable company
Wives of officers were usually half-caste women
were excellent housekeepers and good mothers
When agriculture and fishing came into full production at Fort Vancouver
standard weekly ration per man was twenty-one pounds of salmon
and a bushel of potatoes
Dining hall served excellent meals, but also provided good conversation

all conducted in perfect propriety and pleasing to the most refined gentleman
officers' wives and their children did not eat with the men
but at tables in a separate hall
Children spent most of the summer out of doors
engaging in all manner of sports and games
gained special skill in horsemanship
winter -- school was maintained at the fort
Religious services were conducted on Sunday
either by Dr. McLoughlin or by some visiting missionary or priest
Village had its formal dances, regattas, and other amusements
a highlight in June was when the annual brigade arrived with up-river traders

LIVING CONDITIONS AT FORT VANCOUVER

As described by Rev. Herbert Beaver with a cynical eye -- 1838

“...indecent lodging for all classes...eleven persons in the same room, which is undivided and thirty feet by fifteen in size and in which, with the exception of the man, who takes his meals at the mess, they all eat, wash and dry their clothes, none ever being hung out.”³¹²

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY OUTPOSTS

Fort Langley

became overcrowded so work began on a new fort -- 1838

two miles upriver in part to be closer to the best farmland

dominant concern during Fort Langley's first two decades was relations with Indians

Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson wrote that: **“...the great population of this part of the country and the hostile character they bear, renders it necessary to send a larger force among them than the trade in the first instance justifies. We are only respected by these treacherous savages in proportion to our strength and means of defense.”³¹³**

Fort Colville

enclosure was 208 feet square with a fourteen foot high stockade

no elaborate defenses were built -- only one bastion was constructed

some houses were even built outside of the fort

agricultural development led to the construction of a mill and many other buildings

Fort Colville soon appeared to be a thriving farming community

Fort William on Wappatoo Island in the Columbia River was taken over by Chief Factor McLoughlin

who moved Hudson's Bay Company's principal dairy herd from Fort Vancouver

this was maintained on Wappatoo Island by Laurent Sauve -- 1838

Sauve lived there so long that today Island is called Sauvie or Sauvie's Island

CATTLE ARE DELIVERED TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S COWLITZ FARM

While Chief Factor McLoughlin was on furlough,

James Douglas sent a herd of cattle to the Cowlitz from Fort Vancouver -- summer 1838

with Mr. Ross and eight men with a number of agricultural implements

³¹² Thomas E. Jessett, ed., *Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, 1836-38*. P. 81-82.

³¹³ R. Johnson Wellwood, *Legend of Langley*. P. 9.

(Chief Trader John Tod was sent to superintend establishment of the farm [fall of 1838])

SHEEP ARRIVE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Captain Brothie eventually purchased sheep from General Vallejo in California
634 of which survived the voyage north, and were landed at Fort Nisqually -- summer 1838
these rough California sheep became the foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company flock

TRAGEDY ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Mrs. Sarepta White, wife of Dr. Elijah White, was traveling by canoe
with her infant son Jason and Rev. David Leslie
as they were returning after a visit with Mrs. Elvira (Johnson) Perkins at Wascopam
Their canoe overturned below Celico Falls on the Columbia River
Rev. David Leslie, by supreme effort, aided the mother in clinging to the overturned boat
tragically, the child was drowned -- August 1838

YOUNG IGNACE LA MOUSSE AND PIERRE GAUCHER CONTACT A CATHOLIC PRIEST

Arriving at the St. Joseph Mission in Council Bluffs mission, the Catholic two Iroquois seekers
met the missionary Belgian priest Father Pierre De Smet
More than a little touched by their story and their request for "Black Robes"
Father De Smet agreed to return to St. Louis with the Indians
and plead their case before his Bishop

UNITED STATES PREPARES ITS OWN AROUND THE WORLD SCIENTIFIC EXPEDEITION

Since [1818] the United States and Great Britain had agreed to jointly occupy Oregon
but for most of that time only the British had maintained a presence in the Far West
through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company
however, diplomats from both countries realized that the terms of joint occupancy
could not be extended indefinitely
United States Congress after a great deal of prodding from President John Quincy Adams
decided to send a scientific expedition around the world to promote commerce
and to offer protection to the Pacific whaling and seal hunting industries [1828]
however, because of numerous impediments the act was not passed by Congress until [1836]
because only the United States navy had American ships capable of circumnavigating the world
a naval expedition was authorized out of necessity
Although navy officers and men were trained for fighting ships
other skills would be required for duties assigned to this expedition
in addition to exploration the navy squadron was assigned to conduct extensive surveys
of newly-discovered areas and also those regions previously found but not well charted
an all-civilian scientific corps was to carry out that assignment
which imposed an additional command responsibility on the navy officers
few naval officers had any surveying experience and none knew how to work with scientists
This was to be a four year voyage of exploration -- 1838-[1842]
to investigate South America, tour of Antarctica where they discovered Wilkes Land,
Antarctic Ocean, Cape Verde and Tuamoti Islands, New South Wales, The Philippines, Fiji,

and the Hawaiian Island chain ending with a look at the whale fisheries
and a survey the Northwest coast and Columbia River

U.S. SCIENTIFIC EXPLORING EXPEDITION SETS OUT ON AN AROUND THE WORLD TRIP

U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes was in charge of the Depot of Charts and Instruments
in Washington City (now known as the Naval Observatory)

Wilkes had been chosen to lead the United States Exploring Expedition
(also known as the “U.S. Ex .Ex.” or the “Wilkes Expedition”)

over all of the other forty lieutenants assigned to the expedition

although they had more sailing time, Wilkes displayed leadership characteristics

he possessed vision, intelligence and determination

in fact, several naval lieutenants senior to Wilkes were assigned to serve under him

Congress had sent the Scientific Exploring Expedition on a journey around the world

780-ton *Vincennes* carried a crew of eighty and was the flagship of the fleet

she carried eighteen guns

650-ton *Peacock* under the command of Lieutenant William L. Hudson

was armed with eight long 24-pounders and two long 9-pounders

store ship 46-ton *Relief* carried seven guns

brig: *Porpoise*, a 230-ton gun-brig under Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold,

carried an eighty-man crew

she was armed with two nine-pound cannons and twenty-four cannonades

two schooners that served as tenders:

Sea Gull 110 tons carrying two guns, attended the *Porpoise*

and *Flying Fish* -- ninety-six tons with two guns and a crew of fifteen tender to *Peacock*

Peacock accompanied by *Flying Fish* were ordered to conduct surveys

in central and southern Pacific waters and afterward to rendezvous with Wilkes

at the Columbia River

Relief and *Seagull* were to sail from the South Seas before meeting Wilkes at the Columbia River

Being a peaceful expedition of discovery, these ships were stripped of heavy armament

and that space was given over to scientific exploration

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES WAS A TEMPERAMENTAL MAN

Wilkes had advanced in his career through a relentless campaign of self-improvement

he largely trained himself in surveying work and reserved for himself and other naval officers

some of the scientific duties -- including all those connected with surveying and cartography

he demanded much of himself and those around him

he enforced harsh discipline, including lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails

(a whip with nine knotted cords fastened to a handle that left marks like a cat scratch

on the bare backs of disobedient men)

Wilkes possessed a short temper

he developed a reputation as sometimes being arrogant and fickle

his bad habits tended to overshadow his good qualities

Herman Melville relied on details of Wilkes' *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*

and borrowed some aspects of his personality and conduct for his characterization

of Captain Ahab in the novel *Moby Dick*

WILKES EXPEDITION SAILS FROM HAMPTON ROADES, VIRGINIA

Six oddly-matched ships sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia -- August 9, 1838

bound for a scientific investigation under United States Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes

Wilkes "United States Exploring Expedition" (or in military language "U.S. Ex. Ex.")

was composed of eighty-two officers and 342 sailors accompanied by fourteen civilians:

- twelve scientists provided the necessary expertise for the expedition:
 - two naturalists, who investigated the workings of nature,
Titian Ramsay Peale of the USS *Peacock* and Dr. Charles Pickering
 - two botanists who studies plants,
William Rich of the USS *Relief*
William Dunlop Brackenridge assistant botanist aboard the USS *Vincennes*
 - one taxidermist who preserved animal specimens,
John W. W. Dyes of the USS *Vincennes*
 - one mineralogist,
James Dwight Dana mineralogist and geologist; on the USS *Peacock*
 - one mathematical instrument maker, John G. Brown of USS *Vincennes*
 - one philologist who investigated native languages and served as interpreter
Horatio Emmons Hale with the USS *Peacock*
 - one interpreter, F. L. Davenport of the USS *Peacock*
 - one conchologist Joseph Pitty Couthouy of the USS *Vincennes* who studied shells
 - two other scientists of undetermined skills, Henry Wilkes and John Dean
- two artists, Joseph Drayton and Alfred A. Agate, accompanied the expedition

Wilkes Expedition used the trade winds to reach South America

by first crossing the Atlantic Ocean to the Madeira Islands before turning south

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN OREGON ORGANIZES

Presbyterian Church was formally organized at Waiilatpu -- August 18, 1838

Rev. Henry Spalding -- Pastor

Dr. Marcus Whitman -- Ruling Elder

both of their wives also were charter members

two native Hawaiians -- Joseph and Maria Maki

Next day French-Canadian fur trapper Charles Compo was admitted by baptism

after which he legally married a Nez Perce woman

William H. Gray and Cornelius Rogers en route with the reinforcements

joined the church by letter from the East

OREGON PROVISIONAL EMIGRATION SOCIETY BEGINS

Oregon Provisional Emigration Society was organized in Lynn, Massachusetts -- August 1838

while not a missionary society, its leading members were Methodist

goal of the Society was **"to prepare the way for the Christian settlement of Oregon"**³¹⁴

³¹⁴ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 135.

Society leaders proposed to enlist several hundred Christian families, send them overland to Oregon and encourage them to develop the natural resources for stock raising, commerce, fishing, etc.

Society leaders also were interested in Christianizing and educating the natives to make them citizens of a new commonwealth where all would share equal rights

Society published monthly magazine: *The Oregonian*

later the phrase “and Indian’s Advocate” was added to the title

The Oregonian and Indian’s Advocate

was edited by Rev. Frederick P. Tracy of Lynn, Massachusetts

who also served as secretary to the society

Future possibilities of this great country were eloquently noted by the editor

he called it **“the future home of the power which is to rule the Pacific,...the theater on which mankind are to act out a part not yet performed in the drama of life and government. [Oregon’s] far-spreading seas and mighty rivers [were] to teem with the commerce of an empire; [her] boundless prairies and verdant values [were] to feel the steps of civilized millions...”**³¹⁵

(Eleven issues were printed -- [October 1838] to [August 1839])

MISSIONARY REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVED NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

William H. Gray returned to the Pacific Northwest accompanied by his bride Mary

with three Congregationalist ministers and their wives and a lay helper

Rev. Cushing and Mrs. Myra Eells

Rev. Elkanah and Mrs. Mary Walker

Rev. Asa Bowen and Sara Smith and Mrs. Smith

and lay helper Cornelius Rogers

Expedition arrived at Waiilatpu -- August 29, 1838

while these reinforcements were sincerely appreciated by the Whitmans and Spaldings

by the time William Gray’s bickering group reached Whitman’s station

newcomers were so enraged at Gray that not one would inhabit the same district with him

Hudson’s Bay Company greeted the missionaries with ambivalence

hospitable and helpful -- yet edged by concern and suspicion

yet their missions could not take root without the company’s aid

Missionaries combined church work and farming at Waiilatpu

(they provided both a nucleus for colonization and way stations along the trail West)

WAILLATPU MISSIONAIRES ESTABLISH THEIR ROLES

American Board Missionary men, including those recently arrived, held a meeting and decided:

- to instruct Indians in their native language and to teach English as rapidly as possible;

- to accept the offer of a printing press

from the American Board of Commission of Foreign Mission missionaries in Hawaii;

- to build a grist mill and blacksmith shop at Lapwai

Assignments were made at the two current American Board of Commissioners mission stations

Waiilatpu and Lapwai

working with Dr. Whitman and Narcissa at Waiilatpu

³¹⁵ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 136.

were rasp-natured Rev. Asa and Mrs. Sara Smith who spent the winter at Waiilatpu
(before being transferred to Kamiah on the Clearwater River)
Cornelius Rogers also was assigned to Waiilatpu (until he moved to Lapwai Mission)
Whitmans undertook to give schooling to not only Indians

but also to white children -- most of them boarders at the mission

Dr. Whitman wrote: **“It gives me much pleasure to...quietly...work...for the Indians. It does not concern me so much what is to become of any particular set of Indians as to give them the offer of Salvation through the gospel & the opportunity of Civilization and then I am content to do good to all men as ‘I have opportunity’.”**³¹⁶

working with Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding at Lapwai

was unwanted William Gray, who was the promoter of the expansion, and his wife Mary Spalding and Gray quarreled throughout the winter

Cornelius Rogers who was not happy with the almost constant bickering appealed to Dr. Whitman to provide relief

WOMEN’S CLUBS WERE ORGANIZED BY THE AMERICAN BOARD WOMEN

Columbia Maternal Association -- 1838

first woman’s club on the Pacific coast

organized at the Whitman Mission through the efforts of Narcissa Whitman and Mrs. Cushing Eells

Social Welfare Club, a forerunner of the PTA, was begun -- 1838

Mrs. Eliza Spalding -- President

Mrs. Mary Walker -- Vice President

Mrs. Mary Gray -- Recording Secretary

Mrs. Narcissa Whitman -- Corresponding Secretary

REV. JASON LEE CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY EAST

Traveling down the Mississippi River he somehow learned that Illinois Methodists were holding a conference at Alton, Illinois on the river’s eastern bank

Stopping at the village, he marched in his buckskin clothes up the street and into the church, his peak-headed young Chinooks trailing behind

REV. JASON LEE’S SUCCESS

After his successful visit to the Methodist Church in Alton, Illinois and without consulting with the Methodist Mission Society

Lee accepted invitations to lecture and preach in churches

he spent the early part of the fall stumping Illinois

to raise money for his purposed but still unauthorized mission expansion

REV. JASON LEE SPEAKS IN PEORIA, ILLINOIS

When Lee spoke at Peoria, Illinois’ Main Street Presbyterian Church -- October 1, 1838

he had with him five Native American teenage boys

³¹⁶ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 38.

three from the Calapooya tribe and two flat-headed Chinooks
one of the Chinooks, Thomas Adams, became ill and was left in Peoria
to recuperate under the care of sympathetic townspeople
Rev. Jason Lee continued his journey to the East
he accepted invitations to lecture and preach in churches
lectured in all states though which he passed
aroused a good deal of interest in far-off Pacific Northwest

TOM ADAMS REMAINS IN PEORIA, ILLINOIS

Indian Tom, as he was called, created quite a sensation
convalescing and homesick, he took to hanging around the local wagon shop
where he spun exotic yarns in broken English about the farms and furs
and the great salmon of the Willamette as he described his life in Oregon
Combination of Tom Adams' stories and Jason Lee's speech
created the incentive for local attorney Thomas Jefferson Farnham
to form the Oregon Dragoons for an expedition to Oregon

OREGON DRAGOONS ARE FORMED IN PEORIA, ILLINOIS

Peoria, Illinois lawyer Thomas Jefferson Farnham listened to the talks given by Rev. Jason Lee
he became interested in traveling to Oregon to save the region from the British
Sixteen members of the "Peoria Party" included: Thomas Jefferson Farnham, Amos Cook,
James L. Trask, Francis Fletcher, Owen Garrett, Joseph Holman, Quincy Adams Jordan,
Ralph L. Kilbourne, Robert Moore, Obadiah A. Oakley, Thomas Jefferson Pickett, John Prichard,
Sydney Smith, Chauncey Wood, John J. Wood and Charles Yates
Almost all the volunteers were about twenty years old, unmarried
and possessed a romantic sense of adventure
each man had his own horse, a rifle with powder and 120 musket-balls,
a Bowie knife weighing as much as 7-9 pounds and \$100-150 for supplies
Thomas J. Farnham was elected Captain of what he named the "Oregon Dragoons"
(they are sometimes called the Peoria Party)
Oregon Dragoons were the first overland expedition with the avowed intention
of permanent settlement in Oregon
(they would spend the winter preparing for their adventure
and enjoying the attention of friends and neighbors less fortunate than themselves)

YOUNG IGNACE AND PIERRE GAUCHER ARRIVE IN ST. LOUIS

They were traveling with Father Pierre De Smet
who in a meeting with his Bishop, Joseph Rosati, offered himself in their service
permission was soon granted for Father De Smet to establish a mission for the Flatheads
Father De Smet decided to wait (until spring) to undertake the journey
in the meantime Young Ignace would stay with him in St. Louis
to begin gathering supplies for their trip to (Montana)
Pierre Gaucher, alone and facing cruel winter weather and extreme hardships,
walked more than 1,600 miles across the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains

to bring the good news to the waiting Flatheads and Nez Perce

REV. AND MRS. BEAVER RETURN TO LONDON

After twenty-six turbulent months Rev. Herbert and Jane Beaver left Fort Vancouver -- October 1838
returned to London by company ship

In spite of their haughty attitudes they had enjoyed some success
they had performed many baptisms, marriages and burials

despite the fact the population at Fort Vancouver was primarily Catholic
(After their return to London, Rev. Beaver filed charges to have McLoughlin dismissed
but instead was dismissed himself with a small award for damages)

CONDITIONS AT WAILATPU WERE CROWDED

Mission served as the home of Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Rev. Asa and Sara Smith,
Rev. Elkanah and Mary Walker

Crowded living conditions added to the discomfort of the occupants
a second house was under construction for the Smiths,

but construction was not far enough along to enable them move in

Plans were laid to open two new missions to be opened the next spring:

- Tshimakain to serve the Spokane Indians

was to be a new mission established to work among the Spokane Indians

Archibald McDonald Chief Trader of Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colville

suggested the site thirty miles northwest Spokane near present-day Ford, Washington)

and sixty miles from Lapwai

(region became own as Walker's Prairie)

- Kamiah to serve the Nez Perce Indians

second new mission was to be located fifty miles up the Clearwater River from Lapwai

like Lapwai, this mission station would serve the Nez Perce Indians

all work on this mission was postponed (until spring)

CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON TSHIMAKAIN MISSION

Supplies to build the new American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Mission station
were obtained from Hudson's Bay Company Fort Colville

With the help of the Spokane Indians and the blessing of their chief,

Elkanah Walker and William Gray raised the walls of the new mission

Tshimakain: "Place of the Spring" -- fall 1838

before returning to Waiilatpu (to spend the winter)

FIRST CATHOLIC PRIESTS REACH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Father Francis Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers

traveled with the Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia Express

news of their arrival reached Fort Colville ahead of them

representatives of five Indian tribes waited at Kettle Falls to greet them

Father Blanchet and Father Demers celebrated the first Mass held in what is now (Washington state)

at a point near Kettle Falls on the Columbia River at 3 a.m. in October 1838

they ministered to the natives for three days -- baptizing nineteen people
These two priests promised to return soon and construct a mission
among the people of the Upper Columbia River

REV. JASON STIMULATES INTEREST IN THE NORTHWEST

Rev. Jason Lee appeared in New York -- November 1838
before the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church
where he overcame the objections of the more conservative members
and won an unprecedented grant of forty thousand dollars
He launched a six-month lecture tour to help raise the sum
and to recruit volunteers to accompany him back West
(Lee would raise a total of \$100,000 in cash contributions)
Philip L. Edwards, lay helper to Rev. Jason Lee who had accompanied him across the continent,
did not return to the Pacific Northwest
but he had played an important role in the development of the Pacific Northwest
he had traveled to California to drive cattle with Ewing Young
and had co-authored the Memorial to Congress carried by Rev. Jason Lee

TWO CATHOLIC PRIESTS ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

Father Francis Blanchet accompanied by Father Modeste Demers arrived by canoe
from Canada down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver -- November 24, 1838
after numerous hardships and trials, dangers by land and water
including the loss of twelve members of the expedition by drowning in the Columbia River
their hazardous 5,325-mile trip had taken six months
November 24, 1838 became the official date of the Catholic Church's arrival
in the Pacific Northwest
Father Blanchet's and Father Demers's task was to spread the Catholic faith
among the Indians and settlers of the Columbia Department
that extended from Northern California to Alaska,
and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean
an area of almost 400,000 square miles
Father Blanchet celebrated Holy Mass in Latin for the first time in lower Oregon
at Fort Vancouver -- Sunday, November 25, 1838
this service was conducted for seventy-six Catholics and a host of curious onlookers
Fort Vancouver served as the headquarters for the Catholic Church for the next four years
both priests toiled alone throughout their appointed domain learning Indian languages
and teaching natives the prayers and doctrines of the Catholic Church
Father Demers was actively supported by Hudson's Bay Company
he visited Indians of the Plateau at forts Okanogan, Omak, Colville, and Walla Walla
he also learned Chinook Jargon in only three weeks

FRENCH PRAIRIE SETTLERS WORRY ABOUT THE STATUS OF THEIR LAND

As British citizens, Hudson's Bay Company retirees living on French Prairie
looked to Dr. John McLoughlin for law and order -- which he provided

their ties to his authority grew even firmer in 1838
with the appearance of Fathers Francis Blanchet and Modeste Demers
to minister to the spiritual wants of the Catholic French-Canadians
Deeply troubling to their Company allegiance, however, was the fact that everyone believed
sooner or later the land south of the Columbia River would fall to the United States
would a new American government honor French-Canadian claims to the land?
U.S. Navy's Lieutenant William A. Slacum had tried to reassure French-Canadians [in 1837],
but many recognized the wisdom of integrating themselves with the Americans
rather than risk losing all they had in the world

COMPETITION DEVELOPS BETWEEN PROTESTANT AND CATHOLICS MISSIONARIES

Narcissa Whitman noted about the natives around the Waiilatpu Mission: **“They are an exceedingly proud, haughty and insolent people and keep us constantly upon the stretch after patience and forbearance. We feed them far more than any of our associates do their people, yet they will not be satisfied. Notwithstanding all this, there are many redeeming qualities in them.... They are making farms all about us, which to us is a favorable omen....**

“There has been much sickness among them and several deaths -- some of them were our firmest friends. Their sickness causes us a great deal of perplexity, care and anxiety. They are anxious to take medicine, but they do not feel satisfied with this alone: they must have their jugglers playing over them or they will surely die. We have had two or three instances where some have died without being prayed over. They are such miserable nurses that they die by their own neglect. We have been kept much of the time occupied in visiting and preparing food and medicine for them....”³¹⁷

“A most important transaction during one meeting was the formation of a temperance society for the benefit of the Indians. All the chiefs and principal men of the tribe who were here readily agreed to the pledge and gave in their names to become members of the society. I have recently been informed that two of them have been tempted to drink, but have refused and turned their backs upon it, saying they would never drink again. They are truly an interesting people. We love them most sincerely, and long to see them turning unto the Lord....

“A Catholic priest has recently been at Walla Walla and held meetings with the Indians and used their influence to draw the people away from us. Some they have forbidden to visit us again, and filled their minds with distractions about truths we teach, and their doctrine -- say we have been talking to them about their bad hearts long enough and too long -- say we ought to have baptized them long ago, etc., etc. The conflict has begun. What trials await us we know not....”³¹⁸

FIRST WHITE BABY BORN IN OREGON

At Waiilatpu Mission the crowded conditions became even more intense
people living in the only completed mission house
were forced to make room for Elkanah and Mary Walker's first son
Cyrus Hamlin Walker was born (in today's Washington) -- December 7, 1838
first white child born in Oregon to live to maturity
Number of people living in the house at Waiilatpu convinced Dr. Whitman

³¹⁷ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 153-154.

³¹⁸ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 155.

that work on the new mission house had to be speeded up
he was able to hire a skilled carpenter, Ashel Munger
who had come to Oregon as an independent missionary,
but found that was not possible in the vast, unsettled region
he eagerly accepted Whitman's offer of work

FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET CELEBRATES MASS IN THE COWLITZ VALLEY

Father Blanchet celebrated the first Catholic Mass in the Cowlitz Valley home
of retired Hudson's Bay Company employee Simon Bonaparte Plomondon -- December 16, 1838
Father Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers decided St. Francis Xavier Mission would be established
on the Cowlitz Prairie

(this decision is commemorated as the establishment of the first Catholic mission
in the Pacific Northwest)

Father Blanchet selected 640 acres near the Cowlitz River to build a mission
log church of St. Francis Xavier Mission was constructed

under the direction of Father Modeste Demers near the Cowlitz River
(about three miles north of today's Toledo, Washington)

Father Demers working mainly with French-Canadians build a cabin and barn
rails for fencing were split and the 640 acres were prepared for cultivation

Father Demers laid out the original Mission Cemetery

Father Blanchet took up residence at St. Francis Xavier Mission
this was the first Catholic mission in the Pacific Northwest,

Father Demers traveled throughout the entire Pacific Northwest providing Catholic services
for Indians and whites alike (in what is now Washington State)

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN MEETS WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Fort Vancouver Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin was in London for the winter -- 1838-1839

Dr. McLoughlin proposed that a trading post be constructed on San Francisco Bay
this post would provide several benefits for the company:

- it was facilitate the supplying of Hudson's Bay Company's California Brigades,
- it would be useful in developing markets for Oregon lumber, wheat and salmon,
- it would keep Hudson's Bay Company supplied with California sheep and cattle

Company Governor of Rupert's Land George Simpson objected vehemently to the proposal
but the directors agreed with McLoughlin

For several years McLoughlin had proposed to Company Governor George Simpson
and the Board of Directors the creation of "The Oregon Beef and Tallow Company"
this proposal had been ignored

Now McLoughlin in a meeting at Hudson's Bay House resurfaced the idea in a new form
Hudson's Bay Company could form a separate enterprise devoted exclusively to agriculture

EFFORTS ARE MADE TO ENTICE FATHER BLANCHET TO MOVE TO CHAMPOEG

"The Log Church" now known as Mission Du Walamette had been constructed
by retired Hudson's Bay Company employees at French Prairie beside the Willamette River
in the hope of attracting a Catholic priest to serve the small community [1836]

this structure had remained vacant for in the absence of priest to provide services
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin had stated he felt the church
was not "properly located and ordered it to be removed and reassembled on a large prairie"
Mission Du Walamette was moved four miles to French Prairie
by French-Canadian settlers in the hope Father Blanchet would serve the parish

FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET TRAVELS TO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Father Francis Blanchet set out from St. Francis Xavier Mission along the Cowlitz River
to visit the unoccupied Mission Du Walamette -- January 3, 1839
Father Modeste Demers was placed in charge of St. Francis Xavier Mission near the Cowlitz River

FATHER BLANCHET ARRIVES AT MISSION LANDING ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

Father Blancher arrived at Mission Landing -- about 10:00 a.m. January 5, 1839
where he was met by Etienne Lucier and Pierre Beleque
horses were made ready for the four mile ride to Mission Du Walamette
where the priest stopped before continuing on to visit Catholic families in the area
he commended the French-Canadians for building the small chapel

MISSION DU WALAMETTE IS VISITED BY FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET

Father Blanchet celebrated the first Catholic Mass in Oregon -- Sunday January 6, 1839
Mission Du Walamette was rechristened "St. Paul's Mission"
at that time Father Blanchet brought with him an eighty pound bell
which was blessed and suspended from an oak tree
beside the church St. Paul's Pioneer Cemetery was founded
as the final resting place for Catholic pioneers and converted Indians alike
Father Blanchet concentrated his efforts (in today's Oregon State)
(this mission grew to consist of a church, school, hospital, and orphanage
which were dedicated to working among Indians
and twenty-six French-Canadians families at French Prairie
St. Paul's became the Catholic center for religious activities in the Columbia Department
it served as the residence of the Father Blanchet
its mission was later united with Catholic missions at The Dalles, Walla Walla, Colville,
Okanogan, Cowlitz, Nisqually and Vancouver Island)

CATHOLICS WERE MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN WERE THE PROTESTANTS

Protestants taught not only religion to the Indians but also confronted the Indians' way of life
it was constantly pointed out the ways of the white man
were counter to the natives' ideas and habits
Dr. Whitman was looked upon by the Indians as a leader of the white population
that was spreading over the land and threatening the native's lifestyle
Catholic priests better knew how to deal with the natives
they held several advantages over the protestant missionaries:
•priests were well educated;
•priests had experience in dealing with the natives before arriving in the Pacific Northwest;

- priests, unburdened by families, could circulate widely among the natives;
- priests exerted influence over French-Canadians who were increasing in population
- priests contented themselves with teaching their religion

Catholic rituals and colorful ceremonies appealed to Indians' sense of the dramatic
a good ecclesiastical show appealed to Indians

ceremony, symbols, black robes, colorful ornaments, incense and bells impressed them

Catholics were associated with Hudson's Bay Company in the minds of the Indians

they did not appear to be the forerunner of an ominous wave of settlers

priests converted some 6,000 Indians during the first six years of their work

UNOFFICIAL CENSUS OF THE COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

Hudson's Bay Company's James Douglas, second in command at Fort Vancouver,

took an unofficial census of took a census of the Willamette Valley -- 1839

he and counted fifty-one (non-native) adult males

French- Canadians number twenty-three

American settlers numbered eighteen (presumably the other ten were missionaries

it showed that of the approximately one hundred fifty-one inhabitants

seventy were sympathetic to the American cause

METHODIST MISSION INITIATES A GOVERNMENT

As the only true American organization in the valley, the Methodist mission took the lead

with Rev. Jason Lee absent in the East -- 1839

acting superintendent David Leslie set himself up as justice of the peace

whether duly elected or merely unopposed by the people remains obscure

U.S. SENATOR LEWIS F. LINN OF MISSOURI AGAIN ADVOCATES FOR OREGON

Senator Linn once again took an active role in promoting Oregon -- January 16, 1839

settlers already in Oregon needed to protect their land claims

he asked for American occupation and protection of the region

he also proposed one section of land (640 Acres) be provided to any eligible American male

Sen. Linn spoke about the commercial advantages of America's claiming the Pacific Northwest

he noted in a speech on the U.S. Senate floor -- January 28, 1839

natural resources provided sufficient **“inducements for the government of the United States to take formal and speedy possession”**³¹⁹

Sen. Linn introduced into the Senate Rev. David Leslie's and young Philip L. Edwards's petition that Rev. Jason Lee had brought from the Willamette settlers

Sen. Linn received widespread publicity and drew attention to the Pacific Northwest

he kept the debate over the Pacific Northwest alive

however, the Senate did not act on the proposal

CONGRESSMAN CALEB CUSHING FOCUSES ATTENTION ON OREGON

U.S. Representative Caleb Cushing from Massachusetts

³¹⁹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 141.

presented two reports on the Pacific Northwest question to the U.S. House of Representatives:

- Whitman-Spalding route to the Pacific Northwest
- Rev. David Leslie and young Philip L. Edwards' Oregon Memorial

Cushing asked the U.S. House of Representatives to listen to "Professor Lee" speak on Oregon although the request was denied, Lee gained approximately the same ends

by writing Cushing a vigorous letter in which he declared, as had the Oregon Memorial,
"...rely upon it, *there is the germ of a great State.*"³²⁰

this letter, together with voluminous material gathered from Slacum, Wyeth, Kelley and others, Congressman Cushing presented to the House early in 1839

Impressed, the national representatives ordered ten thousand copies of the report printed for distribution throughout the country

10,000 copies of the *Ultimatum Map* drawn by the War Department were included in the report this map attempted to define the boundaries of Oregon

at the northern boundary of Mexican California (42° north latitude)

and the (present U.S.-Canadian border at 49° north latitude)

an additional 16,000 copies of the map alone were printed

CHANGE IN HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ADMINISTRATION

George Simpson was promoted from the position of Governor of Rupert's Land to the newly-created post of Governor-in-Chief of Hudson's Bay Company's entire American operation -- 1839

he was responsible only to the Governor and Committee in London

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY RELATIONS IMPROVE

For several years the two firms had been engaged in resolving territorial fur trade disputes if the area south of the Columbia River might perhaps be lost to the Americans

Governor-in-Chief George Simpson would grab a hand hold to the north

Baron Ferdinand Wrangell of the Russian-American Company had expressed an interest in obtaining British manufactured trade goods and foodstuffs from Hudson's Bay Company

Simpson and the Company directors were, a year earlier at least, anticipating an agreement which would commit Hudson's Bay Company to supplying the Russians, and not incidentally, exclude American traders from the region

This changing relationship with the Russian-American Company in (Alaska)

provided additional impetus for expanding Company agricultural efforts in the Pacific Northwest

INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS RESULT IN A BRITISH-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

Governor-in-Chief George Simpson of Hudson's Bay Company

and Rear Admiral Baron Ferdinand Wrangell of the Russian-American Fur Company

signed an agreement that seemed to end competition

in Columbia Department -- February 6, 1839

Beginning the next year [1840]

Russians agreed to lease to Hudson's Bay Company for ten years for trapping purposes

³²⁰ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 197.

the waters and land from 54°-40' north to Cape Spencer (today's South-East Alaska)
in return the British company agreed not to trade in the remaining Russian territory
and agreed further to pay annually to the Russian-American Fur Company
2,000 sea otter skins as rent

further the British Company agreed to sell at specified prices to the Russians
an additional 5,000 skins and quantities of agricultural produce
such as flour, peas, barley, salted beef, butter, and hams

This arrangement stopped the rivalry south of (Alaska)

and also closed the market to American traders

last American trading vessel had already appeared on the Northwest Coast [1837]

FATHER BLANCHET LEARNS OF METHODIST PLANS TO SERVE THE NISQUALLY INDIANS

While visiting St. Francis Xavier Mission near the Cowlitz River Father Blanchet was informed
of Methodist plans to open an establishment among the Indians at Fort Nisqually

Father Demers was immediately dispatched to the Nisquallies

as it was felt it would be easier to gain the attention of the Indians
before they were exposed to protestant teachings

Father Demers spent ten days among the Nisquallies and enjoyed great success

Indians were willing listeners,

several French-Canadian employees of Hudson's Bay Company resumed their Catholic practices,
Mrs. William Kittson, wife of the Factor of Fort Nisqually, was converted to the Catholic faith
she thereafter acted as interpreter for the priests

Father Demers made arrangements to build a chapel at Fort Nisqually

he then returned to Fort Vancouver to take passage on one of Hudson's Bay Company's barges
to visit the Upper Columbia settlements Fort Colville, Fort Okanogan and Fort Walla Walla

PUGET SOUND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY IS PROPOSED

A prospectus for the new business was adopted

by a committee of Hudson's Bay Company officers in London -- February 27, 1839

Under the provisions of the prospectus, the new company

would purchase livestock, tools and other agricultural material from the Hudson's Bay Company
Stockholders of Hudson's Bay Company would become stockholders of the new organization
governing agents would be composed of:

- Sir John Henry Pelly -- Governor of Hudson's Bay Company stationed in London
- Sir Andrew Colville Deputy Governor of Hudson's Bay Company stationed in London
- George Simpson -- Hudson's Bay Company Governor of Rupert's Land
(today's British Columbia)

Puget Sound Agricultural Company's day-to-day operation would be managed by
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver

Company officers would not only raise and distribute livestock and agricultural products
within the Columbia Department but would also trade with Alaska, the Sandwich Islands,
and possibly California

Hides, horns, tallow, and wool would be exported to England

on supply ships returning to their home ports from the Columbia Department

Formation of Puget Sound Agricultural Company was approved
£200,000 (roughly one million dollars) was invested in the effort
Puget Sound Agricultural Company's day-to-day operation would be managed by
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver
in addition to his duties to the parent company
he also was given a £500 annual raise

DR. WILLIAM J. BAILEY MARRIES MISS MARGARET SMITH JEWETT

Miss Margaret Smith Jewett was a Methodist missionary who had come West [1837]
to join with Rev. Jason Lee's forces
she had wished to become a teacher but this was denied her by group leader Rev. David Leslie
which led to a running feud all during their voyage to the Pacific coast
Miss Smith held out for three years before she surrendered to Dr. William Bailey's flattery
she married the badly scarred doctor -- March 1839
It was an unfortunate mistake
within three weeks of the ceremony bristling incompatibility between the pious bride
and the badly-scarred vindictive doctor led him (by her account) to try to strangle her
she reported he had a violent temper particularly after drinking

TSHIMAKAIN MISSION OPENS TO SERVE THE SPOKANE INDIANS

Prospect for a new mission to be located at Walker's Prairie was suggested by Archibald McDonald
who was in charge of Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colville
American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Mission missionaries
Rev. Elkanah and Mary Walker, Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells and William H. and Mary Gray
were to assigned by Dr. Whitman to the new mission station -- Tshimakain Mission
this was the American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions third mission
after Whitman's Waiilatpu and Spalding's Lapwai
Tshimakain Mission meaning the "Place of the Spring" served the Spokane Indians -- March 1839
twenty-five miles Northwest of (today's Spokane) and sixty miles from Lapwai
supplies for the new mission were obtained from Fort Colville
Leadership at the new mission causes difficulties
Rev. Elkanah Walker was appointed head of Tshimakain Mission
he was a short tempered man who demonstrated a certain lack of character
his devoted wife Mary, intelligent and well educated, proved to be his greatest asset
Congregationalist Rev. Cushing Eells and Myra (Fairbanks) Eells, an invalid,
were assigned to open a school at the mission -- eighty pupils turned up the first year
Eells found the native children able but not eager to learn
William H. Gray, who was also assigned to the mission,
was disappointed not to be selected head of new Tshimakain Mission
but those who traveled with him made it clear they would not work for him

LIFE AT TSHIMAKAIN MISSION

Missionaries to the Spokane Indians at Tshimakain also established a farm
they were well received by the natives who even tried some farming on their own

the importance of agriculture could not be overestimated as Rev. Elkanah Walker declared:
“We must use the plough as well as the Bible, if we would do anything to benefit the Indians. They must be settled before they can be enlightened.”³²¹

Work of teaching and converting Indians proved a laborious and slow task
missionaries clung tenaciously to the idea of preparing the Indians for the day
when white settlers would pour into the fertile lands of the Far West
Tshimakain missionaries preached to a procession of natives
half of the congregation changed each week
other groups of visitors from neighboring camps stayed a week or two
(by November a permanent audience of two hundred had been established)
Both of the Walkers, but especially Mary Walker, wrote extensively in their diaries
these provide much detail about the physical, psychological and spiritual efforts
of the missionaries during these primitive times
Meanwhile, Mary Walker found time to indulge her natural curiosity and scientific training
by, among other things, teaching herself taxidermy
although her husband was not fond of her new skill
she delighted in preserving specimens of fish, birds, and animals
by stuffing and mounting them
the few travelers to stop at the Tshimakain mission over the years found Mrs. Walker
to be a font of knowledge about the geology, natural history and natives of the area
Elkanah Walker spent much of his time trying to bridge the language barrier
by making a detailed study of Flathead, the language spoken by the Spokane natives
Rev. and Mrs. Walker lived nine years in this remote outpost
Mary Walker delivered five more children in nine years at Tshimakain Mission
she raised six children during these years in a fourteen-square-foot log cabin
with walls chinked with mud, and a dirt floor strewn with pine needles
roof of poles, grass, and dirt leaked mud during rainstorms
cloth served as windows (until glass arrived many months later)
they were perhaps the most successful
of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionaries in Oregon
they did not win many lasting converts,
but they maintained good relations with the tribe and many of its elders

CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON METHODIST NISQUALLY MISSION

Rev. David Leslie and carpenter William H. Willson went north to Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound
to meet and confer with many of the Indians living in the area -- April 1839
Willson began construction on an eighteen foot by thirty-two foot log cabin
(ten miles northeast of today's Olympia)
to be occupied by a Methodist missionary when one became available
after a brief time, the site was left unfinished

SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS ARE MADE AT WAILATPU MISSION

³²¹ Joseph Williams, Narrative of a tour from the state of Indiana to the Oregon territory in the years 1841-2, P. 57.

An attractive significant mission house was built of the same materials as the first house
this new, T-shaped building had a wooden frame, walls of adobe bricks,
and a roof of poles, straw and earth
walls were smoothed and whitewashed with a solution made from river mussel shells
later, enough paint was acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company
to paint the doors and window frames green, the interior woodwork gray,
and the pine floors yellow
main section of the house was a story-and-a-half high with three rooms on the ground floor
and space for bedrooms above
from it extended a long, single-story wing which contained a kitchen, another bedroom,
and a classroom
(an out kitchen, storeroom, and other facilities were later added to the wing)
A small, improvised gristmill was built on the south side of the mission grounds

FIRST PRINTING PRESS ARRIVED IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Edwin Oscar Hall, the first Pacific Northwest printer, along with his wife Sarah Lyons Williams Hall
arrived at Fort Vancouver from Honolulu -- April 10, 1839
Hall brought first printing press, a hand-operated Ramage press, from the mission in Hawaii
it was originally donated by American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
to Missionary Rev. H. Bingham in Honolulu and was sent from Boston to Hawaii [1835]
Hall also brought out a good supply of “**types, furniture, paper, and other things**”³²²
Mrs. Hall suffered from a chronic illness of the spine and was in the early months of pregnancy
to reach various inland destinations she traveled by canoe whenever possible

INDEPENDENT MISSIONARIES GATHER IN ST. LOUIS

Three separate independent missionaries had met in St. Louis hoping to journey to Oregon to serve
Rev. John Smith Griffin had attended Oberlin College
and was ordained a Congregational minister
he had been sponsored by his home church in Litchfield, Connecticut
to work as a missionary among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest
along with his bride of two months Mrs. Desire C. (Smith) Griffin
Asahel Munger, a layman, was a religious zealot who was a carpenter by profession
he and his wife, Sarah Elizabeth Hoisington Munger accompanied her husband to Oregon
(Asahel expecting a miracle from God fastened himself over the flames of his forge [1840]
he died three days later leaving a widow and child)³²³
William Johnson was a layman from Philadelphia and although he was he was well educated
he was not a minister
he was a love-struck young man his fiancé left him to marry another man
he crossed the continent to see his former sweetheart once again
after they met he traveled to Acapulco, Mexico was arrested and jailed for some time
Rev-Dr. William Geiger recently graduated from the Mission School at Quincy, Illinois

³²² Herbert O Lang and George Henry Himes, *History of the Willamette Valley, being a description...*, P. 215.

³²³ Stephanie Flora, *Emigrants to Oregon in 1839*, oregonpioneers.com

prepared to travel west to serve the Indians
he received an appointment from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
however, association's funds ran low and the effort was cancelled
Rev.-Dr. Geiger, unwilling to relinquish his plans, set out for St. Louis on his own
when he arrived he made the acquaintance of the other independent missionaries there
preparing their own expedition west
It was decided to travel from St. Louis to the 1839 rendezvous

SUPPLYING THE 1839 MOUNTAIN MAN RENDEZVOUS

Pierre Chouteau of the American Fur Company decided to take a risk
and send a supply caravan to the mountains under the leadership of Moses "Black" Harris -- 1839
This year's supply train was very small compared to past efforts
it consisted of twenty-seven people, nine of whom were employed by the fur company
and a party of independent missionaries
remainder were individuals who simply elected to travel with the caravan
supplies and goods were carried in four two-wheeled carts plus fifty-sixty mules or horses

FIRST PRINTING PRESS ARRIVES AT WAILLATPU

Edwin Oscar Hall and his wife Sarah reached Fort Walla Walla
from Fort Vancouver -- April 30, 1839
bringing with them the Ramage press and printing supplies
because of her bad back, Mrs. Hall made the journey in a hammock

OREGON DRAGOONS COMPLETE THEIR PREPARATIONS TO TRAVEL TO OREGON

Attorney Thomas J. Farnham saw himself as a military leader and adventurer
he believed his army of eighteen "Oregon Dragoons" from Peoria, Illinois:
Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, Owen Garrett, Joseph Holman, Quinn Jordan,
Ralph L. Kilbourne, John Moore, Robert Moore, Obadiah A. Oakley, Thomas Pickett,
John Prichel, Sidney Smith, James Trask, Chauncey Wood, Joseph Wood
and Charles Yates who was the only one to have any military experience
Farnham believed these men could rally the Americans living in Oregon,
drive out the British and seize the Pacific Northwest for the United States
by force of arms if necessary
Oregon Dragoons jointly owned
a wagon with a two horse team, a tent large enough for all of the men to sleep in,
provisions to begin the trip and a communal kitty of \$100 for contingencies
They would **"raise the American flag and run the Hudson's Bay Company out of the country"**³²⁴

OREGON DRAGOONS (SOMETIMES THE PEROIA PARTY) SET OUT FOR OREGON

Sixteen armed and mounted Oregon Dragoons led by Thomas Farnham rode up to the courthouse
in the town square of Peoria, Illinois -- May 1, 1839
they bowed their heads and pledged themselves never to desert one another

³²⁴ Stephanie Flora, *Emigrants to Oregon*, <http://www.oregonpioneers.com/1846, 1995>.

they turned and rode west to the enthusiastic cheers of local citizens
who had turned out to see them off
they carried with them a flag emblazoned with the motto: "Oregon or the Grave"
which was a gift from Mrs. Farnham³²⁵
Oregon Dragoons started each morning with bugle calls and marching orders
several members of the expedition kept daily journals
and in later years some wrote reminiscences
Farnham carried his journal strapped to his back
and he sat down each night to record the day's happenings
most consistent theme found in the accounts were:

- severe weather encountered,
- constant disagreements that wore away at the resolve of the members of the party,
- hunger endured for days at a time when meat became scarce

INDEPENDENT MISSIONARIES BEGIN THEIR JOURNEY TO OREGON

Rev. John Smith Griffin and his bride Desire, Asahel Munger and his wife Sarah,
love-struck William Johnson and Rev-Dr. William Geiger
accompanied the American Fur Company caravan led by Moses "Black" Harris
who offered to guide and protect them for a terribly high price
Together they began their journey west -- May 4, 1839

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WIKES HAS DIFFICULTY KEEPING HIS SQUADRON TOGETHER

Store ship *Relief* proved to be intolerably slow
Lieutenant Wilkes ordered the ship to skip Madeira and head directly for the Cape Verde Islands
and then on to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil to await the arrival of the remainder of the squadron
After sailing for three months and visiting the Cape Verde Islands
U.S. Ex. Ex. arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil -- *Relief* did not arrive until six days later
Sailing from Rio de Janeiro USS *Sea Gull*, her two officers and fifteen men
were lost during a coastal storm -- May 1839
When the expedition arrived at any port the routine of the expedition was generally the same
an astronomical station was set up, and as complete a survey as possible was accomplished;
while the scientists went ashore and investigated the country's geology, botany, etc.
a general description of the place was made with particular reference to the history,
type of government, manners and customs of the natives and the general subject of commerce
castaways and shipwrecked sailors were often encountered and received on board
at times Wilkes and the members of his expedition were called on to handle legal cases
where members of whaling ships or other vessels had been murdered by natives
if the native chiefs failed to take proper action,
Wilkes usually took the matter into his own hands and meted out punishment
Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition continued on to Australia
before proceeding to the Antarctic Ocean where they reported the discovery of a continent
(that was later named "Wilkes Land")

³²⁵ Stephanie Flora, *Emigrants to Oregon*, <http://www.oregonpioneers.com/1846>, 1995.

They traveled to New Zealand, visited Cape Verde and investigated some 300 Pacific islands including Schmitt Islands, New South Wales, The Philippines and Hawaii before traveling to North America [1841]

KAMIAH MISSION OPENS AMONG THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Mission missionaries set to work among the Nez Perce this was the fourth American Board mission after Waiilatpu, Lapwai and Tshimakain Congregationalist Rev. Asa Smith and his ailing wife Sarah had spent the [winter] at Waiilatpu before they would lead the missionary effort at Kamiah Mission along the Clearwater River Smiths arrived at the new mission site -- May 10, 1839

accompanied by Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells and Cornelius Rogers
Like Lapwai, this mission station was to serve the Nez Perce Indians each spring [and winter] daily religious classes were held
Nez Perce Chief Lawyer, an important leader, was also an important scholar
After establishing the mission at Kamiah, Rev. Asa Smith plunged into his work he took a census of the Nez Perce and using his skills as a linguist studied their language he wrote the first Nez Perce dictionary and grammar, unknowingly taking the first steps to save the Nez Perce language
Rev. Smith also translated the *Gospel of Matthew* into Nez Perce
Rev. Smith at first was tolerated by Indians, but then was asked by the natives to pay for everything

RAMAGE PRINTING PRESS IS SET UP AT LAPWAI MISSION

Printer Edwin O. Hall, his wife Sarah and the Ramage printing press were given passage by Hudson's Bay Company up the Columbia River to Rev. Henry Spalding's Lapwai Mission -- May 13, 1839
Edwin Hall completed setting up operation of the press -- May 16

WORK AT LAPWAI INCLUDES PRINTING PORTIONS OF THE BIBLE

Rev. Henry Spalding was having greater success among the Nez Perce and was able to convert several important Indian leaders
When he obtained the Ramage printing press from the American Board mission in Hawaii Spalding began an effort to print parts of the Bible in the Nez Perce language native language did not translate well into English phonics but on the second attempt, he captured many of the sounds of the Nez Perce tongue

FIRST BOOK IN THE NORTHWEST PRINTED AT LAPWAI STATION

Rev. and Mrs. Asa Bowen Smith and Cornelius Rogers arrived at Lapwai from Kamiah Mission *Gospel of Matthew* in the Nez Perce language produced by Henry Spalding and Asa Smith used an adaption of the alphabet employed in (Hawaii)
this was the first book published in the Northwest -- an eight page grammar and lexicon historic significance of this achievement was not lessened because this book had only eight pages
Eight days after Edwin O. Hall set up the Ramage press at Lapwai

Henry and Eliza Spalding and Cornelius Rogers proudly produced
Nez Perces First Book, imprint: Clear Water; Mission Press, May 24, 1839

TWO FLATHEAD INDIANS SEEK THE SERVICES OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

Two young Flathead Indians (Northern Idaho and Western Montana)
Young Ignace La Mousse (son of Old Ignace La Mousse)
Peter Gaucher who had previously accompanied Old Ignace to St. Louis [1831]
decided to travel to St. Louis to find “Black Robes” for their people
to bring back to their people the knowledge possessed by the whites
They arrived at St. Joseph Mission in Council Bluffs, Iowa and met with Father Pierre-Jean De Smet
the priest immediately volunteered to carry the Christian message to the Flathead people
he entrusted the Indians with a letter for his superior, Father Pierre Verhaegen, in St. Louis

OREGON DRAGOONS REACH INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

After leaving Peoria, Illinois the Dragoons arrived at Independence, Missouri -- May 21, 1839
concluding twenty days of constant bickering and in-fighting
In Independence they bought more supplies including an additional 200 pounds of flour
they traded their wagon for pack mules
Oregon Dragoons were reorganized, but Thomas Farnham again was elected captain
Chauncey Wood was named his lieutenant
remaining men were divided into four companies of four men each
Oregon Dragoons now consisted of two officers and fourteen men
they agreed to bury their differences and start out fresh
Andrew Sublette, mountain man and fur trader, was in Independence at that time
he advised the Dragoons to go southwest on the more heavily traveled Santa Fe Trail
Thomas Farnham as leader decided to follow the Santa Fe route across Kansas
Oregon Dragoons would then continue west (across what is now Colorado),
before turning north to Brown’s Hole (Utah),
and pick up what would later become the Oregon Trail
between Brown’s Hole and Fort Hall (Idaho)
four of the dragoons quit and returned to Peoria
Owen Garrett, John Moore, Thomas Pickett and James Trask

OREGON DRAGOONS SET OUT FROM INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Oregon Dragoons departed Independence -- May 30, 1839
dragoons were joined by former schoolteacher Robert Shortess
Thomas Farnham’s decision regarding their proposed route to followed the Santa Fe Trail
added at least a month to the trip across the continent
([winter] became a looming concern as the party proceeded west)

OREGON DRAGOONS ENCOUNTERS INDIANS

Thomas Farnham’s Dragoons had their first encounter with Native Americans -- June 10, 1839
Farnham’s journal describes one of the Indians: **“He had no clothing, save a blanket tied over the left shoulder and drawn under the right arm. His head was shaven entirely bare, with the**

exception of a tuft of hair, about two inches in width, extending from the center occipital over the middle of the forehead. It was short and course and stood erect.... His figure was the perfection of physical beauty. He was five feet nine or ten inches in height, and looked the Indian in everything.”³²⁶

they gave this Indian some powder and flint and they parted peacefully

OREGON DRAGOONS EXPERIENCE FAMINE AND FEASTING

Rain fell continuously and the going was very difficult

Thomas Farnham noted in his journal: **“I was so much reduced when I dismounted from my horse on the evening of the fifteenth [of June], that I was unable to loosen my saddle or spread my blanket for repose.”³²⁷**

Arguments again broke out among the dragoons -- June 15, 1839

Farnham had made a critical error by counting on game to sustain his Oregon Dragoons

all the way to Oregon -- they brought with them just flour, salt and a little bacon

these men were so inexperienced that after the first week on the trail they were low on food

they were not skilled marksmen and failed to kill anything with their flintlock rifles

It was more than a month before they encountered the herds of buffalo they expected

instead of the buffalo they had counted on, the dragoon’s first meal of wild game was turtle soup

made from a twenty pound turtle shot by Sydney Smith

next meals were catfish and antelope

Food rationing became necessary and each man was limited to a daily food allotment

of one quarter cup of flour mixed with water and fried in bacon fat

They were wet and hungry and their physical condition and morale was generally miserable

OREGON DRAGOONS UNITE WITH A PACK TRAIN

Oregon Dragoons on the way to Santa Fe crossed the Arkansas River

this was the “American Nile” according to Thomas Farnham

Dragoons overtook the Alvarez-Walworth pack train headed for Bent’s Fort (Colorado)

two groups traveled in close proximity for mutual protection from hostile Indians -- June 18, 1839

ACCIDENT LEADS TO MORE DISSENTION AMONG THE OREGON DRAGOONS

Captain Thomas Farnham was absent from camp as the men packed to proceed

another petty bickering bout broke out among the Oregon Dragoons -- June 21, 1839

this argument culminated when Sydney Smith the turtle slayer

and one of the hottest tempered men in the group

rushed to the tent and pulled out his rifle by the barrel

his weapon discharged and Smith was shot and seriously wounded in the side

Smith insisted that someone had shot him

until he was shown the smoking barrel of his own rifle

Captain Farnham had brought no medical supplies of any kind so a rider was dispatched

to catch the Alvarez-Walworth supply train and bring back a wagon and a “doctor”

When the wagon arrived, Smith was placed inside

³²⁶ Thomas J. Farnham Journal

³²⁷ Thomas J. Farnham Journal

and the Oregon Dragoons headed southwest for Bent's Fort (Colorado)
in the dust of the supply train which had gone on ahead
Before Smith's injury, the party was able to cover twenty to thirty miles in a day
after his accident they were fortunate to make fifteen miles per day
Following Sydney Smith's accident Captain Thomas Farnham lost all authority
dragoons dissolved into chaos
those who had pledged never to desert one another
argued over whether to leave the injured Sydney Smith behind

ALICE CLARISSA WHITMAN IS TRAGICALLY DROWNED

Little Alice playfully went to the Walla Walla River to get some water in two tin cups after 2:30 p.m.
while the evening meal was being prepared -- June 23, 1839
soon after her departure a search ensued
when two tin cups were found floating in the river, hope faded
rescuers waded into the river hoping of finding the baby alive
an old Indian man dove under the water
found Alice's body caught on a tree root which extended into the river
he brought her lifeless little body to the surface
Alice Clarissa Whitman, age two years three months and nine days, had drowned
Whitmans did not ever recover -- Narcissa grieved incessantly and her health began to fail
(later the Whitmans attempted to compensate by adopting orphans from the Oregon Trail)

ADDITIONAL BOOKS ARE PRINTED ON THE RAMAGE PRESS

Rev. Elkanah Walker collected his work on the Flathead language
he wrote a small primer in that language: *Spokane dialect primer*
(a Spokane-English Dictionary)
400 copies were printed six weeks after the arrival of the printing press at the Lapwai mission
this is believed to be the only book ever published in the Flathead tongue
it was the one locally printed book not in the Nez Perce language
it was also the most elaborate effort -- a sixteen-page primer
copies were stitched, pressed and bound by his wife Mary

Other books printed on the Ramage press included:

- book of simple laws
- book of scripture
- a hymn book

In addition Henry Spalding authored two additional works:

- The Old Mill on the Withrose,*
- Held in the Everglades*

THREE OREGON DRAGOONS QUIT THE EXPEDITION

At the Arkansas River (in Kansas) the dragoons and Alvarez-Walworth supply train
headed in separate directions
dragoons Quincy A. Jordan, Chauncey Wood and John Prichel
chose to remain with the supply train -- June 27, 1839

fifty-year-old William Blair, one of the packers, joined the dragoons
Although food was no longer an immediate concern, disagreements continued among the dragoons
it seemed the further the dragoons traveled the more quarrelsome they became
a very heated meeting was held on the trail to Bent's Fort
Thomas Farnham, Smith and Obadiah Oakley were nearly expelled
but they were allowed to remain with the group until they reached Bent's Fort

SUPPLYING THE 1839 RENDEZVOUS

There was confusion about the location of the rendezvous
because the previous year no decision had been made to even hold another event
Moses "Black" Harris was eventually informed by Andrew Drips and Joseph Walker
that the trappers were gathering once again at Fort Bonneville
Moses "Black" Harris's American Fur Company supply train reached the rendezvous -- July 5, 1839
with only four cart-loads of supplies from Missouri -- a sad contrast to the height of the fur trade
A party of fourteen Hudson's Bay Company men from Fort Hall
under the leadership of packer Francis Ermatinger also arrived at the rendezvous
as the British company continued to apply commercial pressure
to the American Fur Company

ERA OF THE RENDEZVOUS IS COMING TO AN END

Gathering of American mountain men, this time hosted by the American Fur Company,
was held once again -- July 5 -[July 9], 1839
on the upper Green River and Horse Creek at old Fort Bonneville (Wyoming)
Hudson's Bay Company from the west and the American Fur Company from the east
met with independent trappers

Final years of the great annual event were sad

bleak mood created a hushed atmosphere with little drinking and no gambling

This year's Rendezvous brought together a diversified group of people:

- company trappers such as Andrew Drips, Henry Fraeb, Kit Carson, Caleb Wilkens, William Craig and Jim Bridger,
- settlers bound for Oregon or California,
- independent fur trappers, such as William Johnson, Joe Meek, Robert "Doc" Newell, Louis Vasquez and William Sublette,
- independent missionaries seeking the mission field of Oregon

as noted by a German visitor: **"The days of their glory seem to be past. Only with reluctance does a trapper abandon this dangerous craft and a sort of serious home-sickness seizes him when he retires from his mountain life to civilization."**³²⁸

OREGON DRAGOONS ARRIVE AT BENT'S FORT

Traveling with the Alvarez-Walworth supply train the remaining Oregon Dragoons
reached Bent's Fort the trading post on the Arkansas River -- July 6, 1839
several miles above the mouth of the Purgatoire River

³²⁸ Robert M Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 175.

(near present-day Animasin in Southeast Colorado)

At the fort, Sydney Smith's wound was treated and he began a long road to recovery,
although the borrowed Alvarez-Walworth wagon had to be returned to the traders
and Smith was forced to ride horseback the rest of the trip

Thomas Farnham, accused of incompetence and waste of party funds, was removed as captain
Robert Shortess was elected Captain in Farnham's place

Farnham and Shortess both published accounts of their trip
in which they traded the insults that reflected the bitterness of the rivalry
whatever Thomas Farnham's shortcomings as a leader, he saved Sydney Smith's life
Farnham cleaned and dressed Smith's wound daily
and personally drove the wagon in which Smith was transported

Remaining Oregon Dragoons remained at Bent's Fort for five days
while there Thomas Farnham, Sydney Smith and Obadiah Oakley
were officially voted out of the Oregon Dragoons

William Blair and Joseph Wood chose to go with them
common property was divided among the member of the dragoons as previous arranged

VERY TAME RENDEZVOUS IS OVER

Gathering split into various parties that headed westward or eastward at different times
main westward caravan, the Hudson's Bay Company brigade under packer Francis Ermatinger
left the Rendezvous and headed for Fort Hall -- July 9

Ermatinger was accompanied by:

- fifteen independent trappers,
- two parties of California-bound settlers,
- independent missionaries Rev. John Smith Griffin and his wife Desire, Rev.-Dr. William Geiger
and Mr. Asahel Munger and his wife Sarah Elizabeth

OREGON DRAGOONS SPLINTER

Three expelled men, Thomas Farnham, Obadiah Oakley and the wounded Sydney Smith
along with Joseph Wood and William Blair who had chosen to go with them
left Bent's Fort early in the morning -- July 11, 1839

Obadiah Oakley noted **“Farnham, Smith, Wood, Blair and myself being determined to travel
no farther with Shortess and Moore, deeming them persons in whom no confidence could be
placed.”**³²⁹

Farnham described the scene: **“...three sound and good men, one wounded and one bad one,
mounted our animals and took trail for the mountains and Oregon territory.”**³³⁰

Captain Robert Shortess and his Oregon Dragoons composed of Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher,
Joseph Holman, Ralph L. Kilbourne, Robert Moore, James Trask and Charles Yates
made plans for their trek to Oregon
they would follow the Arkansas River about sixty miles,
then move north to the South Platte River then follow upriver to Fort St. Vrain
located at the confluence of Saint Vrain Creek and the South Platte River,

³²⁹ Stephenie Flora, *Journey of the Peoria Party*, www.oregonpioneers.com/peoria.

³³⁰ Thomas J. Farnham *Journal*

about twenty miles east of the Rocky Mountain (near today's Platteville, Colorado)
like Bent's Fort, Fort St. Vrain was a Bent brothers' trading post
this was a more northern route than the one Farnham intended to pursue

GEORGE WOOD EBBERT BUILDS A HOME AT MISSION BOTTOM

Mountain Man George Ebbert was the first white settler in the Champoeg area -- 1839
previously he had worked as a Hudson's Bay Company trapper
and as a blacksmith for the Champoeg Mission
Ebbert moved away from Mission Bottom three years later [1842]

CHAMPOEG EXPANDS INTO A COLONY

Hudson's Bay Company set up a trading post, granary and warehouse at the site
these, in effect, were the seed that produced the town of Champoeg
Agriculture slowly replaced trapping as major economic activity in the valley
gradually permanent homes were established on the north edge of French Prairie
beginning the natural process of forming a colony along the Willamette River
enough farmers became neighbors that Champoeg grew into a small trapper's settlement
Champoeg became a colony along the Willamette River
there were about fifty families living at French Prairie in the area around Champoeg
most were French-Canadians with Calapooia or Nez Perce wives and children
Americans Protestants, especially Methodists also settled the region
local Indians were at first confounded and then threatened
by the ever-increasing number of invaders
simultaneously the Indian population rapidly decreased in numbers due to disease
Champoeg grew from small trapper's settlement to a thriving American community
as the area grew into a town surrounded by homes and farms
served by a post office, stores, mills, warehouses and a blacksmith shop
variety of itinerant sailors, explorers, adventurers, tourists, and seasonal businessmen
also passed through the region -- a few settled down
(later the area later grew into a town and developed a post office, stores, mills, warehouses,
and a blacksmith shop -- all surrounded by homes and farms)

AMERICAN CONCERNS ARE HEIGHTENED BY A BRITISH DIGNITARY

United States and British relations were not good
British naval squadron under Captain Sir Edward Belcher
arrived in the Columbia Department -- July 1839
he conducted a survey of the Columbia River's bars, channels and inner anchorages
American settlers believed the British were about to seize the Pacific Northwest
United States and Great Britain both had poor relations with the Russian government
plots of international intrigue raised concern among the settlers and missionaries

SHORTESS AND HIS PORTION OF THE OREGON DRAGOONS ARRIVE AT FORT ST. VRAIN

Captain Robert Shortess and his seven Oregon Dragoons reached Fort St. Vrain
they spent some six weeks at the fort (near today's Platteville, Colorado)

waiting to join the Green River supply train which was en route
they spent their time hunting buffalo and gathering berries
Francis Fletcher and Quinn Jordan brought down the first buffalo
by then, the supplies of flour and salt were exhausted
men lived the rest of the trip on “meat straight”
as described in Joseph Holman’s account of the journey
they also lost seven of their pack animals to a Sioux raiding party
When it was time to leave Fort St. Vrain, Robert Moore and Charles Yates chose to stay behind
Robert Moore spent the winter at the fort but eventually reached Oregon
Yates headed for Santa Fe
Journeying together to Brown’s Hole on the Green River were the six remaining Oregon Dragoons
Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Holman, Ralph L. Kilbourne, Robert Shortess
and James Trask
Soon the party was surrounded by buffalo herds so immense they couldn’t pass through them
they would shoot up to a dozen of the bison at one time
often taking just the tongue and leaving the remainder behind
occasionally they would dry the meat on scaffolds hung over a fire creating buffalo jerky

WAILLATPU RECEIVES VISITORS

Rev.-Dr. William M. Geiger and William Johnson
traveling slightly ahead of the other independent protestant missionaries
reached Waiilatpu Mission -- early August 1839
Francis Ermatinger’s Hudson’s Bay Company brigade arrived soon after
bringing fifteen independent trappers and the formerly California-bound immigrants

CAPTAIN JOHN SUTTER SETTLES IN CALIFORNIA

Captain Sutter, a dashing adventurer, was formerly of the Swiss Army
he had made his way with a band of trappers across the Great Plains to the Pacific Northwest
and thence on to the Hawaiian Islands
Hoping to make his fortune, John Sutter bought an abandoned ship in Honolulu
he sailed it across the Pacific Ocean with several traveling companions
and eight Kanaka (Hawaiian) men and two women
who were placed under contract to him -- 1839
they landed at Yerba Buena (San Francisco)
three followers and the Kanaka oarsmen rowed up the Sacramento River in small boats
Sutter established a huge land claim of 97,640 acres -- August 1839
and established the colony of “New Helvetia”
(at what is now the California state capitol, Sacramento)
With permission of the Mexican authorities, Sutter recruited Native Americans
to raise a wheat crop, operate his distillery, a hat factory and a blanket company
he also built a fort
Procuring uniforms from Russian traders and with the help of several officers from Europe
Sutter organized a two hundred-man Indian army clothed in czarist uniforms

commanded by a German³³¹

FATHER DE SMET SERVES THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS

Potawatomi living in the vicinity of St. Joseph Mission in Council Bluffs, Iowa were threatened by other Indians: Otos, Pawnees and Sioux collected their scalps. Father Pierre-Jean De Smet visited their worst enemy -- the Yankton Sioux. He journeyed to the mouth of the Vermilion River on the packet ship *St. Peter* which belonged to the American Fur Company. After a successful negotiation, Father De Smet returned to St. Joseph Mission to learn that more than one hundred murders had been committed on the Potawatomi community. The cause of this disaster was the cursed "firewater". De Smet lost heart and considered closing the mission -- August 1839.

THOMAS FARNHAM ON THE TRAIL TO BROWN'S HOLE

Thomas Farnham and his four companions Sydney Smith, Obadiah Oakley, Joseph Wood and William Blair encountered a group of fur trappers. Farnham hired a Kentucky trapper named Kelly to serve as guide. Mr. Kelly had been employed by the American Fur Company. Kelly, serving as guide, led the five Oregon Dragoons to Brown's Hole on the Green River which was reached -- August 13, 1839. When Farnham and his men arrived most trappers assigned to Fort Davy Crockett were absent. Some were trapping and others hunting as the post was then short of provisions. Farnham's party bought meat for two meals from a Snake Indian then purchased three dogs for food to be used later if necessary.

BROWN'S HOLE AND FORT DAVY CROCKETT HAD FEW CONVENIENCES

Brown's Hole was an isolated valley thirty-five miles long and five to six miles wide bounded on the south by Diamond Mountain and the north by Cold Spring Mountain. This valley was located where Vermillion Creek merges with the Green River in the extreme northeastern Utah, northwestern Colorado and south-central Wyoming. Fort Davy Crockett [built in 1836] was the post serving the Brown's Hole region. This was a favorite wintering place for mountain men and Indians alike because of the mild winters and abundant forage for game animals. After news of the death of Davy Crockett at the Alamo reached the mountains the post was named in honor of the American hero although mountain men usually referred to it as "Fort Misery" because of the deplorable conditions. A hollow square, the post was built of logs with a dirt roof and floor that in bad weather quickly turned to mud. Fort Davy Crockett had a reputation for being the "meanest fort in the West" but still served as the social center of the Rocky Mountains.

³³¹ James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, P. 100.

FARNHAM AND HIS MEN AT FORT DAVY CROCKETT

Paul Richardson, a mountain man described as “an old Yankee woodsman,” arrived at Fort Davy Crockett -- August 17, 1839
on his way from Fort Hall headed east to Missouri
Richardson gave a discouraging account of Oregon
his bleak description noted that “rain falls incessantly five months of the year”³³²
he persuaded dragoons Obadiah Oakley and Joseph Wood,
both of whom had already seen enough rain on their trip,
to join him and head back to Missouri
Farnham’s traveling companions were reduced to two:
William Blair and the still ailing Sydney Smith
At Fort Davy Crockett, Mr. Kelly’s services as guide were ended
Thomas Farnham hired a Native American known as Jim
to guide the three Oregon Dragoons 200 miles from Brown’s Hole west to Fort Hall (Idaho)
three Oregon Dragoons started out in the morning -- August 19, 1839

FARNHAM AND HIS TWO COMPANIONS MEET JOE MEEK

Thomas Farnham, William Blair and Sydney Smith encountered a buckskin-clad man riding a large white horse -- August 29, 1828
he turned out to be Joe Meek, the mountain man known far and wide as the “bear killer,”
after his legendary battle with a Grizzly bear
Meek was on his way alone between Fort Hall and Fort Crockett
Meek spent some time advising Farnham about the country that lay ahead
and, as they traveled their separate ways, occasionally reestablished contact with Farnham’s party

FARNHAM’S PARTY REACHES FORT HALL

Their Indian guide, Jim, led Thomas Farnham, Sydney Smith and William Blair to Fort Hall arriving there four months from the day they left Peoria, Illinois -- September 1, 1839
at the fort they were treated with the utmost politeness
by trapper and missionary Courtney M. Walker
After two days rest, the Farnham trio hired a new Native American guide, Carbo and headed for Fort Boise -- September 3
this trip was particularly rough on the horses because the terrain was mostly volcanic rock

SHORTESS AND HIS PORTION OF THE OREGON DRAGOONS ARRIVE AT BROWN’S HOLE

Robert Shortess and his dragoons, Francis Fletcher, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, James L. Fash-Trask and Ralph Kilbourne arrived at Brown’s Hole from Fort St. Vrain
they reached Fort Davy Crockett just as winter was setting in -- early September
it was reported that over three feet of snow fell in less than 24 hours
Captain Shortess and his men enjoyed the comforts of Fort Davy Crockett for almost a month

³³² Randol B. Fletcher, *Oregon or the Grave, A fresh perspective on the aftermath of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Oregon Magazine, 2003.

THOMAS FARNHAM AND HIS TWO COMPANIONS REACH FORT BOISE (IDAHO)

With Carbo as their guide, Thomas Farnham, Sydney Smith and William Blair traveled from Fort Hall to Fort Boise in ten days -- September 13, 1839

After resting for two days, the men resumed their westward way departing from Fort Boise -- September 15

FARNHAM'S AND HIS PORTION OF THE OREGON DRAGOONS MAKE THEIR FINAL SPLIT

On the trail from Fort Boise

Thomas Farnham and the hot-headed Sydney Smith (almost fully recovered from his injuries) quarreled over aspects of a scheme they had concocted to get rich shipping salmon to the East

Farnham, Smith and William Blair met a group of Cayuse Indians who were on their way to the Whitman Mission at Waiilatpu

Farnham decided to go to accompany the Cayuse to Waiilatpu,

so he separated from Smith and Blair who went, instead, to the Lapwai Mission

all three of the former Oregon Dragoons were glad to part company

William Blair spent the winter at Lapwai but Sydney Smith traveled on

he became the first member of the original Oregon Dragoons to reach Fort Vancouver where he obtained employment in the Willamette Valley from Ewing Young

MISSIONARY CYRUS SHEPARD BECOMES ILL

Frail, devoted schoolteacher had become ill after contracting an infection of the leg -- autumn 1839 he did not respond to treatment by Dr. Elijah White, but continually worsened concern for his life spread through the missionaries and small group of settlers

INDEPENDENT MISSIONARY PARTY DIVIDES UP

Acting without American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions funding the missionary party reached Fort Hall where it was decided to split up:

- Rev. J.S. Griffin and his bride Desire Smith Griffin wintered at Lapwai with the Spaldings
- Rev.-Dr. William Geiger who had known Narcissa Whitman in New York stopped at Whitman Mission for the winter where he taught school
- Rev.-Dr. Geiger was accompanied by love-struck William Johnson and religious zealot Asahel Munger

YOUNG IGNACE AND PETER GAUCHER REACH ST. LOUIS

Young Ignace La Mousse and Peter Gaucher delivered the letter from Father Pierre-Jean De Smet to the priest's superior Father Pierre Verhaegen in St. Louis

Father Verhaegen met with Catholic Bishop Joseph Rosati who promised to send a missionary to the Flatheads

Peter Gaucher hastened home to the Rockies -- September 1839 to announce the glad tidings to the Flathead Indians

Young Ignace La Mousse spent the rest of the winter at the Kickapoo mission in Kansas waiting for the arrival of the promised missionary to his tribe

CONDITIONS AT KAMAIH MISSION IMPROVE

After spending six months in a “mere hovel,” Rev. Asa Smith finished a comfortable home and started a garden of several acres -- September 1839

EWING YOUNG WAS A BUSINESS SUCCESS

Ewing Young’s domain had become the economic center of the Willamette Valley

it was noted that “...because of his untiring activity, Ewing Young’s establishment during these years served for the community as virtually a market place, a store, a bank and a factory as well as the largest farm.”³³³

But Young’s health had begun to fail

(he could not know that in death he would make a final contribution to the welfare of his community)

ROBERT SHORTESS AND HIS DRAGOONS REMAIN AT BROWN’S HOLE

Shortess encountered Joe Meek and Robert “Doc” Newell, who were also at Brown’s Hole preparing to travel to Fort Hall to sell their furs and lay in a supply of goods for the winter trade Shortess, driven by his excessive competition with fellow Oregon Dragoon Thomas Farnham, obtained Meek’s and Newell’s permission to accompany them although the Peoria man was advised to spend the [winter] at Fort Davy Crockett

JOSEPH “JOE” MEEK AND ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL DESCRIBED

Joe Meek was a mountain man had joined with William Sublette [1830]

and had trapped with Jim Bridger and Jediaiah Smith

he was described as a tall, imposing and bronzed man with a commanding voice

fun-loving, he was a lover of practical jokes, Jacksonian democracy and Indian women

he was an acclaimed story teller -- stories about his early years included:

- a hand-to-claw encounter with a Grizzly bear,
- a narrow escape from a Blackfoot warrior,
- the death of his first Indian wife in an attack by a Bannock raiding party,
- his second marriage to the daughter of a Nez Perce chief

he named his beautiful second wife Virginia in honor of his home state

it was noted: **“Meek was a droll creature a tall man, of fine appearance -- a most genial, kind, and brave spirit. He had in his composition no malice, no envy, and no hatred.”**³³⁴

Mountain Man Joe Meek had a life-long friendship with his brother-in-law Robert “Doc” Newell

Robert “Doc” Newell also was a mountain man, trapper and friend of the Indians

Newell was no man like Joe Meek

Doc was less flamboyant, less given to hyperbole and better educated

he also possessed a steadier temperament and superior judgment

Newell possessed basic medical skills in surgery and healing -- but he had no medical training

but he became known as “Doc” Newell anyway

his Indian wife “Kitty” was the sister of Joe Meek’s second wife, Virginia

³³³ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*. P. 212.

³³⁴ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 207.

“Newell, recalled an Oregon friend, was of medium height, stout frame, and fine face. He was full of humanity, good-will, genial feeling, and frankness.”³³⁵

Joe Meek and “Doc” Newell were “free trappers”
so called because they were not employees of the large fur trading companies,
but rather worked on their own deep in the Rocky Mountains,
trapping beaver and other animals for their furs,
which they traded for supplies at the yearly rendezvous

MEEK, NEWELL AND SHORTESS LEAVE FORT DAVY CROCKETT

Joe Meek and Robert “Doc” Newell set out for Fort Hall -- September 26, 1839
accompanied by a single Oregon Dragoon, Robert Shortess,
as the other five dragoons who were by now the closest of friends
remained at Fort Davy Crockett

THOMAS FARNHAM REACHES WASCOPAM MISSION AT CELICO FALLS

Farnham traveling with a group of Cayuse Indians arrived at Wailatpu
he reported a “pleasant stay” with Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman
before continuing on to Fort Walla Walla -- October 1, 1839
Farnham was guided by Indians from Fort Walla Walla to the Dalles (Oregon)
where he visited Wascopam Mission operated by Rev. Daniel Lee
Farnham spent a week at Wascopam **“eating salmon and growing fat”³³⁶**
it was while at Daniel Lee’s Mission that Farnham had an unpleasant encounter
some Chinook tribesmen took Farnham’s saddle from Lee’s workshop
Lee and Farnham decided to go after the saddle
as they approached the Chinook camp, some thirty Indians surrounded them
Farnham pointed his rifle at the Chief’s chest,
who, unflustered, pointed a pistol directly at Farnham’s chest
they faced off for nearly an hour,
“undaunted except for an unpleasant knocking of my knees”³³⁷
finally, the saddle was returned and the episode ended without bloodshed
with the saddle recovered, Lee and Farnham returned to Wascopam Mission

SHORTESS, NEWELL AND MEEK ARRIVE AT FORT HALL

Eleven days from the time they started from Fort Davy Crockett
the three travelers reached Fort Hall -- October 7, 1839
Having delivered Robert Shortess to Fort Hall Joe Meek set out on a hunting trip
Joe Meek traveled alone through freezing temperatures on his way to Fort Davy Crockett
(he reached Brown’s Hole -- end of October)

FORT HALL SAW SEVERAL VISITORS THAT OCTOBER

Francis Ermatinger leading his Hudson’s Bay Company caravan

³³⁵ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 207.

³³⁶ Thomas J. Farnham *Journal*

³³⁷ Thomas J. Farnham *Journal*

arrived at Fort Hall -- October 7, 1839

Ermatinger was accompanied by:

- fifteen independent trappers,
- four independent missionaries,
- Oregon Dragoon leader Robert Shortess with none of his dragoons,
- two parties of California-bound settlers

there was no guide available to lead the pioneers on to California
so two of the party members turned back to the United States
other California-bound travelers decided to go through to Oregon

ROBERT SHORTESS SET OUT FROM FORT HALL

Robert Shortess in his eagerness to beat his rival Thomas Farnham to Oregon
agreed to an arrangement by Francis Ermatinger to have Shortess guided to Fort Walla Walla
by a French-Canadian named Sylvertry

after resting one day Robert Shortess set out for Oregon -- October 8, 1839
accompanied by Mr. Sylvertry and two natives

these four men encountered blizzards so severe that the Native Americans turned back,
leaving Shortess and Sylvertry to travel together through deep, drifting snow

AT FORT HALL THE INDEPENDENT MISSIONARIES AGREE TO SPLIT UP

Company of independent missionaries divided themselves between two missions

Rev.-Dr. Geiger along with Asahel and Sarah Elizabeth Munger went to Waiilatpu Mission
to spend the winter with the Whitmans

(Mr. Munger later became deranged and in a fit of religious fanaticism

fastened himself over the flames of his forge expecting God to work a miracle

he died three days later leaving a widow and daughter, Mary Jane Munger)

Rev. John and Desire Griffin wintered at Lapwai with the Spaldings

ROBERT "DOC" NEWELL LEADS A PARTY BACK TO FORT DAVY CROCKETT

While Joe Meek was on a hunting trip, his partner Robert "Doc" Newell

led his wife Kitty M. Newell, his son Francis Ermatinger Newell age 4½

and infant William from Fort Hall back to Fort Davy Crockett

along with Joe Meek's wife Virginia (so named by Meek in honor of his home state)

and Meek's children:

•newborn son Courtney Walker Meek

•Helen Mar Meek -- Joe's two-year-old daughter by his first wife who had deserted him

Mrs. Newell and Mrs. Meek were sisters making Robert and Joe brothers-in-law

also traveling with Newell were well over a dozen additional trappers

REV. JASON LEE PREPARES TO RETURN TO OREGON

Rev. Jason Lee traveled by ship on his return to Oregon after completing a successful fundraising trip
with him was his second wife (the former Lucy Thompson) -- they married [July 28, 1839]

Lee's first wife, Anna Marie Pittman and their son, had died during a tragic childbirth

also with Lee was the surviving Chinook native young man who travel with him, Thomas Adams

Rev. Jason Lee raised over \$100,000 in the East
he received the largest financial grant ever made to a single mission
in the history of the Methodist Mission Society -- \$42,000
this money was used to charter the *Lausanne*, a ship of 400-ton burden
under command of Captain Josiah Spalding
Rev. Lee also received an additional United States government grant of \$5,000

LAUSANNE SETS SAIL FROM NEW YORK BOUND FOR OREGON

Rev. Jason Lee, his bride and Indian traveling companion, Thomas Adams, boarded the ship
that had been chartered by Rev. Lee
Also aboard ship were forty-six volunteers recruited by the Methodist Mission Society
they paid \$250 per adult, \$125 for each servant and \$16.66 for each child up to age fifteen
this group became known as the "Great Reinforcement"
other important members of the Great Reinforcement were the new Mrs. Jason Lee
and Chinook native Thomas Adams
Lausanne set sail -- October 9, 1839

THOMAS FARNHAM TRAVELS WITH REV. DANIEL LEE TO FORT VANCOUVER

Two men traveled with Indian paddlers from Wascopam Mission down the Columbia River
they arrived at Fort Vancouver -- October 16, 1839
They were met by Dr. John McLoughlin who had just returned to Fort Vancouver
from his trip to Hudson's Bay Company headquarters in London
his return journey had taken him across Canada with a Hudson's Bay Company Express
Rev. Daniel Lee introduced his new friend Thomas Farnham to Dr. McLoughlin
who invited the pair to be the guests of Hudson's Bay Company in the McLoughlin home
Chief Factor gave Farnham a set of clothes to replace his trail-wear buckskins
Farnham he did not ask Hudson's Bay Company to leave the Pacific Northwest
as he had promised the citizens of Peoria, Illinois he would do
rather he was glad to accept the Company's aid when it was offered by Dr. McLoughlin
Farnham rested at Fort Vancouver before undertaking a tour of the Willamette Valley

THOMAS FARNHAM VISITS THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Farnham visited the Methodist missions and American settlements of the Willamette Valley
there he gathered considerable information about the Pacific Northwest
Farnham gathered signatures on a second Memorial to Congress that he probably wrote himself
asking the United States government to take possession of Oregon
and implement American laws to provide legal protection
Thomas Farnham's petition was signed by seventy of the American settlers
which probably was all of the Americans in the Pacific Northwest

ROBERT SHORTESS REACHES FORT BOISE ON THE SNAKE RIVER

Robert Shortness arrived at Fort Boise two weeks after leaving Fort Hall -- October 22, 1839
he had traveled in the company of the French-Canadian trapper Mr. Sylvertry
After a stay of several weeks at Fort Boise on the Snake River, Robert Shortess and Sylvertry

continued their journey until they arrived at Fort Walla Walla

EDWIN O. HALL MOVED TO WAILATPU BRINGING THE RAMAGE PRINTING PRESS

Printer Edwin O. Hall and his wife very pregnant Sarah moved from Lapwai to Wailatpu

it was decided to also move the Ramage printing press

during the journey the pack horse which carried press and print fell down a cliff

Cornelius Rogers traveling with the Halls salvaged the outfit two days later

he took the press back to Lapwai although some of the type was missing

Rogers managed to hand-cut several replacement "Ws"

giving the printed page a unique appearance

Mrs. Sarah Hall gave birth to a daughter at Lapwai -- November 5, 1839

THE WINTER AT FORT DAVY CROCKETT

Robert "Doc" Newell delivered his family and that of his brother-in-law Joe Meek

as well as more than a dozen trappers to Fort Davy Crockett

where the families would spend the winter

Newell hoped the goods he brought from Fort Hall, purchased with his furs,

would allow him to set up as an Indian trader in the Brown's Hole region

Joe Meek eventually arrived once again back Fort Davy Crockett

where he joined Newell, his family and several other wintering trappers

John Larison and his Native American wife, William Craig, and his Native American wife

Michael Cere, and Caleb Wilkins

in addition, several Oregon Dragoons also were there

Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Holman, Ralph Kilbourne, James I. Trask

had built a cabin to remain for the [winter]

they built and prepared for the next leg of their journey [in the spring]

Homan passed the time making rifle stocks and saddles

these were better than money on the frontier

they were traded for a horse, supplies, buckskin clothing and beaver skins

FORT NISQUALLY RAISES ANIMALS FOR HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Nisqually Farm continued the effort at animal husbandry in Columbia Department

Hudson's Bay Company brig *Llama* unloaded seven head of merino sheep

and cattle imported from England

long-horned Spanish cattle which had been driven up from California

were bred with stock from England to improve the strain

animal herd developed to over 1,000 head of cattle, hogs, horses, oxen and hundreds of sheep

dairy herd was maintained for Hudson's Bay Company by Laurent Sauvies -- 1839

who was in charge of the principal herd for the Company -- up to one hundred cows

Hudson's Bay Company provided settlers with work oxen

Dr. William Tolmie not only raised and distributed livestock and agricultural products

within the Columbia Department but also developed a large export business

in farm products

dairy products, cheese, butter, meat and flour ground in two grist mills at Fort Vancouver

were shipped to the Russians in Alaska
hides, horns, tallow and wool were exported to England
on supply ships returning to their home ports from the Columbia Department
Soil at Cowlitz Farm was rich, and far better suited for crop production than Nisqually Farm
(over the years, the Cowlitz farm became the chief grain producer)
farming at the new establishment was already well underway
when Chief Factor McLoughlin returned to the Columbia Department from England -- 1839
with instructions to begin intensive farming operations at the Cowlitz,
which the Hudson's Bay Company sold to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company
when Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin arrived on site -- November 1839
he discovered that Chief Trader Tod had sown 275 bushels of wheat
he had 200 acres of new land plowed and an additional 135 acres broken up
he had rails cut and carted to fence these fields

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY INCREASES ITS HERD OF SHEEP

One goal of the Hudson's Bay Company was to produce wool for the English market
sheep in large numbers were imported from California
most of these were situated at Fort Nisqually
Eventually two Scottish shepherds were sent by Hudson's Bay Company directors in London
to improve wool production
purebred rams and ewes were shipped from England in an attempt to improve the local stock
livestock production at Fort Nisqually farm increased steadily
Fort Vancouver sent to London 2,435 pounds of wool --1839
(followed in successive years by wool produced primarily at Nisqually Farm)
these products were not a great commercial success

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY DIVERSIFIES THEIR TRADE BEYOND TRADING FOR PELTS

Trading ships delivered supplies and trade goods to Fort Vancouver
and took up cargoes of furs, lumber and salmon
to be sold in California, Hawaii, or South America on the return trip to England
Several trading posts were operating on the Columbia River
Astoria, Vancouver, Walla Walla, Okanogan and Colville
Fort Nisqually's cattle and sheep and Cowlitz Farm's crops increased exports to other posts
two sawmills at Fort Vancouver established a profitable lumber trade with Sandwich Islands

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SEEKS NEW RECRUITS TO COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT

A series of resolutions had been introduced to the United States Senate [1838 and 1839]
calling for assertion of American title to the "Territory of Oregon"
(in addition, there were indications that a large number of Americans
would be migrating to the Oregon in [1840])
In an attempt to reinforce Hudson's Bay Company claims north of the Columbia River
Governor-in-Chief Simpson switched recruiting efforts -- November 15, 1839
from London to it troublesome Red River colony in Rupert's Land
(Winnipeg, Manitoba Canada)

he ordered an agent in Red River to encourage small families of French-Canadians to migrate overland to the Columbia Department (two years would pass before any emigrants would leave the Red River region)

SHORTESS AND SILVERTRY SPEND THE WINTER AT WAILATPU MISSION

Leaving Fort Walla Walla, Robert Shortess and French-Canadian guide Mr. Silvertry continued on to Dr. Whitman's Waiilatpu Mission where they arrived -- early December Robert Shortess learned from Dr. Whitman that his rival, Thomas Farnham had visited there more than two months before Shortess must have been shocked to learn he was so far behind what he believed to be an incompetent leader Even worse, it was impossible to attempt to cross the Cascade Mountains that late in the year Robert Shortess spent the winter as a guest of the Whitmans

LIFE AT WAILATPU MISSION

Indications of increasing American migration were becoming more plentiful at Whitman's mission as it was on the main overland route from the East one such sign was the increasing number of white children arriving at the station where they were boarded and attended school A small, improvised gristmill (flour mill) was built on the south side of the mission grounds a second, more efficient mill soon replaced it with the mill, Dr. Whitman was able to produce enough flour to supply the other stations Cayuse Indians began to bring their grain to the mill for grinding

THOMAS FARNHAM RETURNS TO THE EAST COAST

After touring the Willamette Valley, Thomas Farnham, one time leader of the Oregon Dragoons, decided to leave Oregon taking with him his petition to congress -- early December He boarded the sailing ship *Vancouver*, headed for California where he was instrumental in procuring the release of a large number of American and English citizens who had been imprisoned by the Mexican government he continued on to the Sandwich Island (Hawaii) and eventually to the United States

(Thomas Farnham authored several books:

Travels in Oregon Territory [1842]

was published and widely circulated in both America and Britain

Travels in California, and Scenes in the Pacific [1845]

A Memoir of the Northwest Boundary Line [1845]

Mexico, its Geography, People, and Institutions [1846]

he concludes his journal: **“For beauty of scenery and salubrity of climate, Oregon is not surpassed. It is peculiarly adapted for an agricultural and pastoral people, and no portion of the world beyond the tropics can be found that will yield so readily with moderate labor to the wants of man.”**³³⁸

³³⁸ Randol B. Fletcher, *Oregon Magazine: Oregon or the Grave*, 2003.

these reports did a great deal to create interest and stimulate immigration to the Oregon

SENATOR LEWIS F. LINN AGAIN PROPOSES TO OCCUPY OREGON

U.S. Senator Linn (Missouri) introduced a series of resolutions to annex Oregon
these were referred to a select Committee for consideration -- December 18, 1839
this committee would issue a report the next year [1840]

BOOKS GENERATE INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Nine books were printed by the Pacific Northwest protestant missionaries
between 1839 and [1845]

all but one was in the Nez Perce language -- all of these are very rare
(only a single copy of the *Nez Perce Laws* written by Indian Agent
Dr. Elijah White [1842]) is known to exist today

In addition to the writings of missionaries:

- Zenas Leonard wrote *Narratives* which stirred enthusiasm in the West-- 1839
this was an account of an expedition to Utah, Nevada, and California,
led by John Reddeford Walker for Captain Benjamin Eulalie de Bonneville
Leonard, a fur trapper, had joined [in 1833] as the official clerk
first published in serial form in the *Clearfield Republican*,
this work remains an important source of information about the expedition,
the life of trappers and people of Spanish California and the Upper Missouri
- Sir Charles Augustus Murray completed *Travels in North America* -- 1839
this was a report on life among the Native Americas in the Middle West
Murray's writings popularized the Pacific Northwest
- Rev. Samuel Parker published a journal of his adventures in the West:
An Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains -- 1840
it created a great deal of interest in the Pacific Northwest

1840-1849

TEACHER CYRUS SHEPHERD DIES

Frail schoolteacher Cyrus Shepherd contracted an infection of the leg [Autumn 1839] while teaching at the Indian Mission Manual Labor Training School at Champoeg when the condition worsened it was decided scar-faced Dr. William Bailey and Dr. Elijah White would amputate the limb despite the effort, Cyrus Shepherd died -- January 1, 1840 this amputation also marked Dr. Elijah White's last major work at the mission

FARMING EXPANDS IN OREGON

(Since the [1820s] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had provided missionaries to the Sandwich [Hawaiian Islands] Kanakas [Hawaiians] had provided valuable supply of labor for the missionaries Kanakas held qualities that were greatly admired and appreciated they were willing to work hard, they were willing to accept low pay for their labor Kanakas' contact with Oregon missionaries had been equally positive there were jobs the Indians were not interested in performing, Kanakas took up the slack Kanakas did construction work for the Methodist missionaries of Oregon and they also worked on mission farms and in the kitchens Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding and Rev. Asa and Sara Smith all employed Kanaka laborers they praised the Islanders' energy and loyalty Dr. Whitman at Waiilatpu Mission and Rev. Henry Spalding at Lapwai Mission were early pioneers in the practice of diversified farming both families grew vegetable gardens Kanakas, however, did not readily adapt to their adopted culture for three reasons:

- they were small in number,
- most were single men determined eventually to return to their homeland,
- they suffered from racial prejudice directed toward them by white residents

Solomon H. Smith, ex-school teacher, took up land on the Clatsop Plains at the mouth of the Columbia River where he operated a profitable dairy farm he drove first herd of cattle from the Grande Ronde area to the Pacific Northwest coast

DR. MARCUS AND NARCISSA WHITMAN EXPAND THEIR WAILLATPU MISSION

Dr. Whitman's original cabin, called the mansion house, was replaced by a T-shaped building which served as a combination Indian school, hospital, church and free hotel Farming progress was well underway at the Waiilatpu station aided by several Kanakas (Hawaiians) and a succession of eccentric helpers stranded adventurers, Indians and a Negro trapper Dr. Whitman had developed fields for grain and potatoes, he had fenced pastures, and had constructed a sawmill, a shop and a buttery

Dr. Whitman even began an irrigation project -- winter [1839]-1840
he was probably the first white to divert water from streams for irrigation
Indians were impressed with the magic that water worked on the land
Dr. Whitman added animal husbandry to his skills -- he acquired horses, cattle and pigs
he had a handful of sheep imported from the Hawaii Islands
he taught the Indians how to be shepherds
despite losses of animals to severe cold, dogs, coyotes, Indian raids,
and killing of sheep for food his herd continued to grow
until he had a flock of eighty sheep by 1840

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY OPERATES ITS BUSINESS FROM VARIOUS TYPES OF POSTS

Trading posts were necessary not only as depots for collection, storage and communication
but also to provide transportation links and supply centers for Hudson's Bay Company trappers
There were upwards of twenty trading posts in Columbia District by 1840
these were composed of both forts and houses:
•“forts” had defenses such as a stockade and cannon,
•“houses” were log cabin trading locations where furs were taken in,
•“posts” might be either forts or houses
Hudson's Bay Company cattle numbered 3,000 and over 100 milk cows were pastured
accompanied by 2,500 sheep and 300 brood mares assured pack horses and riding horses alike

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY OPENS FORT COLVILLE

Hudson's Bay Company replaced Fort Spokane which was ordered closed
by Governor-in-Chief George Simpson because it was too far from the Columbia River
and was too expensive to maintain -- 1840
New post was built and named in honor of Andrew Colville of the English Board of Directors
Fort Colville was second only to Fort Vancouver as trading and agricultural center
Archibald McDonald served as the Factor in Charge

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EXPANDS ITS EMPIRE

After a two year leave of absence taken in England [1838-1839]
Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin returned to Fort Vancouver
While on furlough Dr. McLoughlin, had proposed to the company directors in London
that a trading post be built along San Francisco Bay
he argued that such a post:
•would facilitate the supplying of the company's California trapping brigades;
•would be useful in developing markets for Columbia District lumber, wheat and salmon;
•would keep the Puget Sound Agricultural Company supplied
with California sheep and cattle
Although Governor-in-Chief George Simpson objected vehemently to the idea
of establishing a purely mercantile post on foreign soil,
London directors agreed with McLoughlin
Chief Factor was given free rein to investigate further and then, if he felt justified,
to go ahead with building the California fort

DISCORD AMONG AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES

Seeds of discord had been planted by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions when they selected people of incompatible temperament

all but Rev. Henry Spalding wrote letters of complaint

to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston

ironically, it was Spalding at whom most of the ill-natured remarks were leveled:

- Asa Smith wrote that Rev. Henry Spalding should be dismissed,
- irritable William H. Gray also had no sympathy for Rev. Spalding,
- even Marcus Whitman believed Spalding was a detriment

Dr. Whitman and Rev. Spalding wanted to postpone American settlement efforts until the Indians were ready to accept the inevitable

Rev. Spalding and Rev. Elkanah Walker thought the Indians needed more time to adjust natives must be protected from the advance of the whites

Dr. Whitman soon became convinced his primary obligation was to the whites he believed there was no hope for the Indian way of life

thus he encouraged white settlement in the region -- even at the expense of the natives

Dr. Whitman believed that if he could help attract decent Christian people to the West, settlement of the area, which he considered inevitable,

would be given a proper moral tone

Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Henry Spalding began to argue more openly and bitterly over the proper emphasis in mission work to be placed upon Christianity or civilization and over whether or not the missionaries should assist white immigrants to settle among the Indians

Rev. Spalding also was jealous of Whitman -- this resentment was felt at Waiilatpu Mission

Narcissa Whitman, in a letter to her father, wrote: **“The man who came with us [Henry Spalding] is one who never ought to have come. My dear husband has suffered more from him in consequence of his wicked jealousy and his great pique towards me than can be known in this world.”**³³⁹

Future of the work at Waiilatpu and Lapwai missions looked hopeless

AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES LEAVE THE FOLD

In addition to the Whitman-Spalding feud there were hot words among the missionaries:

- about the location of the community sawmill,
- about the amount of education an Indian needed before he could be received into church membership,
- about the advisability of shifting Dr. Whitman, the group’s only doctor, to a more central location

Rev. Asa Smith and William H. Gray with their families and bachelor Cornelius Rogers finally left the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions effort

William H. Gray became an agent for the Methodist missions

he was joined by his wife Mary at Chemeketa Mission near Salem -- 1840

³³⁹ Oregon pioneer association *Transactions for 1891*, P. 129.

Gray at his new home summarized the population of that day
as two hundred persons
one hundred thirty-seven are Americans and sixty-three are Canadians
Rev. and Mrs. Elkanah Walker and Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells at Tshimakain Mission
continuing their work among the Spokane Indians looked on -- reproving and distressed

WILLIAM H. GRAY ESTIMATES THE WHITE POPULATION OF OREGON-- 1840

William H. Gray then residing at Lapwai Mission estimated the population of Oregon
(including all of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and part of Montana) as around two hundred persons
approximately one hundred were Americans
thirty-six American men (twenty-five with Indian wives)
thirteen Methodist ministers and six Congregational ministers
three American physicians
thirteen Protestant lay members
thirty-three American women and thirty-two children
other nationalities were represented by approximately sixty-three French-Canadians
three Jesuit priests (including Father Pierre Jean De Smet) and one English physician

FIRE AT TSHIMAKAIN MISSION

Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells' cabin caught fire -- January 11, 1840
their efforts to save the structure were hampered by deep snow and temperatures below -10°
Spokane Indians helped drag out household and religious goods which were in boxes
but Eells lost nearly all their personal property including books, a clock, bedding and saddles
When Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colville Factor Archibald McDonald heard of the tragedy
he sent six men to assist the missionaries -- they made the cabin habitable again

MOUNTAIN MEN SETTLE IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Many Americans in the Northwest were mountain men
these restless, semi-literates were squatters who came into a new area
made a little clearing in the wilderness, built cabins, settled for a while and then moved on
rough, tough, and boisterous -- they were also very naïve in the ways of the civilized world

AMERICAN SHIP TRADES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Congressman Caleb Cushing took his own Congressional Report [1839] seriously
his family's trading company sent their brig *Maryland* to the Columbia River
to trade for salmon -- 1840
Captain John H. Couch (pronounced "Kooch") sold goods directly from the *Maryland*
while she was tied up along the Columbia River where the Willamette River enters
he also recognized this location as a possible site for navigation up the Willamette River
(Although the venture failed financially, Captain Couch prevailed on the company owners
to send him back in another ship with goods for trade with the settlers)

AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST GROWS

Citizens of both the United States and Great Britain authored articles and books

asserting their nation's rights to own the Pacific coast
State Department employee Robert Greenhow expanded his [1836] brief to Congress
and published *The History of Oregon, California, and the Other Territories on the North-West Coast of North America* [1840] in which he argued
Spain had ceded all of his claims in the [1819] Treaty of Florida to the United States
further United States explorers, fur traders and settlers
represented a continuing American presence proving America's claim
Senate Committee on Oregon adopted Greenhow's document as its official report
4,000 copies were immediately reprinted as a book which sold in New York and London
Greenhow's book greatly increased interest in Oregon

INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES WANT TO TRAVEL WEST

Congregational ministers Rev. Harvey Clarke and his wife Emeline
and Rev. Philo B. Littlejohn and his wife Adeline (Sadler) decided to travel west
to open a mission
but their [1839] start was so late they could not overtake the American Fur Company brigade
traveling to the Fort Bonneville Rendezvous
they decided to spend the winter at Quincy, Illinois
where they convinced carpenter Alvin T. Smith and his wife Abigail (Raymond) Smith
to join in their effort

DECLINE OF THE BEAVER TRADE

Over-trapping and changes in fashions from beaver hats to hats made of silk from China
forecast a grim future for the fur industry
Pierre Chouteau, head of the American Fur Company,
knew the company's prosperity did not depend on beaver, but rather on the Indian trade
Indians killed buffalo and brought the robes to permanent trading posts
this drew Indians away from the rugged mountains
to trade in the buffalo robes of the plains
once the robes were acquired, they were packed to the Missouri River
and loaded on steam boats to be shipped down river
at a vast competitive advantage over Hudson's Bay Company
Pierre Chouteau rightly saw the future of the American Fur Company
was tied to the fortunes of his trading posts on the upper Missouri River
in dealing with buffalo robes, not beaver pelts, as the measure of profit
Chouteau dealt a fatal blow to the beaver trapping industry
he simply quit backing the supply caravans to the rendezvous after 1840
(this eventuality killed the rendezvous as an institution)

ROBERT "DOC" NEWELL AND JOE MEEK BECOME TIRED OF TRAPPING FOR A LIVING

Brothers-in-law Robert "Doc" Newell and Joe Meek were free trappers
so called because they were not employees of the large fur trading companies,
but rather worked on their own deep in the Rocky Mountains
trapping beaver and other animals for their furs

which they traded for supplies at the yearly rendezvous
both men were married to Nez Perce Indian sisters
Newell always introduced his wife by the name “Kitty”
they had a four-and-a-half-year-old son, Francis “Frank” Ermatinger Newell
Meek had a two-year old daughter, Helen Mar Meek, by his first wife who had left him
his second wife, whom he called “Virginia” was the sister of Kitty Newell
she had given birth to their son Courtney Walker Meek
Doc Newell and Joe Meek had growing families and they were tiring of the trapping life by 1840
it was becoming clear that the fur trade was finished as a commercial enterprise
Newell and Meek were **“anxious to make themselves permanent homes in some more agreeable country where they might find school and other advantages for their children”**³⁴⁰

NEWELL-MEEK PARTY STRIKES OUT FROM FORT DAVY CROCKETT

Robert “Doc” Newell and Joe Meek traveled with their families out of Fort Davy Crockett
(located in today’s Northwestern Colorado) -- February 7, 1840
Newell and Meek lead a group of adventurers on their way to the 1840 Rendezvous
included in the party were former American Fur Company trappers John Larison
and William Craig with their native wives
along with trapper/traders Michel Cere, William Doughty, Caleb Wilkens and Joe Walker
with their families

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET DEALS WITH HIS IMPATIENCE

Death of more than one hundred of his parishioners due to alcohol and fighting
at St. Joseph Mission (today’s Council Bluffs, Iowa)
caused the priest to seriously contemplate the lack of success with the Potawatomis
De Smet was impatient to serve the Flathead Indians who had requested the services of a priest
he became anxious about lack of response from his superior, Father Pierre Verhaegen
Father De Smet, a stocky and heavy-set but sympathetic and gracious man of few words,
resolved to travel as quickly as possible to St. Louis
to deliver the distressing information regarding the condition of the Potawatomis
and to request he be given a new assignment among the Flathead Indians

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET JOURNEYS TO ST. LOUIS

Flathead Indians living in (Northern Idaho and Western Montana) requested Catholic missionaries
Father De Smet followed a Flathead Indian, Young Ignace (a.k.a. Francois Xavier) La Mousse,
who was referred to by the natives as the “Bravest-of-the-Brave”
Young Ignace had spent the winter months at the Kickapoo mission in Kansas
and would serve the Catholic missionary as a companion and guide
together they made the necessary arrangements to journey to the Flatheads
De Smet and Young Ignace set out from St. Joseph Mission in Council Bluffs, Iowa on a winter trek
through the barren desert country with a single volunteer companion -- February 1840
in a bold plan, they would try to cover the 700 miles to St. Louis on horseback

³⁴⁰ Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington*, P. 24.

in a few days they manage to reach St. Louis unharmed
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet confronted Father Pierre Verhaegen, his superior,
with depressing facts regarding the deplorable conditions at St. Joseph Mission
he also asked for additional provisions to improve conditions there
Father Verhaegen was not willing to give up St. Joseph Mission
he ordered De Smet to return to his post at St. Joseph as soon as possible
As De Smet prepared for his return trip to St. Joseph Mission, Father Verhaegen changed his mind
Father Christian Hoecken was placed in charge of St. Joseph Mission

CHIEF FACTOR DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN WRITES TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor was ordered to transfer livestock from Fort Vancouver
to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company farm at Nisqually
Ignoring these orders, Dr. McLoughlin wrote to Governor George Simpson -- March 1840
he explained that he had not transferred the livestock because driving the cattle north
from Fort Vancouver in the winter would have resulted in the loss of many animals
he stated he would move them after an inventory at the fort was completed
(presumably that spring)

THREE INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARY COUPLES TRAVEL WEST

Rev. Harvey and Emeline Clarke, Rev. Philo B. and Adeline Littlejohn
and carpenter Alvin T. and Abigail Smith
left Quincy, Illinois for Independence, Missouri -- March 1840
their intended field of labor was in the interior of the West
where they would serve as self-supporting laborers for the Congregational Church
They traveled westward in two wagons
one wagon was shared by the Clarkes and the Littlejohns
and the second wagon belonged to Alvin Smith
Along the way bachelor trappers Henry Black and Pleasant Armstrong
joined the Congregational missionaries on their journey west

BOOK PRINTER OSCAR HALL RETURNS TO THE MISSION IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

Oscar Hall had successfully delivered a hand-operated Ramage printing press
to Dr. Marcus Whitman at Waiilatpu Mission
Hall decided to return to the American Board of Commissioners' Honolulu Mission
accompanied by his invalid wife Sarah and three-month-old daughter
they left Waiilatpu -- March 1840

NEWELL-MEEK PARTY FINALLY REACHES FORT HALL

Robert "Doc" Newell and Joe Meek finally arrived at Fort Hall -- March 23, 1840
these brothers-in-law were accompanied by their families and several traveling companions
their journey should have taken about ten days but it became an ordeal forty-five days long
as they were forced to travel through heavy snow

FOUR OREGON DRAGOONS REACH FORT HALL

Oregon Dragoons Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Holman, Ralph Kilbourne and James L. Trask had spent the winter at Fort Davy Crockett (in today's Northwestern Colorado) according to Joseph Holman, (dictating from his deathbed in [early spring 1880]) they traveled together to Fort Hall

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET BEGINS HIS JOURNEY TO THE FLATHEAD INDIANS

Father De Smet and Flathead Indian Young Ignace La Mousse set out from St. Louis on a 250-mile journey along the Missouri River bound for Westport (today's Kansas City, Missouri) -- March 27, 1840 beginning their travels by steamboat up the Mississippi River they soon switched to horseback as Father De Smet purchased three horses and three mules

U.S. SENATE MAKES A PROPOSAL REGARDING OREGON

Senate Select Committee addressing Senator Lewis F. Linn's proposals on annexing Oregon reported a plan -- March 31, 1840 this provided for granting to each male inhabitant of Oregon over eighteen years of age one thousand acres of land

ROBERT "DOC" NEWELL AND JOE MEEK CONTINUE TO THE 1840 RENDEZVOUS

Brothers-in-law Newell and Meek and their families set out from Fort Hall They were joined by several traveling companions former Oregon Dragoons Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Holman, Ralph Kilbourne and James L. Trask former American Fur Company trappers John Larison and William Craig and their native wives trapper/traders Michel Cere, William Doughty, Caleb Wilkens and Joe Walker

PREPARATIONS ARE MADE AT WESTPORT, MISSOURI FOR THE LAST RENDEZVOUS

American Fur Company, for one last time, provided the necessary trade goods for the annual event although their main source of income had rapidly shifted away from the beaver trade Andrew Drips was in Westport, Missouri where he was placed in command of the final company supply caravan to the 1840 Rendezvous that was to be held (for the last time) at Fort Bonneville on the Green River Jim Bridger formed a partnership with Henry Fraeb together they planned on driving their own supply outfit to the Fort Bonneville Rendezvous Andrew Drips, with American Fur Company leader Pierre Chouteau's backing, hired Jim Bridger and Henry Fraeb and their supply train

OTHER OREGON DRAGOONS REACH THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

William Blair had spent the winter at Lapwai Mission did not arrive at Fort Vancouver from Fort Walla Walla until spring 1840 Robert Shortess had spent the winter with Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman at Waiilatpu Mission Captain Shortess continued alone down the Columbia River to the Dalles he made his way over the Cascade Mountains to the Willamette Valley -- spring 1840

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PLACES OUTPOSTS IN RUSSIAN AMERICA

Hudson's Bay Company Governor-in-Chief George Simpson negotiated with the Russians
he leased the interior of Russian-America (Alaska) for trapping purposes
if the area south of the Columbia River might be lost to the Americans
Simpson would grab a handhold to the north

JAMES DOUGLAS HAD BEEN IN THE COLUMBIA DISTRICT FOR A DECADE

James "the Black Scot" Douglas, second in command of Fort Vancouver after Dr. McLoughlin,
had arrived in the Columbia District at age thirty [in 1830]
when he was sent to Fort Vancouver as a clerk
Serious, intelligent and conservative, he quickly won Dr. McLoughlin's confidence
his escalation up the ranks of Hudson's Bay Company was rapid
During Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin's leave of absence while visiting England [1838-1839],
James Douglas was put in charge of the Columbia District for Hudson's Bay Company
Now he was entrusted to negotiate and implement the Alaskan contracts
"the Black Scot" sailed out of Fort Vancouver to Sitka -- April 1840

FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET EXTENDS HIS AREA OF INFLUENCE

Catholic priest visited the Indians of Puget Sound traveling as far as Whidbey Island -- spring 1840
there he erected a cross, taught the Indians, baptized children,
and reconciled two hostile tribes engaged in war
(Blanchet later united the Catholic missions at the Dalles, Walla Walla, Colville, Okanogan,
Cowlitz, Nisqually and Vancouver Island into one administrative unit)

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S JAMES DOUGLAS MEETS WITH THE RUSSIANS

In Sitka, "the Black Scot" Douglas was received with "the most polite attention"
by the Russian authorities of the Russian-American Company
he held his own with the hard-drinking Russians
he danced handsomely at a lavish ball with the beautiful blonde Finnish wife
of Russian Governor Adolf Etholin
and arrived clear-eyed at the next morning's meeting
Douglas out-negotiated the Russians
he took over Fort Stikine for the Hudson's Bay Company -- 1840
at the mouth of the Stikine River (Wrangell Island, Alaska)
(formerly, when it was built by the Russian-American Fur Company [1834]
this post had been called Redoubt St. Dionysius)
Fort Stikine was in need of strong leadership
but Douglas could leave only William Glen Rae -- Dr. McLoughlin's unstable son-in-law
Rae was a tall, handsome Scotsman weighing at least 230 pounds,
and very much a gentleman
subordinate to Rae was young John McLoughlin, Jr. the Chief Factors even more unstable son

JOHN McLOUGHLIN, JR. IS GIVEN LEADERSHIP STATUS

Dr. John McLoughlin's son John, Jr. had not been raised by his father but rather by relatives in the East
nearing maturity, he had been sent to Paris for a medical education
under Dr. McLoughlin's surgeon brother
this arrangement failed and the youth was shipped to Montreal
where he ran up extravagant debts
For the next three years [1836-1839] under his father's watchful eye,
John, Jr. functioned with reasonable diligence at Fort Vancouver
Now he was to be rewarded by being made his brother-in-law's chief assistant at Fort Stikine

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CHIEF FACTOR JAMES DOUGLAS SAILS FURTHER NORTH

Having concluded negotiations at Fort Stikine
"the Black Scot" traveled another hundred miles north
to the neighborhood of the Taku River
there, (south of today's Juneau) he built still another fort -- Fort Taku (or Durham)
on land leased from Russian-American Fur Company -- 1840
Taku became the furthest outpost from Fort Vancouver in Hudson's Bay's chain of forts

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S JAMES DOUGLAS SAILS SOUTH FROM RUSSIAN-AMERICA

Completing the British company's business in Russian-America (Alaska)
James Douglas left Fort Taku (near today's Juneau)

WESTERN EMIGRATION SOCIETY IS ESTABLISHED TO JOURNEY TO OREGON

Young John Bidwell had left his 160-acre farm in Iowa for a vacation in St. Louis
upon returning home he discovered his farm had been taken over by a squatter
with a reputation as a gunman -- even local lawmen would not intervene
to complicate matter, John was under the age of twenty-one
and, therefore, ineligible to claim land
John Bidwell moved to St. Louis and contemplated moving to California
he published in the St. Louis newspaper accounts that he intended to take a large wagon train
from the Missouri River to California -- 1840
his idea was very popular and soon the emigration society had the names of 500 people
who wanted to take part in this momentous opportunity
Missouri shopkeepers fearing a rapid decline in customers mounted a campaign to stop the idea
local newspapers published stories about the dangers of traveling overland to California
a great deal of publicity was given to Thomas Farnham's *Travels in the Great Western Prairies*
in his book, the Oregon Dragoon described in detail
many hardships that people would face on the journey
John Bidwell's Western Emigration Society put their plans on hold for a year
(Bidwell later admitted the party included no one who had ever been to California)

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY SUPPLY TRAINS SET OUT FOR THE RENDEZVOUS

Andrew Drips, captain of the American Fur Company caravan,
determined to set off from Westport, Missouri bound for the Rendezvous -- April 29, 1840

with fifty travelers, fifty wagons and sixty loaded mules

FATHER DE SMET AND YOUNG IGNACE CONTINUE THEIR JOURNEY

By a stroke of good luck, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and his companion and guide Young Ignace La Mousse were allowed to join Andrew Drips' American Fur Company caravan as they prepared to journey to the last Rendezvous at Fort Bonneville along the banks of the Green River
Father De Smet found himself in the company of exotic travel companions and seasoned hunters such as Jim Bridger and Henry Fraeb
Father De Smet purchased three horses and three mules for use on the journey

CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES REACH INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Rev. Harvey and Emeline Clarke, Rev. Philo B. and Adeline Littlejohn and carpenter Alvin T. and Abigail Smith accompanied by trappers Henry Black and Pleasant Armstrong reached Independence, Missouri from Quincy, Illinois
Time was taken to complete final preparations for the Westward journey they hired Moses "Black" Harris for a terribly high price to guide them to Oregon (today almost nothing is known of Moses "Black" Harris prior to his entry into the fur trade he was probably a native of Union County, South Carolina he was nicknamed "Black" because of the dark coloration of his skin when the Baltimore artist Alfred Jacob Miller painted Harris [in the 1830s], he observed that Harris **"was wiry of frame, made up of bone and muscle with a face composed of tan leather and whipcord finished up with a peculiar blue black tint, as if gun powder had been burnt into his face."**³⁴¹

Harris probably was a member of William Ashley's first brigade to the mountains [1822]
These three Congregational missionaries started westward from Independence, Missouri

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY CARAVAN IS JOINED BY ANOTHER FAMILY

Joel Walker and his family joined the American Fur Company caravan -- May 6, 1840
they traveled in two light wagons and were headed for Oregon to make new lives for themselves

JOEL PICKENS WALKER FAMILY IS THE FIRST FAMILY OF EMIGRANTS TO OREGON

From the Osage country of Missouri, Walker and his family are distinguished as being the first family to cross the plains with the definite purpose of making a new home in Oregon
Joel Walker was the brother of renowned mountain man Joseph Walker he had spent his youth on the Santa Fe Trail before settling into farming in Missouri
Walker's family was composed of his wife Mary (Young) Walker
Joseph, about age 12, John, about age 6, Isabella, age unknown, Newton, age unknown (later another daughter, Louisa Walker, was born [January 1841 near Salem])
Martha Young, the unmarried sister of Mary (Young) Walker accompanied the family

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY SUPPLY CARAVAN MOVES SLOWLY FROM WESTPORT

³⁴¹ Kernan Turner, *Moses "Black" Harris Leaves Mark in Oregon*, <http://archive.ijpr.org/Feature.asp?FeatureID-14523>, January 11, 2010.

During the first ten days the convoy made only sixteen miles a day --
heat was suffocating and Father Pierre-Jean De Smet did not feel well
Plagued by bouts of malaria, soon the priest's fever ran so high
that sitting upright in the saddle became problematic -- he could no longer stay in the saddle
only solution was to lie down on top of the sacks and bales in one of the wagons
lacking suspension springs, De Smet was brutally jostled by the ride
he found himself tossed **"in the most singular positions; now my feet would be in the
air, now I would find myself hidden like a thief between boxes and bundles, cold as an icicle or
covered with sweat and burning like a stove ... During three days when my fever was at its highest, I
had no water but what was stagnant and dirty."**³⁴²

Young Ignace La Mousse, despite the difficulties of the journey, was surely filled with happiness
as he reflected on the prospect of bringing a Black Robe to his people
he and Father De Smet made special note of the buffalo, antelope, prairie dogs and wolves
all in abundance as the crossed the Great Plains along parts of (the future Oregon Trail)

CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES JOIN THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY CARAVAN

Rev. Harvey and Emeline Clarke, Rev. Philo B. and Adeline Littlejohn
and carpenter Alvin T. and Abigail Smith with trappers Henry Black and Pleasant Armstrong
overtook the spring caravan of the American Fur Company led by Andrew Drips
so little comment about the missionaries was made by the traders as to suggest,
like many who went before, they held themselves aloof from the sinful mountaineers
One missionary who did not hold himself aloof was Father Pierre-Jean De Smet
and his Flathead Indian companion Young Ignace La Mousse
both men quickly established friendly acquaintance with the packers

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY CARAVAN REACHES THE PLATTE RIVER

Two miles wide, the river is very shallow (one to seven feet deep) along its course
strewn with islands and sand banks, the Platte is barely navigable
pioneer stories noted it was "a mile wide and an inch deep"
and that it was so full of silt it was said to run "bottom side up"
Members of the caravan traveled westward along the beautiful North Platte River bank
as the ground rose in elevation the climate became more tolerable
along the river bank bison and other animals roamed and plants grew in abundance
Joel Walker killed a buffalo
this was first time several members of the caravan watched meat dressed to be preserved
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet started to recover near the Grand Island of the North Platte
(but he will continue to feel feverish until September)
the Jesuit priest eventually proved to be a hardy traveler and a splendid companion
(in the next three decades, Father De Smet would travel thousands of miles through the West
ministering to many tribes, winning their affection and respect
as the premier Black Robe of them all)

³⁴² Pierre-Jean De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, P. 203.

DELEGATION OF NORTHERN CHYENNE INDIANS TRAVELS TO THE RENDEZVOUS

Pierre Gaucher, an Iroquois Indian missionary to the Northern Cheyennes,
had been Young Ignace's traveling companion on the eastward journey to St. Louis [1838]
they had alerted the natives regarding the anticipated arrival
of Black Robes (Catholic priests)

After hearing this good news from Pierre Gaucher a band of ten Flathead Indian men
set out for the Green River Rendezvous following the same trail used by Gaucher
to meet the party of Catholic Missionaries expected there

MEMBERS OF THE PEORIA PARTY STOP AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Oregon Dragoons Joseph Holman and Amos Cook arrived at Fort Walla Walla together -- May 1840
Dragoon Francis Fletcher also arrived -- but separately from Holman and Cook
accompanying Fletcher are thought to be William Doughty and Courtney M. Walker
(who resigned his position as clerk at Fort Hall to relocate to the Willamette Valley)
Dragoon Ralph L. Kilbourne reported traveling early in the journey with William Doughty,
but they separated -- Kilbourne may also have arrived at Fort Walla Walla in May

SHIP *LAUSANNE* ARRIVED BRINGS REV. JASON LEE BACK TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Rev. Jason Lee and his bride Lucy reached the mouth of the Columbia River aboard the *Lausanne*
along with forty-six volunteers recruited by the Methodist Mission Society
these recruits made up the "Great Reinforcement" -- May 21, 1840
Solomon H. Smith guided Rev. Daniel Lee to the mouth of the Columbia River to meet the ship
after some delays at the mouth of the Columbia,
Lausanne reached Fort Vancouver -- June 1, 1840

"GREAT REINFORCEMENT" ARRIVES BY SHIP

Forty-six volunteer members of the "Great Reinforcement" led by Rev. Jason Lee and his bride
arrived at Mission Bottom to assist the Methodist missionaries in Oregon -- 1840
Great Reinforcement was composed of a few men with a good education
and some with legislative experience
in addition to a considerable number of lay-helpers for the mission effort
this was the most notable company yet to reach the Columbia River
(although there is some variation in the list of participants in the Great Migration
at a minimum those listed below were participants)

Fifty recruits including Rev. Jason Lee on his return west were aboard the *Lausanne*
six adult Methodist missionaries and their families hoped to lead a mission:

- Rev. Jason Lee and his bride Lucy (Thompson) Lee,
- Rev. Joseph H. Frost, his wife Sarah (De Bell) and son,
- Rev. Gustavus Hines and his wife Lydia Elvira (Wheelock) their son
and Lydia's sister Mrs. C.N. Perry,
- Rev. William H. Kone and his wife,
- Rev. G.P. Richards with wife and three children,
- Rev. Alvin F. Waller and his wife Elepha (White) two children,

five other ministers had additional skills to offer the mission movement:

- Rev. Lewis Hubbell Judson, wheelwright his wife Elmira (Roberts) Judson, and children daughters Adelia, Helen and son Leonard,
 - wheelwright Rev. Lewis Hubbell Judson, his wife Elmira (Roberts) and three children were accompanied by his sister Adelia Judson
 - Rev. James Olley carpenter
 - Rev. Josiah L. Parrish blacksmith, harness maker, wagon maker and tool maker his wife Elizabeth (Winn) and three children,
 - Rev. John P. Richmond. M.D., and his wife America (Walker Talley) and four children,
- four teachers were members of the Great Reinforcement:
- Miss Chloe Aurelia Clarke (later married William Holden Willson),
 - Miss Almira Phelps (married Joseph Holman),
 - Miss Elmira Phillips (married William Wakeman Raymond),
 - Miss Maria T. Ware

three farmers traveled on the *Lausanne*:

- William W. Raymond and wife Almira,
- Henry B. Brewer and wife,
- David Carter

additional skills were provided by Rev. Jason Lee's recruits:

- stewardess Miss Orpha Lankton
- Thomas Adams the Chinook Indian who traveled East with Rev. Jason Lee
- accountant George Abernathy, accompanied by his wife Ann (Pope) and two children,
- Dr. Ira Leonard Babcock. M.D. traveling with his wife Ann (Abell) and their son,
- steward: Henry B. Brewer and his wife
- cabinet maker Hamilton "Cow" Campbell, his wife Harriet (Biddle) and daughter Mary

single women were enthusiastically received in Oregon:

- Miss Orpha Lankton (later married McKinney),
- Miss Nancy Hawkins,
- Miss Elizabeth Winn (married Rev. Josiah L. Parrish)

others were looking to improve their lives or the lives of natives:

- Alvin Thompson Smith (later married Abigail Raymond who traveled overland),
- William Wakeman Raymond (later married Elmira Phillips)

Also, significantly aboard *Lausanne* was machinery for a grist (coarse-ground flour) mill and a sawmill belonging to the Methodist mission

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY BRIGADE REACHES FORT LARAMIE

Travelers journeyed on along the banks of the North Platte River

Andrew Drips' supply train crossed the Laramie River -- June 4, 1840

Oregon Dragoon Robert Moore joined the caravan west of the Laramie River along with George Davis -- a drifter in search of land

American Fur Company supply train reached Fort Laramie (Wyoming)

(this was originally known as Fort William when built [1834])

Fort Laramie became increasingly important

after abandonment of the rendezvous fur trade system --1840

at Fort Laramie Father Pierre-Jean De Smet discovered Iroquois missionary Pierre Gaucher

who had guided a small group of Northern Cheyenne Indians to the Rendezvous
De Smet and Young Ignace were given a warm welcome as the Cheyenne chief
requested the priest and the Flathead Indian have dinner
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was delighted to have the opportunity to offer a lesson
on the Ten Commandments and Catholic Creed with the assistance of Young Ignace
to this receptive audience of Northern Cheyennes
(twenty days will be needed to reach South Pass and the continental divide)

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY SUPPLY TRAIN CONTINUES TOWARD THE 1840 RENDEZVOUS

Leaving Fort Laramie Andrew Drips' supply train and accompanying travelers
passed by Red Butte, the Sweetwater River and Independence Rock -- June 10, 1840
Father De Smet calls this rock: "the great register of the desert"
because many westbound travelers engrave their name in the soft stone of the rock
Travelers continued along the banks of the North Platte
passing by Red Butte, Sweetwater River and Independence Rock
Father De Smet calls this rock "the great register of the desert"
because many westbound travelers engraved their names in the soft stone of the rock
(Twenty days will be needed to reach South Pass and the continental divide)

FIRST WEDDING IN OREGON

Rev. Daniel Lee and Miss Marie Ware married at Chemeketa -- June 11, 1840
in a ceremony performed by Rev. Jason Lee -- theirs was the first wedding performed in Oregon

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SUPPLIES ARRIVES AT FORT HALL

Hudson's Bay Company's supply brigade under the guidance of Francis Ermatinger
arrived at Fort Hall from Fort Vancouver -- June 13, 1840
Nathaniel Wyeth's old post had become the chief refuge for trappers and travelers
in the Snake (Shoshone) Indian Country
(later the post became an important stop on the Oregon Trail)

MISSION BOTTOM IS A POOR LOCATION FOR MISSIONARY WORK

Rev. Jason Lee had built the original Methodist station
at Mission Bottom on the Champoeg Plain
in the absence of Jason Lee, leadership for this mission was provided
by Dr. Elijah White along with his wife Sarepta and their two sons
Serious flooding and an unhealthy climate at Mission Bottom site
made it apparent that Rev. Jason Lee had chosen a location
Members of the Great Reinforcement brought the population at Mission Bottom to forty adults
it became possible to enlarge the scope of the mission effort serving both natives and whites
along both religious and secular lines
Missionaries at Mission Bottom held a general meeting -- June 13, 1840
Jason Lee proposed to move his church headquarters from Mission Bottom
to a great Indian Council Grounds or Peace Grounds
Calapooya Indians who originally inhabited the region had given it the name "Chemeketa"

meaning “meeting or resting place” (near today’s Salem, Oregon)
an agreement to establish several branch missions was reached
Rev. Gustavus Hines was assigned to the original station at Mission Bottom

MEMBERS OF THE GREAT REINFORCEMENT RECEIVE THEIR ASSIGNMENTS

Rev. Jason Lee and his bride Lucy led development of a new headquarters mission at Chemeketa
construction was begun on a mission house

(mechanics were sent to build a grist mill and a saw mill on Chemeketa (Mill) Creek
near present-day Broadway and “D” streets in Salem)

(Lee’s house and several other pre-territorial buildings were preserved
and are now open to the public on the grounds of the Willamette Heritage Center)

missionaries applied the name “Salem” to the new mission -- 1840

an Anglicized form of the Hebrew word “Shalom” meaning “peace”

Rev. Jason Lee assigned Methodist missionaries to serve others mission stations:

- Clatsop Plains Mission (near Astoria) was started on south side of the mouth of the Columbia
along the lower Skipanon River under the leadership Rev. Joseph H. Frost
with his wife Sarah and son
they remained at Fort George (Astoria) until a residence could be built with the help of
Clatsop Indians and provided food as well;
- Willamette Falls and vicinity (today’s Oregon City) was assigned to Rev. Alvin F. Waller
Rev. Waller proposed to build his mission house out of lumber
that had been milled by Dr. John McLoughlin for establishing his own claim to the site;
- Tualatin Plains Mission is opened by the Methodist missionaries
Rev. Gustavus Hines and his wife Lydia, son and Rev. William Kone and his wife
opened a station on the Tualatin Plains
(when this effort ended in failure Rev. Hines and Rev. Kone were appointed
to open a mission on the Umpqua River (near today’s Roseburg, Oregon)
this mission also ended in failure and Rev. Hines was brought back to teach
at the Indian Mission Manual Labor Training School
and to preach at the “old mission” at Mission Bottom);
- Wascopam Mission at Celilo Falls (at today’s The Dalles, Oregon)
(use of a “capitol T” for “The Dalles” indicates the town; not the cascades rapids)
Wascopam Mission was led by Rev. Daniel Lee and his bride Miss Marie Ware Lee
Henry B. Brewer his wife and family had arrived on the *Lausanne* with Rev. Jason Lee
they began a farm at Wascopam Mission;
- Nisqually Mission (near Tacoma) was constructed
Rev. Jason Lee sent north two carpenters to a site a short distance from Fort Nisqually
to build a cabin to be occupied by a Methodist missionary
Dr. John P. Richmond was assigned to lead the effort on Puget Sound;
- Indian Mission Manual Labor Training School got new leadership after Cyrus Shepherd’s death
Hamilton “Cow” Campbell and his wife Mrs. Harriet (Biddle) took charge of the school
they met with only limited success
for all practical purposes the Indian Mission Manual Labor Training School died
with Cyrus Shepherd as no successor was able to even approach his result

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN GENEROUSLY ASSISTS THE METHODISTS

Before going on leave of absence to London [1838], Dr. McLoughlin had claimed two square miles of land twenty-five miles upstream from the mouth of the Willamette River along East side of the river at Willamette Falls (where Oregon City is today) water-power rights to Willamette Falls had been the motivation what was in doubt was whether Dr. McLoughlin was acting on his own or serving as an agent of Hudson's Bay Company no American resident believed McLoughlin's arguments that he was acting for himself they assumed he was fronting for Hudson's Bay Company because of United States laws that forbade corporations from acquiring land in this country by preemption

DR. McLOUGHLIN'S LAND CLAIM AT WILLAMETTE FALLS IS CHALLENGED

Rev. Alvin F. Waller and his wife Elepha were dispatched by Rev. Jason Lee to establish a Methodist church and store at Willamette Falls -- June 1840 this branch mission was to be dedicated to bringing salvation to native salmon fishers Methodist mission took up a claim of six hundred-forty acres north of Dr. McLoughlin's claim Methodist missionaries did not officially attempt to deprive McLoughlin of any of his land some of the missionaries were opposed to any such action but others were of a different mind as they saw that if any of Dr. McLoughlin's land was obtained it would be a personal gain so they readily proceeded to press the opportunity Rev. Alvin F. Waller asked if he might acquire the lumber Dr. McLoughlin had previously milled for use in establishing his own claim to the site which had laid unused since before McLoughlin's furlough to London ([838-1839] these timbers were to be used in the construction of McLoughlin's own house which had never been more than just started [1838] ignoring the obvious irony, Waller planned to build a church and mission house of his own on McLoughlin's "land claim" using the Chief Factor's lumber At the request of Rev. Jason Lee, Dr. McLoughlin loaned the Methodist Mission some of the squared timbers to build a mission house these were never replaced or paid for by the missionaries

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY CARAVAN BECOMES FRUSTRATED BY WEATHER

Andrew Drips was in command of the final American Fur Company Rendezvous supply caravan as if to mark the end on an era, snow began to fall in the Rocky Mountains -- June 26, 1840

FATHER MODESTE DEMERS ACCOMPANIES HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BRIGADE

Father Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers at St. Paul's Catholic Church on French Prairie handled the enormous load in Oregon by themselves as they rode from settlement to settlement winning new converts their success led to bitter charges against them by angry Methodist missionaries sharing the region Hudson's Bay Company brigade started from Fort Vancouver

bound for the upper reaches of the Columbia River -- June 29, 1840
Father Demers accompanied the brigade
hevisited forts Walla Walla, Colville and Okanogan

MOUNTAIN MEN GATHER AT FORT BONNEVILLE FOR THE ANNUAL RENDEZVOUS

Robert “Doc” Newell, his brother-in-law Joe Meek and their families accompanied by Caleb Wilkins, George W. Ebberts, William Doughty, John Larison and William Craig among other well-known American Mountain Men had gathered at Fort Bonneville (Wyoming) (alternatively known as “Fort Nonsense” or “Bonneville’s Folly”) on Green River for the annual Rendezvous -- late June 1840

This was the fifteenth successive Rendezvous (except for 1831 when supplies did not arrive) once again, for the second year in succession, the rendezvous took place at the favorite site

FLATHEAD NATIVES ARRIVE AT THE FORT BONNEVILLE RENDEZVOUS

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and Young Ignace La Mousse were several hundred miles from the home of the Flathead Indians which was their goal they were surprised by the arrival of ten members of the Flathead tribe who had come to escort them safely across the Teton Mountain Range they awaited the Catholic missionary on banks of the Green River some of the Indians had traveled more than eight hundred miles also, the Flathead delegation had to fend off their worst enemies -- the Blackfoot Father Pierre-Jean De Smet found this to be encouraging evidence of the Indians’ desire for learning about Christianity

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY CARAVAN REACHES THE FORT BONNEVILLE RENDEZVOUS

Andrew Drips arrived at the 1840 Fort Bonneville Rendezvous from Westport with trade goods his supply caravan had reached the Green River at the mouth of Horse Creek -- June 30, 1840 As he entered camp Drips noted those in attendance for what was to be the last of the big rendezvous (and it very sorry shadow of its former magnificence)

Andrew Drips was accompanied by divergent groups of emigrants

- Joel Walker’s family;
- three independent missionary Congregational couples hoping to convert the Indians
Rev. Harvey and Emeline Clarke, Rev. Philo and Adeline Littlejohn
and carpenter Alvin T. Smith and his wife Abigail;
- Catholic priest Father Pierre-Jean De Smet seeking the Flathead Indians
accompanied by Young Ignace La Mousse;
- several other trappers, traders and adventurers

SHOSHONE (SNAKE) INDIANS ARRIVE AT THE 1840 RENDEZVOUS

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet noted the arrival of the Shoshone Indians to the Rendezvous grounds

“Three hundred of their warriors came up in good order, and at full gallop into the midst of our camp. They were hideously painted, armed with clubs, and covered all over with feathers, pearls, wolves' tails, teeth and claws of animals, outlandish adornments, with which each one had decked himself out according to his fancy. Those who had wounds received in war, and those who

had killed the enemies of their tribe, displayed their scars ostentatiously and waved the scalps they had taken on the ends of poles, after the manner of standards.”³⁴³

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL AND JOE MEEK CHANGE OCCUPATIONS

Mountain Men Robert “Doc” Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins realized that their trapping days in the mountains were over they resolved to try their luck in the Willamette Valley in Oregon

Joe Meek captured the mood at the close of the 1840 Rendezvous: **“Come, we are done with this life in the mountains--done with wading in beaver-dams, and freezing or starving alternately--done with Indian trading and Indian fighting. The fur trade is dead in the Rocky Mountains, and it is no place for us now. If ever it was. We are young yet, and have life before us. We cannot waste it here; we cannot or will not return to the States. Let us go down to the Willamet [sic] and take farms.”³⁴⁴**

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN De SMET RECOVERS HIS HEALTH AT THE RENDEZVOUS

Father De Smet asked his Ten Flathead escorts to allow him a few days rest near the rendezvous campsite during the interval De Smet became acquainted with the peculiar community of mountain men he also conversed with other Indians present: Northern Cheyennes and Shoshones (Snakes) as well as Utes and Paiutes

Father De Smet met with incredibly good fortune he unexpectedly met a former compatriot -- Jean-Baptiste De Velder from Ghent, Austria

JEAN-BAPTISTE DE VELDER’S STORY

Jean-Baptiste De Velder had spent thirty years in North America but before his arrival in America he was formerly a French soldier in the army of Napoleon he had taken prisoner in Spain by the troops of English Field Marshal Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington De Velder was shipped to an English colony where somehow he managed to escape to an American vessel and entered the United States For fourteen years De Velder worked as a trapper in the Rocky Mountains he was well acquainted with the region and its inhabitants he had been gone so long from Europe he had almost completely forgotten his native tongue Jean-Baptiste De Velder spontaneously offered his services as a guide and interpreter to his old acquaintance Father Pierre-Jean De Smet De Smet immediately accepted this proposal as a godsend

INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES MAKE A WISE DECISION

Congregational missionaries Rev. Harvey and Emeline Clarke, Rev. Philo and Adeline Littlejohn and carpenter Alvin T. Smith and his wife Abigail needed a guide to direct them as far as Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Hall During the Rendezvous, the three independent missionary couples expressed their disappointment

³⁴³ William N. Bishcoff, S.J., *The Jesuits in Old Oregon*, P. 17.

³⁴⁴ Robert Utley, *A Life Wind and Perilous*, P 176.

in their guide, Moses “Black” Harris
they had killed very little game on the plains
and became short of provisions at the rendezvous
they learned high to continue Moses “Black” Harris demanded a price they thought was too
they actively made preparations to start out without a guide
they laid in a supply of antelope and dried buffalo meat
which were purchased from the Indians with trinkets

At the rendezvous, the three Congregational missionaries hired Robert “Doc” Newell
to serve as pilot to Fort Hall instead of the formerly-employed Moses “Black” Harris
Harris grew so angry that he took a drunken potshot with his rifle at Doc Newell
his shot missed very wide, but the other trappers expelled Harris from the Rendezvous
Rev. Harvey and Emeline Clarke and Rev. Philo and Adeline Littlejohn
sold their wagon to Robert “Doc” Newell
Preparations were completed when Andrew Drips turned the American Fur Company supply train
back toward St. Louis

1840 RENDEZVOUS COMES TO AN END

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet celebrated mass and his great fortune -- Sunday, July 5, 1840
he preached for the Indians and the trappers at the Rendezvous as he later reported: **“On Sunday, the 5th of July, I had the consolation of celebrating the holy sacrifice of mass sub dia [in the open air]. The altar was placed on an elevation and surrounded with boughs and garlands of flowers; I addressed the congregation in French and in English, and spoke also by an interpreter to the Flatheads and Snake Indians. It was a spectacle truly moving for the heart of a missionary to behold an assembly composed of so many different tribes, and prostrating themselves with equal submission before the Sacred Host. The nature of the congregation and the majesty of the desert concurred to render the Mass solemn. The Canadians sang hymns in French and Latin, and the Indians in their mother tongue; all distinctions, all tribal strifes disappeared before an universal sentiment that of Christian affection. Oh! truly it was a Catholic ceremony! This place since has been called the Prairie of the Mass.”**³⁴⁵

METHODIST MISSIONARIES ATTEMPT TO MOVE ONTO DR. McLOUGHLIN’S LAND

No adverse claim was made against Dr. John McLoughlin’s land holdings until July 1840
less than thirty days after the arrival of the *Lausanne*
when some members of the Methodist mission began to plan
to take away Dr. McLoughlin’s land and water power rights
Rev. Waller proceeded to build his mission house divided into two apartments
one served as a dwelling and the other as a storeroom for the mission’s goods
defeating both McLoughlin’s and Hudson’s Bay Company’s proposed land claim
may have seemed a patriotic duty to the Rev. Waller
Rev. Waller completed construction on the branch Methodist mission station -- 1840
it was opened under Waller’s leadership with loud protests from the Chief Factor

³⁴⁵ William N. Bishcoff, S.J., *The Jesuits in Old Oregon*. P. 18.

GEORGE ABERNATHY -- METHODIST BUSINESSMAN AT WILLAMETTE FALLS

American George Abernathy was a steward of the Methodist missions 1840-[1841]
he had been appointed financial manager and treasurer
he suggested that a missionary mercantile business be opened business at Willamette Falls
to help with distribution of donated missionary supplies shipped in on the *Lausanne*
Methodist missionaries established a store ostensibly for themselves
but actually it for use by everyone
Abernathy served as the first manager of the mission store

BARTER AND TRADE IS THE ONLY ECONOMIC SYSTEM USED IN OREGON

Indians had long used barter and trade as the system of exchange in the Pacific Northwest
natives exchanged natural products among themselves: food, tools, shells, blankets, robes,
beaver pelts, sea otter skins canoes and horses according to their needs
natives and explorers, trappers, missionaries and settlers
exchanged natural products, goods and robes, beaver pelts and sea otter skins
Hudson's Bay Company added manufactured goods to these natural products
natives, trappers, missionaries and settlers soon became dependent on the company
Hudson's Bay Company had made some provision for the livelihood of their trappers and traders
but no company nor outside agency assumed any responsibility for pioneer farmers
farmers were adept at tanning hides, forging tools, tinkering and building homes
families did most of their own food processing and a variety of foods were produced:
wheat, oats, potatoes, hay for livestock, poultry, eggs, apples, peaches, pears, vegetables,
beans and peas
they dried fruit, made cider, rendered lard, cured bacon and beef, salted pork,
dried and smoked fish, and made cheese
wool was at first spun, woven, and made into garments in the home
buckskin was sewn into clothing
Oregon residents were, like other settlers, industrious, resourceful and self-reliant
but they were not entirely self-sufficient
many things were needed from the outside were articles that could best be secured by trade
people were greatly in need of more and better farm machinery,
Americans possessed small but growing numbers of cow, horses and sheep
but they were greatly in need of more and better farm equipment

METHODIST MISSION SOCIETY GROWS CONCERNED

Methodist Mission Society in the East began to receive complaints
rumors had been received from the Pacific Northwest
that colonization efforts had surpassed mission work
natives certainly would not turn to Christianity if missionaries turned to farming
Corresponding Secretary Rev. Nathan Bangs wrote to Rev. Jason Lee: **"We have nothing to do with planting a colony in Oregon. Our business is to send the Gospel to those who may be there, either**

now or hereafter, whether natives or otherwise.... But with colonizing companies, we have no connection....³⁴⁶

DR. BABCOCK REPORTS THE TRADEGY FACING THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY INDIANS

Dr. Ira L. Babcock his wife Ann and son had arrived aboard the *Lausanne*
with the Great Migration -- 1840

They were living at Wascopam Mission when he estimated
fifty Indians of the Willamette Valley died of the fever as disease continued to take its grim toll

CHIEF FACTOR JOHN McLOUGHLIN PURCHASES SHEEP IN CALIFORNIA

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin sent clerk Alexander Simpson and James Steel an English farmer
to California to purchase more sheep for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company -- summer 1840
this was Dr. McLoughlin's effort to diversity the business of Hudson's Bay Company

PIONEER SETTLEMENT AT CHEMEKETA GROWS QUICKLY

Missionaries settled near the Methodist mission at Chemeketa (today's Salem, Oregon)
some taught the children of their own families
and a continually changing group of Indian children
other ministers and laymen all farmed several hundred acres and tended herds of cattle and horses
lay workers (not ordained by the church), including George Abernethy,
also had an active influence on the development of the region

Missionaries were joined by a number of Rocky Mountain trappers -- 1840

Chemeketa expanded to contain more than a hundred people

This colony developed into a truly American settlement
strong anti-Catholic and anti-Hudson's Bay Company feelings among Americans
began to foment

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET TRAVELS TO SERVE THE FLATHEAD INDIANS

Time had come for him to leave the 1840 Rendezvous

and journey to the home of the Flathead Indians at Pierre's Hole (near today's Driggs, Idaho)

Father De Smet with Young Ignace, Jean-Baptiste De Velder set out after the rendezvous
in a north-westerly direction across the Teton Mountain Range

traveling with ten Flathead Indians and ten French-Canadian trappers

Father De Smet, his companions and the Flathead delegation would have to proceed with caution

De Smet's party traveled through a small valley, Jackson's Little Hole,

and crossed a range of lofty snow-covered mountains to reach Jackson's Hole
and the Snake River

they had to cross this swift river using bullboats

they followed a pass through the southernmost part of the Teton Mountains

ROBERT "DOC" NEWELL'S LEADS AN EXPEDITION FROM THE RENDEZVOUS

Robert "Doc" Newell led sixty-four travelers westward from the Fort Bonneville Rendezvous

³⁴⁶ Dryden, Cecil, *History of Washington*, P.89-90.

three independent Congregational missionary couples were traveling with Doc Newell
Joe Meek drove the Clarke-Littlejohn wagon from the Rendezvous to Fort Hall
Henry Black, a former trapper, was hired to drive the light wagon for ailing Alvin T. Smith
carpenter Alvin T. Smith noted:

“These mountain men made us an escort to Fort Hall.”³⁴⁷

emigrant Joel Walker, Mary his wife and their four children, and Mary’s sister Martha Young
made use of one of Walker’s light wagons

Walker’s other light wagon was driven to Fort Hall by Caleb Wilkins

Caleb Wilkins was a Mountain Man who first came west

with Nathaniel Wyeth and Captain Benjamin Bonneville [1832-1834]

assorted former Mountain Men, traders and adventurers completed the entourage

including trappers John “Jack” Larison, William “Bill” Craig joined the expedition

Oregon Dragoon Ralph C. Kilbourne accompanied by trapper William Doughty and family

Independent Congregational missionaries noted there were no disagreements

and the trip went pleasantly enough except for the prolonged weariness of the journey

METHODIST MISSIONARY BUILDS THE FIRST AMERICAN HOME ON PUGET SOUND

New arrivals Dr. John P. Richmond, his wife America and four children were reassigned
from Methodist Champoeg (Mission Bottom) to Nisqually Mission

where he would serve as leader near Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Nisqually

Bachelor William H. Willson who was to be responsible for the non-religious activities
at the Methodist Mission led a missionary party to the southern end of Puget Sound

where a station was already under construction near Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Nisqually

Rev. Dr. John P. Richmond with his wife America and their three children

traveled north from Champoeg by canoe to Puget Sound

they were accompanied by Miss Chloe Clark who was to serve as teacher

Richmond Party arrived the station already built near Fort Nisqually -- July 10, 1840

they were warmly welcomed by William Kittson the Hudson’s Bay Agent at Fort Nisqually

they survived primarily by drawing on the Hudson’s Bay Store at Fort Nisqually

William H. Willson completed the building of the mission house in three weeks

Dr. Richmond’s family became the first Americans to reside on Puget Sound

although relations with Hudson’s Bay Company were friendly this was the first United States’
settlement north of the Columbia River and West of the Cascade Mountains

(in what is now western Washington)

this also was the first American encroachment on presumed British land

Miss Chloe Clark opened a school which served both Protestant and Catholic people at Fort Nisqually
eventually fifty pupils were enrolled

Dr. J.P. Richmond had some accomplishments at Nisqually Mission:

- he and his family were the first Americans to live along Puget Sound,
- he delivered the first Fourth of July speech in the Pacific Northwest
- his wife, America, gave birth to the first white girl born on Puget Sound
(however, efforts to convert the natives to Christianity proved futile and the post closed [1842])

³⁴⁷ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. 1*, P. 219.

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET REACES PIERRE’S HOLE IN THE TETON MOUNTAINS

Eight days after setting out from the Fort Bonneville Rendezvous

journey’s end was reached in the twenty-five-mile-long Bitterroot Valley

at the foot of the impressive Teton mountains (near today’s Driggs, Idaho) -- July 12, 1840

Father De Smet and Young Ignace were delighted to discover more than 1,500

Flatheads, Pend d’Oreilles and Nez Perce camped there, awaiting their appearance

this large number of natives traveled 180 miles to meet their promised missionary

Chief of the Flatheads, Big Face, welcomed Father De Smet with great enthusiasm

Father De Smet wrote of his reception, **“The poles were already set up for my tent, and upon my arrival men, women, and children, sixteen hundred souls in all, came to shake hands with me and bid me welcome. The old men cried for joy, and the children expressed gladness by gambols and screams of delight.**

“These kind Indians conducted me to the tent of the Great Chief, a patriarchal person called Big Face, who, surrounded by his council, received me with great cordiality. ‘Black Robe’, he said, ‘welcome to my nation. Our hearts rejoice, for today the Great Spirit has granted our petition. You have come to a people poor, plain, and submerged in the darkness of ignorance. I have always exhorted my people to love the Great Spirit. We know that all that exists belongs to Him and that everything we have comes from His generous hands.

“From time to time, kind white men have given us good advice, which we have striven to follow. Our ardent desire to be instructed in what concerns our salvation has led us on several occasions to spend a deputation of our people to the Great Black Robe [the Bishop] of St. Louis to ask him to send a priest.

“Speak, Black Robe! We are your children. Show us the path we must follow to reach the place where abides the Great Spirit. Our ears are open. Our hearts will heed your words. Speak, Black Robe! We will follow the words of your mouth.”³⁴⁸

For four days the natives stayed camped while Father De Smet taught his faith

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL’S PARTY ENCOUNTERS TROUBLE

For several days Indians had been traveling and camping near the Newell Party

at night natives’ horses were turned out near the missionaries’ stock

Just before reaching Fort Hall, the Congregational missionaries

became less anxious concerning their animals -- they thought they were out of the Indian country

one morning the missionaries found several of their horses were missing

Caleb Wilkins, who spoke the native language somewhat and understood Indian ways well,

talked to one of the neighboring Indians and suggested he could find the horses if he desired

when Wilkins received a rude reply from the native, the mountain man knocked him down

as the Indian got up, Wilkins told him to go and find the horses

this native rode off and very soon returned with the animals

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET TRAVELS TO THE HEADWATERS OF THE MISSOURI RIVER

Father De Smet broke his camp at Pierre’s Hole -- July 16, 1840

³⁴⁸ John Terrill, *Black Robe*, P. 108.

he set out on the trail which began near Henry's Fork on the Snake River
with more than a thousand Native American men, women and children under Chief Big Face
who along with their supplies, prancing horses, barking dogs accompanied the priest
northward to the headwaters of the Missouri River

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET TEACHES THE INDIANS

For three weeks the expedition covered approximately ten miles a day
they crossed the continental divide between Henry's Lake
and Red Rock Lake close to Red Rock Creek
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and his companions continued along the Beaverhead River
(close to today's Dillon, Montana) traveling toward the Jefferson River
As the throng of Indians moved slowly toward their home, they stopped for daily instruction
Indians were so glad to finally have their own Black Robe that even the ill natives made sure
they were carried to the meeting place so they might not miss any opportunity to learn
At these daily gatherings, De Smet taught the Apostle's Creed and prayers of the Catholic Church
he promised a new silver medal to the first person who could recite all the prayers perfectly
very shortly thereafter an elderly Flathead recited without one error, all of the prayers
he was promptly awarded the medal and made a catechist
Father De Smet proved to be such a successful teacher that within ten days
large groups of men and women could be heard throughout the camp
memorizing the prayers as they went about their daily tasks
En route, each Sunday along the trail the Indians constructed an altar of willow branches
for the celebration of Holy Mass
with great reverence, all knelt and joined in the prayers, each in his own language:
Iroquois, Flathead, Nez Perce, and Latin

NEWELL PARTY REACHES FORT HALL

Robert "Doc" Newell successfully completed his piloting task -- July 20, 1840
from the Fort Bonneville Rendezvous (in Wyoming) to Fort Hall
(located northeast of the present site of Pocatello, Idaho)
Fort Hall, at that time, was the farthest point west that wagons had reached
it was regarded as sheer madness to attempt to travel further west with wagons from Fort Hall
through the lava wastelands of the Snake River country to the Columbia River
Independent Congregational missionaries found their animals so reduced
they decided to speed their journey by switching to pack mules
they also exchanged some items with Hudson's Bay Company Factor Francis Ermatinger
for a supply of flour

DR. McLOUGHLIN BECOMES CONCERNED ABOUT HIS WILLAMETTE FALLS LAND

It was reported to the Chief Factor that the Methodists intended to take (or "jump") his claim
McLoughlin notified Rev. Jason Lee, Superintendent of the Methodist mission -- July 21, 1840
of the fact that possession of the Willamette property had been taken in [1829]
and also it was McLoughlin's intention to hold this land as a private claim

McLoughlin gave Jason Lee a general description of the land **“From the upper end of the falls across to the Clackamas river, and down where the Clackamas falls into the Willamette, including the whole point of land, and the small island in the falls on which the portage was made.”**³⁴⁹

this was the island known locally as Governor’s Island in honor of McLoughlin

Dr. McLoughlin concluded his letter to Rev. Jason Lee: **“This is not to prevent your building the store, as my object is merely to establish my claim.”**³⁵⁰

JOEL WALKER FAMILY LEAVES FORT HALL

Joel and Mary Walker and their four children and Mary’s sister Martha set out from Fort Hall following the well-beaten trail to Fort Boise -- July 21, 1840 as they transported their possession by pack horse train into Oregon

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL ACCEPTS A WAGON IN PAYMENT FOR HIS SERVICE AS GUIDE

“Doc” Newell was compensated by the independent Congregational missionaries for his services he accepted as payment the wagon belonging to Rev. Harvey Clarke and Rev. Philo B. Littlejohn and a double harness -- July 21, 1840

Carpenter Alvin T. Smith’s wagon was sold to Hudson’s Bay Company Factor Francis Ermatinger, who at the time, was in charge of Fort Hall, in exchange for eight pack-horses worth of goods to be delivered to Fort Walla Walla by the Hudson’s Bay Company caravan Smith reserved the option to buy back the wagon at Fort Walla Walla for \$80

Joel Walker abandoned both of his light wagons at Fort Hall in favor of pack horses Walker gave his second wagon to Caleb Wilkins in payment for his services as a driver

OTHER EMIGRANTS LEAVE FORT HALL

Three independent Congregational missionaries, Rev. Harvey and Emeline Clarke, Rev. Philo B. and Adeline Littlejohn and carpenter Alvin T. and Abigail Smith packed their baggage and supplies and departed on horseback following the trail from Fort Hall bound for Fort Boise -- July 22, 1840 they had two tents to sleep in and so were protected from severe weather ladies had side-saddles and easy-riding ponies and made the journey very comfortably Mrs. Abigail Smith and Mrs. Adeline Littlejohn had horses that paced easily, but usually they traveled at a walk Mrs. Emeline Clarke rode a more spirited mount

Oregon Dragoon Robert Moore and trapper John Green accompanied them as did several Mountain Men interested in settling in the Willamette Valley of Oregon

CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES ACQUIRE THE SERVICES OF GUIDES

Congregational missionaries were only one day out of Fort Hall -- July 23, 1840 when trappers Henry Black and Pleasant Armstrong agreed to guide the party beyond Fort Boise to the Whitman Mission of Waiilatpu

Joel Walker and his family accompanied by the mountain men were soon overtaken

³⁴⁹ Hubert Howard Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana*, Volume XXIX, P. 204.

³⁵⁰ Hubert Howard Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana*, Volume XXIX, P. 204.

EMIGRANTS SPLIT INTO TWO GROUPS

Congregational Missionaries and Mountain Men had differing ideas about keeping the Sabbath
missionaries were determined to live up to their principles
Missionaries and their wives accompanied by their guides Henry Black and Pleasant Armstrong
stopped for a Sunday rest as they neared Fort Boise -- August 2, 1840
most of the mountain men could not be induced to stop and rest for the day
Joel Walker and his family sided against the ministers and their wives
Walker, his family, and most of the mountain men continued on leaving the missionaries behind
(toward the end of their journey, the Walker party paid a price for not keeping the Sabbath
they were denied entry to Wascopam Mission because they did not strictly keep the Sabbath)

JOEL WALKER FAMILY ARRIVES AT WAILATPU MISSION

Joel and Mary Walker along with their four children and Martha Young
arrived at Dr. Marcus Whitman's Waiilatpu Mission -- early August
at the time, Dr. Whitman and Narcissa were away visiting the Spalding mission at Lapwai
Almost immediately after their arrival at Waiilatpu Joel Walker and his family
accompanied by several mountain men continued on to Fort Walla Walla

INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES SET A SLOWER PACE

After keeping the Sabbath and following the route of Joel Walker and his family
independent Congregational missionaries reached the Hudson's Bay Company Fort Boise
eight miles below the mouth of the Boise River -- August 4, 1840
From Fort Boise to Dr. Marcus Whitman's mission at Waiilatpu
there was an obvious trail established by Indians and maintained by fur company men
occasionally Indians would travel with the missionaries until the horses disappeared
after that, the ministers and their wives were left alone

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SERVES THE FLATHEAD INDIANS

In an effort to build up enough food provisions for the coming winter months
Chief Big Face and his thousand followers reached the area
where Prairie and Mountain Indians met to hunt bison -- August 6, 1840
in the next seventeen days the Flatheads killed and processed about 500 animals
After their successful buffalo hunt the Indians prepared to return to their homelands
Father De Smet explained to the Indians the advantages of a fixed home
that would provide a sense of security if each (spring) was set aside for planting time
and (autumn) for harvest time
Indians began to look for a good valley that could be their future home where they could raise crops

INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONARIES ARRIVED AT WAILATPU MISSION

Trappers Henry Black and Pleasant Armstrong guided the Congregational missionaries
successfully to the Dr. Marcus Whitman's mission -- August 14, 1840
these people who had traveled under such difficult circumstances for so long dispersed:
•Rev. Harvey Clarke and his wife Emeline went to Kamiah Mission
to work with the Rev. Asa Smiths among the Nez Perce natives;

- Rev. Philo B. Littlejohn; Adeline (Sadler) Littlejohn stayed with the Whitmans (they moved to the Willamette Valley, September [1841] and to Lapwai in [1842]);
- carpenter Alvin T. Smith and his wife Abigail stayed with the Rev. Spalding at Lapwai

IT IS DECIDED TO TAKE THE WAGONS THROUGH TO FORT BOISE

Robert “Doc” Newell remained at Fort Hall with his two wagons
 as did Caleb Wilkins with his wagon
 Doc Newell decided to attempt the journey to the Willamette Valley by wagon
 in this he received warm encouragement and aid from Fort Hall’s Factor Francis Ermatinger
 who would greatly benefit from a wagon road connecting his post
 with the Hudson’s Bay Company posts of Fort Boise and Fort Walla Walla
 Ermatinger hired a German named Nicholas to drive the Alvin T. Smith wagon
 (this may be Nicholas Stansbury a frequent visitor to Fort Hall or Nicholas Altgier)
 Caleb Wilkins also decided to drive his wagon, newly received from Joel Walker,
 he was accompanied by his Nez Perce wife
 During this time Joe Meek, Osborn Russell and two other trappers
 occupied their time with a hunting trip

FIRST WEDDING ON PUGET SOUND

William H. Willson and Miss Chloe Clark became acquainted while working at Nisqually Mission
 they were married at Fort Nisqually -- August 16, 1840
 in a ceremony performed by Dr. John P. Richmond who was also a Methodist minister
 this was the first marriage of white Americans (in present day Washington state)
 Mr. and Mrs. Willson moved to Willamette Falls where he undertook the study of medicine
 William Willson was a man of especially cheerful nature
 his optimistic disposition made him a favorite with all of his acquaintances

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET WRITES TO FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET

Father De Smet was surprised to learn of the presence of Father Modeste Demers at Fort Colville
 Father De Smet wrote a letter to Father Demers -- August 23, 1840
 this letter was to be given to Father Francis Blanchet
 who remained at St. Paul’s Mission in the Willamette Valley near Fort Vancouver

CLATSOP PLAINS MISSION ENJOYS SOME SUCCESS

Once Rev. Joseph H. Frost’s Clatsop Mission was in operation
 Rev. Frost and his missionaries feared that any outright refusal of sleeping facilities to any guests
 could lead to a violent confrontation
 soon a small structure was made to house visiting natives who had until then
 slept on the floor of the mission
 Rev. Frost returned to the Willamette station to request assistance
 Rev. William H. Kone and his wife was assigned to accompany him
 as the mission planned at Umpqua had been forfeited

WILLAMETTE FALLS GROWS INCREASINGLY AMERICAN

Hudson's Bay Company's Dr. John McLoughlin had helped American missionaries and settlers
he provided food, supplies and protection

Willamette Falls became one of the centers of population in the Pacific Northwest

American missionaries actively worked Dr. McLoughlin's claim along the Willamette River

Dr. William Holden Willson practiced medicine and carpentry there

Lewis H. Judson self-educated missionary was a blunt and stubborn man

he joined in the colonizing effort

Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, after leaving the mission on the Clatsop Plains

continued his trade as a blacksmith at Willamette Falls

he became active in local political affairs

James O'Neil, one of Wyeth's men and member of Willamette Cattle Company

noted the relationship among inhabitants at Willamette Falls: **"...the white people live without any forms of law; but in general are very honorable in paying their debts, and give notes and bonds. They have no sheriff, constables, fees, nor taxes to pay. They profess to be very hospitable to strangers, and kind to one another. No breaking each other up for debts. Here are no distilleries, no drunkenness, nor much swearing. They seem, indeed, to be a very happy people."**³⁵¹

SALEM EVANGELICAL UNITED BROTHERN CHURCH BEGINS

Rev. Jason Lee's new Methodist mission at Chemeketa

eventually overtook the Willamette Mission at Mission Bottom in importance

When Rev. Jason Lee's headquarters was moved from Mission Bottom

the Methodist Church of Salem was formally organized in Chemeketa -- 1840

Rev. Jason Lee was one of thirteen charter members

of the Salem Evangelical United Brethren Church

Rev. David Leslie became the first pastor

METHODIST MISSIONARY EFFORT CHANGES IN CHARACTER

It became increasingly obvious that attention was focusing less on the Indians and more on farming
as the whole aspect of the missionary effort changed:

- Indian population also was in rapid decline,
- missions assumed a secular character,
- several missionaries turned to farming to make a living -- others returned to the East

INDIAN MISSION MANUAL LABOR TRAINING SCHOOL IS MOVED FROM CHAMPOEG

Location of the Willamette Mission site at Mission Bottom attracted few children

Indian Mission Manual Labor Training School closed in preparation to being moved

Training School was transferred temporarily to Wallace House

which had been built by Astor's Pacific Fur Company about three miles north of Chemeketa

Construction was begun on new 3½ story \$10,000 structure at Chemeketa

intended to be the replacement home for the Indian Mission Manual Labor Training School

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SEEKS HELP FOR A MISSION TO THE FLATHEADS

³⁵¹ Joseph Williams, *Narrative of a Tour...to Oregon Territory*, 1841-2, P. 57.

After reaching Flathead Country, Father De Smet was convinced the Flatheads needed a mission but the Catholic priest needed to obtain necessary help -- both people and money
Father De Smet decided to try to return to St. Louis before the winter to report to his superiors with the hope of acquiring the means to locate a permanent mission among the Flathead Indians

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SETS OUT ON THE LONG TRIP TO ST. LOUIS

Father De Smet bid farewell to the Flathead natives -- August 27, 1840
he and trapper Jean-Baptiste De Velder left for St. Louis
with an escort of twenty young Flathead braves

They traveled the trail that had been followed by William Clark (Lewis and Clark [1804-1806])
on his homeward trip to the Yellowstone River

it was a vague path along the Gallatin River, over Bozeman Pass

that crossed Yellowstone desert with its endless plains and deep canyons

this trail ran through the country of the Crows and the hostile Blackfoot Indians

at the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Bighorn they visited a large Crow Indian village

Father De Smet later noted this was the happiest time of his life

as he rode he undoubtedly reflected on the parting words of Chief Big Face: **“Black Robe, may the Great Spirit accompany you on your long and dangerous journey; morning and night we will pray that you may safely reach your brothers in St. Louis, and we will continue to pray thus until you return to your children of the mountains.**

When the snows of the winter will have disappeared from the valleys, and when the first green of spring begins to appear, our hearts, which are now sad, will once more rejoice. As the meadow grass grows higher and higher we will go forth to meet you. Farewell, Black Robe, farewell.”³⁵²

From the Crow Village, Father De Smet and Jean-Baptiste De Velder

traveled to American Fur Company’s Fort Alexander on the Rosebud River

DR. ELIJAH WHITE BREAKS WITH REV. JASON LEE

Rev. Jason Lee and Dr. Elijah White continually argued over the mission’s purpose and direction
each exerted his leadership -- although not in the same direction

Dr. White publicly broke with Rev. Jason Lee because of friction over policy

regarding the best ways and means of carrying forward the objects of the mission -- 1840

Dr. White resigned his position as doctor with the Methodist Willamette Mission

and was virtually driven out of the colony by the missionaries

Dr. Elijah White departed Oregon by ship bound for the United States

HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY’S JAMES DOUGLAS ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Completing his journey from Fort Taku (near today’s Juneau)

James Douglas reached Fort Vancouver -- September 1840

Douglas reported to Dr. McLoughlin that he had placed William Glen Rae in charge of Fort Stikine
and John McLoughlin, Jr. was named second in command

In his report to the chief factor, Douglas recommended constructing even more forts in the north

³⁵² John Terrill, *Black Robe*, P. 112-113.

this was good news to Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin as it provided support for his belief that conducting coastal trade using posts was superior to using ships passing on Douglas' recommendation to Governor-in-Chief George Simpson would be a distinct pleasure indeed for the chief factor
Douglas, too, found good news at Fort Vancouver during his absence he had been elevated to Chef Factor this was the highest possible rank for field service with Hudson's Bay Company he was now equal to John McLoughlin in every respect except seniority Black Scot had achieved this distinction at the relatively youthful age of thirty-seven

MORE SHEEP ARRIVE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Hudson's Bay Company Clerk Alexander Simpson and English farmer James Steel bought seven hundred ewes which were loaded on the *Columbia* at San Francisco Bay, these were delivered to Fort Vancouver -- September 1840
Number of sheep at Nisqually rose steadily until there were a little less than one thousand sheep pastured at the post -- 1840

JOEL WALKER FAMILY REACHES THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Joel Walker, his wife Mary and their children Joseph about age twelve, John, son about six, Isabella and Newton both age unknown were accompanied by Mary's unmarried sister Martha Young also traveling with the Walker family were several mountain men They reached the Willamette Valley and the end of their journey -- September 13, 1840 they were the first pioneer family to cross the continent for the sole purpose of taking up farming by the end of this month, they had planted a crop from seed provided with the aid of Dr. John McLoughlin Ewing Young hired Joel and his son Joseph for occasional work and Martha Young as a seamstress and laundress (Joel Walker wintered in the Willamette Valley and moved on to California the next fall)

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET AND JEAN-BAPTISTE DE VELDER CONTINUE ON

Father De Smet decided to dismiss his Flathead escort as he and trapper Jean-Baptiste De Velder continued their trip east to the St. Louis -- September 13, 1840
While they no longer had an escort, they were not alone De Smet and Velder encountered evidence of small groups of Blackfoot Indians everywhere

OREGON DRAGOON ROBERT MOORE REACHES THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Oregon Dragoon Robert Moore had traveled from Fort Hall he arrived at the Columbia River on his own and established a farm he named "Robin's Nest" on the west bank of Willamette Falls (at today's West Linn) Moore purchased his land from the local natives -- 1840 in the agreement the Indians retained their homes and fishing rights on Moore's 1000-acre property that stretched from one-half mile

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET AND JEAN-BAPTISTE DE VELDER REACH FORT UNION

The Catholic priest and his companion
arrived at the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Missouri rivers
there they visited another American Fur Company outpost
Fort Union (North Dakota) -- September 20, 1840
For three days they enjoyed the hospitality of the master of the fort, James Kipp
he advises to them to descend the Missouri River in a canoe
as autumn was fast approaching and they still needed to travel more than 2,000 miles
however, since neither of De Smet nor De Velder had any canoeing skills
both men preferred to continue on horseback
even though they knew it would double their travel time

PREPARATIONS ARE UNDERTAKEN AT FORT HALL TO DRIVE THREE WAGONS WEST

Joe Meek, Osborn Russell and two other trappers returned to Fort Hall
from their hunting trip -- September 22, 1840
“Doc” Newell made final preparations for an effort to drive three wagons to the Willamette Valley
he induced his brother-in-law Joe Meek to join him in the adventure
Newell and Meek knew it would be difficult to get a wagon through to the Columbia River
but they thought it might be more convenient for Newell’s Nez Perce wife,
their new-born son Marcus Whitman Newell and their five-year-old son
Francis “Frank” Ermatinger Newell
Joe Meek’s Nez Perce wife Virginia deserted him taking their son Courtney Walk Meek with her
leaving him to care for his two-year-old daughter by his first marriage Helen Mar Meek

FATHER DE SMET AND JEAN-BAPTISTE DE VELDER LEAVE FORT UNION

Father De Smet and his traveling companion trapper Jean-Baptiste de Velder set out overland
with American Fur Company traders traveling to Arikara Indian Country -- September 23, 1840
three days later they met a village of friendly Mandan and Gros Ventres natives -- September 26

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL LEADS THE WAGONS FROM FORT HALL

Robert “Doc” Newell had assembled the small party of Mountain Men and their families
who had also decided to carve out a new future in Oregon
Doc Newell, his Indian wife Kitty and family, and Joe Meek along with his daughter
loaded their scanty possessions into Newell’s wagon purchased from the Clarke-Littlejohns
Joe Meek would drive this wagon
Caleb Wilkins accompanied by his Nez Perce wife had decided to drive the wagon
he had acquired from Joel Walker
Nicholas (Stansbury or Altgier) was hired to drive Francis Ermatinger’s wagon
that had been purchased from Alvin T. Smith
William “Bill” Craig and John “Jack” Larison were engaged to drive a small herd of cattle
other travelers probably included Oregon Dragoon Ralph Kilbourne, and William Doughty
Doc Newell led the three wagons toward Dr. Whitman’s Waiilatpu Mission -- September 27, 1840

PETITION OF 1840 IS WRITTEN BY REV. DAVID LESLIE AND OTHERS

American's feelings opposed to British leadership grew stronger each year
trade system then in use kept Indians dependent on Hudson's Bay Company
respect for Company men shown by the Indians was resented by Americans
Rev. David Leslie and Philip L. Edwards authored another petition -- fall 1840
this was the second to be sent to Congress
it held more urgency than the earlier [1838] Oregon Memorial written by Rev. David Leslie

This 1840 Petition pointed to attacks on settlers by savages

and **“others [Hudson's Bay Company] that would do them harm”**

Rev. Leslie stated the only means of protection, other than force of arms, was **“self-constituted tribunals, originated and sustained by the power of an ill-instructed public opinion.”**

it asked Congress **“for the civil institutions of the American Republic”**

and prayed **“for the high privileges of American citizenship; the peaceful enjoyment of life; the right of acquiring, possessing, and using property; and the unrestrained pursuit of rational happiness.”**³⁵³

Rev. David Leslie's 1840 Petition was signed by sixty-three people living in the vicinity of

Rev. Jason Lee's Chemeketa (Salem) Mission

Thomas J. Farnham was dispatched to carry the 1840 Petition to Washington City by sea

FATHER DE SMET REACHES FORT CLARK

Catholic priest and his traveling companion Jean-Baptiste De Velder

continued from Fort Union to Fort Clark (North Dakota)

here the American Fur Company traders set up business

De Smet, De Velder and a Canadian trapper who joined them continued toward St. Louis

Fort Pierre (South Dakota), their next stop, was reached ten days later -- October 6, 1840

DOC NEWELL SWITCHES TO PACK MULES

In a few days, the Snake River Plain persuaded Doc Newell the venture had been a ghastly mistake

teamsters Joe Meek, Caleb Wilkins and Mr. Nicholas agreed

they found the continued crashing of the sagebrush under and around the wagons,

which was in many places higher than the mules' backs, was brutal for both man and beast

they were quite sorry they had undertaken the job

Jack Larison concurred although he, like Robert “Doc” Newell, was on horseback

Seeing the animals fail forced the mountain men to lighten the loads

loading families and outfits onto mules, Newell and his companions removed the wagon beds

they pushed forward with only the running gear, bare chassis and wheels of the wagons

bouncing over the black lava rock and sagebrush

Beyond Fort Boise and the Snake River, the Blue Mountains proved equally disheartening

FATHER DE SMET AND JEAN-BAPTISTE DE VELDER ENTER SIOUX COUNTRY

Father De Smet left Fort Pierre accompanied by tapper Jean-Baptiste De Velder

and a Canadian trapper

After traveling for five days they reach Sioux Indian Country -- October 11, 1840

³⁵³ W.H. Gray, *History of Oregon*, P. 194-196.

it did not take long for the Sioux Indians to intercept the small party of intruders into their country
Canadian trapper with Father De Smet and Jean-Baptiste De Velder
informed the natives that one of the intruders was a French Black Robe
for these Indians it is their first time to meet anyone who is familiar with the “Great Spirit”
their aggressiveness was replaced by exuberant joy
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was transported to the Sioux village on a buffalo robe

FATHER DE SMET AND JEAN-BAPTISTE DE VELDER CONTINUE ON TO ST. LOUIS

De Smet and two companions left the Sioux Indian village
next traveled to Fort Vermillion (located near Burbank, South Dakota)
where De Smet learned of new hostilities between Yankton Sioux and Potawatomis
at St. Joseph Mission -- his former home

AMERICANS BEGIN CONSTRUCTION ON THE SCHOONER *STAR OF OREGON*

Little group of American young men had conceived of an adventurous project
to build a tiny homemade schooner constructed of Oregon timber to sail to California
and to exchange the schooner for livestock and drive the herd to Oregon
Joseph Gale, the only mariner of the lot, headed the effort
he was a onetime sailor who had quit the sea to trap with Ewing Young in California [1831]
he had migrated to Oregon with Ewing and Hall Jackson Kelly
he had migrated to Oregon with Ewing and Hall Jackson Kelly
Gale was assisted by skilled ship’s carpenter Felix Hathaway and six less skilled laborers
John Canan, Ralph Kilbourne, Pleasant Armstrong, Henry Woods, George Davis
and Jacob Green
Star of Oregon would be the first vessel constructed on the Willamette River
Gale’s crew began construction on the east side of Swan Island (today’s Portland)
keel of the fifty-three foot eight-inch-long schooner with a ten-foot nine-inch beam
was laid -- autumn 1840
her frame was made of oak with planking 1¼ inches thick

FATHER NICOLAS POINT ARRIVES IN AMERICA

French Jesuit Nicholas Point had been born in Rocroi-- an ancient town in northeastern France
he received an education as an architect and draftsman before training for the priesthood
After emigrating to America, he was assigned to the College of Grand Coteau in Louisiana
Father Point arrived in Westport, Missouri -- November 1, 1840
while waiting for Father De Smet Father Point built a small church
for the local community in Westport (Kansas City. Missouri)

RUNNING GEAR OF THE WAGONS ARRIVED AT WAILLATPU

Robert “Doc” Newell and his party reached the Whitman Mission
with William Craig and Jack Larison and the small herd of cattle -- early November 1840
Joe Meek, Caleb Wilkins and Mr. Nicholas had found a way
to move their wagons (such as they were) across the desert and through the mountains
between Fort Boise and Waiilatpu

they managed to pull the running gear of one wagon by mule and horse
all the way to the mission -- even if the wagon bed was missing
they also had managed to preserve the running gears of the other two wagons
Doc Newell noted, **“In a rather rough and reduced state, we arrived at Dr. [Marcus]
Whitman’s mission station, in the Walla Walla valley, where we were met by that hospitable man,
and kindly made welcome, and feasted accordingly.”**³⁵⁴

Dr. Whitman shook Newell heartily by the hand and Mrs. Whitman welcomed them all
Indians walked around and stared at the wagons, or what they called “horse canoes”
Newell continued: **“On hearing me regret that I had undertaken to bring the wagons, the Doctor
said: ‘Oh, you will never regret it; you have broken the ice and when others see that wagons have
passed, they too, will pass and in a few years the valley will be full of our people’.”**³⁵⁵

(Dr. Marcus Whitman’s words to Newell proved prophetic as thousands of wagons
did follow in their tracks filling the valleys of Oregon and Washington with settlers)
Their only reward for the effort was that they had broken the first track through the sage
and demonstrated the potential for a road development later
if one wagon could cross the Blue Mountains other wagons could pass through as well

FATHER DE SMET AND JEAN-BAPTISTE DE VELDER DEPART FROM FORT VERMILLION

After leaving Fort Vermillion, the Catholic priest and two trapper companions
met a solitary Iroquois in a canoe -- November 10, 1840
ice patches started to appear on the Missouri River

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL MAKES A DECISION AT WAILLATPU

Robert “Doc” Newell’s party broke up at Wailatpu Mission
two of the mountain men, William Craig and John Larison quit the adventure with the wagons
they parted company with Doc Newell and drifted to the country
near Lapwai on the Clearwater River to be near their wives’ people in Nez Perce country
where they stayed with the people of their wives
Doc Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins spent a day or two at the Wailatpu Mission
“Doc” Newell’s five-year-old son Francis “Frank” Ermatinger Newell
and their new-born son Marcus Whitman Newell were too ill to travel on
Joe Meek’s Nez Perce wife had deserted him leaving him to care
for his two-year-old emaciated vermin-infested daughter Helen Mar Meek
all three children were left for Narcissa Whitman to clean up, care for, and tutor during the winter

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL’S PARTY LEAVES WAILLATPU

Three wagons (or at least their running gear) had journeyed from Fort Hall (in Idaho)
two of the wagons’ running gear were left at the mission station
Robert “Doc” Newell and Joe Meek took leave of their children and the kind missionaries
accompanied by Caleb Wilkins they proceeded slowly along the desert track
toward Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia River
Joe Meek drove the running gear of the wagon formerly belonging to missionary Alvin T. Smith

³⁵⁴ Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington*, Vol. 2, P. 24.

³⁵⁵ Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington*, Vol. 2, P. 25.

as this was the largest and heaviest of the wagons
With the rainy season looming ahead however, Doc Newell was fearful
that this late in the year he would not be able to get his wagon's running gear
over the Cascade Mountains to the Willamette Valley

WILLIAM CRAIG AND JOHN LARISON MOVE TO LAPWAI MISSION

Leaving Robert "Doc" Newell and his wagons at the Whitmans' Waiilatpu Mission
trappers William "Bill" Craig and John "Jack" Larison turned up at Lapwai Mission
much to Rev. Henry Spalding's annoyance -- November 20, 1840
Mountain Man William Craig caused considerable trouble
when he constructed his homesteaded quite near the mission
and undermined the unpopular Spalding's missionary efforts among the Indians

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES AT ST. JOSEPH MISSION

Traveling by canoe down the Missouri River Father De Smet, Jean-Baptiste De Velder
and a Canadian trapper reached St. Joseph Mission
(today's Council Bluffs, Iowa) -- November 20, 1840
Happily the men could rest at Father De Smet's former assignment
St. Joseph Mission was currently being run by Fathers Christian Hoecken and Felix Verreydt
sadly, the number of Potawatomi families living near the mission had been reduced to fifty

ROBERT NEWELL, JOE MEEK AND CALEB WILKINS ARRIVE AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Newell, Meek and Wilkins were kindly received Fort Walla Walla by Pierre C. Pambrun,
chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company post
Joe Meek had successfully driven the running gear of the wagon
now belonging to Francis Ermatinger
To Robert Newell, the leader of the effort, must be ascribed credit
for bringing the first wagons from Fort Hall to Fort Walla Walla
Doc Newell, Joe Meek, and Caleb Wilkins
were the first to reach the Columbia River overland by wagon
they established the practicability of wagon travel from the western frontier of Missouri,
via the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River
they had opened to wagon traffic the final leg of what became known as the Oregon Trail
Francis Ermatinger's wagon running gear was left at Fort Walla Walla

ROBERT "DOC" NEWELL AND JOE MEEK VENTURE DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Doc Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins were determined to seek new homes and new occupations
and to settle in Oregon's fertile Willamette Valley
At Fort Walla Walla they loaded their supplies and stock aboard a Hudson's Bay Company bateau
for the journey down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver
leaving their wagons' running gear and parts behind at Fort Walla Walla
Robert "Doc" Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins subsisted for weeks on dried salmon
on several occasions they were forced to swim their stock
across the Columbia and Willamette rivers

DR. ELIJAH WHITE LEAVES THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Dr. White publicly broke with Rev. Jason Lee because of friction over policy
Dr. White carried his complaints regarding Rev. Jason Lee's administration
to the Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York
he believed the most honorable course open to him was to state his reason for leaving in writing
and then carry the complaints and Lee's responses to the Methodist Mission Society
although this may have been a proper course, the bitterness of White's attack raised concerns
Dr. White sailed away from Oregon on the *Lausanne* -- December 2, 1840
bound for the Hawaii and the United States
Rev. Jason Lee was left in control of the Methodist effort in Oregon

THOMAS J. FARNHAM CARRIES REV. LESLIE'S SECOND PETITION TO CONGRESS

Thomas J. Farnham arrived in Washington City (Washington, D.C.) -- early December
after leaving Oregon he had traveled to the Sandwich Islands
then continued via California and Mexico, to the United States capital city
where he delivered the Petition of 1840 to Congress
Farnham published a popular account of the Pacific Northwest and California, *Peoria Party*,
and also *Travels in the Great Western Prairies* where the Oregon Dragoon
described in detail many hardships people would face on the journey West
these were widely read -- they swelled the tide of popular interest in the West
and did a great deal to maintain that enthusiasm
Oregon Dragoon Robert Shortess in his book, *Pictorial History of Oregon and California*,
said of Thomas J. Farnham's character: **"Instead of raising the American flag and turning the
Hudson's Bay Company out-of-doors, he accepted the gift of a suit of clothes and a passage to the
Sandwich Islands, and took a final leave of Oregon."**³⁵⁶

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET LEAVES ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION

After three weeks of rest at St. Joseph Mission Father De Smet set out
on horseback for Westport, Missouri -- December 14, 1840
he was on a mission to acquire the support necessary to open a Catholic mission
among the Flathead Indians in their homeland

NEWELL, MEEK AND WILKINS ARRIVE IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Robert "Doc" Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins
did not arrive in the Willamette Valley until December 15, 1840
when they reached the region just above the falls of the Willamette River
where Tualatin River flows in from the west -- December 15, 1840
Trapper William Doughty was already settled in his own home in the community
which was composed of former-trappers including Ewing Young, George Ebbert
Joel Walker and his family, and Courtney M. Walker
Doc Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins fell in with their old comrades from Rocky Mountain days

³⁵⁶ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 164.

to increase the American population and add to the confusion over the lack of a government
they managed to eke out a meager living through the winter at Willamette Falls
It is said that Joe Meek once in Oregon took to wearing a bright red sash
in imitation of the French-Canadian trappers employed by the Hudson's Bay Company
because the Company enjoyed good relations with most of the Indian tribes
whose lands were claimed on behalf of the British Empire,
Meek hoped the Indians would think he was a Quebec trapper
and leave him alone when he was exploring the countryside
Doc Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins settled on the Tualatin Plains in 1840
Meek stayed on Tualatin Plains (near present day Hillsboro)
(Newell later moved to the Willamette Falls
both Newell and Meek went on to play significant roles in Northwest history)

CHIEF FACTOR JAMES DOUGLAS JOURNEYS TO CALIFORNIA

Once again James Douglas, now Chief Factor, was delegated
to work out the details of an agreement with another entity
Douglas this time was sent to negotiate with the Mexican government -- December 1840
to develop trade prospects, buy cattle, and negotiate the opening of trade with California
Douglas and a party of thirty-six men traveled aboard the Hudson's Bay Company bark *Columbia*
carrying a cargo of goods to Monterey for sale in California

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES IN WESTPORT

Catholic priest reached Westport (today's Kansas City, Missouri) -- December 22, 1840
in this outpost lived twenty-three families mostly retired French-Canadian and Iroquois trappers
with their wives and metis children
he also found several additional priests interested in accompanying him into the wilderness
but funds to support their work were lacking
After a brief rest, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet set out once again
this time bound for St. Louis, Missouri in quest of support for a new mission to the Flatheads

PUGET SOUND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY OFFICIALLY BEGINS OPERATION

Both the Cowlitz and Fort Nisqually properties
were legally transferred from Hudson's Bay Company to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company
British government granted Puget Sound Agricultural Company a deed of settlement
dated December 23, 1840
Land was rapidly put into production at Cowlitz Farm
six hundred acres had been plowed -- soon to increase to over one thousand acres
It was evident colonists were needed to develop the territory's agricultural potential
Hudson's Bay Company directors were politically committed to encouraging settlement
however, Hudson's Bay Company was averse to any

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES IN ST. LOUIS

Completing his journey from Flathead Country in the Rocky Mountains
Father De Smet stepped through the gate of St. Louis University -- January 1, 1841

he had been absent for nine months (279 days) and had traveled more than 4,300 miles
When Father De Smet arrived in St. Louis he found 154 Jesuits active in Missouri
sixteen of them had been born in the United States
in addition, there were forty-five Irishmen, forty-two Belgians, sixteen Dutchmen,
thirteen Germans, eleven Italians, nine Frenchmen and two Spaniards

JAMES DOUGLAS MEETS WITH THE MEXICAN GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

Traveling from Fort Vancouver aboard the Hudson's Bay Company bark *Columbia*
the Black Douglas led thirty-six Hudson's Bay Company men composed of hunters and drovers
who were to drive the herd of livestock he hoped to purchase back to the Columbia River
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James Douglas arrived in Monterey, California
to meet with the Mexican government in Monterey, California -- January 1, 1841
relation between Hudson's Bay Company and the Mexican California government
had been friendly but not close
Douglas was to try to obtain additional privileges for the company trapping brigades in California
and permission from the Spanish government to establish a trading post
on the California coast
Douglas was courteously received and hospitably entertained by Spanish Governor Juan B. Alvarado
he found the Mexican authorities ready to grant him the concessions desired

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF GEORGE SIMPSON BECOMES SIR GEORGE SIMPSON

Britain's Queen Victoria honored the Hudson's Bay Company leader
in recognition of his for help in putting down the ([1837] Canadian rebellion
and for his long-standing efforts to see New Caledonia (British Columbia)
and the Arctic region explored -- January 1841
Sir George was also busily planning for an expedition that would take him around the world
in the interest of business

U.S. SENATOR LEWIS F. LINN SUPPORTS AMERICANS IN OREGON

Dr. Lewis F. Linn was the junior Democratic U.S. Senator from Missouri
he was the most steadfast friend the Pacific Northwest had in congress
he was becoming increasingly belligerent toward Great Britain
He introduced a "Joint Memorial" into Congress -- January 8, 1841
asking to occupy, settle, and extend certain American laws in Oregon
including constructing a string of army posts from Fort Leavenworth to the Rockies
thus some American Law and Order would be applied to the West
Sen. Linn's Joint Memorial contained a provision for granting 640 acres of land
to every white male inhabitant of Oregon eighteen years old or older
who should cultivate the same for five years
in neither the Linn Resolution [1839] nor the Linn Joint Memorial 1841 was any difference made
between American citizens and British subjects or other aliens regarding the right to take land
Sen. Linn stated in a Senate speech that the settlers of the Pacific Northwest **"would be numbered
with the dead before the British government would amicably settle a question of this nature."** If the

United States had a right to the territory, then **“he was not the man to say it should be abandoned to any power on earth.”**³⁵⁷

Congress still took no action

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO SELL FORT ROSS

At about this time, the Russians tried to extend their holdings to a huge tract of California land ranging from the Sacramento River on the east to San Francisco Bay on the south
Mexican government refused to give their consent
thus the Russians decided to abandon their holdings in California
Russian Czar Nicholas I ordered Fort Ross (Sacramento, California) vacated

WILLAMETTE VALLEY SETTLEMENT HELD A DIVERGENT GROUP OF PEOPLE

Native Americans in the Willamette Valley, who rapidly decreased in numbers due to disease, were at first confound and then threatened by the ever-increasing invaders
Approximately five hundred settlers made their homes in the Willamette River and along its western tributaries by 1841
about half of the 125 families were French-Canadian and the balance were Americans
French-Canadians distinguished themselves linguistically, religiously and socially from Americans
their spoken French was retained from old Quebec
although it was modified in many ways during the previous two hundred years
their spoken language remained basically the vernacular of French King Louis XIV
while very verbal, these people were mostly illiterate
their Catholic faith and loyalty to the Hudson’s Bay Company
also set them apart from American pioneers
many had Indian or metis (half-breed) wives
Catholic priests led by Father Francis Blanchet were more tolerant of native customs and beliefs
enjoyed great success in dealing with the Indian
American settlers consisted of several different groups:

- there were about thirty Mountain Men and their Indians families
these restless, semi-literate people were squatters who came into a new area,
made a little clearing in the wilderness, built cabins, settled for a while
and then moved on
rough, tough and boisterous, they were also very naïve in the ways of the civilized world;
- five Methodist missionaries under the leadership of Rev. Jason Lee
his nephew Rev. Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, Philip L. Edwards, and Courtney M. Walker
had been among the earliest devout Christians to make an effort to convert the Indians
they were reinforced in their efforts by three groups of people:
 - first group was led by Dr. Elijah White aboard the *Diana* [May 18, 1837];
 - second group was led by Rev. David Leslie aboard the *Sumatra* [September 7, 1837];
 - Great Reinforcement led by Rev. Jason Lee on his return to Oregon [June 1, 1840]
- three independent Congregational missionaries and their wives;
- also a small number of American pioneers such as ex- sailors, explorers, adventurers,

³⁵⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 142.

a few immigrants who had traveled overland or by ship,
remnants of Nathaniel Wyeth's two expeditions, seasonal businessmen and tourists

CHEMEKETA METHODIST CHURCH IS ORGANIZED

Rev. Jason Lee was one of thirteen charter members and Rev. David Leslie became the first pastor of the Chemeketa Methodist Church (today's First United Methodist Church in Salem) when a small chapel was built at the Indian Mission School to accommodate the growing number of settlers --1841

CONSTRUCTION IS BEGUN ON A NEW INDIAN SCHOOL AT CHEMEKETA

Indian Mission School at Mission Bottom, now known as the Indian Manual Labor Training School barely struggled along with discouraging and deteriorating results after the death of Cyrus Shepherd [1840]
Relations with the natives had deteriorated and plans were made to move the Indian Manual Labor Training School from Mission Bottom to Wallace House about three miles north of Chemeketa
Indian Manual Labor Training School was located at the old William Wallace House -- 1841 construction was begun on a new building to house the Indian Manual Labor Training School this 3½ story \$10,000 structure was considered to be the largest on the Oregon coast

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET RAISES MONEY FOR HIS MISSION

Father Superior Pierre Verhaegen, Father De Smet's superior, approved establishment of a permanent mission to be located among the Flathead Indians in the Rocky Mountains
Father De Smet would receive the assignment as head of the Rocky Mountain Mission but, once again, funding was a problem
To raise money for his new missionary effort (during the first four months) of 1841 Father De Smet printed a few thousand pamphlets and went on what he referred to as "a begging tour to New Orleans" -- there he raised \$1,100
after his pilgrimage to New Orleans, he was a self-proclaimed "beggar for God"
part of the money collected was set aside for the unfortunate Potawatomi Indians living at St. Joseph Mission (today's Council Bluffs, Iowa) who were to be relocated once again
part of the sum was offered to a new school for Potawatomi girls which opened at Father De Smet's request and was operated by seventy-two-year-old Mother Philippine Duschene
with the remainder Father De Smet was able to begin his effort among the Flathead Indians living in the Rocky Mountains

JAMES DOUGLAS STRIKES A BARGAIN WITH THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT

Fort Ross, formerly a Russian outpost in California was offered by the Mexican government to the Hudson's Bay Company for \$30,000
Douglas did not think the company wanted to own property under the control of Mexico and he was not willing to buy the fort as personal property at that price

However, Chief Factor James Douglas did successfully negotiate an agreement with the Mexicans:

- Douglas gained additional privileges for company trapping brigades in California
Douglas employed thirty additional California fur trappers
and agreed to pay the Mexican government a duty on each pelt taken;
- Douglas gained trading privileges for Hudson's Bay ships under the proviso that their captains go through the formality of taking out Mexican citizenship papers;
- Douglas gained permission to establish a trading post
and develop commercial rights on the California coast;
- Douglas acquired the right to purchase at a fair price sheep and cattle
needed for the Hudson's Bay Company farms on the Columbia River

Accompanied by a dozen of his men, James Douglas left Monterey
they journeyed west overland to Yerba Buena (the Spanish name for San Francisco)
along the way they were well entertained at local rancheros

FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET AND CHIEF FACTOR McLOUGHLIN FAVOR BRITISH RULE

Father Blanchet considered his Catholic flock of 700-800 French-Canadians
to be well served by Hudson's Bay Company authority
he wanted no interference from another power source which was certain to be dominated
by Methodists who were who were pro-American and contemptuous of Catholic teachings
this opinion was, of course, firmly bolstered by Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
who also did not subscribe to any proposed government

Blanchet met with Chief Factor McLoughlin to discuss the work of the Code of Laws Committee
both knew Rev. Jason Lee had been the driving force

Lee wanted the missions to control the approximately one-hundred-fifty
Americans living in the Willamette Valley

Dr. McLoughlin did not subscribe to the proposed government

Father Blanchet firmly bolstered by John McLoughlin considered his flock well served
by Hudson's Bay Company authority

Blanchet wanted no additional supervision in the region as it was certain to be dominated
by Methodists who were contemptuous of Catholic teachings

Blanchet proposed a looser system with the post of a judge and not a governor
who would serve as the highest position responsible to law and order in Oregon

Father Blanchet refused even to call more than one formal meeting of the Committee of nine
thus they failed to write a constitution

Father Francis Blanchet had stopped the American "power grab"

WILLAMETTE MISSION HAD GROWN INCREASINGLY SECULAR

With few Indians left in the Willamette Valley to convert and little financial reward forthcoming
many of the large mission staff occupied itself chiefly with agricultural and economic affairs
some missionaries tried to open a store, but trade was complicated by the lack of money
others farmed hundreds of acres and maintained herds of cattle and horses
in the region around Champoeg (Mission Bottom) and Chemeteka (Salem)

Several missionary leaders moved to Willamette Falls

George Wood Ebbert sold his possessory rights at Champoeg for 100 bushels of wheat

it required three years for him to collect the full amount
Methodist mission remained, however, the only organized entity south of the Columbia River
thus it played an influential role in all the affairs of the Willamette Valley

CHIEF FACTOR JAMES DOUGLAS DOES BUSINESS IN YERBA BUENA (SAN FRANCISCO)

Douglas purchased from Jacob P. Leese for the price of \$4,800 -- half in coin and half in goods
a sandy piece of real estate with a house on Monterey Street
where Hudson's Bay Company was to locate their Yerba Buena trading post
(in what is today the heart of the San Francisco business district)
this acquisition amounted to two-thirds of a city block
this house was a large wooden two-story building occupied by Leese and his family
(in what is today the heart of the San Francisco business district)
In Yerba Buena, Douglas also purchased 661 head of cattle and 3,670 sheep
these animals were to be driven by the Hudson's Bay Company men to the Sacramento Valley
where they were made ready for their long overland drive to Fort Vancouver
After about two weeks in Yerba Buena, James Douglas returned to Monterey on the *Cowlitz*
soon he continued north by ship to Fort Vancouver
to submit to the company his plans for a trading establishment at Yerba Buena

RUSSIAN-AMERICA COMPANY SELLS ITS PROPERTY IN CALIFORNIA

Swiss immigrant Captain John A. Sutter arrived in California [1839]
he became a Mexican citizen and official and managed to accumulate fortune enough wealth
to acquire Fort Ross from the Russian-America Company for \$30,000
Czar Nichols (I) ordered his subjects to vacate Fort Ross (Sacramento, California)
he secured a large land grant, 48,839 acres, from the Mexican government
in the Sacramento valley and named his land claim "Nueva Helvetia" -- 1841
(Helvetia was the old name for Sutter's native country of Switzerland)
John Sutter started an immense ranch on the Sacramento River
(very near the site of the present California state capital)

FORT ROSS BECOMES SUTTER'S FORT

John Sutter relying mainly on his Kanakas (Hawaiians) laborers built a strong fort of adobe
on the site of present-day Sacramento, California
his Kanakas also built the first frame houses in Sacramento, a mill and a tannery
they cleared land for farming and fought for Sutter in skirmishes with the local Indians
Sutter (now known as "Captain" of the Swiss Guard) acquired permission from Mexican authorities
to recruit Native Americans
he organized a 200-man Indian army clothed in czarist uniforms procured from Russian traders
commanded by a German³⁵⁸ with staff officers from Europe
Captain John Sutter began a varied and successful operation raising a wheat crop
operating his distillery, a hat factory, and a blanket company
he raising cattle and grain on a large scale and also traded with the Indians for furs

³⁵⁸ James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, P. 100.

he employed a few Americans on his estate and furnished supplies to others
Sutter's Fort quickly became one of the most notable places in California

UNITED STATES AND MEXICAN RELATIONS

Both the United States and Mexico expressed feelings of uneasiness toward one another
Mexican government was not strong during this period
several revolutions in California were attempted -- Americans usually participated
and [after 1836] there was the perpetual question of America annexing Texas into the Union

PIONEERS IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY HAVE CONCERNS REGARDING THEIR SAFETY

Ewing Young's Willamette Cattle Company and the herds of settlers
suffered through the winter from the ravages of wild beasts
grizzlies, black bears, cougars and wolves roamed freely in the Willamette Valley
destruction of their livestock gave cause for alarm among the Willamette Valley settlers
Methodist missionaries saw the formation of a local government as a solution to the problem
they called for a meeting to be held at the Champoege Mission for the purpose of discussing
necessary steps for the formation of laws and the election of officers to carry them out

PROVINCE OF CANADA COMES INTO EXISTENCE

British Parliament had passed the *Act of Union* [July 23, 1840]
this Act was proclaimed by Queen Victoria -- February 10, 1841
parliaments of Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec and Labrador)
were merged into a single Legislative Council (upper chamber)
and Legislative Assembly (lower chamber)
Act of Union was necessary to meet two needs:
•Upper Canada was nearly bankrupt and needed the stable tax base
of the more populated Lower Canada to fund its transportation needs;
•unification would undermine the majority French-Canadian vote by granting
Quebec, Ontario and Labrador each an equal number of seats in the federal government
Canadian government was to be led by an appointed Governor General
who was accountable only to the British Crown and the King's Ministers

CHIEF FACTOR JAMES DOUGLAS RETURNS TO FORT VANCOUVER

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James "the Black Scot" Douglas returned from California
to Fort Vancouver -- February 1841
Douglas reported his negotiation successes with the Mexican government
including purchase of land for a post in Yerba Buena (San Francisco)
Delighted by events in California, Dr. McLoughlin summoned his son-in-law William Glen Rae
to return to Fort Vancouver to take charge of the Hudson's Bay Company Yerba Buena post
William Glen Rae immediately left Fort Stikine and traveled to Fort Vancouver
in preparation for taking charge of the operation in California
Red River Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson was placed in command of Fort Stikine

PUGET SOUND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY CONTINUES TO FUNCTION

Hudson's Bay Company's farming policy was to maintain agriculture at company fur-trading posts however, farming at forts and posts was not reduced
locations capable of producing dairy, beef, grain and other products continued production
Fort Vancouver supplied the post's own needs and generated a surplus for the shipping trade
Nisqually Farm under the direction of Dr. William Fraser Tolmie
who served as the head of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company
returned to England for a two year visit -- 1841- [1843]
Chief Trader Alexander Caulfield Anderson was placed in charge of Fort Nisqually
Cowlitz Farm became the home of seven families, thirty-eight people in all,
who moved to the Hudson's Bay Company farm on the Cowlitz River -- 1841
Dr. John McLoughlin would only lend Hudson's Bay Company cattle to the settlers
he knew the offspring might be butchered and slow production of the herd
Puget Sound Agricultural Company's objectives became strictly economic in nature
as the company sold its produce to the Hudson's Bay Company
which then marketed and distributed the farm products
Company farms at Nisqually and Cowlitz were devoted to fulfilling agricultural contracts
production of grain and other crops increased steadily at Cowlitz Farm
livestock production and processing, particularly sheep and cattle, grew rapidly at Nisqually
an export trade in wool, hides, tallow, and other agricultural goods developed
Annual yield was not sufficient to fill Puget Sound Agricultural Company's contracts
with the Russian-American Company or other export markets
Puget Sound Agricultural Company harvests were supplemented
by production from the Hudson's Bay Company post farms -- primarily Fort Vancouver
and through Company purchases of wheat from settlers retired in the Willamette Valley
Hudson's Bay Company directors in London told Governor Sir George Simpson they wanted
departmental accounts between Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agricultural Company
more clearly distinguished -- 1841
even so, it is not clear if the debt owed the Hudson's Bay Company
for its initial transfer of livestock, agricultural materials, tools and labor
was ever completely repaid by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company

METHODISTS AND OTHER AMERICANS MEET AT CHAMPOEG

Rev. Jason Lee and the members of the Methodist mission were the driving force behind the effort to create a local (American) government in the Pacific Northwest
Champoeg was the principal American settlement in the Willamette Valley
settlers there held a meeting at the original Methodist mission site at Mission Bottom
that was presided over by Rev. Jason Lee -- February 7, 1841
discussion at the meeting quickly turned to the need for a government
Jason Lee advocated the selection of a committee **"...[F]or the purpose of consulting upon steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws, and the election of officers to execute them."**³⁵⁹

There were difficult questions to deal with in organizing any form of government:

³⁵⁹ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 189.

- controversy existed over what geographical area to include;
 - the real possibility of war between the United States and Great Britain which still existed due to the disagreement on boundary lines was an issue discussed by everyone in Oregon;
 - questions of who would be involved in the government caused great concern
- suspicious and hostilities were rampant among both American settlers and British subjects;
 Little was accomplished other than to recommend that all of the Americans consider the possibilities of electing a governor and other government officers

EWING YOUNG’S DEATH OCCURS LEAVING NO KNOWN HEIRS

Ewing Young was by now a respected American pioneer stockman who possessed a large herd of cattle following the successful cattle drive of the Willamette Cattle Company from California ([837] he had taken over practically the whole Chehalem Valley

it was noted that “...because of his untiring activity, Ewing Young’s establishment during these years served for the community as virtually a market place, a store, a bank and a factory as well as the largest farm.”³⁶⁰

many of the Oregon inhabitants were involved with Young’s businesses as creditors or debtors
 Ewing Young became very ill after a particularly bad bout of indigestion related to an ulcer
 five days later he died five at age forty-one -- February 9, 1841

EWING YOUNG’S FUNERAL IS CONDUCTED BY REV. JASON LEE

Ewing Young was the richest settler in the region
 his funeral service was conducted by Rev. Jason Lee at the Champoe Mission at Mission Bottom
 Ewing Young was buried near his cabin under an oak tree -- February 15, 1841
 (near today’s Newberg, Oregon)

Young had died intestate (without a last will and testament)
 he also had no known heirs to inherit his estate

(people in Oregon did not know about his Indian wife in Taos, New Mexico or of the son, Joaquin Young, he had by her)

Young’s death highlighted the nearly total absence of government in the region and demonstrated the need for a probate judge to dispose of Young’s ample estate under normal circumstances, unclaimed property usually went to the government but there was a problem in the Pacific Northwest -- there was no government
 Young’s estate included his land claim, promissory notes, personal property, a brickyard and mills near Chehalem Creek (present-day Newburg, Oregon) and six hundred head of cattle belonging to the Willamette Cattle Company which needed immediate care

At the close of the funeral service Rev. Jason Lee asked all those present to remain to discuss plans for the final distribution of Ewing Young’s property because there was no American court of law in Oregon for disposing of his estate it was decided to call another meeting at Chemeketa (Salem) to be held on [February 17] at the Indian Manual School

³⁶⁰ Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous*, P. 212.

WILLAMETTE VALLEY SETTLERS ARE CALLED TO A MEETING

Ewing Young's large herd of wandering and untended livestock was preyed upon by wolves and mountain lions
Young's former neighbors were very interested in dealing with the problem of predatory animal attacking the Willamette Cattle Company's stock and their herds
Notices were posted informing Willamette Valley settlers of a meeting to be held at Chemeketa (Salem) in the Indian Manual Labor Training School to discuss a means of protecting themselves and their cattle and horses against numerous predatory animals, wild bears, cougars and wolves in the valley
Americans, Protestants, British, French-Canadians, Catholics, independents and metis were all welcome to attend

REV. JASON LEE PRESIDES OVER THE CHEMEKETA (SALEM, OREGON) MEETING

Rev. Lee called the meeting to order at Chemeketa's Indian Mission Manual Labor Training School to discuss the problem of predatory animals attacking the settlers' herds -- February 17, 1841
Rev. Gustavus Hines, another member of the Methodist mission, was elected secretary in fact, most of those in attendance were the members of the Methodist mission
Rev. Jason Lee quickly turned the discussion to dealing with Ewing Young's estate
Young's death made the adoption of laws and a judicial system to administer them even more urgent than before
Jason Lee in a short address to the collected body suggested a single code of criminal laws that would apply to all Oregon pioneers not employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, he also proposed the election of a governor, supreme judge with probate powers, an attorney-general, a clerk of the courts and public recorder, a treasurer, two overseers of the poor, three constables, three justices of the peace and three road commissioners
This initial proposal was rebuked by Catholic Father Frances Blanchet who counter-proposed a smaller governmental system with the post of judge, not a governor, as the highest position
Those attending the Chemeketa Meeting passed Jason Lee's resolutions they also nominated a committee to develop a single code of criminal laws and to nominate men for various governmental offices
Rev. Jason Lee, Rev. Gustavus Hines were elected to a "Committee of Arrangement" along with American George W. LeBreton who was named chairman
Americans did not want Hudson's Bay Company deciding on the disbursement of Ewing Young's estate
Arrangements for another meeting to hear the report of the Committee of Arrangement were made at Methodist missionary Rev. David Leslie's house on French Prairie near Champoege
Chemeketa Meeting was adjourned to give the Committee of Arrangement a chance to prepare a report to be delivered to the members of the community the next day
American Mountain Men took little interest in the struggle between Jason Lee and his missionaries on one hand and Dr. John McLoughlin and Father Francis Blanchet on the other hand

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENT HOLDS ITS MEETING

At the close of the Chemeketa Meeting Committee of Arrangement Chairman George W. LeBreton called to order his meeting with Rev. Jason Lee and Rev. Gustavus Hines -- February 17, 1841 committee members set to work compiling a single code of criminal laws but found the task overwhelming they turned to the issue of how to probate Ewing Young's estate Committee of Arrangement members were successful in nominating officers:

- Rev. Jason Lee was the one name considered for the governorship;
- Methodist missionary Rev. David Leslie was nominated as chairman of meeting; to be held the next day in his home near Champoeg
- two secretaries: Americans Rev. Gustavus Hines and Sidney Smith were nominated

METHODISTS HOLD A SECOND MEETING WHICH RESULTS IN FORMING A GOVERNMENT

Champoeg Meeting which followed the previous day's Chemeketa Meeting was held at Rev. David Leslie's house on French Prairie near Champoeg -- February 18, 1841 Rev. Gustavus Hines served as secretary and American Sidney Smith also took a few notes Champoeg Meeting was well attended nearly all of the adult Americans living south of the Columbia River were joined by several French-Canadians Minutes of the previous [February 17] meeting were presented and accepted thus the choosing a "Committee of Arrangement" composed of Chairman George W. LeBreton, Secretary Rev. Gustavus Hines and Rev. Jason Lee to frame a constitution and nominate officers was approved by those present it was then moved and carried that the report of the Committee of Arrangement be taken up and disposed of article by article Three-man Committee of Arrangement gave its recommendations:

- they proposed that a supreme judge, with probate powers, be chosen to officiate this motion was made and carried;
- it was moved and carried that a clerk of the court, or recorder, be chosen;
- it was moved and carried that a sheriff be chosen;
- it was moved and carried that three magistrates be chosen;
- it was moved and carried that three constables be chosen;
- it was moved and carried that a treasurer be chosen;
- it was moved and carried that a militia major and three captains be chosen

Following the report of the Committee of Arrangement it was moved and carried to proceed to choose the people to fill the various offices by ballot officers were nominated and elected at the meeting to serve a two-year term in office Rev. Jason Lee was the only name considered for "governor" but it seemed unwise to elect the head of the Methodist mission to the office rather, the office of governor was deferred;

Dr. Ira Babcock, physician at the Champoeg Mission (Mission Bottom), was elected "Supreme Judge with probate powers" under the laws of New York state he was lawmaker, judge and held all executive powers he became the final authority over Americans in the colony

as no copy of New York laws existed in the Pacific Northwest at that time
 Ewing Young's estate be probated under New York (American) law
 George W. LeBreton was elected "Clerk of the Court and Recorder of Public Documents"
 he was a merchant who had arrived in Oregon with Captain John H. Couch [1840];
 William Johnson, a British subject, was elected High Sheriff
 he had deserted the British navy in Boston and joined the American navy;
 Those in attendance next passed a motion that the remainder of the officers
 be nominated from the floor and be chosen by hand vote:
 elected as Magistrates (Justices of the Peace) were blacksmith Hugh Burns,
 wheelwright Lewis H. Judson and carpenter Alvin T. Smith
 three Constables, merchant J.C. Bridges, American Fur Company trader Lewis Ebberts
 and Hudson's Bay Company employee Xavier Laderoute were elected;
 John Howard, farmer, carpenter, and tavern keeper, was chosen militia major
 William McCarty who farmed (at today's Chinook, Washington),
 Charles McKay who arrived with the Hudson's Bay Company Red River emigrants,
 and fur trapper Solomon H. Smith were chosen captains
 Finally, a resolution was offered to provide for a nine-man "Code of Laws Committee"
 to draft a constitution and code of by-laws to govern the community south of the Columbia River
 to be presented to a public meeting at Champooick for acceptance [on July 5]
 nine members of the Code of Laws Committee were elected:
 four French-Canadian Catholics: Father
 Francis Blanchet who was appointed chair, Etienne Lucier, David DonPierre
 and Mr. Charlevon (or Chanlevo)
 Father Blanchet was named chairman of the committee
 as the Methodists hoped to secure the French-Canadian Catholic influence
 and to harmonize political differences
 three Methodist ministers: Rev. Gustavus Hines who served as secretary, Rev Jason Lee,
 and Rev. Josiah Parrish
 two American pioneers: farmer William Johnson and Robert Moore who had journeyed west
 with Thomas Jefferson Farnham's Oregon Dragoons [1839]
 Code of Laws Committee was a first small step to establishing a civil government in Oregon
 divisions along national lines were inevitable
 these feeling were now intensified by religious rivalry
 Several additional motions were introduced and passed during the Champoeg Meeting:

- it was moved and carried that the services of the legislative committee be paid \$1.25 per day
 and that the money be raised by voluntary subscriptions;
- it was moved and carried that the militia major and captains be instructed
 to enlist men to form companies of mounted riflemen;
- it was moved and carried that an additional magistrate and constable be chosen
 Charles Campo was chosen as an additional magistrate
 Francois X. Matthieu was chosen as an additional constable;
- it was moved and carried that the legislative committee shall not sit over six day

Champoeg Meeting was then adjourned but then a question arose
 concerning when the newly-appointed officers should commence their duties

the meeting was again called to order and it was moved and carried that the old officers remain in office until the laws are made and accepted or until the next public meeting
With a partial territorial government thus organized the Champoege Meeting adjourned to meet again (the first Tuesday in June) at Saint Paul's, Mission where Catholic Father Blanchet resided
this would allow the nine-man Code of Laws Committee time to write a report

RESULTS OF THE CHAMPOEG MEETING

Movement toward a government independent of the Hudson's Bay Company had begun it was played out against a background of bitter rivalry between Methodist minister Jason Lee and Catholic Father Francis Blanchet even aside from doctrinal conflict, the two men clashed on the issue of government (In later years Oregon pioneers, probably inaccurately, looked back on the Champoege Meeting prompted by Ewing Young's death as the catalyst for a sequence of exercises in democracy that led to formation of a provisional [temporary] government)

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES

There seems to have been no clearcut separation between the accounts of Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company
Fort Vancouver was the Columbia Department's principal depot and by far its largest farming operation:

- Fort Vancouver's plains were used to pasture Puget Sound Agricultural Company sheep, and probably cattle,
- Fort Vancouver grain and other agricultural products, not listed on the accounts of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, were used to fulfill contracts with the Russians and to send to other markets
- Fort Vancouver dairies were established and operated to fulfill the Russian American Company contract
- a sheep farm listed on Fort Vancouver's account books in the early 1840s, also was listed on the accounts of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company

Hudson's Bay Company books in practice carried the accounts of officers and servants who worked Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farms and the equipment used on those farms
division between Puget Sound Agricultural Company activities at the post and Fort Vancouver's own farming to supply in-country and shipping needs is not clear

Hudson's Bay Company directors in London told Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson they wanted departmental accounts between the two companies more clearly distinguished -- 1841

even so, it is not clear if the debt owed the Hudson's Bay Company for its initial transfer of livestock, agricultural materials, tools and labor was ever completely repaid by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company

FORT LANGLEY ON THE FRASER RIVER DIVERSIFIES

Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Langley had been built 1827
to secure British claims to the Fraser River if Fort Vancouver was lost to the Americans
Fort Langley had become a major export port for salted salmon in cedar barrels
as well as cedar lumber and shingles shipped to the Hawaiian Islands
Gardening and limited farming was conducted under the direction
of Fort Langley Factor James McMillan who first specialized in potatoes -- 1841
but he also produced turnips, radishes, carrots, and red and white currant
(Additional crops were grown at the Fraser River post
McMillan obtained a glass for devising a hotbed
for seedling melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, gourds and cabbages
Fort Langley also became a grain-raising center yielding wheat, oats, barley, and peas
quantities of pork, beef and butter were produced
Fort Langley and other posts made shipments of grain, flour, salted beef, hams, and butter
to the Russians in Alaska)

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PRESUMES CONTROL OF THE COLUMBIA DISTRICT

Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company gave it complete governmental power
over all British citizens in the Columbia District
and if that was not sufficient, the company's economic dominance made up the shortfall
As British citizens, the company retirees on French Prairie
looked to John McLoughlin for law and order, from which he shrank not in dispensing

CHIEF FACTOR JOHN McLOUGHLIN EXPANDS HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S OPERATION

Hudson's Bay Company constructed a sawmill in the Willamette Valley -- 1841
this mill was operated at mouth of Champoeg Creek by former Astorian Tom McKay
who had accompanied his father Alexander McKay to the West
(Alexander McKay had been killed in the explosion of the *Tonquin* [June 18, 1811])
after only a few months of operation the sawmill washed away
(it was rebuilt four miles upstream [1843])

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON RETURNS TO NORTH AMERICA

Hudson's Bay Company's Governor George Simpson left London for America -- March 3, 1841
on a two-year West coast tour via Canada, Columbia District and Siberia
due to failing eyesight Simpson was accompanied by a young secretary
Edward Martin Hopkins

HARRISON SERVES THE SHORTEST TERM AS PRESIDENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY

William Henry Harrison was elected President of the United States [1840]
with John Tyler as his Vice President
Harrison was a hero of the Indian Wars having defeated Shawnee Chief Tecumseh ([811])
At Harrison's inauguration the weather was cold and wet -- March 4, 1841
to display his young and vigor the sixty-eight-year-old Harrison wore neither hat nor coat
he rode to his inauguration on horseback rather than in the closed carriage offered to him
he delivered an 8,445-word speech that took two hours to read

he rode in his inaugural parade and attended three balls that night
Harrison became ill with a cold which worsened -- nine days later he was dead
Harrison's vice president, John Tyler, was sworn into the presidency
Harrison's term of office, one month, was the shortest in American history
his only official act was to call Congress into special session

WILLAMETTE FALLS IS COVETED BY METHODIST MISSIONAIRES

Rev. Alvin F. Waller was the leader the Methodist mission effort at Willamette Falls
Methodist missionaries under Waller's leadership formed the Island Milling Company
almost all of the members of the company board of directors
belonged to the Methodist mission
Island Milling Company took possession of a site on Governor (later Abernethy) Island
in competition to Dr. McLoughlin's milling operation [begun in 1832]
Carpenter Felix Hathaway in the employ of the Methodist mission
was assigned to begin building a combined sawmill and gristmill on the island in the Willamette
even though Dr. John McLoughlin had claimed the island for himself
(or, perhaps, it was his company's claim -- the matter was never made clear)
Hathaway also began to build a house on the East side of the river
on the very site of McLoughlin's land
When Chief Factor John McLoughlin showed concern regarding this encroachment on his land
Rev. Waller stopped his building operations
he assured Dr. McLoughlin that no wrong was intended
to enforce his intent, McLoughlin had a small house of his own constructed on the island -- 1841

RIVALRY BETWEEN METHODISTS AND CATHOLICS INCREASES

Conflict between Methodist minister Jason Lee and Catholic priest Francis Blanchet increased
aside from doctrinal disputes, the two leaders clashed on the issue of local government
Catholics supported the efforts of Dr. McLoughlin and Hudson's Bay Company
Jason Lee seemed to have regarded his own missionary movement useful
less for its stated purpose than for cutting the tentacles of the Hudson's Bay Company
south of the Columbia River
Methodist mission, as the only American organization in the Willamette Valley,
took the lead in the movement toward establishing a local government
independent of the Hudson's Bay Company

KAMIAH MISSION AMONG THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS RECEIVES REINFORCEMENTS

Congregational minister Rev. Asa Smith and his ailing wife Sarah
accompanied by Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells and layman Cornelius Rogers
enjoyed little success working among the Nez Perce Indians
In a effort the bolster their efforts three independent Congregational missionaries
were assigned to Kamiah:
•Rev. Harvey Clarke and his wife Emeline,
•Rev. Philo B. Littlejohn and his wife Adeline
•Mr. Alvin T. Smith and his wife Abigail,

Even with these reinforcements Kamiah achieved little in the way of conversions to Christianity
Cornelius Rodgers served as a teacher at the mission but he also had left Kamiah

THREE MOUNTAIN MEN ESTABLISH A PERMANENT HOME

Robert “Doc” Newell, Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins soon moved from Willamette Falls
a short distance up the Tualatin River to the Tualatin Plains northwest of Willamette Falls
(near present day Hillsboro, Oregon) -- spring 1841

Doc Newell proved to be a good enough risk to borrow seed, draft animals and implements
from the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Vancouver

Crude and pushy Joe Meek had no such good fortune with the British company
however, he and his second wife Virginia also settled on the Tualatin Plain
because the Hudson’s Bay Company enjoyed good relations with most of the Northwest Indians
whose lands the Company claimed on behalf of the British Empire

Meek took to wearing a bright red sash in imitation of the French-Canadian trappers
employed by the company

Joe hoped that the Indians would think he was a Canadian trapper
and leave him alone when he was exploring the countryside

OREGON-BUILT SCHOONER *STAR OF OREGON* IS UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Several American settlers had undertaken construction of a small sailing schooner
they called the *Star of Oregon*

Felix Hathaway quit the project due to lack of pay,

and frustration over the lack of needed building materials -- spring 1841

although wood was plentiful in Oregon, construction of a ship required cordage
cloth for sails, and other materials were available

only from the Hudson’s Bay Company store

Chief Factor John McLoughlin refused to sell to the Americans

Hathaway, an experienced ship’s carpenter,

also received a more promising business opportunity

keel of the tiny schooner had been finished only to just above the water line

Joseph Gale, Pleasant Armstrong, John Canan, George Davis, Thomas J. Hubbard

Ralph Kilbourne and Henry Woods continued to work on the project

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF GEORGE SIMPSON RETURNS TO NORTH AMERICA

Once arriving in North America from London, Governor Simpson made his way overland
via Halifax, Boston and Montreal before continuing by canoe to York Factory
to return to the Columbia District to inspect his domain on his way around the world

Governor Simpson’s crossing of the continent from York Factory was as fast
as his earlier journeys had been

but this time he devoured the miles mostly on horseback rather than in a canoe
and on this trip he traveled with more splendor than ever

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL RETRIEVES HIS WAGONS

Newell journeyed from the Tualatin Plains back up the Columbia River

to Fort Walla Walla -- April 1841
to retrieve his son Francis Ermantinger Newell from the Whitmans
and one of the wagons which he had left behind
Doc Newell took his wagon apart and rather than driving it on its own wheels
he shipped it down Columbia in a Hudson's Bay Company bateau
hiring gangs of Indians to help him carry the parts across the portages
Newell's wagon reached Fort Vancouver on a boat rather than its own wheels
Doc Newell reassembled the vehicle -- then he drove it into the Willamette Valley
he had successfully brought the first wagon across the plains and mountains
and into the Willamette Valley over the future Oregon Trail
to his mind it was a symbol of achievement as well as a representation of the future

DR. ELIJAH WHITE CIRCULATES HIS COMPLAINTS ABOUT REV. JASON LEE

Rushing to the United States, Dr. White, slight of frame, springy-heeled, smooth talking
with exuberant blue eyes, began an enthusiastic publicity campaign
Dr. White took his complaints regarding Rev. Jason Lee
to the Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York -- April 1841
he complained of the cost and sustainability of the mission
it had cost upward of \$100,000 to that point
Members of the Mission Society became very concerned
regarding the state of the Methodist missions among the Indians
Dr. Elijah White followed by the *Lausanne's* Captain Josiah Spaulding
visited Congress with inaccurate and unbecoming tales about the British monopoly
these stories were hard to reconcile with the generous treatment
both Yankees received from Dr. John McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay Company

EWING YOUNG'S ESTATE IS PROBATED

Dr. Ira Babcock acting as Supreme Judge
took on the appointment as administrator for Ewing Young's estate -- April 15, 1841
Supreme Judge Dr. Ira Babcock ruled under New York law
that Ewing's Young's estate was ready for distribution
Judge Babcock administered Young's estate to the satisfaction of the whole community
Mountain Man Joe Meek exercised his very loud voice at three public auctions
which netted a worth of \$3,734.26 for Ewing Young's worldly estate
these funds were be held by the probate committee until such time as an heir could be found
this was the first official act of the as yet nonexistent government
(Joaquin Young, from New Mexico, eventually came forward
and was able to prove his lineage
Ewing Young's estate, minus some amount which had been used to build a jail,
was provided to him)

KAMIAH MISSION ON THE CLEARWATER RIVER REMAINS UNSUCCESSFUL

Congregationalist missionaries, although recognizing the difficulties facing them,
held tenaciously to the idea of preparing the natives for the day

when white settlers would pour into the fertile lands of the Pacific Northwest
work of teaching and converting Indians at the mission proved to be laborious and slow
American Board missionaries William and Mary Gray and Cornelius Rogers
were assigned to Kamiah Mission
Rev. Asa and Sarah Smith had spent two years at Kamiah operating the mission
and learning the Nez Perce language
(here Asa Smith had written an Indian dictionary of the Nez Perce language [1839])
Rev. Smith at first was tolerated by Indians
but then was asked by the natives to pay for everything
finally the natives ordered him to leave
Rev. Asa and Sarah Smith left Kamiah Rev. as a result of discontent
among both Indians and the other missionaries -- April 19, 1841
Rev. and Mrs. Smith had become disillusioned and Sarah suffered from poor health
the couple moved to Lapwai Mission (before moving on to the Willamette Valley to farm)
William H. Gray and his wife Mary moved back to Waiilatpu Mission from Kamiah Mission
(Gray's irritable personality soon led them to depart from Waiilatpu to Chemeketa (near Salem))
Gray built a neat, rectangular adobe house situated 400 feet east of the main mission house
there he was joined by his wife but Gray and his wife lived in it only a short time)
(Rev. Harvey Clarke and his wife Emeline remained at Kamiah through [September 1841])
before they settled on Tualatin Plains and later moved to Forest Grove, Oregon)

LIEUTENANT WILKES EXPEDITION ARRIVES AT THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

(United States Exploring Expedition [also known as the "U.S. Ex. Ex." or the "Wilkes Expedition"]
under the command of U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes had been funded by Congress
at the request of President Andrew Jackson [1836])
this expedition to explore and survey the waters surrounding the United States.
was of major importance to the advance of science and geography
Wilkes Expedition was composed of five ships
flagship USS *Vincennes* (780 tons) sloop *Peacock* (650 tons), brig USS *Porpoise* (230 tons),
store-ship USS *Relief* and two schooners, USS *Sea Gull* (110 tons)
and USS *Flying Fish* (96 tons)
Naval Lieutenant Wilkes and his men sailed from Hampton Roads Virginia [August 18, 1838]
they visited the Madeira Islands and Cape Verde Islands
before reaching Brazil and Argentina
they continued on to Tierra del Fuego, Chile and Peru where the USS *Sea Gull*
and her crew of fifteen were lost during a storm [1839]
U.S. Ex. Ex. continued on to Australia and entered the Antarctic Ocean where they discovered
the Antarctic continent -- part of which was later named "Wilkes Land"
Fiji was reached before the Wilkes Expedition reached the Hawaiian Islands
Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes had spent two years, seven months and eighteen days
on his around-the-world expedition)
While in Hawaii, Wilkes sought instructions for crossing the sandbar of the Columbia River
from Captain Josiah Spaulding master of the *Lausanne*
who had safely delivered the Great Reinforcement to Oregon [1840])

U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes sailed the *Vincennes* to the mouth of the Columbia River where he arrived during a storm -- April 20, 1841

Wilkes Expedition's 650-ton *Peacock* and her tender *Flying Fish* were not yet in sight they were still en route to the Pacific Northwest from the South Seas store ship *Relief* as always lagged far behind

Sea Gull had been lost in a storm navigating Cape Horn [April 28, 1839]

while visiting the Pacific Northwest Lieutenant Wilkes was primarily interested in two tasks:

- evaluating American prospects in the Pacific Northwest,
- furthering American colonization

NAVAL LIEUTENANT WILKES REMAINS OUTSIDE THE COLUMBIA RIVER'S MOUTH

During an attempt to enter the Columbia River in a storm pilot Josiah Spaulding barely avoided wrecking the *Vincennes* off Point Grenville

For a week Wilkes remained unwilling to risk his ship in such dangerous waters

Wilkes described in his own words **“the terror of the bar...one of the most frightful sights that can possibly meet the eye of the sailor.”**³⁶¹

When the *Peacock* and *Flying Fish* failed to rendezvous with him at the Columbia River

Wilkes began to fear that they might have come to grief somewhere in the Pacific Ocean

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET LEAVES ST. LOUIS

On his journey to return to the Flathead Indians Father De Smet took the riverboat *Oceanea* from St. Louis upriver to Westport, Missouri (today's Kansas City, Missouri) -- April 24, 1841 his traveling companions were:

Father Gregorio Mengarini -- an Italian priest, a skilled doctor, musician and linguist
Brother Charles Duet and Brother Willem Claessens who was skilled as a carpenter
both were Belgians

and Brother Joseph Specht who was a blacksmith from Germany

Father De Smet was never a resident priest

rather he served as a traveling evangelist, organizer and fund-raiser

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES SAILS NORTH FROM THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA

Failure of the *Peacock*, *Flying Fish* and *Relief* left Wilkes with only half of his resources available for the task ahead but Wilkes decided to press on with his work regardless

he left a coast watcher at the river's mouth to await the arrival of his three other ships

Wilkes sailed the sloop-of-war *Vincennes* and brig *Porpoise* of the U.S. Ex. Ex.

northward from the mouth of the Columbia River -- April 28, 1841

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES IN WESTPORT, MISSOURI

Water level of the Missouri River was low and the *Oceanea* was forced to navigate with care from St. Louis it took the steamer several days to reach Westport, Missouri

carrying Father De Smet with his travel companions Father Mengarini and three lay-brothers

After a brief pause in Westport, three Catholic priests and four lay-brothers

³⁶¹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 204.

began making arrangements for the long, tiring and perilous journey to the Flathead Indians

CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES JOURNEY WEST TO THE FLATHEAD INDIANS

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet with Father Gregory Mengarini and three lay-brothers Charles Duet, Joseph Specht, and William Claessens immediately start making arrangements they purchased five carts with the necessary mules and horses

Father De Smet and his traveling companions set out from Westport, Missouri -- April 30, 1841 these Catholic travelers were soon joined by another Catholic priest, Father Nicolas Point he had left his College of Grand Coteau in Louisiana position and waited in Westport to join in the Catholic missionary effort

at the College of Grand Coteau Father Point had a dispute with fellow student Peter De Vos that was so serious it had resulted in Father Point's reassignment to the Rocky Mountain Mission to serve under Father De Smet who was Superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission

This time, however, the three Catholic priests and three lay-brothers were unable to travel with the American Fur Company caravan fur trade had declined and the annual rendezvous system has been abandoned

By a stroke of good fortune the missionaries met Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick an "unemployed" mountain man who agreed to guide the little party to the Green River Fitzpatrick hired experienced French-Canadian trappers to accompany them such as John Gray, Jim Baker and William Mast

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES ENTERS THE STRAIT OF JUAN DE FUCA

U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes spent an anxious, rainy evening cautiously entering the Strait of Juan de Fuca -- May 1, 1841

next day the *Vincennes* and *Porpoise* of the "U.S. Ex. Ex." swept up the strait their crews were awed by the vast forests and cloud-veiled shores

While in the strait *Vincennes* was boarded by the crew of a large canoe one of the Indians wore corduroy pants and a scarlet coat with a hood he spoke enough English for Wilkes to direct him to carry a letter to Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Nisqually requesting the services of a pilot and interpreter

Lieutenant Wilkes sailed into Discovery Bay located on the Olympic Peninsula -- May 2 (between Sequim and Port Townsend, Washington)

they anchored in Discovery Bay where Captain George Vancouver stayed forty-nine years before while the land looked much as it had then, the natives had experienced considerable change Wilkes spent a week investigating and charting the area inside the Strait of Juan de Fuca

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EXPANDS TO CALIFORNIA

Dr. John McLoughlin had sent successful trapping brigades into California

Dr. McLoughlin appointed his son-in-law William Glen Rae (recently returned to Fort Vancouver from Fort Stikine, Alaska) to establish a post at Yerba Buena (San Francisco)

Yerba Buena post opened -- May 1841

William Glen Rae (as time would show) was not the sort of man to be turned loose among the petty intrigues of California politics

JOHN BIDWELL'S WESTERN EMIGRATION SOCIETY COMPLETES THEIR PREPARATIONS

More than 500 people were waiting in Missouri for the momentous crossing of the continent -- 1841

John Bidwell had delayed crossing the continent bound for California for almost a year as a result of the campaign by St. Louis merchants to stop the westward movement and keep business there

after waiting and planning for a year in seventy adults and children led by John Bidwell formed the "Western Emigration Society"

twenty-one-year-old John Bidwell took charge of eleven wagons

as they left St. Louis, Missouri for this first effort to cross the continent by a wagon train

Bidwell regrouped his wagons on the banks of the Kaw River (today's Topeka, Kansas)

there final preparations were begun for the long, dangerous trek overland to Fort Hall

(Bidwell later admitted the party included no one who had ever been to California)

John Bartleson, fifty-four years old headstrong and overbearing, had arrived in St. Louis

where he placed himself in charge of a group of twenty-five wagons

WESTERN EMIGRATION SOCIETY SETS OUT FROM ST. LOUIS

Young John Bidwell and his followers in eleven wagons of the Western Emigration Society

left St. Louis on this first effort by a wagon train to cross to the Pacific coast -- May 8, 1841

they followed the well-marked Santa Fe Trail to Sapling Grove

near Westport (today's Kansas City) Missouri

here the Santa Fe Trail branched west toward Oregon and California

SEVEN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES ARE SET OUT FROM WESTPORT, MISSOURI

Father De Smet and his six companions were led on horseback by their guide Tom Fitzpatrick

they started their long westward trek on an unmarked road to the Green River

with five two-wheel carriages, each drawn by a pair of mules -- May 10, 1841

on this trip Father De Smet and Thomas Fitzpatrick start a lifelong friendship

WESTERN EMIGRATION SOCIETY REACHES SAPLING GROVE

John Bidwell's Western Emigration Society reached Sapling Grove

near Westport (Kansas City, Missouri)

where an excellent spring provided wood, water and grass

there final preparations were undertaken to travel to California

VINCENNES AND PORPOISE SAIL ON TO FORT NISQUALLY

Having navigated the Strait of Juan de Fuca Lieutenant Wilkes arrived in Puget Sound

Vincennes and *Porpoise* anchored off Fort Nisqually -- May 11, 1841

this Hudson's Bay Company post was located near Sequelitchew (Chambers) Creek

Wilkes did not know what kind of reception he would receive

from the Hudson's Bay Company men at Fort Nisqually

LIEUTENANT WILKES ESTABLISHES HIS HEADQUARTERS AT FORT NISQUALLY

Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Nisqually Chief Trader Alexander Caulfield Anderson welcomed Charles Wilkes and his men

as did William Henry McNeill the captain of the Company steamship *Beaver*
Lieutenant Wilkes was pleased to receive the hospitality of the Hudson's Bay Company
he used the Fort Nisqually area as a base for both maritime and land explorations
Charles Wilkes developed a cooperative relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company employees
he was dependent on advice and supplies from them and they greatly assisted in Wilkes' efforts
Chief Trader Anderson assisted in the construction of two log cabins

where trees had been cleared and were used for fuel

one cabin was an observatory on top of the hills to the south of Sequatchew (Chambers) Creek
within hailing distance of the ships

here scientific instruments and clocks used to determine and check longitude and latitude
were housed

the other cabin was for the use of the chart makers

Lieutenant Charles Wilkes reported that Hudson's Bay Company men
had been able to rescue three Japanese sailors -- 1841

(these sailors were eventually sent on to England to find their way home)

In his official report Wilkes echoed the words of Captain Vancouver in his glorification of the region:
"Nothing can exceed the beauty of these waters and their safety; not a shoal exists... that can in any way interrupt their navigation by a seventy-four gun ship. I venture nothing in saying there is no country in the world that possesses waters equal to these."³⁶²

Impressions of the local scene were recorded

two artists traveling with the Wilkes Expedition, Joseph Drayton and Alfred A. Agate,
sketched Indian portraits, native tools, canoes and costumes

naturalist Titian Ramsay Peale, the son of famous naturalist and artist Charles Wilson Peale,
recorded his impressions of the region

Wilkes also made drawings of local scenes

While at Fort Nisqually, U.S. Naval Lieutenant Wilkes sent a letter to the Secretary of the Navy:

"I shall continue my operations in the waters of this Territory and keep parties engaged in the interior during the time we remain; obtaining as much knowledge of the country as possible, being well aware of the importance of accurate information for the use of the government relative to the value of the country, pending the settlement of the boundary question."³⁶³

CHILES PARTY JOINS THE BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN

Two days later a small group of five people headed by Joseph B Chiles -- May 12, 1841

Chiles' Party caught up with the westbound Western Emigration Society wagon train
at Sapling Grove where they added their numbers to the Bidwell Wagon Train

BIDWELL AND BARTLESON WAGON TRAINS UNITE

John Bartleson had led twenty-five wagons in the wake of John Bidwell's eleven wagons
Bidwell's wagon train was overtaken as Sapling Gove near Independence, Missouri

³⁶² W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 168.

³⁶³ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 28.

It is decided to united the two wagon trains as more than seventy men, women and children
John Bartleson insisted on being elected Captain and threatened to leave if he was ignored
it was obvious “Captain” Bartleson knew little more about crossing the Plains the next man
but he was elected anyway -- it was primarily a self-appointment
young John Bidwell served as secretary and kept a daily journal of the adventure
Bartleson-Bidwell Wagon Train was composed of sixty-four men, five women and several children
barely eighteen years old Nancy Kelsey, the wife of Benjamin Kelsey,
carried their six-month-old daughter Ann in in one arm and led a horse with the other
she was later remembered for her heroic, patient and kind character

CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED AT WAILLATPU

Although a blacksmith shop and a gristmill had been erected at Lapwai to serve all the stations,
it became evident to Dr. Marcus Whitman that the central location of Wailatpu
required that similar facilities be constructed there
Construction on the gristmill on the south side of the mission grounds was completed
it could grind about 1½ bushels of wheat per hour
Lapwai’s blacksmith equipment was moved -- 1841
and a small adobe sixteen by thirty-foot shop was built
half-way between the mission house and another residence
adobe bricks were taken from the first mission house which was torn down
near this shop a corral was also built

WESTERN EMIGRATION SOCIETY LEARNS OF ANOTHER GROUP GOING WEST

John Bidwell heard that a company of Catholic missionaries led by Father Pierre-Jean De Smet
were on their way from St. Louis to the Flathead Country
with an old mountain man for a guide
if the wagon train waited for a day, the missionaries would catch up
Members of the Western Emigration Society decided to wait at Sapling Grove
until the Catholics could arrive there -- May 14, 1841

THOMAS “BROKEN HAND’ FITZPATRICK AGREES TO GUIDE THE WAGON TRAIN

Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick agreed to guide Bartleson-Bidwell wagons to the Green River
hiring the guide was a monumental decision
young John Bidwell later claimed that was a most important factor in the party's survival
without the guidance of Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick
the trip would have been disastrous
only his experience demonstrated how to deal with the Indians,
find, kill and cure food and point the proper route

LIEUTENANT WILKES ESTABLISHES FRIENDLY RELATONS WITH THE INDIANS

Numerous Pacific Northwest Indians were encountered by the Wilkes Expedition
among these were the Sequatchew Nisquallies who lived near the Hudson’s Bay Company post
and the American missionaries serving the local Indians
While surveying in Puget Sound, Wilkes met Chief George of the Tatouche Tribe

and took an image of the native using a camera lucida
(an optical device used as a drawing aid by artists)
Wilkes and his men enjoyed peaceful relations with native people
Indian guides provided key assistance to the overland parties
however, the racism so common in that era sometimes
marred the descriptions of Native Americans in the Expedition reports

METHODIST MISSIONARIES LIVING NEAR FORT NISQUALLY MEET WITH WILKES

Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes and his men encountered the American missionaries
from the Nisqually Methodist Mission established [in 1839] near Fort Nisqually
this mission was the home of the first United States citizens to settle in the region
Methodist missionary Reverend Doctor John P. Richmond was the group's leader
assisted by William Holden Willson and his wife Chloe Aurelia Clark Willson
both the missionaries and Wilkes Expedition members supported the strengthening
of American influence in the Pacific Northwest

CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND BARTLESON-BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN COMBINE

At Sapling Grove, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet guided by Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick
joined the members of the Bartleson-Bidwell Wagon Train Western
composed of thirty-six wagons and five solid-wheel carts
as seventy-four people started from Sapling Grove -- May 15, 1841
Leaders of the caravan required the emigrants to observe an almost military discipline
orders must be obeyed: to wake-up, to leave, to halt, to take meals, to set-up camp,
to sleep and to keep watch
after sunset the campsite was very vulnerable
an unbroken circle of wagons must be guarded all night
even the otherwise peaceful missionaries stood watch
During the whole trip there was only one casualty -- this due to an accidental but fatal shot
two couples were married and the Jesuits said mass in their tent
Missionaries increasingly admired the knowledge and know-how of the Mountain Man
who serve as their guide

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CHIEF TRADER PIERRE CHRYSOLOGUE PAMBRUN DIES

Chief Traders Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun died at Fort Walla Walla -- May 15, 1841
of injuries from fall off a horse
American Board of Commissioners Missionaries at Waiilatpu, Lapwai and Kamiah
lost a good friend

WILKES SENDS EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS INTO PUGET SOUND

Oregon (Columbia District) was still jointly occupied by the United States and Great Britain
but Wilkes decided his orders gave him complete authority to do whatever exploration he wished
At Fort Nisqually Lieutenant Charles Wilkes divided the expedition into several surveying parties
they undertook an extensive survey of the region
their work added some detail to the earlier charts of British Captain George Vancouver

Wilkes spent a month on the *Vincennes* investigating the inland waters of Puget Sound
he noted the easy anchorage to be found in Puget Sound
these island-studded water highways overlooked by the stupendous bulk of Mount Rainier
were more to his liking than the terrifying crossing the Columbia River sandbar
Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold aboard the *Porpoise* also investigated the region
Porpoise and two of *Vincennes* longboats were sent north to chart Admiralty Inlet
the north arm of Port Orchard was found to connect with Admiralty Inlet
Vincennes' launch, first cutter and two boats under command of Lieutenant A.L. Case
surveyed the eastern arm of Hood Canal and the intricacies of Puget Sound above The Narrows

LIEUTENANT WILKES NAMES GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF PUGET SOUND

To strengthen America's claim, Charles Wilkes named 261 locations in Puget Sound
fifty-one in (Pierce County) alone
Lieutenant Ringgold named Commencement Bay as the beginning point of their survey
based on Ringgold's report Wilkes named Bainbridge Island
in appreciation of the cooperative attention provided by Hudson's Bay Company employees
Wilkes named the two large islands just north of Fort Nisqually:
•Anderson Island for Hudson's Bay Company employee Alexander Caulfield Anderson
•McNeil's Island in honor of William Henry McNeill
captain of the Hudson's Bay Company steamship *Beaver*
(Wilkes misspelled McNeill's name, dropping one "l")
Wilkes also named Pitt Island, Day Island, McNeil Island, *Harstine* Island, Heron Island,
Fox Island, Maury Island which honored William L. Maury the nephew of a Navy scientist;
Gig Harbor was named when Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold became separated
from the other boats during a rain squall -- his party took refuge in a sheltered harbor
this group named the harbor in honor of the little boat which safely carried them;
Quartermaster Harbor between Vashon and Maury Islands honored his petty officers;
Port Ludlow was designated to honor Lieutenant Augustus Ludlow killed in an [1813] battle;
Port Madison, Point Monroe and Point Jefferson honored former U.S. presidents
like British Captain George Vancouver before him, Charles Wilkes spent a good deal of time
near Bainbridge Island where he noted the bird-like shape of Eagle Harbor
Wilkes expedition named other geographical features:
Pickering Passage, Hart Passage, Hale Passage honors Horatio Hale the expedition's linguist,
Drayton Passage, Dana Passage named for geologist James Dwight Dana
Agate Passage between Bainbridge Island and the Kitsap Peninsula
was named for draftsman Alfred T. Agate
(much to the confusion and frustration of generations of rock hounds)
Hammersley's Inlet honored midshipman George Hammersly, Henderson Inlet, Case Inlet,
Carr Inlet, Eld Inlet named for Lieutenant Henry Eld, Totten and Budd Inlet near Olympia
named for master cartographers George M. Totten and Thomas A. Budd
Elliott Bay was probably named for Midshipman Samuel Elliott
who was a member of the *Porpoise* survey crew that charted the bay
although the unpopular ship's chaplain Jared Elliott and ship's boy George Elliott
also were members of the expedition

Wilkes named Point Defiance, Point Treble, Green Point, Otso Point and Point Fosdick
continuing his fascination with winged creatures he named Bill Point and Wing Point
Wilkes also named Toliva Shoal off Fox Island and Oro Bay on Anderson Island
an indifferent speller, the lieutenant made slight effort to correctly honor those he named
Ketron Island honored helpful Hudson's Bay Company carpenter William Kittson
Colvos Passage honored George Musolas Colvocoresses
a Greek immigrant serving aboard the *Vincennes*
mistaking the dogwood trees flowering above a cove on the Kitsap Peninsula for apple trees,
he named the place Apple Tree Cove

Wilkes Expedition made naval explorations through Agate Passage -- May 1841

he mentioned the existence of an Indian home, Old Man House, constructed [1792]:

Wilkes made note: **“Near this passage is the place where the Roman Catholic missionaries have established a station for teaching the surrounding tribes. A large cross is erected and there is a building one hundred and seventy-two feet by seventy-two wide, which was found to contain many crude images.”**³⁶⁴

In the course of their investigation of Puget Sound, United States Exploration Expedition scientists gathered thousands of specimens of plant and animal life
they thoroughly mapped and charted all of the places they visited
Wilkes decided to share his information with the local representatives of Hudson's Bay Company who were generous with their support of the expedition

CATHOLICS LEAVE FORT HALL TO SERVE THE FLATHEAD NATIVES

Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick along with ten or eleven French-Canadians,
Mountain Man John Gray and a young Englishman named Mr. Romaine
and another man named Mr. Baker guided the Catholics missionaries
to Flathead Chief Big Face's village
Fathers Pierre-Jean De Smet, Gregorio Mengarini and Nicolas Point
with Brother Charles Duet, Brother Joseph Specht and Brother Willem Claessens
accompanied by the escort of Flathead warriors led by Young Ignace La Mousse
left Fort Hall and turned north on their way to Henry's Fork of the Snake River

NAVAL LIEUTENANT WILKES SENDS OUT A PARTY TO INVESTIGATE OVERLAND

Wilkes dispatched Naval Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson of the *Porpoise* with a six-man expedition eastward to traverse most of what is now (Washington State)
Wilkes allotted eighty days for the trip
traveling with Johnson would be naturalist Charles Pickering, botanist William Brackenridge,
Thomas Waldron of the *Porpoise*, Marine Sergeant Simeon Stearns and a servant
Pierre Charles, a French-Canadian employee of Hudson's Bay Company, served as guide
he was accompanied by Peter Bercier a local young man who spoke English
and several native languages
Lieutenant Johnson and his men began making preparations
in a remarkably short time horses were tested and acquired from local Indians,

³⁶⁴ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition: During the ...*, Volume 1, P. 286.

riding saddles and pack saddles had to be made along with saddle blankets, reins and lashings for equipment and supplies
for much of the equipment Johnson were indebted to the kindness
of Chief Trader Alexander Caulfield Anderson and Captain William Henry McNeill
however some of the necessities were made on board the ships
following a pattern loaned by Hudson's Bay Company
Johnson and his men set out on horseback from Fort Nisqually -- May 19, 1841
they were allegedly to take scientific observations,
but more importantly they were to size up the value of the Pacific Northwest
to guide Congress in its dispute with Great Britain

HULL OF THE *STAR OF OREGON* LAUNCHED

Partially completed tiny schooner splashed into the Willamette River -- May 19, 1841
this was the first vessel constructed on the Willamette River
hull was worked up the river to the Willamette Falls to be outfitted for sea
Motives of the would-be sailors were not clear:

- at first they told Dr. McLoughlin, when buying supplies from the Vancouver store, that they were building a ferryboat to ply the Willamette River
- on still another occasion they had talked of going to California for cattle to further weaken the economic dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company
- it may have been fear of Chief Factor McLoughlin's disapproval that had led them to ask certain French-Canadians to front for them in buying needed canvas, cordage and other materials at the Hudson's Bay Company store

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES LEAVES PUGET SOUND ON HORSEBACK

Lieutenant Wilkes, himself, prepared to lead an expedition of his own
overland from Fort Nisqually to Fort Vancouver

Wilkes Party consisted of *Vincennes* Purser Richard Waldron, artist Joseph Drayton, two servants, two Indian guides and a French-Canadian guide
they traveled on horseback with four pack horses down the Cowlitz Trail
linking Fort Nisqually to Cowlitz Farm

they crossed the portage to the Cowlitz River, rented a canoe and paddled downriver

regarding the Cowlitz River area Wilkes noted in his report: **"The park scenery increased in beauty, and it was almost impossible to realize that we were in a savage and wild country, and that nature, not art, had perfected the landscape. Beautiful lakes, with greensward [green turf] growing to the water edge, with deer feeding fearlessly on their margin, and every tint of flower...strewn in profusion around; in galloping along we could hardly but expect to see some beautiful mansion as a fit accompaniment to such scenery."**³⁶⁵

While passing Cowlitz Farm Wilkes noted: **"They have here six or seven hundred acres enclosed, and under cultivation, with several large granaries, a large farm-house, and numerous out-buildings to accommodate the dairy, workmen, cattle, etc. The grounds appear well prepared, and were covered with a luxuriant crop of wheat. At the farther end of the prairie was to be seen a**

³⁶⁵ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 168.

settlement, with its orchards, etc., and between the trees, the chapel and parsonage of the Catholic Mission [St. Frances Xavier] gave an air of civilization to the whole.”³⁶⁶

Wilkes’ party explored the mysterious Mima Mounds -- May 21, 1841

Wilkes thought the mounds might be Native American burial sites, but he found only earth inside
Native American legends said a falling star dropped them like pebbles onto the earth
(geologists and others have since developed several dozen hypotheses, including glacial
freeze-and-thaw cycles, erosion, the interplay between wind and vegetation,
an earthquake or two, a tsunami, and perhaps a volcanic eruption)

LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON’S SIX MAN PARTY REACHES THE PUYALLUP RIVER

From Fort Nisqually Lieutenant Johnson and his five traveling companions crossed Puyallup River
and began an ascent of the Cascade Mountains following a clear path -- May 21, 1841

camp was made that night at the junction of the Puyallup and Uptascap (Carbon) rivers

During the attempt to climb the west side of the Cascades large trees had to be felled across the river
and the packs carried across by the men while the horses swam to the other side

For several days their route following the Indian trail lay through forests of spruce trees

they continued following an old Indian trail around the northern flank of Mount Rainier

miles of paths were cut through thickets of brush and fallen timber

steep grades of slippery clay had to be climbed as horses slipped

and became entangled in roots of every shape and size

horse with their packs sometimes became wedged between trees

on several occasions horses reached the top of a hill but were so exhausted they fell backward

and somersaulted back to the bottom where their loads had to be rearranged

and the effort to reach the top made again

although they were assisted by local Indians

none of members of Johnson’s party were happy to proceed

this discontent increased as horses and men climbed the steep hills

falling was a common occurrence

JOHNSON’S EXPEDITION CONTINUES TOWARD THE SUMMIT OF THE CASACDES

Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson was greeted with the discovery that his expedition’s horses

had wandered away searching for better forage -- May 24, 184

when they were found the party set out along the Indian trail to the Smalocho (White) River

where conical hills thickly covered with gigantic pine trees hampered their progress

Exhausted horses and Indians who had carried the burdens of packs made camp

Johnson diverted the Indians’ fatigue by conducting a shooting contest for a knife

this excitement provided the desired effect on the natives

JOHNSON’S EXPEDITION CONTINUES THEIR STRUGGLE UP THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

When Naval Lieutenant Robert Johnson and his six men reached the upper (Greenwater) river

a bridge had to be constructed across the swift deep water

both men and horses suffered from lack of food

³⁶⁶ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 75.

Johnson and his men reached a plain that was identified as “Little Prairie” -- May 26, 1841
because this was the last place where food could be assured the horses were rested for the day
as Indians carried forward some of the loads in an effort to relieve the pack animals
Guide Pierre Charles and Purser Richard Waldron each carrying fifty pound packs were sent forward
with the Indian, naturalist Dr. Charles Pickering and botanist William Brackenridge
Lieutenant Johnson remained in camp at Little Prairie
Waldron crossed the summit of Nahchess Pass (today’s Naches Pass)
and continued down the east side
they became the first American party to cross Nahchess Pass over the Cascade Mountains
snow on the east side was ten feet deep and the men sank to their ankles
which indicated the horses would have problems when they crossed the summit
Waldron made camp on the east side of the mountains

LIEUTENANT JOHNSON CONTINUES TOWARD THE SUMMIT OF THE CASCADES

Johnson at Little Prairie received a messenger from Purser Richard Waldron -- May 27, 1841
Johnson set out with the remainder of his expedition about 11:00 a.m., May 27
he met guide Pierre Charles who had returned across Nahchess Pass
with the Indians who had accompanied Waldron
learning of the snowy conditions ahead Johnson pressed on taking only the strongest horses
camp was made a mile beyond Waldron’s camp 5:30 p.m.
As the snow was rapidly melting Johnson decided to press forward
although the prospect of failure loomed large

BARTLESON-BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES WEST

Bartleson -Bidwell Wagon Train led by Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick was joined
by Joseph Williams, a protestant preacher who was apparently
traveling on his own to Oregon -- May 27, 1841

NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Lieutenant Wilkes traveling overland from Fort Nisqually with *Vincennes* Purser Richard Waldron,
artist Joseph Drayton, two servants, two Indian guides and a French-Canadian guide
reached Astoria, American John Jacob Astor’s Pacific outpost at Astoria
now operated by Hudson’s Bay Company
Continuing on horseback up the Columbia River Wilkes and his traveling companions
arrived at Fort Vancouver -- May 28, 1841
they received a friendly greeting from chief factors Dr. John McLoughlin and James Douglas
during the following week Wilkes and his men were well entertained
they received a great deal of information regarding the region
surrounding the Hudson’s Bay Company headquarters

LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON CONTINUES HIS TRAVELS

In order to take advantage of the snow made firm by a frost the night before
Naval Lieutenant Johnson and his men departed at dawn -- April 28, 1841
haste was necessary as provisions were running low

during the ascent some of their supplies had been lost in the river crossings
they rapidly traveled across the worst part of the trail along a narrow ridge
until they reached a plain about a mile long and half a mile across
During their descent on the east side of the Cascade Mountains the snow was much deeper
but the horses managed well
when camp was made that night the men accidentally set fire to the moss-covered trees
which forced the expedition to move farther upwind
Lieutenant Johnson following the party missed the trail and lost his way for three or four hours
when he discovered his party's camp he saw it was located across the river from his location
he attempted to cross the river on a log but slipped and fell into the water
he saved the chronometer but the watch used to accurately establish their longitude stopped
it was no longer reliable
Indians and horses alike were exhausted from their mountain crossing
it was time for Johnson to pay the Indians for the services they had provided
which had been far in excess of what had been contracted
as they crossed the mountains twice
because it was necessary to retain all of the blankets Johnson's expedition had brought with them
to buy horses Johnson proposed the Indians receive credit at Fort Nisqually in lieu of blankets
the natives readily agreed and even gave up the blankets they had received in payment
two local Indians were sent back to Nisqually rather than continue with Johnson's party
they were trusted with the botanical specimens that had been collected
and with the care of the horses the expedition had left behind

NAVAL LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON AND HIS MEN PRESS ON

Indians loaded with ninety pound packs again took up the march through the snow -- May 29, 1841
river banks on the east side of the Cascades were lined with a great variety of trees: poplars,
dogwood, several species of willow trees, alder, two species of maple and a few yew trees
several species of underbrush slowed their progress
occasionally small trees bent over by the weight of snow were stepped on and broken
forcing the traveler to extract himself and his heavy burden
from the hole in the snow beneath the branches
Spipen (Naches) River was reached and camp was made about 3:00 p.m. -- April 29, 1841
around the river this region was mountainous and woody
with a narrow strip of meadow stretching along the river's bank
Purser Richard Waldron sent Lachemere, one of the Indians, down the river
to inform the local Indian chief they were in the vicinity and wished to procure horses

NAVAL LIEUTENANT JOHNSON'S EXPEDITION CONTACTS THE YAKIMA INDIANS

Lieutenant Robert Johnson was accompanied by Purser Thomas Waldron,
Marine Sergeant Simeon Stearns,
scientists Charles Pickering and William Brackenridge, a servant,
guides Pierre Charles and Peter Bercier and several Indians who carried ninety pound packs
They continued over rough country that required a great deal of caution
because of the steepness of the climb in places while in other places the land was marshy

and became impassable

They met two Indians who informed them the chief of the Yakima people was a short distance ahead
he was waiting to meet them with several horses

Old Tidias, the chief, was met about noon-- May 30, 1841

he was a tall, strait, thin and balding man with long black hair down his back

he greeted Johnson in a grave but dignified manner and agreed to sell some horses

WILLAMETTE SETTLERS MEET AT ST. PAUL'S CATHOLIC MISSION

On the first Tuesday in June settlers from around the Willamette Valley gathered at the new building
near St. Paul's Catholic Church -- June 1, 1841

Nine-man Code of Laws Committee members announced the committee had not met

thus there was no report to make Chairman Father Francis Blanchet

Committee Chairman Father Blanchet sent a letter to the meeting

asking he be relieved of his duties as Chairman of the Committee of nine

clearly signaling to his Catholic constituency that he would no longer be involved

in the creation of a local government

scar-faced Dr. William Bailey was chosen to replace Francis Blanchet

on the Code of Laws Committee and served as its chairman

Code of Laws Committee members were instructed to meet (on the first Monday in August [2])

and to report their accomplishments to the inhabitants of the Willamette Valley

in a meeting to be held (the first Tuesday in October [5])

committee members also were instructed to meet with U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes

and with Dr. John McLoughlin to discuss writing a constitution and code of laws

for the community

Rev. Jason Lee, the governorship no longer within his reach, seems to have lost all interest

he had attempted to detach the French-Canadian settlers from Hudson's Bay Company control

now it was obvious that purpose was unattainable -- at least for the present

LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON AND HIS EXPEDITION CONTINUE TOWARD THE EAST

After a day's delay waiting for horses that did not arrive Johnson and his men set out to the east

They entered a far different terrain than they had seen before -- June 1, 1841

long sloping hills covered with a scanty growth of pine trees gave proof

they would be forced to travel what the Yakima Indians called a "hungry road"

many dry riverbeds were passed and the soil produced nothing but long thin grass

occasionally small valleys of luxurious grass and larger pine trees were seen

reaching a ridge Johnson's expedition fell in with a number of local Indians digging camas root

NAVAL LIEUTENANT JOHNSON'S EXPEDITION REACHES THE YAKIMA RIVER

Yakima River was too deep for horses to cross with their packs

rubber rafts were used to float the packs across the water -- June 2, 1841

Twenty Yakima Indians led by Chief Kamiyah, the son-in-law of old Tidias, were seen

these Indians were living in temporary huts consisting of mats spread on poles

they had a number of fine horses but would not part with them at any price

Kamiyah was the most handsome Indian they had met but he proved surly in his manners

BARTLESON-BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN CROSSES (NEBRASKA)

These Catholic missionaries and wagon train members led by Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick were among the very first travelers on Oregon Trail
Between Sapling Grove and the Big Blue River Nicholas Dawson, traveling alone was suddenly surrounded and disarmed by a significant number of Cheyenne Indians
Tom Fitzpatrick stayed calm and the Native Americans remain friendly
they even return Dawson’s belongings
Near the South Platte River they met a very large number of bison
these frightened animals stampede and the moving herd threatened to overrun the wagons
and to trample the emigrants
shooting a few bison did the trick as the course of the racing animals was altered
yet another potentially dangerous situation was averted
in the following days the bison became a fixed item on the menu
Daytime temperature ran very high and turned even higher
emigrants were caught up by a violent hurricane
and they barely escaped from the destructive forces of a waterspout
Near the Lower California Crossing (today’s Brule, Nebraska) they crossed the South Platte River
as the caravan followed the southern bank of the North Platte River past Chimney Rock
and Scott’s Bluff

LIEUTENANT ROBERT JOHNSON’S EXPEDITION REACHES THE COLUMBIA RIVER

U.S. Naval Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson purchased three more horses
five members of the expedition now had horses while three others continued to walk
During their travels Marine Sergeant Simeon Stearns who was entrusted with the barometer
broke the instrument as he was setting it up
it was no longer possible to accurately determined their elevation
Johnson and his seven men reached the Columbia River
about three miles below the Pischous (Wenatchee) River -- early afternoon June 4, 1841
here the arid land was destitute of even scattered trees with no vegetation along the river bank

LIEUTENANT WILKES TAKES PLANS TO TRAVEL THROUGH THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Wilkes’ party set off up the Willamette River in a boat provided by Dr. McLoughlin -- June 4, 1841
on this trip Lieutenant Wilkes met American Able Seaman Joseph Gale
who was overseeing the construction of the sailing ship *Star of Oregon*
they said Dr. John McLoughlin refused to sell sails, cordage, and other materials
as Hudson’s Bay Company had the only such supplies in Oregon
they appealed to Lieutenant Wilkes

RED RIVER (WINNIPEG, MANITOBA) SETTLERS MOVE TO COLUMBIA DISTRICT

In an attempt to bolster British claims to the area north of the lower Columbia River
French-Canadian shepherds, dairymen, farmers and their families
anticipated farming at Nisqually based on unsanctioned reassurances
provided by Red River Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson

Finlayson indicated that after settlement of the international boundary issue as Finlayson proposed, crops raised by the settlers would be used partially for company profit and partially to repay start-up loans issued by the Hudson's Bay Company to the colonists. British colonists' new lands would be sold to them rather than leased eventually the settlers would gain ownership of the land they farmed. Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin completed arrangements for families of Canadian skilled laborers living at the Canadian Red River Settlement (Winnipeg, Manitoba) to journey overland to Fort Nisqually to settle North of Columbia River there they were to farm for Hudson's Bay Company on half shares. Twenty-one families composed of 116 Canadian men, women and children left Red River Settlement under the leadership of James Sinclair to journey to Fort Vancouver -- June 5, 1841 their goods were packed in Red River carts which served them well until they reached the Rockies.

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ENCOUNTERS BLACKFEET INDIANS

En route the Catholics and their Flathead escort suddenly come upon fifty Blackfoot Indians conflict was avoided when the Flatheads explained that the purpose of their expedition was to escort the Black Robes to their final destination. Above Lake Henry the Catholics crossed the continental divide to traveled west to the Beaverhead River.

NAVAL LIEUTENANT WILKES CONTINUES THROUGH THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Middle and Upper Willamette River region was composed of unwooded prairies rich in grass which was so extensive and tall that wandering cattle were often obscured and a man on horseback moved with only his head and shoulders above the grassy sea this prairie was described by Wilkes: **"...these hills are clothed to the very tops with grass and afforded excellent pasturage for cattle.... The prairies are at least one third greater in extent than the forest; they were again seen carpeted with the most luxuriant growth of flowers of the richest tints of red, yellow, and blue, extending in places a distance of 15 to 20 miles."**³⁶⁷

Indians burned off the countryside (each fall):

- to remove seedling trees thus retaining the rich grasses,
- to round up game for killing,
- and to roast pods of tar-weed for food

On his way up the Willamette River Valley Wilkes met Rev. Jason Lee camped along the river bank Lee's camping conditions did not meet the disciplinary standards appreciated by Wilkes who noted sarcastically that these missionaries obviously were used to such accommodations before they left the United States.

STAR OF OREGON PROJECT IS IN TROUBLE

George Davis and Henry Woods dropped out of the effort which reduced the number of partners to five.

³⁶⁷ Howard McKinley Corning, *Dictionary of Oregon History*, P. 268.

Ralph Kilbourne and Joseph Gale did most of the remaining work
while Thomas J. Hubbard did the blacksmithing
John Canan and Pleasant Armstrong remained with the project
(although work continued off and on until [October] construction was stopped for the [winter])

MOTIVES OF THE WOULD-BE SAILORS ARE NOT CLEAR

Only one of the Americans, Joseph Gale, had ever been on the ocean
At first, Joseph Gale and his fellow boat-builders Lieutenant Charles Wilkes
that they were tired of Oregon
there were no white women there to marry and they wanted to go to California
Earlier, however, they had told Dr. McLoughlin, when buying supplies from the Vancouver store,
that they were building a ferryboat to ply the Willamette River
On still another occasion they had talked of going to California for cattle
to further weaken the economic dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company
They also said they wished to travel **“to the ports of California for the purpose [still another one!] of hunting Sea Otter”**³⁶⁸
It may have been fear of McLoughlin's disapproval that had led them,
shortly before Wilkes' arrival, to ask certain French-Canadians
to front for them at the store in buying the cordage and canvas they needed

NAVAL LIEUTENANT WILKES VISITS CHAMPOEG

At Champoeg (ten miles south of Salem today) were four or five cabins
further up river Wilkes noted: **“...many small farms of from fifty to one hundred acres, belonging to the old servants of the [Hudson's Bay] Company, Canadians, who settled here; they all [appeared] very comfortable and thriving.”**³⁶⁹
Lieutenant Charles Wilkes passed a few more farms
before reaching the first of the buildings belonging to the Methodist Champoeg Mission
At Champoeg Mission (Mission Bottom) Wilkes was entertained by George Abernethy
whose family was one of four living in the hospital constructed by Dr. Elijah White
“A well-built edifice with a double piazza in front...perhaps the best building in Oregon.”³⁷⁰
Wilkes rode five miles to the mill where he found **“the air and stir of a new secular settlement; ...the missionaries [had] made individual selections of lands to the amount of one thousand acres each, in the prospect of the whole country falling under our laws.”**³⁷¹

NAVAL LIEUTENANT WILKES VISITS ST. PAUL'S CATHOLIC MISSION

Twelve miles above Champoeg dwelt the Catholic Father Francis Blanchet
who was **“settled among his flock...doing great good to the settlers in ministering to their temporal as well as spiritual wants.”**³⁷²
Eight members of the Code of Laws Committee elected to draft a “Code of Laws”

³⁶⁸ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 205.

³⁶⁹ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 139.

³⁷⁰ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 139.

³⁷¹ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 139.

³⁷² Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 139.

met with Dr. John McLoughlin who was decidedly opposed to the plan for a government and adopting a constitution and laws -- he advised them not to organize of a government

Five members of the Code of Laws Committee members met with Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes concerning the propriety of forming a government

Lieutenant Wilkes advised that the attempt was premature as a government would be a conflict with the existing Joint Occupation Agreement it would be better for them to wait for the added strength of the United States government to embrace them before they took any significant action

Code of Laws Committee members decided Lieutenant Wilkes' advice was sound their anticipated [August 2] meeting was cancelled and the committee was disbanded thus the American residence's experiment to implement an independent government failed due to continued pressure from British interests and cautions from Lieutenant Charles Wilkes

Although the effort to implement a government independent of Hudson's Bay Company had failed Dr. Ira Babcock had been elected Supreme Judge with probate powers he administered the estate of Ewing Young to the satisfaction of all concerned and remained at least the figurehead of an independent American legal system

LIEUTENANT WILKES REACHES THE CHEMETEKA METHODIST MISSION

Wilkes impression of the American missionaries did not match his opinion of the British subjects in his report to Congress he judged his countrymen to be **“low, vulgar and unclean,”** he compared their settlements unfavorably with the Canadians' habitations which were reported to be cheerful and industrious

Wilkes became convinced the missionaries were more interested in building up the country than in laboring among the few remaining Indians as he noted in his official report: **“...the missionary field was over-crowded; ...the missionary field was but small, and insufficient for the expenses which have been lavished on it...[other] various characters [were] settled there [the Willamette Valley]. They generally consist of those who have been hunters in the mountains, and were still full of the recklessness of that breed. Many of them, although they have taken farms and built log houses, cannot be classed among the permanent settlers.”**³⁷³

NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES RETURNS TO FORT VANCOUVER

After visiting settlements and pioneers in the Willamette Valley Wilkes returned to Fort Vancouver where he visited Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

Wilkes stated that as an American officer he would be personally be responsible for all bills as well as the good conduct of the party of Americans building the *Star of Oregon*

Dr. McLoughlin relented -- cordage, canvas, paints, and oils were purchased paid for by the shipbuilders with wheat and furs of different kinds from his own supplies Wilkes provided navigating instruments, an American flag, compass, anchor, anchor chain and a spyglass

Wilkes presented Able Seaman Joseph Gale with informal Master's Papers authorizing the *Star of Oregon* to sail along the Pacific coast

³⁷³ Patricia Kohnen, *Oregon Trail Timeline 1841-1843*, <http://www.oregon.com/attractions/museumshistory>

LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON EXPEDITION EXPLORES THE OKANOGAN REGION

Johnson's party turned upriver and traveled by horseback through the Okanogan region they reached the Hudson's Bay Company post of Fort Okanogan and investigated the Grand Coulee area, Fort Colville just above Kettle Falls was reached -- June 15, 1841 however, they missed both Lake Chelan and the Methow River

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES RETURNS TO FORT NISQUALLY

Disappointed by the failure of the *Peacock* to make its appearance at the Columbia River Naval Lieutenant Wilkes rejoined the *Vincennes* at Fort Nisqually -- June 16, 1841 With the return of Wilkes *Vincennes* and *Porpoise* moved to the Strait of Juan de Fuca and continued their survey work there

LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON'S EXPEDITION CONTINUES THEIR INVESTIGATION

Setting out from Fort Colville, Johnson and his six men journeyed up the Spokane River to Tshimakain Mission where they met Mary Walker, the hardy wife of Rev. Elkanah Walker Mary stayed up late that night sharing her passion for natural history with Johnson and his men she succeeded in securing fresh horses for them from the Spokane Indians -- June 1841 When Lieutenant Johnson reached the vicinity of Spokane Falls where he recorded the story of the [1800] eruption of Mount St. Helens as told by an old chief sometimes called Cornelius: **“Cornelius, when about ten years of age, was sleeping in a lodge with a great many people, and was suddenly awakened by his mother, who called out to him that the world was falling to pieces. He then heard a great noise of thunder overhead, and all the people crying out in terror. Something was falling very thick, which they at first took as snow, but on going out they found it to be dirt; it proved to be ashes, which fell to the depth of six inches, and increased their fears, by causing them to suppose that the end of the world was actually at hand....”**³⁷⁴

GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE -IN-CHIEF STOPS AT FORT COLVILLE

Governor Simpson traveled the regular saddle route to Fort Colville on his arrival at the Hudson's Bay Company trading post he recorded in his journal that he had **“performed a land journey of about 1,900 miles in 47 days out of which he had traveled but 41, having been detained 6 en route.”**

LIEUTENANT ROBERT JOHNSON'S EXPEDITION CROSSES INTO (TODAY'S IDAHO)

Lieutenant Johnson and his seven-man expedition next journeyed to Coeur d'Alene and Tshimakain Mission From Tshimakain Mission they traveled to Rev. Henry Spaulding's Lapwai Mission on the Clearwater River (near today's Lewiston, Idaho) -- June 1841 After a brief visit at the mission Johnson's party moved on to Waiilatpu Mission where they met Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman

³⁷⁴ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 27.

BARTLESON-BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN CROSSES (WYOMING)

Caravan of wagons and carts reached Fort Laramie (Wyoming) -- June 22, 1841
this post was originally known as Fort William when built in [1834]
(Fort Laramie became increasingly important
after abandonment of the rendezvous fur trade system [1840])
After a short pause at Fort Laramie the party resumed their westward course
near (today's Casper, Wyoming) they crossed the North Platte River
which was so deep that horses and the mules were forced to swim
in the swift current a wagon was overturned and as a result a mule was drowned
Caravan continued along the banks of the Sweetwater River
and visited Independence Rock

NAVAL LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON SPLITS HIS EXPEDITION INTO DIVISIONS

Joseph Drayton, an artist, decided to explore the Blue Mountains -- June 1841
he made sketches and secured data for a map of the Columbia River
and the region surrounding Fort Walla Walla
these notes composed nearly 100 pages of the Wilkes' Report
Horatio Hale, philologist (historical linguist) traveled alone from Waiilatpu
back to Tshimakain and Fort Colville by way of Palouse River valley and an old Indian Trail
along the way he studied Indian language and culture
Johnson and his five remaining traveling companions set out for Nahchess Pass in the Cascades

NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES CELEBRATES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

In spite of his probable contempt for his fellow Americans,
U.S. Naval Lieutenant Wilkes was determined to assert the American claim to the region
Because July 4, 1841 fell on a Sunday Wilkes staged a celebration with all of the pomp and flourish
he could muster on July 5

Charles Wilkes noted in his report he decided to grant his men a break from their work:
“Wishing to give the crew a holiday on the anniversary of the Declaration of our Independence, and to allow them to have a full day’s frolic and pleasure, they were allowed to barbecue an ox, which the [Hudson’s Bay] Company’s agent had obligingly sold me.”³⁷⁵

at dawn Wilkes fired twenty-six shots from their brass howitzers – one shot for each state
sailors laughed at the sight of fur traders rushing to Fort Nisqually to investigate
in the morning the expedition members marched to the music of pipes and drums inland
to Fort Nisqually where they gave three cheers outside of the post
but few Hudson’s Bay Company employees responded with cheers of their own
This celebration of Independence Day, the first held in the Pacific Northwest,
saw a great deal of American nationalism

Wilkes’ sailors continued on to a prairie near Lake Spootslyth (American Lake)
where about five hundred people including one hundred marines, American missionaries,
Hudson’s Bay Company workers and Native Americans were all present
uniformed men from the ships marched in drill formation

³⁷⁵ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington: Embracing ...*, Volume 1, P. 227.

after a prayer from Rev. Dr. John P. Richmond of the American Methodist Mission
two howitzers fired a salute

Sergeant of Marines Simeon Stearns read the Declaration of Independence

Rev. Richmond in his oration declared that **“Upon Fourth-of-July, especially, we are irresistibly impelled to entertain the belief that the whole of this magnificent region...is destined to become one of the physical ingredients of our beneficent [American] Republic.”**³⁷⁶

Rev. Richmond noted that the whole of the Pacific Northwest would be peopled
by **“our enterprising countrymen”**

Wilkes purchased an ox for barbequing from Fort Nisqually’s Alexander Caulfield Anderson
everyone engaged in a day full of playing games for football and baseball, eating food
dancing on a door laid on the ground while a sailor played the fiddle
and listening to speeches

Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes’ event concluded with a dinner to honor
important representatives of the Expedition, missionaries and Hudson’s Bay Company

Sequalitchew Chief Koquilton described the celebration: **“The Bostons [American] soldiers asked the Indians to go with them to select a place to have a big feast.... Early in the morning the Boston soldiers shot off their big guns about ten times. The guns made a great noise.... The soldiers marched out. They were dressed in Sunday clothes, all in white. One soldier went in front carrying a flag, and the men following him had drums and horns and were making music. The soldiers marched in four lines. They all stepped as one man. They hauled the pans and dishes and all other things out in a Hudson’s Bay cart. The carts were made at the fort [Nisqually]. The wheels were made of a large log; holes were made in the center for axles. [After the meal] footracing and horse-racing took place. Captain Wilkes named the big lake American Lake. The Indian name was Spootsylth.”**³⁷⁷

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. JOHNSON RETURNS TO FORT NISQUALLY

Lieutenant Johnson re-crossed Nahchess Pass on his way back to Fort Nisqually -- July 15, 1841

Johnson’s journey of a thousand miles was without any material accident except to the
instruments Johnson and his men had crossed a route never before taken by white men
ending conjecture about the nature of the land of (northern Washington and Idaho)
they had been awed by the immense country they had seen but not favorably impressed

NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES PLANS ANOTHER EXPEDITION

Lieutenant Wilkes planned to have Lieutenant Johnson lead a second expedition
to explore the Cowlitz River Valley down the Chehalis River to Grays Harbor
then along the coast back to the Columbia River

but Wilkes learned that while exploring (Eastern Washington)

Johnson had rewarded a Hudson’s Bay Company employee who helped him
with a bowie-knife pistol -- this cut-and-shoot weapon was government issue
upset with this gift of government property Wilkes wrote new orders for Johnson that stated
no government property was to be disposed of **“except through absolute necessity”**³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ Ezra Meeker, *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound: The Tragedy of Leschi ...*, P. 523

³⁷⁷ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington.*, P. 67-68

³⁷⁸ Murray C. Morgan, *Murray’s People*, a collection of essays: *The Ms. Chief and the Big Trees*.

and then the officer who accompanies Johnson must agree the action is appropriate
Johnson protested that the order made him subject to veto by an inferior officer
Wilkes ordered Johnson to go below deck to think things over for five minutes

when Johnson reappeared he was wearing an Indian spruce root hat
Wilkes would not listen to Johnson as **“...he was dressed very unofficerlike... and showed marked disrespect in his manner and dress to the rules of the Ship and Navy.”**³⁷⁹

again Johnson was sent below -- this time with orders to be ready to leave in five minutes
he reappeared **“..in some temper and in the same dress.”**³⁸⁰

Wilkes had Johnson arrested on the spot

Midshipman Henry Eld was placed in command of the expedition

Wilkes named Midshipman George Colvocoresses as second-in-command

(when the expedition returned to the United states [1842] Johnson was court-martialed

on charges of illegally disposing of government property and of disobeying a proper order
he was acquitted on both counts)

NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES SENDS OUT ANOTHER EXPLORING PARTY

Wilkes dispatched another overland party this one led by Midshipman Henry Eld -- July 16, 1841
they traveled and mapped the route from Eld Inlet (named by Lieutenant Wilkes) to (Black Lake)
besides midshipmen Eld and George Colvocoresses the surveying expedition consisted of
Marine Sergeant Simeon Stearns, Privates George Rogers and Samuel Dinsman,
sailors Thomas Ford and Henry Waltham, a metis interpreter called Joe,
and the expedition's civilian horticulturalist William D. Brackenridge
canoes purchased from the Indians at the Nisqually River were rotten and leaky
the party's bread was soaked and spoiled on the first day's paddle
to the southern extremity of Puget Sound

NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES LEAVES FORT NISQUALLY

Wilkes Expedition left Fort Nisqually and Southern Puget Sound -- July 17, 1841

United States Exploring Expedition sailed north to investigate the San Juan Islands

Wilkes had some British charts but may not have been aware of the Spanish names and charts

he gave new names to nearly every coastal feature not already named on the charts he had
to honor American heroes of the War of 1812 and members of his crew

many of these names were ignored on later charts and British and Spanish names retained

Wilkes naming of locations honoring American naval officers Chauncey, Shaw, Jones,
Decatur, Blakely, Perry, Sinclair, Lawrence, Gordon and Percival all remained

MIDSHIPMAN HENRY ELD REACHES THE CHEHALIS RIVER

Midshipman Eld held negotiations with an unusual Indian chief for horses and for porters
to carry their canoes and gear across the portage

to a tributary of the “Chickeeles” (Chehalis) River -- July 17, 1841

this chief was a woman who deeply impressed the Americans

³⁷⁹ Murray C. Morgan, *Murray's People*, a collection of essays: *The Ms. Chief and the Big Trees*.

³⁸⁰ Murray C. Morgan, *Murray's People*, a collection of essays: *The Ms. Chief and the Big Trees*.

she appeared to exercise more authority than any other chief they had met
her horses were remarkably fine animals; her dress was neat,
and she was surrounded by indications of Indian opulence
her character and conduct elevated her status above her villagers
although her husband was present, he seemed to fall under her authority
After portaging to the Chehalis River Midshipmen Eld and Colvocoresses accompanied by
Marine Sergeant Simeon Stearns, Privates George Rogers and Samuel Dinsman,
sailors Thomas Ford and Henry Waltham, Joe the metis interpreter
and horticulturalist William D. Brackenridge set out by canoe
Eld's canoe trip down the "Chickeeles" (Chehalis) and "Sachal" (Willapa) rivers proved difficult,
**"...the turns were sometimes so short that the larger canoe would be in contact with thickets
on the banks at both ends"**³⁸¹
mosquitoes added to their exasperation
however, they were impressed by the magnificence of the trees as expedition members reported:
**"Some of these had been burnt, and in consequence had fallen. Mr. Eld thus had an opportunity of
measuring them. One that was not selected as the largest, for there were many of equal if not
greater length and diameter was measured, and the part that lay in one piece was found to be two
hundred feet long; another piece of the same tree was twenty-five feet long and at the small end still
ten inches in diameter.**
**"Allowing twelve feet for the portion destroyed by fire, Mr. Eld thought twenty-five feet ought
to be added for its top; which makes the whole tree when growing 260 feet. Others were believed to
exceed this, both in height and diameter."**³⁸²

TARDY SHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION REACH THE COLUMBIA

Sloop-of-war *Peacock* under Lieutenant William L. Hudson and her tender *Flying Fish*
reached Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia River -- July 17, 1841
They were a month and half late for their rendezvous with Lieutenant Charles Wilkes
both ships had sailed from the Western Pacific Ocean after charting new islands,
correcting positions for known islands, disproving reports of some others
and continuing their scientific studies
Hudson knew he was very late in arriving at the mouth of the Columbia
he had experienced Wilkes' wrath before when he tried to second-guess
the commander's specific instructions on other occasions
Lieutenant Hudson arrived in clear weather and had as good conditions as could be expected
in the unimproved channel over the sandbar of the Columbia
Hudson had with him the instructions for navigating the bar that Wilkes had obtained
from Josiah Spaulding master of the *Lausanne*
Hudson was not surprised to find treacherous conditions
as these waters had a reputation for shipwrecks
but he had no reason to doubt his instructions

PEACOCK SPENDS THE NIGHT OUTSIDE OF THE BAR OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

³⁸¹ Murray C. Morgan, *Murray's People*, a collection of essays: The Ms. Chief and the Big Trees.

³⁸² Murray C. Morgan, *Murray's People*, a collection of essays: The Ms. Chief and the Big Trees.

Lieutenant William L. Hudson wrote regarding the night before he attempted to enter the Columbia:
“...and throughout the night experienced light airs and calms, accompanied by a dense fog. On the morning of the [July] 18th, between seven and eight o’clock, the fog cleared off, with the wind from the southward and eastward. Cape Disappointment was then about nine miles distant. At nine they sounded in forty fathoms water; at ten, fifteen. It being Sunday, Captain Hudson as usual performed divine service, which being finished at 11:50, they again tacked to stand in....”³⁸³

After breaking off his first attempt to enter, Hudson steered the *Peacock* toward a portion of the water that appeared clear and smooth -- but here the water was too shallow
Peacock’s keel hit bottom and stuck

PEACOCK RUNS INTO TROUBLE AT THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Columbia River’s current and tides began to force *Peacock* onto a shoal (now called Peacock Spit)
Lieutenant William Hudson ordered the sails taken in
and prepared to drag the ship off by kedging
(towing the ship’s anchors out a distance and then winching the ship toward them
by winding the chains on the capstan)

Weather in the sound defeated him before he could complete the plan
sea began to lift and drop the ship causing leaks -- crewmen manned the pumps
All day and all night they fought to save the ship -- July 18, 1841
at dawn the tide receded so much that a canoe manned by Chinook Indians
and carrying a pilot was able to come on board

Peacock launched its boats and filled them as much as they could with charts, books and papers
boats made two trips between ship and shore,
but eventually the scientific specimens on board had to be abandoned

HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY GOVERNOR SIMPSON OVERTAKES THE RED RIVER SETTLERS

Twenty-one families migrating from the Canadian Red River Settlement
had traveled more than one-third of the way to Fort Vancouver
before they were overtaken by Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson -- July 19, 1841
Governor and his party traveled with the colonists for part of two days and the night between
Simpson hurried on after advising the migrants they should change their route to travel by boat
this advice was ignored

WRECK OF THE PEACOCK

Surging currents rose again toward noon and overwhelmed the ship -- July 19, 1841
Lieutenant Hudson and some of crew remained on board during the evacuation
they tried to save as much as they could
by throwing light items overboard to be carried ashore by the tide
even at that valuable artifacts, plants, stuffed animals and birds and notes were lost
Lieutenant William Hudson was the last to leave the ship -- 5 p.m. July 19, 1841

ADJUSTMENTS ARE MADE BY THE CREW OF THE PEACOCK

³⁸³ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 169.

Lieutenant William L. Hudson's ship had broken into pieces by the next day -- July 20, 1841
no lives had been lost in the wreck of *Peacock* thanks to a canoe rescue by John Dean,
an African American servant of the *Vincennes* purser, and a group of Chinook Indians

Dean also rescued artist Alfred Agate along with his paintings and drawings
but some men had sustained significant injuries including broken bones
and now they had no quarters in which to live
some people from the Methodist mission at Astoria brought the shipwrecked sailors
tents and supplies to make them comfortable
sailors dubbed their little tent city "Peacockville"

In spite of the loss of the ship, the injuries sustained and the hardship suffered by the shipless crew,
everyone pressed on with their assignments

scientists immediately went into the field and began making collections

Alfred Agate made drawings of the local Chinook Indians

and the tomb of Chinook chief Concomly (who had welcomed Lewis and Clark

and later helped Pacific Fur Company traders build Astoria

Clark spelled the chief's name Com-com-moly)

sailor James D. Saules, an English-speaking Negro native of Peru, was the cook on the *Peacock*

Saules took up squatter's rights on a promontory (near today's Fort Canby)

known by the early settlers as Saules Point

BARTLESON-BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES WEST

Thirty-six wagons and five solid-wheel carts reached South Pass -- July 24, 1841

more than one hundred pioneers crossed over the continental divide

between the Green and Bear rivers

they stopped to rest on the banks of the Green River

This year the traditional rendezvous grounds looked very empty and quiet

American fur trade had virtually ended by this year

future transcontinental immigrants would come in search of land -- not pelts

only people at the old rendezvous site to welcome the weary travelers

where Henry Fraeb and a few remaining trappers

and a small group of emigrants returning to the United States from the West

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES LEARNS OF THE WRECK OF THE *PEACOCK*

Lieutenant Wilkes who was conducting a survey of the San Juan Islands

did not receive word of the loss of the *Peacock* until July 27, 1841

With the loss of the *Peacock* Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes

discontinued his survey of the San Juan Islands

Loss of the *Peacock* reinforced Wilkes' belief that the Columbia River

was not a safe entry to the region and that Puget Sound provided much better access

therefore, any United States claim to Oregon must include Puget Sound

LIEUTENANT WILKES SAILS FOR THE COLUMBIA RIVER

When Wilkes was finally able to assemble his ships

he sailed *Vincennes* and *Porpoise* south toward the Columbia River -- August, 2 1841

he never returned to Puget Sound

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES IS FORCED TO CHANGE HIS PLANS

Wilkes had expected to dispatch the *Peacock* and *Flying Fish* to survey up the Columbia River as far as the Dalles where another exploring party was to be sent across the Rocky Mountains to scout a route for immigrants coming into Oregon however, the wreck of the *Peacock* eliminated that possibility

MIDSHIPMAN HENRY ELD'S EXPEDITION REACHES GRAYS HARBOR

Midshipman Eld's eight-man canoe expedition down the Chehalis River made the first American crossing across the Olympic Peninsula -- August 1841 they mapped the crossing between Puget Sound and Grays Harbor they were unimpressed with Grays Harbor because of the narrow entrance and its shallow bottom which made it suitable only for small vessels Eld named the northern part of the harbor "Useless Bay" because it was particularly filled with shoals (shallow water) that had no channels

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES REACHES THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Lieutenant Wilkes and his United States Exploring Expedition arrived at the Great River of the West -- August 6, 1841 he was not willing to risk the *Vincennes* on the Columbia River bar Wilkes took command of the brig USS *Porpoise* which was better suited to river exploration *Porpoise* became the new flagship of the U.S. Ex. Ex. Lieutenant Cadwallader Ringgold took command of the *Vincennes*

VINCENNES IS SENT TO CHART THE OREGON AND CALIFORNIA COAST

U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes sent USS *Vincennes* to chart the Oregon and northern California coastlines *Vincennes* was to stop at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) and await Wilkes' arrival while sending a boat up the Sacramento River meet an overland expedition which was then being organized by Wilkes

BARTLESON-BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN SPLITS

Emigrants arrived at Soda Springs on the Beaver River (in present day southeastern Idaho) -- August 10, 1841 At Soda Springs the Bartleson-Bidwell Wagon Train split young John Bidwell with thirty-six members of the wagon train kept to the original plan to travel southwest to California considering this journey far too dangerous Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick attempted to persuade them to give up the California project but to no avail remaining thirty-two members of the former Bartleson-Bidwell Train were discouraged by recent prospects they decided not to venture into the unknown to California without a trail or a guide Tom Fitzpatrick agreed to guide the American emigrants remaining with John Bartleson

and the Catholic missionaries to Fort Hall (Idaho) about forty miles away

BIDWELL WAGON TRAIN PROCEEDS TO CALIFORNIA WITHOUT A GUIDE

At Soda Springs young John Bidwell led thirty-one men and Mrs. Nancy A. Kelsey (undoubtedly the first women to see the Great Salt Lake or reach California by this route) southwest into uncharted territory to reach California -- August 11, 1841

Their information was tragically limited -- they knew only that California lay to the west even Tom Fitzpatrick was not much better informed with no guide, no compass and only the sun to direct them

from now on they would have to rely entirely only on their own resources

John Bidwell's wagon train headed south along the Bear River

and then west along the north shore of the Great Salt Lake

they were forced to abandon their wagons in the heat of the desert west of the lake

they reached the Walker River and ascended over the Sierra Nevadas

in the same region crossed by Jedediah Smith [1827]

reaching California their first stop was at the ranch owned by John Marsh

Bidwell kept a detailed journal of the route they traveled

he carried with him a book on celestial navigation

he listed landmarks and recorded the surrounding geography

(his journal became a comprehensive guide for future travelers)

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET TRAVELS ON ALONE

At Soda Springs Father De Smet hurried ahead of his other traveling companions

to meet the Flathead people he believed were waiting for him at Fort Hall -- August 11, 1841

there was no road from Soda Springs to Fort Hall

but only a rude trail used by trappers and Indians leading in that direction

RED RIVER MIGRATION REACHES THE UPPER COLUMBIA RIVER

Members of the Red River migration struggled onward

as they followed Governor-in-Chief George Simpson's trail all the way to Fort Colville

Their progress had been much more difficult through the Rocky Mountains

than even the route undertaken by American pioneers

they abandoned their carts and packed their supplies on their oxen and other spare animals

until they reached the upper Columbia River -- August 12, 1841

LIEUTENANT WILKES PURCHASES A SHIP TO REPLACE THE LOST *PEACOCK*

Charles Wilkes visited Astoria where he was supposed to rendezvous

with his two South Sea ships, the store-ship *Relief* and schooner *Seagull*

they were not in evidence -- in fact, they were both lost at sea

To take their place U.S. Naval Lieutenant Wilkes purchased the 250-ton merchant brig

Thomas W. Perkins from the Hudson's Bay Company and renamed it *Oregon*

Wilkes gave Lieutenant William L. Hudson, former master of the *Peacock*, the task of outfitting her

but when preparations were completed, Hudson suggested the command be given to someone else

Hudson may have done this after sensing Wilkes' displeasure, but also, command of a ship

as small as a brig usually went to an officer of lower rank and experience than Hudson Wilkes was only too happy to oblige Hudson and gave command of *Oregon* to Lieutenant Overton Carr who had been serving as his executive officer on *Vincennes* Hudson became an extra officer on the *Vincennes*

VINCENNES ARRIVES AT YERBA BUENA (SAN FRANCISCO)

Lieutenant Cadwallader Ringgold sailed the *Vincennes* into the bay at Yerba Buena -- August 14, 1841
He soon moved to better anchorage north across the bay at Whaler's Harbor (Sausalito Bay) an observatory was set up on shore
Ringgold accompanied by some officers, sailors and naturalist Dr. Charles Pickering took provisions for thirty days and set off in six boats with an Indian guide to survey to region they planned to meet Midshipman Henry Eld's expedition along the Sacramento River
Lieutenant Hudson was placed in command of the *Vincennes*

FLATHEAD INDIANS ARRIVE AT FORT HALL

Flathead Indian Old Ignace La Mousse and his Catholic family and friends from Chief Big Face's village had traveled more than three hundred miles to escort the expected Catholic priests to their home
they were willing to sacrifice even their lives to bring the Christian faith to their people
Old Ignace's son Young Ignace La Mousse (sometime known as Francois Xavier) was known to the Flathead warriors as the "Bravest-of-the-Brave"
Young Ignace and the main body of Indian escorts arrived at Fort Hall on the banks of the Snake River -- August 14, 1841
these Flathead Indians waited patiently at Fort Hall for the arrival of the Black Robes they knew were coming

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET REACHES FORT HALL

Hurrying ahead of his companions, Father De Smet arrived at Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Hall on the day of the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin -- August 15, 1841
Catholic missionary Father De Smet was very warmly welcomed by Chief Trader Francis Ermatinger and by the Flathead delegation awaiting his arrival
Father De Smet was still more than three hundred miles from the home of the Flathead Indians and he realized he had left St. Louis 115 days before

WAGON TRAIN LED BY TOM FITZPATRICK REACHES FORT HALL

Thirty-two American emigrants led by John Bartleson with their wagons guided by Tom "Broken hand" Fitzpatrick -- August 17, 1841
Fathers Gregorio Mengarini and Nicolas Point with Brother Charles Duet, Brother Joseph Specht and Brother Willem Claessens accompanied the wagon train

MIDSHIPMAN HENRY ELD'S EXPEDITION JOURNEYS SOUTH OVERLAND

Midshipmen Henry Eld and George Colvocoresses accompanied by Marine Sergeant Simeon Stearns, Privates George Rogers and Samuel Dinsman, sailors Thomas Ford and Henry Waltham

civilian horticulturalist William D. Brackenridge and a metis interpreter called Joe traveled from Grays Harbor along the coastline to Willapa Bay and on to the Columbia River where they found that sandbars, extreme tidal action and treacherous mudflats and shoals would hamper commercial development

BAD NEWS AND GOOD AWAITS THE EMIGRANTS AT FORT HALL

Members of the Bartleson Wagon Train knew that Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick had been engaged by Father De Smet to lead his party to the Flathead people thus the services of the Mountain Man were to come to an end

Bad news was delivered when it was reported -- August 20, 1841 that portion of the Bidwell wagon train that had chosen to attempt to go to California had been attacked by Indians

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet wrote a letter to Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver informing the Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factor of the event

Good news was received when Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Trader Francis Ermatinger agreed to guide the American emigrant party to Fort Vancouver by way of Waiilatpu Mission and deliver Father De Smet’s letter personally to the Chief Factor

CATHOLIC PRIEST PROCEED NORTH FROM FORT HALL

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, Father Gregorio Mengarini and Father Nicolas Point arrived with Brother Charles Duet, Brother Joseph Specht and Brother Willem Claessens traveled north toward their planned destination with the Flathead Indians

.REMAINING AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS LEAVE FORT HALL

Plans were implemented at Fort Hall and the American pioneers pressed on thirty-six pioneers left their nine wagons at Fort Hall and proceeded on horseback much like the Joel Walker family (who traveled to Oregon the year before) little is recorded regarding the remainder of their journey to the Willamette Valley

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Governor Simpson appeared in the Columbia District to inspect his domain on his west coast Chief Factor James Douglas welcomed Simpson to Fort Vancouver -- August 25, 1841

Simpson and his superiors realized the many settlers coming to the Columbia District might result in Fort Vancouver being on U.S. soil

During his inspection of vast region under his control Governor Simpson kept detailed notes: **“About sunset we called at the Company’s saw and grist mills, distant six miles from the Fort, while the Company’s schooner *Cadboro*, that was lying there, honored us with a salute, which served also as a signal of our arrival to the good folks of Vancouver. Being anxious to approach headquarters in proper style, our men here exchanged the oar for the paddle, which, besides being more orthodox in itself, was better adapted to the quick notes of the voyageurs' song. In less than an hour afterwards, we landed on the beach, having thus crossed the continent of North America at its widest part, by a route of about five thousand miles, in the space of twelve weeks of actual traveling....”**³⁸⁴

³⁸⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 176.

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES ANCHORS AT FORT VANCOUVER

Porpoise and *Oregon* reached Fort Vancouver -- end of August 1841

North American Governor-in-Chief for the Hudson's Bay Company Sir George Simpson had only recently arrived at the company's headquarters

both Governor Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin warmly greeted

Lieutenant Wilkes and the United States Exploring Expedition

Wilkes dined with Governor Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin

as befitted Simpson's position, Wilkes was sumptuously entertained

and amiable relations were established

Governor Simpson pumped the American explorer's injudicious subordinates for information

Governor Simpson learned of Wilkes' intention to recommend the United States press

its claims north to 54° 40' North

this area, of course, embraced the very region where Simpson's companies

were busily putting down their newest roots

Hudson's Bay officers offered every assistance and warm hospitality to the U.S. Navy party

Dr. McLoughlin and second-in-command Chief Factor James Douglas

entertained Wilkes and his crew for the next week

long after-dinner conversations with brandy and cigars were mutually enjoyed

McLoughlin and Douglas freely provided information about the region

Wilkes was quite favorably impressed with the discipline and order maintained at the post

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET IS REUNITED WITH HIS FLATHEAD FRIENDS

In a sheltered valley, the Catholic missionaries meet Chief Big Face-- August 30, 1841

he was leading the same Flatheads people that Father De Smet had visited the year before

Once again the Catholic missionary received a very warm welcome -- this reception lasted two days

CHIEF BIG FACE MOVES HIS FLATHEAD INDIAN VILLAGE

Chief Big Face moved his whole Indian village -- during the month of September

from the Beaverhead River Valley by way of Hell's Gate (near today's Missoula, Montana)

Natives had found a good location in a valley of the Bitterroot Mountains

for their new permanent settlement and crop raising efforts

that Father De Pierre-Jean De Smet had encouraged them to develop

during his visit the year before

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF GEORGE SIMPSON VISITS THE OCEAN

After visiting the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters for a short time

Governor Simpson accompanied by Chief Factor James Douglas

paddled downriver -- September 1, 1841

Simpson made note in his journal: **"On the 1st of September my party, now strengthened by the accession of Mr. [James] Douglas, took leave on the beach of Commodore Wilkes and his officers, with mutual wishes for safety and success; and by eleven in the forenoon we were under way in a large and heavy bateau with a crew of ten men...to call at the Company's dairy.... At the dairy we**

found about a hundred [sic] cows... and there were also two or three hundred cattle that were left... under the charge of three or four families that resided on the spot....³⁸⁵

“About sunset we called at the Company’s saw and grist mills, distant six miles from the Fort, while the Company’s schooner *Cadboro*, that was lying there, honored us with a salute, which served also as a signal of our arrival to the good folks of Vancouver. Being anxious to approach headquarters [Fort Vancouver] in proper style, our men here exchanged the oar for the paddle, which, besides being more orthodox in itself, was better adapted to the quick notes of the voyageurs' song. In less than an hour afterwards, we landed on the beach, having thus crossed the continent of North America at its widest part, by a route of about five thousand miles, in the space of twelve weeks of actual traveling....”³⁸⁶

That night was again spent at Fort Vancouver

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON JOURNEYED TO COWLITZ RIVER AREA

Governor George Simpson set out from Fort Vancouver -- September 2, 1841

“...We were toiling up the Cowlitz... the current was so powerful that our rate of progress never exceeded two miles an hour.

“During the whole of our day’s course, the shores were silent and solitary, the deserted [Indian] villages forming melancholy monuments of the generation that had passed away.

“Our bateau carried as curious a muster of races and languages as perhaps had ever been congregated within the same compass in any part of the world. Our crew of ten men contained Iroquois, who spoke their own tongue; a Cree half-breed of French origins, who appeared to have borrowed his dialect from both his parents; a North Briton, who understood only the Gaelic of his native hills; Canadians, who, of course, knew French; and Sandwich Islanders, who jabbered a medley of Chinook, English, and their own vernacular jargon. Add to all this that the passengers were natives of England, Scotland, Russia, Canada and the Hudson’s Bay Company’s territories, and you have the prettiest congress of nations, the nicest confusion of tongues, that has ever taken place since the days of the Tower of Babel.”³⁸⁷

MIDSHIPMAN HENRY ELD’S EXPEDITION ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Continuing their investigation south from Grays Harbor to the Columbia River

Midshipman Eld and the eight members of his expedition reached Fort Vancouver

Eld reported the success of his expedition to Lieutenant Wilkes who was at Fort Vancouver

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES MAKES A QUICK TRIP TO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

While at Fort Vancouver, Wilkes made a side trip to the Willamette Valley -- September 1841

at this time, there were about forty Americans in the Willamette Valley

(like Naval Lieutenant William A. Slacum before him [1836])

Wilkes, as a representative of the United States Government,

found occasion to intervene in the affairs of the American colonists)

Wilkes told the American settlers in the Willamette Valley that the time

had not yet come to try to establish a civil government under the American flag

³⁸⁵ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 177.

³⁸⁶ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 176.

³⁸⁷ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 178.

Wilkes then returned to the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters at Fort Vancouver

GOVERNOR-N-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON CONTINUES ON TOWARD PUGET SOUND

Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson noted: **“Between the Cowlitz River and Puget Sound -- a distance of about sixty miles -- the country, which is watered by many streams and lakes, consists of an alternation of plains and belts of wood. It is well adapted both for tillage and for pasturage, possessing a genial climate, good soil, excellent timber, water power, natural clearings and a seaport, and that too within reach of more than one advantageous market. When this tract was explored a few years ago, the Company established two farms upon it, which were subsequently transferred to the Puget Sound Agricultural Association, formed under the Company's auspices, with the view of producing wheat, wool, hides and tallow for exportation.**

“On the Cowlitz Farm there were already about a thousand acres of land under the plough, besides a large dairy, an extensive park for horses, etc.; and the Crops of this season had amounted to eight or nine thousand bushels of wheat, four thousand of oats, with due proportions of barley, potatoes, etc. The other farm [near Fort Nisqually] was on the shores of Puget Sound, and, as its soil was found to be better fitted for pasturage than tillage, it had been appropriated almost exclusively to flocks and herds; so that now, with only two hundred acres of cultivated land, it possesses six thousand sheep, twelve hundred cattle, besides horses, pigs, etc.... The farm at Vancouver contains upward of twelve hundred acres under cultivation, which have this year produced four thousand bushels of wheat, three thousand five hundred of barley, oats, and peas, and a very large quantity of potatoes and other vegetables.... There are, moreover, fifteen hundred sheep, and between four and five hundred head of cattle.”³⁸⁸

“In addition to these two farms, there was a Catholic mission [St. Francis Xavier] with about a hundred and sixty acres under the plough. There were also a few Canadian settlers, retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company...”³⁸⁹

“Of the aborigines there are but three small tribes in the neighborhood, the Cowlitz, the Checaylis and the ‘Squally, now all quiet, inoffensive and industrious people; and as a proof of their character, they do very well as agricultural servants, thereby forming an important element in estimating the advantages of the district for settlement and cultivation.”³⁹⁰

CONGRESS PASSES THE PREEMPTION LAND ACT OF 1841

This legislation passed Congress and was signed by President John Tyler -- September 4, 1841
it replaced the land acts of [1820 and 1830]

This Act accommodated settlers who had established themselves illegally on land
before government surveyors could plat the land into claiming plots
when the land was eventually surveyed and made ready for public sale, the “squatter”
had the right to appear at the local land office and purchase up to 160 acres
of their illegal holdings for \$1.25 per acre
this would pre-empt or prevent any subsequent claims
as long as the settler could show proof of a dwelling and improvements to the land
However, in Oregon there was the added problem that the land was not “public land”

³⁸⁸ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 61.

³⁸⁹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 178-179.

³⁹⁰ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P 180.

United States government, as agreed to in the Joint Occupation Treaty, did not own the land thus land claims would remain in doubt until some nation acquired jurisdiction

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES ORGANIZES A FINAL EXPLORATION PARTY

Wilkes decided to concentrate on the little-known area of southern Oregon and northern California this expedition was placed under the command of Lieutenant George F. Emmons

Emmons would lead eighteen men from the crew of the wrecked *Peacock*

mineralogist James Dana and naturalist Titian Ramsay Peale

also were included in the expedition as were botanist William Rich

along with Artist Alfred A. Agate -- all were instructed to keep a detailed journal

traveling with the Emmons expedition was pioneer Joel Walker

who had decided to emigrate from Oregon to California with his family

local trappers and other Oregonians brought the total number to thirty-nine

about seventy-six animals were taken along

While this expedition was underway the remainder of the U.S. Ex. Ex. would complete their surveys and travel by ship to meet Lieutenant Emmons' expedition in California

LIEUTENANT GEORGE F. EMMONS RECEIVES HIS INSTRUCTIONS

According to the orders from Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes

Lieutenant Emmons was to keep his expedition armed day and night

notes and journals should be full and written clearly enough to be well understood by others

without the necessity of explanation

Lieutenant Wilkes' further instructed Emmons to:

- abandon his horses if it became too difficult to proceed;
- avoid hostile contacts with the Indians but if the expedition was attacked then the natives must not only be repulsed but punished;
- procure all possible information regarding Hudson's Bay Company forts and stations;
- gather the names of tribes, numbers, manners, customs, habits, character and disposition;
- record all incidents that may occur to the expedition;
- gather information regarding the timber, kinds and quality of soil, climate, et cetera;
- settlers en route were to be noted and inspected regarding their physical and living conditions and where they were previously from

Dr. McLoughlin, in a gesture of goodwill and kindness, provided Lieutenant Emmons a letter addressed to the Hudson's Bay Company agent in Yerba Buena (San Francisco)

asking that all assistance possible be provided to the Americans

LIEUTENANT GEORGE F. EMMONS' EXPEDITION TRAVELS UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Lieutenant Emmons departed from Fort Vancouver up the Columbia as far as the Willamette River before journeying south exploring, mapping and describing as much as possible

the Willamette and Sacramento valleys

Emmons' expedition was to rejoin the boats from the United States Exploring Expedition

at the most inland point of navigation to be found on the Sacramento River

if no such point existed Emmons was to meet the *Vincennes* at Yerba Buena (in late October)

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIMPSON AND HIS PARTY ARRIVE AT FORT NISQUALLY

Once again he wrote in his journal: **“After crossing the ‘Squally River, we arrived at Fort Nisqually on the evening of our fourth day from Fort Vancouver. Being unwilling to commence our voyage on a Sunday [September 5], we remained here for six and thirty hours inspecting the farm and dairy and visiting Dr. Richmond, an American missionary stationed in the neighborhood. The surrounding scenery is very beautiful...”**³⁹¹

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON VIEWS PUGET SOUND

He reported in his journal: **“At noon on Monday, the 6th of September, we embarked on board of the *Beaver* steamer, Captain McNeill.... Starting under a salute of seven guns, we pushed along against a strong breeze till we anchored about five in the afternoon to enable the engineer to repair some damage which the machinery had sustained; but the job being completed by nine, we then steamed on all night.**

“About seven in the morning we passed along the inner end of Fuca’s Straits, the first of the numberless inlets of this coast that was ever discovered by civilized man. The neighboring country... is well adapted for colonization, for in addition to a tolerable soil and a moderate climate, it possesses excellent harbors and abundance of timber. It will doubtless become in time the most valuable section of the whole coast above California.”³⁹²

MEMBERS OF LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS’ EXPEDITION BECOME ILL

Lieutenant Emmons’ party started south through Oregon along the banks of the Willamette River they had hardly begun when they were forced to camp for nearly five weeks almost every member of the party, including the scientists, became ill with “ague and fever” (ague in modern terms is seen as a catchall reference for a wide range of conditions including malaria, but in medical terms of the day it meant a fever with chill) Emmons’ party was delayed long enough for scientists James Dana and William Brackenridge along with Midshipmen Henry Eld and George Colvocoresses joined them Throughout their journey the scientists made new discoveries while the midshipmen carried out meteorological observations

AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS ARRIVE AT WAILATPU MISSION

Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Trader Francis Ermatinger guided thirty-two weary American pioneers on their way to Oregon to the Whitmans’ Waiilatpu Mission Narcissa Whitman made a note in her journal of that a party of immigrants passed through the rapids of the Dalles on their way to the Willamette Valley -- September 1841 Waiilatpu will be their last stop on the trail before they reach Fort Vancouver and, ultimately, the Willamette Valley

CANADIAN RED RIVER COLONISTS JOURNEY DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

At about the same time, 116 Red River (Winnipeg) colonists from Canada passed down the Columbia River on their way to settle on tenant farms belonging to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company

³⁹¹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 181.

³⁹² W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 181.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AGRICULTURE

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin notified London that sheep and cattle were en route from the south bank of the Columbia River to Nisqually Farm -- September 1841
Although the order to move these animals had been received before the arrival of Governor Simpson the effort had been delayed by (spring) floods and the need to keep herders at Fort Vancouver to work the annual (summer) harvest

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS' EXPEDITION SET OUT AGAIN TO REACH CALIFORNIA

Lieutenant Emmons' overland expedition was headed south up the Willamette River toward California -- September 7, 1841
(they almost traced the route of today's Interstate 5) to the Umpqua River their travels were beset with troubles as rugged trails, unruly horses, illness, broken scientific instruments, threatening Grizzly Bears and menacing Indians much to the dismay of the naval officers the scientists kept wandering off to investigate a variety of interesting discoveries at the same time the scientists ridiculed the navy men who continued their navy vocabulary even on dry land as they "steered east by south" and traveled at a rate of "two knots an hour"

HUDSON'S BAY POST OPENS AT YERBA BUENA (SAN FRANCISCO)

Jacob P. Leese did not give up his Yerba Buena property on Monterey Street until Hudson's Bay Company agent, Dr. John McLoughlin's son-in-law, William Glen Rae, arrived on the company ship *Cowlitz* with a large stock of goods worth at least \$10,000
Rae took possession and made use of Leese's house for a store -- September 1841
Rae successfully opened the new Hudson's Bay Company post and was the factor in charge Foods were sent from England to the Hudson's Bay Company's station on the Columbia River then transhipped to Monterey to make entry at the customhouse before going on Yerba Buena where Rae kept a large, miscellaneous assortment of English goods
Hudson's Bay Company traded in the same way that other merchants did along the coast, they sent out their little launches and schooners to collect hides and tallow and to deliver goods to locations around San Francisco Bay
Hudson's Bay Company had no large vessels trading up and down the coast

END OF THE OREGON TRAIL -- 1841-[1843]

Looking down on the Columbia River Gorge from high up (on today's Rowena Loop) where the Columbia River cuts through the Cascade Mountains can be seen for three years this was the end of the Oregon Trail as an overland route [1841-1843]
West end of the gorge was dreadfully unsuitable for a wagon road:

- Columbia River was hemmed in by steep slopes and cliffs of hard, volcanic rock,
- climate was cold, wet and windy,
- only areas that were reliably flat enough to permit wagons to pass were soggy bottomlands that were subject to seasonal flooding

Rev. Daniel Lee's Trail which resulted from driving fourteen head of cattle from the Willamette Valley to Wascopam Mission [1838] could not be traveled by wagons as it was far too difficult, dangerous and narrow here, just downriver from the Dalles, wagons were loaded on rafts or bateaux and floated down to Fort Vancouver to continue on to the Willamette Valley When -- and if -- the pioneers emerged from the Columbia River Gorge, they floated downriver to the British fur trading post at Fort Vancouver Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin was under instructions to discourage American settlers but the "Great White-Headed Eagle" as he was called by the natives could not ignore the plight of the onrushing immigrants he extended credit to many penniless pioneers, (and he was still owed thousands of dollars at the time of his death [1857]) Dr. McLoughlin encouraged the Oregon Trail travelers to head south to the Willamette Valley in part to keep American influence from spreading throughout the extensive territory claimed by Great Britain under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company but also because he had a stake in the city he founded at Willamette Falls [1829]

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON VISITS RUSSIAN-AMERICA

With U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes revelation of the American's intention to press the claim of the United States to all land north to 54° 40' North Governor Simpson hurried northward to Sitka aboard the company steamer *Beaver* to see how the Hudson's Bay Company roots were taking hold he inspected the farms, the coastal trade and the Russian transactions with the Russians

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON CHANGES LEADERSHIP AT FORT STIKINE

When he reached Fort Stikine aboard the steamer *Beaver* Governor-in-Chief Simpson removed Fort Stikine's one strong leader, Roderick Finlayson, who had been in command since the departure of William Glen Rae this arrangement left young John McLoughlin, Jr. alone in command of twenty ill-disciplined Iroquois and French-Canadian half-breeds at an isolated station surrounded by unruly Indians John, Jr. had a poor opinion of his own changes shortly after Simpson's departure he wrote pessimistically to a friend, **"I am still amongst the living of this troublesome post though report says that I am going to be dispatched to the Sandy Hills."**³⁹³

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES SURVEYS THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Using the brig USS *Porpoise* as his base of operation Lieutenant Wilkes carried out a hydrographic survey of the Columbia River from its mouth to the Cascades -- September 1841 Wilkes led the way as the expedition moved upriver -- his gig was constantly ahead of the other boats *Porpoise* and *Oregon* followed the boats upriver, occasionally running aground on one occasion, they became stuck on opposite sides of the river

³⁹³ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P 213.

Assistant Surgeon Silas Holmes, who possessed an acerbic wit, commented that the ships
“formed excellent buoys, pointing out the dangers on either side”³⁹⁴

Ships served as home bases -- crews dispatched in the ships’ boats did most of the hydrographic work
fear of malaria dictated the working schedule

“Falling damps” or night dew was the suspected source of the disease
(it is now known malaria is caused by a parasite carried by infected mosquitoes.)
survey boats did not leave the ships before 9 a.m.

before departing, surveyors put on clean and dry clothing, breakfasted
and took time to smoke

Wilkes required that the boats return at least an hour before sunset
both ships spread awnings fore and aft as shelters from nighttime moisture

Wilkes sent Lieutenant William M. Walker with four boats to conduct upriver charting
as far as the falls of The Cascades Rapids -- about 160 to 165 miles from the river’s mouth
Lieutenant Oliver Hazard Perry took four more boats to survey the Willamette River up to the falls
when sailors left a campfire unattended below Mount Coffin (east of today’s Albany, Oregon)
it set fire to trees where Indians had placed their dead in canoes

Wilkes attempted to placate the Chinooks with presents,
explaining that the conflagration was an accident
(later Wilkes said that there probably would have been trouble,
were the Indians not so weakened by malaria and smallpox)

Lieutenant Perry concluded that sea-going vessels should go no farther than Fort Vancouver
where the Columbia River was at least fourteen feet deep at all seasons

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS’ EXPEDITION REACHES OREGON’S UMPQUA RIVER

Continuing south across Oregon, Naval Lieutenant Emmons and his thirty-nine-member party
arrived where the south fork of the Umpqua River turned east -- late September
they continued southeast along the Oregon-California Trail toward the Siskiyou Mountains
Members of the expedition were still traveling in southern Oregon as they reached the region
surrounding the Klamath River (south of present-day Ashland, Oregon)
they were still miles from the Sacramento River where it was anticipated
Emmons’ expedition would be meeting the *Vincennes*
sometime (during the last of September)

FLATHEAD VILLAGE RESETTLED

Big Face’s village had been moved to the Bitterroot Valley as had been suggested by Father De Smet
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet together with his fellow Jesuit missionaries
Fathers Gregory Mengarini and Nicolas Point,
and three Lay Brothers, Charles Duet, Brother Joseph Specht and Willem Claessens
arrived in the Bitterroot Valley
on the east bank of the Bitterroot River -- September 24, 1841
they carried with them their belongings and supplies in three carts and a wagon
these were the first vehicles to enter the region

³⁹⁴ William S. Hanable, *United States Exploring Expedition Surveys the Columbia River during August and September 1841*, Essay 5625, *HistoryLink.org*, December 12, 2003.

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS' EXPEDITION REACHES OREGON'S KLAMATH RIVER

Camp was made on the north bank of the Klamath River by thirty-nine members of Emmons' party here light-colored salmon were abundant -- but it was noted they were not good tasting they were in geological terrain that was exciting to mineralogist James Dwight Dana as the party moved south between Cascade Mountain volcanoes Crossing the Klamath River the men spent five hours traveling south across a broad, undulating prairie with a stupendous mountain Dana named "Shasty Peak" (Mount Shasta) ahead artist Alfred A. Agate took time to sketch the imposing peak

ST. MARY'S MISSION IS ESTABLISHED IN THE VALLEY OF THE BITTERROOT MOUNTAINS

Jesuit priests Fathers Pierre De Smet, Nicolas Point, Gregory Mengarini, along with Brothers Charles Duet, Joseph Specht, and William Claessens brought the first two-wheeled carts (into what would become Montana) Father De Smet thought this location along the Bitterroot River would be a good place to build a permanent Catholic mission they constructed a huge cross in honor of Our Lady of Mercy in a beautiful, elevated spot in the shadow of St. Mary's Peak of the Bitterroot Mountains (by today's Stevensville, Montana) -- September 29, 1841 this symbolic gesture noted the creation of the first Jesuit Rocky Mountain Mission they laid the foundation for the first white settlement (in what was to become Montana) In the neighborhood of St. Mary's Mission other Indian families set up their winter camp among them are Pend O'reille, Nez Perce, Kalispel, Kootenai and Coeur d'Alene bands -- even some Blackfoot families Catholic priests Nicolas Point and Gregory Mengarini and Lay Brothers Charles Duet, Joseph Specht and Willem Claessens baptized hundreds of Flatheads and Pend O'reilles

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS' PARTY REACHES THE SISKIYOU MOUNTAINS

Naval Lieutenant Emmons led his expedition into the Siskiyou Mountains -- September 30, 1841 they traveled south along the Siskiyou Trail and recorded the first scientific notes regarding northern California and Shasty Peak as the mountain became lost in the haze of Indian fires

LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES RETURNS TO FORT VANCOUVER

On the return trip down the Columbia River Wilkes became ill but continued to work *Porpoise* and *Oregon* reached the mouth of the Columbia -- September 30, 1841 they were joined by the *Flying Fish* which had served as tender for the *Peacock* Lieutenant Wilkes informed Hudson's Bay Company Governor-in-Chief Simpson that he intended to recommend the United States claim the Oregon as far north as 54°40 north (approximately today's southern boundary of Alaska) (Wilkes intentions probably influenced Hudson's Bay Company officials to remove accumulated stores at Fort Vancouver to a new post Sir George later wrote to the British Foreign Office informing them

the land south of the Columbia was not worth contesting

he recommended Great Britain should not **“consent to any boundary which would give the United States any portion of the Territory north of the Columbia; as any boundary north of that stream would deprive Great Britain of the only valuable part of the territory, the country to the northward of the Straits of De Fuca not being adapted for agriculture, or other purposes connected with colonization.”**³⁹⁵⁾

ST. MARY’S MISSION ON THE BITTERROOT RIVER ACHIEVES GREAT SUCCESS

Construction was begun by Father Pierre-Jean De Smet along the Bitterroot River

this was the first Catholic mission to serve the Indians of the Rocky Mountains -- October 1841

Father De Smet Nicolas Point and Gregory Mengarini along with Lay Brothers Charles Duet,

Joseph Specht and Willem Claessens worked with the unspoiled tribes of the interior

Father Point became immersed in the responsibilities of establishing a mission

he genuinely loved the natives and was very happy working among the Flatheads

Catholic missionaries tailored their expectations to meet the capacities of the people

they demanded only the simplest expressions of faith

within the first two months, 600 men, women and children had been baptized

by Fathers Pierre-Jean De Smet, Nicolas Point and Gregory Mengarini

including the chiefs of the Flatheads and Pend d’Oreilles

Father De Smet wrote: **“A band of Spokanes received me with every demonstration of friendship and were enchanted to hear that the right kind of Black-robos intended soon to form an establishment in the vicinity. I baptized one of their little children who way dying.**

It was in these parts that in 1836 a modern Iconoclast named [Rev. Samuel] Parker broke down a cross erected over the grave of a child by some Catholic Iroquois, telling us emphatically in the narrative of his journey that he did not wish to leave in that country an emblem of idolatry. Poor man! -- not to know better in this enlightened age! Were he to return to these mountains he would hear the praises of the holy name of Jesus resounding among them; he would hear the Catholics chanting the love and mercies of God from the rivers, lakes, mountains, prairies, forests and coasts of the Columbia....Were he who destroyed that solitary, humble cross now to return, he would find the image of Jesus Christ crucified borne on the breast of more than 4,000 Indians; and the smallest child would say to him: ‘Mr. Parker, we do not adore the cross; do not break it because it reminds us of Jesus Christ who died on the cross to save us -- we adore God alone.’”³⁹⁶

Before (winter) set in, a small chapel was completed

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS’ PARTY IS ATTACKED BY INDIANS

Emmons expedition following the Siskiyou Trail crossed (Shasta Valley)

they passed through a mixed coniferous forest on the west side of Shasty Peak-- October 3, 1841

Emmons’ expedition suddenly was set upon by a group of Indians

while on the run botanist William Dunlop Brackenridge grabbed

what he considered the trip’s most exciting find

³⁹⁵ Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington, West of the Cascades: Historical and Descriptive*, P. 92-92.

³⁹⁶ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 188. Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington, West of the Cascades: Historical and Descriptive*, P. 92-92.

a handful of three-foot long weird-looking leaves and a long seed stalk (cobra lily)
was added to the botanical collection
(later this plant became known as *Darlingtonia californica*)

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS' EXPEDITION CONTINUES ALONG THE SISKIYOU TRAIL

Camp was made (in today's Castle Grags State Park) -- October 4, 1841
although lead botanist William Rich was too ill to care
botanist Brackenridge collected forty different species of plants
while zoologist Titan Ramsay Peale discovered animals and birds unfamiliar to him
mineralogist James Dwight Dana filled his field book with complicated geological notes
describing the nearby mountains, ridges and canyons

For the next week the expedition traversed old mountains
whose slopes were covered by coniferous forests
during the trying trek pack horses fell into creeks
and soaked supplies of sugar, tea and gunpowder
while the dramatic geologic scenery amazed Dana

Lieutenant Emmons followed the Siskiyou Trail
as they emerged from the mountains they encountered Shaste (Shasta) Indians
who were friendly and eager for trade
when artist Alfred Agate tried to draw portraits of them, they believed he was a medicine man
who was trying to place a spell on them

Emmons' men soon reached the head of the Dangerous River which fed into the Sacramento River
they generally followed the Sacramento south to their rendezvous point
veering east only when the terrain was easier

RED RIVER SETTLERS ARRIVE AT FORT WALLA WALLA

After leaving Fort Colville and traveling down the Columbia River by boat
the Red River migration arrived at Fort Walla Walla -- October 4, 1841

MAIN BODY OF RED RIVER (WINNIPEG) SETTLERS ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

This attempt to begin a British colony in the Pacific Northwest
was composed of 116 Canadian men, women, and children in twenty-one families
Chief Factor James Douglas took charge of the Canadians
while Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson was in Russian-America
he led a small number of the Red River colonists to a possible site for their new homes
location where he chose to settle them at Nisqually was a majestic spot
featuring the breath-taking beauty of mounts St. Helens and Rainier
shown grandly above the pine forests of the nearby foot hills

MOST OF THE RED RIVER SETTLERS REMAIN AT FORT VANCOUVER

Although Chief Factor James Douglas had already selected a settlement location at Nisqually
and had shown it to an advance party of colonists
main contingent of French-Canadian families waited at Fort Vancouver for several weeks
while Chief Factor John McLoughlin completed arrangements

for them to journey north of Columbia River to settle

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES SAILS FROM FORT VANCOUVER

Taking on supplies United States Exploring Expedition left Fort Vancouver -- October 9, 1841
to sail south to California's Yerba Buena where the *Vincennes* was to be met
along with the men of Naval Lieutenant George Emmons' expedition
then continuing on to Hawaii, the Philippines and Singapore
before continuing around Cape of Good Hope and across the Atlantic to New York
Lieutenant Wilkes became ill but continued to work

U.S. Exploring Expedition stopped to investigate the Cowlitz River
after surveying sixteen miles up the Cowlitz, Wilkes began his return trip to the Columbia
on the way back to the *Porpoise* Wilkes' gig hit a snag with such an impact
two of the boat's crew were knocked down while low-hanging branches
ensnared and nearly strangled the expedition's commander nearly ending his life
Porpoise and *Oregon* reached the mouth of the Columbia River where they joined the *Flying Fish*

RED RIVER COLONISTS WERE DIVIDED INTO TWO GROUPS

According to Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin's plan
fourteen Red River Valley Canadian families composed of seventy-eight people
were sent to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's Nisqually Farm
thirty-eight people in seven families moved to Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farm
on the Cowlitz River

Generous terms for the immigrant Canadian settlers had been arranged by Dr. McLoughlin
these included plows and other farming tools, loans of pigs, cattle and working oxen,
and the loan of seed for cultivation

RED RIVER VALLEY COLONISTS ARE NOT HAPPY WITH THEIR NEW ARRANGEMENTS

Canadian colonists at Nisqually Farm and Cowlitz Farm were not happy with their prospects
McLoughlin's proposal did not allow for them to purchase of land -- but only to lease the land
they were to farm on half shares for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company:
they could keep one-half of any increase in livestock or agricultural produce
and Puget's Sound Agricultural Company would take the remaining half
if they moved across the Columbia River to the south side they could take out a squatter's claim
as the Americans were doing in the Willamette Valley
this was much more appealing

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS' EXPEDITON ENTERS THE SACRAMENTO VALLEY

Several hours after leaving camp with the mountainous country behind them
the members of the expedition looked across gravel slopes of oak trees
and rough, jagged, scraggly bushes into the broad Sacramento Valley
with volcanic Mount Lassen and the snow-crested Sierra Mountains
to the east -- October 10, 1841
there were numerous very friendly Indians in the countryside
who were busy gathering and drying acorns

Continuing south across the green countryside through open groves of oak
they were astonished by the abundance of game
elk, Pronghorn sheep, Black-tailed deer, wolves, Grizzly Bears
and beaver activity on the side creeks were seen
California Condors, Turkey Vultures, Common Ravens, flocks of Red-winged Blackbirds,
Great Blue Herons, Great and Snowy egrets, Sandhill Cranes, Mallards and other ducks,
Double-breasted Cormorants and curlews were present in great numbers

CONCERNS OF AMERICAN RESIDENTS IN OREGON GROW

Americans worried that if the Puget Sound Agricultural Company became self-sufficient
as a result of the Red River colonists and Hudson's Bay Company no longer needed
American wheat to fulfill its Russian contracts
and if Chief Factor John McLoughlin ever decided, for whatever reason,
not to sell them ammunition or cloth or hardware,
as he was already declining to sell livestock,
then what then would the Americans do?

ADDITIONAL AMERICAN TRAVELERS TO OREGON LEAVE FORT HALL

Twenty-four settlers who had followed in the wake of the Bartleson-Bidwell Wagon Train
they trickled through Waiilatpu on their way to the Willamette Valley by mid- October 1841
Narcissa Whitman wrote in a letter to her parents: **"Doubtless every year will bring more &
more into this country.... These emigrants are nearly destitute of every kind of food when they
arrive here we are under the necessity of giving them provisions to help them on. Our little place is
a resting spot for many a weary, way-worn traveler and will be as long as we live here. If we can do
good that way, perhaps it is as important as some other things we are doing."**³⁹⁷
Mary Ann Bridger, the six-year-old daughter of Mountain Man Jim Bridger
came to live with the Whitmans sometime in 1841 (perhaps with this group)
Whitman's mission will be their last stop on the overland route before they reach Fort Vancouver
ultimately they will dissolve into the Willamette Valley with scarcely a ripple

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS' EXPEDITION REACHES THE SACRAMENTO RIVER

Emmons' expedition crossed the Feather River just above its confluence with the Sacramento River
here they almost lost their guide to quicksand -- October 18, 1841
Human bones strewn in all directions marked the site of an Indian village
where some fifteen hundred Indians had died of an epidemic [summer 1833]

LIEUTENANT EMMONS PARTY ARRIVES AT NEW HELVETIA

George Emmons' expedition crossed the American River
they reached Captain John Sutter's New Helvetia settlement -- October 19, 1841
this was a thriving agricultural settlement on the American River
George Emmons and his party dined with Captain John Sutter who since his arrival [1839]
held a Spanish appointment as governor of the district

³⁹⁷ Transactions of the Fifteenth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1887, Portland Oregon, Volumes 15-19.

Sutter claimed “supreme power” over the land
Sutter had just recently purchased the Russians’ Fort Ross north of San Francisco
(Later, the surveying data gathered by the expedition would be useful to prospectors
making their way to the California central valley in search of gold)

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES ARRIVES IN SAN FRANCISCO BAY

Lieutenant Wilkes sailed the *Porpoise* into San Francisco Bay -- October 19, 1841
(newly acquired *Oregon* appeared a few days later)
With the arrival of Wilkes all onshore and shipboard frivolities among the *Vincennes* crew ended
survey work was begun as a map of “Upper California”
and the waters entering the bay was drawn
while the remainder of Lieutenant Emmons’ Expedition was making its way to the ships
Wilkes took exception to the survey of San Pablo Bay
done by Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold’s
Ringgold’s crew was sent out again for nine days in the *Vincennes*’ launch
to repeat the survey

LIEUTENANT GEORGE EMMONS PARTY SPLITS UP AT NEW HELVETIA

Lieutenant George Emmons, assistant surgeon Dr. John Whittle who was sick
and artist Alfred A. Agate were able to leave Captain John Sutter’s settlement
in the boat of an American who had some Indian trappers with him -- October 21, 1841
traveling down the Sacramento River they encountered the launch from USS *Vincennes*
carrying Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold and his survey party
they boarded the launch for the remainder of the trip to Yerba Buena (San Francisco)
(they reached the *Vincennes* at Whaler’s Harbor tired, dirty and bearded [October 24])

THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF LIEUTENANT EMMONS’ EXPEDITION SET OUT OVERLAND

Naval Lieutenant George Emmons’ overland party left Sutters’ Fort
led by Spanish guide named Romero -- about noon October 21, 1841
their route was strait down the San Joaquin Valley in warm, dry weather
Expedition members included Midshipman Henry Eld and Midshipman George Musolas Colvocoresses,
botanist William Rich, who was now feeling better, and naturalist Titian Ramsay Peale
botanist William Brackenridge decided to accompany the land party rather than travel by boat
because he would travel through a landscape never before seen by naturalists

WILKES OVERLAND EXPEDITION CONTINUES ACROSS THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

While crossing a rapid stream naturalist Titian Ramsay Peale spotted the largest grizzly track
he had seen during the entire trip -- October 22, 1841
Mineralogist James Dwight Dana was intrigued by the bluffs of alternating soft sandstone and clay
at (Carquinez Strait where Interstate 80 crossed the Sacramento River today)
studying the layers of rock ranging from one inch to four feet thick
dipping at an angle from thirty-five degrees to sixty-five degrees
Dana remarked that this was an area of numerous faults
(in fact, the Calaveras Fault crosses here)

Thirty-two miles were made on this second day -- October 22, 1841
that night Peale added a raccoon and a coyote to his collection
as well as a few of the hundreds of Mallards populating many small ponds around the camp

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON RETURNS TO COLUMBIA DISTRICT

Governor Simpson returned to Fort Vancouver from his visit to Russian-America -- October 22, 1841
Simpson believed Hudson's Bay Company would maintain control of the Columbia District
as he noted: **"The United States will never possess more than a nominal jurisdiction, nor**

long possess even that, on the west side of the Rocky Mountains. On behalf of England, direct arguments are superfluous; for, until some other power puts a good title on paper, actual possession must be held to be of itself conclusive in her favor."³⁹⁸

Governor Simpson had determined the future of the entire Pacific Northwest in his own mind
for years Simpson had argued that the coastal trade should be by ship
signing contracts with the Russians seemed to favor Simpson's plan to use vessels
instead of forts and trading posts

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF GEORGE SIMPSON CHANGES HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POLICY

Simpson decided to close all the coastal posts except Fort Simpson
and to rely on the *Beaver* for coastal trade as American competition had virtually disappeared
Abruptly, Sir George swept aside plans to rely on trading forts and posts
during his trip to Sitka (Alaska) the governor had become convinced that the country
between the Alaskan panhandle and the Rocky Mountains was not as extensive as supposed
ships calling at the annual salmon-catching fairs of the natives
would be adequate, in his opinion, to handle the trade
peremptorily, Governor Simpson ordered Chief Factor McLoughlin to cancel all preparations
for additional posts and to start abandoning those already established

Nor was that all the governor demanded

Simpson had long felt that Fort Vancouver's position on the Columbia was too exposed for safety
on his way north to Sitka Simpson had taken time to investigate a substitute site
on the southern tip of Vancouver Island

that was first discovered by the captain of a company ship
this location was later highly praised by James Douglas as it offered a fine harbor,
open fields and readily available timber

Governor Simpson noted: **"It will,"** Simpson wrote the committee, **"doubtless become, in time, the most valuable section of the whole coast above California"** ³⁹⁹

Governor Simpson directed McLoughlin to locate a new post on the site
but this was to be not a mere coastal trading stockade but a fort
that would be designed to supersede the great bastion of Fort Vancouver itself

Chief Factor McLoughlin did not agree

he deeply resented the fact that he had not been consulted
Simpson consented that Fort Stikine be maintained

³⁹⁸ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 61.

³⁹⁹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 211.

CHIEF FACTOR DR. McLOUGHLIN SUPPORTS THE ORIGINAL COMPANY TRADING POLICY

Dr. McLoughlin was convinced that trade should be handled by additional forts and trading posts
ships were vulnerable to loss at sea and susceptible to harassment and problems with the Indians
crews had to be well trained and skilled -- they were expensive and unreliable
To Dr. McLoughlin, Governor Simpson's directives were repudiation of nearly twenty years' struggle
to make Fort Vancouver the paramount power of the Pacific Northwest
and to extend the power of Hudson's Bay Company so commanding to the north
that American ships would scarcely dare to risk competing anywhere in the region
not for thirteen years had Governor-in-Chief Simpson set foot in the Columbia District
moreover, Simpson had not even bothered to consult McLoughlin about the changes
although McLoughlin would be responsible for their success or failure
it was a bitter insult
on the strength of one characteristically headlong trip
Simpson presumed to wave aside the painfully garnered experience
of the fort's veterans and substitute his own impulsive plans instead

OVERLAND EXPEDITION SUCCESSFULLY CROSSES THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Thirteen-man expedition completed crossing the San Joaquin River -- 11:00 a.m., October 25, 1841
their Spanish guide called a halt for the day at a large lagoon filled with ducks and geese
along the shore were Sandhill Cranes and Pronghorn sheep
he warned that the west side of the San Joaquin Valley would be a very long journey
without water or grass
Midshipman Henry Eld using what limited power he possessed to command the group
disregarded the guide's advice -- he ordered the men to push on
after more than ten hours they finally reached the cold foothills
at the edge of an impenetrable swamp
they had traveled about thirty miles without water, wood, or grass for the horses
they saw only one desolate person all during their trek

GOVERNOR SIMPSON AND CHIEF FACTOR McLOUGHLIN STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL

Governor-in-Chief Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin were in complete disagreement
about how the Columbia District should be administered
McLoughlin noted the Red River migration showed immigrants could reach the Columbia District
and Americans were even more inclined to attempt the journey than were French-Canadians
Simpson argued the Chief Factor encouraged the potential American invasion as he was too friendly
he accused Dr. McLoughlin of losing the Willamette Valley for the Hudson's Bay Company
by feeding and clothing the missionaries and settlers
and generally treating them as human beings

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SETS OUT TO BUY PROVISIONS

Father De Smet left St. Mary's Mission with ten Flathead braves -- October 28, 1841
to visit Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Colville on the Columbia River just above the Kettle Falls
approximately 125 miles to the west
his purpose for this trip was to buy extra provisions for the winter and spring

food, clothing, sowing-seed, tools, agricultural implements, cattle and other working animals were urgently need by the Jesuit missionaries as was his custom, Father De Smet evangelized along the way this trip focused his attention on the Kalispels and Pend d'Oreille Indians Because his time was limited on this trip he devised a unique method of instruction:

“With the help of his interpreter he translated into Indian the Lord’s Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Ten Commandments, with the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Contrition. He then made his Indian pupils stand in a circle, insisting that they should always take the same places. When they were thus arranged, he would teach to one the First Commandment, to another the Second, and so on. As to prayers he made each one learn by memory a different sentence of the same prayer, so that, everyone reciting what he had memorized, the whole would be rendered. This took him about three days, and all, young and old, soon knew the commandments and the prayers by heart.”⁴⁰⁰

OVERLAND EXPEDITION NOW LED BY MIDSHIPMAN ELD ARRIVES IN YERBA BUENA

Thirteen men of the overland expedition now led by Midshipman Henry Eld continued south they arrived at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) wearing buckskins -- October 28, 1841 they were unshaven and dirty after many days of travel everyone in the village had the impression they were a party of trappers Eld recorded that one man persisted in speaking Spanish to him and refused to believe he was an American After their arrival their faithful horses were sold at a public auction -- a painful scene for the travelers

WILKES EXPEDITION SAILED FROM YERBA BUENA

United States Exploring Expedition set sail from San Francisco Bay -- October 31, 1841 loss of the *Peacock* and the addition of *Oregon* made it necessary to reorganize officers, crewmen and scientists artist Alfred Agate found himself assigned to the *Vincennes* Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes sailed for Hawaii in order to acquire supplies to replace those lost with the *Peacock*

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET RECEIVES A LETTER FROM DR. McLOUGHLIN

Father De Smet and his ten Flathead Indian traveling companions continued on their way toward Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Colville While resting in a Kalispel Indian camp eight Indians in two canoes emerged from Flathead Lake -- Sunday November 9, 1841 one of them was Charles, the Flathead interpreter De Smet had used the previous year Charles was now employed by the Hudson’s Bay Company his little party brought a message from Dr. John McLoughlin dated the (end of September), written in response to Father De Smet’s letter to the Chief Factor McLoughlin invited the priest to visit at Fort Vancouver Charles continued toward St. Mary’s Mission on the Bitterroot River

⁴⁰⁰ L.B. Palladino, S.J., *Indians and Whites in Northwest*, P. 46.

and Father De Smet resumed his travels toward Fort Colville

GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE SIMPSON ATTEMPTS TO INTIMIDATE DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Governor-in-Chief Simpson accused McLoughlin of losing the Willamette valley for the Company by feeding and clothing the missionaries and settlers and generally treating them as human beings. However, the governor found he could neither frighten his subordinate Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin nor impress him with his position. Dr. McLoughlin reminded Governor Simpson the Treaty of Joint Occupation gave American missionaries and settlers on the Columbia River the same rights as British fur traders and even British governors. Still, Simpson was boss.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY LEADERS CONTINUE ON TO HAWAII

Imperious and stubborn though Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin could be even toward his boss, McLoughlin seemed to have swallowed his wrath toward Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson at least for the time being. Governor Simpson, the Chief Factor and his metis daughter Eloise all sailed on the *Cowlitz* to San Francisco Bay to inspect the company's newest post, Yerba Buena (San Francisco) that had been placed in the charge of William Glen Rae, McLoughlin's erratic son-in-law and Eloise's husband.

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES AT FORT COLVILLE

After leaving Flathead Lake, Father De Smet and his ten native traveling companions stopped in another Kalispel village before they reached Fort Colville -- November 15, 1841. As usual, Father De Smet was made to feel very welcome by Archibald McDonald, who was the Hudson's Bay Company person in charge. Father De Smet was informed that he could buy some of the much-needed provisions such as seeds but there were not any cattle for sale.

UNITED STATES EXPLORATION EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN HAWAII

Wilkes' squadron arrived in Hawaii -- November 17, 1841 and stayed for only ten days. During this time they saw their first Japanese people and artist Alfred A. Agate made sketches. On leaving Hawaii, *Vincennes* and *Flying Fish* went in search of Strong's Island and the Ascension Islands, which Wilkes believed it was particularly important to locate. Wilkes sent *Porpoise* and *Oregon* to investigate the currents off the coast of Japan, which he believed would be similar to the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic Ocean, and continued to Wake Island, the Philippines, Sulu Archipelago, Borneo, and Singapore. (Wilkes' squadron would rendezvous in Singapore before continuing their homeward voyage, visiting Polynesia and the Cape of Good Hope.) At the conclusion of their four-year expedition, Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes and his crew had explored 280 islands, mostly in the Pacific Ocean, and over 800 miles of Oregon had been mapped. Of no less importance, a staggering amount of data and specimens were collected.

over 60,000 plant and bird specimens were collected during the expedition
including seeds of 648 species and 254 live plants gathered at the end of the journey)

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOWS INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Federal government finally gave a response to the settlers' "Oregon Memorial"

Philip L. Edwards' Petition of [1838] -- the first petition sent to Congress

President John Tyler gave a speech opening the new Session of Congress -- December 6, 1841

he stated he supported a plan for a chain of army posts from Council Bluffs to the Pacific Ocean

Congress ignored the presidential request

Secretary of State Daniel Webster

represented the principles of the conservative elements of the New England seaboard

he was inclined to yield to Great Britain in regard to the Pacific Northwest

he supported the lack of attention to the Pacific Northwest by Congress

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET RETURNS TO ST. MARY'S MISSION

Priest, accompanied by his entourage of ten Flathead braves, retraced their steps using the same road
forty-two days later Father De Smet returned safe and sound to his post

St. Mary's Mission on the Bitterroot River -- December 8, 1841

there a difficult winter was spent among the Flathead Indians as supplies again ran low

RED RIVER COLONISTS MOVE TO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Most of the Red River settlers chose to move south of the Columbia River to Oregon for free land
soon only two or three Canadian families remained at the Puget Sound Agricultural farms

Cowlitz Farm was abandoned by the new colonists

American pioneers led by Rev. Jason Lee's Great Reinforcement

quickly dominated the area around Nisqually Farm and Cowlitz Farm

KAMIAH MISSION IS CLOSED

Kamiah Mission was a failure from the start through no fault of the missionaries

although it was located among the Nez Perce Indians

it was too close to Flathead and Iroquois Indians

who wanted Catholic priests to teach them rather than accept protestants

Protestant missionaries formally dissolved the mission and became settlers -- end of December 1841

Rev. Philo B. Littlejohn and his wife Adeline returned to Lapwai Mission

to continue to assist Rev. Spalding

Alvin T. Smith, his wife Abigail moved to the Willamette Valley to farm

Rev. Harvey L. Clark moved to the Tualatin Plains where he started a missionary school

just north the Tualatin Plains (in what is now Forest Grove, Oregon)

Kamiah Mission had been maintained for only two years

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY LEADERS AT YERBA BUENA (SAN FRANCISCO)

Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson, Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

and his daughter Eloise, wife of Yerba Buena factor William Glen Rae

arrived at the Company's California post -- December 30, 1841

Eloise kept house and entertained the important personages

who called upon her handsome, mannerly, hard-drinking husband

After the Hudson's Bay Company leaders reached Yerba Buena, Simpson noted in his journal: **"Mrs. Rae describes the company's house as about thirty by eighty feet with a big hall in the middle, on one side of which was the store and on the other the dwelling, with a dining room and sitting room in front and in back, four bed rooms, and a kitchen back of all. Davis says that Rae and Spear were the chief entertainers, there being no hotels. Rae was a Scotsman of fine presence, a *bon-vivant* and hard drinker, but subject to periods of great depression. He disliked Americans and, it is said, boasted when in his cups that 'it had cost the company seventy-five thousand pounds to drive the Yankee traders from the Columbia and that they would drive them from California if it cost a million.'** The large capital of the Hudson's Bay company gave them an advantage over the traders in Yerba Buena but the business did not prosper under Rae's management."

SPOKANE INDIANS AT TSHIMAKAIN MISSION BECAME APATHETIC

Message of Christian charity and forgiveness delivered by the Protestant missionaries seemed to have little impact on the native people -- winter 1841

Rev. Cushing Eells rode hundreds of miles to reach different bands of natives

leaving his wife Myra and six-month-old son Edwin to maintain Tshimakain Mission all to little avail as attendance at schools fell off

Indians resumed their dances, incantations and gambling

Rev. Elkanah and Mary Walker and Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells at Tshimakain Mission looked on -- reproachful and distressed

SPOKANE GARRY RETURNS TO HIS FORMER LIFESTYLE

Spokane Garry suffered from lack of encouragement and support for his missionary work

which had not been provided by either Hudson's Bay Company or the American missionaries

old Indian people refused his ideas -- young Indian people ridiculed him

many Indians converted to the Catholic faith in spite of his Garry's efforts

Governor Sir George Simpson found Garry living on the Columbia Plateau

had reverted "to the tepee"

he was "unkept and unclean, his hands full of filthy gambling cards"

MISSOURI U.S. SENATOR LEWIS F. LINN PROPOSES OREGON TERRITORY BE CREATED

United States Government anticipated increasing numbers of settlers migrating west

Rev. David Leslie's second [1840] Petition to Congress was delivered by Thomas J. Farnham to Missouri's junior Democratic U.S. Senator Lewis F. Linn

in response Senator Linn proposed Oregon Territory be created by Congress

in the region South of 49° North latitude -- January 2, 1842

Senator Linn's proposed legislation went beyond his earlier [1841] proposal

to occupy, settle and extend certain American laws in the Pacific Northwest

Senator Linn proposed eligible American male immigrants over eighteen years of age

could claim one Section (640 Acres) of public land free of charge

prospects for passage of the Linn Bill were so favorable, emigrants began gathering

along Missouri River to come West for free land

DR. ELIJAH WHITE RECEIVES A UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT

Dr. Elijah White was busily occupied in the United States reporting his complaints regarding Rev. Jason Lee to the Methodist Mission Society and providing inaccurate and unbecoming tales about Hudson's Bay Company to congress. As a result of his reports Dr. White was appointed by the Indian Bureau to the position of "sub-Indian Agent for Oregon" he was instructed to take with him as many emigrants as could be gathered for the journey west where he would become the first resident United States official to reside on the Pacific Coast (although he was never confirmed by Congress)

SIMPSON AND McLOUGHLIN CONTINUE THEIR INSPECTION TOUR IN CALIFORNIA

Hudson's Bay Company's Governor Sir George Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin visiting their company post at Yerba Buena operated by William Glen Rae. Dr. McLoughlin's son-in-law Governor-in-Chief Simpson again announced he was opposed to Chief Factor McLoughlin's plan to expand the Hudson's Bay Company's presence in California:

- Mexican red tape exasperated him,
- California beaver prospects were disheartening,
- Simpson did not like the location of the Yerba Buena post

Brusquely Simpson directed McLoughlin to wind up the California business within two years. Simpson set out to visit Vallejo at Sonoma and was warmly entertained at Monterey and Santa Barbara

MISSOURI U.S. SENATOR THOMAS HART BENTON JOINS IN SENATOR LINN'S PROPOSAL

Addressing the dispute with Great Britain in the Senate -- January 12, 1842

Missouri's senior Democratic U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton stated: **"They [the British] have crossed the 49th degree, come down upon the Columbia, taken possession of it from the head to the mouth, fortified it and colonized it, monopolized the fur trade, driven all our traders across the mountain, killed more than a thousand of them [by instigating the Indians] ... Peace is our policy. War is the policy of England, and war with us is now her favorite policy. Let it come rather than dishonor!"**⁴⁰¹

REV. JASON PLANS A NEW SCHOOL FOR MISSIONARY CHILDREN AT CHEMEKETA

Rev. Jason Lee's new Methodist mission was still under construction at Chemeketa (Salem, Oregon) preaching was conducted at the Chemeketa home of Rev. Jason and Lucy Lee. Members of the community of Chemeketa began to discuss the merits of developing a school specifically for the children of missionaries. Rev. Jason Lee held a meeting at his home -- January 17, 1842 it was decided that action should be taken to establish a new school

EVANGICAL UNITED BRETHERN CHURCH OPENS IN CHEMETEKA

⁴⁰¹ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 144.

Evangelical United Brethren Church congregation met for services in a room at the Oregon Institute
Methodist mission families subscribed funds privately
to establish the Oregon Institute to provide education for their children -- 1842

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES BECOME INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED

American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions missionaries under Dr. Marcus Whitman
faced a great deal of frustration in dealing with the native peoples
internal squabbles and conflicts only enhanced the loneliness of life on the frontier
among people unlike themselves;
Methodist missionaries under Rev. Jason Lee were frustrated by the high Indian death rate
efforts to convert the Indians to Christianity by these missionaries usually resulted in failure
disheartened and disgruntled Methodist missionaries wrote home to the Mission Society
complaining of Jason Lee's leadership
financial accusations were leveled against Lee
he was too focused on cattle speculation and ignored missionary and native needs
he requested too large a salary
he failed to fully report financial transactions and accounts
this frustration combined by the rivalry between Jason Lee and Dr. Elijah White
led many of the Methodists to turn more and more to farming

AMERICAN GEORGE ABERNATHY IS A SUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN

George Abernathy retained an adjacent narrow strip of land (Green Point) next to McLoughlin's land
Abernathy distributed goods among the Methodist missionaries and other settlers
by extending credit and negotiating bartering exchanges of goods and crops
due to the lack of circulating currency he invented and "Abernathy rocks" for making change
these were pieces of flint inscribed with his initials
backed by his high standing in the community
Abernathy also led the way in building a gristmill and sawmill
that could supply goods needed for barter
and supervised the Methodist missionaries' granary
Abernathy took a piece of land along the northern edge of Dr. John McLoughlin's property
(later he became a leading businessman in Oregon and its local governor)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST REMAINS UNDER HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONTROL

It was customary for American settlers to seek the advice of Hudson's Bay Company
regarding the best place to locate
British government hoped to establish the international boundary along the Columbia River
Willamette Valley was always pointed out to immigrants as the most desirable location
as yet, no Americans had settled North of Columbia River

AMERICANS IN OREGON ARE ILL AT EASE WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT

Robert "Doc" Newell dated his own interest in forming a local government from 1842
when Rev. Jason Lee led the drive for a government independent of Hudson's Bay Company
Robert "Doc" Newell and Joe Meek had become substantial residents

they were eager to exercise their leadership
On the Tualatin Plain where both Newell and Meek lived
an Indian took all of the possessions from the household of one of the Protestant missionaries
Newell had piloted from the Green River to Fort Hall [in 1840]
with Joe Meek, Caleb Wilkins and others
Newell caught and punished the offender
This incident led Doc Newell to ponder the need for law and the machinery to enforce it in
he became involved in the push for (an American) government
Newell's motives also may have owed as much to a shrewd assessment of economic possibilities
that could become available under the new regime

AMERICANS CONTINUE TO AGITATE FOR A LOCAL MEETING TO DISCUSS LEADERSHIP

Americans invited the French-Canadians to unite with them in organizing a temporary government
to provide law and order south of the Columbia River
This idea was opposed by British Hudson's Bay Company and Catholic influences
822 British subjects remained passive
as they were apprehensive that it might interfere with their allegiance to the British

SIMPSON AND McLOUGHLIN INSPECT THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS OPERATION

From Yerba Buena (San Francisco), California the badly strained party composed of
Hudson's Bay Company Governor Sir George Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
sailed to inspect the company's store and warehouses at Honolulu
There the tempers of the two men boiled over
each sending off to London a blistering report in support of his own policies
Then, no longer speaking to one another, they separated
Dr. McLoughlin returned to the great fort on the Columbia River
which he thought Governor-in-Chief Simpson was destroying
Simpson sailed northward for further consultation with the Russians

PLANS ARE MADE FOR OPENING A NEW SCHOOL FOR MISSIONARY CHILDREN

Two weeks after the Chemeketa community meeting had the home of Rev. and Mrs. Jason Lee
a board of trustees for a new school for the children of missionaries
was appointed -- February 1, 1842
Dr. Ira Babcock was named head of the planning committee to find a location for the new school
wheelwright Rev. Lewis Hubbell Judson drew up a code of conduct and prospectus
for the new school
this new school was given the name "Oregon Institute"
Methodist missionaries turned their efforts toward laying out a town and selling building lots
to finance the proposed new school

METHODIST MISSIONARY REV. DAVID LESLIE FACES TRAGEDY

Mary Leslie, the wife of Rev. Leslie, became ill and died -- February 1842
she was the first person buried in (Salem's) Pioneer Cemetery -- then part of the Leslie's farm
Rev. Leslie faced the prospect of raising daughters Satira, Helen, Aurelia, Mary and Sarah alone

Feeling unable to raise five daughters on his own in a region as remote as Oregon,
Rev. David Leslie decided to take his girls to the Hawaiian Islands
to be raised at the Methodist mission where there was a school for girls
where his five daughters could attend

DR. WHITMAN ADDS TO HIS MILLING OPERATION AT WAILATPU MISSION

Dr. Marcus Whitman constructed a more efficient gristmill to replace the original
with this mill, Whitman was able to produce enough flour to supply
other American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions stations
and to sell the surplus to the immigrants of 1842
In addition, some of the Cayuse Indians began to bring their grain to the mill for grinding

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIMPSON SENDS INSTRUCTIONS TO DR. McLOUGHLIN

Shepherds at the outlying stations were lodged in small wooden houses on wheels
these portable houses were prefabricated at Fort Vancouver and shipped to Fort Nisqually
aboard the Hudson's Bay Company sailing schooner *Cadboro*
houses and sheep could be moved from area to area
at night the animals were penned up to protect them from wolves

Governor Sir George Simpson was so pleased with the results of Puget Sound Agricultural Company
importing cattle and sheep from California that he informed Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
that no more livestock were needed -- March 1, 1842 **"We had it at one time in**

contemplation to get some more cattle and sheep conveyed from California to the Columbia River,"
Simpson wrote, **"but I think that now we have a sufficient number of these animals, if they be
properly attended to, and . . . no further step should be taken towards procuring any more sheep or
cattle from California."**⁴⁰²

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN RETURNS TO FORT VANCOUVER

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin returned to Fort Vancouver from Hawaii
he was still not on speaking terms with his boss, Governor Sir George Simpson who was in Sitka
conducting an inspection of Hudson's Bay Company operations in that region
Dr. McLoughlin was informed of Rev. Jason Lee's effort to create an American government

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIMPSON LOOKS FOR A REPLACEMENT FOR FORT VANCOUVER

Hudson's Bay Company Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson felt confident that the 49th parallel
would become the international boundary leaving Fort Vancouver out in the cold
Simpson feared the British government would give up all claim to land north of the Columbia River
unless the Company was firmly established there
but only a limited supply of furs remained in the Columbia River area
Governor Simpson was anxious to ensure Hudson's Bay Company would maintain a presence
on Vancouver Island and in British Territory
he ordered Chief Factor James Douglas who was posted at Fort Vancouver
to make a reconnaissance trip to the southern tip of Vancouver Island

⁴⁰² George Simpson, *An Overland Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842*. Vol. 1, P.
108.

to find an acceptable harbor -- March 1842

FIRST BRITISH SETTLEMENT ON VANCOUVER ISLAND

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James Douglas with a party of forty employees discovered the location for a post on Vancouver Island -- March 15, 1842

Construction on a fort located at the Songhees Indian settlement of Camosack (Camosun) (200 yards northwest of the present-day Empress Hotel on Victoria's Inner Harbor) local Songhees people were paid one Hudson's Bay blanket for every forty pickets they cut once the location was enclosed necessary warehouses and buildings were constructed Songhees people soon established a village across the harbor from the fort (this was later moved to the north shore of Esquimalt Harbor)

At first there was some confusion regarding the name of post

Chief Trader Charles Ross built the fort and called it Fort Albert (after Queen Victoria's husband) however, the post was known locally as Fort Camosun (this post was renamed Fort Victoria [December 1843])

REV. JASON ONCE AGAIN FACES TRADEGY

Jason Lee's second wife, Lucy Thompson Lee died -- March 20, 1842

only three weeks after giving birth to their daughter Lucy Anna Maria

Rev. Jason Lee placed his daughter in the care of Rev. Gustavus Hines and his wife Lydia who raised Lucyanna as their own child

AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONAIRES CONTINUE TO BICKER

All but Henry Spalding wrote letters to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions finding fault with their fellow missionaries -- spring 1842

ironically, it was Rev. Spalding at whom most of the ill-natured remarks were leveled principally by William Gray and Rev. Asa Smith

but on occasion even Dr. Whitman could be overbearing when his temper flared

PACIFIC NORTHWEST BOUNDARY DISPUTE CHALLENGES THE U.S. AND BRITAIN

Congress was being pressed to do something about the Pacific Northwest boundary

Americans in the Pacific Northwest remained without personal or civil protection -- 1842

British cabinet members wanted to be rid of what they saw as "the Oregon problem"

Eighteen years after British Foreign Secretary George Canning had failed to deal successfully with then-Secretary of state John Quincy Adams [1824]

newly-elected Conservative British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel

and British Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton-Gordon)

proposed a new round of British-American negotiations

Prime Minister Peel and Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen were both anxious to avoid a political rupture with the United States

American Secretary of State Daniel Webster believed an opportunity for agreement

to resolve the issues facing the Pacific Northwest existed

although he complained about the proposed boundary along the Columbia River

Webster was concerned the United States could lose access to a good port on the Pacific and this, in fact, would leave the United States without any seaport on the Pacific. Negotiations were scheduled to take place with the new John Tyler government in Washington, D.C. British Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen sent Lord Ashburton (Alexander Baring) to the United States as Special Commissioner -- April 4, 1842. Special Commissioner Lord Ashburton's primary purpose was to settle the northeastern boundary between Maine and Canada and to resolve all causes of dispute between the two nations -- including Oregon. Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen seemed to have not concerned himself with the Oregon problem; he instructed Special Commissioner Lord Ashburton to follow in the footsteps of British Foreign Secretary George Canning regarding the western boundary and demand the international boundary was to follow the Columbia River from its mouth to 49° north and then along that parallel to the Rocky Mountains. Lord Ashburton met with Secretary of State Daniel Webster in Washington, D.C. -- 1842. Ashburton stated it would be impossible for the United States to colonize Oregon **"for many years to come"**. Ashburton rejected the American offer of a boundary along 49° from the Rockies to the sea each of the three times it was proposed by Secretary of State Webster.

ARMY CORPS OF TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS IS CHARGED WITH MAPPING THE WEST

United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers was a small, elite branch of the U.S. Army led by highly professional yet politically astute Colonel John J. Albert. Officers of the Topographical Engineers knew more than how to shoot azimuths, translate their figures onto maps that correlated topography to latitude and longitude and read the stars in the field; they charged themselves with exploring and mapping the West and devoted their talents to fulfilling the nation's promise of continental expansion. United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers were responsible for much of the exploration and mapping of the American West. Corps of Topographical Engineers, unconfined by strictly military limits, developed a proud spirit of solidarity and dedication to their mission; they reaped the cream of the West Point graduating classes and the most famous of this group was John Charles Fremont who led three separate exploration and surveying expeditions to the west.

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET DECIDES TO VISIT FORT VANCOUVER

In a letter dated the [end of September 1841] Dr. John McLoughlin had invited Father De Smet to pay a visit to Fort Vancouver. Leaving Father Gregorio Mengarini assisted by Father Nicholas Point in charge of the religious practices of the natives at St. Mary's Mission, Father De Smet set out for Fort Colville -- April 13, 1842 with Charles, a Flathead Indian guide, and three other natives following his customary method of travel, the priest visited the Kootenai Indians on the St. Regis River,

and Kalispels on the Pend O'reille River
Father De Smet crossed the Bitterroot Mountains and entered the fertile Spokane River valley
which provided a home to the Coeur d'Alene Indians
Indians there gathered to meet him near the present site of Coeur d'Alene
Father De Smet's visit with the Coeur d'Alene Indians lasted only two days,
but he noted in his journal: **"Never has a visit to the Indians given me such
consolation, and nowhere have I seen such unmistakable proof of true conversion, not even
excepting the Flatheads in 1840."**⁴⁰³

De Smet promised the natives he would attempt to provide a Black Robe to serve them
After proceeding on Father De Smet and Charles waited a complete month
at Fort Colville as the Columbia River was too rough
and the water level had to drop considerably before they were be able to navigate

LIEUTENANT JOHN CHARLES FREMONT -- AMERICAN EXPLORER

John Charles Fremont was born to Mrs. Anne Beverley Whiting Pryor
and Charles Fremont [January 21, 1813]
(John later added the final "t" to his last name)
his parents never married -- his father died when John was thirteen
John's early education was primarily provided by attorney John W. Mitchell
until Fremont entered Charleston College until he was expelled for irregular attendance
he was appointed as a teacher of mathematics aboard the sloop USS *Natchez*
he refused a professorship of mathematics in the United States Navy
John was appointed a second lieutenant in the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers
he assisted and led many surveying expeditions through the western United States and beyond
he assisted Jean Nicholas Nicollet with mapping the region
between upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers [1834]
John C. Fremont, although not a West Pointer, had acquired all the necessary
technical and scientific abilities -- equally important he was a romantic
he was thrilled by western wonders and along with his fellow citizens
he was patriotically roused by his vision of the West's grandeur
he welcomed the opportunity to play his part in promoting the nation's destiny
finally, not the least of his qualifications, he married seventeen-year-old Jessie Benton [in 1841]
daughter of "Old Bullion" himself -- U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri
she provided inspiration for Fremont's ambitions of glory,
stability to his action-oriented temperament,
and the vocabulary to phrase his soaring thoughts into compelling prose
which she wrote in his name
Jessie Benton's parents strenuously opposed the marriage but had to bow to her iron will
an ambitious young army officer could hardly find a more influential farther-in-law
than Senator Benton

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON RETURNS TO RUSSIAN-AMERICA

⁴⁰³ E. Laveille, S.J., *The Life of Father De Smet 1801-1873*, P. 144.

On his previous visit to Russian-America Governor Simpson had removed from Fort Stikine its one strong man, Roderick Finlayson [1841] this move had left young John McLoughlin, Jr. in unsupported command at an isolated station of twenty ill-disciplined Iroquois and French-Canadian half-breeds surrounded by unruly Indians

When Simpson, swinging north again, neared the fort -- April 25, 1842 he found the flag at half mast

John McLoughlin, Jr. had just been murdered by his own men

GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE SIMPSON INVESTIGATES THE MURDER AT FORT STIKINE

Simpson conducted a hasty and superficial investigation into the death of John McLoughlin, Jr. he arrived at the conclusion that the employees at Stikine wanted him to reach in a letter to the young man's father the governor wrote brutally -- April 27, 1842: **"From all I can collect, the whole conduct & management of Mr. McLoughlin was exceedingly bad, and his violence when under the influence of liquor, which was very frequently the case, amounting to insanity, ... The occurrence having taken place within Russian Territory, no legal steps against the parties can be taken by me; but my belief is, that any Tribunal by which the case could be tried, would find a verdict of 'justifiable Homicide'."**⁴⁰⁴

DR. McLOUGHLIN ORDERS IN INVESTIGATION INTO HIS SON'S DEATH

When Governor Sir George Simpson informed the Chief Factor of the death of his son at Stikine the grief stricken father refused to accept the report's charges of incompetence or its conclusion of justifiable homicide that had been written by Maritime Trade Factor John Work

John Work had sent three men involved in the murder south on the *Beaver* but there was a long delay in their arrival for which McLoughlin blamed Work

McLoughlin also criticized Work for his lack of initiative in taking depositions and in forwarding very slowly young McLoughlin's correspondence and other documents to Fort Vancouver

Chief Factor McLoughlin sent Chief Factor James Douglas to Fort Sitka to conduct his own investigation into the death of John McLoughlin, Jr. through a series good fortunes, the "Black Scot" won a confession from an Iroquois named Pierre Kanaquasse who had been a participant

Kanaquasse stated that young John McLoughlin had not been given to drink or licentiousness but he had been a weak leader unable to control or discipline his men in defiance of young John's orders

his men had repeatedly brought Indian prostitutes into the barracks at night and had stolen supplies from the storehouses with which to pay them when young McLoughlin had threatened to expose them for their misdeeds the crew had coaxed him into one of his rare bouts with the bottle they then provoked a drunken brawl as a cover for killing him

Dr, John McLoughlin's relationship with John Work was further strained when the Chief Factor sent a severe report regarding John Work's use of the steamer *Beaver* to compete with Americans

⁴⁰⁴ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 213.

McLoughlin sent detailed instructions indicating how he wanted the *Beaver* operated
John Work felt he was being treated in a condescending and reprehensible manner
With his son triumphantly vindicated, Chief Factor Dr. McLoughlin now threw his full energies
into two related purposes:

- punishing the perpetrators,
- crushing Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson whom he blamed for the murder
on the grounds that if Duncan Finlayson had been left at Stikine
the tragedy would not have occurred

LIEUTENANT JOHN CHARLES FREMONT RECEIVES ORDERS TO EXPLORE THE WEST

United States Government anticipated increasing numbers of settlers migrating to the West
Missouri's two United States Senators were strong advocates for the Pacific Northwest
Thomas Hart Benton and Lewis F. Linn envisioned and arranged for financing
for an exploration expedition by the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers
Senator Benton dictated the orders for Lieutenant John C. Fremont and Colonel Albert signed them
his orders directed him simply to survey the Platte and Sweetwater rivers as far as South Pass
hardly anyone needed a guide on the Platte and Sweetwater rivers as far as South Pass
fur company caravans had followed the path for seventeen years
and Oregon and California emigrants had already begun to rut it with their wagon wheels
in fact, Fremont did about whatever he pleased when he got out on his own
Lieutenant Fremont hired a melancholy artist and map maker -- Georg Carl Preuss
a surveyor for the Prussian government before he immigrated to the United States [1834]
where he became known as Charles Preuss
Charles Preuss turned out to be a brilliant cartographer
who helped Fremont produce maps of the American west
what they achieved was unsurpassed in their time

DR. ELIJAH WHITE RECRUITS SETTLERS FOR OREGON

Dr. White was instructed by the Methodist Mission Society to return to the West
taking with him as many emigrants as could be gotten together -- spring 1842
Because he would be returning to Oregon
the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' Prudential Committee
requested that he deliver new orders and letters to Dr. Marcus Whitman at Waiilatpu Mission
Dr. White began an enthusiastic publicity campaign as he toured and lectured in the middle states:
•he interviewed pioneers in Missouri and elsewhere,
•he wrote newspaper announcements of their exploits.
•he gave speeches in churches and various meeting places.
•he delivered passionate street-corner talks
Oregon sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White soon collected one hundred thirty men and their families
who were primarily from Missouri, Illinois and Arkansas
along with their herds of cattle and horses
this wagon train was actually a collection of eighteen open wagons and carts, horse-riders
and pack animals
Mountain Men like Stephen Meek, brother of Joe Meek, was looking for work to occupy him

with nothing to do and alone in Independence, Missouri Stephen Meek
and his companion Andrew Bishop joined the emigrant train bound for Oregon

ANOTHER COVERED WAGON TRAIN SETS OUT FOR OREGON

Following in the wake of Joel Walker's family [1840] and the Bartleson-Bidwell Party [1841]
Dr. Elijah White who was returning to Oregon
was elected captain of the caravan of 110 emigrants driving eighteen wagons
James Coates piloted the emigrant wagon train along the portion of the route
with which he was familiar on its way to Fort Laramie
They set out from Elm Grove near Independence, Missouri -- May 16, 1842
this was the first large immigrant wagon train to the West

CHRISTOPHER "KIT" CARSON MEETS JOHN C. FREMONT

Kit Carson had left home in rural present-day Missouri at age sixteen [1825]
he became a mountain man and trapper in the West until he journeyed down the Missouri River
to settle in St. Louis -- there however, he quickly tired of civilization
he longed to return to the mountains
Carson boarded a steamer in St. Louis that would take him up the Missouri River
to Independence, Missouri and the start of the road to Santa Fe -- 1842
coincidence intervened to change Carson's life decisively
and also influence the course of western history for the next quarter century
on the steamer's deck Kit Carson met
United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers Lieutenant John C. Fremont
this handsome young officer explained that he was bound for the frontier
to organize a government exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains
seizing the opening, the unemployed mountain man **"informed him that I had been some
time in the mountains and thought I could guide him to any point he would wish to go. He
explained that he would make inquiries regarding my capabilities of performing that which I
promised. He done so."**⁴⁰⁵

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT'S EXPEDITION TO THE WEST

Lieutenant Fremont's scientific exploration and reconnaissance expedition of twenty-five men
left St. Louis, Missouri shortly after the 1842 caravan of emigrants
guided by (later legendary) Western scout Christopher "Kit" Carson
Together they surveyed the future route of the Oregon Trail -- 1842-[1843]
from the Missouri River they set out along the Santa Fe Trail
until they crossed the Kansas River to the north side (probably near today's Topeka, Kansas)
they continued on to Fort Saint Vrain (Colorado) on the South Platte River
crossed to the North Platte River headed toward Fort Laramie (Wyoming)

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET RESUMES HIS JOURNEY TO FORT VANCOUVER

At Fort Colville where he had been waiting for a month for the river's waters of fall

⁴⁰⁵ Robert Utley, *A Life Wind and Perilous*, P. 187.

Father De Smet and his four companions decided to continue their trip to Fort Vancouver in a boat Hudson's Bay Company had recently built for Peter Skene Ogden who led the company's voyageurs down the Columbia River -- May 30, 1842

WAILATPU MISSIONARIES HOLD A DIFFICULT MEETING

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionaries set about cleaning their own house

Rev. Elkanah Walker attended the annual meeting of American Board missionaries led by Dr. Whitman -- May 31, 1842

irascible Asa Smith was encouraged to resign as the others held an emotional lovefest

Dr. Whitman wrote: **“Had a hard session to day, and there was so much bad feeling manifested that I said that I thought it was an abomination for us to meet to pray.”**

an entry for the following day reads: **“Mr. Eells and I took a long ride in the rain and felt that all hope was gone.”**⁴⁰⁶

PETER SKENE OGDEN'S CANOE RUNS INTO DIFFICULTY

Two days after setting out from Fort Colville

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, Charles his Flathead traveling companion, Ogden and his voyageurs reached a series of impressive rapids caused by large rock formations in the middle of the Columbia River -- June 2, 1841

Father De Smet, feeling a bit insecure, and asked to disembark he preferred to climb the obstacles on the shore suddenly Ogden's boat was taken in a swirl

engulfed by the powerful torrent, it rapidly sank

when the boat reappeared five people were missing

survivors of this catastrophe including De Smet, Ogden and Charles

gathered what they could and continued their voyage

further downstream they stopped at two Hudson's Bay Company forts

Fort Okanogan and Fort Walla Walla

CONSTRUCTION RESUMES ON THE TINY SCHOONER *STAR OF OREGON*

Taking the winter off [1841]-1842, Joseph Gale and his boat-building crew resumed construction

hull of the *Star of Oregon* was moved from Willamette Falls to the mouth of the Willamette River

Nearly two years after the beginning of construction, the completed American ship

was moved to Fort Vancouver -- June 1842

AMERICAN ROBERT MOORE UNDERTAKES PLANS TO DEVELOP A NEW SETTLEMENT

Robert Moore, ex-Oregon Dragoon, surveyed 1,000 acres of land to lay out a town

for a settlement he called “Robin's Nest” (later Linn City) -- 1842

(eventually the standard land claim would be limited to 640 acres)

Moore had mentioned to Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes

he also had plans for an iron smelter, a ferry service and a dock [1841]

⁴⁰⁶ *On to Oregon: The Diaries of Mary Walker and Myra Eells*, P. 231.

Moore platted twenty-five city blocks -- each 320 feet by 220 feet
sixty-foot wide streets were laid out -- each named after a United States President
Moore planned to keep two entire blocks, one of them riverfront property, as his personal holding

BEGINNING OF PORTLAND, OREGON

High Sheriff William Johnson was the first permanent settler
on the site (of today's Portland, Oregon) -- 1842
he was a British sailor who jumped ship in Boston to join the U.S. Navy [before the War of 1812]
he had visited the Pacific Northwest [1817]
and returned again and took land at Champoeg [1835]
Trading brig *Chenamos* belonged to the Massachusetts trading firm of Cushing and Company
this was the family business of Massachusetts Congressman Caleb Cushing
Captain John H. Couch plied the New England-Sandwich Island-Oregon circuit
he had named the ship after a Columbia River Indian chief
who had developed friendly relations with the American captain [1840]
Captain Couch returned to the Pacific Northwest aboard the *Chenamos*
with a stock of goods -- June 1842
he pushed his ship up the Willamette River to an anchorage at the rapids below the falls
Captain Couch sent the *Chenamos* back to Massachusetts
but he remained in Oregon and took a "land claim"
he operated a store at Willamette Falls for five years that was managed by George Le Breton
who began bartering manufactured goods for pickled salmon, lumber and flour
threatening the economic monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company
Encouraged by the American settlers in the Willamette Valley
sea-borne traders more and more frequently stormed Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly
brigs of the Massachusetts firm of Cushman and Company
pushed up the Willamette River to anchor at the rapids below the falls
and began bartering manufactured goods for pickled salmon, lumber, and flour
to avoid Chief Factor McLoughlin's sharp eyes another entrepreneur
opened a secret trading house in a cabin purported to be a farm building
thus one of Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson's longstanding fears
regarding American competition was turned into reality

FATHER DE SMET AND HIS TRAVEL COMPANIONS REACHES FORT VANCOUVER

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, his Indian travel companion Charles, Peter Skene Ogden
and his Hudson's Bay Company voyageurs arrived at Fort Vancouver -- June 8, 1842
Father De Smet met Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin -- they immediately became friends
Father De Smet also contacted Father Blanchet and Father Demers
who were staying in the Willamette Valley at St. Paul's Mission to the French-Canadian settlers
located twenty-four miles to the south of the Columbia River

UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION RETURNS TO THE UNITED STATES

Members of U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes' Exploring Expedition (U.S. Ex. Ex.)
who completed their long trip around the world arrived in New York harbor

aboard the *Vincennes* -- June 10, 1842
 Wilkes' expedition was plagued by poor relationships between Wilkes and his subordinate officers
 Wilkes' self-proclaimed status as captain and commodore
 accompanied by flying a commodore's pennant over his flagship
 and wearing a captain's uniform while being commissioned only as a lieutenant
 infuriated members of the expedition who held the same rank
 Wilkes' apparent mistreatment of many of his subordinates and use of punishments such as
 "flogging round the fleet" resulted in a major controversy upon his return to America
 flogging round the fleet required the number of lashes imposed
 be divided by the number of ships in port and the offender was rowed
 between ships for each ship's company to witness the punishment
 Deep divisions among the U.S. Ex. Ex. officers resulted in a series of courts-martial
 almost immediately Lieutenant Wilkes filed charges against several of his officers
 Wilkes, himself, was court-martialed on his return, but was acquitted on all charges
 except that of illegally punishing men in his squadron
 for which he received a public reprimand
 President John Tyler himself seemed indifferent to the achievements of the Wilkes Expedition
 in the distraction the public interest in Oregon waned

DESPITE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND WILKES HIMSELF GAINS WERE MADE

Still, the great accomplishments of the expedition cannot be denied:

- Wilkes Expedition was the first scientific government expedition to the Pacific Northwest since the Lewis and Clark Expedition [1804-1805];
- U.S. Ex. Ex. had successfully shown the American flag around the globe
- United States Exploring Expedition's mapping work proved of lasting value
 they had surveyed 261 locations, made 180 charts (some used in World War II)
 nearly three hundred Pacific islands were charted
 and they charted many of the unknown regions of the globe including Antarctica;
- Wilkes' Expedition scientific work added greatly to scientific knowledge
 natural history specimens and anthropological artifacts were gathered during the voyage
 they brought back ten thousand specimens of plants, minerals, tools and artifacts
 including over a thousand specimens of birds, fishes, insects and animals
 these became foundation of the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History
 many more specimens were lost or destroyed in the sinking of several of their ships
 and by improper handling on East coast;
- Wilkes' nineteen-volume report was published and copies were sent to every state;
- United States Exploring Expedition increased interest in the Puget Sound region;
- a solid American claim to the Pacific Northwest was established

(During the American-British negotiations over Oregon [Columbia District to the British]
 the U.S. Government took a strong position claiming Puget Sound country
 this resulted in the [1846] treaty with Britain
 which divided Oregon at the 49th Parallel [at the present U.S.-Canada border])

SECRETARY OF STATE DANIEL WEBSTER CHANGES NEGOTIATIONS TACTICS

British government finally became aware of the growing number of Americans in Oregon
this shift in population became a factor in negotiations for the first time
Secretary of State Webster suggested to British Special Commissioner Lord Ashburton
that the dispute with Great Britain could be resolved
if the United States could secure access to the great harbor of San Francisco from Mexico
British Special Commissioner Lord Ashburton reported Webster's remarks
to British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton-Gordon)
it seemed Secretary of State Webster was willing to abandon Northern Oregon
in favor of acquiring Northern California
Webster declared he was never prepared to accept a boundary below 49° north
perhaps this had been a ploy by Webster to pressure Mexico
using the military strength of Great Britain to gain San Francisco Bay as a port
at any rate, Webster refused to discuss the Oregon question any further with the British
Lord Ashburton concluded Webster's loss of interest in the Oregon boundary settlement
was caused by the return to Washington, D.C. of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes
Lord Ashburton noted Wilkes wrote unfavorably about a harbor
at the mouth of the Columbia River where he had lost the ship *Peacock* [1841]
but Wilkes also wrote favorably of the harbors on Puget Sound

DR. ELIJAH WHITE'S WAGON TRAIN CHANGES LEADERS

This wagon train appeared to be a quarrelsome group
most of Dr. White's troubles serving as captain of the train along the trail were self-made
he proposed many elaborate rules for the trail which the caravan members voted into place
then with typical frontier self-determination declined to obey their own regulations
After a month of travel from Elm Grove Captain Elijah White was demoted -- June 16, 1842
he was replaced by Captain Lansford W. Hastings following a furious blow-up
over White's proposal the caravan's dogs be killed as their barking could attract Indians
about half of the pets were killed before the women stopped the carnage
(there was no indication the surviving dogs attracted any Indians)
both Dr. White and Captain Hastings bickered constantly over various decisions
including how best to accommodate the wagons and how to deal with the domestic animals
Hoping to resolve bickering between Dr. White and Lansford W. Hastings
Steven Meek's services as guide were secured as James Coates was relieved of his position

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT AND HIS MEN REACH FORT LARAMIE (WYOMING)

Although the Indian were resisting American expansion further up the North Platte River
Fremont was determined to proceed
he, Kit Carson and the twenty-five men of their party advanced without difficulty

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN FAILS TO FIND JUSTICE IN THE DEATH OF HIS SON

Justice proved to be expensive and elusive for Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
men like Chief Factor James Douglas and Chief Trader Donald Munson
wasted Hudson's Bay Company time on Dr. McLoughlin's private investigation
not only the suspects but the key witnesses had to be jailed and fed

Russians refused to accept jurisdiction over the case thus the murderers might go free
Dr. McLoughlin, at his own expense, sent the two chief suspects and eleven witnesses
to attend to drawn-out hearings in Lower Canada
those courts, too, decided they had no jurisdiction,
moreover, they censured some of Chief Factor McLoughlin's extralegal actions
and decreed that a trial, if any, could take place only in England
with the expenses to be borne by the bereaved father
his finances strained to the breaking point, Dr. McLoughlin at last gave up his quest for justice

FATHER BLANCHET DEVELOPS THE "CATHOLIC LADDER" TO EDUCATE INDIANS

Two widely variant types of Christianity, Protestant and Catholic,
were being presented to the Northwest natives -- not surprising the Indians were puzzled
Father Francis Blanchet developed the pictorial Catholic Ladder while working on the Cowlitz plains
at St. Frances Xavier Mission
this was a very effective teaching aid for instructing Indians in the basics of Christianity
Like a map, it was a pictorial representation of world Jewish and Christian history
it allowed Indians to see as well as hear what was being described
versions of the Catholic Ladder varied from eight or ten feet tall and two or more feet wide
it was a large diagram several feet long and two or more feet wide
that used horizontal lines, dots and drawings
to show the story of forty centuries of Christianity from the Catholic viewpoint
from time of Adam and Eve to before Christ was represented by forty marks
thirty-three years of Christ's life shown by thirty points followed by a cross
eighteen centuries after Christ were shown by eighteen marks
lateral branches of competing religious beliefs, notably Protestantism,
were portrayed as leading to the everlasting flames of the Pit

This visual portrayal was one of the reasons for the success of the Catholic missionaries

"Catholic Ladder were charts, about six feet long and eighteen inches wide, on which illustrations and parallel bars were painted. They were first devised by Father Blanchet at Cowlitz Mission, 1842, as a means of illustration for the natives his talks on the four millennial periods, heretics, heaven, hell, and other concepts of the church."⁴⁰⁷

To counteract its impact, the Catholic Ladder was adopted and adapted by Protestant missionaries
Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding drew a terrifying six-foot ladder of their own
on it, the road of Catholicism was the one that led to eternal damnation
all of this only added to the confusion of the natives

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET LEAVES FORT VANCOUVER

Father De Smet along with Charles his Flathead Indian guide left Fort Vancouver -- June 30, 1842
they travel once again on one of Hudson's Bay Company's boats
sailing and rowing up the Columbia River toward Fort Walla Walla

U.S. NAVAL LIEUTENANT CHARLES WILKES' REPORT TO CONGRESS

⁴⁰⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 209.

After stopping in New York City Lieutenant Wilkes arrived in Washington City

Wilkes communicated confidentially with the United States Senate -- July 1, 1842

he argued against giving up any part of the territory between 42° and 54°-40' north latitude

he noted that settling the boundary at 49° North would give the Fraser River to the British

he gave a glowing report of the Pacific Northwest as he noted: **“Nothing can exceed the beauty of these waters and their safety. Not a shoal exists with the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Admiralty Inlet or Hood’s Canal than can in any way interrupt their navigation by a 74-gun ship. I venture nothing in saying that no country in the world possesses waters equal to these.”**⁴⁰⁸

in addition, Wilkes reported that Hudson’s Bay Company men

were able to rescue three Japanese sailors [1841]

(these sailors were sent on to England to eventually find their way home)

Wilkes’ report crystallized the U.S. Senate position on the United States-Canadian boundary

but President John Tyler himself seemed indifferent to the achievements of the Wilkes Expedition

because of on-going boundary negotiations the president suppressed all official enthusiasm

Secretary of Navy refused to shake hands or offer a chair

when he was introduced to Lieutenant Wilkes

Wilkes’ report probably had little impact on Secretary of State Daniel Webster

but it did stimulate expansionist zeal among politicians in Congress

POLITICAL PROSPECTS FOR OREGON REMAIN CONFUSING

Questions regarding the political organization of the region became more critical

it was natural French-Canadians would not submit to law imposed by citizens of a rival nation

when their own country and the rival were contending for title to the soil

and the success of that contest depended on the nationality of the actual settlers

nor could American settlers be criticized for hesitating to join a business-based-government

designed to occupy only a portion of the territory

and to include only residents or settlers who voluntarily accepted its authority

AMERICAN EXPANSIONISTS BECOME MORE FRUSTRATED

Congressional majorities favored no growth policies

and the executive branch which agreed with those policies

were regarded with great disdain by expansionist groups

Expansionists in the United States Government who anticipated increasing numbers of settlers

would be migrating West turned for a weapon that was a part of the executive branch itself:

the army’s Corps of Topographical Engineers

Corresponding committees in western Missouri had received the names of several emigrants

who intended to journey West [as early as September 1842]

WAGON TRAIN MEMBERS HAD A VERY FORTUNATE MEETING AT FORT LARAMIE

Arriving at Fort Laramie on their way east with the furs garnered in their spring beaver hunt,

Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick and Jim Bridger

came upon the wagon train bound for Oregon -- early July 1842

⁴⁰⁸ *The United Services A Monthly Review of Military and Naval Affairs*, Vol. 1, P. 53.

All 110 emigrants of this train of eighteen wagons were quarreling among themselves
as bitterly as had the Bidwell-Bartleson company the year before [1841]

Reports they were relying on portrayed the road to the West
was infested with Sioux and Cheyenne Indians -- all in an ugly temper
grudgingly these emigrants acknowledged the importance, if only sporadically,
of some kind of leadership

Fortunately for the caravan, Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick agreed to guide them to Fort Hall

Dr. Elijah White wrote in his journal of the trip: “...and I have been able to obtain the services
of Mr. Fitz Patrick [sic], one of the ablest and most suitable men in the country, in conducting us to
Fort Hall, beyond the danger of the savages.”⁴⁰⁹ -- July 2, 1841

Jim Bridger continued Eastward on his own to the United States
to deliver the product of his and Tom Fitzpatrick’s spring hunt
Trappers Francois X. Matthieu, Paul Ojet and Peter Gauthier joined the caravan to Oregon
along with three other French-Canadians

THOMAS “BROKEN HAND” FITZPATRICK BECOMES THE FIRST WAGON TRAIN’S GUIDE

Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick had led first wagon train to Fort Hall (Idaho)
when he guided Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and the Bartleson-Bidwell wagon train [1841]
As Overlanders swelled in numbers, most trains took care to hire a mountain man
as captain, guide, pilot, or whatever other title they settled on
guiding was the least of their responsibilities

even though the route was uncertain the trail to Oregon had been blazed by 1842
what proved more important was to teach the greenhorns:

- how to get across the continent,
- how to kindle a campfire and cook over it,
- how to pack a mule or a wagon,
- how to ford a river,
- how to secure the wagons and stock at night,
- how to kill and dress a buffalo,
- and how to get along with the Indians

THOMAS FITZPATRICK LEADS THE CARAVAN TO INDEPENDENCE ROCK (WYOMING)

In common with the fur caravans before them and the emigrant trains that followed
pioneers paused at Independence Rock (in present Wyoming)
while all inscribed their names in the soft surface
of the massive historic register of westward-migrating travelers
here the 1842 wagon train had their only direct encounter with Indians
when Captain Lansford Hastings and Asa L. Lovejoy were surrounded by Sioux
they had laid down their rifles while carving their names on Independence Rock
before anything serious resulted, however, the caravan’s guide, Thomas Fitzpatrick,
rode up and rescued the frightened tenderfeet from their Sioux captors
for a ransom of tobacco and a few trinkets

⁴⁰⁹ Robert Utley, *A Life Wind and Perilous*, P 181.

William Shotwell (an ironically named pioneer) was accidentally killed
when he passed behind a wagon just as the owner drew a blanket from the front
causing the gun to go off

Shotwell was buried near Independence Rock

Sioux Indians continued to harass the 1842 wagon train
until a peace parley and gift exchange was held at the Sweetwater River

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT'S EXPEDITION REACHES THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Fremont and his twenty-five men arrived at the Sweetwater River and crossed the Rocky Mountains
in fact, they somehow failed to locate the exact position of South Pass

although this was one of their main objectives

they climbed the highest peak in the Wind River Mountains of the Rockies

Fremont's return journey down the Platte River was made without notable incident

FIRST LARGE WAGON CARAVAN CROSSES SOUTH PASS

At the Sweetwater River, Dr. Elijah White, Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick
and about a dozen others traveled ahead of the main group

through South Pass in the Wind River Range of the Rocky Mountains

crossing through South Pass proved to be uneventful

Captain Lansford W. Hastings and Dr. Elijah White continued to argue over leadership
at the Little Sandy River, Hastings' wagon train split away from the main party

in a dispute over the further use of the wagons

Once past the Green River and out of range of hostile natives

the quarrelsome slower-moving company under Captain Hastings further split
into a faster mounted horse troop and the group traveling with the wagons

(in the future wagon trains will only rarely travel as one huge company)

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET REACHES FORT WALLA WALLA

Father De Smet arrived at Fort Walla Walla in a Hudson's Bay Company canoe -- July 14, 1842

here Charles, the Flathead Indian guide, showed Father De Smet

an alternate Indian trail to St. Mary's Mission on the Bitterroot River

Father De Smet agreed to take this path which paralleled the Snake River

the Catholic priest and his traveling companion crossed the Spokane desert

and reached the southern shore of the Coeur d'Alene Lake

they then traveled along the banks of the St. Joe River (Idaho)

St. Mary's Mission would be reached after crossing the next mountain range

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET RETURNS TO ST. MARY'S MISSION

De Smet returned from Fort Colville to St. Mary's Mission on the Bitterroot River -- July 27, 1842

Father Gregorio Mengarini welcomed home Fathers De Smet and Charles, the Flathead guide

Father Mengarini was responsible for the work of the mission along with Lay Brothers Charles Duet,

Joseph Specht and Willem Claessens as Father Nicholas Point had joined the Flatheads

on their seasonal buffalo hunt

PIONEERS REACH FORT HALL

Dr. Elijah White's and Captain Lansford W. Hastings' caravans were reunited at Fort Hall (Idaho)

Dr. White paid Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick for his services -- July 1842

Hudson's Bay Company's new trader in charge of Fort Hall advised the pioneers to abandon their wagons as travelers of the previous years had done

At Fort Hall Dr. White and Captain Hastings continued their feud regarding the use of wagons

Captain Hastings and his followers saw this advice as a willful attempt

by Hudson's Bay Company to discourage American immigration

(anti-British propagandists soon took up the charge)

Dr. White and his followers sold their wagons to the Hudson's Bay Company

other wagons were dismantled to be carried on pack saddles

through the hazardous Idaho country to the Columbia River

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET TRAVELS WITH A BUFFALO HUNTING PARTY

After five days of rest at St. Mary's Mission on the Bitterroot River

Father De Smet and his Flathead Indian guide Charles

set out to join Father Nicholas Point and the Flathead buffalo hunting party -- August 1, 1842

They followed the Bitterroot River to its source at Ross's Hole (near today's Sula, Montana)

after climbing Gibbon Pass (about ten miles south of Sula) they follow the Big Hole River east

to reach the Beaverhead River

DR. ELIJAH WHITE AND HIS FOLLOWERS DEPART FROM FORT HALL

Dr. White, as usual, was the first to leave accompanied by some of his devoted followers

they traveled fast and carried their wagon parts with them on a pack train toward Waiilatpu

this small group of well-equipped horsemen crossed the hazardous lava desert of (Idaho)

White's party, now piloted by (probably Angus) McDonald,

pushed far ahead of the others led by Captain Lansford W. Hastings who remained at Fort Hall

WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY SETTLES A PORTION OF THE U.S.-CANADA BORDER

Webster-Ashburton Treaty was signed -- August 9, 1842

this treaty settled a dispute between the two nations regarding the Maine-New Brunswick border

it confirmed the boundary line drawn by the [1783] Treaty of Paris

between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods

it also reaffirmed the boundary was along the 49th parallel

from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains as defined in [1818]

Webster-Ashburton Treaty agreed the Great Lakes would be shared

and defined seven crimes subject to extradition by either nation

Webster-Ashburton Treaty also called for an end to the slave trade on the high seas

However, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty did not address the question of the international boundary

West of the Rocky Mountains

thus the ownership of Oregon (Columbia District) remained unresolved

many people were grievously disappointed in the treaty

because of the silence regarding the Pacific Northwest

Congressional agitation over the shortcomings of the treaty

written by Secretary of State Daniel Webster and British negotiator Lord Ashburton
stimulated popular interest in the West as far as Oregon

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET REFUSES TO ESTABLISH A NEW CATHOLIC MISSION

De Smet and Charles his Flathead Indian guide followed the Beaverhead River
until they arrived at (today's Three Forks, Montana)
where the Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin rivers converge to form the Missouri River
here they reached the Flathead Indian buffalo hunters -- August 15, 1842
Father Nicholas Point was very happy serving the Flathead Indians at St. Mary's Mission
but he offered to start a mission among the Blackfoot Indians
Father De Smet did not like the idea as the Blackfoot Indians had a bad reputation
for the time being this venture seemed far too dangerous
Father Point protested, but Father De Smet maintained his decision
Rocky Mountain Mission would place its second station among the Coeur d'Alene Indians

CAPTAIN LANSFORD W. HASTINGS CARAVAN DEPARTS FROM FORT HALL

Captain Hastings and the others of the 1842 wagon train followed behind Dr. Elijah White
after benefiting from additional rest at Fort Hall
Hastings' Party kept south of the Snake River until they reached the area near Fort Boise
American fur trappers Osborne Russell and Elbridge Trask
joined the caravan on its way to Waiilatpu Mission -- August 22, 1842

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SETS OUT FOR ST. LOUIS

With a small escort of ten warriors mounted on horseback -- August 25, 1842
they crossed the Yellowstone desert to gather additional recruits and finances
Father De Smet had become more knowledgeable about the local native situation
he knew how dangerous the area could be for a small group of travelers
he did not want to run any unnecessary risks -- he covered 150 miles in three days
They were made welcome in a large camp of friendly Crow Indians on the banks of Yellowstone
De Smet dismissed his escort
he continued with Young Ignace and two Americans he met at the Crow village
Their route paralleled the Yellowstone River
for some time this area has been reputed to be a battleground
for the various Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Blackfoot and Sioux tribes

CLATSOP PLAINS MISSION IS FRUSTRATING FOR THE METHODIST MISSIONARIES

Rev. William H. Kone wrote to Rev. Jason Lee at Chemeketa
that the Clatsop Indians they serve were few in number
and were not ready to receive the teachings of the church -- September 1842
(consequently Kone and his family left Oregon for the United States [November 1841]
leaving Rev. Joseph H. Frost and his family to serve the natives as best they could)

ROBERT "DOC" NEWELL BECOMES INTERESTED IN GOVERNMENT

An incident occurred during which an Indian broke into the family home of Rev. Philo Littlejohn

and took the Congregational minister's valuables -- 1842

Rev. Littlejohn had been guided from the Green River to Fort Hall by Doc Newell [1840]
Newell accompanied by Joe Meek, Caleb Wilkins and others caught and punished the thief
this incident caused Newell to contemplate the need for laws and a means of enforcing them
thus he began a push for a local government of some kind
he quickly became a leader in the movement to establish law and order in Oregon

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET AND HIS PARTY ARRIVES AT FORT UNION TRADING POST

It took six frightful days from the mutilated Assiniboine bodies
for Father De Smet and his traveling companions. Young Ignace and two Americans,
to reach the American Fur Company's headquarters for the western department
Fort Union trading post -- September 10, 1842
Fort Union trading post was renowned as the most important post on the upper Missouri River
at the fort they rested for a few days in full safety but the city of St. Louis is still very far away
To save time Father De Smet decided to try floating down the Missouri River
he bought a canoe and he and Young Ignace embarked downriver

TINY SCHOONER *STAR OF OREGON* SAILS FOR CALIFORNIA

Leaving Fort Vancouver the first sailing vessel manufactured in Oregon
sailed out of the Columbia River in a storm -- September 12, 1842
During most of the trip Joseph Gale's crew of seven landlubbers Felix Hathaway, Ralph Kilborne,
Pleasant Arrstrong, George Davis, Charles Matts, John Green and one Indian boy
were too sick to do more than groan and avoid food
keeping the *Star of Oregon* on course, Gale held the wheel for thirty-six continuous hours

FATHER DE SMET AND YOUNG IGNACE PADDLE DOWN THE MISSOURI RIVER

After three days of paddling downriver Father De Smet and Young Ignace
met the American Fur Company steamer *Omega* whose crew invited them to board the ship
but they also informed the missionary the *Omega* must first travel all the way to Fort Union
before returning to St. Louis -- September 13, 1842
Father De Smet accepted this offer with enthusiasm for several reasons not the least being
the banks of the Missouri River were reported to be infested with warlike Indians

SAILING ON THE *OMEGA* IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN FATHER DE SMET ANTICIPATED

In some places the Missouri River's water was very shallow
captain of the boat had to avoid the many sand banks, rocks and other deadly snags
such as the treacherous "sawyers" (hidden tree trunks)
at one time one of the paddle wheels was severely damaged
another time a tornado reversed the cockpit on the boat

DR. ELIJAH WHITE REACHES DR. MARCUS WHITMAN'S WAILLATPU MISSION

Dr. Whitman's mission was reached -- September 14, 1842
Dr. White and his followers enjoyed the good food and warm comforts of the Whitman's home
Dr. White informed the missionary of a hundred people behind him toiling down the Fort Hall trail

and of the far greater numbers who would follow the next year ([843]
Sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White delivered to Dr. Whitman the letter
from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
addressed to the doctor and other affiliated missionaries
although Rev. Asa Smith, William H. Gray and Cornelius Rogers
had already departed before these new orders arrived
After making his mail delivery, Dr. White continued on to Fort Walla Walla
traveling by a direct route along the Burnt River

STATUS OF AMERICAN BOARD PROTESTANT MISSIONS

At the Whitman's Waiilatpu Mission Indians were farming using both dry methods and irrigation
there were sixty Indians farming their own land
there was a sawmill, grist mill, houses and farm buildings
At Rev. Henry Spalding's Lapwai, Indians had moved out of the mission to establish their own farms
almost half of the native population had a farm of their own
this mission had its own sawmill and grist mill
it was self-sufficient in its economy and had 234 students in the school

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF FOREIGN MISSION WRITES TO WHITMAN

American Board had gotten the impression only Tshimakain Mission was worth saving
faced with falling receipts and mounting expenses
American Board's response was a general housecleaning
thus Waiilatpu and Lapwai were to be closed and the property sold
Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' new orders
delivered by Indian Sub-Agent Dr. Elijah White in a letter dated [February 25, 1842]
This letter stated Dr. Whitman was:

- to discontinue the southern division of the Oregon mission
and close Waiilatpu and Lapwai missions;
- to recall three missionaries who were to return to the United States
at the earliest opportunity:
 - Rev. Henry H. Spalding and his wife Eliza
 - Rev. Asa Bowen Smith and his wife Sarah
 - William H. Gray and his wife Mary
- to transfer Dr. Marcus Whitman and his wife Narcissa to Tshimakain Mission
to work with Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells, and Rev. Elkanah and Mary Walker
- to transfer Cornelius Rogers to Tshimakain if he desired to continue in missionary work
- Whitman and Cornelius Rogers were to dispose of Waiilatpu and Lapwai mission property
saving only what they believed to be valuable in the work at Tshimakain Mission

Deeply agitated, Dr. Marcus Whitman sent Indian runners to the other stations,
summoning the mission members to an emergency meeting at Waiilatpu

STAR OF OREGON LANDS IN CALIFORNIA

Little ship, after a stormy passage of five days,
arrived at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) -- September 17, 1842

Joseph Gale and company found a captain who needed a replacement for his wrecked ship
Gale swapped the *Star of Oregon* to a rancher for 350 cows,
which may have been their intended goal all along,
in turn the rancher sold the *Star of Oregon* to the needy captain
It was too late in the season to drive cattle back to Oregon that fall
to increase the size of the herd the men worked in California (all winter)
and invested their pay in more livestock

ADDITIONAL CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

French-Canadian servants of Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver and their families
had long complained about the long absences of the priests who served the post
For four years after their arrival in Columbia District
Father Francis Blanchet and Modeste Demers remained alone in their work
in the wilderness among the Indians and the scattered faithful
Then two Canadian Catholic priests, Antoine Langlois and Jean Baptiste Zacharie (J.B.Z.) Bolduc,
arrived at Astoria -- September 19, 1842
where they met Rev. Asa Smith and his ailing wife Sarah on their way to Hawaii
and new mission opportunity

DR. ELIJAH WHITE ARRIVES IN OREGON FOR A SECOND TIME

Dr. White and his party guided by Stephen Meek floated the Columbia River from Fort Walla Walla
they arrived at Fort Vancouver -- September 20, 1842
former Methodist missionary and rival to Rev. Jason Lee had returned to the Willamette Valley
this time he was holding the government title of sub-Indian Agent
Dr. Elijah White had led the first sizable pioneer company across the entire length of the Oregon Trail
traveling with Dr. White was David Hill who became active in community affairs
Stephen Meek and several of his associates were employed by Dr. McLoughlin
to survey and sell building lots along the Willamette and Clackamas rivers

DR. ELIJAH WHITE'S RETURN EFFECTS OREGON PIONEERS

Sub-Indian Agent Dr. White was the first resident United States government official in Oregon
he raised the hopes of settlers that their needs were being considered in Washington City
public meetings were held in Oregon to thank Congress for sending a federal agent
many settlers believed they were under American jurisdiction
Dr. Elijah White believed in the absence of any other authority he was the government itself
he resumed his feud with Rev. Jason Lee over who would run the Pacific Northwest
White believed Sen. Linn's Bill regarding Oregon would pass Congress
and acted as though it had
actually the Bill had failed in the U.S. House of Representatives
Methodist missionaries, who earlier had dismissed Dr. White from their lives [1841],
were now fearful that the sub-Indian Agent wanted to become the governor of a new territory
they pushed plans forward to organize a government which would represent them
and not the interests of Dr. Elijah White even if he was the sub-Indian Agent

PIONEERS ARRIVING WITH DR. WHITE IMPACT WILLAMETTE FALLS SETTLEMENT

Hugh Burns, newly arrived with Dr. Elijah White's wagon train, was a master blacksmith
Burns took land next to ex-Oregon Dragoon Robert Moore
then platted a town, to be called Multnomah City on his 640 acres
(this settlement eventually included a tannery and the Price Hotel
today the site of West Linn's Bolton neighborhood)
(Multnomah City's lower river landing was obliterated in a [1853] flood and abandoned)
French-Canadian settler Francis X. Matthieu arrived in Oregon with Dr. White
he spent his first winter with fellow French-Canadian Etienne Lucier at Willamette Falls
discussing politics and government
Matthieu had been a part of an unsuccessful rebellion against the British government in Canada
Sidney Moss bought a building lot at Willamette Falls from Dr. McLoughlin for \$285
he constructed his house (at the corner of today's Third and Main streets)
Hiram Straight, who was interested in political affairs,
claimed 600 acres near the mouth of Abernathy Creek and the Clackamas River
(later he was a merchant and a mill operator who soon became a leading businessman
and was active in local politics)

METHODIST MISSIONARY REV. DAVID LESLIE STAYS IN ASTORIA WITH HIS FAMILY

While in Astoria awaiting favorable winds for sailing -- September 1842
one of Rev. David Leslie's five daughters, fifteen-year-old Satira, slipped ashore
she was married to missionary Cornelius Rogers
although the marriage was sudden, Rev. Leslie accepted his daughter's choice
Rogers was remembered as an outstanding young man

METHODIST MISSIONARY REV. DAVID LESLIE LEAVES FOR HAWAII

Rev. Leslie left two of his daughters, Aurelia and the baby Helen, in the care of Satira and Cornelius
and proceeded to the Sandwich Islands where Mary and Sarah were left in a boarding school
(sadly, Sarah died there only a year later)
(Rev. Leslie joined the Methodist mission effort among the Kanaka [Hawaiian] natives)

CAPTAIN LANSFORD W. HASTINGS' CARAVAN REACHES THE WHITMAN MISSION

Captain Hastings and his followers arrived at Waiilatpu from Fort Hall -- mid- to late-September
at Dr. Whitman's mission, Asa L. Lovejoy parted company with the caravan and with Hastings
Lovejoy, who made the acquaintance of Whitman, continued to Fort Vancouver on his own

MEETING IS HELD AT WAILLATPU TO RESPOND TO NEW ORDERS

Remaining four missionaries: Dr. and Narcissa Whitman, Rev. Cushing and Myra Eells,
Rev. Elkanah and Mary Walker and layman Cornelius Rogers
met for a three day conference -- September 28-31, 1842
Rev. Asa Smith was pointedly not invited to attend
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' orders to close the missions
and fire or reassign missionaries crushed the missionaries' spirits
First order of business was to accept the resignation of William Gray and his wife Mary

who wanted to go to work for the Methodists
and who had been fired by the American Board's letter anyway
Gray and his wife Mary had decided their future lay elsewhere than in the mission field
they moved to western Oregon where they began an active life as settlers
Next the Whitmans, Eells, Walkers and Rogers signed a resolution
which gave Dr. Whitman authorization to represent them

Elkanah Walker wrote in his diary for September 28: **"Rose this morning with the determination to leave, and found Mr. S[mith] had the same view and was making preparations to leave, as he felt that nothing could be done. At breakfast the Dr. [Whitman] let out what was his plan in view of the state of things. We persuaded them to get together and talk things over. I think they felt some better afterwards. Then the question was submitted to us of the Dr.'s [sic] going home, which we felt that it was one of too much importance to be decided in a moment, but finally came to the conclusion if he could put things at that station in such a state that it would be safe we could consent to his going..."**⁴¹⁰

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT RETURNS TO ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Lieutenant Fremont returned to St. Louis, Missouri -- October 2, 1842
his first effort at exploration produced only disappointing information of little scientific value
On the return trip home records and specimens were lost in the waters of the North Platte River
Preuss's map added little to existing maps since they ended at South Pass
they told emigrants nothing of the most difficult part of their overland journey
even the segments it did display failed to identify such critical features
as grass, timber and water
However, Fremont's graphic images and rousing rhetoric
which was heavily influenced by his wife Jessie's skilled pen
moved Oregon legislation closer to passage through Congress
and heated public fervor for western expansion
an extra thousand copies Fremont's report were printed
thanks to a motion by Thomas Hart Benton on the United States Senate floor
this report had enormous consequence
while science did not benefit from Fremont's work the expansionist cause did
Lieutenant John C. Fremont was a man of destiny -- or at least destiny's darling

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN PREPARES TO RIDE EAST TO MEET WITH THE MISSION BOARD

Dr. Whitman undertook preparation to return to the United States persuade
the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions headquartered in Boston
not to close all missions except Tshimakain and to solicit added support for his work
A single companion, Massachusetts attorney Asa L. Lovejoy,
recently arrived with the Captain Lansford W. Hastings Party
with plans to settle at Fort Walla Walla for his health
agreed to travel with him to the East -- October 2, 1842

⁴¹⁰ Edward Gaylord Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism*, P. 57.

DR. WHITMAN BEGINS HIS RIDE EAST

Both Dr. Whitman and Asa L. Lovejoy galloped away from Waiilatpu -- October 3, 1842
aboard fast horses and carrying the barest minimum of supplies in the face of the coming winter
leaving Narcissa and the other American Board missionaries
to continue their work among the Indians of (today's Eastern Washington)

CAPTAIN LANSFORD W. HASTINGS' PARTY REACHES THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Portions of Hastings' followers journeyed from Waiilatpu to Fort Walla Walla
before they drifted down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver
Main body of pioneers with traveling with Hastings reached the Willamette Valley -- October 5, 1842

OREGON INSTITUTE OPENS IN CHEMEKETA (SALEM, OREGON)

After acquiring at minimal cost the three story Indian Manual Labor Training School building
that had been constructed expressly for academic purposes
Mrs. Chloe A. (Clark) Willson was selected to serve as the teacher -- October 1842 [until 1850]
she taught five students the first year
classes were conducted there as the Oregon Institute (later Willamette University)
this was the first organized school for white children West of the Mississippi River
and became the oldest institution of higher learning West of Rocky Mountains
Methodist missionaries turned their efforts toward laying out a town and selling building lots
to finance the proposed new school

PIONEER LYCEUM AN LITERARY CLUB AT WILLAMETTE FALLS (OREGON CITY)

Failure of the United States government to address the needs of Americans in Oregon
had been the subject of critical rhetoric in Congress and the American press for twenty years
in response, the colonists themselves had twice petitioned Congress for action
Robert "Doc" Newell had moved from the Tualatin Plains (near present-day Hillsboro)
to Willamette Falls (Oregon City)
well read, he helped to organize the Willamette Falls Lyceum and Debating Society -- fall 1842
(lyceum is an organization that arranges or sponsors public events and entertainment)
this was the first literary society in the Pacific Northwest
Sidney Moss opened his home at the Willamette Falls
for the first meeting of the Willamette Falls Lyceum and Debating Society
Oregon's lyceum was supported by a debating society that provided a forum for public discussions
lyceum selected questions for debate focusing on:

- political organization of the territory:
- Pacific Northwest problems and cultural affairs,
- debates on the future of the colony

PIONEER LYCEUM AND LITERARY CLUB HOLDS A SERIES OF DEBATES

Willamette Falls Lyceum and Debating Society met regularly (for several years)
among the leading citizens involved in the debates, in addition to Doc Newell,
were George Abernathy and Lansford W. Hastings both were prominent
in the movement to become familiar with legal and political matters

meetings also were held to plan the Multnomah Circulating Library

AMERICAN POPULATION IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY GROWS

Wagon train of 1842 had deposited between one hundred-five and one hundred thirty-seven emigrants from the East into the valley -- this is the first consequence of "Oregon Fever" (many of these people would relocate to California the next year [1843] and the "Great Migration" of [1843], with 900 more pioneers, was organizing on the Missouri frontier)

French Prairie settlers as recorded by Dr. John McLoughlin increased at to eighty-three families Willamette population verged on a dramatic shift to an American preponderance however, the British government still hoped to establish the boundary along the Columbia River Most of the Americans living in Oregon were pioneers -- these were people of dependable classes they were to constitute the vast bulk of home builders, settlers and trades people in the west many were originally from New England

they became the political, educational, and moral leaders of the region seldom was there a more respectable or more substantial group of immigrants than those who comprised the members of the great caravans that arrived annually over the Oregon Trail down-and-outers found no place of welcome in the Oregon caravans considerable outlay of cash was needed before going over the Trail to outfit oneself with essential equipment -- wagon, livestock, foodstuffs, tools shiftless and indolent classes found it difficult even to raise the capital necessary

ANTI-CATHOLIC FEELINGS SURFACE IN OREGON COUNTRY

Missionary rivalries added to the difficulties of converting Indians unflattering impressions of Catholics spread from the East coast to the West Catholics responded in kind rather than in kindness

One of Rev. Jason Lee's clerical assistants described the Oregon Country population: **"There are about 200 French Canadians in the settlement, all of whom are Papists of the most ignorant and bigoted type; the Roman Catholic priests in the country domineer over them to their entire satisfaction, consequently there is little probability that any Protestant influence that can be exerted upon them will ever convert them from their vain system of relics and image worship, to the true principles of the gospel."**⁴¹¹

Father Demers appraised the Methodist clergy as: **"...men without learning, without education, and you comprehend men of that sort, former sailors, former soldiers, former packing-case porters...."**⁴¹²

Such quarrelsome bickering went a long way toward confusing the natives

FIRST AMERICAN OFFICIAL CALLS FOR A MEETING OF AMERICAN SETTLERS

Sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White called a meeting of the Willamette Falls settlers he implied that as the only American official his powers were far more elastic than those usually attributed to such a position

⁴¹¹ Gordon B. Dodds, *The American Northwest*, P. 60.

⁴¹² Gordon B. Dodds, *The American Northwest*, P. 60.

This suggestion was received with rancor from his fellow Americans especially the immigrants who had accompanied him overland and recalled too clearly how they forced him to give up his captain's position on the trail Methodist missionaries who had known him during his first visit to Oregon also did not accept Dr. White's authority -- regardless whether it was real or imagined

ISLAND MILLING COMPANY COMPETES FOR LAND AT WILLAMETTE FALLS

Methodist missionary Rev. Alvin F. Waller had been living at Willamette Falls for two years after using Dr. McLoughlin's lumber to build a church and parsonage there Rev. Waller continued to quarrel with Dr. McLoughlin over the Chief Factor's land claim assuming the Chief Factor's land to be his own Rev. Alvin F. Waller took up a section of land at Willamette Falls which overlapped Dr. John McLoughlin's property Methodist missionaries led by Rev. Waller formed the Island Milling Society -- October 1842 they constructed and operated a small sawmill on (Governor Island) in the Willamette River and were making plans for a grist (flour) mill on Dr. McLoughlin's land in what seemed to be an effort to secure an American claim to the land near the falls

DR. WHITMAN AND ASA LOVEJOY REACH FORT HALL

Together the two men after leaving Waiilatpu Mission covered the five hundred miles to Fort Hall in eleven days -- October 14, 1842 at Fort Hall they learned if they were to keep to the main road Sioux war parties along the Platte Trail would attempt to stop them In an effort to find a way across the Rocky Mountains Whitman and Lovejoy swung south making a long, almost disastrous, detour over an old Spanish Trail through (Colorado and New Mexico) to Taos poor guides, shrieking snowstorms, fatigue, starvation, and frostbite plagued their effort

CATHOLIC PRIESTS LANGLOIS AND BOLDOC ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

After staying in Astoria for almost a month Fathers Antoine Langlois and J.B.Z. Bolduc were greeted at Fort Vancouver by Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin -- October 15, 1842 Traveling through the Willamette Valley they arrived at St. Paul's Mission which served retired Hudson's Bay Company employees and Indians at Willamette Falls -- October 17 they were greeted by Father Francis Blanchet who asked the newly arrived priests to join with him in performing religious services afterward Blanchet gave them their appointments Father Antoine Langlois was to remain at St. Paul's Mission Father J.B.Z. Bolduc was to serve at St. Francis Xavier Mission along the Cowlitz River with Father Modeste Demers

MRS. NARCISSA WHITMAN FLEES FROM WAILLATPU

Without the support of her husband at the mission, Narcissa became frightened Tamsuky, Chief of the Tilaukait, had tried to break into Mrs. Whitman's bedroom with the intention of assaulting her

he was driven off by one of Mrs. Whitman's Kanaka (Hawaiian) servants
Terrified, Narcissa decided to leave Waiilatpu Mission to seek safety
she gathered up the metis daughters of Joe Meek and Jim Bridger
and an orphaned boy she had adopted a short time before
Hudson's Bay Company Clerk Archibald McKinley, currently in charge of Fort Walla Walla,
escorted her to the Hudson's Bay post for protection
She decided to travel on to the Methodist station of Wascopam at Celilo Falls
taking the three children with her
While she was gone the Whitman's gristmill at Waiilatpu mysteriously burned down

UNITED STATES-SPANISH RELATIONS DETERIORATE

It was understood by Mexicans and Americans alike that war with Mexico
would result in California being captured by the American naval fleet
In fact, U.S. Naval Commodore Thomas Jones commander of the American Pacific Fleet
believed war already had broken out between the two nations
he captured the Mexican capital of Monterey and raised the American flag -- October 20, 1842
but after learning of his mistake he apologized gave up the place the next day

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET COMPLETES ANOTHER JOURNEY

It could be called a miracle that the seriously damaged steamboat *Omega*
managed to reach St. Louis sixty-four days later -- Sunday, October 25, 1842
Father De Smet was unscathed as he finished another successful round trip of 5000 miles
he hurried to St. Louis Cathedral to thank his Lord and the Church officials he served

IN ST. LOUIS FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET WRITES OF HIS ADVENTURES

On this occasion, he took the time to put his colorful exploits on paper
these letters were joined together to become his first book:
Western Missions and Missionaries: A Series of Letters
publication would help to make his work among the Northwestern tribes
known to a greater audience
It slowly dawned on Father De Smet that Jesuits would require considerable resources
to establish a successful Catholic mission in the Rocky Mountains
once again he would have to solicit more aid in Europe
but first he must attempt to find more financial support for his plans in the United States
(he visited New Orleans, Boston, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Baltimore,
Washington City, Philadelphia and New York City and solicited no less than \$5,000)

AMERICANS ATTEMPT TO BEGIN A TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT

Overtures were again made to Hudson's Bay Company employees and retirees
to join with the American settlers in a temporary (provisional) government
and a meeting to consider the matter was held at French Prairie -- autumn 1842
Hudson's Bay Company men declined to attend
presumably acting on the advice of Dr. McLoughlin and Father Blanchet
McLoughlin saw that to aid or allow the establishment of any government

that owed exclusive allegiance to the United States
would be disloyal to his country and his Company
an Independent government would be preferable to one that was pro-American
although there was a danger that such an organization might fall under the control
of Americans and might enact laws detrimental to his unsettled claim to land
at Willamette Falls south of the Columbia River
therefore Dr. McLoughlin tried to avoid the issue
until the matter of the international boundary could be settled

PIONEER DESTINATIONS IN OREGON

Willamette Valley was always pointed out as most desirable
Willamette Falls (later Oregon City in today's Clackamas)
was located at the Falls of the Willamette River [1829]
it had been established by Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
this was the first permanent white settlement in the Willamette Valley
in addition to the homes of retired Hudson's Bay Company employees
the village featured a sawmill
Champoeg was the home of the French-Canadians and their ethnically mixed families
they had settled south of Champoeg (in present Marion County)
French Prairie population increased to eighty-three families
as counted by Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
Champoeg was also an active community composed Methodist missionaries at Mission Bottom
and American mountain men
this was a natural attraction to arriving immigrants from the United States
(it had been the home of the Indian Mission Manuel Labor Training School before it closed
it soon became a prime port for the thriving river trade on the Willamette)
Chemeteka (Salem, Oregon in Marion County)
was the growing area settled by Rev. Jason Lee
Methodist missionaries often turned to farming and business opportunities
residents here had led the movement for a creation of a Code of Laws Committee
with the prospect of forming a government
Rocky Mountain Retreat on the Tualatin Plains
was a newer settlement of American ex-fur traders and their ethnically mixed families

RUMOR OF AN INDIAN UPRISING GENERATES FEAR IN OREGON

Rumors persisted that an Indian alliance had been formed
among the Cayuse, Nez Perce and Walla Walla Indians to carry out aggression -- autumn 1842
against the missionary stations in the interior and against the Willamette valley settlements
reports were coming in so frequently the settlements felt an increased need for protection
Americans called on the French-Canadians to join with them
and agitated for a local meeting to deal with the threat

but this idea was opposed by Hudson's Bay Company and Catholic leaders who said that as **“subjects of Queen Victoria and did not wish to forswear their country -- they could not consistently enter into any measure that might prove prejudicial to her Majesty's government.”**⁴¹³

DR. ELIJAH WHITE WRITES LAWS TO BE IMPOSED ON THE INDIANS

Rumors of an Indian alliance and the threats faced by Mrs. Whitman at Waiilatpu Mission together with reports of general restlessness among the Indians east of the Cascade Mountains led sub-Indian Agent White to compile a code of laws for the Indians

Dr. White obtained the services of:

- Thomas McKay, the metis son of Alexander McKay
(the partner in Astor's company who was lost on the ship *Tonquin* [1811]),
- Cornelius Rogers the frequently reassigned American Board Missionary,
- Baptiste Dorion, the son of Pierre and Madam Marie Dorion,
(this couple had served as Astorian Wilson Price Hunt's interpreter [1811-1814])

Sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White with these three men and a small armed party hurried across the Cascade Mountains to impose peace with the Indians (even if it already existed) under his newly written code of laws

Dr. White was peculiarly fortunate as his choice of companions were joined at Fort Walla Walla by Chief Trader Archibald McKinlay who represented the Hudson's Bay Company and thus guaranteed the success of the mission

Dr. White's Expedition continued directly into Nez Perce country

ST. MARY'S MISSION ON THE BITTERROOT RIVER ENJOYS GREAT SUCCESS

Catholic priests Gregory Mengarini and Nicolas Point and Lay Brothers Charles Duet, Joseph Specht and Willem Claessens had baptized hundreds of Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles
Father Jean-Pierre De Smet had promised the Coeur d'Alene natives a mission of Black Robes he now sought to deliver on his promise

FATHER DE SMET HONORS HIS PROMISE TO THE COEUR D'ALENE INDIANS

Father Nicholas Point had just completed a successful season of buffalo hunting with the Flatheads

Father De Smet ordered Father Point to open a mission for the Coeur d'Alenes

Father Point, content working among the Flathead Indians, resented it he wondered why he had to be the one to fulfill the pledge

Father De Smet accompanied by Father Nicholas Point and Brother Charles Duet and interpreter Louis Brown set out from St. Mary's Mission

to keep Father De Smet's promise to the Coeur d'Alene people -- November 4, 1842

Father Nicholas Point noted that the Coeur d'Alene Indians were living in twenty-seven villages around Lake Coeur d'Alene

they selected a location not far from the northern end of Lake Coeur d'Alene

DR. ELIJAH WHITE HOLDS A COUNCIL WITH THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

United States government had always dealt with Indian tribes as if they were individual nations

⁴¹³ Laura B. Downey Bartlett. *Student's History of the Northwest*. P, 140.

if no tribal government existed one was imposed by the whites to foster negotiations
Sub-Indian Agent White persuaded the Nez Perce to elect a head chief and sub-chiefs
who would be responsible for enforcing the code of laws presented to the tribal councils
by Dr. White and by Tom McKay and the Hudson's Bay Company

Dr. White gave assurances to the principal chiefs of the kindly intentions
of the United States government -- November 1842

he noted: **"...the sad consequences that would ensue to any white men, from this time, who should invade their rights, by stealing, murder, selling them damaged for good articles, or alcohol, of which they are not fond."**⁴¹⁴

Elijah White later persuaded the more sullen Cayuse Indians to also elect chiefs
but in assuring the natives Dr. White not only promised more than he could deliver,
he prepared the way for subsequent accusations on the part of the Indians
that whites wished to have one set of laws for the natives and another for themselves

MOUNT SAINT HELENS ERUPTS

Nearby settlers and missionaries witnessed a series of steam eruptions -- fall 1842
as small volume flare-ups created large ash clouds
Mount St. Helens spewed a large amount of ash in a "Great Eruption" -- November 22, 1842
which was witnessed by Rev. Josiah Parrish among others
ash may have reached the Dalles forty-eight miles southeast of the volcano
small, infrequent explosions followed [through 1857]

EVENTS AT WILLAMETTE FALLS ESCALATE BAD FEELINGS

Most of the recent overland immigrants were indebted to Dr. John McLoughlin
almost all of the other Americans in Oregon were his customers and clients
An estimated population of 137 American pioneers lived near the Falls of the Willamette River
Felix Hathaway had conveyed all his rights and title to Governor Island
to the Oregon Milling Company operated by Alvin F. Waller and the Methodist mission
Rev. Waller became the first person officially listed on the deed -- November 23, 1842
Dr. John McLoughlin became convinced some of the Methodist missionaries
intended to take his land and to deprive him of his water rights at Willamette Falls
to protect his rights, McLoughlin built a sawmill on the river bank near the island
and gave notice that he would construct a flourmill in a short time

CATHOLICS OPENS A MISSION AMONG THE COEUR D' ALENE INDIANS

Father Nicholas Point and Brother Charles Duet at their winter camp opened a mission
on the north shore of Lake Coeur d'Alene
where the Spokane River flows out -- December 2, 1842
(where the modern city of Coeur d'Alene is located)
Father Point's first activities included assembling the people into a single locale

WILLAMETTE FALLS BECOMES OREGON CITY

⁴¹⁴ Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon*, P.543.

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin had claimed the land at Willamette Falls [1829]
this became a settlement of former Hudson's Bay Company employees and voyageurs
Dr. McLoughlin, already disputed the Methodist missionaries occupation of the island mill site,
now he decided to formally manage his property at Willamette Falls
Lansford W. Hastings took a job acting as attorney for Dr. John McLoughlin
in the Willamette Falls land dispute with the Methodist mission
Dr. John McLoughlin platted the town site (of Oregon City) -- December 1842
on his two-square mile "land claim" at the falls of the Willamette River
between the riverbank and the timbered bluffs to the east
Jesse Applegate, also a recent arrival, surveyed the town site
Dr. McLoughlin hired Sidney W. Moss and J.M. Hudspeth to survey building lots
they used a pocket compass and a rope
(this would be the common practice until [1851] when the first U.S. survey was conducted)
Dr. McLoughlin began to lay out the streets of the town
community previously known as Willamette Falls he renamed Oregon City -- December 1842
Oregon City was established as the first non-company settlement in the Pacific Northwest

POLITICAL INSTABILITY PREVAILS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Idea of an independent government not controlled by either Great Britain or the United States
had originated with the Methodist mission -- or, more accurately, its most prominent members
thus it was regarded to be a "missionary movement"
Much uncertainty existed in the minds of American settlers
Rev. Jason Lee himself seems to have regarded his own government movement
as a means of winning the land dispute with Dr. John McLoughlin
over ownership of property in Oregon City
and as a means of diminishing the power of Hudson's Bay Company south of the Columbia
and thus detaching the French-Canadians from company domination
however, with those purposes unattainable for the present,
Rev. Jason Lee had lost interest in any government at all

LAND DISPUTE IN OREGON CITY INTENSIFIES

Methodist missionaries continued to operate the Island Milling Company sawmill
and advanced plans for a grist mill
Lansford W. Hastings represented Dr. John McLoughlin
in the land dispute with Rev. Waller and with Rev. Jason Lee's Methodist mission
Settlers quickly divided into two camps: Pro-Waller and Pro-McLoughlin
these two camps also could be identified as:

- American versus British
- Missionary-farmers versus Hudson's Bay Company
- Methodist versus Catholic

FATHER DE SMET WRITES AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS ACROSS THE FRONTIER

Father Jean-Pierre De Smet hit upon a plan to raise funds for his work among the Indians
during his travels visiting tribes on the frontier Father Pierre-Jean De Smet disciplined himself

to write an account of the day's events each evening
during extended stops at rendezvous or forts and on steamboat journeys
he compiled these into letters
Father De Smet compiled fifteen letters into a packet edited by Father Superior Pierre Verhaegen
whose command of English was better than De Smet's
these were sent them to a Philadelphia publisher
sixteen pen-and-ink drawings by Father Nicholas Point provided illustrations
*Letters and Sketches with a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky
Mountains* recapped De Smet's [1840] journey
also included was pull-out copy of De Smet's "Catholic Ladder"
used to explain to the Indians the progression of Christianity
from Adam and Eve to the present
now the priest had something he could present as a gift for generous donors
or, if necessary, to sell
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet embarked on his "begging tour" that began in New Orleans

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN CONTINUES ON HIS RIDE EAST

From Taos (in today's New Mexico) Dr. Whitman and Asa L. Lovejoy rode north and east
along Santa Fe Trail to Bent's Fort (Colorado)
Severe winter of 1842-1843 overtook the two travelers and they became lost in snow and blizzards
fighting cold and exposure and lacking proper food they nearly came to death
After arriving at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River -- early January 1843
Asa L. Lovejoy's strength gave out as he was worn down by the ordeal
too weak to go on -- he was forced to remain at Bent's Fort
Alone, Dr. Whitman continued on without rest suffering from frozen hands, feet and face
he hurried to overtake a fur traders' caravan bound for Independence, Missouri
catching them he rode with the caravan toward civilization
Dr. Whitman dressed like a hunter in buckskin clothing traveling with the fur traders' caravan
reached Independence, Missouri
Dr. Marcus Whitman had ridden over the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains in winter

ECONOMIC INSECURITY PERMEATES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

American pioneers were concerned about Hudson's Bay Company
what if its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, became self-sufficient
and no longer needed their wheat to fulfill its Russian contracts;
what if Dr. John McLoughlin ever decided, for whatever reason, not to sell them
ammunition or cloth or hardware, as he was already declining to sell livestock,
what would they do then?

METHODIST MISSIONARIES SEEK TO CREATE AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT

Strong advocates for the Methodist mission and their missionary leaders
banned together to form what was locally referred to as the "Mission Party"
Mission Party members wanted a provisional (temporary) government that would protect land claims
and provide protection against predatory animals, natives, Catholics,

Hudson's Bay Company and anyone else considered to be an enemy
Methodist missionaries believed they should be able to individually claim
one mile square of land or 640 acres of his own
additional family members should also claim 640 acres each
they were especially focused on the huge land grants held by the Methodist mission itself
it should be able to claim a township six miles on a side totaling 23,040 acres of land

SUB-INDIAN AGENT DR. ELIJAH WHITE EXERTS HIS AUTHORITY

Dr. Elijah White very much wished to be the American leader in Oregon
Dr. Elijah White called together the settlers of the Willamette Valley
to present his credentials as sub-agent to the Indians
he implied that he, as sole representative of the United States west of the Rockies,
held power far stronger than those in his position usually possessed
Dr. White's listeners were not impressed
Methodists missionaries who had associated with him during his first visit to the Northwest
remembered the bitter power struggles with Rev. Jason Lee
those who had traveled West with him by wagon train
recalled boisterously removing him from his position as captain

YERBA BUENA (SAN FRANCISCO) POST EXPERIENCES SOME DIFFICULTY OF LEADERSHIP

William Glen Rae, Dr. McLoughlin's son-in-law and the manager of the Yerba Buena post,
living far from Fort Vancouver often lacked the detailed instructions he needed
Chief Trader Rae had taken to drink
he squandered Hudson's Bay Company money, so it was said, on a Spanish beauty
and then supported a rebel group with weapons and ammunition
that failed in its attempted coup of the Mexican government

DR. McLOUGHLIN'S REPORTS TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY DIRECTORS IN LONDON

Chief Factor John McLoughlin wrote an endless stream of report to Company directors
he became increasingly reckless
page after page which should have been confined to company business
was filled with scathing charges against Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson
and with plaintive rehashings of the most minute aspects of the death of his son
these reports, of course, passed through Simpson's hands on their way to London
they did McLoughlin's case no good when the governor discovered amidst the verbiage
what seemed to him some questionable, or at least careless, bookkeeping
viciously Simpson pounced with alarming charges regarding the Chief Factor's honesty
One final charge leveled against the Chief Factor by Governor Simpson
was McLoughlin's fatal disobedience regarding the post at Yerba Buena
he had not closed the business -- a direct violation of his orders from the Governor

CHEMEKETA METHODIST CHURCH IS CONSTRUCTED

Chemeketa Methodist Church (today's First United Methodist Church in Salem)
had served as the headquarters for Rev. Jason Lee and his missionaries [beginning in 1841]

Methodist missionaries constructed the first building in Oregon
that was to serve only as a protestant church to serve the growing number of settlers -- 1843

AMERICANS IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY HAVE GRAVE CONCERNS

Destruction of their livestock caused grave concerns among the American settlers in Oregon
grizzlies, black bears, cougars and wolves ranged freely in the Willamette Valley
also no government existed to provide any form of law and order in Oregon
or to give validity to the settlers' land claims
American settlers other than Methodist missionaries decided to meet
to discuss a means of protecting against numerous wild beasts
which preyed on cattle and other livestock -- at least that was their stated objective
notice of a meeting at Chemeketa (Salem) in the Oregon Institute building was issued

TRAGEDIES OCCURRED FREQUENTLY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

After leaving the other American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions missionaries
Cornelius Rogers and his wife Satira were moving to Oregon City
where they intended to make their future home -- February 1843
This journey was taken in a large Chinook canoe paddled by four Indians
passengers included: Dr. Elijah White and Nathaniel Crocker of the overland migration,
Methodist W.W. Raymond, Cornelius Rodgers, his wife and her sickly younger sister Aurelia
(both were the daughters of Rev. David Leslie)
Arriving at the rapids above Willamette Falls it was necessary to make a portage
a rope was attached to the canoe as was the custom
W.W. Raymond and two of the Indians walked along the rocks holding the rope
while approaching a landing place just above the falls
as the canoe came alongside a log, Dr. White attempted to step out
instantly a strong current caught the stern of the canoe, capsized it,
and tore the rope away from those along the riverbank
in a moment, Cornelius Rodgers, his wife, and her sister were swept over the falls
Their canoe was smashed into a thousand fragments
and its passengers were swallowed up in the whirlpool below
Cornelius and Satira Rogers and her younger sister Aurelia Leslie were lost -- February 1, 1843
additionally two natives and Nathaniel Crocker also lost their lives in the disaster
this was a fearful blow to the colony
as the sad news was carried through the settlement all business was suspended
general grief and sadness permeated the inhabitants

FIRST WOLF MEETING IS HELD IN CHEMEKETA

First Wolf Meeting was presided over by Supreme Judge with probate powers Dr. Ira Babcock
at the Chemeketa (Salem) Oregon Institute building -- February 2, 1843
American William H. Willson was chosen secretary
only a few of the Methodist missionaries attended the meeting
Attendees discussed the problem of predatory animals attacking their herds
settlers selected a Committee of Six composed of William H. Gray, Alanson Beers,

Joseph Gervais, William H. Willson, Etienne Lucier, and G.W. Bellamy
Committee of Six was charged with writing a report regarding how to protect the local livestock
they were also charged with making arrangements for a general meeting
where they would give their report

COMMITTEE OF SIX WRITES ITS REPORT

Committee of Six went to work writing a report for the colony
offering a solution to protect their livestock
Once that was completed arrangements were made to hold a general meeting
to give their report to the colonists
they decided to be meet (the first Monday in March (6th)
at Joseph Gervais' home on French Prairie
William H. Gray, a lay missionary who had settled in the Willamette Valley,
cherished the hope of forming a local government
he was tireless in his efforts to set the groundwork for a government
he rode through the valley convincing doubters
and reassuring all those who desired action to attend the meeting

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY BECOMES THE FOCUS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

One United States Senate Committee reported -- 1843
on the best means of promoting colonization of Oregon: **“The occupation and settlements of Oregon by American citizens will of itself operate to repel all European intruders, except those who come to enjoy the blessings of our laws, this would secure us more powerful arguments than any diplomacy could invent or use to assert and maintain our just rights in that country if war should ever be necessary to preserve and protect them.”**⁴¹⁵

U.S. SENATOR LEWIS F. LINN (OF MISSOURI) HAS PARTIAL SUCCESS

For a second time Sen. Linn introduced a Bill into Congress intended to expand America:

- extend United States jurisdiction over Oregon,
- provide for establishment of a territorial government,
- construct a chain of forts along the Oregon Trail,
- provide free land to immigrants to the Pacific Northwest
640 Acres to every adult and 160 acres for every child

Linn's Bill squeaked through the United States Senate by a vote of 24 to 22 -- February 3, 1843
if it passed the House of Representatives, as the West was mistakenly sure it would,
every white male in the Northwest could claim 640 acres in his own name
and generous additional allotments in the names of his wife and children
public meetings were held regarding the Pacific Northwest question
where resolutions to Congress urging passage of the Linn Bill were adopted
Enthusiasm and hope which was aroused in the early pioneers did much to encourage emigration
wagon trains gathered at the Oregon Trailheads to proceed to the new Utopia
(Sen. Linn's Bill later died in the House of Representatives)

⁴¹⁵ Derek Hays, *Historical Atlas of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*, P. 132.

DISPUTE DIVIDES OREGON CITY INTO TWO CAMPS

Thirty houses had been built on Dr. John McLoughlin's Oregon City town sight
Methodist missionary and church pastor, Alvin F. Waller
quarreled with Dr. John McLoughlin over land claims in Oregon City

SECOND WOLF MEETING IS HELD AT THE HOME OF JOSEPH GERVAIS

Pioneers of the Willamette Valley held a general meeting at Joseph Gervais' house -- March 6, 1843
Gervais was a retired Hudson's Bay Company employee who now grew wheat on French Prairie
he was a Catholic who served on Rev. Jason Lee's local Mission Board
and was respected by French-Canadians and Americans alike
Several mountain men who followed the guidance of Robert "Doc" Newell
had made the transition from trapper to state builder
Doc Newell and his followers comprised what became known as the "Newell Party"
they played a prominent role in the meeting as they provided leadership
James O'Neil was called upon to preside over the meeting
he had come West with Nathaniel Wyeth[1834]
and was a member of the Willamette Cattle Company
Committee of Six that had been selected during the First Wolf Meeting [February 1841]
was prepared with a resolution advising bounties to be paid for killing predatory animals
with money contributed by the settlers
and that officers be appointed to manage the business

"Resolved:

1st That we deem it highly expedient for this community to take immediate measures to destroy all Wolves, Bears and Panthers and such animals as are known to be destructive to Cattle, Horses, Sheap (sic) & Hogs---

2 Resolved. That a Treasurer be appointed who shall receive all funds raised & distribute the same in accordance with drafts drawn on him by the Committee to receive the evidences of the destruction of the above named animals, & that he report the state of the Treasury, by posting up public notices once in three months in the vicinity of each of the Committee--

3 Resolved. That a Standing Committee of 8 be appointed whose duty it shall be together with the Treasurer to receive the proofs or evidences of the animals for which a bounty is claimed having been killed within the Willamette Valley---

4 Resolved. That a bounty of Fifty cents be paid for the destroying a small wolf, \$3.00 for the Large. \$1.50 for the Lynx, Bear & \$5.00 for the Panther ---

5 Resolved, That no bounty be paid except -- the individual claiming a bounty give Satisfactory evidence by presenting to Committee, The Skin of the head with the ears of all animals for which he claims a bounty---"

6 Resolved -- That the Committee and Treasurer form a board of advice to call public meetings whenever they deem it expedient to promote & encourage all persons to use their vigilance in destruction (sic) all the animals named...

7. Resolved, That the Bounty Specified...be limited to Whites and their descendents when they present proofs of having destroyed one or mor (sic) of the animals for which a bounty is to be given--

8. Resolved, That -- The proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman -- and Secretary and a copy of the Resolves etc etc be presented to the Recorder of this Colony --

these resolutions were passed by voice vote
Most of the offices established in [1841] to probate the estate of Ewing Young were vacant by 1843 because the probate government had no particular power beyond settling estates of the recently deceased when they left no will or heirs
New “Wolf Association” officers were elected
George LeBreton was elected secretary
he was both French-Canadian in origin and Catholic
but he also was one of the leading Oregon settlers
he had journeyed from Baltimore to the Pacific Northwest
widely respected, he possessed a keen mind and was well educated
and his affiliations were with the Americans
William H. Gray was chosen Treasurer
he had been a lay member of the Whitman-Spalding missionary group
but had resigned [1842] and moved to Chemeketa to work at the Oregon Institute
J. C. Bridges who had crossed the plains to the Pacific Northwest with Dr. Elijah White 1842] and George W. LeBreton were to collect the funds from settlers to be paid out in bounties
an assessment of \$5.00 was levied on each herd
It was resolved that drafts drawn on Fort Vancouver, the Methodist missions and the milling company at Oregon City all be received as payment
hard money was so scarce in Oregon that wheat was accepted as legal tender
receipt for sixty bushels of wheat stored in the Hudson’s Bay Company granary sufficed
this was the crop grown by Americans in Willamette Valley

SECOND WOLF MEETING TAKES STEPS TO ORGANIZE A GOVERNMENT

This second meeting of the American pioneers in Oregon provided an opportunity to reintroduce the possibility of establishing a temporary (provisional) government
Just as the Second Wolf Meeting was about to adjourn

William H. Gray suggested the Americans also needed protection from human enemies
he proposed a motion that squarely faced the need for a government:

“How is it, fellow-citizens, with you and me, and our wives and children? Have we any organization on which we can rely for mutual protection? Is there any power in the country sufficient to protect us and all that we hold dear, from the worse than wild beasts that threaten and occasionally destroy our cattle? We have mutually and unitedly agreed to defend and protect our cattle and domestic animals; now, therefore, fellow-citizens, I submit and move the adoption of the two following resolutions, that we may have protection for our lives and persons, as well as our cattle and herds: *Resolved* that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony; *Resolved* that this committee consist of twelve persons.”⁴¹⁶

Following Gray’s proposal the subject of organizing the community into a government was fully discussed and this concept received a favorable vote

⁴¹⁶ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 191.

Committee of Twelve members composed mainly of Americans, was appointed to undertake the responsibility of formulating some kind of government for Oregon:
Dr. Ira Babcock served as Chairman, Dr. Elijah White, James A. O'Neil, Robert Shortess, Robert "Doc" Newell, Etienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, Thomas J. Hubbard, Charles McRoy, William H. Gray, Sidney Smith and George Gay

It was widely understood the outcome of the committee meeting would be either:

- submission of a plan of government for the Willamette Valley;
- or a proposition to initiate the necessary preliminary steps to organize a government

Before the meeting Catholic Father Francis Blanchet had prepared a statement that reflected the concerns of the French-Canadians and Hudson's Bay Company regarding plans to form a government
however, this was not read at the meeting as no plan for a government had been submitted
Blanchet's statement was handed to Secretary George LeBreton
but it was "laid on the table" (delayed) until the committee of twelve should report

OREGON CITY LYCEUM AND DEBATING SOCIETY DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT OPTIONS

Development of a government to protect both persons and property was much discussed by settlers
even more significant was the question of protection of land claims
if and when it became possible to file a claim

under the terms of the [1818] Joint Occupation agreement neither United States nor Great Britain could govern Oregon (Great Britain's Columbia District)
any local government would have to be temporary

Options were several and confusing:

- wait for the United States and Great Britain to negotiate a resolution to the question of who had jurisdiction over Oregon or the Columbia District;
- do nothing and remain under the benevolent protection of Hudson's Bay Company which could impose new requirements or even leave the region at its discretion;
- become an independent nation much like the Lone Star Republic (Texas in [1836]);
- create a provisional (temporary) government until the United States exerted authority over the region -- if that could ever be successfully accomplished

What type of government Oregon should have was a topic fiercely discussed
Oregon City Lyceum and Debating Society took up the question at their March 1836 meeting

Missionary members were focused on the huge land grants claimed by the missions
they believed the local government should imitate their countrymen in Texas
and declare themselves a Pacific Republic like the [1836] Lone Star Republic had done
by forming a Provisional (temporary) Government to meet local needs
they would be independent of both the United States and Great Britain

Robert "Doc" Newell, who had progressed from trapper to government organizer, presented his position to the Oregon City Lyceum and Debating Society regarding establishing a provisional government

American to the core, Newell and his friends of the "Newell Party" favored the smallest possible government
one that would cost little but would respond to minor issues that arose
and stand ready to deal with any Indian troubles that might arise

above all Newell and his friends opposed any form of government that implied any movement toward an independent government like the Lone Star Republic they feared an independent government would be controlled by French-Canadians and Hudson's Bay Company they would wait patiently for recognition by the United States
Lansford W. Hastings offered as a topic for debate: **“That it is expedient for the settlers upon the Pacific coast to establish an independent government.”**

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SEEKS A NEW HEADQUARTERS FOR COLUMBIA DISTRICT

As only a limited supply of furs remained in the Columbia River area
Hudson's Bay Company feared the British government would give up the Columbia District unless the Company was firmly established north of the Columbia River
Hudson's Bay Company proposed a new post to serve as a fur trading center
Chief Factor James Douglas anchored the ship *Beaver* off Clover Point -- March 15, 1843
Douglas selected the site for a new post -- Fort Albert (later Fort Victoria) the next day on the southern tip of Vancouver Island at the Songhees settlement of Camosack (Camosun) (named in honor of the “camosack” a type of wild lily native to Vancouver Island) (near the site of the present-day Empress Hotel on Victoria's Inner Harbor)
he found the locale relatively clear and ready for farming
in case evacuation of land south of the Columbia River became necessary

CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON FORT CAMOSUN (FORT VICTORIA)

Hudson's Bay Company established their first settlement on Vancouver Island
construction party led by Chief Trader Charles Ross arrived on the company ship *Cadboro*
work began on the new Hudson's Bay Company stockade -- March 16, 1843
logs three feet in circumference and twenty-two feet long were obtained from local Indians
Company loaned axes to the natives who fell the trees and drag them to the site
natives were paid one prime Hudson's Bay blanket for every forty logs
Although British subjects and Americans enjoyed equal rights west of the Rocky Mountains
British company had virtually eliminated competition in the fur trade between 54°40' and 42° N
But the need to fill the contracts with the Russian-American Company made diversification necessary
farming had been expanded at Fort Vancouver and in the Cowlitz Valley
French-Canadian settlers had been brought in from the Red River Colony (Winnipeg, Manitoba)
American settlers in increasing numbers began at first to trickle in,
and then to stream into the Willamette Valley
these Yankees were increasingly hostile to British occupation
Establishment of Fort Camosun (Victoria) signaled the last great days
of Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia District

COMMITTEE OF TWELVE HOLDS A SERIES OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

Committee of Twelve held six meetings at the newly opened Methodist Oregon Institute
Dr. Ira Babcock presided -- March [April and May]
these deliberations were open to everyone
Residents of the Willamette Valley talked of nothing else but the merits of provisional government

most French-Canadians were loyal to Hudson's Bay Company
they were opposed to any form of government
Dr. John McLoughlin, who held the most valuable land holdings in Oregon City,
had announced his intention to become a United States citizen
and appeared in favor of an independent government (like Texas)
rather than a provisional local government that would favor the United States
some Americans were for the idea of provisional government; some were against
many were confused
Dr. Elijah White seemed to think his federal appointment as sub-Indian Agent
already gave him the power to govern the settlers
at least until some real government came into existence
Missionary members insisted on a provisional government
but Rev. Jason Lee and George Abernathy were opposed to the organization
of any government as they felt it was
“both unnecessary in itself and unwise in the manner proposed”⁴¹⁷
Newell Party mountain men favored a small pro-American provisional government
but feared an independent government would be dominated
by Hudson's Bay Company and French-Canadians
Committee of Twelve designated [May 2, 1843], at Champoege, as the time and place **“to consider
the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of the colony”**⁴¹⁸

OREGON CITY LYCEUM AND DEBATING SOCIETY DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT

Lansford W. Hastings debate topic was presented: **“That it is expedient for the settlers upon the Pacific coast to establish an independent government.”** -- March 1843
prominent citizens zealously participated in the discussion addressing
forming a provisional government at once or waiting for the United States to act first
enough settlers favored independence to make the debate intense and the division close
disgust with inaction by the government in Washington City was such that the motion carried
George Abernathy, a lay worker at the Methodist mission attempted to repair the damage
passage of such an emphatic position would cause among the divided residents of Oregon
he championed the opposite side and offered a resolution for the next debate: **“Resolved, that, if the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country within the next four years, it will not be expedient to form an independent government.”**

Settlers by a large majority still felt a patriotic allegiance to the Mother Country
Abernathy's resolution not to adopt an independent government was approved
this countered Lansford W. Hastings' resolution to create an independent government
those who wanted to wait up to four years for United States recognition “won”

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN ARRIVES IN THE EAST

Continuing East from Independence, Missouri, Whitman hastened to Westport
(today's Kansas City), Missouri before continuing on to the east coast
Dr. Whitman visited Washington City -- March 23, 1843

⁴¹⁷ J. Quinn Thornton, *Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions for 1875*, P. 61.

⁴¹⁸ Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon*, P. 378.

he presented quite a figure wearing his trail-blackened buckskins under a buffalo robe,
his face and hands still showing signs of frostbite,
he called at the War Department and met Secretary of War James M. Porter
legend says (probably incorrectly) he also conferred with President James Tyler
Whitman urged a chain of forts and farming stations be built to protect and supply immigrants
along the yet to be determined route to the Pacific Northwest
Dr. Whitman visited New York City -- March 25, 1843
went to the offices of the great editor of the *New York Tribune* -- Horace Greeley
(who one day would make current the famous quotation: "Go West young man")

YET ANOTHER MEMORIAL IS SENT TO CONGRESS

Robert Shortess had arrived in the Willamette Valley [April 1840]
and had joined the Methodist Church [about 1841]
he held an intense dislike for Hudson's Bay Company and its officers
Robert Shortess and Albert E. Wilson in Oregon City were enemies of Dr. McLoughlin
after agreeing at a Lyceum debate to wait up to four years for American government recognition
they initiated an inaccurate and strongly worded petition to be presented to the U.S. Congress
bristling with malicious charges against Dr. McLoughlin, Hudson's Bay Company
and the British in general dated -- March 25, 1843
what became known as the Shortess Petition began by noting the petitioners had no laws
to govern them and that **"where the highest court of appeal is the rifle, safety in life and
property cannot be depended on."**⁴¹⁹

Shortess Memorial asked the Polk Administration for naval yards, mail service, land grants,
military protection and territorial status
this petition was signed by sixty-five settlers -- first signature on the petition was Robert Shortess
and included the directors of the Oregon Milling Company
about a third of the signers were newly-arrived immigrants
who had been in Oregon for less than six months
It was said that this petition was really drawn by George Abernathy
who was in charge of all secular affairs for the Methodist mission
Abernathy disguised his participation by having a clerk, Albert E. Wilson, copy the petition
if Abernathy appeared unfriendly toward McLoughlin
then the business interests of the mission and Abernathy
could be badly damaged by the Chief Factor
Shortess Petition was dispatched to the east
(although it was published in the Congressional Record there was no official action)

SUB-INDIAN AGENT DR. ELIJAH WHITE SUPPORTS THE SHORTESS PETITION

In an official report to the commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City,
Sub-Indian Agent Dr. White noted the Shortess Petition made bitter complaints
against the Hudson's Bay Company and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin
Dr. White chose to ignore the fact that under the Joint Occupation Agreement

⁴¹⁹ Public Documents Printed by Order of The Senate of the United States, First Session of the Twenty-eighth Congress, December 4, 1843.

every British subject had the same rights as an American citizen in Oregon

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN TRAVELS BY BOAT TO BOSTON

Dr. Whitman continued from New York aboard the steamboat *Narragansett* to Boston where he arrived -- March 30, 1843

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Secretary Rev. David Greene received him coolly

in a letter to the missionaries in the field dated the year before [April 28, 1842]

Rev. Greene had already sent the order to close Waiilatpu Mission

Rev. Greene also had received a letter from Whitman's associates that had arrived by ship

Dr. Whitman convinced the Board to reinstate Rev. Henry Spalding

but no provision was made to hire replacements for the other dismissed missionaries

METHODIST MISSION SOCIETY IS CONCERNED ABOUT REV. JASON LEE'S ACTIVITIES

After reviewing the written concerns of Methodist missionaries in Oregon

along with Dr. Elijah White's accusations, the Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York came to the conclusions that Rev. Jason Lee had selected a bad location for the missions and had made several unwise missionary selections

While in Boston Dr. Marcus Whitman was given a letter by the Methodist Mission Society

to be delivered to Superintendent of Methodist missions Rev. Jason Lee in Oregon -- 1843

this letter accused Jason Lee the of mishandling mission money and of neglecting the Indians

they also noted Jason Lee had established a town which was not a religious colony

Methodist Mission Society had decided to send out a new superintendent by ship around Cape Horn

he was to investigate the charges against Rev. Jason Lee

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN TRAVELS FROM BOSTON TO RUSHVILLE, NEW YORK

Leaving Boston, Dr. Whitman carried new instructions

from the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions

Dr. Whitman made a hurried visit to his old hometown, Rushville, New York

there he adopted Perrin Whitman, his motherless thirteen-year-old nephew

with the youngster in tow, Marcus Whitman again faced toward the frontier

CONGRESSIONAL INACTION IRRITATES AMERICANS ACROSS THE NATION

Missouri U.S. Senator Lewis F. Linn's proposal to create an Oregon Territory failed to pass resentment toward Congressional inaction swept across the nation -- spring 1843

American immigrants in Oregon were being deprived of access to American laws opportunity to occupy, settle and claim land in the West was being denied

Worse in the minds of expansionists, it appeared that Secretary of State Daniel Webster

was willing to concede the Pacific Northwest if Britain would coerce Mexico

into selling Northern California to the United States

AMERICANS DRIVE A HERD FROM CALIFORNIA TO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

(After selling the tiny schooner *Star of Oregon* and spending the winter gathering together a herd

Joseph Gale and his crew of four non-sailors and an Indian boy spent the winter

working in California to buy 3000 sheep, 900 head of cattle making a total of 1250,
and 600 horses and mules purchased at \$3.00 a head)
Joseph Gale and his men persuaded Captain Joe Walker to guide the herd to the Willamette Valley
and convinced an indeterminate number of men, women and even children
to accompany them back to Oregon driving the herd ahead of them -- spring 1843

SACRED HEART MISSION IS ESTABLISHED ON THE ST. JOE RIVER

Father Nicholas Point moved to a site on a river he named after Saint Joseph (St. Joe River)
where it entered the south end of Lake Coeur d'Alene -- spring 1843
there a small log structure was built under the direction of Brother Charles Huet
this was named Sacred Heart Mission
Father Point found the landscape abundant with life
he noted that fishing and hunting were year around activities
canoes could be filled and emptied in only a few hours
180 deer were killed in one day while a different hunting party killed 300 in just six hours
Almost from the first, unfortunately, a chief named Stellam challenged Father Point
because the chief felt threatened by the spiritual power of the Jesuits
(little by little, however, Father Point made progress
he sincerely believed that Sacred Heart Mission would be fully operational
by the time Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, the head of the Rocky Mountain Mission,
returned in another year with needed supplies, tool and additional assistance)

CATHOLIC EFFORT EXPANDS IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

After Father Pierre-Jean De Smet's successful "begging tour" during which he visited
New Orleans, Boston, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington City,
Philadelphia and New York, City -- there he raised some \$5,000 to support his mission work
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet convinced his superior, Father Superior Pierre Verhaegen,
to send more missionaries to the Rocky Mountains
Father Superior Pierre Verhaegen dispatched Father Adrian Hoeken, Father Peter De Vos,
Father Tiberio Soderini, and Brother Michael McGean (or McGill)
from St. Louis to travel to St. Mary's Mission on the Bitterroot River
where they would assist Father Gregory Mengarini and Father Nicholas Point
along with Lay Brothers Joseph Specht and Willem Claessens
Father De Smet, the head of the Rocky Mountain Mission, accompanied the recruits
as they set out for the frontier
they traveled on the steamer *John Auld* as far as Westport, Missouri -- April 25, 1843
at the same time, aboard the steamship *Omega* were passengers
John James Audubon and Etienne Provost
De Smet met these gentlemen when both ships stopped at supply points
In Westport De Smet met John C. Fremont, Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick,
Dr. Marcus Whitman and Sir William Drummond Stewart's "party of pleasure"
made up of approximately seventy men consisting of twenty gentlemen of St. Louis
that included socialites, army officers on leave and several scientists
there were thirty hunters, mule skinnors (drivers) and camp servants

on their way to explore the Rocky Mountains guided by William Sublette
Father De Smet entrusted his Catholic recruits to experienced mountain guide William Sublette
as he himself traveled to St. Louis

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN JOURNEYS BACK TO OREGON

Traveling from Rushville, New York Dr. Whitman arrived at the Shawnee mission
just beyond Westport, Missouri (now within the limits of present-day Kansas City)
While at the Shawnee Mission he noted with some envy
that the methods and equipment available to Presbyterian missionaries
seemed to elicit a better response from the displaced Indians of the East
than did his own efforts among the Cayuse of the Walla Walla Valley
At length, he started for Independence, Missouri in pursuit of the pioneers on their way to Oregon
accompanied by his nephew Perrin and a handful of belated emigrants

THIRD WOLF MEETING (SOMETIMES CALLED THE CHAMPOEG MEETING) TAKES PLACE

While many of the settlers in Oregon City were excited to hear the report of the Committee of Twelve
little interest in politics was apparent in the more outlying areas
Settlers of Oregon came together in a general meeting in an open field at Champoeg **“to consider the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of the colony”**⁴²⁰ -- May 2, 1843
this gathering was not particularly well attended
of the more than one hundred twenty-five Americans living in the Willamette Valley,
only fifty or so showed up
there was a great deal of uncertainty in the minds of American settlers
regarding the best course of action for their personal interests
most were former mountain men or members of the two successful wagon trains
only a few Methodist missionaries even attended the meeting
of the more than eight hundred French-Canadians living in the area
approximately the same number as Americans also attended
many were still opposed to the scheme of establishing a government
however, their opposition was not unanimous

Like the First Wolf Meeting [February 2], it was again chaired by Supreme Judge Dr. Ira Babcock
George W. LeBreton again kept the official minutes and noted the purpose of the meeting was for
“taking steps to organize themselves into a civil community, and provide themselves with protection, secured by the enforcement of law and order.”

William H. Willson and William H. Gray took notes

COMMITTEE OF TWELVE REPORTS TO THE THIRD WOLF MEETING

Committee members had written a referendum to the people
to create a temporary independent government in Oregon
and they had selected a slate of candidates to hold office in this Provisional Government
Committee of Twelve Report was submitted to the assembly
committee members declared themselves in favor of establishing a Provisional Government

⁴²⁰ Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon*, P. 378.

which would apply only to Americans in the community
this “American Plan” was an effort to meet the differing views of United States emigrants
but the proposal was so broad and open ended that it was confusing even to Americans
and opposed out of hand by British subjects attending the Third Wolf Meeting
George W. LeBreton discovered French-Canadians had been coached to vote “NO” on all questions
LeBreton proposed that measures be introduced in such a way
that the French-Canadians ought to vote “YES”

CONFUSION REIGNS AT THE THIRD WOLF MEETING

Those Americans who were in attendance decided to take a vote
on the whole concept of forming a Provisional Government
Voting became bewildering regardless of the intent of the voter:

- Americans found them overwhelmed with questions:
 - Americans who voted “FOR” a Provisional Government could lose their land
because no claims had ever been filed with any government -- there was no government;
 - Americans who voted “AGAINST” would appear disloyal to the other Americans;
 - some Americans feared the probable taxes any government would need;
 - other Americans wanted to form an independent country like Texas had done;
- French-Canadians faced equally difficult prospects:
 - many French-Canadians were opposed to the obvious pro-American takeover
 - those who voted “FOR” would appear disloyal to their peers;
 - but those who voted “AGAINST” would delay the American power play
but also would have no government with which to file a land claim of their own;

There were shouts and quarrels and rappings for order by Chairman Babcock
confusion and excitement swelled to a great crescendo
at one point it appeared the Americans had enough votes to carry the issue
George W. LeBreton carefully watched developments
at the moment he thought he could command a majority of votes he rose and exclaimed:
“We can risk it, let us divide and count!”⁴²¹
William H. Gray shouted, **“I second the motion!”**⁴²²
a Division of the House was called for on the question of proceeding to organize
Committee of Twelve Report was voted on and appeared about to be declared lost
primarily due to the inclusion of a governor in the list of governmental officers

JOE MEEK TAKES CHARGE OF THE THIRD WOLF MEETING

Joe Meek, former American mountain man turned farmer and person of considerable influence
in the colony, stepped grandly in front of the excited crowd
swinging his fur cap in the air he shouted a war whoop
Meek picked up a stick and in his loudest voice he yelled: **“Divide. Divide. Who’s for a divide?
All those in favor of the report of the Committee, the American Flag, and an organization follow
me.”**⁴²³

⁴²¹ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 192.

⁴²² William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 192.

⁴²³ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 192.

As the popular story attests,

Americans speedily gathered to the *right* behind the large form of the mountain man/farmer
French-Canadian opponents of organization filed to the *left*
after a half hour of the greatest confusion a count was made

Legend says the vote was estimated to be fifty-two in favor of the motion -- and fifty opposed
Americans would have been outvoted had it not been for George W. LeBreton
along with two other French-Canadians

Etienne Lucier a former Astorian and French Prairie's first settler
and former British sailor and Canadian revolutionary Francois X. Matthieu,
all of whom somehow appeared on the American side of Joe Meek's line
dissenters withdrew as a group,

leaving the American government party without further opposition
It probably did not happen so dramatically and the archives of the day do not support this legend
Doc Newell names more than two French-Canadians or ex-Hudson's Bay Company employees
who voted for government

Rev. Gustavus Hines' list of those opposed to government
includes the names of some who were in favor, and even some who held office

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IS FORMED BY THE THIRD WOLF MEETING

American settlers in the Willamette Valley accepted civil leadership for their community

Committee of Twelve's report was considered and adopted article by article -- May 2, 1843

a motion was made and carried that a supreme judge, with probate powers be chosen;

a motion was made and carried that a clerk of the court, or recorder, be chosen;

a motion was made and carried that a sheriff be chosen;

a motion was made and carried that three magistrates be chosen;

a motion was made and carried that three constables be chosen;

a motion was made and carried that a that **“a committee of nine persons to draft a code of laws, to be presented for approval to a public meeting to be held at Champoege on the 5th day of July next”**⁴²⁴

a motion was made and carried that a treasurer be chosen;

a motion was made and carried that a major and three captains of the local militia be chosen;

a motion was made and carried that and carried that they proceed

to choose the persons to fill the various offices by ballot:

Albert E. Wilson was elected Supreme Judge with probate powers,

George W. LeBreton was elected Clerk of the Court,

Joseph (Joe) L. Meek was elected Sheriff

William H. Willson was chosen treasurer

It was then moved and carried that the remainder of the officers be nominated from the floor
and chosen by raising hands:

Hugh Burns, Lewis H. Judson and Alvin T. Smith were chosen to act as magistrates;

John Howard was chosen major of the local militia

William McCarty, Charles McKay and Sidney Smith were chosen captains

⁴²⁴ *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, Vol. 1, Compiled and Published by the North Pacific History Company of Portland, Oregon, P. 238.

Specific instructions to the nine-member Legislative Committee were passed to direct their actions:

“That the sessions of the said Legislative Committee should not exceed six days; that no tax should be levied; that the office of governor should not be created; that the compensation of the Legislative Committee should be \$1.25 per day; that the revenues of the territory should be contributed by voluntary subscriptions.”

It was moved and carried that the militia major and captains be instructed
to enlist men to form companies of mounted riflemen

Two additional positions were created when it was moved and carried
that an additional magistrate and constable be chosen

Charles Campo was chosen as an additional magistrate,

Francois X, Matthieu was chosen as an additional constable

Third Wolf Meeting was then adjourned but a question arose regarding
when the newly-elected officers were to take office

the meeting was called back to order and it was moved and carried

that the old “Wolf Association” officers who had been elected at the [May 2] meeting
would remain in office and the official acts of these officers were validated

until the laws were made and accepted at the [July 5] meeting

when these or other officers-elect would be installed

Nine Legislative Committee members had been elected:

- Robert Moore was the Speaker or Chairman of the Committee of Nine
he had traveled to the Pacific Northwest with Thomas Farnham’s Peoria Party

as a member of the Oregon Dragoons [1839]

at age sixty-two he was the oldest member of the Legislative Committee;

- Robert Shortness had also been a member of the Oregon Dragoons
Oregon’s first constitution is in his handwriting;
- Thomas Jefferson Hubbard had jumped ship in Yerba Buena (San Francisco) [1834]
he moved to Fort William on the Columbia River’s Wapato Island and became a gunsmith
Hubbard killed the fort’s tailor, Mr. Thornburg, in a dispute [1835] but Hubbard was cleared;
- James O’Neil had arrived with the [1834] Wyeth Expedition
he had joined Ewing Young’s Willamette Cattle Company at the [1837] cattle drive;
- William H. Gray, missionary, had arrived with Marcus and Narcissa Whitman [1836]
he joined Rev. Jason Lee’s Methodist missionaries before becoming a farmer;
- Alanson Beers had emigrated [1837] from Connecticut with his wife and family
he served in Jason Lee’s Champoeg Methodist mission as a blacksmith;
- Robert “Doc” Newell had been in Oregon as a mountain man since the early 1830s
he had led the first wagons into the Pacific Northwest [1840]
he had taken a claim on the Tualatin Plains (near present day Hillsboro)
before moving to Oregon City and had retired to his Champoeg farm;
- William Dougherty, age thirty-one, was the youngest member of the legislative committee
he had arrived with the Bidwell Wagon Train [1841];
- David Hill had just arrived with Dr. Elijah White the previous winter [1842]
and was farming the Tualatin Valley

Evidence of the earnestness and zeal of the members of the nine-member Legislative Committee was demonstrated by each member contributing a sum of money equal to his salary except Alanson Beers and Dr. Ira Babcock who each subscribed an amount equal to the pay of the whole committee

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IS FORMED -- OREGON COUNTRY IS CREATED

Local government had to be temporary as under the terms of the Joint Occupation neither United States nor Great Britain could govern Oregon (Columbia District) Weak Provisional Government crafted by Robert “Doc” Newell and his followers was jokingly called a “non-government” which it very nearly was and which its authors intended -- it served the needs of the moment settlers were aware the Provisional Government would assume new forms and meet new needs as dictated by impending changes

OREGON PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT’S CONSTITUTION WAS UNIQUE

Organic Laws of Oregon drew no distinction between what was law and what was constitution this document, including the seven Articles drawn from the *Little Blue Book* of Iowa laws, could not be amended

this document provided for no taxes in the unrealistic hope the new government could be financed, like a church, through voluntary contributions these pioneers not only acted upon the idea that all

“just governments derived their authority by the consent of the governed,”

but they granted to each citizen the power to judge
how much he was willing to contribute

in the place of a governor as the chief executive, a three-man committee was implemented this proved to be quite cumbersome

Article IV declared that no private individual could hold claim to **“excessive water privileges, or other situations necessary for the transaction of mercantile or manufacturing operations...Provided that nothing in these laws shall be so construed as to affect any claim of any mission of a religious character, made previous to this time, of an extent not more than six miles square.”**⁴²⁵

purpose of this discriminatory section was to freeze Dr. John McLoughlin out of Oregon City and to validate the holdings of the Methodist mission’s claim of 23,040 acres

Even at that, the document apparently was what the Oregon Country settlers wanted it was accepted by an overwhelming majority at a mass meeting on [July 5, 1843] and an election of officers was scheduled for the following [May 1844]

(Provisional Government did prove to be adequate for that year

settlers believed that after that length of time their actions would be guided by word of the latest developments in the United States brought by the next wave of immigrants)

CATHOLIC DELEGATION SETS OUT FOR ST. MARY’S MISSION IN THE BITTERROOTS

Fathers Peter DeVos, acting head of the Rocky Mountain Mission in the absence of Father De Smet,

⁴²⁵ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 242.

and Father Adrian Hoeken accompanied by Brother Michael McGean (or McGill)
began their journey from Westport, Missouri -- May 1843

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN AMERICA DO NOT OFFER MUCH HOPE FOR RECOVERY

President Andrew Jackson's veto of the Second National Bank's charter [1833]
had resulted in the Economic Panic of [1837] as profits, prices and wages declined
while unemployment went up -- pessimism abounded throughout the nation
By [1842] the United States was in one of the longest and deepest depressions ever experienced
pronounced deflation drove the value of personal and public debts upward
resulting massive defaults on debts
citizens in St. Louis were so tense that they gathered for the purpose of mobbing stock brokers
over-production of crops in Mississippi River Valley drove farm prices ever lower
Weather conditions were especially bad all across America -- 1843
which added to the economic misery in the nation

U.S. RACIAL CONCERNS LEAD TO DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES

People who settled in the Pacific Northwest tended to come from frontier areas of the Middle West
especially the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys
migration West for many included the expectation that they could settle in an area
untroubled by racial concerns

South and parts of the Midwest passed laws restricting the rights of black people:

- their right to vote was denied,
- access to own land in the territory in which they lived was restricted or denied,
- their right to testimony in court was restricted or denied,
- they were required to post a bond guaranteeing good behavior,
- proof of their free status was required to be carried by black people
or they were excluded from living in these territories

INFORMATION REGARDING OREGON WAS READILY AVAILABLE TO MOST AMERICANS

Americans had considerable information about the Pacific Northwest -- spring 1843
sources included the agitation in Congress, reports, speeches, newspaper articles and letters
They knew the Willamette Valley was a favorable land for farmers and stockmen
it possessed rich soil, mild climate, a combination of prairie and forest
springs of pure water were everywhere
a navigable river was at their doorstep, and an ocean a short distance away
opening new farms would be easy and pleasant in Oregon
markets for grain was good, cattle were worth four times their value as in Missouri,
and cost of production was much less
Hudson's Bay Company, which some proposed to drive out Oregon as soon as they arrived,
was presented in the next breath as eager to purchase every bushel of grain settlers could raise
Oregon had other resources in addition to arable land
streams full of salmon which might be packed and shipped at a good profit
forests of pine and fir extended down to the water's edge and invited saw mills
unlimited water power was available for manufacturing purposes

Numbers of men in various sections of the country
prepared for the march to the Pacific Northwest -- spring 1843

PRESSURE BUILDS TO PROTECT AMERICANS MOVING WEST

John M. Shivley, an emigration agent from St. Louis, (spent the winter of [1842] in Washington City)
Shivley kept the people who were preparing to travel to the West informed of the progress
of legislation after newly appointed Secretary of War James Madison Porter took office
Shivley tried to induce him to provide a company of troops to escort emigrants to the West

AMERICAN PIONEERS ARE INDEPENDENT AND RESOURCEFUL

Seldom was there ever a more respectable or more substantial group of immigrants than those
who comprised the members of the great caravans that traveled annually over the Oregon Trail
down-and-outers found no place of welcome in the Oregon caravans
considerable outlay of cash was needed before traveling over the Oregon Trail
to outfit oneself with essential equipment -- wagon, livestock, foodstuffs and tools
shiftless and indolent classes found it difficult to raise the capital necessary
people of dependable classes were to constitute the bulk of home builders, settlers
and trades people in the West
from their ranks, many originally from New England, became the political, educational,
and moral leaders that guided the development of the Pacific Northwest
In order to go west many of these early emigrants sold at sacrifice prices
better farms than the ones they would build in Oregon
in fact, if farmland was all they wanted, for a paltry \$1.25 an acre
they could have bought in adjacent Iowa and newly opened Wisconsin
all the rich acreage any one family could handle
These early pioneers were mostly family men who were prosperous enough to buy substantial outfits
or else sound enough of character that backers were willing to finance them
just as debt-ridden Peter Hardeman Burnet was being financed

PETER H. BURNET JOINS THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

Peter Hardeman Burnet (later he added the second "t" to his family name)
was born in Nashville, Tennessee -- he had little formal education
he married Harriet W. Rogers and journeyed up the Missouri River where he went into debt
young and unlucky, the debt-ridden storekeeper took up the study of law
he became a self-taught lawyer and entered practice in Platt Grove, Missouri [1839]
He spent the snowy months in Platt Grove extolling to cold listeners the perpetual greenness
of the Pacific coast where fevers and agues (high fevers) were reputedly unknown
he determined to go west partly for this wife's health
and partly for the lordly acreage he hoped to claim along with his wife and seven children
Peter Burnett found a financial backer for his journey to Oregon

THREE APPLGATE BROTHERS PREPARE TO MIGRATE WEST

Kentucky-born Jesse Applegate was lean and more than six feet tall
unlike most of his fellow travelers, he was well educated

as a young man he had studied briefly in the St. Louis law office of Edward Bates
each man held the other in the greatest esteem throughout their lives
(Bates one day would be a nominee for the presidency of the United States
and would serve as Abraham Lincoln's Attorney General)

After he was married, Jesse Applegate began a new farm in the Osage Valley, Kansas
along with his brothers Charles and Lindsay

but they could not find a satisfactory market for their corn, cotton and fat steers
meanwhile slave-owners were moving in around him

they had no personal feelings regarding slavery but hated the competition

Word had gotten around that Oregon was a stockman's paradise

Jesse abruptly decided he and his family would move to Oregon

they were joined by his two brothers and their wives and children

three Applegate brothers invested the money they raised from the sale of their farms

they purchased a herd of several hundred cattle

Lindsay Applegate announced in print that he and his brothers intended to go west

driving their large herd of cattle with them -- he invited men of a similar mind to join them

CHANGES ARE MADE AT FORT NISQUALLY

Dr. William Fraser Tolmie returned to Columbia District -- May 1843

after visiting England and serving at Hudson's Bay Company's

Fort McLoughlin at Campbell Island (British Columbia)

Fort Nisqually was put once again under leadership of Dr. Tolmie

Dr. Tolmie saw Fort Nisqually moved to a new location on Sequelitchew Creek's south bank

this new location had better access to water and farm land

new and larger fort was completed -- 1843

20x30 foot granary was constructed (a few years later, the factor's house was added)

this outpost on the frontier was a place full of life and activity until [1870]

it served as a business, a multicultural community and a meeting place for various people

(Fort Nisqually was moved to its present location at Point Defiance Park in Tacoma

by the Metropolitan Park Board and the Young Men's Club [1934])

Dr. Tolmie provided very valuable leadership:

- he directed the business interests of Puget Sound Agriculture Company,
- he used his deep interest in botany to guide the development of the farm and its structures
progress at the site spanned a period of more than ten years,
- he kept careful health records and noted the arrival of dysentery along the Columbia River

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN ARRIVES IN INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

After two months in the East, Dr. Marcus Whitman arrived in Independence, Missouri

where the Missouri River makes its great bend toward the north -- middle of May 1843

Dr. Whitman viewed with amazement the city streets crowded by pioneers

nearly a thousand men, women and children had poured into Independence

seeking companions to form traveling companies for the trek west

GREAT MIGRATION ORGANIZES AT WESTPORT, MISSOURI

Everyone from homesteaders to horse thieves gathered in Westport (Kansas City, Missouri) they collected in a sprawling unorganized mass on the prairies in search of traveling companies that were as yet unformed near Westport, Missouri -- middle of May 1843 they possessed cows and crated chickens, washing tubs and churns and all manner of other things thought to be necessary to assure a successful relocation in Oregon which was often referred to as the “New Arcadia” (an unspoiled, harmonious wilderness) where people were imagined to enjoy a perfect life of rustic simplicity Emigrants severely burdened by too much equipment later were unburdened by knowledge

“They overloaded their wagons with heavy plows they should have shipped around the Horn and with family furniture they would chop up for fuel long before they reached the westward-flowing streams. They did not know the trail -- its fords, its hazards, its techniques. They did not know how to deal with Indians or kill buffalo or jerk meat; how to cook over buffalo dung or protect their horses’ legs from cactus.”⁴²⁶

EMIGRANTS SEEK THE GUIDANCE OF EXPERTS ON THE ROUTE THEY ARE TO TAKE

Emigrants formed a committee to meet with Dr. Marcus Whitman who offered sound advice regarding the route and discipline necessary to reach Oregon U.S. Army Captain and Mountain man John Gnatt was contracted to pilot to Fort Hall the largest single wagon train to attempt to cross the continent for \$1 per person (he imposed enough discipline to herd the disorderly quarrelsome settlers as far as Fort Hall) By trial and error order began to evolve for what quickly became known as the “Great Migration” named more for its importance to history than for its inaccurately estimated size committees met to decide on rules borrowed largely from Santa Fe traders and trapper caravans trail discipline, division into companies, night corralling, guard duty and innumerable others issues were considered and voted on additional committees were formed to inspect vehicles and enforce the regulations it was decided the election of officers should wait (in what became a tradition of the trail) until the men had a chance to see each other in action

NINE MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE HOLDS A SERIES OF MEETINGS

Legislative Committee of Nine met for the first time -- May 16, 1843 at the Champoege Methodist mission building ten miles below Salem known as “the Granary” Methodists allowed the Legislative Committee of Nine its use free of charge this began a time of great political activity in the Willamette Valley settlements as it was the first gathering of its kind, or of any kind, west of the Rocky Mountains Champoege replaced Rev. Jason Lee’s mission at Chemeketa as the political center of Willamette Valley Oregon’s first legislative hall was a story-and-a-half tall frame building sixteen by thirty feet, with a square room in front, which had been used as a school, then as a church, it now became the capital of “Oregon Country” a room behind this hall and above the stairs was used as a granary or storeroom

⁴²⁶ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 226.

and thus the name of the building
Robert Moore chaired a series of public meetings to write a constitution
for an anticipated Provisional (temporary) “Oregon Country” government
none of the Legislative Committee of Nine members were lawyers -- all were Americans
sitting at the same table were a mountain man, a sailor and two missionaries,
five were adventurers or pioneers
one or two members of the committee could even be called shifty characters
Nine members of the Legislative Committee used James O’Neil’s *Little Blue Book*
as their guide: **“all statute laws of Iowa Territory not of a local character and not
incompatible with the conditions and circumstances of the (Oregon) country, shall be the laws of
this government, unless otherwise modified.”**⁴²⁷

Legislative Committee of Nine was dominated by two groups of Americans:

- “Mission Party” which focused on the interests of the Methodist missions
especially the huge land grants held by the missions;
- “Newell Party” mountain men who favored a small pro-American Provisional Government

Operating rules of the Legislative Committee were established

James O’Neil owned the only law book available in all of Oregon,

he had carried it west with him on Nathaniel Wyeth’s [1834] expedition

this law book included seven Articles taken verbatim from Iowa Territorial Laws [1839]

and was referred to as the *Little Blue Book*

this volume also contained the Northwest Ordinance of 1787

Thomas Jefferson’s process to create new states on an equal footing with the original states
which dated back to Articles of Confederation government [1777-1781]

Northwest Ordinance stated: **“neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a
punishment for crime”** would ever be permitted -- slavery was to be prohibited in Oregon
as the only legal guide available, the *Little Blue Book*
became the foundation of the Oregon Provisional Constitution

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT PREPARES FOR A SECOND EXPEDITION

Fremont’s father-in-law, U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton, had picked the right man
during his first expedition Fremont examined accurately

and, with the help of his wife Jessie (Benton), wrote clearly

as a reward he was elevated (brevetted) to the rank of Army captain

although he received no additional authority, priority, or pay

Missouri Senators Benton and Lewis F. Linn developed an ambitious plan of exploration for Fremont

United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers commander Colonel John J. Abert

signed the orders adding no details to the instructions

Lieutenant John C. Fremont led a second official U.S. exploring expedition into the West:

they were assigned the task of surveying the route for what became known as the Oregon Trail

from the western limit of his earlier [1842] reconnaissance

also they were to incorporate U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes’ [1841] survey

“...to give a connected survey of the interior of our continent.”

⁴²⁷ Howard McKinley Corning, *Dictionary of Oregon History*, P. 30.

Lieutenant Fremont began preparations for his second plunge into the western wilds
he resembled the men of his [1842] effort near Westport, (Kansas City) Missouri
they were mostly French-Canadian veterans of the fur trade and mountain men
who signed up in St. Louis
Fremont again took the skilled German cartographer Charles Preuss with him
to collect specimens, help with the astronomical observations,
maintain scientific instruments and make topographical sketches of the landscape
Fremont also employed prominent Mountain Man Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick
who served as guide
Lucien B. Maxwell, Taos trapper and trader, went along as hunter
several untested men were also employed including Jacob Dodson
a young black servant of the household of U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton
twenty-four handpicked men were engaged in total
during all of his expeditions to the west, Fremont alone held rank in the U.S. Army
Fremont’s men were well-equipped and especially well-armed -- each carried a breech loading rifle
(breech loaded weapons were loaded from the back of the gun barrel with a cartridge
while muskets were loaded with a musket ball dropped down the gun barrel)
they also dragged along a small howitzer (cannon on wheels)
which nearly ended the expedition before it started
Topographical Corps demanded Fremont return to Washington City to explain
why it was necessary for a peaceful, scientific expedition to be heavily armed
Fremont’s wife Jessie intercepted the letter of inquiry and replaced it with a message
that he was to proceed west without further preparation

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN MEETS LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREEMONT

Dr. Whitman overtook another man of destiny, Lieutenant John C. Fremont
who was bound for Oregon leading a government exploring party
Whitman camped for a night with Fremont answering the explorer’s questions as fully as he could
Next morning, astride a fast-stepping mule, Whitman along with his nephew Perrin
and accompanied by several laggard emigrant wagons hurried in pursuit of the Great Migration

LIEUTENANT JOHN CHARLES FREMONT’S SECOND EXPEDITION SETS OUT

Fremont and his twenty-four men set out from St. Louis, Missouri -- May 17, 1843
traveling in the direction of Soda Springs (Idaho)
Fremont’s expedition followed the route of the future Oregon Trail for a time
as Fremont visited the valleys with his party along the route,
he wrote glowing descriptions of the soil, vegetation and animals
touting the valleys as location for future settlement

ADDITIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE PUBLIC MEETINGS WERE HELD AT CHAMPOEG

Nine-member Legislative Committee meeting at the Champoeg Methodist mission granary
proposed a Preamble: **“We, the people of Oregon Territory** [this was the word used although
territorial status had not been granted by the United States], **for purposes of mutual protection, and to**

secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations, until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us.”⁴²⁸

In the process of a succession of meetings the nine member Legislative Committee passed a series of resolutions on the “**feeling of the community**”

various sub-committees were formed to address specific needs:

- Executive Committee;
- Judiciary Committee;
- Ways and Means (finance) Committee;
- Military Affairs Committee;
- Private Land Claims Committee;
- Division of Districts (Counties) Committee;

they also unanimously resolved that these resolutions should be transmitted

to the United States government by Dr. Elijah White -- the only U.S. official in Oregon

After three days the Legislative Committee’s work to draft a constitution and code of laws work was stopped -- May 19, 1843

it was announced a meeting of the committee would be held to complete their task [June 27]

LANSFORD W. HASTINGS LEAVES THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Dr. John McLoughlin’s attorney American Lansford W. Hastings organized an emigrant party to travel to California after the Third Wolf Meeting -- May 1843

(he stayed in California only a short time before returning to the East)

(Hastings published *Emigrant’s Guide to Oregon and California* [1845])

which stimulated a great deal of influence in the Oregon movement

but his ill-conceived guidebook was so inaccurate that it doomed the Donner-Reed Party as they attempted to reach California [1846])

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SEEKS PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO EUROPE

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet returned to St. Louis from Westport -- spring 1843

he believed the needs of the Rocky Mountain natives was so pressing

that he would travel to Europe to conduct a second “begging tour”

and to recruit additional reinforcements

Father De Smet numbered his Indian Catholic converts in the thousands

his superior, Father Pierre Verhaegen, granted permission to travel to Europe

to acquire support for additional efforts in the Rocky Mountain mission

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet named Father Peter De Vos as his replacement

as the head of the Rocky Mountain Mission

Father De Smet neglected to recognize Father De Vos and Father Nicholas Point had clashed several times while they were students at the Jesuit college at Grand Coteau, Louisiana

Father Point refused to allow the matter to rest

JOHN C. FREMONT SPLITS HIS EXPEDITION INTO TWO DIVISIONS

Lieutenant Fremont and fifteen men turned south to survey the Kansas River country

⁴²⁸ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 162.

Tom Fitzpatrick with the main group of twelve wagons
turned northward and followed the Oregon Trail along the Platte River

JOHN C. FREMONT SEARCHES FOR A NEW ROUTE ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Lieutenant Fremont and his fifteen men searched for a new route through the Rockies
they traveled up the Cache de la Poudre River (Colorado)
when this proved to be a futile effort Fremont turned north to the Sweetwater River
and crossed the mountains using South Pass
Fremont and his party reunited with Tom Fitzpatrick and the main group of twelve wagons
at Fort St. Vrains, Colorado
there Fitzpatrick again took the main force to the Sweetwater River
while Fremont ventured south to the Arkansas River
Fremont met Christopher “Kit” Carson at the Arkansas River
due to his celebrated frontier skills Carson was invited along to serve as a guide
Fremont’s orders to Carson, a model of brevity, directed him
simply to survey the Platte and Sweetwater rivers as far as South Pass

GREAT MIGRATION GETS A LATE START DUE TO THE LATE ARRIVAL OF SPRING

Weather conditions were especially bad all across America -- 1843
economic depression added to the misery being experienced across the nation
Some 200 families, an estimated 700 to 1,000 emigrants in 120 wagons and 5,000 head of livestock
completed final preparations in a massive undertaking
They set out from Westport, (Kansas City, Missouri) following the Santa Fe Trail -- May 22, 1843
they traveled to where the Oregon Trail became a wagon road

GREAT MIGRATION IS UNDER WAY

Jesse Applegate noted his fellow travelers as they journeyed toward the Kansas River: **“No other race of men with means at their command would undertake so great a journey--none save those could successfully perform it with no previous preparation, relying only on the fertility of their invention to devise the means to overcome each danger and difficulty as it arose.... They have undertaken to perform, with slow-moving oxen, a journey of two thousand miles. The way lies over trackless wastes, wide and deep rivers, rugged and lofty mountains, and is beset with hostile savages. Yet...they are always found ready and equal to the occasion, and always conquerors. May we not call men of destiny?”**⁴²⁹

MAYHEM REIGNS ON THE TRAIL

Each morning as they traveled along the Santa Fe Trail toward the Kansas River
there was competitive jockeying of wagons for less dusty positions
at the front of the sprawling caravan
Children became lost and possessions became mixed in the daily unpacking and repacking
livestock unbroken to the trail ran back to Westport -- or just ran
Rules of order the pioneers had been quick to vote into effect they were equally quick to ignore

⁴²⁹ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 227.

enthusiastic men wasted their animals' strength and risked their wagons
in exhilarating races across the prairies
there were endless arguments over wood and over watering holes -- tempers flared
belligerent individuals, bent on proving their manhood, engaged in rowdy fist fights
each night there were struggles for preferred campsites

SHAKEDOWN PORTION OF THE GREAT MIGRATION TRIP COMES TO AN END

After traveling the Santa Fe Trail about sixty-six miles the Great Migration
reached the swollen Kansas River (near the site of present Topeka, Kansas)
this was where the Oregon Trail branched away from the Santa Fe Trail
here the Great Migration caught up with the Catholic missionaries
Fathers Peter DeVos and Adrian Hoeken accompanied by Brother Michael McGean
it was decided the Catholics would join the emigrants
Finding the ford (crossing) of the river too swift for swimming, the emigrants built two crude boats
they laid a platform of poles between them
one by one the wagons were rolled by hand onto the improvised ferry
which was then hauled across the river by gangs of chanting men pulling on ropes

GREAT MIGRATION ELECTS OFFICERS

At Elm Grove on the far bank of the Kansas River, in what became a tradition of the trail,
pioneers gathered to elect a permanent captain, a sergeant, and a council of ten
Democracy in its most primitive form was reflected in the voting
candidates for the council of ten made their promises
then lined up abreast across the open plain
at a given signal they walked off as a group
voting consisted of having each man's supporters falling in behind him to form a kind of tail
to increase enthusiasm, and perhaps to confuse the vote counters,
these lines pranced and serpentine with loud shouts through the camp
eventually the whole election degenerated into a good-natured uproar
Meantime, in more traditional election
young Peter Hardeman Burnet(t) who kept a diary during the journey, was elected captain
flamboyant James W. Nesmith was elected orderly sergeant

ORDERLY SERGEANT JAMES W. NESMITH RECORDS THE SCENE

Nesmith, one of the pioneers of the Great Migration wrote an account of the beginning of the journey:
"Mr. Burnett, or as he was more familiarly styled, "Pete," was called upon for a speech. Mounting a log the glib-tongued orator delivered a glowing florid address. He commenced by showing his audience that the then western tier of states and territories were crowded with a redundant population, who had not sufficient elbow room for the expansion of their enterprise and genius, and it was a duty they owed to themselves and posterity to strike out in search of a more expanded field and a more genial climate, where the soil yielded the richest return for the slightest amount of cultivation,--where the trees were loaded with perennial fruit,--and where a good substitute for bread, called La Camash, grew in the ground; where salmon and other fish crowded the streams; and where the principal labour of the settlers would be confined to keeping their

gardens free from the inroads of buffalo, elk, deer, and wild turkeys. He appealed to our patriotism by picturing forth the glorious empire we should establish upon the shores of the Pacific,--how with our trusty rifles we should drive out the British usurpers who claimed the soil, and defend the country from the avarice and pretensions of the British Lion,--and how posterity would honor us for placing the fairest portion of the land under the Stars and Stripes.... Other speeches were made full of glowing descriptions of the fair land of promise, the far-away Oregon,, which no one in the assemblage had ever seen, and about which not ore than half a dozen had ever read any account. After the election of Mr. Burnett as captain, and other necessary officers, the meeting, as motley and primitive a one as ever assembled, adjourned with ‘three cheers’ for Captain Burnett and Oregon.”⁴³⁰

GREAT MIGRATION LEAVES ELM GROVE ON THE KANSAS RIVER

Caravan was scarcely under way again when violent quarrels broke out
between those emigrants who owned sizable herds of livestock
and those who possessed only a cow or two for milk
men without cattle protested the slowness of the herds by day
and refused to help guard their fellow travelers’ animals at night
Peter Burnett was unable to resolve the issue between the two warring factions
plagued by his own ill-health he resigned as captain
although he had contributed a great deal to get the company together
William Martin replaced Burnett as captain (until the California cut-off at Fort Hall was reached)

GREAT MIGRATION CROSSES KANSAS

Traveling Northwestward along the bank of the Kansas River the days were a storybook adventure
a loose, winding line over rolling hills sprinkled with wild flowers
gently rolling Kansas countryside was usually unimpeded
except where streams had cut steep banks and there a passage could be made
with a lot of shovel work to cut down the banks
or the travelers could find an already established crossing
occasionally there were Indians to stare at
More spectacular were the violent thunderstorms
such rain as one later emigrant put it, that a man could not lie down for fear of drowning
or stand up for fear of being struck by lightening
While women struggled with collapsed tents, soaked cooking fires and crying children,
men rode wildly about involved with the more exciting work of preventing stampedes

OREGON CITY BECOMES A SIGNIFICANT SETTLEMENT IN OREGON

Robert Moore in partnership with Dr. John McLoughlin began a ferryboat service
between Moore’s settlement at Robin’s Nest (later called Linn City)
and the landing at 3rd Street in Oregon City
from Robin’s Nest an Indian trail (later Rosemont Road) ran up hill and into the Tualatin Valley
Francis Pettygrove with his brother-in-law and Philip Foster had been partners

⁴³⁰ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 169.

in a lumber business and stores in Maine
they sold their interests in the companies and sailed as far as Hawaii
arrangements were made to have inventory valued at \$1,146.05 sent to Oregon
before they arrived in Oregon City aboard the sailing ship *Fama*
Pettygrove and Foster paid Dr. McLoughlin a token fee for one of his Oregon City building lots
at the foot of 3rd Street opposite the ferryboat landing
two-story building was constructed which housed the Pettygrove and Foster families upstairs
a store occupied the bottom floor -- late May 1843
Walter Pomeroy also purchased a town lot from Dr. McLoughlin
and along with Philip Foster contracted with the Chief Factor
to build a flour mill (wheat ground more finely than a grist mill) on the island above the falls

PORTLAND, OREGON RECEIVES TWO BUSINESS FOUNDERS

Captain John Couch had been employed by the Massachusetts shipping firm
owned by the family of Congressman Caleb Cushing
(Couch had opened a general store in Oregon City managed by George LeBreton [1842])
Couch, himself, settled at a place known as “the clearing” (today’s Portland) -- 1843
at the mouth of the Willamette River halfway between Fort Vancouver and Oregon City
while his mercantile business operated in Oregon City (for five years)
William Overton saw great commercial potential for “the clearing” --1843
but lacked the funds required (25¢) to file a land claim with the Provisional Government

PETER SKENE OGDEN DELIVERS FURS TO FORT VANCOUVER

Ogden traveled six months of the year going to and fro from Fort Vancouver to the outposts
he used as many as nine boats with sixty *voyageurs* and always carried a number of passengers
Hudson’s Bay Company’s Chief Trader Ogden brought down the yearly consignment
of \$250,000 worth of furs from Stuart’s Lake to Fort Vancouver -- summer 1843

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SAILS TO EUROPE

Father De Smet departed from New York bound for Europe -- June 7, 1843
on this trip, he will plead, beg and collect money while journeying through
Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Spain and Germany
in Rome when Father De Smet was introduced Pope Gregory XVI rose from his throne
and clasp the humble missionary in his arms
American bishops were convinced that Father De Smet was the right man
to be appointed bishop for the whole of Oregon
but the priest did not want to leave his beloved natives in the Rocky Mountains
De Smet suggested the honored position be given to Father Francis Blanchet

AMERICAN FINANCIER ASA WHITNEY DREAMS OF A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

Since [1830] pamphleteers had unsuccessfully championed construction of a transcontinental railroad
New York businessman Asa Whitney had traveled in the Orient
he acquired the idea of developing the China trade
Whitney believed that linking the east and west coasts of North America

would unlock the commercial potential of China
while eliminating long and dangerous ocean journeys around Cape Horn
Whitney thought a transcontinental railway could become the corridor of exchange
between Europe and Asia placing America at the center of the world's attention financially
this would give America a stupendous commercial advantage over Europe
as the entire continent would open itself to be settled by the throngs of pioneers
and, he thought, the natives of those vast lands would join the American family
Asa Whitney asked the United States government for a land grant belt sixty miles wide
from Lake Michigan to the Columbia River or Puget Sound
whichever became the final destination -- 1843
Whitney conducted a very active campaign for this scheme:

- he issued pamphlets;
- he solicited favorable resolutions from companies, and state legislatures;
- he made a vigorous canvass of Washington City and informed congressmen: **“If I can get the land grants, I can build the road. In a few months after the grant the work shall be commenced and far sooner than I had dared to hope it can be completed, when we shall have the whole world tributary to us -- when the commerce of the whole world shall be tumbled into our lap.”**⁴³¹

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF NINE PASSES THE 1843 ORGANIC LAWS OF OREGON

Nine member Legislative Committee chaired by Robert Moore convened its final meeting
at the Champoege Methodist mission's granary -- June 27, 1843
George W. LeBreton once again served as secretary

Nine-member Legislative Committee had composed the [1843] Organic Laws of Oregon
although not a formal constitution, the document outlined the laws of the Provisional Government
Organic Laws of Oregon opened with a Preamble

Section One included the Fourteenth Section of the [1789] Northwest Ordinance
this guaranteed freedom of worship, right to a trial by jury, right of habeas corpus

(protection from illegal restraint) and provided **“schools and the means of Education shall forever be encouraged”**

there were minor modifications in the Northwest Ordinance including **“There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.”**

Section Two had eighteen articles dealing with the structure of the Provisional Government

Articles 1-4 covered the elections of officers

suffrage was restricted to **“Every free white male descendant of a white man, over twenty-one years of age, who was an inhabitant at the time of the organization of the government, and all emigrants of such description after six months' residence.”**

this allowed for participation by French-Canadians and their Metis children

Articles 5-7 created the three bodies of government:

Executive Committee: **“Executive power was vested in an executive committee of three, to be elected at the annual election, with authority to pardon and reprieve, to call out the military**

⁴³¹ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*. P. 233.

force of the territory, to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and to recommend laws to the Legislative Committee. Two of their number constituted a quorum.”

Legislative Committee was composed of a nine member unicameral (single chamber) body whose members were to be elected annually by district in proportion to the population excluding Indians
Legislative Committee was to meet twice a year (June and December)
sessions of the Council should not exceed six days

Judiciary was composed of:

- Supreme Court, consisting of a Supreme Judge and two Justices of the Peace;
- Probate Court and Justice’s Court

whose jurisdiction, both to hear cases and to hear appeals, were defined and limited

Articles 8-11 established and defined the offices of *Recorder* and Treasurer

Articles 12-15 outlined what [1839] Iowa Territorial Laws were adopted

land claims were to be made available: **“No individual shall be allowed to hold a claim of more than one square mile, or 640 acres in a square or oblong form, according to the natural situation of the premises; nor shall any individual be able to hold more than one claim at the same time. Any person complying with the provisions of these ordinances shall be entitled to the same process as in other cases provided by law. No person shall be entitled to hold such a claim upon city or town lots, extensive water privileges, or other situations necessary for the transaction of mercantile or manufacturing operations: *Provided*, that nothing in these laws shall be so construed as to affect any claim of any mission of a religious character made prior to this time, of extent not more than six miles square.”**

purpose of these discriminatory clauses was to claim

much of Dr. John McLoughlin’s land in Oregon City

title to 23,040 acres of Dr. McLoughlin’s claim was given to the Methodist missions

and to the Methodist missionaries who could each claim 640 acres

further, the law forbid claiming **“extensive water privileges, and other sites needed for transaction of mercantile or manufacturing operations”**

Article 16 regulated the Supreme Court sessions with two sessions held annually

Article 17 detailed the system of marriage with parental consent required

for participants under the age of twenty-one

women had to be at least fourteen years old and men sixteen

it cost \$1 to marry and 50¢ to record the marriage

Section Three divided what was incorrectly identified as “Oregon Territory” into four districts:

care was taken to adopt language and designate as a north border

the “Northern boundary of the United States”

(it is clear that the government recognized the idea that the Columbia River

might probably be the boundary line between the United States and Great Britain)

First District (Northwest corner) to be called the Twality District, comprised all the country

bounded on the North by the Russian-America line (54° 40’ north latitude)

bounded on the South by the Yamhill River (in today’s Oregon)

bounded on the West by the Pacific Ocean

bounded on the East by an invisible line running from Russian-America

through Puget Sound to the Willamette River all the way to the Yamhill River

(Twality District later decreased in size and became known as today's Columbia County)
Second District (Southwest corner) to be called the Yamhill District, embraced all the country
bounded on the North by the Yamhill River
bounded on the South by the United States and California line (42° north latitude)
bounded on the West by the Pacific Ocean
bounded on the East by the Willamette River
(Yamhill County greatly altered in size and shape remains today)
Third District (Northeast corner) to be called the Clackamas District (also "Klackamas")
was bounded on the North by the Yamhill River
bounded on the South by the United States and California line (42° North)
bounded on the West by the Pacific Ocean
bounded on the East by the Willamette River
(Clackamas Counties greatly altered in size and shape remains today)
Fourth District (Southeast corner), to be called the Champooick District was
bounded on the North by the Yamhill River
bounded on the South by the United States and California line (42° North)
bounded on the West by Yamhill District
bounded on the East by the Continental Divide
(Champooick District was also written as "Champoie" pronounced "Cham-poo-ee"
by early pioneers -- it was reduced in size and is today's Marion County)
two of the Districts, Twality and Clackamas, extended north of the Columbia River
placing the Provisional Government in direct conflict with Hudson's Bay Company

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF NINE COMPLETES THE ORGANIC LAWS OF OREGON

Yet another Memorial to Congress was approved by the Legislative Committee -- June 28, 1843
United States government was informed of the existence of a new government in Oregon
this memorial asked the Polk Administration for naval yards, mail service, land grants,
military protection and territorial status
what was most significant was that political leaders across the continent were made aware
that an American colony had begun on the shores of the Pacific Ocean
After these two days of meetings the Legislative Committee of Nine had drafted the first
Oregon Provisional Constitution which became known as the "Organic Laws of Oregon"
this initiative to the settlers was to be voted upon [July 5, 1843]

DR. WHITMAN OVERTAKES THE GREAT MIGRATION

Whitman and his nephew Perrin did not catch the wagon train until the end of June
when they joined largest single wagon train ever to travel the Oregon Trail -- the Great Migration
They were not universally welcomed
without any worldly possessions, they sponged off other immigrants unabashedly
and earned the annoyance of several of their reluctant hosts
however, to the caravan's guide mountain man John Gantt and Captain William Martin
Whitman was worth all the handouts he cost
Dr. Whitman served the train as scout and medical doctor
(because of his influence, immigrants eventually drove wagons all the way to the Columbia River

detractors said it could not be done -- Whitman said he already had done it most of the way)

GREAT MIGRATION LEAVES KANSAS AND ENTERS NEBRASKA

Leaving the banks of the Kansas River behind Captain William Martin led his wagon train toward the Wakarusa River and on to the Vermillion River both rivers needed to be ferried across
Traveling northwest mountain man John Gantt piloted the wagons paralleling the Little Blue River

GREAT MIGRATION DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTIES

Friction between those driving large herds of animals and those with only few resulted in the Great Migration splitting into two columns when the Little Blue River was reached
sixty-one unburdened wagons were placed under the command of Captain William Martin
this “light column” moved on ahead with few cattle
livestock owners with approximately an equal number of wagons
formed themselves into what they called the “cow column”
Cow column members elected as their leader a notable figure of Western history: Jesse Applegate
thousands of head of slow-moving livestock would have to travel more hours per day
to keep up with the light column

JESSIE APPLGATE PROVIDES LEADERSHIP TO THE COW COLUMN

Jesse Applegate was said to be so homely that all of his life he avoided mirrors
he walked with an effortless, loose-swinging stride
that enabled him to cover upwards of sixty miles a day when the need arose
Under Jesse’s guidance the unwieldy cow column plodded safely along
(on a far longer and in many respects a far more amazing march than the legendary cattle drives
made years later by the boastful trail herders of Texas)
Cow column tried to (and did) stay close enough to the light column
so that the parties could render mutual aid in the event of need

JESSE APPLGATE EXPLAINS DIVIDING THE GREAT MIGRATION INTO COLUMNS

Years after the arrival of the Great Migration in Oregon Jesse Applegate wrote his memoirs
he explained the need to divide the wagon train into two columns: **“Some of the immigrants had only their teams, while others had large herds in addition which must share the pastures and be guarded and driven by the whole body. Those not encumbered with or having but few loose cattle attached themselves to the light column, those having more than four or five cows had of necessity to join the heavy or cow column. Hence the cow column, being much larger than the other and much encumbered with its large herds, had to use greater exertion and observe a more rigid discipline to keep pace with the more agile escort. It is with the cow column that I propose to journey with the reader for a single day. The emigrants first organized and attempted to travel in one body, but it was soon found that no progress could be made with a body so cumbrous, and as yet so averse to all discipline. And at a crossing of the ‘Big Blue’ [River] it divided into two columns, which traveled in supporting distance of each other as far as Independence Rock on the Sweetwater.**

From this point, all danger from Indians being over, the emigrants separated into small parties better suited to the narrow mountain paths and small pastures in their front.”⁴³²

NEBRASKA IS CROSSED BY THE GREAT MIGRATION

Platte River provided a corridor of easy going running almost due west

(today’s Interstate 80 and U.S. Highway 30 approximate the route)

Platte River provided access to water, grass, buffalo and buffalo chips for fuel

this water was silty and bad tasting but it could be used if no other water was available

letting the water sit in a bucket for an hour or so

or stirring in ¼-cup of cornmeal allowed most of the silt to settle out

(because of the Platte’s brackish water the preferred camping spots were located

along the many fresh water streams that drained into the Platte

or one of the occasional fresh water spring found along the way

these preferred camping spots became sources of cholera in the epidemic years [1849–1855]

as many thousands of people used the same camping spots

with essentially no sewage facilities or adequate sewage treatment

one of the effects of cholera is acute diarrhea which contaminated even more water

thousands of travelers on the combined California, Oregon, and Mormon trails

succumbed to cholera

most were buried in unmarked graves in Kansas, Nebraska and Wyoming)

CAMP LIFE WITH THE COW COLUMN AS REPORTED BY JESSE APPLGATE

In his memoirs Jessie wrote of a typical day traveling with the cow column to Oregon:

“It is four o’clock A.M.; the sentinels on duty have discharged their rifles--the signal that the hours of sleep are over--and every wagon and tent is pouring forth its night tenants, and slow-kindling smokes begin largely to rise and float away in the morning air. Sixty men start from the corral, spreading as they make through the vast herd of cattle and horses that make a semicircle around the encampment, the most distant perhaps two miles away.

“The herders pass to the extreme verge and carefully examine for trails beyond, to see that none of the animals have strayed or been stolen during the night. This morning no trails led beyond the outside animals in sight, and by 5 o’clock the herders begin to contract the great, moving circle, and the well-trained animals moved slowly towards camp, clipping here and there a thistle or a tempting bunch of grass on the way. In about an hour five thousand animals are close up to the encampment, and the teamsters are busy selecting their teams and driving them inside the corral to be yoked. The corral is a circle one hundred yards deep, formed with wagons connected strongly with each other; the wagon in the rear being connected with the wagon in front by its tongue and ox chains. It is a strong barrier that the most vicious ox cannot break, and in case of an attack of the Sioux would be no contemptible intrenchment [sic].

“From 6 to 7 o’clock is a busy time; breakfast is to be eaten, the tents struck, the wagons loaded and the teams yoked and brought up in readiness to be attached to their respective wagons. All know when, at 7 o’clock, the signal to march sounds, that those not ready to take their proper places in the line of march must fall into the dusty rear for the day.

⁴³² Jesse Applegate, *A Day on the Oregon Trail*, Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association.

“There are sixty wagons. They have been divided into fifteen divisions or platoons of four wagons each, and each platoon is entitled to lead in its turn. The leading platoon today will be the rear one tomorrow, and will bring up the rear unless some teamster, through indolence or negligence, has lost his place in the line, and is condemned to that uncomfortable post. It is within ten minutes of seven; the corral but now a strong barricade is everywhere broken, the teams being attached to the wagons. The women and children have taken their places in them. The pilot [a (frontiersman) who has passed his life on the verge of civilization and has been chosen to the post of leader from his knowledge of the savage and his experience in travel through roadless waste], stands ready, in the midst of his pioneers and aids, to mount and lead the way. Ten or fifteen young men, not today on duty, form another cluster. They are ready to start on a buffalo hunt, are well mounted and well armed, as they need be, for the unfriendly Sioux have driven the buffalo out of the Platte, and the hunters must ride fifteen or twenty miles to reach them. The cow drivers are hastening, as they get ready, to the rear of their charge, to collect and prepare them for the day’s march.

“It is on the stroke of seven; the rush to and fro, the cracking of whips, the loud command to oxen, and what seemed to be the inextricable confusion of the last ten minutes has ceased. Fortunately every one [sic] has been found and every teamster is at his post. The clear notes of a trumpet sound in the front; the pilot and his guards mount their horses; the leading divisions of the wagons move out of the encampment, and take up the line of march; the rest fall into their places with the precision of clock work, until the spot so lately full of life sinks back into that solitude that seems to reign over the broad plain and rushing river as the caravan draws its lazy length towards the distant El Dorado [a mythical place of abundant wealth]. It is with the hunters we shall briskly canter towards the bold but smooth and grassy bluffs that bound the broad valley, for we are not yet in sight of the grander but less beautiful scenery [of Chimney Rock, Court House and other bluffs, so nearly resembling giant castles and palaces], made by the passage of the Platte through the highlands near Laramie. We have been traveling briskly for more than an hour. We have reached the top of the bluff, and now have turned to view the wonderful panorama spread before us. To those who have not been on the Platte, my powers of description are wholly inadequate to convey an idea of the vast extent and grandeur of the picture, and the rare beauty and distinctness of the detail. No haze or fog obscures objects in the pure and transparent atmosphere of this lofty region. To those accustomed only to the murky air of the seaboard, no correct judgment of distance can be formed by sight, and objects which they think they can reach in a two hours’ walk may be a day’s travel away; and though the evening air is a better conductor of sound, on the high plain during the day the report of the loudest rifle sounds little louder than the bursting of a cap; and while the report can be heard but a few hundred yards, the smoke of the discharge may be seen for miles. So extended is the view from the bluff on which the hunters stand, that the broad river glowing under the morning sun like a sheet of silver, and the broader emerald valley that borders it, stretch away in the distance until they narrow at almost two points in the horizon, and when first seen, the vast pile of the Wind River Mountains though hundreds of miles away, looks clear and distinct as a white cottage on the plain.

“We are a full six miles away from the line of march; though everything is dwarfed by distance, it is seen distinctly. The caravan has been about two hours in motion and is now as widely extended as a prudent regard for safety will permit. First, near the bank of the shining river is a company of horsemen; they seem to have found an obstruction, for the main body has halted while three or four

ride rapidly along the bank of the creek or slough. They are hunting a favorable crossing for the wagons; while we look they have succeeded; it has apparently required no work to make it passable, for all but one of the party have passed on, and he has raised a flag, no doubt a signal to the wagons to steer their course to where he stands. The leading teamster sees him; though he is yet two miles off, and steers his course directly towards him, all the wagons following in his track. They form a line three-quarters of a mile in length; some of the teamsters ride upon the front of their wagons, some march beside their wagons; scattered along the line companies of women are taking exercise on foot; they gather bouquets of rare and beautiful flowers that line the way; near them stalks a stately greyhound, or an Irish wolf dog, apparently proud of keeping watch and ward over his master's wife and children. Next comes a band of horses; two or three men or boys follow them, the docile and sagacious [shrewd] animals scarce needing this attention, for they have learned to follow in the rear of the wagons, and know that at noon they will be allowed to graze and rest. Their knowledge of time seems as accurate as of the place they are to occupy in the line, and even a full-blown thistle will scarce tempt them to straggle or halt until the dinner hour has arrived. Not so with the large herd of horned beasts that bring up the rear; lazy, selfish and unsocial, it has been a task to get them in motion, the strong always ready to domineer over the weak, halt in the front and forbid the weak to pass them. They seem to move only in the fear of the driver's whip; though in the morning, full of repletion, they have not been driven an hour before their hunger and thirst seem to indicate a fast of days' duration. Through all the long day their greed is never satisfied, nor their thirst quenched, nor is there a moment of relaxation of the tedious and vexatious labors of their drivers, although to all others the march furnishes some season of relaxation or enjoyment. For the cow-drivers there is none.

“But from the standpoint of the hunters, the vexations are not apparent; the crack of whips and loud abnegations [objections] are lost in the distances. Nothing of the moving panorama, smooth and orderly as it appears, has more attractions for the eye than the vast square column in which all colors are mingled, moving here slowly and there briskly, as impelled by horsemen riding furiously in front and rear.

“But the picture in its grandeur, it's wonderful mingling of colors and distinctness of detail, is forgotten in contemplation of the singular people who give it life and animation. No other race of men with the means at their command would undertake so great a journey, none save these could successfully perform it, with no previous preparation, relying only on the fertility of their own invention as it arose. They have undertaken to perform with slow-moving oxen a journey a journey of two thousand miles. The way lies over trackless wastes, wide and deep rivers, ragged and lofty mountains, and is beset with hostile savages. Yet, whether it were a deep river with no tree upon its banks, a rugged defile where even a loose horse could not pass, a hill too steep for him to climb, or a threatened attack of an enemy, they are always found ready and equal to the occasion, and always conquerors. May we not call them men of destiny? They are people changed in no essential particulars from their ancestors, who have followed closely on the footsteps of the receding savage, from the Atlantic seaboard to the great Valley of the Mississippi.

“But while we have been gazing at the picture in the valley, the hunters have been examining the high plain in the other direction. Some dark moving objects have been discovered in the distance, and all are closely watching them to discover what they are, for in the atmosphere of the plains a flock of crows marching miles away, or a band of buffaloes or Indians at ten times the distance look alike, and many ludicrous [ridiculous] mistakes occur. But these are buffaloes, for two

have struck their heads together and are, alternately, pushing each other back. The hunters mount and away in pursuit, and I, a poor cow-driver, must hurry back to my daily toil, and take a scolding from my fellow herders for so long playing truant.

“The pilot, by measuring the ground and timing the speed of the wagons and the walk of his horses, had determined the rate of each, so as to enable him to select the nooning place, as nearly as the requisite grass and water can be had at the end of five hours’ travel of the wagons. Today, the ground being favorable, little time has been lost in preparing the road, so that he and his pioneers are at the nooning place an hour in advance of the wagons, which time is spent in preparing convenient watering places for the animals, and digging little wells near the bank of the Platte, as the teams are not unyoked, but simply turned loose from the wagons, a corral is not formed at noon, but the wagons are drawn up in columns, four abreast, the leading wagon of each platoon on the left, the platoons being formed with that in view. This brings friends together at noon as well as at night.

“Today an extra session of the council is being held, to settle a dispute that does not admit of delay, between a proprietor and a young man who has undertaken to do a man’s service on the journey for bed and board. Many such engagements exist, and much interest is taken in the manner in which this high court, from which there is no appeal, will define the rights of each party in such engagements. The council was a high court in the most exalted sense. It was a senate composed of the ablest and most respected fathers of the emigration. It exercised both legislative and judicial powers, and its laws and decisions proved it equal and worthy of the high trust reposed on it. Its sessions were usually held on days when the caravan was not moving. It first took the state of the little commonwealth into consideration; revised or repeated rules defective or obsolete, and enacted such others as the exigencies seemed to require. The common weal [happiness and safety of everyone] being cared for, it next resolved itself into a court to hear and settle private disputes and grievances. The offender and the aggrieved appeared before it; witnesses were examined, and the parties were heard by themselves and sometimes by counsel. The judges being thus made fully acquainted with the case, and being in no way influenced or cramped by technicalities, decided all cases according to their merits. There was but little use for lawyers before this court, for no plea was entertained which was calculated to hinder or defeat the ends of justice. Many of these judges have since won honors in higher spheres. They have aided to establish on the broad basis of right and universal liberty two pillars of our great Republic in the Occident [United States]. Some of the young men who appeared before them as advocates have themselves sat upon the highest judicial tribunals, commanded armies, been governors of states and taken high position in the senate of the nation.

“It is now one o’clock; the bugle has sounded and the caravan has resumed its westward journey. It is in the same order, but the evening is far less animated than the morning march; a drowsiness has fallen apparently on man and beast; teamsters drop asleep on their perches and even when walking by their teams, and the words of command are now addressed to the slowly creeping oxen in the soft tenor of women or the piping treble of children, while the snores of the teamsters make a droning accompaniment. But a little incident breaks the monotony of the march. An emigrant’s wife, whose state of health has caused Doctor Whitman to travel near the wagon for the day, is now taken with violent illness. The Doctor has had the wagon driven out of the line, a tent pitched and a fire kindled. Many conjectures are hazarded in regard to this mysterious proceeding, and as to why this lone wagon is to be left behind. And we too must leave it, hasten to

the front and note the proceedings, for the sun is now getting low in the west and at length the painstaking pilot is standing ready to conduct the train in the circle which he has previously measured and marked out, which is to form the invariable fortification for the night. The leading wagons follow him so nearly around the circle that but a wagon length separates them. Each wagon follows in its track, the rear closing on the front, until its tongue and ox-chains will perfectly reach from one to the other, and so accurate the measure and perfect the practice, that the hindmost wagon of the train always precisely closes the gateway, as each wagon is brought into position. It is dropped from its team [the teams being inside the circle], the team unyoked and the yokes and chains are used to connect the wagon strongly with that in its front. Within ten minutes from the time the leading wagon halted, the barricade is formed, the teams unyoked and driven out to pasture. Every one is busy preparing fires of buffalo chips to cook the evening meal, pitching tents and otherwise preparing for the night. There are anxious watchers for the absent wagon, for there are many matrons who may be afflicted like its inmate before the journey is over; and they fear the strange and startling practice of this Oregon doctor will be dangerous. But as the sun goes down the absent wagon rolls into camp, the bright, speaking face and cheery look of the doctor, who rides in advance, declare without words that all is well, and both mother and child are comfortable. I would fain now and here pay a passing tribute to that noble and devoted man, Doctor Whitman. I will obtrude no other name upon the reader, nor would I his were he of our party or even living, but his stay with us was transient, though the good he did was permanent, and he has long since died at his post.

“From the time he joined us on the Platte until he left us at Fort Hall, his great experience and indomitable energy were of priceless value to the migrating column. His constant advice, which we knew was based upon a knowledge of the road before us, was ‘Travel, travel, TRAVEL; nothing else will take you to the end of your journey; nothing is wise that does not help you along; nothing is good for you that causes a moment’s delay.’ His great authority as a physician and complete success in the case above referred to, saved us many prolonged and perhaps ruinous delays from similar causes, and it is no disparagement to others to say that to no other individual are the emigrants of 1843 so much indebted for the successful conclusion of their journey as to Dr. Marcus Whitman.

“All able to bear arms in the party have been formed into three companies, and each of these into four watches; every third night it is the duty of one of these companies to keep watch and ward over the camp, and it is so arranged that each watch takes its turn of guard duty through the different watches of the night. Those forming the first watch tonight will be second on duty, then third and fourth, which brings them through all the watches of the night. They begin at 8 o’clock P.M., and end at 4 o’clock A.M.

“It is not yet 8 o’clock when the first watch is to be set; the evening meal is just over, and the corral now free from the intrusion of cattle or horses, groups of children are scattered over it. The larger are taking a game of romps; ‘the wee toddling things’ are being taught the great achievement that distinguishes man from the lower animals. Before a tent near the river a violin makes lively music, and some youths and maidens have improvised a dance upon the green; in another quarter a flute gives its mellow and melancholy notes to the still night air, which, as they float away over the quiet river, seem a lament for the past rather than a hope for the future. It has been a prosperous day; more than twenty miles have been accomplished of the great journey. The encampment is a good one; one of the causes that threatened much future delay has just been removed by the skill and energy of that ‘good angel’ of the emigrants, Doctor Whitman, and it has

lifted a load from the hearts of the elders. Many of these are assembled around the good doctor at the tent of the pilot [which is his home for the time being], and are giving grave attention to his wise and energetic counsel. The care-worn pilot sits aloof, quietly smoking his pipe, for he knows the brave doctor is ‘strengthening his hands.’

“But time passes; the watch is set for the night; the council of old men has broken up, and each has returned to his own quarter; the flute whispered its last lament to the deepening night; the violin is silent, and the dancers have dispersed; enamored youth have whispered a tender ‘good night’ in the ear of blushing maidens, or stolen a kiss from the lips of some future bride-for Cupid here, as elsewhere, has been busy bringing together congenial hearts, and among these simple people he alone is consulted in forming the marriage tie. Even the doctor and the pilot have finished their confidential interview and have separated for the night. All is hushed and repose from the fatigues of the day, save the vigilant guard and the wakeful leader, who still has cares upon his mind that forbid sleep. He hears the 10 o’clock relief taking post and the ‘all well’ report of the returned guard; the night deepens, yet he seeks not the needed repose. At length a sentinel hurries to him with the welcome report that a party is approaching--as yet too far away for its character to be determined, and he instantly hurries out in the direction in which it was seen. This he does both from inclination and duty, for in times past the camp had been unnecessarily alarmed by timid or inexperienced sentinels, causing much confusion and fright amongst women and children, and it had been a rule that all extraordinary incidents of the night should be reported directly to the pilot, who alone had the authority to call out the military strength of the column, or of so much of it was in his judgment necessary to prevent a stampede or repel an enemy. Tonight he is at no loss to determine that the approaching party are our missing hunters, and that they have met with success, and he only waits until some further signal he can know that no ill has happened to them. This is not long wanting. He does not even await their arrival, but the last care of the day being removed, and the last duty performed, he too seeks the rest that will enable him to go through the same routine tomorrow. But here I leave him, for my task is also done, and unlike his, it is to be repeated no more.”⁴³³

GREAT MIGRATION REACHES THE BRANCH OF THE PLATTE RIVER

Following the Platte River the Great Migration reached to location where the South Platte River branched away from the main stream (at today’s city of North Platte, Nebraska)
they found a muddy brown flood rolling down the southern branch which they had to cross
Captain William Martin’s light column traveling in advance paused in dismay
Dr. Marcus Whitman inspirited everyone by successfully delivering a baby
Jesse Applegate’s cow column caught up and there was a tangle of dejection
Several buffalo were killed and boats were improvised by stretching the green hides
across dismantled wagon boxes
empty wagons were drawn into the stream at an angle
so that the current would not strike the wheels broadside
these clumsy craft were loaded with goods and manhandled through the muddy river
by men wielding hand-hewn oars and pulling on ropes
men wading or swimming downstream of each yoke of oxen pounded the dumb, frightened beasts

⁴³³ Jesse Applegate, *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* Vol. 1, No. 4 (Dec., 1900), P. 371-383.

back into line whenever they threatened to swing around
it took five days to complete the crossing of the South Platte River

GREAT MIGRATION ENTERS THE NORTH PLATTE RIVER VALLEY

After crossing the muddy South Platte River the Oregon Trail followed the North Platte River
into the North Platte Valley

It took great effort to struggle through the deep-gullied sand hills to reach
what appeared (to the as yet uninitiated travelers) as the terrifying precipices of Ash Hollow
along the North Platte River with its steep descent down "Windlass Hill"
where the steep twenty-five-degree downward angle ran for about 300 feet
wagons were roped to trees and a windlass (wench) was used to lower them
(emigrants did not use the name Windlass Hill and its source remains unknown)
they continued on past the ancient, eroded sights of Courthouse Rock and Jailhouse Rock,
Chimney Rock and Scott's Bluff

Buffalo disappeared from existence -- some said the Sioux Indians had driven the herds out of reach
others said, with bitter anti-British curses, that Sir William Stewart's party of sportsmen
traveling just ahead of Great Migration had frightened all but a few beasts away from the trail
at any rate there was no fresh meat
extravagant cooks, not two weeks before, had thrown away bacon rind and leftover biscuits
now they counted the days ahead and hoarded every scrap of food

STEPHEN MEEK GUIDES SEVERAL PIONEERS TO CALIFORNIA

Several Oregon residents were dissatisfied with Oregon and decided to go to California
traveling over the Old Hudson's Bay Company trail

When they reached the Rogue River Valley guided by Stephen Meek
they met Captain Joe Walker and others driving two thousand head of cattle from California
north to the Willamette Valley

Several of Meek's traveling companions decided to return to Oregon
Joseph Gale and his party guided by Captain Joe Walker arrived in the Willamette Valley
with his herd intact after a long and hard if relatively uneventful seventy-five day drive
their arrival with such a large number of animals
broke the Hudson's Bay Company cattle monopoly

Stephen Meek guided the remaining travelers to Sutter's Fort in California -- summer 1843
Meek then continued alone to Monterey, California
(he stayed the winter in Monterey, Meek before continuing north to Bodega Bay
here he met Captain Smith with the trading brig *George and Henry* out of Baltimore
who persuaded Meek to start on a voyage with him around the world
Meek only got to New York before a change of heart took Meek home to Virginia)

GREAT MIGRATION CROSSED FROM (NEBRASKA) TO (WYOMING)

Members of the Great Migration continued to follow the North Platte River
there was no time to rest -- time was an enemy
they had to dry out their gear and stock, load up and go on
they had left Missouri late and they were averaging less than fifteen miles a day

concerns mounted:

- would the animals last?
- would the onrushing winter arrive before they reached Oregon?

Fort John (later Fort Laramie) at the confluence of the Laramie and North Platte rivers was reached (in today's eastern Wyoming) -- but there was only time for a brief pause

Fort Laramie and adjacent posts provided opportunities:

- to buy skimpy supplies at outrageous prices,
- to tighten loose wagon tires,
- to hammer bent wagon parts back into place
- but it did not provide time for rest

Asa L. Lovejoy, Dr. Marcus Whitman's traveling companion from the year before [1842], was waiting there and joined with Dr. Whitman on his return to Waiilatpu

GREAT MIGRATION ARRIVES AT THE SWEETWATER RIVER (WYOMING)

Believing the Indian danger was past, the caravan broke into even more fragments

partly because of accumulated cabin fever

partly because smaller groups would have better luck

finding desperately needed game and pasture for the animals

North Platte River converged with the Sweetwater River (at today's Casper, Wyoming)

they followed the west flowing waters of the Sweetwater

Independence Rock was passed

(so named because later caravans usually reached here about the Fourth of July)

nine crossings of the crooked Sweetwater River were necessary as the stream flowed

out of the Wind River Range of the Rocky Mountains

Unalterable passage of time forced the Great Migration to press on toward Fort Hall (Idaho)

CINCINNATI, OHIO HOLDS A CONVENTION IN SUPPORT OF AMERICANS IN OREGON

Interest regarding the plight of Oregon settlers was growing rapidly across the nation

as was American agitation for occupation and the protection of laws

An idea for a convention to demonstrate this concern originated at Columbus, Ohio

local meetings were held throughout the Mississippi River Valley

which resulted in the calling of the Oregon Convention at Cincinnati

Cincinnati Convention opened -- July 3, 1843

it was attended by nearly one hundred delegates from across the United States

who represented Americans' interest in United States occupation of Oregon

zealots passed a resolution demanding the government immediately occupy Oregon

and demanded action regarding the Oregon international boundary even if it brought on war

INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Settlers gathered to hear an address by Rev. Gustavus Hines -- July 4, 1843

also speeches for and against the proposals of the nine member Legislative Committee

were given

those who attended camped on the ground for the night at Champoeg

CINCINNATI CONVENTION CALLS FOR DEFINING THE BOUNDARIES OF OREGON

Cincinnati meeting adopted resolutions declaring the United States had an undoubted right to the country West of Rocky Mountains between 42° and 54°-40' north latitude that is, 42° north would separate Oregon from Mexico and 54°-40' north would separate Oregon from Russian-America they asserted the line established to separate the United States from Russia (54°40') was the rightful boundary accepting this boundary would have meant Great Britain was shut out of the Northwest altogether Convention adopted a resolution calling for 54°40' as the American line -- July 5, 1843

SUMMARY OF CONDITIONS IN OREGON COUNTRY

Political conditions:

Oregon City (formerly Willamette Falls) served as the Provisional Capital and only town Oregon City replaced both Champoeg and Chemeketa as the political center of the Willamette Valley

three "Political Parties" reflected the views of the inhabitants:

- Mission Party was concerned local protection would postpone United States authority
- Newell Party's mountain men wanted protection but as little government as possible
- Catholic and British Party wanted no government with Hudson's Bay Company to remain in control

Spiritual conditions:

Methodist missionaries under Rev. Jason Lee had little success among the Indians most missionaries turned to farming or teaching

Catholic priests under Father Francis Blanchet fared much better

Economic conditions:

financial hard times in the United States were also reflected in the West

Oregon farmers produced an abundance of wheat -- which drove the market price down shortages of goods, cash and a market for wheat impaired growth

Hudson's Bay Company offered the best prices and variety for imported goods coins drained off into Company strongboxes

with only the small excess going to American merchants

credit system made merchants a vital figure for the community

business was run on the barter and credit system

businessmen were the object of envy, resentment and suspicion

Social conditions:

settlement North of the Columbia River was virtually nonexistent

Northern population was said to be the crudest element of the frontier

Hudson's Bay Company's Puget Sound Agricultural Company controlled the best land

Willamette Valley was very attractive

it was reported to new-comers the land North of the Columbia was poor

PUBLIC MEETING IS HELD IN CHAMPOEG TO RATIFY THE ORGANIC LAWS

Supreme Judge Dr. Ira Babcock, the former president, was not present at the start of the meeting

George W. LeBreton, Secretary or Recorder of the Committee of Nine called everyone to order
Dr. John E. Long was elected recorder
Rev. Gustavus Hines was called upon to serve as chair of the Champoeg Meeting -- July 5, 1843
remainder of the meeting was presided over by Rev. Hines
Chairman Hines called for reports by each committee spokesmen
Executive Committee reported there would be no governor of Oregon
rather a three-person Executive Committee would assume the duties of the executive officer
Judiciary Committee stated there would be a Supreme Judge with probate powers
and two Justices of the Peace -- when they all met together they became the Supreme Court
also a Probate Court and Justice's Court would be put into place
Ways and Means (finance) Committee announced taxes were to consist of a voluntary
subscription

“We, the subscribers, hereby pledge ourselves to pay annually, to the treasurer of Oregon Territory, the sum affixed to our respective names, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of government: *Provided*, that in all cases each individual subscriber may at any time withdraw his name from said subscription upon paying up all arrearages (back taxes) and notifying the treasurer of the colony of such desire to withdraw.”

Military Affairs Committee reported the creation of a local militia battalion of three companies
of mounted riflemen with officers defined by the law
to be called out by order of the Executive
although any militia officer could also call them out in times of insurrection or invasion
Private Land Claims Committee said one mile square or 640 acres could be claimed individually
provided it not be on a town site or water-power source
settlers had one year in which to file a 640-acre claim
no surveys of the land existed -- each man had to make his own survey
no requirement of proof of claim was necessary except for a description of the boundary
(actually, claims were so large that settlers were spread thin
it was difficult to develop or improve land)
missions could claim no more than six miles square -- 23,040 acres
Division of Districts (Counties) Committee reported the creation of four districts:
Yamhill District and Champoock District south of the Columbia River
Twality District and Clackamas District north of the Columbia River
Legislative Committee of Nine Chairman Robert Moore
read the recommendations of the legislative committee to everyone present
but the proposed laws were to apply only to Americans -- Indians were to be treated justly
Hudson's Bay Company employees would remain responsible to the Company

ORGANIC LAWS OF OREGON ARE PROPOSED TO THE AMERICAN SETTLERS

At close of the Champoeg meeting -- July 5, 1843
a motion to adopt the complete report was offered by Joseph McLoughlin, the Chief Factor's son
Rev. Gustavus Hines called for the vote
Legislative Committee Report was accepted almost unanimously
local Provisional Government, distinctly pro-American, had been approved
British and French-Canadians withdrew their participation

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TAKES SHAPE

When the Organic Laws of Oregon were approved by those attending the Champoege Meeting Oregon's first written constitution was put into place

this was an American statement of self-protection, property protection, and law and order
in fact, there was no lawful means of protecting land titles in Oregon Country
the only land law in Oregon Country was a consensus of public opinion
that when a person settled (squatted) on a piece of land and improved it
or declared his intention to claim it all other settlers respected his claim
every settler believed the drawing of an international boundary would insure
individual land claim made under the Joint Occupation Treaty [1818 and 1827]

Three-man Executive Committee, an odd feature of the Organic Laws of Oregon,
was elected to a one-year term in office (to serve until [May 1844]):

- David Hill -- had arrived the year before with Dr. Elijah White [1842]
he was a political activist in the colony
(Hillsborough would later be named in his honor)
- Alanson Beers -- long time Oregon Country resident
blacksmith who arrived with the [1837] Methodist reinforcement
reached Oregon with his wife and three children aboard the ship *Diana*
he was placed in charge of a mission farm at Mission Bottom
he built several houses and mills
he was active in the Oregon Temperance Society and Indian Manual Labor School
he was one of the founders of the Oregon Institute
- Joseph Gale -- had been a brigade leader for Nathaniel Wyeth [1834]
built the first ship in Oregon, the *Star of Oregon*, before becoming a successful rancher
who had broken Hudson's Bay Company livestock monopoly
with two trips into California for Spanish cattle

Other officers of the Provisional Government were elected:

Clerk and Recorder of public documents -- French-Canadian George W. LeBreton

Provisional Treasurer -- Dr. William H. Willson

government had no taxing authority but rather relied on voluntary subscriptions for funds
money was represented by receipts for sixty bushels of wheat

stored in the Hudson's Bay Company granary

wheat was the crop grown by Americans in Willamette Valley

additional positions included an attorney general, and two overseers of the Judicial Branch

Supreme Judge with Probate Powers -- merchant Albert E. Wilson

(Wilson declined to serve and was replaced by Osborne Russell [September 13])

several magistrates were elected

lower probate court and justice courts could only hear controversies

involving less than \$50 and that did not involve land disputes

Hugh Burns (later replaced by Robert Moore), Rev. Lewis H. Judson and Alvin T. Smith

James O'Neil, Xavier Ladarout, Pierre Billique and William McCarty

were locally elected at the District level

there was no meeting of the court in 1843

Peace Officers

High Sheriff -- Joe Meek who took his place along with other trappers turned political leaders he compiled a record of vigor and whimsy rivaling his Rocky Mountain career although his noisy participation in political activities is in some dispute, area participants lost no time in recognizing his rising stature under the new government
Constables: Joseph Gervais, William Cannon, and Robert Moore
all together the police force numbered about a dozen
Militia battalion of three Companies of mounted riflemen was authorized
militia officers appointed
Major -- John Howard
three Captains -- William McCarty, Charles McKay, and Solomon H. Smith
militia was to assemble once a year in September for inspection
every male between 16 and 60 was considered a member of the military

Legislative Committee's nine members had completed their work

District elections to the newly-created Legislative Council would be held [1844]

That day Officers were sworn into office with an oath to **“support the Organic Laws of the provisional Government of Oregon so far as said Organic Laws are consistent with my duties as a Citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain....”**⁴³⁴

Before the first day's meeting was adjourned -- July 5, 1843

Provisional Government structure had been set up by Americans
about half of those who voted for the proposed government received offices

MOUNTAINS OF WYOMING ARE REACHED BY THE GREAT MIGRATION

Over 7550-foot high South Pass the Great Migration and herd crawled
they were heartened, and perhaps somewhat disgusted, that this low marshy portal
looked so little like the mountain pass of the Continental Divide they had imagined
Next the Big Sandy River was crossed and they moved on to the Green River
which was usually at high water (during July and August) and crossing was dangerous
after crossing the Green their route continued on in an approximately southwest direction
Slowly the Green River and its blistering deserts dropped behind
painfully they climbed the first real mountains they had yet encountered

GREAT MIGRATION REACHES (TODAY'S IDAHO)

Wagons creaked and groaned frightfully as the wagon train dropped down into the lush meadows
along the Bear River (in eastern Idaho)
emigrants and animals alike collapsed beside the Bear River -- exhaustion forced them to rest
There explorer John C. Fremont happened upon the pioneers sitting in camp one evening

REV. GEORGE GARY IS APPOINTED SUPERINTENDENT OF OREGON METHODIST MISSIONS

Methodist Mission Society members in Boston appointed Rev. George Gary
to replace Rev. Jason Lee

⁴³⁴ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 100.

Society members wanted a **“more full and satisfactory account of this Mission, than our present information will permit”** and instructed Gary **“to curtail the secular departments of the mission...”**⁴³⁵

new superintendent was instructed him to dispose of the properties of the Methodist mission including the grist mill and missions not actively used -- July 1843

Rev. George Gary began preparations for his journey by ship around Cape Horn

CAMP MEETINGS ARE HELD IN OREGON COUNTRY

Religious revival gatherings were held in the Willamette Valley conducted by local and visiting ministers and “exhorters”

heartfelt and ardent demonstrations came from listeners on whom the Spirit fell who encouraged participation

Meeting grounds were always located adjacent to streams to provide for baptisms services usually lasted four or five days but occasionally stretched out to ten days sometimes they were interrupted by rowdiness and drunkenness

First Oregon camp meeting was held at Forest Grove -- July 1843

with Joe Meek becoming a new religious convert

(in later years summer educational and recreational gatherings known as “Chautauqua meetings” diminished influence and power of camp meetings)

FORT BRIDGER IS CONSTRUCTED ALONG THE OREGON TRAIL

Jim Bridger, with his latest partner, Louis Vasquez selected a new site for their base on Black’s Fork of the Green River in Southwest (Wyoming) -- summer 1843

this broad well-watered valley offered an ideal location for intercepting emigrants

Built for the emigrant trade on the Oregon Trail rather than for the fur trade

Fort Bridger provided blacksmith shop and supply station for pioneers it soon became an important stop

In describing Fort Bridger, the founder noted: **“I have established a small store, with a Black Smith Shop, and a supply of Iron on the road of the Emigrants on Black’s Fork Green River, which promises fairly, they in coming out are generally well supplied with money, but by the time they get there are in want of all kinds of supplies. Horses, Provisions, Smith work &c brings ready Cash from them and should I receive the goods hereby ordered will do a considerable business in that way with them. The same establishment trades with the Indians in the neighborhood, who have mostly a good number of beaver amongst them.”**⁴³⁶

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT VISITS WITH THE GREAT MIGRATION

Fremont was fresh from scouting alternative routes through (today’s Colorado)

in his journal he reported an idyllic picture

that would give later travelers false confidence: **“a picture of home beauty that went directly to our hearts...smokes were rising lazily from the fires, around which the women were occupied in preparing the evening meal, and the children playing in the grass; and the herds of**

⁴³⁵ Charles Carey, “Methodist Annual Reports.” *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 23, no. 4, 303-364.

⁴³⁶ Robert Utley, *A Life Wind and Perilous*, P 152-153.

cattle, grazing in the bottom, had an air of quiet security and civilized comfort that made a rare sight for the traveler in the remote wilderness.”⁴³⁷

John C. Fremont and his men set out for (Utah) and the Great Salt Lake

NINE-MAN PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL REPRESENTS PIONEERS' INTERESTS

Members of the Provisional Government's Legislative Council

met at the Champoege Methodist mission's granary -- August 1843

In an effort to expand access to money for farmers the Council expanded the accepted currency in addition to receipts for bushels of wheat stored in the Hudson's Bay Company granary

receipts for hides, tallow, beef, pork, lumber and similar exportable goods became acceptable

Members of the Provisional Government's Legislative Council passed an act prohibiting the presence

of Free Negroes within Oregon Country -- slavery was not the concern but rather Negroes

Also, at the insistence of settlers like William H. Gray who was adamantly pro-American

an act was passed specifically extending jurisdiction of the Provisional Government

north of the Columbia River

Americans now directly challenged the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company

REV. JOSEPH H. FROST LEAVES CLATSOP PLAINS MISSION

Rev. Joseph H. Frost along with his wife and son worked with the Clatsop Indians

they had not converted any natives in the three years they had been there

he concluded there would never be a successful Christian church to serve the Clatsops

he decided the mission budget could better be dedicated to efforts elsewhere

Rev. Frost and his family left what they called the "land of darkness"⁴³⁸ -- August 14, 1843

they were replaced by Rev. Josiah Parrish (who operated the mission until the following year

when the Clatsop Plains Mission was closed and Rev. Parrish purchased the property)

GREAT MIGRATION FOLLOWS THE BEAR RIVER NORTH

Breaking their camp along the Bear River the wagon train and its herd of animals

set out for Soda Springs (Idaho) which became a favorite attraction for the pioneers

who marveled at the hot carbonated water and chugging "steamboat" springs

many stopped and did their laundry in the hot water

as there was plenty of good grass and fresh water available

Leaving Soda Springs the trail turned northwest to follow the Portneuf River Valley

to Fort Hall, Idaho (roughly the route of today's Highway 30)

GREAT MIGRATION REACHES FORT HALL (IDAHO)

After ninety-eight days of travel the light column of the Great Migration

arrived at Fort Hall (near Pocatello, Idaho) -- August 27, 1843

Fort Hall was an old fur trading post on the Snake River

established by Nathaniel Wyeth [1832] and later sold to Hudson's Bay Company [1837]

Factor Richard Grant was astonished to see the long wagon train when it the post

⁴³⁷ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 233

⁴³⁸ Nellie B. Pipes, "Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43." Oregon Historical Quarterly 35, No. 2 (1934), 139-167.

he treated them as kindly as possible under the circumstances
although he was aware of Dr. Whitman's stubborn determination and patriotic purpose
mosquitoes were constant pests
(later travelers often mentioned that their animals were covered with blood from the bites)
They were now two-thirds of the way to the Willamette Valley
as they all knew, the most difficult part of the trip was yet ahead of them
as the well marked trail ended here and was replaced by only a pack trail
At the post, Dr. Whitman fortunately received from Waiilatpu four or five horse loads of flour
to distribute among the most destitute of the emigrants
Factor Richard Grant then devastated the immigrants by saying their wagons could not go through
as it was impossible to secure enough pack horses to carry the women and children,
let alone their property, to the Columbia River
it would be necessary to go forward using the wagons despite the hazards
John Gantt their pilot left the main group at Fort Hall
he set out with sixteen or twenty people bound for California

FATHER TIBERIO SODERINI DECIDES TO LEAVE THE PREISTHOOD

Father Tiberio Soderini appears to have become so disillusioned with his fellow Jesuits
during their trek that when he and his traveling companions reached Fort Hall
he decided to leave the society of Jesuits altogether and become, instead, a secular priest
under the authority of Father Francis Blanchet

GREAT MIGRATION MEMBERS HOLD A FRIGHTENED CONFERENCE AT FORT HALL

Dr. Marcus Whitman admitted he had failed to push his two-wheeled cart past Fort Boise [1836]
Joel Walker and his family traveled from Fort Hall by Hudson's Bay Company boat [1840]
Mountain Man Robert "Doc" Newell had not been able to open a way
with anything but a wagon running-gear [1840]
Bartleson-Bidwell Party had split at Soda Springs (Idaho) before thirty-two pioneers
were led to Waiilatpu by Hudson's Bay Company agent Francis Ermantinger [1841]
Dr. Elijah White and Captain Lansford W. Hastings
had stopped their wagon train at Fort Hall before most continued by boat [1842]
Yet, Dr. Whitman insisted that wagons *could* go through
he noted this group possessed an asset all of the others had lacked:
enough able-bodied men to build a road as they went
Pioneers agreed to try to reach Waiilatpu -- they had little other choice, actually
they hired Dr. Whitman at a reputed fee of four hundred dollars
to lead the way with a small party and blaze a wagon road

GREAT MIGRATION FOLLOWS THE SNAKE RIVER ON ITS WAY WEST

Members of the Great Migration and their herd of animals left Fort Hall -- August 30, 1843
west of Fort Hall the main route traveled about forty miles on the south side of the Snake River
Southwesterly past American Falls, Massacre Rocks, Register Rock and Coldwater Hill
(roughly traveling the route of today's Interstate 84)
Great Migration wagon train strung out for miles through most of September

as the light column and cow column followed the Snake River for about 180 miles
suffering with the heat, wading through tangled sagebrush and crossing lacerating lava stones
smaller parties were demanded
the great caravan was split into still smaller sections
as they passed Cauldron Linn rapids and Shoshone Falls (near today's Twin Falls, Idaho)
and on to Upper Salmon Falls on the Snake River
(at Salmon Falls there were often a hundred or more Indians fishing
who would trade for their salmon -- a welcome treat)
Dr. Whitman wasted untold amounts of energy riding back and forth along the exhausted line,
trying to hurry his charges forward

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN IS CALLED UPON TO ASSIST AILING MISSIONAIRES

Great Migration was met by a band of Indians from Dr. Whitman's Waiilatpu Mission
headed by Sticcus, a Christian Indian
they had come to meet the wagon train searching for Dr. Whitman to tell him
that his medical services were needed as Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding were both ill
and needed him at Lapwai Mission

Guide duties for the Great Migration were turned over to Sticcus
as Dr. Whitman hastened to his home at Waiilatpu before continuing on to Lapwai
Oregon Trail continued west to Three Island Crossing (near present day Glenns Ferry, Idaho)
here the emigrants used the divisions of the river caused by three islands
to cross the difficult and swift Snake River by floating their wagons
and swimming their teams across
this crossing was doubly treacherous because there were often hidden holes in the river bottom
which could overturn the wagon or entangle the team, sometimes with fatal consequences
They entered the lush Boise River Valley
for the members of the Great Migration this was a welcome relief

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN MEETS NARCISSA AT WASCOPAM MISSION

As the doctor passed through Waiilatpu he learned that the conduct of the Indians
had provoked Narcissa Whitman to go Rev. Daniel Lee's Wascopam Mission at Celilo Falls
during his absence Indians burned his mills and committed other acts of destruction
Dr. Whitman rode to Wascopam Mission -- September 6, 1843

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT'S MILITARY EXPEDITION REACHES GREAT SALT LAKE

Fremont and his twenty-seven-man expedition followed the Green and Bear rivers
Fremont turned south into (what is now Utah) to explore the Great Salt Lake
this was one of the primary objectives of the expedition
After weeks of groping down the valley of the Bear River and across miles of marshy land,
Fremont and his men saw the Great Salt Lake -- September 6, 1843
Fremont unpacked an inflatable boat of India rubber he had brought all the way with him
he and his men paddled the leaky boat to (today's Fremont Island)
which he named "Disappointment Island"
Fremont and his party mapped the lake and reported on its mineral content

they collected plant and rock specimens
they made astronomical observations to fix its exact location
using a barometric to measure atmospheric pressure and boiling-temperature readings
they estimated the lake's elevation at 4,200 feet above sea level
but perhaps even greater importance were Fremont's positive reports
of the country around the lake and in the vicinity of the Bear and Weber rivers
(it was Fremont's report with its glowing descriptions that persuaded Brigham Young
that the Great Salt Lake was the place for his people to settle)
After leaving Great Salt Lake the expedition traveled northwestward on the way to Fort Hall

DAVID THOMPSON COMPLETES WORK ON HIS GREAT ATLAS

Once again he sent British government a set of his most recently revised maps -- September 1843
to assist them in one of the negotiations that was taking place
to determine the boundary between the U.S. and British territory in the Oregon Country
David Thompson concluded: **“Thus I have fully completed the survey of this part of North America from sea to sea, and...have determined the positions of the mountain, lakes and rivers, and other remarkable places of the northern part of this continent, the maps of all of which have been drawn and laid down in geographical position, being now the work of twenty-seven years.”**⁴³⁹

he had mapped the entire Canadian landscape from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific
including the course of the Columbia River from source to mouth
detailed an area of over 1.7 million square miles
his scale model (which is now in the care of the Provincial Archivist at Toronto)
measured ten and one-half feet by five and one-half feet
British government returned them to Thompson
saying that Hudson's Bay Company had already supplied them with maps
those Hudson's Bay Company maps were, of course, also Thompson's
from the one published in [1816] in the North West Company pamphlet
as Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company had merged [1822]
Both the [1826] and 1843 maps, plus the [1813] map, were all pirated
and incorporated into other maps, without any acknowledgement to Thompson
by the London Mapmaking Company of Arrowsmith
in this form they became the standard for the rest of the country
although David Thompson received little credit for his efforts
His vision failing, Koo-Koo-Sint “The Man Who Looks At Stars”
began to work on writing his adventures from his seventy-seven original notebooks

DAVID THOMPSON WORKS ON HIS MANUSCRIPT

At age seventy-six, he still found the power to weave his journals and his memories
into his manuscript: *Travels*
his writings show he had a remarkable power of description
He took great satisfaction in being the outsider
a white man among the Indians

⁴³⁹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 77.

a Welshman among the Scots
a pious man among the colorfully profane French *voyagers*
Public interest in Thompson's explorations on the Columbia River momentarily arose,
but waned quickly during the Oregon dispute of the (mid-1840s)
It was a task that he never would complete

GREAT MIGRATION REACHES HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S FORT BOISE

Sticcus was a capable guide and Great Migration reached (old) Fort Boise
near the Snake River -- September 20, 1843
this post was headed by the French-Canadian Francois Payette
he staffed his post primarily with Owyhee (Hawaiian) employees
(Fort Boise became known for the hospitality and supplies provided to later emigrants)

DR. WHITMAN TREATS AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES IN NEED

Dr. Whitman rode to Waiilatpu Mission where he discovered that during his absence
Indians burned his mills and committed other acts of destruction
He then rode to Lapwai to attend the Spaldings in their illness
Dr. Whitman found Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding recovering
then he was summoned a hundred and forty miles to Tshimakain Mission
by word that Mrs. Myra Eells' baby was imminent

GREAT MIGRATION SETS OUT FROM FORT BOISE

After leaving (old) Fort Boise the next crossing of the Snake River was close by
this last crossing of the Snake was done using bull boats while swimming the animals across
(later pioneers would chain a large string of wagons and teams together
their thinking was that the front teams, usually oxen, would get out of water first
and with good footing help pull the whole string of wagons and teams across
how well this worked in practice is not stated
often young Indian boys were hired to drive and ride the stock across the river
unlike many pioneers they knew how to swim)
Once across the Snake River ford near (old) Fort Boise the weary travelers
continued along the Snake River to Farewell Bend where they left the Snake River behind
they entered (what would become the state of Oregon)
Mass Migration's light column traveled through the fire-ravaged timber of the Burnt River (Oregon)
with the Indian Sticcus pointing out the way a crew of forty axmen spent four days
chopping and grading a "road" northwest across the Blue Mountains
they continued on to the Grande Ronde Valley (near present day La Grande, Oregon)

GREAT MIGRATION REACHES THE GRANDE RONDE RIVER VALLEY

Sticcus led the immigrants into the beautiful region of the Grande Ronde River
the famous circular valley of the Blue Mountains -- September 30, 1843
no doubt the valley appeared doubly lovely after another grueling ford of the Snake River
some pioneers broke into tears as they looked down on the peaceful country
after the hardships of many weeks spent in the mountains and desert

MISSOURI U.S. SENATOR LEWIS F. LINN DIES IN OFFICE

Democratic Senator Lewis F. Linn's unwavering support for the people of Oregon was well known however, his work was incomplete at his untimely death at age forty-seven -- October 3, 1843
His unfinished work toward Oregon was taken up by his colleague
Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton
Senator Benton pursued Senator Linn's policy with fiery, uncompromising energy

BUSINESS IN OREGON CITY IS GROWING

Arrivals on the Oregon Trail brought a booming business
Sidney Moss opened the first "hotel" west of the Rocky Mountains
on his Oregon City property at Third and Main
where accommodated new arrivals over the Oregon Trail
amenities were restricted to a space on the floor -- but it provided refuge from the rain
first meeting of the Willamette Falls Lyceum and Debating Society also was held here
Francis Pettygrove's and Philip Foster's store developed a thriving enterprise
they soon doubled their original order and added \$4000 worth of additional goods for sale
they produced salted salmon and barreled peas grown in the Willamette Valley
for shipment to the store's suppliers in the Sandwich Islands
Captain Edmund Sylvester's ship *Pallas* sailed from Oregon City -- October 1843
with a cargo of Pettygrove and Foster products

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IMPOSES A TAX ON AMERICANS IN OREGON

Three member Executive Committee imposed a tax of 1/8th of 1% on all merchandise brought into the country for sale -- 1843
this was aimed at the primary, almost singular, importer of goods -- Hudson's Bay Company
no vote on the issue by the Legislative Council or settlers was taken
(and thus without any authority) this action by the Executive Committee
did not have even the slightest appearance of being legal

STICKUS CONTINUES TO GUIDE THE GREAT MIGRATION TOWARD WAILATPU MISSION

Safely reaching the Umatilla River at last, pioneers gorged themselves
on ripe berries growing in thickets
mission-trained Indian farmers provided fresh vegetables in exchange for old clothing
An early snow fall terrified the caravan but it did not last long enough to be dangerous -- October

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT'S MILITARY EXPEDITION REACHES FORT HALL (IDAHO)

When they arrived at Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Hall, Fremont discharged eleven volunteers
because of a supply problem he sent them back to the United States -- October 9, 1843
From Fort Hall trailing about two weeks behind the Great Migration wagon train
the route held few uncertainties to Fort Vancouver
Fremont followed the route of the future Oregon Trail from Fort Boise to The Dalles
with the exception of a side trip over the Blue Mountains
which they crossed between the forks of Looking Glass Creek

Fremont and German cartographer Charles Preuss devoted themselves to gathering the usual data needed for a scientific survey
Fremont crossed the Snake River at Fort Boise and traveled through Keeney Pass (six miles southeast of today's Vale, Oregon) until they reached the Malheur River they passed Oregon's Tub Mountain and continued on to Farewell Bend where the future Oregon Trail left the Snake River behind
continuing on, Fremont and his scientific expedition traveled up Burnt River Canyon crossed the divide to the Powder River and reached the Grande Ronde Valley always following behind the wagons of the Great Migration

GREAT MIGRATION REACHES THE WHITMAN MISSION

Dr. Whitman was not at Waiilatpu when the Great Migration arrived there -- October 10, 1843
supplies were available but prices quoted by the man Whitman left in charge seemed fantastic
a dollar for a bushel of wheat, forty cents for a bushel of potatoes
these figures were almost double Missouri prices
Several of the immigrants cursed Dr. Whitman bitterly saying he had brought them this way so that he could sell them his produce at outrageous charges
(Waiilatpu was, in fact, only a little off the most direct route)
Difficult decisions regarding how to proceed had to be addressed
emigrants without cattle quickly decided to continue on directly to the Columbia River
hoping to find water transportation from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver
cattle owners faced a more difficult dilemma as they drove their herds toward Fort Walla Walla

CATHOLICS OPEN THEIR FIRST SCHOOL IN OREGON

St. Joseph's College, a boarding school for boys and the first Catholic school in Oregon, was built due to the inspiration of Father Francis Blanchet
with funds from a former fur trader Joseph Larocque
St. Joseph's College opened near the log chapel on the grounds of St. Paul's Mission at French Prairie -- October 17, 1843
primary and secondary school instruction in writing and arithmetic
was provided in both French and English languages
Jesuit Father Antoine Langlois was placed in charge of the school
Father J.B.Z. Bolduc taught of thirty boys who were enrolled as boarders
all were metis except one full-blood Indian who was the son of a local chief
(This school flourished for five years before the California gold rush depleted the settlement of men and boys [June 1849])

LIEUTENANT FREMONT CROSSES THE GRANDE RONDE VALLEY

Lieutenant John Fremont's expedition crossed the Grande Ronde Valley (north of today's La Grande, Oregon) -- October 24, 1843
Fremont decided to search for a more direct and better route across the Blue mountains
Fremont continued on along a northern course across the Grande Ronde following an Indian trail they camped on Willow Creek (near Imbler, Oregon)
Their course the next day took them to "Indian Valley" (Elgin, Oregon)

when they left the valley they ascended Gordon Creek to the summit
Fremont's route continued through the vicinity of (Tollgate, Oregon)
along the ridge of Linton Mountain where Mount Hood was seen 180 miles away
they descended to the Walla Walla River

Fremont described the scene in his journal: **"The white frost this morning was like snow on the ground; the ice was a quarter of an inch thick on the creek, and the thermometer at sunrise was at 20°. But, in a few hours, the day became warm and pleasant, and our road over the mountains was delightful and full of enjoyment.... On our right was a mountain plateau, covered with a dense forest; and to the westward, immediately below us, was the Nez Perce (pierced nose) prairie, in which dark lines of timber indicated the course of many affluents (sic) to a considerable stream that was seen pursuing its way across the plain towards what appeared to be the Columbia river. This I knew to be the Walahwalah [Walla Walla] river...."**⁴⁴⁰

FREMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION REACHES AT WAILATPU MISSION

Lieutenant Fremont followed the Walla Walla River to Dr. Marcus Whitman's Wailatpu Mission which they reached early in the morning -- October 24, 1843

Dr. Whitman was absent that day, but Fremont recorded that he **"had the pleasure to see a fine-looking large family of emigrants, men, women, and children, in robust health...."**⁴⁴¹

Fremont failed to obtain supplies as the grist mill had just burned
he and his twenty-seven men continued on

LIEUTENANT FREMONT MAKES CAMP ALONG THE WALLA WALLA RIVER

Weather was pleasant with a sunrise temperature near freezing
they crossed a sandy, rolling plain and reached the Walla Walla River with its scanty forest
camp was made about three miles from where the river enters the Columbia River

While in Oregon German Cartographer Charles Preuss, never a particularly cheerful person,
complained about the damp and the cold of the Northwest -- October 26, 1843

"It is certainly terrible. ...what a poor devil has to contend with in this country in order to make an honest living."⁴⁴²

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT'S EXPEDITION CONTINUES WEST

Lieutenant Fremont and his twenty-seven men arrived at Fort Walla Walla -- October 27, 1843
at this Hudson's Bay Company post they had their first view of the Columbia River
camp was made near the fort but the horses had to be sent back to the camp of previous night
to provide ample forage

located on the east bank of the Columbia River about half a mile north
of the mouth of the Walla Walla River and a few miles below the Snake River's mouth
this location was chosen for its strategic geographic value

Once he reached Fort Walla Walla Lieutenant Fremont judged his mission of connecting
with U.S. Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes [1841] survey expedition accomplished

⁴⁴⁰ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 31.

⁴⁴¹ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 32.

⁴⁴² Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*. P. 121.

here he wrote: **“our land journey found...its western termination.”**⁴⁴³
Fremont considered Fort Walla Walla to be the end of overland portion of the Oregon Trail which he estimated to be about 2,000 miles from Westport, Missouri
When Fremont arrived at the post he observed that portion of the Great Migration under the direction of Jesse Applegate had nearly completed constructing boats
Fremont also noted the Cow Column preferred to continue their journey overland taking their stock and wagons with them along the northern bank of the Columbia River
Fremont recorded his impression of the Columbia River: **“We here saw, for the first time, the great river on which the course of events for the last half century has been directing attention and conferring historical fame. The river is, indeed, a noble object, and has here attained its full magnitude.”**⁴⁴⁴

traveling with Fremont was Ransome Clark who met Miss Lettice Jane Millican then traveling with a wagon train at Fort Walla Walla
(this couple met again in the Willamette Valley and married they established the first permanent white home in the Walla Walla Valley)

LETTER HOME FROM WAILATPU MISSION DESCRIBES THE GREAT MIGRATION

Jesse Looney, a recent Pacific Northwest arrival, wrote a letter from Wailatpu Mission back home to Missouri -- dated October 27, 1843

“The company of emigrants came through safely this season to the number of a thousand persons with something over a hundred wagons to this place...and, with the exception of myself, and a few others, have all gone on down [to the Willamette Valley]. ...There were five or six deaths on the road...and there were some eight or ten births. Upon the whole we fared better than we expected.”⁴⁴⁵

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT’S EXPEDITION SETS OUT ONCE AGAIN

Fremont again divided his command leaving guide Tom Fitzpatrick and the Great Migration behind at Fort Walla Walla to bring up the rear

Fremont and his men resumed their journey setting out from Fort Walla Walla -- October 28, 1843 their route along the south bank of the Columbia River was difficult

as they toiled through deep loose sands and sharp fragments of volcanic rock in contrast, Jesse Applegate’s fleet of boats glided by traveling down the Columbia
As they followed the trail Mt. St. Helens came into view as did a second peak (probably Mt. Adams) they crossed the Umatilla River at a fall near its mouth

GREAT MIGRATION ARRIVES AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Archibald McKinley, Hudson’s Bay Company Factor at the fort, agreed with Dr. Whitman’s advice to leave the cattle and wagons for the winter along the Walla Walla River
settlers could then continue on down the Columbia River unencumbered as best they could
this sage advice was, for the most part, ignored

⁴⁴³ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 32.

⁴⁴⁴ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 32.

⁴⁴⁵ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 34.

GREAT MIGRATION SPLITS INTO SMALL GROUPS AT FORT WALLA WALLA

This first wagon train to reach the Columbia River paused to make final preparations before continuing down the Columbia River to the rapids of the Dalles

Early arrivals of the Light Column traveling without cattle took directly to the river:

- some gave up their wagons and hired Indian canoes for the rest of the journey through the rapids of the Dalles and on to the Willamette River or Fort Vancouver these lucky few hurried ahead to seek assistance for those to follow soon all of the available Indians canoes were gone;
- some bought Hudson's Bay Company bateau (river boats) for the journey downriver these roomy vessels were forty-five feet long by five feet broad they were light enough for gangs of Indians to carry them around the portages of the cascades;
- more reckless of the emigrants laboriously gathered drift logs and tied them together ankle-deep in the frigid water they wheeled their wagons aboard these clumsy rafts for the trip down the Columbia River to the Dalles
- still others, fearful of trusting their goods and lives to such uncertain craft, dug pits for whipsawing logs gathered along the river bank into planks they began the difficult task of hammering together flatboats to carry their wagons and families these huge and uncouth structures were steered with immense sweeps located in the stern they hoped would be safer than rafts -- sometimes they were
- a few forced their wagons along the south side of the Columbia River toward the Dalles

FLATBOATS JOURNEY DOWN THE COLUMBIA RIVER

As they completed their task, finished flatboats were loaded with families, disassembled wagons and other property -- then pushed out into the swift current to be taken down the Columbia River to the mouth of the Willamette River or Fort Vancouver

Flatboat travel was a delightful change for the first one hundred miles

bright sunshine, clear, cold water and majestic snow-covered peaks in the distance

lifted their spirits -- this part of the journey was safe and pleasant

easily gliding boats provided quite a comfortable contrast

to the preceding months of harsh, difficult and treacherous overland travel

Safety, however, was a conditional situation

chill November winds blew on them through the canyon

they floated, towed, surged and portaged their way fraught with danger down the river

potential disaster at The Cascades Rapids always haunted them

COW COLUMN REACHES THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Following in the wake of the Light column, the Cow Column arrived at Fort Walla Walla as October turned to November

These members of the Great Migration burdened with their cattle pondered their options:

- some, afraid that they could not successfully drive their animals to the Willamette Valley over the heavily timbered Cascade Mountains,

- arranged to leave their cattle for safe keeping at Fort Walla Walla;
- others traded good-blooded but trail-gaunt Missouri stock for scrubby Spanish cattle that they could acquire from Hudson's Bay Company herds at Fort Vancouver;
- still others, decided to risk everything to the whims of fate
 - they traded their wagons for pack animals and started their herds along treacherous trails far above the Columbia River on the south side
 - they were destined for the Dalles where it would be necessary to portage the animals and to portage again at The Cascades Rapids
 - a few pioneers, hearing that routes were better along the north bank of the Columbia River swam their animals across the great river two at a time tied behind rented Indian canoes once across, they began the arduous cattle drive
 - to the Dalles and The Cascades Rapids and, finally, Fort Vancouver

APPLEGATE FAMILY JOURNEYS FROM FORT WALLA WALLA

Having made arrangements to leave their cattle near Fort Walla Walla for the winter two homemade flatboats embarked carrying the family members and hired hands of brothers Jesse, Lindsay and Charles Applegate

At first the change from wagons to boats was exhilarating

Columbia's current carried them effortlessly -- the scenery was austere and majestic even their guide was amusing, a weathered Indian with a dirty red handkerchief around his head sporting long black hair hanging down his back

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT AND HIS MEN ARRIVE AT THE DALLES

After crossing the Umatilla River Mount Hood had been lit by a glowing sunrise they continued along the road and passed near an elevated point they could see the valley of the Columbia River for miles ahead in the distance were several houses which a local chief identified as the Methodist mission Wascopam

Fremont's expedition reached the rapids (at today's The Dalles, Oregon) they rapidly cross the three or four miles and camped near the mission just after the departure of the last of the Great Migration -- November 5, 1843 there he learned of the tragic wrecking of Applegate's boats and the drowning of his twelve-year-old son, a nephew and a family friend while at Wascopam Fremont saw an eruption of Mount St. Helens

Fremont wrote to Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick who was still at Fort Walla Walla he directed the Great Migration's guide to abandon their carts, make pack saddles to continue overland and reunite with Fremont at the Dalles

At Wascopam, Fremont again divided the command

Christopher "Kit" Carson was placed in charge of Fremont's camp to carry out preparations for the long journey home

Fremont, Jacob Dodson, a young Black household servant of U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton, and cartographer Charles Preuss borrowed an Indian canoe with ten Indians they paddled down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY TOWARD HOME

After assisting Mrs. Eells with childbirth Dr. Whitman braved cold, gray November rains as he rode from Tshimakain to Rev. Daniel Lee's Wascopam Mission at Celilo Falls -- November 6, 1843 to bring Narcissa home to Waiilatpu

TRAGEDY STRIKES THE APPLGATE FAMILY

Gradually, almost imperceptibly, the current of the Columbia River gained strength as the homemade flatboat approached Celilo Falls it suddenly leaped more wildly than they could manage -- morning November 6, 1843
shouts came from the trailing boat occupied by three older men and three of the children three Applegate brothers and their wives in the lead boat looked back just in time to see the spinning craft drop from sight under the foaming surge of the river instinctively the fathers started to their feet -- intuitively the mothers pulled them back their own boat was running uncontrolled straight for the rocks
Somehow the lead boat fought its way clear of the rapids and managed to land frantic with grief, Lindsay Applegate jerked a rifle from the baggage to kill the Indian pilot of the trailing boat
luckily the man disappeared before Lindsay could shoot
meanwhile the fear-stricken mothers scrambled back along the rocky bank
Two Applegate cousins, a young boy and a young man, were saved in a most miraculous way the boy was physically very active and an excellent swimmer
he was carried downriver for two miles in the current -- part of the time sucked under water after being thrown about, he was spewed out on the slippery ledge of rock there, battered but safe, he desperately clung until he recovered his breath as he drew himself up onto the narrow ledge, he saw his older cousin being swept by reaching out he grabbed the young man and drug him to the same ledge
When they regained ample strength, they saw they were caught on a rocky niche above them rose a steep cliff which offered no escape -- they were in a trap looking across the river they saw the bank was smooth and there was a trail the younger Applegate saw a reef that extended a considerable distance into the river he decided to pick his way along the reef to where he might be able to swim to safety
Reaching the end of the reef, the younger Applegate discovered his cousin had not accompanied him he struggled back to get his more timid relative
wondrously, on the second try, they both reached the end of the reef there they jumped into the swirling water and swam for the far shore exhausted they arrived safely, battered and bruised, but alive
As the Applegate family members stood on the rocky bank of the Columbia River quietly celebrating the success of the two cousins
another young swimmer appeared and was clawed free of the water soon yet another boy bobbed by battered but safe
finally a man floated into sight on a feather bed
However, the body of elderly traveler, Alexander McClelland, and of two ten-year-old cousins Jesse's son Edward and Lindsay's son Warren were never found

MEMBERS OF THE GREAT MIGRATION STAGGER INTO THE DALLES

Parts of the Great Migration's two divisions, the Light Column and the Cow Column were once again united at the Dalles

Those who had reached Fort Walla Walla early were fortunate because they could leave their wagons and most of their possessions along the Walla Walla River and hire Indians to take them by canoe down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver or hire a Hudson's Bay Company bateaux to take them

Those who had driven their wagons to the Dalles were stopped by the Cascade Mountains however, a passable wagon trail now existed from the Missouri River to the Dalles these lucky few hired small Indian canoes for the remainder of the journey to Fort Vancouver soon all of the canoes at the Dalles were gone

AT THE DALLES MEMBERS OF THE GREAT MIGRATION FACE TERRIFYING PROSPECTS

Having reached the Dalles the members of the Great Migration faced the remainder of the Columbia Gorge with its multiple rapids, treacherous winds and 1.6 mile portage around The Cascades Rapids their cattle, oxen and horses would have to be driven around Mount Hood on the narrow, crooked and rough Lolo Pass trail Vast rapids at the Dalles were too much to overcome for some who settled there

SETTLEMENT OF "THE DALLES," OREGON BEGINS

So many people had arrived at the Dalles of the Columbia River with the Great Migration that a settlement developed to serve those who could not or would not continue on to Oregon The Dalles became home to these pioneers (capital "T" in "The" refers to the town while a small "t" refers to the Columbia River's rapids in the area)

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Upon reaching Fort Vancouver -- November 8, 1843

Fremont was hospitably received Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin as Fremont noted, **"with the courtesy and hospitality for which he has been eminently distinguished, and which makes a forcible and delightful impression on a traveler from the long wilderness from which we had issued."**⁴⁴⁶

Fremont quarreled with Charles Preuss who refused to cut off his beard merely to dine presentably at McLoughlin's table in just two days Fremont was supplied with provisions from the vast stores of the fort Fremont needed to refit and support his expedition for a winter journey to return to the states Fremont chose not to complete his transcontinental journey with a trip to the Pacific Ocean citing the conditions of the rainy season and having fulfilled his mission of connecting with Charles Wilkes' survey effort he felt he could not justify delaying his return home waiting for favorable weather

LIEUTENANT FREMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION RETURNS UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

⁴⁴⁶ Robert Utley, *A Life Wind and Perilous*, P 197.

Now, as his orders directed, he was to lead his men in a winter trek back to the United States,
exploring in detail the route of the Oregon Trail
and further examining the Wind River Mountains along the way
Before leaving Fort Vancouver, Fremont received some information from Dr. McLoughlin
regarding South-Central Oregon which was then still a region of mystery
Fremont and his men departed with a barge and three canoes manned by voyageurs and Indians
to transport them back toward Wascopam Mission -- November 10, 1843
one of the expedition members, Henry A.G. Lee, chose to remain and settle in Oregon Country

GREAT MIGRATION SET OUT FROM THE DALLES

From the Dalles to Fort Vancouver pioneers suffered more than in all the rest of the journey
November rains poured with unrelenting energy in the beautiful, terrible river gorge
food was almost completely exhausted -- clothing was in rags
families were huddled, destitute, tired, hungry, wet, cold and disheartened
they clogged up at the portages, pleading with the Indians for help
they traded loved possessions for bits of salmon jerky and pemmican
many thought they would die
Stronger or luckier men hurried ahead for assistance at Fort Vancouver
one pioneer, James Waters, managed to acquire a canoe and hastened down the river

REVEREND JASON LEE IS SUSPENDED BY THE METHODIST MISSION SOCIETY

Letters from the Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York
were delivered to Superintendent of Methodist missions Rev. Jason Lee
by Dr. Marcus Whitman after his return to Waiilatpu -- 1843
Mission Society members noted Rev. Lee had established a town
which was not a religious colony
Lee was accused of mishandling mission money and of neglecting the Indians
these letters noted the Methodist Society in New York had decided to send out Rev. George Gary
by ship around Cape Horn to investigate the charges against Jason Lee
and, if need be, to replace him
Thoroughly upset, Jason Lee decided to sail east and answer the charges in person
Rev. Jason Lee set sail for the Sandwich Islands on the bark *Columbia* -- November 17, 1843
In Oregon Country, in fact, the missionary influence was waning
American hostility toward Hudson's Bay Company was growing

LIEUTENANT CHARLES FREMONT AGAIN ARRIVES AT WASCOPAM METHODIST MISSION

Fremont, Jacob Dodson and Charles Preuss returned from Fort Vancouver
after a difficult passage through wind and rain upriver to Wascopam -- November 18, 1843
there they reunited with Kit Carson and the others of the expedition
Preparations for the return effort to the Arkansas River were completed
provisions acquired from Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver
consisted of: a three month supply of flour, peas and tallow;
some California cattle to be driven with the expedition on their homeward-bound journey
were purchased from the mission

other livestock consisted of 104 mules and horses
Fremont announced that although his orders directed they return home by way of the Oregon Trail
and contrary to what he told Chief Factor McLoughlin, Fremont would instead take a new route
they would travel a great circuit to the south and southeast to explore the Great Basin region
(of today's southeast Oregon, Nevada and Utah)
he was interested in investigating three landmarks:
•the Klamath Lake region of southern Oregon,
•the westward flowing Buenaventura River from the Rocky Mountains,
•the Rocky Mountains near the headwaters of the Arkansas and Colorado rivers
crossing this virtually unknown area at the onset of winter
was a daunting, even reckless, undertaking

GREAT MIGRATION RECEIVES HELP

James Waters was among the first of the immigrants to reach Fort Vancouver
he appealed to Hudson's Bay Company's Dr. John McLoughlin for provisions
he assured the Chief Factor the stranded migrants would be glad to pay any fair price
As soon as McLoughlin learned that nearly 900 men, women and children
were desperately attempting to reach the safety of the fort
he prepared Hudson's Bay Company boats to provide transportation
he also sent flour, meat and tea
Dr. McLoughlin asked in return only the same price that his own employees
would have to pay at the store at Fort Vancouver for the goods
One rescue boat was rowed upstream by a Hudson's Bay Company crew
it carried James Waters and life sustaining provisions
eagerly the starving emigrants consumed what Waters brought them
When the settlers in the Willamette Valley heard of the fate of the newcomers,
they responded with some supplies
however, the difference between disaster and salvation was Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

GREAT MIGRATION RECEIVES A WARM WELCOME

Dr. McLoughlin ordered vast bonfires to be lighted along the river bank the next night
and gathered together all of the food and blankets the fort could spare
When they arrived, the Americans were greeted by the Chief Factor personally
however, once they felt comfortable again many Americans
cruelly abused both James Waters and John McLoughlin
stating the two heroes were trying to cash in on their misfortune
few of the Americans ever kept their promise to pay
Waters and McLoughlin had to make good the losses out of their own pockets

CHIEF FACTOR'S HUMANE ACT WAS NOT VIEWED WARMLY

Hudson's Bay Company Governor-in-Chief Sir George Simpson had long been concerned
about Dr. John McLoughlin's hospitality toward recent arrivals
this most recent example added fuel to their long-running, intense feud
Hudson's Bay Company Board of Directors frequently expressed a view similar to the governor's

Americans in Oregon had long accepted the Chief Factor's extraordinarily fair treatment as fitting, while resenting the economic dominance of Hudson's Bay Company in general and the authority of Chief Factor McLoughlin in particular

CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES TRAVEL WITH THE GREAT MIGRATION

Catholic reinforcements also arrived with the overland party

Fathers Peter De Vos and Adrian Hoeken and Brother Michael McGean

met with Father Francis Blanchet before setting out to establish a Catholic Mission among the Kalispel Indians [1844]

GREAT MIGRATION PAUSES AT FORT VANCOUVER

After a rest at the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters for Columbia Department

pioneers trickled into the Willamette Valley over a period of weeks using a variety of routes

starving, destitute and exhausted pioneers slowly trickled into the Willamette Valley

most proceeded on to Oregon City -- the center of population in Oregon Country

where they found a Provisional Government that favored "old timers" awaited them

Soon these successful Overlanders were joined by those who had driven cattle

down the north or south side of the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver

also an arduous experience, but one successfully accomplished

Most of the emigrants reached the Willamette Valley by the end of November

900 new settlers arrived -- swelling American population to 1,300

their arrival changed the small American majority in the Willamette Valley

into an overwhelming one

political control of Oregon City passed from the missionaries to the farmers

who wanted to make the country wholly American

and they looked upon the British as interlopers or and even as the enemy

New arrivals immediately began to agitate for protection for themselves, their stock and their land

and a strong voice in the Provisional Government which was less than six months old

Great Migration provided able political leaders like:

Peter H. Burnett, Jesse Applegate, Morton M. McCarver, James W. Nesmith,

Asa L. Lovejoy and Daniel Waldo

DANIEL WALDO SETTLES IN (TODAY'S WALDO HILLS)

Daniel Waldo and his wife Malinda (Walton Lunsford) Waldo took up land

east of (Salem, Oregon in an area known today as the Waldo Hills)

traveling with them was a black baby -- America Waldo

it was generally assumed her mother was a slave of one of the Waldo brothers

who lived in Missouri and her father was one of Daniel's brothers

Daniel Waldo immediately immersed himself in local politics

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN DEVELOPS A NEW PURPOSE FOR WAILATPU

Dr. Whitman's long ride overland with the Great Migration

gave him a totally new concept of the purpose of his mission

Waiilatpu Mission was turned into a provision center, rest station and hospital

for emigrants on the Oregon Trail
there he would administer to the sick travelers
and supply them with food -- and even sheltered whole families
Dr. Whitman rebuilt his grist mill
and constructed another sawmill twenty miles from Waiilatpu
it was true the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions
insisted that they had built their stations in the West to help the Indians
but the words sounded hollow when Whitman made his hurried ride to the East
then returned with the greatest number of pioneers the Indians had ever seen
Dr. Whitman's helpfulness to the emigrants made the Indians extremely bitter
they believed he preferred whites to them

OREGON COUNTRY FACES CHANGE

In all, the Methodist establishments numbered nearly one hundred men, women and children
some operated other stations that Jason Lee had organized outside of the Willamette Valley
Arrival of the Great Migration, the first large and largest wagon train to reach Oregon,
changed the small American majority in Oregon Country into an overwhelming one
settlement at Oregon City passed from the control of missionaries to that of farmers
farmers wanted to make the country wholly American
and looked upon the British as enemies or interlopers
divisions along national lines were inevitable
intensifying these feelings were religious cleavages

Each passing month brought more immigrants to the west by wagon and ship --

Methodist missionary influence was waning

American hostility toward Hudson's Bay Company was growing -- November 1843
(Oregon Trail would be followed by more than 100,000 immigrants over the next fifteen years
their arrival helped to win ownership of Oregon for America)

CONCERNS REGARDING THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SURFACE

Forming a Provisional Government provided a large first step toward establishing local laws
but no effort to declare independence surfaced because of the Joint Occupation Treaty [1818]
"Newell Party" and "Mission Party" had dominated the 1843 Provisional Government election
all the legislation passed by the Provisional government seemed to have as its goal
the development of a consistent pro-American feeling in the community
and the banishment of every divisive influences -- British, Catholic, or Indian

Provisional Government was, in most respects, very weak

it was incapable of meeting the needs of the Great Migration and other new arrivals

new arrivals had had no voice in selection of local officials

three-man Executive Committee serving instead of a governor was not practical

and they believed a "head of state" was necessary

many Oregon Country settlers were arriving from Southern states and territories

they were not the slaveholder class -- they were more anti-Negro than anti-slavery

voluntary tax unworkable as there was no way to raise money

for support of the government except by private contribution

Great Migration brought new perspectives to bear

large influxes of new pioneers in 1843 brought nine hundred immigrants
farmers, lawyers, merchants and all of the other elements of the communities
from where they had come wanted the stronger forms of government
they had known at home

these new arrivals soon began to agitate for protection for themselves and their land claims
and for a voice in the Provisional Government which was less than six months old
several able political leaders had arrived with the Great Migration such as Peter H. Burnett,
Jesse Applegate, Morton M. McCarver, James W. Nesmith, William Waldo
and Asa L. Lovejoy

old political parties in Oregon no longer met the needs of settlers

Robert "Doc Newell's "Newell Party" and its old mountain men
continued to be respected and valued members of the community
but no longer did they exert their earlier influence on political decisions
Methodist missionaries' "Mission Party" after Rev. Jason Lee lost interest
found new leadership and a new direction under businessman George Abernathy

Arriving pioneers also disapproved of the favoritism regarding land grants
given toward Rev. Jason Lee's Methodist missions

Provisional law allowed Protestant missions to claim an entire township -- thirty-six sections
in addition to the land their members held as individuals

Great Migration members believed Hudson's Bay Company employees
also should be under Provisional Law

British settlers, on the advice of Dr. John McLoughlin refused to continue to cooperate
as did the Catholics

FORMATION OF LOCAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN OREGON COUNTRY

New settlers wanted a stronger, more aggressive government

three separate philosophies of the political future of Oregon Country quickly emerged:

- Independent Party desired Oregon Country to become an independent country
as the [1836] Lone Star Republic was doing (for Texas)
- Mission Party members represented the interests of the Methodist missions
- American Party wanted Oregon Country to become a United States territory

INDEPENDENT PARTY MEMBERS WANT TO FORM A THE REPUBLIC OF OREGON

Americans had established themselves in Oregon Country

they continued to gather strength through the arrival of new immigrants from the mid-west states
yet no action on the part of the United States government had followed

Because of delays by Congress a small minority of citizens in Oregon Country
still favored the idea of forming a government independent of both the U.S. and Britain
to extend its jurisdiction over the territory and to settle the boundary question
also at issue was the isolated condition of the settlements in Oregon Country
and their remoteness from the United States

"Independent Party," although small in number, demanded Oregon Country become a republic
they thought that neither Great Britain nor the United States could presently exercise control

over the residents of Oregon Country and that titles to land and to property of all kinds would continue unsettled and in doubt
they believed they could deal with both Britain and the United States as their own republic (this process was then being use by Texas)
they believed American settlers were in Oregon Country permanently
Hudson's Bay Company was, therefore, merely a temporary resident
they further believed that the powers of the Provisional Government rested solely on the will of the governed and could be rejected at any time by coordinated opposition of the people

MISSION PARTY MEMBERS ARE INTERESTED IN CLAIMING LAND

Not finding a great deal of success with the native population many Methodist missionaries were interested in claiming land and establishing farms
Methodist Mission at Champoege and Chemeketa also claimed huge areas of land including prime sites for future villages and industrial development especially in Oregon City

AMERICAN PARTY WANTS OREGON COUNTRY TO BECOME A U.S. TERRITORY

"American Party" wanted to become a territory of the United States and eventually become a state but the significance of Hudson's Bay Company split this party into two positions
"Moderate American Party" and "Ultra American Party"
"Moderate American Party" members were sure they would be made a territory of the United States as soon as the boundary dispute with Great Britain was cleared up
Joint Occupation was acceptable to them until the international boundary question was settled they were willing to recognize influence of Hudson's Bay Company in maintaining law and order they believe their community would be better served if Americans worked with the Company they believed Hudson's Bay Company had property rights in Oregon Country
"Ultra American Party" members also wanted to become a United States Territory but they did not believe Hudson's Bay Company had any right to the land at all they were opposed to Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin and everything British and did not agree with the Moderate Americans regarding Hudson's Bay Company's rights

LIEUTENANT JOHN CHARLES FREMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION TURNS SOUTH

At the start of his trip back towards Missouri Fremont decided not to follow the Oregon Trail but rather to strike out eastward to define, map and name the Great Basin (of Nevada and Utah) the wisdom of not following the Oregon Train but instead exploring new terrain at the start of winter must have been questioned
however, Fremont claimed his men welcomed the challenge
Twenty-seven men of Fremont's United States expedition left the banks of the Columbia River and headed south -- about noon November 25, 1843 they began an ascent of the Deschutes River
their little wagon that had carried German cartographer Charles Preuss and the scientific instruments was left behind but the howitzer was taken along

LIEUTENANT FREMONT EXPLORES EASTERN OREGON

Continuing up the Deschutes River, the twenty-seven adventurers

traveled along Indian trails as they mapped geographical features
fog, rain and snow made travel miserable -- Indians occasionally ran off their animals
Fremont's expedition experienced a difficult crossing of this virtually unknown area
cold, lack of grass for the animals and lack of food for the men added to their discomfort
this route across Oregon Country became known in military history as the Fremont Trail

GREAT MIGRATION WAS THE FIRST AND LARGEST WAGON TRAIN TO CROSS

Wagon trains dramatically reduced in size and increased in frequency after 1843
organizing a thousand people into an expedition was no longer necessary

Horace Greeley, editor of the New-York Tribune, declared: **“This emigration of more than a thousand persons in one body to Oregon wears an aspect of insanity.... For what do they [women and children] brave the desert, the wilderness, the savage, the snowy precipices of the Rocky Mountains, the weary march, the storm-drenched bivouac and the gnawing of famine.”**⁴⁴⁷

(Great Migration was followed by more than 100,000 emigrants over the next fifteen years
their arrival helped to win ownership of Oregon for America)

PETER H. BURNETT DESCRIBES THE REWARD FOR SUCCESS

After reaching Willamette Valley, Peter H. Burnett wrote a number of letters
to the New York Herald newspaper giving an account of the Great Migration's journey

He wrote of their camp at Elm Grove on the bank of the Kansas River: **“I have never witnessed a scene more beautiful than this. Elm Grove stands in a wide, gentle undulating prairie. The moon shed her silvery beams on the white sheets of sixty wagons; a thousand head of cattle grazed upon the surrounding plain; fifty campfires sent up their brilliant flames, and the sound of the sweet violin was heard in the tents. All was stir and excitement.”**⁴⁴⁸

JESSE APPLGATE ALSO WROTE OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE OREGON TRAIL

“The Western pioneer had probably crossed the Blue Ridge or the Cumberland Mountains when a boy and was now in his prime. Rugged, hardy, and powerful of frame, he was full to overflowing with the love of adventure, and animated by a brave soul that scorned the very idea of fear. All had heard of the perpetually green hills and plains of Western Oregon, and how the warm breath of the vast Pacific tempered the air to the genial degree and drove winter back to the North. Many of them contrasted in imagination the open stretch of a mile square of rich, green, and grassy land, where the strawberry plant bloomed through every winter month, with their circumscribed clearings in the Missouri bottoms. Of long winter evenings neighbors visited each other, and before the big shell-bark hickory fire, the seasoned walnut fire, the dry black-jack fire, or the roaring dead elm fire, they talked these things over; and as a natural consequence, under these favorable circumstances, the spirit of emigration warmed up; and the ‘Oregon fever’ became as a household expression. Thus originated the cast cavalcade, or emigrant train, stretching its serpentine length for miles, enveloped in vast pillars of dust, patiently wending its toilsome way across the American continent.

How familiar these scenes and experiences with the old pioneers! The vast plains, the uncountable herds of buffalo; the swift-footed antelope; the bands of mounted, painted warriors;

⁴⁴⁷ Joseph Schafer. *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 167.

⁴⁴⁸ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 148.

the rugged snow-capped mountain ranges; the deep, swift, and dangerous rivers; the lonesome howl of the wild wolf; the midnight yell of the assaulting savage; the awful panic and stampede; the solemn and silent funeral at the dead hour of night, and the lonely and hidden grave of departed friends, -- what memories are associated with the Plains across!”⁴⁴⁹

UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN OPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON A WESTERN BOUNDARY

(American Minister to the United Kingdom Edward Everett was given authority to negotiate with British officials to settle the Oregon Question [October 1843])
Edward Everett met with British Prime Minister Robert Peel’ Foreign Secretary the Earl of Aberdeen
Everett presented the E Earl of Aberdeen the terms considered by the President John Tyler
America’s old offer of a boundary along the 49th parallel was again presented along with a guarantee of free access to the Columbia River -- November 29, 1843

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IMPOSES CHANGES

Great Migration changed the political and social dynamics of the Willamette Valley farmers, lawyers, merchants and other elements of the communities from which they had come wanted stronger forms of government that they had known at home
Enlarged American community made it necessary to change the government
nine member Legislative Council met in Special Session -- December 1843
under the influence of the Independent Party the Provisional Government extended its jurisdiction over land north of Columbia River although Great Britain had not relinquished its authority
Legislative Council did not impose laws or legal restraint on British subjects but rather they established a government in which distinctions of nationality were for the time being overlooked -- everyone was invited to cooperate
British subjects accepted the expansion of the government as did Dr. McLoughlin who wrote he joined **“the association both for the security of the company’s property and the protection of its rights.”⁴⁵⁰**

PRESIDENT JOHN TYLER CHANGES HIS OFFER TO BRITAIN REGARDING OREGON

American Minister to the United Kingdom Edward Everett had been authorized to present to Britain an offer to establish the international boundary along the 49th parallel and to guarantee Britain free access to the Columbia River
However during President Tyler’s State of the Union address -- December 6, 1843 he claimed **“the entire region of country lying on the Pacific and embraced within 42° and 54°40’ of north latitude.”**
Great Britain’s government was quite startled by this change

CONGRESS RECEIVES A MEMORIAL FROM THE OREGON PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Missouri Democrat Senator Thomas Hart Benton whose son-in-law had just departed from Oregon presented the Provisional Government Memorial (penned June 28, 1843 by Robert Shortess)

⁴⁴⁹ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 178

⁴⁵⁰ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 102.

to the U.S. Senate
Shortess Memorial asked the Polk Administration for naval yards, mail service, land grants,
military protection and territorial status
what was most significant was that political leaders across the continent were made aware
that an American colony had begun on the shores of the Pacific Ocean
U.S. Senate accepted the Memorial -- December 8, 1843
this memorial, like several before it, fanned the flames of a growing expansionist movement

FREMONT'S EXPEDITION REACHES THE VICINITY OF KLAMATH LAKE

Lieutenant Fremont and his twenty-seven men came upon an extensive meadow surrounded by timber
he believed he had reached Klamath Lake (actually he was at Klamath Marsh thirty miles north)
excellent feed which was badly needed was available for the animals
camp was made (at today's Military Crossing Road) -- December 10, 1843
Fremont noted several columns of smoke rising from Klamath Indian campfires around the marsh
Fremont ordered the howitzer fired and the smoke immediately disappeared

LIEUTENANT FREMONT VISITS WITH THE KLAMATH INDIANS

Fremont was guided to a Klamath village in the middle of the marsh -- December 11, 1843
they were met by the chief and his wife who led them into the village beside the river bank
communication was possible only using sign language which limited the information available
here, the guides who had led the expedition from the Dalles indicated they wanted to return home
Fremont was unsuccessful in convincing the Klamath Indians to provide replacement guides

FREMONT'S CAMP IS THROGGED BY KLAMATH INDIANS

Many Klamath Indians visited Fremont's camp -- December 12, 1843
mindful of the disaster that Jedediah Smith had encountered, Fremont kept a constant guard
according to information from the Klamaths a large lake could be reached by traveling east
Breaking camp in a snow storm the expedition crossed the marsh and found shelter in the timber
where camp was made

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET PREPARES TO RETURN TO AMERICA

Father De Smet arrived in Antwerp, Belgium -- December 12, 1843
As a result of his European tour he raised \$26,500
in addition, Father De Smet recruited eleven people to work in the mission field of Oregon
Fathers John Nobili, Michael Accolti, Antonio (Anthony) Ravalli and Louis Vercruysse
and lay brother Francis Huybrechts
six nuns of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur from Belgium accompanied
Loyola Duquenne (Superior), Marie-Cornelia Neujean, Marie Catherine Cabareaux,
Marie-Aloysia Neujean, Norbertine Verreux and Marie-Albine Gobert
they volunteered to go to Oregon out of an eagerness to serve
they knew they would probably never return to their homeland
they gathered all the provisions they thought might be needed including a piano
Father De Smet decided it would be not a good idea to embark on the difficult and dangerous journey
that required crossing the Atlantic Ocean, traveling overland to St. Louis,

and then continuing on to the mission site
especially with Jesuits and the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur
who had little travel experience
Father De Smet began preparations to sail round Cape Horn to Oregon Country
he chartered the *Indefatigable* a two-masted sailing brig
with its crew headed by Captain M.J. Moller for the considerable sum of \$3,300

LIEUTENANT FREMONT AND HIS EXPEDITION ENTER THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Setting out Fremont led his men into a pine forest on the Cascade Mountains -- December 13, 1843
snow was four to twelve inches deep and the howitzer was hard to move
Unexpectedly, the Klamath chief and a few others arrived to help guide for a day or two
after traveling east for several hours, they reached a considerable stream
where camp was made (along today's Williamson River)

KLAMATH INDIANS LEAVE LIEUTENANT FREMONT'S EXPEDITION

When the Klamath chief announced the snow was getting too deep in the mountains
he and his men were turning back to return home
Fremont provided them with gifts for the service they had provided -- December 15, 1843
a course running north by east was pointed out by the chief that would take Fremont to a lake
where no more snow would be found
Fremont crossed a hard-frozen swamp and entered a pine forest
that ascended the Cascade Mountains of southeast Oregon

LIEUTENANT FREMONT AND HIS MEN REACH THE EAST SIDE OF THE CASCADES

Travel this morning was through about three feet of crusted snow that cut the animals' hoofs
gradually climbing up the mountains through pine forests they crossed several springs
tree branches were weighted down with snow -- December 16, 1843
as a storm raged they reached the edge of a vertical rock wall
more than a thousand feet below was a valley of green grass lit by bright sun
in the middle was a lake with no ice nor snow along its shore
Fremont named Summer Lake (Oregon) and the Winter ridge which they stood on
Looking east from Winter Ridge not a tree was to be seen
they had reached (Nevada's) Great Basin
They followed the rocky wall north for five or six miles before they found a way down to the valley
although the descent was extremely difficult
it was dark when the last of the men reached the valley

LIEUTENANT FREMONT TRAVELS AROUND SUMMER LAKE

Fremont and his men followed an Indian trail along the shore of Summer Lake
both water and grass were scarce as the lake water was alkali
camp was made that night near the eastern point of the lake -- December 18, 1843
Continuing south-east Fremont sighted and name Lake Abert
in honor of U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers commander Colonel John J. Abert
water in this lake was not fit for drinking

SACRED HEART MISSION IS MOVED AND RENAMED SAINT JOSEPH'S MISSION

Father Peter De Vos, the acting head of the Rocky Mountain Mission in Father De Smet's absence, arrived for a visit at Sacred Heart Mission much to the annoyance of Father Nicholas Point who still harbored a grudge against De Vos from their seminary days

Father De Vos had a heavy administrative hand -- he renamed and relocated the mission

De Vos decreed that Sacred Heart Mission should be repositioned to the southern end of Lake Coeur d'Alene about a mile up the Saint Joe River henceforth, it would be known as Saint Joseph's Mission

Father De Vos then ordered Father Point accompany the Flatheads on their fall buffalo hunt

Father Point undertook this assignment with contempt

Father De Vos also gathered together Father Point's personal letters which he believed subversive and placed them in a sealed envelope for Father Superior Father Pierre Verhaegen in St. Louis

Father Point believed this was an invasion of his privacy nevertheless compliance was implicit in the vow of obedience taken by member of the Society of Jesus

St. Joseph's Mission was built at the south end of Lake Coeur d'Alene on a rise above the St. Joe River (northwest of St. Maries, Idaho -- pronounced St. Mary's) there Catholic missionaries taught the Coeur d'Alene Indians the Gospel and the industry of farming

Father Nicholas Point, who was placed in charge of the mission, kept a journal and made hundreds of sketches of Indians in every phase of their existence

DR. McLOUGHLIN'S LAND IN OREGON CITY COMES UNDER DISPUTE

By this time Dr. John McLoughlin had again made improvements on his claim at Oregon City the land, including Governor Island, was surveyed by Jesse Applegate -- December 1843 part of the property had been laid out in town lots and blocks some of these lots and blocks he gave away -- some he sold (after the Methodist mission dissolved and new settlers arrived, the crude survey efforts were challenged by those who refused to recognize non-American citizens' land claims)

Provisional Government Land Laws gave title to Dr. McLoughlin's claim to Rev. Jason Lee's missionaries and the Methodist mission under the discriminatory Article IV

Methodist minister Alvin F. Waller employed John Ricord as his attorney then asserted his own ownership of all the McLoughlin land claim, except Governor Island to which the Oregon Milling Company laid claim

MRS. EMILIE GAMELIN BECOMES THE HEAD OF THE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE

Mrs. Emilie Gamelin [1800-1851] of Montreal, Canada had been married to Jean Baptiste Gamelin they had three sons -- two of whom died in infancy then her husband died as did her last child -- [1827] she devoted the remainder of her life to easing the needs of the city's poorest residents

Emilie Gamelin was asked by the Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal to found a religious order for women -- Mrs. Gamelin became Mother Emilie Gamelin seven young women were received as the Daughters of Charity, Servants of the Poor [1843]

they became known as the Sisters of Providence because of their profound belief
that Providence would supply the needs of those they served

ESTHER PARISEAU (MOTHER JOSEPH) ENTERS A CONVENT

Joseph Pariseau presented his daughter to Mother Superior Emilie Gamelin -- December 26, 1843

(talented young recruit standing before Mother Gamelin
would go on to become Mother Joseph of the Sacred Heart)

Esther Pariseau enrolled at Asile of Providence convent -- December 26, 1843

she began to work with Mother Emile Gamelin
and the Daughters of Charity, Servants of the Poor
known as the Sisters of Providence

she learned to adapt to a new life away from her beloved family
as a novice, she was trained in nursing in the sisters' pharmacy and infirmary
her sewing skills were honed in the roberie, making habits and vestments,
she learned to carve fine wax figures
she also assisted the treasurer with the daily tasks of marketing, baking, and the laundry

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT'S EXPEDITION ENTERS (TODAY'S NEVADA)

Fremont took a navigational reading of the stars and determined that his camp
was directly on the forty-second parallel (at today's Oregon-Nevada border)

Fremont continued south (across the Great Basin of today's Nevada)

to find the fabled Buenaventura River of Spanish lore
his exploration proved the river did not exist -- end of December 1843

Prospects for continuing east seemed very uncertain

this county was extremely difficult to cross, what grass was available was unwholesome
hooves of the animals were worn and cut by rocks -- many of them were lame

1843 closed on a gloomy note for Lieutenant Fremont and his twenty-seven men

LIEUTENANT JOHN FREMONT CONTINUES ACROSS THE DESERT OF THE GREAT BASIN

Fremont and the members of his second expedition endured desert conditions

as they traveled a difficult road in falling snow -- January 3, 1844
deep fine sand mixed in places with clay added to their misery
camps were made without water or grass for the animals

Fremont felt the country was so foreboding that he turned southward

he and his men walked to spare the animals
fog became so dense that breaking camp was delayed as finding the animals was difficult
hot spring were reached that provided some relief as some forage was available

Continuing their journey Lieutenant Fremont and his twenty-seven men reached an Indian village
they were very happy to see that people could survive in this region

an Indian brought a large steelhead to trade -- soon the explorers' camp had a number of fish

FLOODING CONDITIONS ARE FELT IN THE UNITED STATES

Many settlements in the United States were devastated by floods -- winter 1843-1844
sickness and utter discouragement followed throughout the flood zones

Strands of idealism and opportunism were inextricably intertwined
in the dreams of disheartened Americans and passionate pioneers alike

CONDITIONS IN OREGON COUNTRY ARE MORE FAVORABLE THAN THOSE IN THE U.S.

“Old settlers,” those who arrived at end of the Oregon Trail before [1843] occupied the choicest land
some fifty families lived on French Prairie in the Willamette Valley (near today’s Woodburn)
a few others were scattered over the valley plain

they had been fortunate to find Hudson’s Bay Company firmly entrenched in the region

Dr. John McLoughlin was both courteous and helpful to Americans

timely and ungrudgingly assistance was given to new comers

at Fort Walla Walla and Fort Vancouver

in notable instances, no bill was presented for this generous first aid

at Fort Vancouver he was always ready to provision the needy, protect them from danger

and make first winter as safe and pleasant as possible

boats were provided to carry pioneers to the Willamette Valley, cattle were loaned,

and settlers supplied with clothing food, farming utensils and wheat seed

occasionally a ship arrived on Columbia River with goods to supply the colonists

supplies from England were offered for purchase

It was generally reported throughout the country that Western farmers on the coast
would find a market for their products in the Orient

Americans moving into Oregon Country were helped by the old settlers

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET JOURNEYS FROM EUROPE TO THE PACIFIC COAST

Father De Smet had chartered the sailing brig *Indefatigable* to carry missionary recruits to America

Indefatigable sailed from Antwerp, Belgium carrying twelve passengers -- January 9, 1844

Fathers Pierre-Jean De Smet, John Nobili, Michael Accolti, Antonio (Anthony) Ravalli

and Louis Vercruysse and lay brother Francis Huybrechts

in addition six nuns of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur from Belgium

sailed with the Jesuit priests: Loyola Duquenne (Superior), Marie-Cornelia Neujean,

Marie Catherine Cabareaux, Marie-Aloysia Neujean, Norbertine Verreux

and Marie-Albine Gobert

Indefatigable’s voyage to Oregon Country took seven months as they traveled across the Atlantic,
rounded Cape Horn, entered the Pacific Ocean, sailed along the coasts

of South, Central and North America before reaching the mouth of the Columbia River

REV. JASON LEE DECIDES TO MEET WITH THE METHODIST MISSION SOCIETY

Knowing charges had been leveled against him and the Methodist Mission Society was unhappy

Rev. Jason Lee sailed east to report to them in person -- winter 1843-1844

Rev. David Leslie was left in charge of the Oregon Mission in the absence of Rev. Jason Lee
working with him were:

- Rev. Henry Kirk W. (or H.K.W.) Perkins who had founded Wascopam Mission

at The Dalles along with Rev. Daniel Lee [1838]

this had been by far the most successful of the Methodist missions;

- Rev. Alvin F. Waller at Oregon City;

- Rev. Josiah Parrish who had been sent to Clatsop to take the place of Rev. Joseph H. Frost;
- and various lay helpers at these places and at the Indian Manual Labor School

While in Jason Lee received a letter written to him by the Mission Society carried by Dr. Ira Babcock in which Lee's dismissal and replacement as superintendent of the mission were announced

LIEUTENANT JOHN CHARLES FREMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION CONTINUES ON

Following a well-marked Indian trail running beside a beautiful stream they traveled along the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains -- January 16, 1844
Fremont expected to find the fabled Buenaventura River at any moment

LIEUTENANT JOHN FREMONT DECIDES TO TURN WEST

After examining the condition of the remaining animals Fremont found their hoofs so cut up they could not possibly cross the Rocky Mountains and return to St. Louis
Fremont changed his become critical as Fremont noted on January 18, 1844: **"It was evidently impossible that they [future travelers on the Oregon Trail] could cross the country to the Rocky Mountains...I therefore determined to abandoned my eastern course, and to cross the Sierra Nevada into the valley of the Sacramento, wherever a practicable pass could be found."**⁴⁵¹

This not only departed from his orders, but risked the annihilation of his command even if he made it to the Sacramento River he would be leading an official United States exploring expedition uninvited into Mexican territory
They began a hazardous crossing into the Sierra Nevada Mountains -- January 19

DISPUTE OVER LAND IN OREGON CITY ESCALATES

Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin had made personal loans to Americans that were valued in excess of \$30,000
Dr. McLoughlin wanted a means to sue and attach debtor's property if necessary
Attorney for Methodist preacher Alvin F. Waller John Ricord signed a public proclamation that was publicly posted at Oregon City -- early 1844 [although it was dated December 20, 1843]
this proclamation set forth the alleged illegality of Dr. John McLoughlin's claim and the imaginary rights of Rev. Waller to the land -- early 1844

CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS WRITES A TRANSPORTATION PLAN

Democrat Stephen A. Douglas was Chairman of the Committee on Territories for the National House of Representatives -- 1844
he developed a transcontinental railroad plan of his own that differed materially from financier Asa Whitney's plan to use land grants to finance construction
Douglas proposed to organize two new territories -- Oregon and Nebraska together with Iowa Territory they would contain the railroad route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean
U.S. government would then grant to each territory alternative sections of land to be sold to pay for construction of the road
work could be accomplished either as a public venture or let out to private companies

⁴⁵¹ Robert Utley, *A Life Wind and Perilous*, P 198.

as each of the territorial governments involved could determine

FREMONT AND HIS SECOND EXPEDITION ENTERS THE SIERRA NEVADA MOUNTAINS

The expedition met a party of Indians who agreed to lead Fremont to a pass across the mountains
Fremont's expedition followed a path before setting out across very broken ground
that passed through a gap between the snowy mountains
Pressing on, the snow deepened until it became three to four feet deep in the summit of the mountains
here their guide left them after pointing out the trail beside a river they were to follow
below them was a little valley -- ahead the mountains rose still higher one ridge after another

LIEUTENANT FREMONT CONTINUES ACROSS THE SIERRA NEVADA MOUNTAINS

Fremont and the men of his second expedition journeyed through Carson Valley (Nevada) --
named by Fremont to honor Christopher "Kit" Carson who served as guide
they traveled along a broad trail gently rising trail
as they moved deeper into the Sierra Nevada Mountains -- January 31, 1844
They had just ignited their campfires when a crowd of nearly naked Indians entered the camp
they had been hunting rabbits and sat themselves around the campfires
one group of about twelve Indians sat on a log near one of the fires
Fremont approached them and explained that he wanted to cross the mountains to the Pacific
one old man told Fremont that before the snow it was six sleeps to where whites lived
but the way was impossible in the deep snow
he explained the river Fremont was following led to a lake that held many large fish
there would be many people and no snow on the ground
this was a place where they could wait until spring
Fremont indicated he could not wait until spring and a young man was presented to the explorer
who, it was said, had seen the white men with his own eyes
this young Indian was convinced to serve as guide

FREMONT AND HIS MEN SET OUT WITH HIS YOUNG INDIAN GUIDE

Camp at the 6,000- or 7,000-foot level was broken and the snow had stopped falling
morning air was clear and frosty -- February 2, 1844
Fremont's party took up the trek crossing the river on the ice
they began climbing the valley of a tributary in silence as everyone knew the danger ahead
As the snow in the deepened ten men were sent ahead on the strongest horses
each man and horse worked as long as he could breaking the trail
then stepped aside and took his place in the rear as the next man and horse broke the trail
cartographer Charles Preuss noted in his journal February 3: **"We are getting deeper and deeper
into the mountain and snow. We can make only a few miles each day."**⁴⁵²
Day after day they continued toward the mountain pass indicated by their guide
one morning their young guide ran away but Fremont was determined to continue on
progress up the Sierra Nevada Mountains was very slow
time was taken to construct snowshoes and sledges for the baggage

⁴⁵² Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada*, P. 56.

horses could travel only at night after the snow had frozen hard enough to support them
Finally camp was made at the 8,000 foot level where the men rested and waited for the horses
Fremont and another man went ahead to scout
they found what Fremont believed was the Sacramento River
(it was, in fact, the American River)

LIEUTENANT FREMONT AND TOM FITZPATRICK RECONNIOTER ON SNOWSHOES

Charles Fremont and guide Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick led a party on snowshoes single file
on a ten mile trek tramping the heavy snow as best they could
to the top of one of the peaks -- February 6, 1844
Christopher “Kit” Carson recognized these were the coastal mountains he had visited before
Using a telescope they traced the course of a river
between them and river were miles of snowy fields and broken ridges of pine-covered mountains

CONDITIONS FOR THE FREMONT EXPEDITION BECOME ALMOST HOPELESS

Cartographer Charles Preuss noted in his diary: **“We are now completely snowed in. The snowstorm is on top of us. The wind obliterates all tracks which, with incredible effort, we make for our horses. The horses are about twenty miles behind and are expected to arrive tonight, or rather, they are now no longer expected. How could they get through? At the moment no one can tell what will really happen. It is certain we shall have to eat horse meat. I should not mind if we only had salt. I feel terribly weak and have little appetite.”**⁴⁵³ -- February 11, 1844

LAKE TAHOE IS SEEN BY CAPTAIN JOHN FREMONT

Fremont and his cartographer Charles Preuss climbed a high peak to view their surroundings
in the far distance they saw a beautiful mountain lake (Lake Tahoe) through their telescope
the lake was surrounded by mountains with no apparent outlet -- February 14, 1844
fog obscured the view but snow could be seen in mountains that faded blue in the distance

FREMONT MAKES CAMP AT THE SUMMIT OF THE SIERRA NEVADA MOUNTAINS

Lieutenant Fremont established “Long Camp,” the most noted camp of this expedition,
at the 9,338-foot level (of today’s Carson Pass) -- February 20, 1844
Fremont’s men considered themselves victorious over the Sierra Nevada Mountains
with only the descent ahead
however, deep fields of snow still lay between them and the American River

FREMONT AND HIS MEN BEGIN THEIR DESCENT TO THE AMERICAN RIVER

An early start was made the next morning (over Carson Pass) was made
to allow for travel before the snow became too soft for the animals -- February 21, 1844
hard and doubtful labor lay ahead for the members of Fremont’s second expedition
They watched clouds roll in and surround the mountains and were fearful of another snow storm
but they heard thunder roll across the valley below
they watched and listened to the storm all afternoon

⁴⁵³ Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada*, P. 56.

at dusk the sky cleared and fires could be seen in the valley below
seeing signs of humanity lifted the explorers' spirits

FREMONT AND HIS MEN FACE THEIR MOST DIFFICULT DAY

Soft snow forced Fremont and his twenty-seven men to leave the trail and travel the mountain sides
these were steep and slippery with snow and ice -- February 23, 1844
trees impeded their progress, tore at their skin and exhausted their patience
slippery moccasins made footing difficult to maintain
axes and mauls were necessary to make a road through the snow
but that night in camp the men were rewarded with rain and plentiful grass for the animals
Travel became easier when a foot path down the south face of the mountain was discovered
and the ground became soft to the animals' hooves
as they hurried on, the sounds of birds singing and warm winds filled them with excitement
however, forage for the animals was in short supply

LACK OF PASTURE FOR THE ANIMALS AND FOOD FOR THE MEN BECOMES CRITICAL

Several days later the first flowers were seen however grass for forage remained scarce
Charles Towns became lightheaded and wandered into the woods
he had no idea where he was going
another of the men brought him back but he was dazed and disoriented from hunger
horses and mules began to weaken and collapse from starvation or stray off into the woods
one of these was Fremont's favorite horse
Baptiste Derosier volunteered to backtrack in an effort to find Fremont's horse
he did not return to camp that night

HARSH CONDITIONS BEGIN TO TAKE A TOLL ON FREMONT'S MEN

Charles Towns, still unsettled in his mind, went for a swim in the American River
as if it was (summer) and the stream was calm instead of the cold foaming mountain torrent it was
Baptiste Derosier appeared in camp
he imagined he had been missing for several days and thought they were still at their former camp
it became obvious that he was deranged
when he had been lost in the mountains cold, hunger and exhaustion had crazed him

CATHOLIC RELATIONS WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONCERN AMERICAN SETTLERS

Good relations were enjoyed among the Hudson's Bay Company, Catholics and Indians
this was seen in a negative light from the American settlers' view
Americans accused the Hudson's Bay Company
of plotting with the Indians and foreign-born Catholics
to undermine the United States of America settlement progress

RACISM IN AMERICA SPREADS TO OREGON COUNTRY

People who settled in Oregon Country tended to come from the frontier areas of the Middle West
particularly the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys
move West for many pioneers included the expectation that they could settle

in an area untroubled by racial concerns
South and parts of the Mid-west passed laws restricting the rights of black people:

- they denied blacks their right to vote,
- they restricted blacks the right to be heard in court and to serve on juries,
- they required blacks to post a bond to assure their good behavior,
- they demanded that black people carry proof of their freedom,
or excluded them altogether from living in these territories

ISSUE OF SLAVERY IMPACTS OREGON COUNTRY

Democrats were generally more inclined to Western expansion than were Whigs
yet Democratic Southern slaveholders were more interested in Texas
because the Provisional Government in Oregon had prohibited slavery
Oregon question became entangled with Texas and slavery in the nation's capital

INTER-RACIAL INCIDENT IN OREGON COUNTRY CAUSES GREAT CONCERN

Mulatto George Winslow (also known as Winslow Anderson) hired a Wasco Indian
named Cockstock to clear a tract of land on Winslow's farm
near Oregon City -- late February 1844
Cockstock, in payment, was to receive a horse when the job was completed
Before the completion of the contract, Winslow sold the horse and the farm
to a Negro, James D. Saules
When Cockstock finished the job and asked for payment Saules refused to give him the horse

JOHN C. CALHOUN IS NAMED SECRETARY TO STATE

President John Tyler appointed United States Senator John C. Calhoun from South Carolina
to succeed Secretary of State Abel P. Upshur -- February 28, 1844
Secretary of State Upshur had been accidentally killed in an explosion
aboard the U.S. Navy warship USS *Princeton*
both United States and Great Britain wanted to possess the Willamette Valley
and, even more importantly to those governments, the Columbia River
Newly appointed Secretary of State Calhoun was ready to fight Mexico for possession of Texas
but the Southern statesman did not want to fight Great Britain for Oregon Country
Calhoun believed if war arose with Great Britain
England could send a fleet to the Columbia River from China in six weeks
whereas the United States ships would have to sail around Cape Horn
and up the coast of North America to Oregon Country
an American army would have to cross the continent to be in a position to fight
America would lose **“every inch of Oregon”**⁴⁵⁴
nevertheless as a Democrat, he did not dare to offend the West by backing down from England
Calhoun believed time was on the side of the Americans
he therefore adopted a policy of “masterly inactivity”
Agitation regarding the international boundary continued in Congress

⁴⁵⁴ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 198.

reports were given, speeches written and delivered, newspaper articles flooded the press,
and innumerable letters were written to Congress, about Congress and by Congressmen

COCKSTOCK VOWES VENGEANCE FOR THE BREAKING OF HIS CONTRACT

Vowing vengeance against both black men, Cockstock appropriated the horse
and for the next several weeks made threats against both George Winslow and James D. Saules
Both men feared for their lives and appealed to sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White
to arrange for Cockstock to be removed from the Willamette Valley -- early March 1844
Dr. White forced Cockstock to return the horse
this prompted the Wasco Indian to renew his threats against the two men
Saules notified Dr. White he was prepared to defend himself by force of arms if necessary
sub-Indian Agent White made two attempts to capture Cockstock -- late February-early March
Dr. White finally a \$100 reward was posted in Oregon City for Cockstock's arrest
hoping that Cockstock could be taken peaceably
but this only enraged the native to an armed confrontation

ONE OF LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT'S MEN BECOMES LOST

Lieutenant John Fremont's second expedition continued their struggle
down the Sierra Nevada Mountains beside the American River
Camp was made on a bench where there were springs and an abundance of grass for the stock
German cartographer Charles Preuss traveling alone continued down the river
he was unaware that camp had been made early -- March 2, 1844

LIEUTENANT JOHN C. FREMONT CONTINES DOWN THE AMERICAN RIVER

Fremont and his men were concerned when Charles Preuss did not arrive in camp -- March 3, 1844
Preuss' trail along the river was discovered in the morning
it was followed for a considerable distance to where he had camped
here they shouted and fired their guns but heard no response
Fremont concluded he must have continued downstream
Continuing along the bank of the American River the shouts of the expedition members
were rewarded with a response that drew gradually nearer
but when the person appeared he was an Indian
who thought the shouts were from his companions
their search for the German cartographer continued

AN INTER-RACIAL INCIDENT IS AVOIDED IN OREGON CITY

Wasco Indian Cockstock and four Molalla Indians arrayed in war paint
armed with guns and bows and arrows, they rode into Oregon City -- March 4, 1844
without committing any actual hostile act they re-crossed the Willamette River
back to the Indian camps on the opposite side
there they solicited the Clackamas and Willamette Falls Indians to join them

COCKSTOCK AND HIS COMPANIONS RETURN TO OREGON CITY

Cockstock and five companions once again returned toward town -- March 5, 1844

citizens assembled in considerable numbers at the landing -- everyone grew increasingly excited
firing by both Whites and Indians broke out
Legislative Council Recorder George W. LeBreton rushed Cockstock in an attempt to arrest him
either in the interest of good order or to earn a reward that had been posted
LeBreton, shot twice, fell to the ground and was struggling with Cockstock
LeBreton called out that he was being stabbed
Winslow Anderson, going to the rescue of LeBreton,
struck a blow to Cockstock's skull with the barrel of his rifle killing him
Companions of Cockstock then fired guns and poisoned arrows into the crowd
two bystanders working in the vicinity, Sterling Rogers and Mr. Wilson,
were wounded by the arrows -- Rogers died the next day
George W. LeBreton lingered [until June 7]
though a young man, he had become a very prominent member of the community
he was one of the most zealous of American settlers who demanded a government
he held the position of Clerk of the Provisional Court
and Recorder for the Provisional Government
his death was a great loss to the young settlement

REACTIONS TO THE COCKSTOCK INCIDENT VARIED

Wasco Indians were much agitated by the killing of their fellow tribesman
they believed that Cockstock had not gone to Oregon City on a hostile errand
Cockstock incident created considerable alarm and excitement among the settlers
fears of black and Indian hostility were raised
some advocated that without a law excluding black settlers
pioneers might have two hostile minority groups to deal with
hostility between Indians and whites, Indians and Blacks, and whites and Blacks rapidly escalated
unfounded rumors of an Indian-Black alliance circulated generating alarm among whites
Sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White feared the outbreak of an Indian war
he reported the incident to the United States Secretary of War

FREMONT AND HIS MEN CONTINUE THEIR SEARCH FOR CHARLES PREUSS

When John Fremont and his second expedition members continued down the American River
they discovered three Indian women and surrounded them before they could escape
they had been gathering a small leafy plant just beginning to bloom
Camp was made that evening beside the American River -- March 5, 1844
toward evening the men heard a weak shout coming from a nearby hill
they were very pleased to see Charles Preuss descending toward their camp
Preuss told the members of the expedition of his adventure
he knew the expedition would follow the river downstream and his only hope was to press on
he had survived on roots that he dug out with his pocket knife,
he found an ant hill that provided nourishment
and came on small pools holding tiny frogs
at one point he had heard barking dogs in the night
he set out to find them hoping to find an Indian hut -- they were, in fact, two wolves

his disappointment quickly became despair
he came upon five or six Indian huts and, being a man alone, the natives welcomed him
Preuss traded his pocket knife for a supply of roasted acorns
he stumbled upon the three Indian women
and followed the tracks of Fremont's horses to the camp

TRAVEL BECOMES MUCH EASIER FOR JOHN C. FREMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION

Fremont and a few of his men went forward as quickly as possible
guide Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick remained behind with several men to drive the animals
and care for the baggage
They passed through surprisingly beautiful country with excellent pasturage -- March 6, 1844
as the horses became stronger the men were able to ride
little herds of deer were frequently seen
but the men were too anxious to continue on to take time to hunt
they were delighted to discover tracks of cattle and columns of smoke were seen to the southwest

LIEUTENANT FREMONT REACHES CAPTAIN JOHN SUTTER'S NEW HELVETICA

Fremont came upon a small village of Indians -- some wore manufactured shirts indicating trade
continuing on they suddenly discovered a large village of Indians -- most were in cotton clothes
one well-dressed Indian spoke Spanish very well
he told Fremont he and his men were on the Rio de los Americanos (American River)
that joined the Sacramento River about ten miles below
this Indian explained he was employed by Captain John Sutter as were the other villagers
Lieutenant Fremont asked about Sutter's house and learned it was just over the next hill
this Indian offered to conduct the explorers to meet Captain Sutter
this offer was accepted
Fremont and his men set out with their guide
after several miles they were met by Captain John Sutter himself at his fort -- March 6, 1844
Captain Sutter provided a night of rest, enjoyment and refreshment at his residence
Fremont the next day rode back up the American River to retrieve
Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick and his men who had stayed with the horses and baggage
rain and melting snow had made the trail down the mountain slippery for the animals
many horses had fallen over cliffs and had been killed -- some packs were lost
out of sixty-seven animals that had set out from Fort Hall
only thirty-three had survived the 2,000-mile journey

SUB-INDIAN AGENT DR. ELIJAH WHITE CALMS THE INDIANS

Dr. Elijah White visited the Indians and pacified them **"by giving Cockstock's widow two blankets, a dress and handkerchief, believing the moral influence better than to make presents to the chief or tribe, and to receive nothing at their hands."**⁴⁵⁵

no gifts were given to the Wasco tribe or chiefs, but they remained appeased anyway
War feeling subsided on both sides

455 Dr. Elijah White, *Concise View of Oregon Territory*, P. 36.

an Indian war which was nearly caused by the folly and injudicious acts
of a Provisional Government agent was averted

ACTIONS OF THE SETTLERS DURING THE INCIDENT WERE CONDEMNED

There were strong denunciations of the acts of the settlers who engaged in the attacks
It was declared by some to have been unnecessary and hasty
and undertaken without any overt act by the natives to justify it
It was also claimed that the friendly Clackamas and Willamette Falls Indians
who crossed the river with Cockstock and his party on their return to Oregon City
declared that Cockstock was angered by an accusation that he had stolen a horse
his purpose in returning was to get an explanation from the Whites
and to demand the reason for their hostile actions and feelings to him
and why a reward should have been offered for his arrest
none-the-less the security of Oregon City pioneers, justified or not, had been shaken

SETTLERS IN OREGON CITY CREATE A MILITIA

Because of the Comstock incident a meeting was held in Champoeg
at the home of Andre LaChapelle -- March 10, 1844
There was an unsubstantiated story told of a "shower of arrows" falling on Oregon City
from the cliffs above
those in attendance at the meeting demanded the Provisional Government create a militia

RACIAL CONFLICT INCREASES IN OREGON COUNTRY

Following the Cockstock incident concerns about an inter-racial Indian-black alliance
organizing against the white settlers increased
these fears were heightened following an additional conflict involving negro James Saules
who was living on his squatter's claim on Saules Point
(near today's Fort Canby, Washington)
Saules ran into trouble with white settler Charles E. Pickett who accused Saules
of threatening to "incense the Indians" against Pickett
James Saules was arrested but his arrest triggered racist sentiment when he threatened to incite
his wife's native people to a great interracial war against whites unless he was released
James Saules was kept in custody for several weeks
three witnesses testified against Saules and he was found guilty
but because there was no jail he was released and told to leave the region

LEIUTENANT JOHN FREMONT BEGINS HIS JOURNEY BACK TO THE UNITED STATES

Several of Fremont's men were released to take up life in New Helvetica
as the other members of Fremont's second expedition began their return to St. Louis
and the United States -- March 24, 1844
they took an ample stock of provisions and a large herd of animals consisting
of 130 horses and mules and about thirty head of cattle of which five were milk cows
Captain John Sutter furnished an Indian boy trained to drive cattle
While their direct route lay to the east, the Sierra Nevada Mountains forced them to travel south

about 500 miles to a mountain pass at the head of the San Joaquin River
(they followed along the eastern edge of the San Joaquin Valley,
crossed the coastal mountain at Tehachapi Pass and entered the Mojave Desert
they reached the Great Basin of (Nevada) and reached Las Vegas)

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS BEGIN TO MOVE WEST TO MISSOURI

There were waves of political agitation in the German states based on libertarian ideals
represented in the American and French revolutions
an attempt to overthrow the German rulers failed [1830]
Germans arrived in America from a European region of many kingdoms in the early [1830s]
(Germany did not unite as a nation until [1871])
Rev. William Keil and nearly 500 German-Dutch followers
founded the settlement of Bethel Christian Community in Bethel, Missouri -- 1844
where they advocated "Christian Communism"

AFREEMENT IS REACHED REGARDING PROPERTY AT WILLAMETTE FALLS

Dr. John McLoughlin reached an agreement with Rev. Alvin F. Waller that was executed
by Rev. David Leslie acting Superintendent of the Methodist mission dated April 4, 1844
under this agreement Dr. McLoughlin was compelled to pay Waller \$500.
and to convey to Waller eight lots and three blocks in Oregon City,
McLoughlin was also to convey to the Methodist mission six lots and one block
What right the missionaries had to Dr. McLoughlin's land was not explained
however, there were no courts in Oregon Country where Dr. McLoughlin could turn for relief
since he was not protected by the Provisional Government
it was probably better and cheaper for him to submit to this unfair agreement,
otherwise he would have been compelled to allow Waller to take the land
or to have ousted him by force

FOUR SEPARATE WAGON TRAINS SET OUT FROM MISSOURI OVER THE OREGON TRAIL

Slaves were too valuable for many owners to be willingly give them up to travel to Oregon Country
due to the length and difficulty of the journey most slave owners brought only a few slaves West
often a single longtime family servant and generally no more than a single family of slaves
John Thorpe led a train followed the route traveled by Dr. Marcus Whitman [1836]
he brought with him his slave Hannah and her six-year old daughter Eliza
they were the only known black women to be listed in an Oregon Trail roster
both were listed in the [1850] Oregon census as Hannah and Eliza Thorp
and in the [1860] census as Hannah and Eliza Gorman)
Colonel Nathaniel Ford's wagon train started from Independence, Missouri
Ford promised his slaves Robin and Polly Holmes and their three-year-old daughter Mary Jane
that he would free them after reaching Oregon and establishing a farm
however, Ford did not keep this promise
Stephens-Townsend-Murphy Wagon Train consisted of ten families who migrated from Iowa
to California over what became Donner Pass (two years before the Donner Party faced disaster)
Fourth wagon train voted to call itself the "Independent Colony"

before it was fully formed it was reported that this train contained forty-eight families,
323 people (108 men, sixty of whom were young men), 410 oxen,
160 cows (sixteen of which were team cows that pulled wagons), 143 young cattle,
fifty-four horses, eleven mules, and seventy-two wagons
(eventually this wagon train would grow large enough
to bring 800 emigrants over the Oregon Trail)

BLACK PIONEER GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH -- BIOGRAPHY

George Washington Bush was born a free man in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania [about 1779]
to an African American sailor, Matthew Bush, and his Irish wife Maggie

Matthew Bush had been born in India

Matthew Bush spent his early years serving an English merchant named Stevenson

Stevenson settled in Philadelphia where he owned several ships

Matthew Bush became a servant in the mansion of the English shipping magnate

Matthew Bush married Maggie, Stevenson's Irish nurse to his invalid wife
and maid to the household

Matthew and Maggie Bush had a son -- George Washington Bush

Matthew and Maggie cared for Stevenson in his declining years

since Stevenson had no children he left a substantial fortune to Matthew Bush

George Washington Bush had the advantage of the best Quaker schooling available

he became an apprentice to David Montgomery and moved west to Tennessee

George's principal duty was to tend and protect the fruit trees
meant for an orchard in Missouri

young George developed considerable knowledge and skill

After six years of apprenticeship, George Washington Bush joined the United States Army

he became a veteran of the War of 1812 and fought with General Andrew Jackson

in the Battle of New Orleans [December 1814-January 1815]

Next he signed on as trapper and trader with the Hudson's Bay Company

as an employee he made his way to the Pacific Northwest as early as the [1820s]

he visited Fort Vancouver and both the northern and southern extremities of Columbia District

George W. Bush returned to Tennessee and married Isabella James, an Irish woman [July 4, 1831]

they began a successful farm in Tennessee and were relatively wealthy

together they had: William Owen [1832-1907], Joseph Talbot [1834-1904],

Rial Bailey [1837-?], Henry Sanford ([841-1913] and Jackson January [1843-1888]

however, in Tennessee Negroes not considered citizens even if they were born free

basic rights to own land, travel freely and pursue a chosen occupation
were not widely available to black people

George Washington Bush and his family moved to western Missouri

where he became a wealthy farmer and rancher -- but once again the family was frustrated

Missouri had a law forbidding blacks to settle in the state for more than six months

Bush family could see the climate of bigotry and discrimination was increasing

Reports of pioneers crossing the continent to settle in the fertile Willamette Valley

provided inspiration to follow the Oregon Trail west

George Washington Bush saw westward migration as a way to escape the increasing prejudice

he, his wife and his sons were facing

GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH TRAVELS WEST WITH FAMILY AND FRIENDS

At about age fifty Oregon Fever or racism motivated George and Isabella to move to Oregon Country with their five sons: William Owen Bush, Joseph Talbot Bush, Reilly Bailey Bush,

Henry Sanford Bush and Jackson January Bush

George W. Bush purchased six wagons for the journey -- four of which were for other families four white families, all neighbors and longtime friends of the Bushes,

joined George W. and Isabella Bush and their five children in the Westward migration:

- Michael Simmons and his wife Elizabeth,
- James McAllister and his wife Charlotte (who was Michael Simmons' sister) and their four children,
- David Kindred (Elizabeth Simmons' brother) and his wife Talitha and their son,
- Gabriel and Keziah Jones and their three children

George W. Bush hoped to put the racism of Missouri behind him

Bush and Simmons planned, after reaching Fort Vancouver, to swing southward and settle in Willamette Valley where they hoped to find their square mile of land if good land could not be found there, they planned to try the Rogue River Valley

GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH LEADS HIS SIX COVERED WAGONS WESTWARD

George Washington Bush, his wife Isabella and their five sons

left Westport, Missouri bound for Oregon Country with their six covered wagons -- May 1844

accompanying Bush in his wagons were Michael T. Simmons and his wife Elizabeth,

Elizabeth's sister Martha who was married to James McAllister

Elizabeth's brother David Kindred and his wife Talitha

and Gabriel and Keziah Jones

as they crossed Missouri they joined another group of about thirty families

their journey was slow due to heavy rains and flooding

George Washington Bush with his six wagons and the thirty families they had joined while traveling united with the members of the Independent Colony wagon train at St. Joseph, Missouri

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT HOLDS ELECTIONS

Knowledge that the Methodist mission was in disfavor with its own Board of directors was in the air when the election of government officials was held

About two hundred voters turned out for the election of a new Provisional Government for Oregon Country -- May 14, 1844

only voter qualification: a man must be a resident of Oregon Country -- Indians excepted

French-Canadians voted for the first time in a general election in Oregon Country

Belief that the discriminatory Provisional Law written primarily by the "Mission Party"

led to a resounding defeat at the polls of everyone associated with that organization and the old Provisional Government

of the new legislators elected, only Robert "Doc" Newell and one other man

had been in Oregon more than six months

new Nine Man Council legislative branch was elected

“Independents” had won a majority of the Provisional Council

Morton Matthew McCarver, Twality District served as Legislative Council Speaker

Peter H. Burnett, Twality District,

Matthew Gilmore, Twality District,

David Hill, Twality District,

Asa L. Lovejoy, Clackamas District,

Thomas D. Deizer, Champoeg District,

Robert “Doc” Newell, Champoeg District,

Daniel Waldo, Champoeg District,

Dr. John E. Long, Champoeg District

New Three-Man Executive Committee was elected to serve until [June 12, 1845]

Dr. William J. Bailey replaced Alanson Beers

William Bailey had been a sailor before jumping ship in Yerba Buena (San Francisco)

he joined Ewing Young's cattle company and was wounded and horribly scarred

by Rogue River Indians on his journey north

he arrived in Oregon [1835] then took up the study of medicine under Dr. Elijah White

he was a long-time and respected resident of French Prairie

and had been politically active

he was a signer of the [1840] Rev. David Leslie Petition to congress

he was member of committee that met with Charles Wilkes

and Dr. McLoughlin regarding a constitution and code of law [1841]

Osborne Russell replaced Joseph Gale

had had joined the second Nathaniel Wyeth Party at age sixteen and reached Oregon [1834]

he helped build Fort Hall and had stayed there [1834-1842]

he wrote a detailed diary of his life at the fort -- *Journal of a Trapper*

he joined the Dr. Elijah White caravan [1842] and served as guide

he had been appointed Provisional Government Supreme Judge [1843]

Peter G. Stewart replaced David Hill

Peter Stewart was born and raised in New York state where he attended public schools

he became a watchmaker and ventured West with the [1843] Great Migration

his abilities were soon recognized

Philip Foster was elected Provisional Government Treasurer

Philip Foster and Francis Pettygrove had established a general store in Oregon City

he formed many business partnerships

including a business arrangement with Dr. John McLoughlin to build a flour mill

Provisional Government judicial branch officers were selected over the next few months:

when they met together they formed the Provisional Government Supreme Court

Dr. Ira L. Babcock was elected Supreme Judge by the voters

he had served as Oregon Country's first Supreme Judge with probate power [1841]

James W. Nesmith was appointed by the Executive Committee

he had arrived in Oregon [1843], studied law and was accepted to practice law

Nathaniel Ford was elected by the Provisional Council but never served

he had only just arrived in Oregon Country

Joe Meek was reelected sheriff where he compiled a record of energy and whimsy

rivaling his Mountain Man career

DIVERSIFICATION TAKES PLACE AT WHITMAN'S WAILATPU MISSION

Dr. Marcus Whitman reported that about fifty Cayuse Indians had started small farms

ranging in size from a quarter of an acre to three or four acres

several natives were also interested in acquiring cattle

Education and religious instruction showed much slower progress

Cayuse became less and less interested in learning about Christianity

Whitman's long overland journey west with the emigrants

had given him a new concept of his mission

Marcus and Narcissa found the time they had to devote to the natives rapidly diminished

in addition to daily household and farm chores, the arrival of ever more emigrants

demanding an increasing commitment of their time and energy

Dr. Whitman built his third mill

much larger than the others, the new gristmill had grinding stones forty inches in diameter

for waterpower to operate the mill, a ditch was dug from the Walla Walla River

to a millpond formed by two long earthen dikes

(later, a threshing machine and a turning lathe were built on the mill platform)

Wailatpu was becoming not only an Indian mission, but an important stop on the Oregon Trail

reflecting on his experiences Marcus wrote to Narcissa's parents --spring 1844: **"As I hold the settlement of his country by Americans rather than by an English colony to be most important, I am happy to have been the means of landing so large an emigration on the shores of the Columbia....I have no doubt our greatest work is to be to aid the white settlement of this country to found its religious institutions.**

"Providence has its full share in all these events. Although the Indians have made and are making rapid advances in Religious knowledge & civilization yet it cannot be hoped that time will be allowed to mature either the work of Christianization or Civilization before the White settlers will demand the soil and seek the removal of both the Indians & the Mission. What American desire of this kind they always effect and it is equally useless to oppose or desire it otherwise."⁴⁵⁶

INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN PREPARES FOR ITS JOURNEY

Following military guidelines, Cornelius Gilliam was elected general -- May 1844

Michael T. Simmons, thirty years old and completely illiterate but persuasive, was elected colonel

This wagon train divided into four parties each led by its own captain

Robert Wilson Morrison, Allen Saunders and Richard Woodcock and William Shaw

whose mother was General Cornelius Gilliam's sister

INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN HIRES A GUIDE

Harris, a black man, was also known as "Black Harris" and the "Black Squire"

(Moses "Black" Harris is thought to have first ventured into the West in [1823],

and he was considered an expert in winter travel

⁴⁵⁶ David Lavender, *Land of the Giants*, P. 234.

he is credited with having helped build Fort Laramie,
he may have been among the party of trappers who christened Independence Rock)
After spending years exploring and fur trapping in the Rocky Mountains
Moses “Black” Harris became a wagon train guide on the Oregon Trail
Harris had helped guide the Whitman-Spalding Party to Oregon [1836]
Independent Colony Wagon Train hired ex-Mountain Man Moses Harris to serve as their guide
along the Oregon Trail to Fort Vancouver to Oregon Country -- 1844

INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN SETS OUT FOR OREGON

Independent Colony wagon train under the command of General Cornelius Gilliam,
Colonel Michael T. Simmons, Captains Robert Wilson Morrison, William Shaw, Allen Saunders
and Richard Woodcock and guided by Moses “Black” Harris
left St. Joseph, Missouri for Oregon Country -- May 1844
George Washington Bush’s frontier experience made him a valuable addition to the train
he quickly became a trusted and popular leader
also, Bush was considered one of the wealthiest members of the expedition
some said a false floor in the Bush wagon concealed a layer of silver dollars
Bush used his wealth to assist others
he supplied covered wagons and supplies that allowed some others to make the trip
he also lent a helping hand and finances as grave problems developed on the way
George W. Bush his Irish wife Isabella cared for children who were orphaned on the Trail
John Minto, an Englishman traveling with the Independent Colony wagon train,
commented in his diary about a conversation he had with George Washington Bush
Minto wrote that Bush was concerned about how he would be treated in Oregon Country,
and he had resolved to move on if he was treated poorly

INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN CROSSES KANSAS

Members of the four companies of the Independent Colony wagon train
finally reached the Big Blue River in Kansas -- June 1844
it took sixteen days to get all of their belongings across the river

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION ADDRESSES THE OREGON QUESTION

Democrats held their national convention in Baltimore, Maryland -- May 21, 1844
expansionist fever had gripped the Democratic Party
Democratic Party was the political party of the South
new states were being added in pairs to maintain a balance of states on the slavery question
most Democrats wanted to annex Texas into the Union
to make Northerners feel better, Democrats proposed to take in Oregon also
Western influence of the Democratic Party succeeded in addressing the Oregon boundary question
Western Democrats demanded “**54 degrees 40 minutes**” latitude
become the northern boundary of Oregon
by popular clamor the words “**or fight**” were added to their campaign slogan
“**Fifty-four Forty or Fight**” became the battle cry -- it was not a plank in the platform
but it did reflect the concerns of expansionists

Democrats inserted **“That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or to any other power...”**⁴⁵⁷

was inserted into the Democratic platform
Democratic delegates then busied themselves nominating expansionist James K. Polk
as their candidate for president

BAPTIST CHURCH IS CONSTRUCTED IN OREGON CITY

West Union Baptist Church was founded at West Union, Oregon Country -- May 25, 1844
Rev. Vincent Snelling served as Pastor
when building construction was completed ([1853] and still in use today)
this became the oldest Baptist Church west of the Rocky Mountains
(its adjoining cemetery is the oldest in Oregon State)

PORTLAND, OREGON RECEIVES ITS NAME

William Overton marked off a 640 Acre tract of mostly dense timber
but he lacked the 25¢ needed to file a land claim with the Provisional Government
Overton struck a bargain with his partner Asa Lovejoy from Boston, Massachusetts
for 25¢ Overton would share his claim to the site with Lovejoy
Lovejoy, who considered site ideal for a harbor town, took half of the claim
William Overton later sold his half of the claim to Francis W. Pettygrove of Portland, Maine
Pettygrove and Lovejoy both wished to name the new city after their own home town
Pettygrove won a coin toss and named the cluster of log cabins among the stumps
Portland after his home town in Maine

Francis Pettygrove set up first store in Portland and sold on consignment -- 1844

he advertised his goods: **“20 cases of wooden clocks; 20 barrels dried apples; 3 small mills; 1 doz. cross cut saws; mill saws and saw sets; mill cranks, plough shares, pitchforks; 1 winnowing machine; 100 casks cut nails; 50 boxes saddlers’ tacks; 6 boxes carpenters tools; 12 doz. hand axes; 20 boxes manufactured tobacco, 5000 cigars [in subsequent issues, 50,000]; 50 kegs white lead, 100 kegs paints, 1/2 doz. medicine chests, fifty bags Rio Coffee; 25 bags of pepper; 200 boxes soap; 50 cases boots and shoes; 6 doz. slippers; 50 cane seat chairs; 40 doz. wooden seat do., 50 dozen sarsaparilla; 10 bales sheetings; 4 cases assorted prints; 1 bale damask tartan shawls; 5 pieces striped jeans; 6 doz. satinett jackets; 10 doz. cotton do. do; 12 dozen linen duck pants; 12 doz. red flannel shirts; 200 doz. cotton hdk’fs; 6 cases white cot. flannels; 6 bales extra heavy indigo cotton; 2 cases negro prints; 1 case black velveteen; 4 cases Mackanaw blankets; 150 casks and bbls. molasses; 450 bags sugar ... for sale at reduced prices for cash.”** [*Oregon Spectator*, February 5, 1846]

Francis Pettygrove slashed out a wagon road westward to the hills

he went on to re-organized a new Willamette Cattle Company

which imported 550 head of cattle, 535 sheep, and twenty horses from California -- 1844

REV. GEORGE GARY ARRIVES IN OREGON COUNTRY FROM BOSTON

Rev. George Gary had been appointed by Methodist Mission Society in Utica, New York

⁴⁵⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 145.

to serve as the new superintendent of the Oregon Methodist missionary effort
he was to investigate Jason Lee's mishandling mission money and neglect of the Indians
Rev. Gary arrived by sea to succeed Rev. Jason Lee -- June 1844
to reorganize, or if necessary, eventually liquidate the Chemeketa Mission at Mission Bottom
Rev. Gary was quartered in Rev. David Leslie's home
Rev. Leslie had served as interim leader of the Methodist missionaries
during Rev. Jason Lee's absence
Rev. Gary was misinformed about the mission effort
he arrived with strong preconceived notions
his radically different opinions regarding the mission effort
led to inevitable conflicts between the two men

REV. GEORGE GARY IMPOSES CHANGES ON THE METHODIST MISSIONS

Rev. Gary, Rev. Jason Lee's replacement, made a careful inventory of the property, purposes,
and personnel of the missions at Mission Bottom, Chemeketa, Fort Nisqually, Oregon City,
The Dalles, Clatsop Plains and at the mouth of the Columbia River
After holding a meeting the members of the Methodist mission -- June 7, 1844
Rev. Gary concluded the organization was no longer filling its purpose and should be dissolved:
•he found enrollment at the Indian Manual Labor School to be virtually nonexistent
due to an epidemic of tuberculosis
he closed the Indian Mission School at Champoeg and sold its principal building,
a three story structure, to the trustees of the Oregon Institute for \$4,000;
•grain and timber mills were sold for \$6,000 to a pioneer
who had resided in Oregon for the previous two years;
•extensive herds of horse and cattle brought another \$4,200 for the Methodist treasury;
•Clatsop mission was purchased by its manager Rev. Josiah Parrish who settled there;
•(Wascopam Mission at The Dalles was sold for \$600 to Marcus Whitman [1847]
although his death in the Whitman Massacre later that year left the post unused
and it was returned to the Methodist mission [in 1849])

HENRY SAGER FAMILY JOINS THE INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN TO OREGON

Henry Sager was a simple farmer who sought a better life in Oregon
when the Independent Colony wagon train passed by, Henry, his wife Naomi and their children
John 14, Frank 12, Catherine 9, Elizabeth 7, Matilda 5, and Louisa 3 years old
joined Captain William Shaw's division at Capless Landing (near Weston Missouri)
soon after, the baby was born -- she was named Henrietta
Catherine Sager, the oldest Sager daughter, made notes in the journal she kept all of her life
(years later as Mrs. Clark Pringle Catherine wrote about setting out for Oregon:) **“My father was one of the restless ones who are not content to remain in one place long at a time. Late in the fall of 1838 we emigrated from Ohio to Missouri. Our first halting place was on Green River, but the next year we took a farm in Platte County. He engaged in farming and blacksmithing, and had a wide reputation for ingenuity. Anything they needed made or mended sought his shop. In 1843, Dr. Whitman came to Missouri. The healthful climate inducted my mother to favor moving to Oregon. Immigration was the theme of all winter, and we decided to start for Oregon.**

“Late in 1843 father sold his property and moved near St. Joseph, and in April 1844 we started across the plains. The first encampments were a great pleasure to us children. We were five girls and two boys, ranging from the baby to be born on the way to the oldest boy, hardly old enough to be any help.

“We waited several days at the Missouri River. Many friends came that far to see the emigrants start on their long journey, and there was much sadness at the parting, and a sorrowful company crossed the Missouri that bright spring morning. The motion of the wagon made us all sick, and it was weeks before we got used to the seasick motion... Rain came down and required us to tie down the wagon covers, and so increased our sickness by confining the air we breathed.

“Our cattle recrossed [the Missouri River] in the night and went back to their winter quarters. This caused delay in recovering them and a weary forced march to rejoin the train. This was divided into companies, and we were in that commanded by William Shaw. Soon after starting Indians raided our camp one night and drove off a number of cattle. They were pursued, but never recovered.

“Soon everything went smooth and our train made steady headway. The weather was fine and we enjoyed the journey pleasantly. There were several musical instruments among the emigrants, and these sounded clearly on the evening air when camp was made and merry talk and laughter resounded from almost every camp-fire.”⁴⁵⁸

REV. JASON LEE ATTEMPTS TO DEFEND HIS WORK IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

After his humiliating exit from Oregon Country Jason Lee,

he had sailed to the East coast and Utica, New York [spring 1844]

During a nine-day conference with his superiors -- June 1844

Rev. Jason Lee deftly defended himself against the charges that had led to his dismissal

he reported his cattle had been sold for only as much as they had been purchased

regarding his salary he had always refused to be paid more than ministers in the United States

as for his leadership, the mission location had been approved by other mission members

and the selection of missionaries was done through the board itself

finally, regarding the mission's effectiveness and cost, Lee admitted that it had not resulted

in large numbers of converted natives and that it had cost a significant amount of money

but the mission had been instrumental in the conversion of a number of whites,

had helped prevent bloodshed at the hands of both whites and natives,

and had become somewhat self-supporting through productive endeavors

such as the farm and the mills

Protracted hearings concerning charges brought against him in the handling of the Oregon missions

were held by the Methodist Mission Society that largely exonerated him during [summer 1844]

Convinced of his sincerity and the truthfulness of his testimony, the Society cleared Lee of all charges

but it was determined that Lee would not be returned to his position

until after a financial report from Rev. George Gary, the new superintendent, arrived

Rev. Jason Lee continued his work for the Oregon missions “agent for the Oregon Institute”

he went to work raising funds for the school, hoping to return soon to Oregon

⁴⁵⁸ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 503-504.

NEW NINE-MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MEETS FOR THE FIRST TIME

Provisional Government's nine-member Legislative Council met in the Oregon City home of long-time settler Felix Hathaway -- June 18, 1844
they elected officers, formed committees and mourned the loss of Legislative Council Recorder George LeBreton who had been killed during the Cockstock incident
Dr. John E. Long replaced George LeBreton
but Dr. Long did not attend this legislative session
nor did council member Matthew Gilmore
Peter H. Burnett who represented Twality District acted as Legislative Council Recorder
Executive Committee members Peter G. Stewart and Osborne Russell presented a message to the Council group addressing the opposing claims of the United States and Great Britain
they also recommended a more thorough organization" be established
they advised the creation of an executive branch with only one governor who had veto power
Legislative Council members appointed four sub-committees
Ways and Means (finance), Land Claims, Judiciary and Military Affairs
Provisional Government's Legislative Council ruled the Organic Laws were statutory
thus they could be repealed or revoked at the discretion of the assembly
new operating rules for the Council were to be written to address issues not covered by the [1843] Organic Laws of Oregon or the [1839] *Little Blue Book* (Iowa Territorial Laws)
Asa L. Lovejoy, Peter Burnett and Daniel Waldo served as the committee
in charge of developing and presenting operating rules for the Legislative Council

PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ADOPTS CHANGES TO ORGANIC LAWS

Legislative Council committee report of Asa L. Lovejoy, Peter Burnett and Daniel Waldo establishing new operating rules for the Legislative Council was approved -- June 19, 1844

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROPOSES A SINGLE GOVERNOR WITH VETO POWER

Legislative Council members passed a bill that dissolved the three-man Executive Committee that was to give way to an elected governor with veto power
four candidates were nominated for the two-year post of Provisional Governor
to be elected [June 1845] with the frontrunners being:

- member of the outgoing three-man Executive Committee Osborne Russell
- businessman and co-founder of Portland, Oregon Asa L. Lovejoy
- Oregon City merchant George Abernathy,

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ADDS CLATSOP DISTRICT

Twality District, Yamhill District, Clackamas District and Champooick District were altered by the Provisional Government with the addition of Clatsop District which was created from the northern and western portions of Twality District -- June 22, 1844
Clatsop District extended north of the Columbia River

NEW NINE MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL REWRITES THE ORGANIC LAWS

Provisional Government's Legislative Council passed their first act -- June 22, 1844

their first bill changed the name “district” to “county” and created Clatsop County from the northwest portions of Twality District making a total of five counties instead of the original four districts Twality, Yamhill, Clackamas, Champoeg and now Clatsop

THREE-MAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AUTHORIZES PROPERTY TAXES

Voluntary subscriptions authorized by the [1843] Oregon Organic Laws failed to raise enough funds to meet the needs of the Provisional Government Executive Committee members authorized a property tax -- 1844 that required every settler’s property to be assessed on a regular basis all property, real estate and personal property, with some exceptions, was taxed at the rate of 0.00125%

PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CHANGES PROVISIONAL TAX LAWS

Legislative Council believed revenue should be derived from uniform taxation out went taxation by subscription -- June 24-25, 1844

Legislative Council members imposed several new taxes to support the Provisional Government:

- new plan of taxation proposed by the Three-Man Executive imposing a tax of rate of 0.00125% on property was approved this money would become available to support the government every settler’s property was to be assessed on a regular basis **improvements on farm lots, mills, pleasure carriages, clocks, watches, mules, cattle, and hogs.**⁴⁵⁹ was implemented;
- an import tax was imposed on **“all merchandise brought into the Country for sale, improvements on farm lots, mills, pleasure carriages, clocks, watches, mules, cattle, and hogs.”**⁴⁶⁰ this tax was aimed at Hudson’s Bay Company which was the major importer
- poll tax fifty cents for the right to vote was implemented

Ways and Means Committee members insisted that any person refusing to pay taxes would be excluded from benefits provided by government

including right to vote or to have access to Provisional court if his claim was jumped there was no recourse to law -- government would not help him rustling of his cattle, or butchering in the field would be ignored by sheriff in fact, someone who failed to pay taxes was treated as an outlaw sheriff was also to serve as tax collector with a commission of ten per cent on collections almost \$8,000 was paid by direct collections to the Provisional Government however, this income was still inadequate because of refusals or inability to pay spending deficits were met by issuing \$15,000 in paper script and warrants of indebtedness

Provisional Legislative Council passed a Temperance Law to prohibit

“introduction, sale or distillation of Ardent Spirits....”⁴⁶¹

this was probably the first prohibition act passed in the United States fear of the Native Americans becoming hostile if intoxicated was the motivation

⁴⁵⁹ Johansen and Gates, *Empire of the Columbia*, P. 244.

⁴⁶⁰ Johansen and Gates, *Empire of the Columbia*, P. 244.

⁴⁶¹ Howard McKinley Corning, *Dictionary of Oregon History*, P. 73.

Dr. Elijah White acting as sub-Indian Agent
seized and destroyed several small distilleries in Oregon City
Nine-member Legislative Council discussed the need for a road from The Dalles to Oregon City
they created a three-member Roads Committee to be added
to the Ways and Means (finance), Land Claims, Judiciary and Military Affairs in existence
Roads Committee was authorized to finance construction the needed road
Cockstock Affair prompted the organization of three militia companies by the Legislative Council
twenty-five men who met at the now defunct Indian Manual Labor School
were organized into the Oregon Rangers
they were to be paid \$2 per day for active service, or \$1 a day for drills
these men were also expected to provide their own weapons
Captain Thomas D. Keizer led the Oregon Rangers but he soon resigned
Charles H. Bennett then took command of these mounted riflemen
Oregon City was put in a state of defense
but because the Indians remained peaceful, the Oregon Rangers were not called into action
Legislative Council authorized construction of the first public building in Oregon Country
Ewing Young's estate was diverted into the Provisional Government treasury
to be used to build a jail in Oregon City -- Dr. John McLoughlin donated the site

RACIAL PREJUDICE IS A GROWING CONCERN IN OREGON COUNTRY

Oregon Country was settled by a large proportion of Southern and mid-Western emigrants
who came from portions of the nation where efforts to resolve issues of slavery
through political compromise had failed
Prejudice was a significant part of the cultural baggage white settlers brought west by pioneers
all of the nonwhite groups suffered from the effects of racial prejudice
Indians, Kanakas (Hawaiians), Mexicans (Hispanics) and blacks
Many white emigrants who came to Oregon during the 1840s (and 1850s) reflected their home culture
some were opposed slavery -- some were pro-slavery in sympathy
some had no personal opinion regarding slavery at all
many were nonslaveholding farmers from Missouri and other border states
who had struggled to compete against those who owned slaves
others hated not only the slaves but all Negroes of any status
they were opposed living alongside African Americans of any status

OREGON'S PROVISIONAL COUNCIL PASSES AN EXCLUSION LAW

Settlers arriving in Oregon Country who brought racist attitudes with them across the plains
saw legal restrictions to residency as the best solution to racial issues
laws excluding Blacks were passed in Indiana and Illinois
and considered, though never passed, in Ohio
Oregon pioneers were familiar with these exclusion laws
Legislative Council members had passed the [1843] Organic Laws of Oregon
which included the [1787] Northwest Ordinance that prohibited slavery
this portion of the Organic Laws was amended by the Legislative Council -- June 26, 1844

Missouri immigrant Peter Burnett proposed a new Section 4 of the law read: **“That when any free Negro or mulatto shall have come to Oregon, he or she, as the case may be, if of the age of eighteen or upward, shall remove from and leave the country within the term of two years for males and three years for females from the passage of this act; and if any free Negro or mulatto shall hereafter come to Oregon, if of the age aforesaid, he or she shall quit and leave within the term of two years for males and three years for females from his or her arrival in the country.”**

in addition a new Section 6, known as the “Lash Law,” provided: **“That if any such free Negro or mulatto shall fail to quit the country as required by this act, he or she may be arrested upon a warrant issued by some justice of the peace, and if guilty upon trial before such justice, shall receive upon his or her bare back not less than twenty nor more than thirty-nine stripes, to be inflicted by the constable of the proper county.”**

slave owner Daniel Waldo as a member of the Legislative Council

voted in favor of the Exclusion Law and the "Lash Law"

in effect, slavery in Oregon was legalized for three years

moreover, once freed, a former slave could not stay in Oregon Country

VANCOUVER DISTRICT IS CREATED NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Vancouver District was created from the part of Clatsop County and Clackamas County

that extended north of the Columbia River -- June 27, 1844

all of the region west of the Rocky Mountains and south of 54°-40' to the Columbia River

was included in the district (that is all of today's Washington State,

parts of Idaho and Montana and all of British Columbia

Vancouver District was the first and oldest county in (today's Washington State)

PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL FINISHES ITS WORK

To avoid jurisdictional conflict with Hudson's Bay Company the Provisional Council

redrew the northern boundary of Twality and Clackamas counties

moving the line from the Russian-America boundary to the Columbia River -- June 27, 1844

only two settlers lived on the north side of the Columbia River

James Birnie, retired servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, resided at Cathlamet,

Captain James Scarborough, an American, lived near the mouth of the Cowlitz River,

Antoine Gobar, a herdsman employed by Hudson's Bay Company, settled

on a little prairie along the Cowlitz River on the old Hudson's Bay Company trail

from Fort Vancouver to Cowlitz

Discriminatory Article IV clause depriving Dr. McLoughlin was repealed

and a new one enacted -- June 27, 1844

size of mission claims was reduced from a full township (thirty six sections -- 23,040 acres)

new land laws permitted only actual settlers to hold claims

white or metis man single men eighteen years of age and older could claim 320 acre

and married women or widows fourteen years old and older could claim

an additional 320 acres in their own name

this was recognition of the role of women in settling Oregon Country

in addition to the primary land claim ownership of lots in town was allowed

After practically destroying the Provisional Government Charter adopted in [1843]

by revising the Organic Laws of Oregon and enacting several new laws
the Provisional Government Legislative Council adjourned -- June 27, 1844
[to meet again on December 16] as the nine-member legislative body though by that time
their actions would be guided by word of the latest developments in the United States
brought by the most recent emigrants

LOCAL POLITICAL REFORMS CAUSE A GREAT DEAL OF CONFUSION AND CONCERN

While changes carried out by the Legislative Council were effective in some regards,
these changes generated a great deal of new political agitation
some objected to the taxation laws
others felt aggrieved by the land laws
still others wanted the laws extended to land north of the Columbia River
yet others were upset by the exclusion and flogging laws
many settlers objected to the procedure to make the changes
virtually a new code of Organic Laws of Oregon was created by the Legislative Council
without submitting any of the changes to the people
it seemed to many that the Legislative Council had enacted a political revolution
patriotism of the council members was questioned
Dr. McLoughlin reported a group among the settlers wanted to establish a state
that was independent of both Great Britain and the United States
it was clear that the Organic Laws as amended must be submitted for approval to the citizens

OREGON CITY SERVES AS THE CAPITAL OF OREGON COUNTRY

Oregon City was incorporated by the Provisional Government Legislative Council -- 1844
this was the first city incorporated west of the Rocky Mountains

J. Quinn Thornton, tongue in cheek, compared Felix Hathaway's home with the national capitol
when he later gave a speech describing the capitol building in Oregon City: **"The Oregon State House was built with posts set upright, one end set in the ground, grooved on two sides, and filled in with poles and split timber, such as would be suitable for fence rails, with plates and poles across the top. Rafters and horizontal poles instead of iron ribs, held the cedar bark which was used instead of thick copper for roofing. It was twenty by forty feet and therefore did not cover three acres and a half. At one end some puncheons were put up for a platform for the president; some poles and slabs were placed around the seats; three planks, about a foot wide and twelve feet long, placed upon a sort of stake platform for a table, were all that was believed necessary for the use of the legislative committee and the clerks."**⁴⁶²

City boasted two churches, two saloons, a newspaper, seventy-five houses, two blacksmiths,
two coopers, two cabinet makers, two hatters, two silversmiths,
and four tailors to re-supply and properly clothe the new settlers
Oregon Printing Association was organized at Oregon City -- 1844
by W.G. T'Vault, J.W. Nesmith, John P. Brooks and George Abernathy
eighty shares sold at \$10 each
Father Modeste Demers was the first Catholic priest at Oregon City -- 1844

⁴⁶² Lyman, William Denison, *The Columbia River*, P. 194.

Methodist missionary Rev. Alvin F. Waller after having riled the inhabitants regarding Dr. McLoughlin's land claim moved from Oregon City to The Dalles -- 1844 where he succeeded Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H.K.W. Perkins at Wascopam Mission other missionaries ministered to the settlers or established their own farms and businesses

GEORGE ABERNATHY BECOMES A LEADING AMERICAN MERCHANT IN OREGON CITY

Behind George Abernathy's house was a meadow purported to be the end of the Oregon Trail
Abernathy was a former steward of the [1840] Oregon City Methodist Mission
When the Methodist mission closed Abernathy set up his own business
he took over the debts owed to the Methodist mission and bought the mission store's stock for \$20,000 using financial gifts meant for religious purposes
he operated his new business in Oregon City
Hudson's Bay Company also opened a store in Oregon City to compete with businesses owned by Abernathy, Captain John Couch, and Francis Pettygrove and Philip Foster
Next Abernathy bought out Island Milling Company -- sawmill, grist mill, and lathe and took Alanson Beers as a partner
George Abernathy was soon a leading American merchant in Oregon City

ST. MICHAEL'S MISSION IS LAID OUT AMONG THE KALISPEL INDIANS

Father Peter De Vos, the acting head of the Rocky Mountain Mission in the absence of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, together with Father Adrian Hoeken visited the Kalispel village near Lake Pend Oreille -- summer 1844 there Father Hoeken was instructed to lay out the site for the third Catholic missionary station in the Rocky Mountains at a location on the Pend Oreille River near (today's Albeni Falls, Idaho)

INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN REACHES NEBRASKA

George W. Bush-Michael Simmons portion of the Independent Wagon Train entered Nebraska they crossed the South Platte River -- July 1844

Catherine Sager described the trials of moving west along the Oregon Trail: **"We had one wagon, two steady yoke of old cattle, and several of young and not well-broken ones. Father was no ox-driver, and had trouble with these until one day he called on Captain Shaw for assistance. It was furnished by the good captain pelting the refractory steers with stones until they were glad to come to terms.**

"Reaching the buffalo country, our father would get someone to drive his team and start on the hunt, for he was enthusiastic in his love of such sport. He not only killed the great bison, but often brought home on his shoulder the timid antelope that had fallen at his unerring aim, and that are not often shot by ordinary marksmen. Soon after crossing South Platte, the unwieldy oxen ran on a bank and overturned the wagon, greatly injuring our mother. She lay long insensible in the tent put up for the occasion."⁴⁶³

CATHERINE SAGER RECORDS THE TRIALS OF CROSSING THE NEBRASKA PLAIN

⁴⁶³ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 504.

Catherine Sager later described: **“We had one wagon, two steady yoke of old cattle, and several of young and not well-broken ones. Father was no ox-driver, and had trouble with these until one day he called on Captain Shaw for assistance. It was furnished by the good captain pelting the refractory steers with stones until they were glad to come to terms.**

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JOHN C. FREMONT IS ELEVATED IN RANK

Congress published Lieutenant John C. Fremont’s report on his [1842] exploration effort under the title *Map of an exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842*
Lieutenant Fremont was brevetted (appointed temporarily with no pay increase) to the rank of Captain as a result of publications depicting his earlier exploration effort -- July 1844
(this will set a pattern as Fremont will later be brevetted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and Major General)

INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN LEADERSHIP IS CHALLENGED

John Minto from his wagon at the head of the wagon train heard the sound of buffalo
he saw a vast herd ascending the hill ahead -- July 11, 1844
General Cornelius Gilliam called for a horse and threw himself into the saddle
he instructed those men who were driving teams to find a campsite near wood and water
everyone who had guns and horses rode out after the General
Gilliam and the hunters killed fourteen buffalo but foolishly left them in the July sun
when they returned for the meat they found it had rotted
Captain William Shaw said he would not continue serving under the “general”
who had been so headstrong that he galloped off after buffalo
without first checking for Indians in the area

INDEPENDENT COLONY WAGON TRAIN SPLITS APART

Next day a meeting was held and the emigrants questioned Gilliam’s competence -- July 12, 1844
several wagon owners wanted to strike out on their own
After the meeting the Independent Colony wagon train split into three companies
General Cornelius Gilliam took charge of one company
this party included George Washington Bush, Michael T. Simmons and others
Captain Robert Wilson Morrison led a second company
Captain William Shaw led the third company
this party included Henry Sager, his pregnant wife Naomi and their six children

⁴⁶⁴ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 504.

METHODIST MISSION PROPERTY IN OREGON CITY IS SOLD

Methodist mission was dissolved by Rev. George Gary

all of the property of the Methodist mission was sold except Wascopam Mission at The Dalles
most of property went at bargain rates to former mission members

Dr. John McLoughlin did not share the bargain, however

Rev. George Gary submitted a proposal in writing to Dr. John McLoughlin -- July 15, 1844

“The following is the valuation we put upon the property of the Missionary Board of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in this place [Oregon City]. We deem it proper to present a bill of items, that you may more fully understand the grounds of our estimate: One warehouse, \$1,300; one white dwelling-house, \$2,200; outhouses and fencing, \$200; old house and fencing, \$100; four warehouse lots, \$800; eight lots in connection with dwelling-house, \$1,400. Total, \$6,000. The two lots occupied by the church are not included in the above bill. If you should conclude to purchase the above-named property, you will do it with the understanding that we reserve the occupancy of the warehouse until the 1st of June, 1845; the house in which Mr. Abernethy resides until August, 1845; and all the fruit-trees on the premises, to be moved in the fall of 1844 or spring of 1845; and the garden vegetables now growing. If you see fit to accept this proposition, please inform us at the earliest opportunity, as we cannot consider ourselves pledged longer than a day or two.”⁴⁶⁵

Dr. McLoughlin was outraged by this extortion

he replied calling attention to the fact that because he had recently given the lots to the Mission

it would be the fairest solution for Gary to give Dr. McLoughlin back the donated lots

since the Mission had no longer any use for them, and let him pay for the improvements;

also one of the houses built with lumber borrowed from him and had not yet been paid for
as a final compromise McLoughlin suggested the matter

be referred to the Methodist Missionary Society in Utica, New York

Each of Dr. McLoughlin’s proposals was rejected by Rev. Gary who insisted it was a business deal

Dr. McLoughlin was compelled to yield and agreed to pay the \$6000 demanded by Gary

(ownership of the property was not settled until long after Oregon had become a state)

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES IN OREGON COUNTRY FROM EUROPE

After almost eight months of difficult navigating from Antwerp, Belgium aboard the *Indefatigable*

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet sighted the coastline of Oregon -- July 27, 1844

along with his traveling companions Father John Nobili, Father Michael Accolti,

Father Anthony Ravalli and Father Louis Vercruysse and lay brother Francis Huybrechts

and six nuns of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur from Belgium:

Loyola Duquenne (Superior), Marie-Cornelia Neujean, Marie Catherine Cabareaux,

Marie-Aloysia Neujean, Norbertine Verreux and Marie-Albine Gobert

Preparations were made to enter the Columbia River

Captain M.J. Moller had been unable to obtain a map of the mouth of the river

Indefatigable approached Cape Disappointment north of the sand bars

about 10 o’clock AM -- July 29

suddenly the crew saw people near the shoreline firing weapons and lighting fires

Captain Moller changed course back to the open sea

⁴⁶⁵ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. I., P. 253.*

Passengers and crew aboard the *Indefatigable* noticed a ship apparently entering the next day but the vessel soon disappeared into the haze -- July 30

Captain Moller changed tactics

he sent a lifeboat with volunteers to seek a passage through the sand bars

when the launch and its crew safely returned they announced

they had found a five-fathom passage to the south

Captain Moller refused to waste any more time and directed his ship to the promising channel

sailor in charge of measuring the depth cried out:

“seven, six, five, four 1/2, four, three... four, three, two 1/2..., four, five...” -

They safely crossed the bar of the Columbia River -- July 30, 1844

after days of tension for crew and passengers the ship finally was able to anchor in Youngs Bay

In the afternoon a canoe with Clatsop Indians visited the ship

from the natives the crew learned how lucky they have been

as mouth of the Columbia has two channels.

one in front of Cape Disappointment is the deepest

and is the one that is generally used

southern channel was not charted and in normal circumstances it was not used

INDEFATIGABLE REACHES ASTORIA

James Birnie, the representative of Hudson`s Bay Company in Astoria,

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and his traveling companions he had crossed the Columbia River

in order to show them the way by making the signals the crew had noticed a few days earlier

Captain M.J. Moller explained he imagined the signals to be a trap by the natives

to run the boat aground and to plunder it

In the evening Birnie provided the new arrivals with fresh salmon and apples

while curious Chinook Indians investigated the boat

Captain Moller had to wait for a pilot to sail his large vessel up the Columbia from Astoria

Father De Smet, impatient as always, did not want to waste any more time

he determined to travel to Fort Vancouver as fast as he could by canoe

with a favorable wind and nine strong paddlers the last 100 miles were quickly bridged

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Father De Smet was greeted by the employees of Hudson`s Bay Company -- evening July 31, 1844

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor James Douglas and Doctor Forbes Barclay

were happy to be reunited with the great missionary once again

Chef Factor Dr. John McLoughlin immediately sent a messenger to Saint Paul Mission

located along the Willamette River at Champoeg

For eight glorious days the Jesuits and Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur

enjoyed the hospitality of Dr. and Mrs. McLoughlin before Father Blanchet arrived

to guide them up the Willamette Valley

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) SUFFERS AN ACCIDENT ON THE TRAIL

“August 1st we nooned in a beautiful grove on the north side of the Platte. We had by this time got used to climbing in and out of the wagon when in motion. When performing this feat that

afternoon my dress caught on an axle helve and I was thrown under the wagon wheel, which passed over and badly crushed my limb before Father could stop the team. He picked me up and saw the extent of the injury when the injured limb hung dangling in the air.

In a broken voice he exclaimed, 'My dear child, your leg is broken all to pieces!' The news soon spread along the train and a halt was called. A surgeon was found and the limb set; then we pushed on the same night to Laramie, where we arrived soon after dark. This accident confined me to the wagon the remainder of the long journey"⁴⁶⁶

OREGON COUNTRY BOUNDARY NEGOTIATIONS ARE TAKEN UP AGAIN

British government officials were anxious to avoid a complete rupture with the United States
Special Minister Richard Pakenham was sent on a special mission -- August 1844
by new British premier Sir Robert Peel to settle the Oregon boundary question
British diplomats began to receive instructions that were influenced
by Hudson's Bay Company officials whose suggestions were transmitted
through Governor Sir John Pelly and then Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen
to the British Ambassador Richard Pakenham
however, the new demographic reality of the migration to Oregon
was not representative of the facts as they were perceived in England
Hudson's Bay Company Governor Pelly had reported
only a few American families in the Pacific Northwest
(After meeting for several months with new Secretary of State John C. Calhoun
no prospect of reaching a positive result appeared
but Pakenham learned 49° north might be acceptable to the United States
if the boundary continued on to the southern tip of Vancouver Island)

INDEFATIGABLE ANCHORED NEAR FORT VANCOUVER

Twelve Catholic passengers disembarked -- August 5, 1844
six days after Father Pierre-Jean De Smet had arrived by canoe
Fathers Joseph Joset, Michael Accolti, Antonio Ravalli, and Louis Vercruysse
and Brothers Magri and Francois Huybrechts
plus six Sisters of Notre Dame
Whole Belgian party was hosted by Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin

CAPTAIN JOHN CHARLES FREMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION REACHES ST. LOUIS

Striking out from Las Vegas they reached Jedediah Smith's trail through (Utah) and South Pass
traveling to Santa Fe (New Mexico) and ending at St. Louis, Missouri -- August 6, 1844
his great discovery was to show there was no river except the Columbia
which passed through the mountains to the Pacific coast therefore it was essential
the United States gain control of Oregon Country from the British
Captain Fremont had successfully mapped the future Oregon Trail
from St. Louis to Fort Vancouver
(Captain John Charles Fremont continued on to Washington City

⁴⁶⁶ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 504-505.

after he arrived congress produced a map of his first expedition
that expanded on an earlier map by cartographer George Gibbs)

CATHERINE SAGER DESCRIBES THE DEATH OF HER FATHER

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) described the death of her father, Henry Sager -- August 1844:
“After Laramie we entered the great American desert, which was hard on the teams. Sickness became common. Father and the boys were all sick, and we were dependent for a driver on the Dutch doctor who set my leg. He offered his services and was employed, but though an excellent surgeon, he knew little about driving oxen. Some of them often had to rise from their sick beds to wade steams and get the oxen safely across. One day four buffalo ran between our wagon and the one behind. Though feeble, father sized his gun and gave chase to them. This imprudent act prostrated him again, and it soon became apparent that his days were numbered. He was fully conscious of the fact, but could not be reconciled to the thought of leaving his large and helpless family such perilous circumstances. The evening before his death we crossed Green River and camped on the bank. Looking where I lay helpless, he said, ‘Poor child! What will become of you?’ Captain Shaw found him weeping bitterly. He said his last hour had come, and his heart was filled with anguish for his family. His wife was ill, the children small, and one likely to be a cripple. They had no relatives near, and a long journey lay before them. In piteous tones he begged the Captain to take charge of them and see them through. This he stoutly promised. Father was buried the next day on the banks of Green River. His coffin was made of two troughs dug out of the body of a tree, but the next year emigrants found his bleaching bones, as the Indians had disinterred the remains.”⁴⁶⁷

EPEDEMIC SWEEPS ACROSS OREGON COUNTRY

Hundreds of Indians died and countless other people fell ill from an infection -- August 1844
this was a a contagious, flu-like ailment commonly called “bloody flux”
that periodically swept up the Columbia River and the Willamette Valley
Father De Smet had not yet fully recovered from his long voyage
when he was taken down by a severe attach of dysentery which laid him up for several day
three of the Sisters also fell ill
but luckily all of them recovered from this catastrophic disease
When the illness ran its course De Smet decided not to wait
for Father De Vos to arrive at Saint Francis Xavier Mission
because any day snow could close the mountain passes on the route to Saint Mary’s Mission
in the Bitterroot Mountains

NEWLY ARRIVED CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES TRAVEL WITH FATHER BLANCHET

Father Jean-Pierre De Smet and his companions traveled willingly with Father Blanchet
as four canoes and small sloop traveled up the Columbia River -- August 14, 1844
Father Anthony Ravalli carried with him surgical and medical instruments, carpenter tools,
supplies of medicines and two mill stones -- a gift from an Irish merchant in Antwerp
camp was made that night (at the present site of Portland)

⁴⁶⁷ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 505.

mosquitoes made sleeping impossible
After Father Blanchet said the Mass of the Assumption the next morning the Catholic missionaries entered the Willamette River and passed through a land of great natural beauty
Father Blanchet described for the Sisters their nearly complete convent
he had built it approximately two miles from Saint Paul's Mission the Jesuit mission serving the Willamette Valley
Father Blanchet suggest that Father De Smet consider the abandoned Methodist mission at The Dalles built a decade earlier by Rev. Jason and Rev. Daniel Lee
rumors circulated that the Methodists had spent a quarter of a million dollars on the property and making improvements

CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES ARRIVE AT ST. PAUL MISSION

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, Father John Nobili, Father Michael Accolti, Father Antonio Ravalli, Father Louis Vercruysse, Brother Francis Huybrechts and six Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur: Loyola Duquenne (Superior), Marie-Cornelia Neujean, Marie Catherine Cabareaux, Marie-Aloysia Neujean, Norbertine Verreux and Marie-Albine Gobert -- 11:00 AM August 17, 1844
Sister Loyola Duquenne described the church, "**as lowly as the stable in Bethlehem**"⁴⁶⁸
at last, they safely reached St. Paul Mission eight months after setting sail from Belgium
they had completed their journey and their new adventure was beginning
Jesuit priests accepted Father Blanchet's gracious hospitality for the next week

SIX SISTERS OF NORTE DAME ARRIVE AT THEIR NEW CONVENT

Six Sisters were taken six miles by horse cart provided by the delighted French-Canadians to their not yet completed convent -- August 17, 1844
rather than complain they moved into two rooms at the boys' school,
cleaned the rugged church and began teaching classes outdoors

ST. MARIE DE WILLAMETTE ACADEMY BEGINS OPERATION

Sainte Marie De Willamette Academy was in the small Catholic community of St. Paul, Oregon this convent and a school for girls was operated by and six sisters of Notre Dame de Namur
St. Marie De Willamette Academy attracted the daughters of the French-Canadian fur traders and Native American or mixed-blood women who settled at French Prairie
(between the Willamette and Pudding Rivers north of Salem)
Six Sisters of Notre Dame: Loyola Duquenne (Superior), Marie-Cornelia Neujean, Marie Catherine Cabareaux, Marie-Aloysia Neujean, Norbertine Verreux and Marie-Albine Gobert also prepared local Indian women and fur trader's wives to receive the sacraments
classes were taught in the open air as the building was not completed (until early October)
Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur conducted classes in French
they also acquired some knowledge of the Chinook Jargon familiar to their students
(While learning to survive the nuns developed skills such as bread-making, clothes washing,

⁴⁶⁸ Clarence B. Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, P. 84.

carpentry, livestock husbandry and gardening
their farm supported the community with food for their own consumption and products to sell
and served as a training ground for students who worked in the fields
and learned to produce marketable goods)

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET REJECTS THE WASCOPAM MISSION LOCATION

Father De Smet rejected the Methodist site at Wascopam, The Dalles
he decided on another location on a bend of the Willamette River nearer to Oregon City
for his new mission in Oregon Country
De Smet preferred land that was crowded with large, healthy trees -- a sign to him of rich soil
that indicated bountiful future harvests when the land was cleared and put into production
with fruit trees and produce
Moreover, he saw no reason to purchase land from others, especially Methodists, when the rules
governing land titles in Oregon changed with each revision of the governmental charters
currently being debated by the American settlers in the Willamette Valley

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET SELECTS THE SITE FOR A NEW CATHOLIC MISSION

After a great deal of discussion Father De Smet selected a site for the new Catholic mission
in a pleasantly wooded tract on the bank of the Willamette River near St. Paul's Mission
De Smet intended for it to become the chief supply station for the Jesuits in Oregon
accordingly a suitable tract of land was secured for that purpose -- August 1844
Father De Smet directed French-Canadian workmen cleared brush away and constructed three shops
finally a fifteen-room, two-story house was completed which Father De Smet piously hoped
would be filled in missionaries
Father De Smet named St. Francis Xavier Mission in honor of Jesuit priest St. Francis Xavier

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET CALLS FOR ADDITIONAL MISSIONARIES FOR OREGON

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was still Superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission of the Society of Jesus
he sent a message to Saint Mary's Mission in the Bitterroots asking Father Gregory Mengarini
to come to the Willamette Valley and assist him in transporting the supplies
he had brought from Europe for the interior missions
Father Peter De Vos, acting Superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission during De Smet's absence,
was ordered to leave the Kalispel mission and take up permanent residence
at Saint Francis Xavier in the Willamette Valley
Mengarini reached the Willamette mission first, three weeks first receiving the call

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) NOTES HARDSHIPS IN HER JOURNAL

Catherine described how the family struggled to move west -- August 1844: **"We hired a young man to drive, as mother was afraid to trust the doctor, but the kind-hearted German would not leave her, and declared his intention to see her safe in the Willamette. At Fort Bridger the stream was full of fish, and we made nets of wagon sheets to catch them. That evening the new driver told Mother he would hunt for game if she would let him use the gun. He made for the train in advance, where**

he had a sweetheart. We found the gun waiting our arrival at Whitman's Then we got along as best we could with the doctor's help."⁴⁶⁹

GENERAL CORNILIUS GRAHAM'S WAGON TRAIN SPLITS AGAIN

Before reaching Fort Bridger on Black Fork of the Green River (Wyoming) -- late August 1844

George Washington Bush and his four wagons had split away from the main train
they became known as the Simmons-Bush wagon train

Michael and Elisabeth Simmons, James and Charlotte McAllister, David and Talitha Kindred
and their families, Gabriel and Keziah Jones and other pioneers had run out of supplies

Bush purchased flour at the amazingly inflated prices of \$60 a barrel, sugar at \$1.00 a pound
and calico at \$1.00 a yard

When they arrived at Fort Bridger many of the pioneers were bitterly disappointed
to learn they were only half-way to Oregon

OREGON INSTITUTE OPENS IN A NEW SCHOOL

Oregon Institute board of trustees formally opened a new school for missionary children -- fall 1844
enrollment grew steadily until community leaders decided that the growing population at Salem
and the resources available to the school warranted the establishment

of a postsecondary institution at the Oregon Institute

(members of the board of trustees petitioned for and received a charter

from the Oregon Territorial Legislature [January 2, 1853]

the first degree was awarded to Emily York in [1859])

CATHERINE SAGER WRITES OF THE DEATH OF HER MOTHER

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) noted the death of her mother in her journal -- September 1844

"Mother planned to get to Whitman's and winter there, but she was rapidly failing under her sorrows. The nights and mornings were very cold, and she took cold from the exposure unavoidably. With camp fever and a sore mouth, she fought bravely against fate for the sake of her children, but she was taken delirious soon after reaching Fort Bridger, and was bedfast. Traveling in this condition over a road clouded with dust, she suffered intensely. She talked of her husband, addressing him as though present, beseeching him in piteous tones to relieve her suffering, until at last she became unconscious. Her babe was cared for by the women of the train. Those kind hearted women would also come in at night and wash the dust from the mother's face and otherwise made her comfortable. We traveled a rough road the day she died, and she moaned fearfully all the time. At night one of the women came in as usual, but she [Mother] made no reply to questions, so she thought her asleep, and washed her face, then took her hand and discovered the pulse was nearly gone. She lived but a few moments, and her last words were, 'Oh, Henry! If you only knew how we have suffered.' The tent was set up, the corpse laid out, and next morning we took the last look at our mother's face. The grave was near the road; willow brush was laid in the bottom and covered the body, the earth filled in -- then the train moved on.

"Her name was cut on a head-board, and that was all that could be done. So in twenty-six days we became orphans. Seven children of us, the oldest fourteen and the youngest a babe. A few days

⁴⁶⁹ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 505-506.

before her death, finding herself in possession of her faculties and fully aware of the coming end, she had taken an affectionate farewell of her children and charged the doctor to take care of us. She made the same request of Captain Shaw. The baby was taken by a woman in the train, and all were literally adopted by the company. No one there but was ready to do us any possible favor. This was especially true of Captain Shaw and his wife. Their kindness will ever be cherished in grateful remembrance by us all. Our parents could not have been more solicitous or careful. When our flour gave out they gave us bread as long as they had any, actually dividing their last loaf. To this day Uncle Billy and Aunt Sally, as we call them regard us with the affection of parents. Blessings on his...head!"⁴⁷⁰

CATHERINE SAGER WRITES OF THE JOURNEY THROUGH SNAKE RIVER COUNTRY

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) described is part of their journey -- end of September 1844

"At Snake River they lay by to make our wagon into a cart, as our team was wearing out. Into this was loaded what was necessary. Some things were sold and some left on the plains. The last of September we arrived at Grande Ronde, where one of my sister's clothes caught fire, and she would have burned to death only that the German doctor, at the cost of burning his hands, saved her. One night the Captain heard a child crying, and found my little sister had got out of the wagon and was perishing in the freezing air, for the nights were very cold. We had been out of flour and living on meat alone, so a few [men] were sent in advance to get supplies from Dr. Whitman and return to [the wagon train]. Having so light a load we [the children except for the baby who remained with the wagon train] could travel faster than the other teams, and went on with Captain Shaw and the advance [party]. Through the Blue Mountains cattle were giving out and left lying in the road. We made but a few miles a day. We were in the country of 'Dr. Whitman's Indians,' as they called themselves. They were returning from buffalo hunting and frequented our camps. They were loud in praise of the missionaries and anxious to assist us. Often they would drive up some beast that had been left behind as given out and return it to its owner.

"One day when we were making a fire of wet wood Francis thought to help the matter by holding his powder horn over a small blaze. Of course, the powder horn exploded, and the wonder was he was left alive. He ran to a creek near by and bathed his hands and face, and came back destitute of whiskers and eyebrows, and his face was blackened beyond recognition. Such were the incidents and dangerous and humorous features of the journey."⁴⁷¹

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET LEAVES SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER MISSION

Father De Smet traveled with Father Gregory Mengarini and four European priests and a lay brother as they set out from Saint Francis Xavier Mission

on the way to Saint Mary's Mission among the Flathead Indians -- October 3, 1844
fortunately, just as De Smet and Mengarini reached Fort Vancouver
an eight-oar Hudson's Bay Company barge was preparing to leave for the interior
Dr. McLoughlin generously secured places for the priests and their baggage on board
in the few hours he had at Fort Vancouver De Smet hired Canadian mechanic Peter Biledot
to come along and install the grindstones De Smet had brought all the way from Belgium
so that Saint Mary's Mission would have a flour mill

⁴⁷⁰ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 506-507.

⁴⁷¹ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 507.

Father De Smet loaded a pack train of eleven horses with plows, spades, pickaxes, scythes, and carpenters' implements brought by ship to the Columbia River to deliver to the Catholic missions in the Rocky Mountains

PRESIDENT JOHN TYLER IS HESITANT TO ENGAGE BRITAIN IN NEGOTIATIONS

In a letter to Secretary of State John C. Calhoun dated October 7, 1844

said he hesitated to take up the Oregon Country negotiation after the treaty of 1842, **“believing that under the convention of joint occupation we stood on the most favorable footing. Our population was already finding its way to the shores of the Pacific, and a few years would see an American Settlement on the Columbia sufficiently strong to defend itself and to protect the rights of the U. States to the territory.”**⁴⁷²

SIMMONS-BUSH WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES ALONG THE OREGON TRAIL

Leaving Fort Bridger the members of the Simmons-Bush wagon train followed the Snake River they came to British Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Boise where they remained for a few days -- October 1844 British fur traders told them about the rich farmland in Oregon's Willamette River Valley

FATHER DE SMET MEETS FATHER DE VOS AT THE PORTAGE ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

It required several portages to bypass the five major chutes and falls on the Columbia River between Fort Vancouver and Fort Walla Walla at one of those stops Father De Smet chanced to meet Father Peter De Vos and Brother Michael McGean who were on their way to Saint Francis Xavier Mission in answer to Father De Smet's request De Vos had come from Saint Mary's Fathers De Smet and De Vos whose friendship extended back to youthful days in Belgium spoke frankly about many things including a dossier detailing grievances against Father Point Father De Vos intended to forward a package of damaging documents to Saint Louis Father Point's very tolerant attitude toward the Indians Father Point accepted them as they were and opposed the racist attitude of certain Jesuits but De Smet, using his authority as superior of the Rocky Mountains Mission, confiscated the documents addressed to Father Superior Pierre Verhaegen and refused to return them Father De Vos sent his complaints to Superior General Roothaan in Rome in his letter he also criticized Father Pierre-Jean De Smet in De Vos' opinion De Smet showed more interest in establishing a chain of mission than he did in mediating sensitive personnel matters facing the Catholic missionaries De Smet loved to start missions and build buildings but he seldom remained in them long he sought glamour by planning, establishing and publicizing his Indian missions

CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES ARRIVE AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Arriving at Fort Walla Walla Fathers Pierre-Jean De Smet and Gregory Mengarini

⁴⁷² Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 142-143.

redistributed their supplies from the barges transferred to a string of twenty horses and mules and a few head of cattle were purchased from Hudson's Bay Company -- mid- October 1844 they also hired two guides to help them travel through the Spokane desert to Colville

Father Tiberio Soderini was staying at Fort Walla Walla
(he was one of five recruits who in 1844 left from Westport for the missions in the Rockies) after he had arrived at Fort Hall, Father Soderini decided he had enough of the hard and adventurous existence as a traveling missionary he wanted to give up his solitary life to work among the Indians, he was on his way to offer his services to Bishop Blanchet as a simple secular priest (that is, to give up his vows of chastity, poverty and obedience but continue to serve)

Father De Smet took a few days rest and spoke with Father Tiberio Soderini
Father De Smet apparently convinced him to postpone his final decision and return to St. Michael's Mission on the Pend Oreille River as a Catholic missionary

Father Gregory Mengarini, mechanic Peter Biledot and several priests continued with their heavy load of equipment toward Saint Mary's mission
Father Anthony Ravalli received a harsh introduction to his new environment as he journeyed up the Columbia River on a Hudson's Bay Company barge when he was spilled into the icy water -- fortunately an Indian man rescued him

FATHERS PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET AND GREGORY MENGARINI CONTINUE ON

Caravan started from Fort Walla Walla on the Colville Road to Fort Colville -- October 15, 1844
Father De Smet and his European traveling companions enjoyed warm weather as they traveled the well-worn Colville Road that stretched from Fort Walla Walla several hundred miles to just short of Fort Colville the enjoyed warm weather although it was mid-October

CATHERINE SAGER WRITES OF TRAVELING TO WAILLATPU

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) described the Sager children's trip to Waillatpu: **"We reached Umatilla October 15, and lay by while Captain Shaw went on to Whitman's station to see if the doctor would take care of us, if only until he could become located in the Willamette. We purchased of the Indians the first potatoes we had eaten since we started on our long and sad journey. October 17 we started for our destination, leaving the baby very sick, with doubts of its recovery. Mrs. Shaw took an affectionate leave of us all, and stood looking after us as long as we were in sight. Speaking of it in later years she said she never saw a more pitiful sight than the cartful of orphans going to find a home among strangers."**⁴⁷³

CATHERINE SAGER DESCRIBES THE ARRIVAL OF THE CHILDREN AT WAILLATPU

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) wrote of the scene at the Whitman Mission -- October 1844: **"We reached the station in the forenoon. For weeks this place had been a subject for our talk by day and formed our dreams at night. We expected to see log houses, occupied by Indians and such people as we had seen about the forts. Instead we saw a large white house surrounded with palisades. A short distance from the doctor's dwelling was another large adobe house, built by Mr.**

⁴⁷³ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 507.

[William] Gray, but now used by immigrants in the winter, and for a granary in the summer. It was situated near the mill pond, and the grist mill was not far from it.

‘Between the two houses were the blacksmith shop and the corral, enclosed with slabs set up end ways. The garden lay between the mill and the house, and a large field was on the opposite side. A good-sized ditch passed in front of the house, connecting with the mill pond, intersecting other ditches all around the farm, for the purpose of irrigating the land.’⁴⁷⁴

SAGER CHILDREN MEET DR. MARCUS AND MRS. NARCISSA WHITMAN

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) noted in her journal -- October 1844: “We drove up and halted near [the irrigation] ditch. Captain Shaw was in the house conversing with Mrs. Whitman. Glancing through the window, he saw us, and turning to her said: ‘your children have come; will you go out and see them?’ He then came out and told the boys to ‘Help the girls out and get their bonnets.’ Alas! it was easy to talk of bonnets, but not to find them! But one or two were finally discovered by the time Mrs. Whitman had come out. Here was a scene for an artist to describe. Foremost stood the little cart, with the tired oxen that had been unyoked lying near it. Sitting in the front end of the cart was John, weeping bitterly; on the opposite side stood Francis, his arms on the wheel and his head resting on his arms, sobbing aloud; on the near side the little girls were huddled together, bareheaded and barefooted, looking at the boys and then at the house, dreading we knew not what. By the oxen stood the good German doctor, with his whip in his hand, regarding the scene with suppressed emotion.

“Thus Mrs. Whitman found us. She was a large, well-formed woman, fair complexioned, with beautiful auburn hair, nose rather large, and large gray eyes. She had on a dark calico dress and gingham sunbonnet. We thought as we shyly looked at her that she was the prettiest woman we had ever seen. She spoke kindly to us as she came up, but like frightened things we ran behind the cart, peeping shyly around at her. She then addressed the boys, asking why they wept, adding: ‘Poor boys, no wonder you weep!’ She then began to arrange things as we threw them out, at the same time conversing with an Indian woman sitting on the ground near by.

“A little girl about seven years old soon came out and stood regarding us with a timid look. This was little Helen Mar Meek, and though a half-breed, she looked very pretty to us in her green dress and white apron and neat sunbonnet.

“Having arranged everything in compact form, Mrs. Whitman directed the doctor and the boys where to carry them, and told Helen to show the girls the way to the house. Seeing my lameness, she kindly took me by the hand and my little sister by the other hand, and thus led us in. As we reached the steps, Captain Shaw asked if she had children of her own. Pointing to a grave at the foot of the hill, not far off, she said: ‘All the child I ever had sleeps yonder.’ She added that it was a great pleasure to her that she could see the grave from the door. The doctor and boys having deposited the things as directed, went over to the mansion. As we entered the house we saw a girl about nine years old washing dishes. Mrs. Whitman spoke cheerfully to her and said: ‘Well, Mary Ann [Bridger], how do you think you will like all these sisters?’ Seated in her arm-chair, she placed the youngest on her lap, and calling us round her, asked our names, about our parents, and the baby, often exclaiming as we told our artless story, ‘Poor children!’

⁴⁷⁴ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 507.

“Dr. Whitman came in from the mill and stood in the door, looking as though surprised at the large addition so suddenly made to the family. We were a sight calculated to excite surprise, dirty and sunburned until we looked more like Indians than white children. Added to this, John had cropped our hair so that it hung in uneven locks and added to our uncouth appearance. Seeing her husband standing there, Mrs. Whitman said, with a laugh: ‘Come in, doctor, and see your children.’ He sat down and tried to take little Louisa in his arms, but she ran screaming to me, much to the discomfiture of the doctor and amusement of his wife. She then related to him what we had told her in reference to the baby, and expressed her fears lest it should die, saying it was the baby she wanted most of all.

“Our mother had asked that we might not be separated, so Captain Shaw now urged the doctor to take charge of us all. He feared the [American Mission] Board might object, as he was sent a missionary to the Indians. The Captain argued that a missionary’s duty was to do good, and we certainly were objects worthy of missionary charity. He was finally persuaded to keep us all until spring. His wife did not readily consent, but he told her he wanted boys as well as she wanted girls. Finding the boys willing to stay, he made a written agreement with Captain Shaw that he would take charge of them. Before Captain Shaw reached the valley, Dr. Whitman overtook him and told he was pleased with the children and he need give himself no further care concerning them. The baby was brought over in a few days. It was very sick, but under Mrs. Whitman’s judicious care was soon restored to health.”⁴⁷⁵

WAILLATPU MISSION SERVES AS A WAY-STATION FOR OREGON BOUND PIONEERS

On occasion, a small party was hurried forward ahead of the wagon train
to bring supplies back from the Willamette Valley

some brought food from missionaries at Waiilatpu
Indians also provided some supplies

Dr. Whitman would provide, and sometimes even deliver,
pack-train loads of supplies to the immigrants on the trail
Rev. Henry Spalding added flour and vegetables from Lapwai -- 1844
yet the mission’s farms were supposedly for the Indians

Many Immigrants wintered at the mission because of illness or exhaustion of their oxen
population at the mission varied from fifty to about seventy-five
men were employed about the place

children attended school which no longer educated Indian children
several children were also left in the care of the mission

Mary Ann Bridger -- nine-year-old daughter of Jim Bridger

Helen Mar Meek -- seven-year-old daughter of Joe Meek

Eliza Spalding -- seven-year-old daughter of Henry and Eliza Spalding

NATIVE AMERICANS RESENT THE NEW ARRIVALS IN OREGON COUNTRY

Indians resented the littered campsites, slain deer and the injured grass
contemptuously the Cayuse and the Indians at The Dalles
began bullying small immigrant parties and stealing horses

⁴⁷⁵ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 508-510.

in retaliation the whites seized replacement stock from unguarded Indian herds
and the bitterness grew

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) DESCRIBES LIFE WITH THE WHITMANS

Catherine noted in her journal: “Our faithful friend, the German doctor, left us at last, safe in the motherly care of Mrs. Whitman. He had kept his promise to our dying mother.

“For a week or two the house at Waailatpu was full of company. Having no help, Mrs. Whitman was too much engaged in household affairs to pay any attention to us. Very lonely did that large house seem to me during that time. Being a cripple, I was not able to join the other children in their pastimes, and they were too busy enjoying themselves to attend to me. Seated by the cradle, I plied my needle at simple sewing. I saw my brothers only at mealtime. Mrs. Whitman came occasionally to bring the baby her milk. I thought I could never be happy where everything was so strange, and shed many tears in solitude. I became so timid as to cry if addressed by the doctor or anyone.

“School commenced soon after our arrival, and most of the children attended. In course of time the company left the house; help was hired to do the housework, and Mrs. Whitman, having more time to herself, paid more to us. Gathering us around her in the evening she would amuse us with anecdotes, distributing pieces of calico and show us how to make patchwork and rag dolls, conversing with us in a kind and familiar way. On one of these occasions she gave each of us a string of beads to wear with the understanding that anyone who had to be reprovved for doing wrong must return the beads to her. We had been long without restraint, so that we had become quite unruly and difficult to manage. They were strict disciplinarians, and held the reins with steady hands. Any deviation from the rules met with instant and severe chastisement. Every effort to merit their approval was rewarded with smiles. While we were held under strict subjection, every effort was made to render us comfortable and happy and to win our love and confidence. Mrs. Whitman was particularly adepted to raising children, having the art of uniting instruction and pleasure. She was a fine singer. I have never known anyone who excelled her in this respect. She soon commenced teaching us vocal music. Refined and accomplished herself, she exercised over our rude natures that influence that refines and beautifies a home. We soon formed a warm attachment for her, and fell into the practice of calling her and Dr. Whitman mother and father, as the other children did, and continued it while they lived. They were careful to have us remember our parents, and would speak of them with affection and respect. When necessary to administer punishment, she would set our fault before us and her own responsibility, and show that all was done for our own good, and would ask what we thought our parents would wish her to do.

“Dr. Whitman’s family, before we came, consisted of himself and wife, Perrin P. Whitman, his nephew, who came out with him in 1843, when fourteen years old; Mary Ann Bridger, nine years old; Helen Mar Meek, seven years old, who had been raised from infancy by Mrs. Whitman, and David M. Cortez, seven years old. This boy’s father was a Spaniard, his mother a Walla Walla Indian. Becoming tired of the infant, she cast it into a hole to perish. His grandmother rescued him and took him to Mrs. Whitman, naked, except a small piece of skin tied over his shoulders. We were in the schoolroom from Monday morning until Saturday noon. The afternoon was a holiday. If the weather was pleasant, the preparations for the Sabbath being completed, Mrs. Whitman took us out for [a] ramble over the hills. In inclement weather we were provided amusement in the house; the doctor believed in young folks having plenty of exercise. The Sabbath was always strictly observed, yet made so pleasant that we hailed its dawn with delight. Every preparation was made

the day before, and perfect stillness pervaded the house Sabbath morning. In the winter season a Bible class met on Saturday night. All the family attended, and no effort was spared to make it interesting. A subject was given us to prove from the Bible, and Mrs. Whitman saw that each child had a proof to bring in. They were commented on, a chapter was read, each one reading a verse and giving their thoughts on it. These exercises closed by singing some Bible hymn. Sabbath morning we were reminded of the day and all kept still. Each sat with a book, and those too small to read were handed pictures. After breakfast we prepared for Sunday School that met at 11 o'clock, while the doctor held his service with the natives. Each got seven verses, one being learned every morning during the week. This was an interesting hour spent together, especially when the doctor could spend some moments with us. At 3 P.M. we met for the regular afternoon service, when Dr. Whitman read a sermon. He was not a preacher, but a physician. We had to find the text after the service was over and repeat it to him. The evening was spent in reading, reciting the commandments, etc.

“One evening in the week Mrs. Whitman would collect the young around her, holding a prayer meeting with them and conversing on religious subjects. The first Monday night in each month a meeting was held in behalf of missions, and Monday after New Year’s was observed as a fast day. The housework was hired out in winter, so the children could follow their studies without hindrance; Mrs. Whitman and the girls did the work in the summer. Each of us had her allotted task and was expected to promptly do her duty. At 11:00 we bathed in the river; dinner was served at 12:00. When the work was done we all sat in a large room at our sewing, save one of us, who read aloud to the rest. Supper was at 5 o’clock and after that was over time until retiring for the night was devoted to recreation. In the spring the evenings were spent in the garden putting in seeds; otherwise we did as we pleased. Sometimes the boys would bring horses for us to ride; at times we would go with the doctor to visit the lodges where Indians were sick. Mrs. Whitman was always with us in all these occupations, adding to our enjoyment. She was very fond of flowers, and we assisted in taking care of her flower garden each season. Our time flowed on in one uninterrupted stream of pleasure; we were kept constantly gaining knowledge, and from morning until night our adopted parents labored to promote our happiness. The family was larger in the winter. From twenty to twenty-five, including children, sat around the table at meals. Besides the adopted children, there were others who came to attend the mission school. Summers the doctor was gone most of the time so there was only Mrs. Whitman and the children. Mr. [Henry] Spalding’s daughter [Eliza] attended school with us. She came on horseback, in charge of an Indians woman, 120 miles.

“The manner of living was simple. In winter we had beef, and in summer mutton and fish. Pork seldom came on the table. Dr. Whitman ignored fine flour, and wheat flour and corn meal were used unbolted. Tea and coffee came to the table only on rare occasions. This was a matter of economy, as delicacies were not easy to get in this country at that time. There was an abundance of wild fruit to be purchased of the natives; a good garden supplied plenty of vegetables. Cakes and pastry only were seen on holidays. Milk, butter and cheese were in full supply, and thus you have our mode of living at Waiilatpu.

“Some may ask how the washing for so large a family was managed. As early as 4 o’clock all hands were mustered for work in the kitchen, Mrs. Whitman at the head. Tubs and barrels were put in use and all the implements needed were at hand. The boys, with long aprons tied around them, brought the water and did the pounding while the women rubbed the clothes. Jokes were

current and all were in good humor. By school time (9 o'clock) the clothes were on the line. It fell to the lot of myself and brother to get breakfast on wash days.

“Owing to the location and the evaporation in the spring of alkali ponds near by, Waiilatpu was not healthy. The mill pond was near by, and we were more or less troubled with chills and fever in warm weather. I was very subject to it, and suffered every summer of my stay there being often unable to labor. As the eldest daughter I had supervision of the other girls, and from being confined to the house so much I became the constant companion of Mrs. Whitman. An attachment near to that of mother and daughter existed between us from this constant association. To me she told all her plans for the pleasure or improvement of the children, as well as her fears and trouble concerning them. When the doctor was long absent I sat with her and read or conversed....She said often she could not get along without me.”⁴⁷⁶

FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET BECOMES VICAR APOSTOLIC BLANCHET

(Pope Gregory XVI in Rome created the Vicariate Apostolic of Oregon [December 1, 1843]
this jurisdiction is established by the Catholic Church in regions served by missionaries
it is led by a vicariate apostolic

Father Blanchet was promoted to Vicariate Apostolic of Oregon
this position is comparable to that of Bishop is settled Catholic lands)

Father Blanchet received the papal brief which proclaimed him
to be apostolic vicariate of Oregon -- November 4, 1844

Vicariate Apostolic Francis Blanchet made his ecclesiastical seat at Oregon City
Vicar Blanchet began making plans to visit Montreal to receive his promotion
and continue on to Europe on a recruiting and fundraising trip

FATHER DE SMET AND HIS COMPANIONS VISIT ST. MICHAEL'S MISSION

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and his party encountered a pack train of seventeen horses
going to the Pend Oreille River by way of the pass near Calispel Mountain
so De Smet thanked and released his guides and attached himself to the larger caravan
Meanwhile Father Adrian Hoecken at Saint Michael's Mission learned of De Smet's approach
from travelers so he went to the eastern slope of Calispel Mountain
and escorted his fellow Jesuits back to Saint Michael's Mission
(near present-day Alburni Falls, Idaho) -- November 6, 1844

Father De Smet promised to stay a few days at the main camp of Kalipel Indians
who joyously celebrated his arrival

Father Gregory Mengarini and the European priests continued on with the bulk of the supplies

NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS REFLECTS AN EXPANSIONIST AGENDA

Oregon Country, Texas and slavery were the issues facing the nation
Democrat James K. Polk won the White House on an expansionist platform
expansionists desired to end Joint Occupation with Great Britain
“Fifty-Four Forty or Fight” ran the slogan of one faction of Polk's party,
referring to the southern boundary of Russian-Alaska at 54°40' north latitude

⁴⁷⁶ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 520-523.

Democrats were swept into office -- November 7, 1844
this brought forth new hope to Willamette settlers

SIMMONS-BUSH WAGON TRAIN TRAVELS FROM FORT BOISE

Michael and Elisabeth Simmons, James and Charlotte McAllister, David and Talitha Kindred
and their families, Gabriel and Keziah Jones and other pioneers spend the month of November
pushing through the Blue Mountains -- November 1844
John Minto, a young Englishman, was sent ahead to Fort Vancouver to gather supplies
remainder of the party would rejoin him at Wascopam Mission at The Dalles

VARIOUS CONDITIONS IN OREGON COUNTRY

Political conditions

Oregon City -- formerly the Willamette Falls
provided the Provisional Capitol and only town
replaced both Champoeg and Chemeketa as the political center of the Willamette Valley

Economic conditions

hard times in Oregon Country
farmers produced an abundance of wheat
however, shortages of goods, cash, and a market for wheat impaired growth
credit system made merchants a vital figure
business run on barter and credit
businessmen were the object of envy, resentment, and suspicion
Hudson's Bay Company offered the best prices and variety of goods
coins drained off into Company strongboxes
the little remaining went to American merchants

Social conditions

settlement North of the Columbia River was slow
Hudson's Bay Company controlled best land
Fort Nisqually was home to the company's herds
Cowlitz Valley farms provided produce for company employees
Willamette Valley was attractive
it was reported to new-comers that the land North of the Columbia was poor
and that the population there the crudest element of the frontier

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PIONEER FARMER

He was patriotic and felt it was his duty to expand and remove all obstacles to American growth
as a rough individualist, he carried his government and law with him
he was confident, practical, stubborn and optimistic about the future
indeed, he displayed an exaggerated confidence and optimism
however, he possessed no feeling for history or the past
He was interested in political organization and usually was a states-rights, anti-monopoly Democrat
any government must be local and responsive to the immediate needs of the settlers
He was litigious by nature, but demonstrated no respect for the lawyers
laws must be specific, clear and understandable

but he was not personally bound to obey
if laws interfered with his personal rights, privileges, or interests
Oregon Country was described as a paradise of natural beauty
rich, well-watered valleys with a luxuriously mild climate prevailed
there also were excellent facilities for developing an Asian trade for farm products

PIONEER HOMES DESCRIBED

Simple cabins were made of logs with the spaces between filled with moss and mud
pine boughs with dirt thrown over formed the roof -- floors were dirt
windows consisted of stretched cotton cloth or oiled undressed deer hides
occasionally a box of window glass might become available
stoves were rare -- an open fire served for cooking
furniture was made by hand -- the table was a large board hinged against the wall
if boards were available, beds also were built against the wall
mattresses were filled with corn husks with a blanket spread over as a cover
nearly every family tried to preserve a feather bed
regardless of whatever else was discarded along the trail
buffalo robes served as common blankets
sometimes a bear skin was used to protect beds from leaks in the roof
dishes were made of tin -- forks and spoons had been brought out from the United States
Fort Vancouver tinnerns provided replacements
some earthenware dishes were shipped from London
clothing consisted of buckskins -- shredded deer sinew was used for thread to make clothing
buckskin also served as flour sacks to store the harvest of wheat
women clothes had to be ordered a year in advance from London
to be delivered on Hudson's Bay Company ships

FATHER DE SMET VISITS ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION ON THE ST. JOSEPH RIVER

Father De Smet left Saint Michael's Mission traveling to St. Joseph's Mission
to honor the request of some Coeur d'Alene Indians to visit their community
and to visit the mission that had been ordered built by Father Peter De Vos
After a difficult trip, Father De Smet arrived in the area where the Coeur d'Alene Indians
spend most of their time -- November 1844

Father De Smet named the area around the mission St. Maries (pronounced Saint Marys)
Fathers Nicholas Point and Joseph Joset worked among them at St. Joseph's Mission
located at the south end of Lake Coeur d'Alene

Father Point's architectural plans came to fruition "...a new village was laid out; trees were
**felled, roads opened, a church erected and the public fields sown. By October, 1844 the little village
contained one hundred Christian families.**"⁴⁷⁷

Fathers Point and Joseph Joset along with Brother Charles Huet
taught the Coeur d'Alene Indians the Gospel and the industry of farming
Unfortunately the site was vulnerable to flooding, so Father De Smet ordered the mission relocated

⁴⁷⁷ John Dawson Gilmary Shea, *History of Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States*
P. 474-475.

to a site near (present-day Cataldo, Idaho)

FATHER MENGARINI AND HIS COMPANIONS ARRIVE AT ST. MARY'S MISSION

Father Gregory Mengarini and the European priests traveling ahead of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet continued their journey from St. Michael's Mission

They arrived St. Mary's Mission with the bulk of the equipment and supplies -- fall 1844 one of these new arrivals was Father Anthony Ravalli

(Father Ravalli had been born in Ferrara, Italy [May 15, 1812]

at the age of fifteen he entered the Jesuit Novitiate desiring to be a missionary to prepare himself to be all things to all men he added medicine and surgery to his study of philosophy, theology, mathematics, and natural sciences he also served apprenticeships in an artist's painting and sculpture studio and mechanic's shop and studied mathematics)

Father Ravalli was six feet tall and 200 pounds with a cheerful disposition

he had a quick wit and was a renown storyteller

(this zealous priest will give forty years of his life as a missionary in the Northwest)

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ATTEMPTS TO REACH ST. MARY'S MISSION

It was late too climb the Coeur d'Alene Mountains when Father De Smet set out

with four guides from St. Michael's Mission for the Saint Mary's Mission -- November 17, 1844

it rained and snowed continuously and the rivers were much higher than usual banks of the St. Joe River were completely inundated

when they reached St. Ignace River (Montana) their passage was blocked

one of the guides offered to return to St. Michael's Mission and seek assistance

two days later he returned with canoes which carried the unfortunate party

back to Saint Michael Mission among the Kalipel Indians

where Father De Smet visited with Father Adrian Hoecken

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet along with Father Adrian Hoecken and Brother Peter McGean

secured shelter in a cabin constructed from fir columns and bark slabs near Albeni Falls

there the three Jesuits carried out religious instructions and baptisms

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET RETURNS TO ST. MICHAEL'S MISSION

After traveling by canoe for two days Father De Smet and his four guides traveled by canoe back to Saint Michael's Mission among the Kalipel Indians

where Father De Smet again visited with Father Adrian Hoecken -- November 19, 1844

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, the head of the Rocky Mountain Mission, believed St. Michael's Mission should be moved because of flooding

Father Tiberio Soderini at the insistence of De Smet agreed to remain at St. Michael's Mission to assist Father Hoecken in the move to establish a new mission

BRITISH SLOOP-OF-WAR ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Modeste, carrying twenty guns, under the command Captain Thomas Baillie

visited Fort Vancouver and remained for several weeks -- November 1844

This visit caused some anxiety to the American settlers

reports were about that Hudson's Bay Company had strengthened the defenses of their posts
it was feared that the boundary was soon to be adjusted
that the region north of the Columbia River would become British territory

FATHER FRANCIS BLANCHET TRAVELS TO CANADA AND EUROPE

Father Blanchet left from Fort Vancouver bound for Montreal and Quebec -- November 28, 1844
because he traveled on a Hudson's Bay Company vessel, he sailed first to Oahu, (Hawaii)
(reaching there on New Year's Eve [[1844])

FATHER DE SMET SEEKS TO REPLACE ST. MICHAEL'S MISSION

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, Adrian Hoecken and Tiberio Soderini and Brother Peter McGean
attempted a second time to depart from St. Joseph's Mission -- December 4, 1844
this time they used another path through the Kalispel Valley and Clark Fork River
Father Pierre-Jean De Smet and his companions reached a location better suited to avoid flooding
they secured shelter in a cabin constructed from fir columns and bark slabs near Albeni Falls
there the Jesuits carried out religious instructions and baptisms among the Kalispel Indians

VICARATE APOSTOLIC BRLANCHET SAILS OUT OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Vicar Francis Norbert Blanchet sailed away from the Columbia River
aboard the Hudson's Bay Company bark *Columbia* -- December 5, 1844
in his absence he left Father Modeste Demers in charge of the administration
of Columbia District

SIMMONS-BUSH WAGON TRAIN LEARNS OF THE EXCLUSIONARY LAWS

Exhausted pioneers of the Simmons-Bush wagon train reached Wascopam at The Dalles
as winter was setting in -- December 7, 1844
They met with John Minto who had gone ahead to Fort Vancouver seeking supplies
Minto told them about the Oregon Exclusionary Laws enacted by the Provisional Government
which said African-Americans and mulattos could not live in Oregon Country
as they were considered to be a challenge to the Provisional Government
George Washington Bush faced an ironic dilemma
he left the United States and its tolerance of slavery to achieve personal security
now he was faced with the lash as imposed by the Provisional Government of Oregon Country
two choices were available to the popular mulatto
move to California and live under Mexican law
move north of the Columbia River where a more tolerant Hudson's Bay Company ruled

MEMBERS OF THE SIMMONS-BUSH WAGON TRAIN MAKE AN HISTORIC DECISION

Weather was too cold to allow for the safe driving of stock around Mount Hood
Wagon train members who had accompanied Michael Simmons and George Washington Bush
were thankful for the gifts and assistance they received along the Oregon Trail from George
Simmons' entire caravan agreed to not settle anywhere that George Washington Bush could not
they sought a way to avoid the Provisional Government's new restrictions against Negroes
they would look for land where George Washington Bush had worked

on his first visit to Oregon
in addition to Michael and Elizabeth Simmons were:
James McAllister, his wife, Martha and children: George, America, Martha, and John;
David Kindred, his wife Talitha, and son John K. Kindred;
Gabriel Jones, his wife, Keziah B., their sons, Lewis and Morris, and daughter Elizabeth
they also were accompanied by two single men: Samuel Crockett and Jesse Ferguson
George and Isabella Bush and their five sons William Owen Bush, Joseph Talbot Bush,
Riley Bailey Bush, Henry Sanford and Jackson January remained at The Dalles for the winter
along with Captain William Shaw who was sick with typhoid fever
and members of his family
they tended their own animals and those of the others who had gone on ahead
(they would rejoin the others when the cattle could be ferried across the river in the spring)

MICHAEL SIMMONS PARTY ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Members of the Simmons' party arrived at Fort Vancouver
where they discovered the British were less than enthusiastic
about permitting American settlers north of the Columbia River
Michael Simmons attempted to acquire living quarters for his family at Fort Vancouver
while he would journey north searching to a place to settle
this request was flatly denied unless he abandoned his effort to settle north of the Columbia
persistent efforts were made by Hudson's Bay Company
to induce the party to settle in the Willamette Valley
Maintaining their commitment to George Washington Bush and each other
members of the Michael Simmons party crossed to the north side of the Columbia River
Simmons finally acquired use of a room for one month from a Kanaka (Hawaiian)
in a shanty outside the fort in Washougal (Washington)
this was an area that British Hudson's Bay Company had refused
to allow American Overlanders to settle,
so the Oregon government's code was not enforced there
McLoughlin then provided the Simmons party with supplies at good prices and on credit
members of the Michael Simmons party found work cutting timber, splitting logs
and making and selling rough cedar shingles in exchange for food and supplies

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT COULD NOT MEET PRESSING NEEDS

Oregon pioneers had to operate under the provisional government
while the federal government delayed in creating a territory
Joe Meek continued as sheriff, collecting taxes, summoning juries and witnesses,
arresting miscreants and even taking a census
provisional government maintained some degree of law and order in the region
laid out and constructed or provided for roads, ferries and bridges
and passed laws for the good of the community
Influx of another twelve hundred pioneers increased the pressure for change -- 1844
provisions of the law of [1843] Organic Laws of Oregon were found to be inadequate
for the growing necessities of an expanding community

Provisional Government would be forced to adjust to assume new forms and meet new needs
Provisional Government expenses currently reached about \$23,000
three-man Executive Committee previously had imposed a property tax
without a vote of the Legislative Council [December 1843]
Executive Committee sent a message to the Provisional Legislative Council
recommending several important modifications of the Organic Law of 1843
including doubling the property tax to 1/4 of 1% with many exemptions
almost \$8,000 was to be paid by direct collection of the property tax
however, the income was still inadequate because of refusals or inability to pay
these deficits met by issuance of \$15,000 in paper script
and warrants of indebtedness that were used as currency by the settlers

SOME AMERICANS FEEL CONCERN REGARDING DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S PLIGHT

Although confirmed British-haters of the Ultra American Party cursed McLoughlin to the end,
the Chief Factor's generosity was having an effect as some pioneers began to wonder
if the charges they had heard and read regarding the Chief Factor were accurate
especially those that emanated from Hall Jackson Kelley and Rev. Henry Spalding
that had been published as government documents

One of the immigrants, M.M. McCarver, suggested that McLoughlin write him a letter
answering the most damaging of the complaints about him

McLoughlin did write the letter which McCarver showed around Oregon City
coupled with the views of men like Jesse Applegate and Peter Burnett,
this letter did a great deal to soften hostility toward Dr. McLoughlin
and to raise questions in many minds about the loss of Dr. McLoughlin's land
required by the Provisional Constitution's discriminatory Article IV

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN IS NOT OPPOSED TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Americans had limited their jurisdiction to area south of the Columbia River
provisional government could also be used by the Hudson's Bay Company
to help collect the \$30,000 in debt owed by the Americans in the Willamette Valley

Dr. McLoughlin who wrote he joined **"the association both for the security of the Company's
property and the protection of its rights."**⁴⁷⁸

INDIANS GO TO CALIFORNIA TO DRIVE HORSES BACK TO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

All of the Indians of the upper Columbia River Valley were eager to acquire cattle by 1844
they knew about the successful [1837] cattle drive sponsored by some of the white settlers
when approximately 630 head were driven into Oregon from California

A group of Spokane, Cayuse, and Walla Walla natives decided to go to California to trade for cattle
one of the members of the party was Elijah Hedding the son of Peu-peu-mox-mox

Elijah had spent several years in the Methodist Mission school at the Oregon Institute
and had been named after a prominent Methodist bishop

At first all went well, when the Indians arrived at Sutter's Fort they were given a cordial welcome

⁴⁷⁸ Lancaster Pollard, *A History of the State of Washington*, P. 102.

arrangements were made for trading.

however, difficulties arose when the Oregon Indians in a skirmish with local Indians captured twenty-two horses and mules these animals were driven to Sutter's Fort where some of the Americans claimed them as their property saying that they had been stolen in the argument which ensued, an American, Grover Cook, known for his anti-Indian attitude, killed Elijah Hedding in cold blood while inside Sutter's fort Following the murder, the Oregon Indians hastily left for their homes they were angry and filled with the desire for revenge

CHIEF PEU-PEU-MOX-MOX LEARNS OF THE DEATH OF SON

When the group of Spokane, Cayuse, and Walla Walla natives returned home from California Ellis, as Head Chief of the Nez Perce, was asked to call on sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White to see what he could do about the outrage no doubt Ellis referred to the provision in the Tenth Article of the code of laws that Dr. White had persuaded the Nez Perce and Cayuses to accept this contained the provision that if a white man raised a gun against an Indian, **"it shall be reported to Dr. White and he shall redress it."** this incident must have been most embarrassing to Dr. White as it had occurred in Mexican territory over which the United States had no jurisdiction. Peu-peu-mox-mox did not understand concept of limited jurisdiction indignation swept the tribes of the Columbia Basin there was talk of sending an army of two thousand warriors to plunder California in revenge, a threat that created panic along the Sacramento River and brought Elijah White hurrying back for still more conferences with the Indians All that Dr. White could do was to promise to write to the Mexican authorities asking them to right the wrong by fast talk Dr. White broke up the plans for the avenging army which the Indians probably could not have carried out anyway Dr. White also sought to appease the Indians by promising them many benefits, including the establishment of a boarding school for Indian youth in the upper Columbia country

OREGON COUNTRY'S PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IS IN TURMOIL

Those who had arrived in Oregon [1844] wanted a stronger, more aggressive American government central issue that was debated locally was whether to establish a new constitution for an independent country or to continue with a government that was provisional -- that is temporary until a boundary could be established and official United States jurisdiction extended over Oregon Country This issue divided the settlers sharply along "Party" lines -- 1844 "Independent Party" led by Robert "Doc" Newell and favored by early settlers and mountain men wanted to form an independent republic they had dominated the nine-man Provisional Legislative Council

but now their power was slipping as new arrivals become politically involved
“Mission Party” was interested in becoming a territory of the United States
but was concerned about maintaining the huge land claims held by the Methodist Missions
at Champoeg (Mission Bottom) and Chemeketa
“American Party” while waiting to become annexed to the United States as a territory or a state
remained split regarding the role of Hudson’s Bay Company in maintaining order
“Moderate American Party” was sure Oregon would be made a United States territory
as soon as the international boundary dispute was cleared up
in the meantime, they were willing to tolerate Hudson’s Bay Company’s dominance
“Ultra American Party” goal of eliminating Hudson’s Bay Company and its property rights
did not seem as important -- especially as sympathy rose for Dr. McLoughlin

OREGON PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL GOES INTO SPECIAL SESSION

Legislative Council Speaker Morton Matthew McCarver called the special session to order
in the Oregon City home of Provisional Recorder John E. Long -- December 16-[21], 1844
all of the council members were present:

representing Twality County was Speaker McCarver, Peter H. Burnett and Matthew Gilmore
and David Hill,

representing Champoeg County was Thomas D. Keizer, Robert “Doc” Newell, Daniel Waldo
and Recorder Dr. John E. Long,

representing Clackamas County was Asa L. Lovejoy

Executive Committee members Peter G. Stewart and Osborne Russell presented a message
to the Legislative Council addressing the opposing claims of the United States and Great Britain
both nations claimed the territory west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the California line

This session was conducted in a semi-formal fashion and the rules were frequently suspended
among laws which were passed was an act incorporating Oregon City -- December 16, 1844

this was the first municipal incorporation west of the Rocky Mountains

Oregon Institute at Salem, under the auspices of the Methodist Church

was also incorporated at the same session

Provisional Council members laid out and constructed or provided for roads, ferries and bridges

Provisional Council passed was an act prohibiting liquor -- title was: **“An Act to prevent the
introduction, sale and distillation of Ardent Spirits in Oregon”**

according to an article the local newspaper, the *Oregon Spectator*: **“first section imposed a fine
of \$50 for the importation or introduction of ardent spirits into Oregon, with intent to sell, barter,
give or trade the same, or for offering the same for sale, trade, barter or gift. The second section
subjected to a fine of \$20 the sale, barter, gift or trade of any ardent spirits, directly or indirectly, to
any persons in Oregon. The third section declared any manufactory or distillery of ardent spirits a
nuisance, subject to a fine of \$100, and an order directing the sheriff to seize and destroy the
distillery apparatus. The fourth section provided the mode for seizing and destroying distillery
apparatus, implements and spirituous liquors, and punishing those engaged in such illicit
manufacture.”** (*Oregon Spectator*, Vol. I, No. 1, February 5, 1846.)

It was recognized the “Lash Law” portion of the Exclusion Act was far too severe

Provisional Council substituted a term of hard labor for the whip

black and mulatto people still were required to leave

however, they might remain if they posted a cash bond assuring their good behavior if a black person was tried and found guilty of being in Oregon Country illegally (no bond) he or she was to be hired out publicly to whomever would employ them for the shortest amount of time after the period of forced labor expired the employer had six months to get the black individual out of Oregon failure to do so was punishable by a fine of \$1000 (this law was designed to take effect in [1846] but was repealed in [1845] and thus was never directly enforced)

Owning slaves was widely tolerated in the Northwest while some slaves successfully sued for their freedom or the freedom of loved ones, no whites were ever forced to free their slaves upon entering Oregon Country after 1844 some slave owners did follow through on promises to free their slaves after arriving in Oregon and a small population of free blacks gradually became established in the Pacific Northwest

PROVISIONAL COUNCIL PROPOSES MORE CHANGES TO THE ORGANIC LAWS

Positions on issues were so sharply divided along Party lines -- 1844 that the Provisional Council faced severe doubts regarding its own legality Nine-member Provisional Legislative Council doubted its own legitimacy it was proposed a new constitution be written expanding the rights and authority of the local self-government three-man Executive Committee would be eliminated in favor of a single governor with veto power who would serve a two year term that would take effect in [June 1845] it also proposed the new House of Representatives would appoint a Supreme Judge it was even proposed the Legislative Council be replaced by a House of Representatives composed of no less than thirteen nor more than sixty-one members

NEW ARRIVALS IN OREGON WERE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE ORGANIC LAWS

Most of the immigrants arriving in Oregon Country did not accept the Organic Laws there was no organized Abolitionist movement in Oregon Country but many white friends of black settlers submitted petitions to the Provisional Council asking for exemptions from the Exclusion Law for their friends Peter H. Burnett who had introduced a law excluding Negroes from Oregon Country attempted to justify the Exclusion Law by arguing that emigration was a privilege not an inherent right, and that this privilege could be denied to a particular class or race of people without denying them constitutional rights since blacks were not permitted to vote, he argued, it was better to deny them residence as well, as they would have no motive for self-improvement (later still, after he became the first governor of California Peter H. Burnett declared that if he could have predicted the Civil War he would not have supported such a law, and as the law was later modified no one should be blamed for supporting it)

NEW ARRIVALS HAVE A GREAT IMPACT ON OREGON COUNTRY

Approximately 1,200 pioneers arrived in Oregon Country

to swell the American population to about 2,500 -- 1844

These settlers were expansionists, aggressive, proud and sensitive

inexperienced with foreigners and therefore suspicious they were anti-British and anti-Catholic

they were confident they would soon be part of the United States

New immigrants arrived in Oregon Country with no allegiance to Provisional Government

some resented the Methodist mission group's control of affairs

many hardy pioneers more congenial to Hudson's Bay Company than to the Methodists

several lawyers who arrived in the Willamette Valley joined the Moderate American Party

and began to challenge both the Provisional Government and Hudson's Bay Company

Most of the 1844 immigrants reached their destination in a sorry state late in the autumn

but their misery lasted only until the following (spring)

and their transition was complete by the [fall 1845]

REVOLT IS ATTEMPTED IN CALIFORNIA

An effort to overthrow Mexican Governor Jose Manuel Micheltoarena drew the attention

of Hudson's Bay Company Agent in Yerba Buena (San Francisco) William Glen Rae

who furnished the rebels with \$15,000 worth of stores and ammunition

Treaty of peace was signed -- December 1844

Rae anticipated that the Mexican governor would punish Hudson's Bay Company

for his unjustifiable interference

MICHAEL SIMMONS BECOMES INTERESTED IN LAND ON PUGET SOUND

Michael Simmons became the leader of an initial exploratory effort to investigate

land north of the Columbia River to escape prejudice of the Provisional Government

Henry Williamson, James Loomis, and the three Owens brothers John, Henry and James

were all members of the Simmons-Bush wagon train and joined in the search

While Simmons' pregnant wife Elizabeth remained in their rented room in a shanty

Michael and his companions journeyed north in search of land to homestead

after a tedious trip attended with many hardships the party reached the forks of Cowlitz River

where their provisions gave out

this was the first attempt by emigrants from the United States

to develop a settlement north of the Columbia River -- winter of 1844-1845

GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH DECIDES TO MOVE NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

It seemed the Columbia River could become the international boundary

George and Isabella Bush decided to move north of Columbia River to the Puget Sound region

beyond the practical reach of the Provisional Government's new legislation

Treaty of Joint Occupation [1818] put Oregon Country under joint British and U.S. control

in practice, the provisional government's authority extended

only to the south side of the Columbia

while the British Hudson's Bay Company still dominated the region north of the river

ST. MICHAEL'S MISSION IS REPLACED BY ST. IGNATIUS MISSION

Father De Smet had St. Ignatius Mission built four miles downriver from St. Michael's Mission
this new mission named in honor of the founder of the Catholic Jesuit order
was established for the Kalispel Indians
(at a site located near present-day Cusick, Washington)
Christmas was celebrated in a simple and crude chapel
on the banks Pend Oreille River -- December 25, 1844

VICAR FRANCIS BLANCHET CONTINUES ON HIS JOURNEY TO MONTREAL

Father Francis Blanchet left Oahu, Hawaii-- January 12, 1845
he traveled by ship to Tahiti and then rounded the dreaded Cape Horn
he continued on way up the Atlantic seaboard sailing for Montreal

DEATH OF WILLIAM GLEN RAE

Dr. McLoughlin was still disregarding instructions to close the post at Yerba Buena (San Francisco)
Hudson's Bay Company had done a good business at Yerba Buena
Dr. John McLoughlin's son-in-law William Glen Rae, as the agent for the Company,
was responsible for the success although he had taken to drinking heavily
legend also said he had squandered company money on a Spanish beauty
Rae however strongly believed he had compromised Hudson's Bay Company's success
when he supported a group of unsuccessful revolutionaries
attempting to overthrow California Governor Jose Manuel Micheltoarena
he feared the Mexican government would retaliate by executing him, seize his warehouses
and confiscate the company's assets
Dr. McLoughlin's son-in-law pondered his missteps and felt that blame would be laid at his feet
his depression grew deeper through excessive use of alcohol
About 8:00 a.m. Rae's clerk, William Sinclair, heard shouts from Rae's room -- January 19, 1845
he ran in and found Rae standing with his wife, his coat off and a pistol in his hand
Sinclair seized the pistol before it could be fired and shouted for help
a shot sounded and Rae fell dead -- he had a second pistol

ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC CHURCH IS BUILT IN THE VILLAGE OF ST. LOUIS, OREGON

Catholics built their first church in Oregon Country (as opposed to a mission)
on the northern edge of the Willamette Valley (three miles northwest of today's Gervais, Oregon)
Jesuit missionary Father Aloysius Verecuysee visited the early settlement [1844]
he stayed to build a log church named to honor Saint Louis, King of France -- 1845
in the village of St. Louis, Oregon Country
(Sister Alphonse, who later visited the area with a view to establishing a school, reported, **"...a wooden building, painted white. The interior is quite nice and the sacristy contains some beautiful vestments. Everything orderly."**)
(St. Louis Catholic parish was not organized until [November 1947] when Father D. Delorme arrived
and the original church was replaced in [1880])

FORT VANCOUVER REPRESENTS BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Hudson's Bay Company post reached its full physical proportions -- 1845

Fort Vancouver proper was a parallelogram with dimensions of about 150 yards by 200 yards enclosed by a wooden wall made of pickets twenty feet high

this wall was strongly secured by inside buttresses

some 18-pounders were placed in the center of the stockade

there was a bastion in the northwest corner where 12-pounders

commanded not only the fort but the entire village as well

Within the walls were numerous wooden buildings arranged around a central court

these served as offices, apartments for clerks and other officers

and as warehouses for furs and imported English goods

chief factor's two-story residence with its popular dining hall and public sitting room

stood beside the other buildings

VANCOUVER VILLAGE IS LOCATED WEST OF THE FORT ITSELF

Fort Vancouver consisted not only of the stockade areas but also a sizable village

located a few yards to the west -- 1845

scattered about were irregularly placed dwellings -- most were homes of Company employees

but also in the village was a Catholic church, schoolhouse and a stable

both inside and outside the walls of the post were workshops for different mechanics,

carpenters, blacksmith, coopers (barrel makers), wheelwrights and tanners

there was a bastion in the northwest corner of the fort where 12-pounder cannons

commanded not only the fort but the entire village outside the walls as well

Immediately outside of the fort to the north was an orchard

and on the east and south sides were cultivated fields

a road passed by the south side of the Fort and connected to other roads that

Columbia River ran a half mile to the south of the fort

along the river southwest of the fort was the wharf, a pond surrounded by more homes,

workshops, stables, pig sheds, storage sheds and a hospital

NISQUALLY FARM HAD INCREASED IN SIZE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Nisqually Farm included a partially stockaded fort, residences, barns and storehouses for produce

also a number of livestock pens and a dairy were located on site

in addition there were gardens and about 220 acres of cultivated fields

Other dwellings and outbuildings were constructed at varying distances from the main post

several satellite farms featured a slaughter house, sheepfolds and a piggery

There were almost six thousand sheep at Nisqually Farm and almost two thousand head of cattle

both herds far exceeded the number of livestock

located at any other post in the Columbia Department, including Fort Vancouver --1845

Nisqually Farm ultimately may have included a total of 261 square miles

(at least that was the claim of British agents in later testimony)

LIVING CONDITIONS IN OREGON COUNTRY REMAIN PRIMITIVE

Almost nothing came into the territory except personal possessions

most of these were worn out by the time the weary owners reached their destination
sometimes replacements could be found at Fort Vancouver
or at the stores set up on the lower Willamette River by Yankee ship captains

Clothing was a perpetual problem

available materials consisted of ill-fitting buckskin, scratchy homespun from coarse wool,
and canvas from discarded tents and wagon covers

Cooking was done mostly in fireplaces, dishes were carved from wood,
everyday furniture was thrown together out of split cedar

Mothers doctored their families

with herbs (teas of sage and tansy or poultices of onions or mustard);

with whiskey mixed with peppermint was an ointment for burns or mixed with salt for gargling
and straight alcohol served as a disinfectant;

with superstition (rubbing bacon rind over a patient's body for scarlet fever;

and often with casual disregard for cleanliness such as using cobwebs to stop bleeding

But nothing distressed settlers as much as being isolated from one another and the outside world
their erratic transportation system was a huge detriment to business and living conditions

slowly, improvements were made:

- regular transportation routes were developed,
- postal system was established,
- express delivery one-day delivery services came into existence,
- paddlewheel steamers began to provide scheduled service

CONTROL OF THE REGION NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER IS IN DISPUTE

Under whose domain did land north of the Columbia River lie?

this question was brought to a head by Henry Williamson, an [1844] arrival
who had joined Michael Simmons' winter effort to reach Puget Sound

After their return to Fort Vancouver -- February 1845

Williamson persuaded Isaac W. Alderman, another [1844] immigrant, to join him
in deliberating trespassing on acreage practically at the gates of Fort Vancouver

This pair of Americans defiantly piled up a few logs in the shape of a hut
in the woods west of Fort Vancouver

on a tree above the shanty Henry Williamson nailed a crude preemption notice
that he was taking over the land

when Dr. McLoughlin discovered the notice he ordered the house and sign destroyed

Williamson promptly rebuilt

he stridently marched into the fort with demands that the claim be reinstated
and attempted to survey his claim

Chief Factor James Douglas, a justice of the peace under Canadian law,
threatened the American with arrest for trespassing

Williamson reminded Douglas he had no authority over Americans nationals
and added dark threats of vigilante action to burn Fort Vancouver to the ground

(in fact, the summer before forest fires had devastated the region

very close to the Fort Vancouver itself; thus the threat appeared very real)

Many Hudson's Bay Company men feared the Americans would take over their land claims

so they sought Provisional Government protection

AMERICANS CONTINUE TO TRESPASS OUTSIDE FORT VANCOUVER

Chief factors McLoughlin and Douglas appealed directly to the settlers in the Willamette Valley they hoped most Americans would recognize the company's rights in the matter
Chief Factors McLoughlin and Douglas drew up a notice stating their side of the case they distributed the flyer throughout the valley
copies were sent to the three-man Provisional Executive Committee
(which was still functioning until the spring elections would designate a single governor)
Provisional Government triumvirate Executive Committee returned a conciliatory reply
Henry Williamson retreated and animosity subsided
in fact, the solution was largely the work of emerging leader Jesse Applegate

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PROTECTS ITS CLAIMS

In order to assure that the property around Fort Vancouver was properly protected
nine loyal company men filed claims under the provisional government to nine pieces of ground embracing the company's fields and orchards
now, at least according to Jessie Applegate, Americans could not trespass
Similar steps were taken to defend the choice lands of Cowlitz and Nisqually farms

MICHAEL SIMMONS LOOKS FOR LAND ALONG PUGET SOUND

When Colonel Michael Simmons learned that George Washington Bush had decided to settle north of the Columbia River away from the reaches of the Oregon Provisional Government and the twice-yearly required lashings imposed by the Exclusionary Laws
Simmons led an initial exploratory effort to investigate the region under Hudson's Bay Company control
Simmons, Henry Williamson, James Loomis and three Owens brothers John, Henry and James traveled from Washougal down the Columbia River to the Cowlitz River -- February 1845 after their provisions ran out, along the Cowlitz they returned to Washougal to discuss options with the others of the Simmons-Bush wagon train who had made camp there for the winter

THREE-MAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THANKS DR. McLOUGHLIN

Provisional Government's Three-man Executive Committee thanked the Hudson's Bay Company for its restraint in dealing with the property rights crisis and the Joint Occupation Treaty they thanked McLoughlin and Douglas for their **"kindness of manner in dealing with a disregard of treaty obligations by a citizen of the United States."**⁴⁷⁹
Provisional Government continued in the hands of American settlers who were willing to cooperate with Hudson's Bay Company

DISLOYALTY TOWARD DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN SURFACES

Chief Factor James Douglas and other company leaders at Fort Vancouver

⁴⁷⁹ Letter of Osborne Russell and P.G. Stewart, Executive Committee, to John McLoughlin, March 21, 1845.

had been writing in alarm to Governor Simpson about the huge sums in unsecured credit that McLoughlin had been advancing to the destitute American immigrants humanitarian yes, but, after all, the men in charge of the Columbia District would be held responsible for the losses

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO ACQUIRE OREGON COUNTRY AND TEXAS

Unlike previous efforts, this time the United States House of Representatives passed a Bill to establish an Oregon government -- February 1845
as it happened the Republic of Texas [since 1836] was also seeking to enter the Union some Congressmen hoped by admitting both new states at the same time they could balance pro-slavery Texas with anti-slavery Oregon
However, this time the United States Senate refused to concur since the proposed House of Representatives Bill prohibited slavery in Oregon Country Southern Senators feared a loss of power in representing their section of the nation

ANTI-OREGON COUNTRY THINKING IS ALSO TAKING PLACE IN AMERICA

Not everyone was in favor of annexing Texas or Oregon

Louisville *Journal* voiced the sentiment of thousands of American conservatives: **“Of all the countries on the face of the earth, it is one of the least favored by Heaven. It is the mere riddlings of creation. It is almost as barren as the desert of Africa..., Russia has her Siberia and England has her Botany Bay; and if the United States should ever need a country to which to banish her rogues and scoundrels, the utility of such a region as Oregon would be demonstrated. Until then, we are perfectly willing to leave this magnificent country to the Indians.”**⁴⁸⁰

No less a figure than past Secretary of State [1841-1843] and Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster was said to have noted in a senate floor speech: **“What do we want of the vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts of shifting sands, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, or these endless mountain ranges, impenetrable and covered to their base with eternal snow? ... What can we hope to do with the Western Coast, a coast of three thousand miles, rock-bound, uninviting and not a harbor on it? What use have we for such a country? I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one mile nearer Boston than it is now.”**⁴⁸¹

Senator George H. McDuffie of South Carolina also took a stand in opposition to Oregon Country:

“It is not proper to hold out inducements to our citizens to engage in these adventurous pursuits. There are no advantages to be derived from them. The advantages of the fur trade have been highly extolled, but I have seen no results by the enormous wealth of John Jacob Astor and one or two others to justify the commendation. Are the honest mechanic and agriculturalist, engaged in honest pursuits of industry, to be taxed that inducements may be held out to the adventurous to engage in this trade which has enriched so few?

...I cannot think any man who has a strong feeling of patriotism -- who has a heart bound to his country as it ought to be, and endearing association inseparably connected with home -- would abandon his friends and family and all endeared to him, to emigrate to that country. No, sir. Captivating as it may be to one portion of the Union, this is a spirit we ought not to encourage; we

⁴⁸⁰ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 207.

⁴⁸¹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 208.

ought rather to induce the honest and industrious classes to remain among us, and contribute to the support of their Government.”⁴⁸²

JAMES K. POLK IS SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT

President James K. Polk’s election was won on an exuberant expansionist Democratic platform declaring in campaign literature the whole of Oregon Country the property of the United States President Polk in his inaugural address declared his intentions -- March 4, 1845

he asserted title America’s rights to the whole of Oregon Country (42° north to 54° 40’ north) in his words, ownership of **“the whole of Oregon was clear and unquestionable”⁴⁸³**

When he took office, President Polk was reminded by Senator E.A. Hannegan of Indiana that fifty-four forty was the only acceptable goal; to fall short would be **“...so profound -- a damnation so deep that the hand of resurrection could not reach him.”⁴⁸⁴**

Former President Andrew Jackson added these ill-spelt words: **“Oragogon: ...expose England’s perfidy [deceit] to the whole civilized wor[l]d. To prevent war with England a bold & undaunted front must be exposed. England with all her Boast dare not go to war.”⁴⁸⁵**

Polk stated it was his duty to use constitutional means to defend America’s right to Oregon Country:

- he recommended ending the [1818] Anglo-U.S. Convention for joint occupation;
- he called for the extension of United States jurisdiction over Oregon settlers;
- he called for military protection of the Oregon Trail;
- he called for establishment of an Indian agency beyond the Rocky Mountains

If Congress stood by the President war was almost inevitable -- unless Great Britain yielded strong support for the president’s position came from the Old Northwest

Democratic voices of Sen. Lewis Cass (Michigan) and Rep. Stephen A. Douglas (Illinois) joined the growing expansionist chorus

(In fact, former American Secretary of State John Quincy Adams [1817-1825] secretly had already offered to accept 49° north latitude as the international boundary) in a blatant reversal of that position the United States government now advocated the extreme claim of western expansionists this created an even greater rift between the United States and Great Britain

BRITISH RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT POLK’S INAUGURAL ADDRESS WAS POINTED

Without some moderating influence regarding the establishment of an international border in one of the national capitols war was inevitable

When news of President Polk’s warlike inaugural address arrived in London

Great Britain became uneasy about American belligerence -- war talk swept England

London Times declared that while Great Britain was **“unwilling to incur the ridicule of attaching importance to mere displays of ignorant rancor.... We are prepared to defend the claims of this country to the utmost, wherever they are seriously challenged.”⁴⁸⁶**

⁴⁸² W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 212.

⁴⁸³ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 178.

⁴⁸⁴ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 145.

⁴⁸⁵ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 145.

⁴⁸⁶ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 147.

Wilmer and Smith's Liverpool European Times responded: **“About whatever savors, even remotely, of intimidation, John Bull [England] is characteristically thin-skinned. There are certain animals that may be lead, but won't be driven -- John Bull is one of them.... The new president's peremptory style has stirred up his bile....”**⁴⁸⁷

London Colonial Magazine said: **“a war with America cannot but be productive of good. Never before were the states of the union in a worse condition for carrying on a war; never...was England better fitted.... To appease the United States would be merely ‘to pave the way for fresh insults’ from a country on which ‘little reliance is to be placed’.”**⁴⁸⁸

REV. JASON LEE DIES WHILE VISITING IN QUEBEC, CANADA

Rev. Jason Lee as an agent for the Oregon Institute went to work raising funds for the school hoping to return soon to Oregon
Sadly, this was a short-lived appointment and Jason Lee never saw Oregon again suffering from a persistent cold he slowly lost what had been generally robust health and strength and continued to waste away
While visiting his sister Rev. Jason Lee died at age forty-one -- March 12, 1845 in the presence of his family in Stanstead, Quebec
his remains were reinterred at the Lee Mission Cemetery (in Salem, Oregon [1906]) alongside his two wives and child

GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH REACHES WASHOUGAL (WASHINGTON)

Mulatto pioneer George Washington Bush and Captain William Shaw set out from The Dalles accompanying Bush and Shaw were Bush's wife Isabella and their five sons William Owen Bush, Joseph Talbot Bush, Riley Bailey Bush, Henry Sanford, Bush and Jackson January Bush they safely swam the herd of animals they had tended all winter across the Columbia River and delivered the stock to the pioneers who had made up the Simmons-Bush wagon train and were now staying in Washougal (Washington) -- March 1845
Mulatto pioneer George Washington Bush was a man of intelligence who demonstrated great force of character he deservedly commanded the respect of his associates and neighbors
George Washington Bush was greatly cheered to discover Michael Simmons and other families had gone to search the Puget Sound area looking for suitable land

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CLAIMS JURISDICTION NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Hudson's Bay Company leaders Dr. John McLoughlin and James Douglas hoped the American would recognize the company's property rights regarding the Williamson trespass
Chief Factors McLoughlin and Douglas decided on a direct appeal to the settlers in the Willamette circular was drawn up and distributed throughout the valley
stating the company intended to occupy the land north of the Columbia River
copies were sent to the three-man Executive Committee -- March 18, 1845
still functioning (until the spring elections should designate a single governor)
Threats were indulged in on both sides

⁴⁸⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 147.

⁴⁸⁸ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 147.

but the Executive Committee stated its agreement with McLoughlin and Douglas Williamson finally backed down and antagonism relaxed

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S LAND IN OREGON CITY REMAINS UNDER DISPUTE

Exact status of Dr. McLoughlin's claims in Oregon City had never been clear

sometimes McLoughlin acted as if he personally owned the property,

but in his reports to Governor Sir George Simpson he sometimes wrote

as if he was holding the property for the Hudson's Bay Company

McLoughlin wrote to Hudson's Bay Company Governor Sir George Simpson -- March 20, 1845

in his letter he enclosed personal drafts (checks) totaling £4175 (more than \$20,000)

to buy the land claims belonging to Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon City

but he added that he really did not intend for the company to accept his offer

McLoughlin said he was too old to start a new venture and was taking on the

property **"to further the Interests of the Company and Extend British influence...I find it absolutely necessary to do so to secure us and to prevent its [the real estate] falling to the possession of others who would make use of the Influence it would give them to injure us"**⁴⁸⁹

McLoughlin trusted the company would protect him from any personal financial loss

and hoped the offer to purchase the Company's land would not be accepted

CAPTAIN JOHN FREMONT'S REPORT IS PUBLISHED

In fact, Fremont explored no unknown region -- it all had been previously explored by mountain men

yet he explored with the eye of a scientist eager to record and lay before the world

its rich topography, geology, flora and fauna and aboriginal inhabitants,

and to place the whole firmly within a framework of latitude and longitude

Back in Washington City from his travels with General John Charles Fremont

Cartographer Charles Preuss produced a major summary map

to accompany Fremont's report to Congress

Preuss was very conservative in his work as a mapmaker

all locations on his maps were carefully computed from astronomical observations

and elevations from his pioneering use of barometers

(or even, when those had been broken) from the temperature of boiling water

which varies with height

with few exceptions, such as the coastal surveys of Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes,

he incorporated only information that had been collected by the Fremont expeditions

Preuss's map showed the Columbia River to be the only river

that flowed from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean

Fremont's report of his two expeditions was issued as a congressional document -- March 1845

The Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842

and to Oregon and Northern California in the Years 1843-44 revealed the West

with a depth and comprehensiveness equaled by no one who had gone before

Cartographer Charles Preuss's maps were included

Preuss' map is considered to have changed the entire picture of the western interior

⁴⁸⁹ David Lavender, *Land of the Giants*, P. 250.

This very popular report instantly became the primary guidebook for untold thousands of migrants
Oregon farmers, Utah Mormons, (and shortly thereafter, California gold-rushers)

FREMONT'S REPORT AND PREUSS'S MAPS DID CONTAIN ERRORS

But they accurately described the road from the Missouri River to the Columbia River,
the Cascade Mountains, the Sierra Nevada Mountains, the Wasatch Range and the Rockies
Ironically, despite the political power of Fremont's father-in-law Senator Thomas Hart Benton
Fremont's two exploring expeditions brought little influence to bear on national policy
both the new president, James K. Polk, and his Secretary of War, William L. Marcy,
looked on the young captain as an impractical enthusiast
and his cartography as unpersuasive
Polk's administration, moreover, had won office on an ambitious platform of expansion
and needed no prodding from a junior captain of engineers
But for thousands of Americans the report aroused longings for new lands and economic opportunity
for the thousands of Americans who acted on the impulse the maps showed how to get there,
especially after the publication of a new Preuss map of seven detailed sections
of the Oregon Trail [in 1846]

IDEA OF AN ALTERNATE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD FUNDING PLAN IS PUBLISHED

Publisher George Wilkes was sued for libel, lost the case was imprisoned in New York City's jail
he wrote a pamphlet on the conditions prisoners faced in that facility [1844]
Wilkes and a friend, Enoch E. Camp, began publishing the *National Police Gazette* -- 1845
which dealt with crime reporting and other sensational topics
Wilkes also wrote *History of Oregon, Geographical and Political*, this was an inaccurate study
damage caused by the inaccuracy was compounded when an extract was also published:
Project for a National Railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean --1845
George Wilkes criticized Asa Whitney's financing proposal and pronounced it a scheme
to rob the government of its western lands for the benefit of Wilkes and his partners
he pointed out that allowing him to sell government lands to procure funds
was equivalent to presenting him with the desired railroad
but in addition, only a portion of land would have to sold to acquire needed money
and the balance of the land would remain in the hands of Asa Whitney's company
Wilkes presented an alternative plan
the government would sell its own lands and build its own railroad out of the proceeds
the transcontinental railroad could be built with no burden to the government
he proposed to follow the route across the continent developed by emigrants
but he had not determined a Western terminus:
Puget Sound, mouth of the Columbia River or San Francisco were all discussed

TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD FINANCING PLANS ARE DEBATED IN CONGRESS

Congress took up the debate on transcontinental railroad financing plans
Congressman Stephen A. Douglas's plan to organize territories to fund the project,
Financier Asa Whitney's land grant plan and George Wilkes' plans of government ownership
were pressed forward with much zeal

Public interest was focused on the practical aspects of the problem of transportation
vast amount of discussion of the transcontinental railroad took place
but no plan could command the approval of Congress

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET RETURNS TOWARD FORT VANCOUVER

Setting out from Fort Colville Father De Smet traveled down the Columbia River
on his way to Fort Vancouver -- spring 1845

during his descent of the river he witnessed the deadly power of The Cascades Rapids firsthand

De Smet recounted the event in a letter to his superior: **“The melting snow had occasioned a considerable freshet, and our descent was very rapids approaching the rapids, they [a different boat] fearlessly hurried onwards drawn by the eddy into the centre of a whirlpool..the ill fated barge twirled upon the surface, and then sank, amid the despairing shrieks of the helpless crew |soon the waters resumed their wonted course, and left no trace of the sad catastrophe.”**⁴⁹⁰

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Father De Smet traveled from St. Ignatius Mission among the Kalispel Indians
located on the banks of the Pend Oreille River to Fort Vancouver

He wasted little time at Fort Vancouver before he set out for the Willamette Valley
and St. Francis Xavier Mission under the direction of Father Peter De Vos

who with his companions were hard at work constructing a building for their residence

Somehow the mission had not been located on the site selected by Father De Smet

De Smet ordered the building pulled down and rebuilt on the spot he had selected

Father De Vos was reassigned to the Kalispel Mission

newly-arrived Father Michael Accolti was placed in charge of St. Francis Xavier Mission

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) NOTES A FAMILY INCIDENT IN HER JOURNAL

Catherine Sager described how her brother Francis ran away: **“The spring after we arrived brother Francis resolved to run away to the lower country [Willamette Valley] with those who had wintered there [at Waiilatpu]. His reason was he disliked the strict discipline maintained. The doctor was away and when Francis started to go. Mrs. Whitman urged him pleasantly to stay, but he went on the run, mounted his horse, and was off before the wagons moved which he was to accompany. She had not succeeded in winning the boy’s confidence and affection, and Francis was stubborn. Efforts were made to overtake him and get him to come back, but they were unavailing. He went to the Willamette and remained there.**

“On his return Dr. Whitman talked with John [Sager] and found he was willing to remain. He then made a proposal to aid the boys to get a start in cattle and horses so that they would be acquiring property. This was made known to Francis by a letter, and a horse was sent for him, so that in the fall we had the pleasure of again becoming a united family.”⁴⁹¹

TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW IN PRODUCED IN FLATHEAD LANGUAGE

A portion of the Gospel of Matthew (chapters 1-3 and chapter 4 verses 1-23) was translated
from the original Greek into Flathead language at Tshimakain Mission

⁴⁹⁰ Pierre-Jean De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, P. 95-96.

⁴⁹¹ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 523-524.

Rev. Elkanah Walker and Rev. Cushing Eells with the help of a local Indian
this book was printed at Lapwai Mission by Walker and Rev. Henry Spalding
and the work was completed about April 1845

MANY INDIANS TRY TO ADAPT TO THE NEW WAYS OF THE PROTESTANTS

For almost a decade several Nez Perce and Cayuse Indians
had sincerely tried to learn the white man's medicine
warriors had stooped to such unnatural tasks as hoeing in the fields
and carrying logs on their backs for Rev. Spalding's cabin at Lapwai
they had forced their children to attend school
At times they suffered from the hot temper of Rev. Spalding (and less frequently, Whitman also)
who put them to the lash for trivial offenses
this punishment had been intensified when the Catholics arrived
at the Hudson's Bay Company forts of Walla Walla and Colville
As a teaching aid the Catholics had developed a pictorial "Catholic ladder"
to counteract the impact of this visual demonstration,
Rev. Henry and Eliza Spalding drew a terrifying six-foot "ladder" of their own
on it the path of Catholicism led straight to the eternal fire of the damned
many of the Indians were confused and worried,
they could see only the red fires of hell as the penalty
for a mistake in choosing the wrong path

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ACCUSES DR. McLOUGHLIN OF TREASON

Based on unsettling dispatches from Chief Factor James Douglas and others at Fort Vancouver
Hudson's Bay Company directors accused Dr. McLoughlin of treason
McLoughlin had not closed the post at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) as ordered
and his humane policies toward Americans were not in favor in London

CHIEF FACTOR PETER SKENE OGDEN IS ASSIGNED TO COLUMBIA DISTRICT

Peter Skene Ogden had been the Chief Factor of New Caledonia (British Columbia)
for nine years [1835-1844] before taking a one-year furlough in London
where Hudson's Bay Company directors was preoccupied with the looming Oregon question
Peter Skene Ogden also was appointed by Hudson's Bay Company
to serve on the newly formed triumvirate board composed of Chief Factors Dr. John McLoughlin,
James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden to manage Columbia District

FIRST AMERICAN BABY IS BORN IN (TODAY'S WASHINGTON)

Elizabeth Simmons gave birth to she and Michael's sixth son
Christopher Columbus Simmons was born in Washougal -- April 14, 1845
he was the "First Native Son" born north of the Columbia River (in what became Washington)

FATHER DE SMET COMPLETES HIS INSPECTION OF COLUMBIA DISTRICT MISSIONS

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet had inspected and re-supplied the four Catholic missions -- spring 1845
St. Mary's Mission in the Bitter Root Valley,

St. Joseph's Mission among the Coeur d' Alene Indians,
St. Ignatius Mission (Cusick, Washington) had replaced St. Michael's Mission
St. Francis Xavier Mission in the Willamette Valley which he relocated
in addition, St. Michael's Mission
Father De Smet next turned his attention to exploring the region and visiting Indian camps

FATHER ANTHONY RAVALLI IS ASSIGNED TO SAINT IGNATIUS MISSION

Father Ravalli joined Father Adrian Hoeck at the mission of Saint Ignatius
among the Kalispel Indians on the upper Columbia River -- spring 1845
(after some time he was transferred to the Flathead Mission of St. Mary's
on Bitterroot River [in western Montana] where he remained until the mission
was temporarily abandoned on account of the hostile Blackfoot Indians[1850])

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) REPORTS AN INDIAN CONFLICT

She noted the early events of the incident: **“In the spring of 1845 the Cayuses were embroiled in war with the Snakes. A Cayuse family named Prince was going to the buffalo country to hunt, and on the way camped on a small stream in the Snake region, opposite a camp of Snake Indians. One morning Prince with his servant rode over to see the other camp. His horse stood all day tied at the Snake lodge, but the mother did not go to learn about him, because her daughter said it would be foolish. Toward night the horse disappeared, and during the night the Snake camp also disappeared. Going over there, the mother and daughter found the dead bodies of servant and master. War resulted in which many Cayuses lost their lives, including some of their chiefs. We saw them come home from their war raids, and heard and saw them singing war songs, dancing their war dances, and then they would change to a funeral dirge for their dead warriors. After a successful raid they would spend days in celebrating their victory and reciting the prowess of their own warriors. The beating of drums and their war-whoops and songs filled the air with savage sounds. The monotonous tones of the Indian flute mellowed the horrors of the din a little.”**⁴⁹²

GREAT BRITAIN BEGINS SECRET PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Peter Skene Ogden was sent to Canada -- May 1845
he was to guide two British spies on a secret surveying trip
twenty-six-year-old artist Henry J. Warre
and twenty-four-year-old engineer Mervin Vavasour
both were lieutenants in the British Royal Marines
their true identities were disguised as they posed as tourists
acting in strictest secrecy on behalf of the British government

Lieutenant Henry J. Warre and Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour were under special orders
from the British government to conduct a covert surveillance and note **“...the practicability of forming military stations therein and conveying troops thither”**⁴⁹³

Traveling as civilians, Warre and Vavasour were to produce a comprehensive report
on the possibilities for a British military defense of the Columbia District (Oregon Country)
if the Americans should attack and war was the result

⁴⁹² Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 524.

⁴⁹³ David Lavender, *Land of the Giants*, P. 252.

they were to play the role of gentlemen sportsmen
hunting and fishing, observing the natural history and identifying spots of scenic interest
their baggage included fine beaver hats, frock coats, tweed pants, tooth and hair brushes
and extract of roses to complete the disguise

This situation indicated the depths to which relations
between Great Britain and the United States had deteriorated

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OREGON TRAIL

American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark explored a portion
of the future Oregon Trail through the Cascade Mountains [1804-1806]
Missouri Fur Company Scout Jediah Smith opened South Pass [1810]
Astorians led by Robert Stuart returned to St. Louis, Missouri from the Pacific Ocean
closely approximating the Oregon Trail [1812]
Captain Benjamin Bonneville was the first to travel the entire Oregon Trail [1832]
entrepreneur Nathaniel Wyeth organized the first wagon train at Independence, Missouri
they traveled the route of the Oregon Trail to Fort Hall (Idaho)
Wyeth built and traveled by boat down the Columbia River to Fort William
which Wyeth built on Wapato Island (at the site of today's Portland, Oregon) [1834]
Dr. Marcus Whitman opened the Oregon Trail to wagons as far as Fort Hall [1836]
U.S. Army Lieutenant John C. Fremont mapped the route to Fort Walla Walla [1844]

MOTIVATIONS FOR MIGRATING ALONG THE OREGON TRAIL CHANGED OVER TIME

Traveling the 2,000-mile-long Oregon Trail averaged twelve miles a day
and took six months or longer

over the sixty years the trail was in existence there was an average of seventeen deaths to the mile

Several motivating factors were frequently mentioned by the pioneers looking for a new start in life:

- furs, and religious zeal motivated travelers until about [1842];
- farming, rich soil and a better climate drew pioneers to the West [1842-1849]
“Oregon Fever” hit the frontier folks in Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, and Kentucky
as a restless spirit of unrest, the “Spirit of Adventure,” was widespread in America
many held patriotic beliefs they could enhance America's claim to the West
for the men, going to the frontier sometimes fulfilled a mythic impulse
a chance for proving oneself and moving up the economic ladder
for women it was a sad leave-taking, an uncertain enterprise filled with foreboding
women and children perhaps had the most difficult time
as dangers, hardships and suffering awaited their families on the trail;
- quest for gold and military exploits attracted a great variety of people [1849-1860]
“Gold Fever” rocked the nation as tens of thousands rushed to California
to move mountains by hand in their quest for easy and quick riches;
- Civil War drove adventurers to the undisputed lands of the Far West [1860-1870]
to escape the draft and the ravages of the war or to claim the land promised to veterans
many in the Midwestern states felt keenly about the evils of slavery
which was causing violent agitation throughout the nation;
- economic depression forced starving pioneers to seek escape

Americans had experienced economic hard times
with low prices for manufactured goods and farm products
these was almost no opportunity to improve the condition of their farms or businesses

SEVERAL TOWNS SERVE AS THE “JUMPING OFF PLACE”

Missouri River was the life line for goods going to the frontier
towns along the river on the Western border of the State of Missouri
were joined by numerous feeder lines from the East
Westport (now Kansas City, Missouri), St. Joseph and Independence, Missouri
and slightly further northwest Nebraska City, Nebraska were gathering points
Independence, Missouri was the most important starting point
for some years it had been the outfitting center for companies of traders, trappers and emigrants
this village, located a few miles from the Missouri River, was the radiating point
for several wilderness highways including the Santa Fe and Oregon trails
most of the small parties from Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa
as well as Missouri gathered here

ORGANIZATION OF WAGON TRAINS OVER THE OREGON TRAIL VARIED LITTLE

Organization of emigrant companies was accomplished in winter and very early spring
pioneers assembled at some prearranged rendezvous location
usually near Independence or St. Joseph, Missouri which became the “jumping off place”
where arrangements were made for the start of the journey to the West

Often advertisements were printed in newspapers saying in effect: **“If interested in joining the 1844 Oregon Train, come equipped with wagon and animals to Sapling Grove during the month of March.”**

COVERED WAGONS WERE ESPECIALLY MADE FOR THE JOURNEY WEST

Oregon Trail was too long and arduous for Conestoga wagons commonly used in the eastern U.S.
and freight wagons on the Santa Fe Trail with their 6,000-pound freight capacity were too large
teams of eight to ten animals were required
also Conestoga wagons could not navigate the tight corners often found on the Oregon Trail
Prairie schooners approximately half the size of Conestoga wagons, were developed
they weighed about 1,300 pounds empty and could carry about 2,500 pounds of freight
in the eleven-foot by four-foot wagon box two feet high
one wagon could carry enough food for six month’s travel for four or five travelers
as well as a short list of household and luxury items including clothing and ammunition
the wagon box supported a framework of hoop slats or stout oak bows
over which canvas or wagon sheet was stretched
some wagons had prows like a ship to ford rivers and streams more easily
some were water-tight and equipped with oarlocks
prairie schooners were painted bright colors
with a blue wagon bed and sides, red running-gear, yellow wheels
or perhaps, a green wagon bed and sides, yellow running-gear, bright red wheels
by the half way point to Oregon all of the color was gone

most prairie schooners had movable couplings that permitted the fashioning of a two-wheel cart in case of an accident

Prairie schooners were easily pulled by four to six oxen, or six to ten mules
extra animals were recommended to replace dead, injured or strayed stock
often late in the trip mixed teams including dairy cows were necessary
about seventy percent or more of the wagons traveling west were pulled by oxen
mule teams were a strong second -- initially there were almost no horse-pulled wagons
oxen were slower but cheaper and more easily trained for the task
they also survived better on the sparse grass available and did not stray at night
also Indians were less interested in acquiring oxen than horses
oxen drivers usually walked along the left side of the wagon
steering the team with voice commands of “gee” (right) and “haw” (left)
and encouraging them with a whip cracked over the animals’ heads
cattle from Illinois and Missouri were best suited for the trail as they were used to prairie grass
New manufactured wagons like those built by Studebaker cost between \$85 and \$170
cotton canvas covers of the wagons were doubled and treated with linseed oil
to help keep out rain, dust and wind, though the covers tended to leak rain and dust eventually
typical wagon with 40-to-50-inch diameter wheels that allowed it to easily move
over rough ground, rocks and even over most tree stumps without becoming high centered
wooden wheels were protected with an iron rim typically about 1.5 inches wide
iron tires were installed hot so they would shrink tightly onto the wood wheel when cooled
it was advisable to soak the wheel in water periodically as the desert air
could dry the wheel so much that the iron tire would fall off
Eventually it was found the standard farm wagon built by a company or wagon maker (wainwright)
worked almost as well as prairie schooners and had only to be fitted with wooden bows
and a canvas cover to be made ready
Well-built wagons were generally reliable if maintained
but they sometimes broke down and had to be repaired or abandoned along the way
broken axles and broken wagon tongues were two of the most common problems
limited storage capacity often required replacements be created out of whatever was available
abandoned wagons were typically scavenged for needed parts

EACH FAMILY CARRIES THEIR OWN BELONGINGS

Attached to the outside of the wagon was:

- a bucket of tar to lubricate wheels hung under wagon box,
- a water barrel, axe, and shovel were each strapped outside,
- a plow was sometimes lashed to the tailgate

Inside the wagon were the pioneer’s belongings:

mattresses, feather bed, furniture and personal belongings

food: 140 pounds of flour per person; forty pounds of bacon, some rice, corn, dried fruit,
coffee, tea and sugar

emigrants counted on wild game, fish, and purchases along the trail to keep going
a sheet-iron stove that could be used in the wagon was desirable
wind and the scarcity of fuel made fires on the ground a nuisance

with yeast and a reflector, fresh bread could be enjoyed throughout the trip
cholera was greatly reduced by boiling drinking water
Other equipment carried by the pioneers included a gun and ammunition and trade goods for Indians
a simple medicine kit: castor oil, rum for snake bite and peppermint essence
they also carried some seed for anticipated crops in Oregon
Milk cows followed along behind the wagon train as the jolting of wagon churned cream into butter
Ezra Meeker said: **“The milk can stood near by and always yielded up its lump of butter at night, churned by the movement of the wagon from the surplus of morning’s milk.”**⁴⁹⁴
other pets were usually also brought along
Sometimes two-wheel carts were pulled by the emigrant himself
or a wheelbarrow was pushed the entire route

ORGANIZING FOR THE OREGON TRAIL

Council officers were usually elected at the rendezvous place -- election procedure was simple
each candidate for an office started walking in a fixed direction to be joined by voting members
who would fall in behind his choice for office
candidate with the largest following (literally)
was considered elected to the position of captain, sergeant, or whatever
First step in organizing the wagon train was adopting a body of rules
rules were made by a council of older men which became a court to keep order and settle disputes
only three widely separated trading posts provided civilization along the Oregon Trail
Fort Laramie (Wyoming), Fort Hall (Idaho) and Fort Boise (Idaho)
Next a captain was elected by the council who carried all of the authority of a sea captain
Finally came the job of choosing a pilot to conduct them along the trail and over the mountains
usually he was an experienced fur trapper or, perhaps, a pioneer making his second journey

SETTING OUT ON THE LONG, DANGEROUS JOURNEY

Starting usually occurred about the first part of May
official opening of the trail occurred when the streams had receded
and grass was sufficiently high to feed the stock
wetness of the spring season caused many delays
forcing pioneers to reach the Western slopes very late and short on provisions
From Independence or St. Joseph, Missouri emigrants followed the Santa Fe Trail
an average of ten miles per day had to be maintained to reach the Willamette Valley
before snow fell in the mountains or the rainy season began in Oregon

FIRST PART OF THE OREGON TRAIL WAS DELIGHTFUL

Dry turf was hard enough to sustain traffic, and yet easy on the animals’ feet
game was plentiful and the prairie was rich in grass and flowers
Women were kept busy preparing meals at stopping places and keeping house in the wagons
washing clothes was done in the evening whenever they had plenty of water
clothes were hung out to dry on the tongues of the wagons at night

⁴⁹⁴ George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P.189.

Food was for the most part salted or dried meat and corn bread cooked over an open fire
or on a stove that might be set up in the wagon
when buffalo was killed, fresh meat made the meal a feast
sometimes berries or wild fruit were found along the way
Few women brought the right kind of clothes
older women were the first to adapt to a new manner of life as they shortened their skirts
young women were more reluctant to abandon the fashions of the States

PIONEERS ENDURED UNORGANIZED (KANSAS) TERRITORY

They reached Fort Leavenworth along the Kansas River [constructed 1827]
this was the base for many trapper and exploring parties
and maintained huge corrals and supply yards for outfitting wagon trains
at stations like Fort Leavenworth pioneers were forced to pay exorbitant prices for everything
and they were robbed by gamblers, liquor vendors and other “shapers”
Here the immigrants broke contact with their flag and its protection
pioneers had a tendency to meander across the Great Plains as the route was changed
based on availability of water and grass, volume of traffic and the whims of the travelers
Oregon Trail soon took on the appearance of a series of parallel and interlaced wagon ruts
several miles in width
Wagons proceeded up the Kansas River to (Topeka) as the Santa Fe Trail wormed its way
along the Kansas River to Fort Riley [completed 1853]
as primarily a base of operations against hostile Indians
Fort Riley was where the pioneers would leave the Santa Fe Trail for the Oregon Trail
Oregon Trail struck overland in a Northwesterly direction reaching the Big Blue River
Big Blue was followed to the Little Big Blue River forty-one miles from Independence

INDIANS REFERRED TO THE OREGON TRAIL AS THE “GREAT MEDICINE ROAD”

Belongings were so often abandoned along the Oregon Trail that Indians marveled
so much was left behind they thought the pioneers must be very rich
so many people were “Westing” there must be no one left in the East
Father De Smet tells of the Indians’ regard for the Oregon Trail

“Our Indian companions who had never seen but the narrow hunting-paths by which they transport themselves and their lodges, were filled with admiration on seeing this noble highway which is as smooth as a barn floor swept by the winds, and not a blade of grass can shoot up on it on account of the continual passing. They conceived a high idea of the countless White Nation, as they expressed it. They fancied that all had gone over that road, and that an immense void must exist in the land of the rising sun. Their countenances testified evident incredulity when I told them that their exit was in no wise perceived in the land of the whites. They styled the route the Great Medicine Road of the Whites.”⁴⁹⁵

PIONEERS ENTERED (TODAY’S NEBRASKA)

Following the Little Blue River until striking overland to the murky Platte River

⁴⁹⁵ George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 189.

which often referred to as “the Big Muddy” and “the river that flowed bottom-side up”
emigrants next traced the valley of the Platte River
patches of clothes multiplied and bare feet appeared as sand wore out shoes

SUMMER TRAVEL PROVIDED NEW DANGERS

Hot summer air resulted in desolate desert wastes
route along Platte River was littered with cast-off possessions
wrecks of old and beautiful furniture -- heirlooms which proved too burdensome
further on abandoned wagons appeared left as teams grew weaker
or cholera killed the owners
skeletons of perished animals mingled with human remains
disinterred from graves by prowling Indians and wolves
Hazards could not be avoided altogether
sand and dust storms, thunder storms, hail, hard rain, dust and mud
monotonous food, lack of water and little grass for feed for the stock added to the dangers
Indians begging and stealing -- later some attacked wagon trains
aside from infrequent Indian attack thousands died from cholera and other diseases
children suffered from whooping cough and other children’s diseases
they died from a lack of proper medical care

FORT CHILDS IS FINALLY REACHED

Fort Childs (Fort Kearny) was located near the head of Grand Island in the Platte River [built 1846]
despite lack of fortifications Fort Childs served as way station, sentinel post and message center
Fort Childs was the first real example of civilization along the Oregon Trail
and first supply post for travelers since leaving Fort Riley

PIONEERS JOURNEYED NORTHWEST FROM FORT CHILDS

Oregon Trail stretched along the south side of the Platte River for many miles to the fork in the river
before crossing to the North Fork of the Platte River
the route passed Ash Hollow, Courthouse Rock, Jailhouse Rock, Chimney Rock and Scott’s Bluff

WAGON TRAINS NEXT ENTERED (TODAY’S WYOMING)

Pioneers arrived at Fort Laramie (originally Fort William built in [1834]
(650 miles from Independence, Missouri)
Fort Laramie was the second example of civilization along the Oregon Trail
emigrants rested, danced, overhauled their wagons and rearranged cargo
and prepared for the climb into the Rocky Mountains
Fort Laramie was also the sight of most of the great Indian treaty signings
Leaving Fort Laramie pioneers followed the Platte River
until they reached Independence Rock 838 miles from the Missouri River -- about July 4
here in an important ceremony many carved their family name into the rock
continuing on, the Overlanders arrived at Devil’s Gate
beyond Devil’s Gate, the Sweetwater River was joined -- 947 miles from the Missouri

PIONEERS WERE ABOUT TO ENTER THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

As they ventured Southwest up the Sweetwater River into the Rocky Mountains
the ascent was gradual to South Pass and over the Continental Divide to the West side
many of the travelers were disappointed because the pass did not match their imaginings

From South Pass the course was a steady descent down the Rockies

however, here [after 1844] the travelers faced an option:

- continue along the mountain trail and descend the Bear River northwest past Soda Springs directly to Fort Hall
- or go Southwest through Sublette's Cutoff across the Green River to Fort Bridger 1070 miles from the Missouri River where stock could be rested, wagons repaired and supplies replenished before continuing along a short cut through the dry, barren country of heat and dust to Fort Hall (Idaho)

Sublette's Cutoff saved about eighty-five miles and seven days off the main route

but the decision to cross nearly forty-five waterless miles before reaching the Green River was not one to be taken lightly

pioneers had to decide between time and the health of their livestock

EMIGRANTS NEXT ENTERED (TODAY'S IDAHO)

Eventually the pioneers reached Fort Hall

so far the route of the Oregon Trail had been slow, dreary and relatively easy

Fort Hall [constructed 1834] twelve miles North (of today's Pocatello, Idaho)

was a major landmark on the upper Snake River 1,288 miles from the "jumping off place" (Oregon Volunteer Calvary eventually patrolled the route from here for several years)

At Fort Hall yet another decision had to be made:

it was the key intersection on the Oregon Trail where the California Trail split off
pioneers must decide whether to continue on to Oregon
or take the California Trail along the Raft River

it was stated the California cutoff was marked by a gleaming pile of gold-laced quartz

Northern fork was indicated by a sign pointing "To Oregon"

clearly, boasted some, the literate chose Oregon

TRAVEL FROM FORT HALL WAS DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS

Oregon Trail followed the Snake River northwest passed Salmon Falls to Fort Boise

300 miles away along the trail which crossed and re-crossed the Snake River

through sage-covered desert where travel became increasingly dangerous and difficult

In this later stage of the trip

some women who now had nothing left to wear were forced to put on party gowns to travel during the month or more of travel along the Snake River

much of their bedraggled finery was exchanged with the Indians for salmon

Indians wore new clothes regardless of age or gender

PIONEERS FINALLY ENTER OREGON

Oregon Trail entered Eastern Oregon and the pioneers traveled overland northwest

at Farewell Bend (near Huntington, Oregon) the Oregon Trail left the Snake River region

and cut northwestward until it reached the eastern edge of the Blue Mountains

Once again, the pioneers faced a decision:

- at first the Oregon Trail led through the “Mission Cut Off” to the Whitman Mission at Waiilatpu and Fort Walla Walla on the Walla Walla River before continuing on to the Columbia River (“Mission Cut Off” route was discontinued after the Whitman Massacre [1847] Fort Walla Walla [1818] was moved and renamed Fort Walla Walla [1856])
- but by [1844] most of the wagons chose a more direct route to reach the Columbia River across the difficult Blue Mountains -- the next to last mountain range before the coast through the beautiful Grande Ronde River Valley -- a famous camping place Grande Ronde River was left behind crossing overland to the Umatilla River

When the Umatilla River was reached leading to the Cascade Mountains

Overlanders again faced two options

before facing the extremely dangerous passage through the rapids of the Dalles:

- they could follow the slow but passable cutoff from the Umatilla River to the Dalles;
- or they could follow the Umatilla River on to its confluence with the Columbia River if that route was taken the journey continued down the Columbia River to The Dalles

PIONEERS REACH THE DALLES AND ONE LAST HORRIBLE DECISION

At the rapids of the Dalles the earliest emigrant parties were sometimes met at the main landings along the Columbia River by employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company

who conducted them downstream to Fort Vancouver on company bateaux (barges)

Later when wagons reached the settlement of The Dalles emigrants had three choices [1843 to 184];

- rent a barge from the Hudson's Bay Company for around \$80;
- buy a raft from enterprising Indians;
- build a pine log raft build of their own and precariously load their wagons and personal effects for the trip down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver and the Willamette Valley -- their final destination

Many lives were lost in the rapids of the Dalles of the Columbia River

there was a stretch of impassable rapids that had to be portaged
relentless winds overturned many a raft

worse still, families were often divided when the decision was made to drive their cattle

over Lolo Pass on the northwest shoulder of Mount Hood to Eagle Creek and Oregon City

Despite these hardships, almost one in every four emigrants chose the river route even after the Barlow Road was opened [1846]

USUAL ROUTE TO OREGON

Most of the [1845] emigrants followed the traditional route of the Oregon Trail

up the Platt River from Missouri, through South Pass across the Rocky Mountains

then down the Snake River and its upper tributaries to Fort Boise

next they crossed the Snake River, proceeded up the Burnt River into the Grande Ronde Valley and then over the Blue Mountains eventually reaching The Dalles, Oregon

at the east end of the Columbia River Gorge

at The Dalles they abandoned their wagons and went down the Columbia River by canoe or boat to Fort Vancouver and eventually the Willamette Valley

WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF 1845 WAS ESPECIALLY CONFUSING

An estimated 3,000 emigrants traveled over the Oregon Trail to the Oregon Territory in 1845
this was the biggest migration to date and was said to double the non-Indian population of Oregon
some would attempt a new route
Oregon-bound emigrant companies responded to the waves of publicity portraying Oregon
and California as the lands of opportunity -- the trickle of emigrants became a great flood
An unprecedented number of Americans were gathering together to travel to Oregon Country
almost 3,000 people in all started in companies of 20, 50, 75, 100 -- up to 200 wagons
these new pioneers anticipated trouble in Oregon Country
when they left Missouri the frontier was bubbling with nationalism
they carried with them wild talk of war with Britain and Mexico
and of efforts by Congress to promote settlement of the Pacific Northwest
they were even more poorly prepared than previous Westward caravans
they fragmented into small groups
shattered by quarrels and the need to range far and wide for game and pasture

ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI IS A PRINCIPLE STARTING POINT FOR EMIGRANTS

Wagons of what was called the St. Jo Company started rolling west -- early May 1845
according to the St. Joseph newspaper the caravans forming there were composed of:
223 wagons carrying 421 men, 138 women and 448 children with 545 firearms
they drove 9,425 cattle and 108 horses and mules
Three separate wagon trains were forming for the journey to Oregon Country
who called themselves the Savannah Emigrating Company be composed of
sixty-six wagons, 100 armed men, 293 persons, 63 women under 14 and 56 women over 14,
624 loose cattle, 398 oxen, 74 horses and mules and 170 guns & pistols
elections for officers were held in the usual manner

- Captain William G. T'Vault led sixty-one wagons and 300 people
John Waymire was lieutenant and James Allen was sergeant,
- Captain Solomon Tetherow led sixty-six wagons and 293 people
two families, the Officers and the Cooleys, provided a large number of adventurers:
James and Evaline Granville (Cooley) Officer accompanied by their nine children
Christopher Columbus and Nancy R. (Officer) Cooley and their six children
Christopher was Evaline (Cooley) Officer's brother
Nancy R. (Officer) Cooley was James Officer's sister
Jackson L. Cooley and his wife Harriet Lydia (Dimmick) and their nine children
William and Lucinda (McWilliams) Wilson
traveled with Mathias Cooley, a seven-year old orphan
twenty-three-year-old bachelor Eli Casey Cooley kept a diary of the journey
in a book titled: *Journal of the Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company*⁴⁹⁶
- Captain Abner Hackleman with fifty-two wagons and 214 people

⁴⁹⁶ *The Transcribed Diary of Eli Casey Cooley as he came across the Oregon Train and Meek Cutoff in 1845.* Michael F. and Mary Lou Cooley for the Officer-Cooley Family Association. Published electronically November 2004.

and 666 head of cattle and a few horses
this company organized under the name “New London Emigrating Company”
John Clark was hired as pilot as far as the Independence-to-Oregon Trail

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS SET OUT ACROSS CANADA

In the strictest secrecy two British spies, Lieutenant Henry J. Warre and Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour, left Montreal looking like well-dressed young sportsmen -- May 5, 1845
with Hudson’s Bay Company’s Spring Brigade under the command of Peter Skene Ogden
composed of fifteen Canadian and Indian voyagers

SAVANNAH EMIGRATING COMPANY BEGINS THEIR JOURNEY WEST

Savannah Emigrating Company set out from the Wolf River Rendezvous -- May 6, 1845
Eli Cooley reported the weather was fine; water and wood plentiful
six miles were covered that day when Brush Point (Missouri) was reached
it was common to assign a child to walk alongside one of the wagons
and count the number of revolutions a wheel made throughout the day
they knew the number of revolutions necessary to complete a mile
thus mileage could be approximated

STEPHEN MEEK IS BACK IN INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI LOOKING FOR WORK

Stephen Hall Meek, noted guide and brother of Joe Meek had gone to St. Louis [1843]
over the past seventeen years, Stephen Hall Meek, the brother of Mountain Man Joe Meek,
followed animals’ trails, Indian trails and fur company trails over much of the West
he joined in the great trappers’ rendezvous and wintered with the Flatheads and Nez Perce
he traveled many of the West’s significant rivers: Platte, Salmon, Snake, American, Greybull,
Yellowstone, Humboldt, John Day, Malheur, Owyhee, Columbia, Klamath and Shasta
he traveled in the company of the great mountain men and explorers of the American West
Jim Bridger, Captain Benjamin Bonneville and Hudson’s Bay Company’s Tom McKay

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) NOTES THE ARRIVAL OF INDIAN TOM HILL

In her journal Catherine recorded: “**About this time the station had a visit from a band of Delaware Indians under the leadership of Tom Hill, who was very intelligent and could speak English as well as Cayuse. Dr. Whitman made a feast for them and invited the leading Cayuses and others. The indispensable item of an Indian feast was corn mush. A large kettle was suspended over a fire in the yard and the mush was made by putting in tallow and stirring in meal or flour. When cooled the kettle was taken indoors and placed on the floor. The doctor was master of ceremonies and the rest came in order of rank. The doctor and the chiefs dipped their spoons in the big kettle, but common people had dishes served and ate out of them. Some acted as waiters. They had tea, sweetened. We children were looking on, and it amused us to see what a quantity of sugar they used -- all that the tea could hold. It was evening and the family occupied a bench on one side of the big room which was crowded. It was well lighted with candles, and they ate in silence, excepting the sipping noise peculiar to Indians eating. Their performances at the trencher [wooden serving plate] were so amusing to us that occasionally Mrs. Whitman had to send us outdoors to have our laugh out.**”

“When the feast was over the room was cleared and put in order for the speech. Tom Hill delivered an address that lasted two hours and was quite eloquent. We could understand the Cayuse talk, but the Indians did not know it. We were not allowed to learn it, and kept as much as possible away from the Indians, but constantly hearing the language spoken, we could not help but learn the meaning of it, though we could not speak it well. After the massacre they soon found out that we understood their talk. Mrs. Whitman always treated them politely and kindly, thanking them for every little favor they did for her.”⁴⁹⁷

DELAWARE INDIAN TOM HILL HAS AN INFLUENCE ON INDIANS AROUND WAILATPU

As a boy in the East Delaware Indian Tom Hill received an education at Dartmouth where he had learned to read, write and speak English well
he had seen his people lose their homes as they were forced to flee westward along the infamous Trail of Tears [1831]
Tom Hill had ridden off to the Rocky Mountains where, at aged twenty-three he joined Christopher “Kit” Carson’s band of free trappers [1834]
When falling beaver prices broke up Kit Carson’s trapping party
he married a Nez Perce woman [1839] and went to live with his wife’s people in a village of buffalo hunters at the head of the Missouri River
Soon Tom Hill assumed a leadership role
even for a Delaware Indian, he was exceptionally tall and powerful
he was handsome: his black hair fell, when loosened, to the bend of his knees
Protestant missionaries preached long and hard about the evils of sin
Indians, in worrying about their souls, had learned to fear hell
None of it, as Tom Hill frequently pointed out, seemed to do much good

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN WRITES TO THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS

Dr. Whitman wrote expressing doubt regarding the permanency of Waiilatpu Mission -- May 1845
he especially mentioned the disturbing influence of Delaware Indian Tom Hill
Hill was warning tribes that if they encouraged whites
great numbers would come and seize their land

MISSIONS EAST OF THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS ARE FAILING

Potential for the complete failure of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions loomed on the horizon and Rev. Henry Spalding believed he knew why
he wrote an angry letter to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions identifying Delaware native Tom Hill as the culprit
“a most debased infidel half breed Delaware who has been some years in the Mts spreading his poison. ... They have abandoned all forms of worship.”⁴⁹⁸

RUMORS OF WAR DISTURB OREGON PIONEERS

Americans reflecting on their situation became very concerned regarding their future talk of war between the United States and Great Britain

⁴⁹⁷ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 525.

⁴⁹⁸ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 257.

elevated feelings of isolation in the Pacific Northwest
If, as anticipated, war developed
transportation to Oregon City and Fort Vancouver would be vital
but Great Britain controlled the Columbia River and controlled a string of forts and posts
Indians at the portages, were obedient to Hudson's Bay Company,
they could paralyze American travel through the Columbia River gorge

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI ALSO WAS A GATHERING PLACE

Preparations were underway in Independence, Missouri for the overland journey
companies leaving from Independence, Missouri traveled to about twenty miles
they camped near the bank of the Big Soldier Creek, where, by prearrangement,
they were to meet the "main company" and organize and elect officers
approximately 233 wagons, 421 men, 138 women, 448 children -- 1007 people in all
with 3,261 cattle, and 182 horses

Elections were held in the usual manner at Big Soldier Creek -- May 15, 1845

Dr. Presley Webb elected captain

he was to travel with whatever wagon train was in the lead

Joel Palmer traveling without his family led a train of twenty-three wagons was elected captain

Samuel Kimbrough Barlow was elected captain

Barlow traveled with wife, Susannah (Lee) and five children

William, John Lawson, James K., Elizabeth Jane (all unmarried),

and daughter Sarah who was married to Albert Gaines

Captain John Henry Brown who had traveled to California [1843]

Captain Brown led thirty-eight wagons and approximately 1,000 head of loose cattle
out of Independence

(he served as captain of company as far as Fort Laramie

where he was replaced by Captain William B. Ide

about one-third of the immigrants followed Captain Ide to Fort Hall

guided by the trapper Caleb Greenwood

a great effort was made at Fort Hall to turn this wagon train toward California)

Stephen Hall Meek on his way back to Oregon Country overtook the outbound train

he was retained by Captain Presley Webb at \$2.50 per wagon to serve as pilot to Fort Hall

he was a noted guide and brother of Joe Meek

Meek was accompanied by his young girl friend Elizabeth Schoonover

whom he married somewhere on the road

and also by a young man, Nathan Olney

merchant from The Dalles who originally traveled the Oregon Trail [in 1843]

SAINT JO COMPANY REORGANIZES

Saint Jo Company was divided into three companies

each division would take a turn traveling in advance for a week at a time

Captain Presley Webb was to accompany whichever train was in the lead

but each division was to choose its own officers

Leaving Big Soldier Creek travel quickly became tedious and difficult -- May 19, 1845

companies tended to spread out once travel was started for the day
it was simply impossible for all of the emigrants in a company to stay grouped together
however, most likely families and friends attempted to stay as close together as possible
for the purpose of helping one another

VICAR FRANCIS BLANCHET TRAVELS TO EUROPE

(After leaving Oahu, (Hawaii [January 12, 1845] Vicar Blanchet's ship sailed to the islands of Tahiti
then rounded the dreaded Cape Horn made its way up the Atlantic Ocean)
Vicar Blanchet arrived at Deal, England -- May 21, 1845

CAPTAIN JOHN C. FREMONT BEGINS HIS THIRD EXPEDITION

(Captain Fremont had met with President James K. Polk in Washington City
before traveling to St. Louis)
in St. Louis John C. Fremont recruited sixty-two volunteers
Fremont's Third Expedition left St. Louis guided by Christopher "Kit" Carson -- June 1, 1845
officially Fremont was to map the source of the Arkansas River on the east side of the Rockies
(what, if any, unofficial orders he carried remain unknown but his actions aroused suspicion)

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS TRAVEL ACROSS THE CONTINENT

Peter Skene Ogden led the Hudson's Bay Company's Spring Brigade and the two British spies
as they traveled in two large canoes from the Ottawa River to the Great Lakes then westward
they reached Fort Garry and the Red River
(both located in the vicinity to today's Winnipeg, Manitoba)
they had covered 2,300 miles in less than a month -- early June 1845
While at Fort Garry, Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour assured their commanders
in their first official report that secrecy regarding their true identities had been maintained

SETTLERS ELECT NEW PROVISIONAL LEADERS UNDER THE REVISED ORGANIC LAWS

Three political schools of thought were represented by the three candidates
Osborne Russell represented the feelings of the mountain men of the Independent Party
A.L. Lovejoy spoke for the Moderate American Party which advocated becoming a territory
George Abernathy was supported by the Mission Party interests
In the election of officers under the revised Organic Laws 480 votes were cast -- June 3, 1845
Independent Party members had no hope of winning the election
they threw their support behind Abernathy to defeat the more aggressive American Party
old mountain men of the Independent Party no longer exerted their earlier influence
but they continued to be respected and valued members of the community
George Abernathy was elected from the pool of three candidates
as he received a plurality of ninety-eight votes for the position of Provisional Governor
Abernathy was on a business trip to Hawaii at the time of the election
Other officials who were elected all were supported by the Moderate American Party

- James Willis (J.W.) Nesmith was elected Supreme Judge with 473 votes
- Joe Meek was elected Sheriff with 267 votes
- George Wood Ebbert was elected Constable

- John E. Long was elected Recorder and Chief Clerk
- Marcus Forb received the most votes for Attorney General
- Francis Ermantinger, Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader at Willamette Falls, was elected Treasurer after carrying the French-Canadian vote

Moderate American Party took twelve of thirteen seats in the Provisional Legislative Council representing Champeog were Medard Godard (M.G.) Foisy, Joseph M. Garrison, Barton Lee, and Robert "Doc" Newell the Independent Party leader who was reelected representing Yamhill District were Jessie Applegate and Abijah Hendricks representing Twality District were David Hill, J.W. Smith and Morton Mathew (M.M.) McCarver Speaker of the House representing Clackamas District were William H. Gray, Henry A.G. Lee and Hiram Strait representing Clatsop District was John McClure

DR. McLOUGHLIN LEARNS OF THE SUICIDE OF HIS SON-IN-LAW

Word of McLoughlin's son-in-law William Glen Rae's scandalous suicide reached the Chief Factor this shocked Dr. McLoughlin into tardy obedience of Company policy as he ordered the closing the San Francisco post -- June 1845 this blow was followed in quick succession by other equally painful actions

GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE SIMPSON ENSNARES DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

When Dr. McLoughlin's letter [of March 20, 1845] arrived in London Governor Simpson accepted the money as if the £4,175 draft was a legitimate offer he ordered all company real estate in the Willamette Valley transferred to John McLoughlin It was an act of deliberate malice Governor Simpson appeared dedicated to discrediting Dr. John McLoughlin and to forcing the Chief Factor to resign

GOVERNOR SIMPSON IMPOSES CHANGES IN HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY OPERATIONS

Many Company men feared the Americans would take over their land claims so they sought Provisional Government protection Governor Sir George Simpson also feared American plundering of company property equally important, he wanted to save Fort Victoria and Vancouver Island for the British Governor Simpson issued new orders to move Hudson's Bay Company supplies at Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island -- 1845 Hudson's Bay Company mill was sold to Catholic priests at St. Paul Mission -- 1845 who changed the name of the operation to Mission Mill Hudson's Bay Company's Governor Sir George Simpson began to impose his vision he shifted fur operations northward to Peter Skene Ogden in New Caledonia

HAWAIIAN CHAPLAIN KANAKA WILLIAM ARRIVES IN OREGON COUNTRY

William R. Kaulehelehe, better known as Kanaka William, traveling with wife Mary S. Kaai arrived from Hawaii to a largely hostile reception from the Hawaiian community -- June 1845 Some Hawaiians (Kanakas) hoped he would act as an agent of the Hawaiian king to address the prejudice directed toward the Hawaiians by Americans and French-Canadian alike

Kanaka William wrote: “...the Hawaiians have repeatedly and daily asked me to see about their trouble of being repeatedly abused by the white people without any cause. They thought I had come as an officer to settle their difficulties. I said no, I did not come to do those things. I had no instructions from the king and ministers of the government of Hawaii to do those things. All that I have come for was the word of God and school.”⁴⁹⁹

Other Kanakas feared the new chaplain intended to force them to observe the Sabbath their only free day for gardening, carpentry and horseback riding

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CONVENES TO ORGANIZE

Second regular session of the Provisional Government Legislative Council met at the Willamette Falls home of Felix Hathaway -- June 18, 1845
nine-member Legislative Council had expanded to thirteen members
Morton Matthew (M.M.) McCarver was elected Speaker of the Council

THREE-MEMBER PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONTINUES TO FUNCTION

Governor George Abernethy had not yet returned from Hawaii to be inaugurated so the Executive Committee remained in effect
Peter G. Stewart and William J Bailey continued in office
while Osborne Russell who had been defeated by George Abernathy for governor resigned

PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL WRITES ANOTHER MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

Thirteen-member Legislative Council session was convened by Speaker M.M. McCarver in the Oregon City home of Recorder John E. Long -- June 24-[July 5] 1845
With renewed confidence provided by the voters, the Provisional Council resumed its functions they voted to rewrite the Organic Laws
Twelve Council members drafted their own Memorial to Congress -- June 24, 1845 informing the federal government of the establishment of a new Provisional Government they asked for military protection and financial aid in the event of an emergency they ask for early establishment of a Territory in Oregon under federal law

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SENDS ANOTHER MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

Five members of the Provisional House of Representatives were selected to form a committee **“to draft a memorial to the Congress of the United States, setting forth the condition, situation, relation and wants of the country.”**⁵⁰⁰

William H. Gray, Jesse Applegate, Henry A.G. Lee, John McClure and David Hill wrote the memorial which passed the Provisional House of Representatives -- June 27, 1845 that informed Congress of the establishment of the new Provisional Government it asked for military protection, and financial aid in event of an emergency it also asked for early establishment of a Territory in Oregon under federal law in addition a resolution was passed providing the Executive Committee, Supreme Judge each member of the Legislative Council should also sign

⁴⁹⁹ Yvonne Mearns Klan, “Kanaka William,” *Beaver Magazine*, P. 40-41.

⁵⁰⁰ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington: Embracing ...*, Volume 1, P. 268

When all of the signatures were gathered the petition was delivered to the settlement of Vancouver where sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White was then preparing to travel to Washington City to arrange an adjustment of his accounts with the Indian Bureau, and also to apply for the governorship of the territory of Oregon as it was expected Congress would create this office very soon

JESSE APPLGATE EMERGES AS A NEW LEADER IN OREGON COUNTRY

Jesse Applegate had spent each daylight hour and many a night since his arrival [fall 1843] building a home, farming, surveying land for his neighbors and earning a small profit speculating in a herd of California cattle he did not want political office but his neighbors thought differently without his knowledge he was elected to the provisional legislature [June 3, 1845] Faced with the fact of his election and objecting strenuously to some of the constitutional revisions his [1843] traveling companions had made -- he agreed to serve Jesse Applegate entered the Provisional Legislature from Yamhill District he forcibly pointed out that as long as Joint Occupation was in place in Oregon Country the only recognizable sovereign authority came from the people themselves in other words from the provisional government itself land claims, Applegate argued, could be maintained only with approval of that government therefore, anyone could establish a claim on any unoccupied piece of ground anywhere, even at the very gates of Fort Vancouver, unless prevented by a prior claim duly recognized by the provisional government Dr. John McLoughlin could envision his property at Oregon City being taken by Americans

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT PROTECTS DR. McLOUGHLIN'S OREGON CITY PROPERTY

Onerous anti-McLoughlin Article 4 of the Provisional Land Law [1843] was repealed 1845 Dr. John McLoughlin threw his considerable support to the Moderates he recognized they were the only American organization to tolerate Hudson's Bay Company Moderate American Party gained in power and prestige with his support However, the Provisional Legislature faced a crisis of severe doubts regarding its own legality Legislative Council decided to adjourn and call for a vote of the people to elect a new Legislative Committee and thus confirm their role

PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PASSES THE SECOND ORGANIC LAWS

Under Jesse Applegate's leadership the Provisional Council passed a complete revision of the old Organic Laws [1843] which became known as the Second Organic Laws [1845] this resulted in making the Provisional Government a unifying factor in Oregon Country Organic Act of 1845 was drafted to revise and clarify the original [1843] version and to divide the Provisional Government into three departments an executive branch, a legislative branch and a judiciary branch Oregon Country's Provisional Governor was to ensure that laws were "faithfully executed:"

- he recommended legislation to the Provisional Legislative Council;
- he was to sign bills into law;
- veto power was conferred on the governor subject to the right

- of the Legislative Council to over-ride with a two-thirds affirmative vote;
- he was to commission all public officers;
- he was to appoint persons to fill vacancies in public offices;
- he was able to grant pardons and reprieves;
- he was commander of the local militia

Organic Act of 1845 replaced the twelve-man Provisional Legislative Committee with a thirteen-member Provisional Legislative Council and defined the responsibilities:

- “representative government” was to replace the presently required direct vote of the people under the original [1843] Organic Law a law was to be submitted to a popular vote before it took effect under the new proposal voter approval was replaced by the Legislative Council
- Legislative Council was to consist of at least thirteen and no more than sixty-one men which convened and passed necessary laws members were apportioned among the various districts according to population members were popularly elected and vacancies were to be filled by special election
- Legislative Council was given the power to appoint a Supreme Judge and provided a new power: to impeach all civil officers with a three-fourths majority vote
- Legislative Council had the power to create counties, apportion legislators, require licenses, levy taxes, regulate Indian-white trade, establish post offices, declare war, organize the militia, call out the militia, regulate currency, create lower courts, regulate the internal police, regulate liquor manufacture and sales, and pass laws for the general welfare of the people of Oregon Country

Provisional Legislative Council was required to meet the (first Tuesday of December)

Oregon Country’s Provisional Supreme Judge was to be elected by the people other court officers were to be appointed by the Provisional Legislative Council

An oath of office was modified to allow all citizens, whatever their nationality, to participate in the government: **“I do solemnly swear that I will support the Organic Laws of the Provisional government of Oregon, so far as said Organic Laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States, or a subject of Great Britain, and faithfully demean myself in office.”**

This new document was passed by the Provisional Legislative Council -- July 2, 1845 they were to be submitted to a vote of the settlers at a special election [July 26, 1845] if approved by the popular vote, the amendments were to go into effect newly amended Organic Law would become known as the Second [1845] Organic Laws

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ADDRESSES MONEY ISSUES IN OREGON COUNTRY

Provisional House of Representatives addressed the system of taxation in Oregon Country out went the voluntary taxation by subscription -- July 4, 1845 improvements on town lots, mills, pleasure carriages, watches and livestock were taxed sheriff was the tax collector -- he received a commission of ten per cent of what was collected those who were delinquent in the payment of their taxes were penalized at a lesser rate than had previously been required

but they lost their vote and the right to be heard in court -- literally they were outlaws Hudson’s Bay Company was not to be taxed on its crown-chartered operation but only on the goods brought into the country for sale to the settlers

these were taxed at a rate of one-eighth of the value of the merchandise
Jesse Applegate negotiated this arrangement for the Provisional Government
Oregon Country taxation question was settled in favor of the government

OREGON PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ABOLISHES ITSELF

In an effort to make the frequently-changed Organic Laws stable if dubiously legal
Provisional Legislative Council called for a vote of the people to adopt the Second Organic Laws
which would establish a new Provisional Government under the new 1845 Organic Laws
then the Legislative Council adjourned -- July 5, 1845
Executive Committee members Osborn Russell and Peter G. Stewart
who governed as a majority of the committee retired at the close Legislative Council
to turn the reins of office over to Provisional Governor George Abernathy

MICHAEL SIMMONS LEADS A PARTY TO PUGET SOUND IN SEARCH OF LAND

Colonel Michael Simmons visited Puget Sound, accompanied by William Shaw, George Wanch,
David Crawford, Ninian Everman, Seyburn Thornton, David Parker
and two others probably, Michael Moore and John Hunt -- July 1845
Passing Cowlitz Farms, they learned that John R. Jackson had preceded them
he had located a claim and returned to the Willamette Valley for his family

AMERICA FEELS ITS MANIFEST DESTINY

Four months after publication of John Fremont's report
which combined the reports of both expeditions into one book
New York newspaper editor John O'Sullivan coined the phrase
in an editorial for the expansionist magazine: *Democratic Review* -- July 1845
O'Sullivan wrote: **"Our Manifest Destiny, or God given mission, is to overspread the
continent given to us for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."**

This editorial both motivated and explained the thinking of a large segment of the American public:

- United States was destined to grow from sea to sea
- settlers would be necessary to expand across the continent

This powerful ideology taught that God, or Nature, or Fate had decreed that the United States
representing political democracy, economic opportunity, social mobility, and religious freedom
would expand its boundaries to the Pacific and, some said, even beyond

Two arguments developed to support the spreading of Americans over land not owned by the U.S.:

- countries, like things in nature, must grow or die
"natural growth" for the country must reflect physical expansion
- "American multiplication table"** noted the possibility that future generations
could face a critical land shortage

this was America's justification for expanding across the North American continent

Pacific Northwest became the target of this growth

importance of the Pacific Coast's rivers and potential harbors to Manifest Destiny
and the United States foreign and domestic policies tend to be overshadowed
by the role of upcoming westward movement of pioneering emigrants

in reality, the favorable anchorages played a very significant role in political events of the day

GEORGE ABERNATHY IS SWORN IN A OREGON PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR

Returning from a business trip to Hawaii George Abernathy took the oath of office in Oregon City -- July 14, 1845

“I do solemnly swear that I will support the organic laws of the provisional government of Oregon, so far as the said organic laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States, or a subject of Great Britain, and faithfully demean myself in office, so help me God.”

Abernathy would be the only governor under the Provisional Government he served a second term after his reelection in [1847] until [1849]

BRITISH TAKE UP GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY

In the tense summer of 1845 the British Admiralty dispatched the fifty-gun Man-of-War *America* under Captain Sir James Gordon as a gesture of defiance to the United States

(to be followed later by the sloop-of-war *Modeste* and later still, the frigate *Fisgard*) by coincidence (or something more) the brother of Lord Aberdeen, George Hamilton-Gordon was on Captain Gordon's staff as was Lieutenant William Peel

the third son of the British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel

This was gunboat diplomacy aimed at intimidating the Americans

and demonstrating to Hudson's Bay Company employees Britain's pledge to support them

Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin was not impressed with the show of force

America was too large to enter the Columbia River over the sandbar

she had to be stationed on Puget Sound where there were no Americans to intimidate

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS CONTINUE THEIR TRAVELS WITH PETER SKENE OGDEN

Leaving Fort Garry the two British spies, Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour, traveled with Peter Skene Ogden as he maintained standard brigade speed

which withered many a civilian traveler

Within four weeks they reached Fort Edmonton (Alberta) -- July 1845

Ogden was unimpressed with the grumbling, complaining pair of undercover British lieutenants

COLONEL STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY ATTEMPTS TO PACIFY THE PLAINS INDIANS

Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny (pronounced Kar-ney) was placed in command of five companies of the U.S. 1st Dragoons

this was one of two cavalry regiments in the United States Army

Two ideas of the type of military force necessary in central North America had developed

John C. Fremont and others believed a chain of forts would provide stepping stones of protection for emigrants crossing the continent

however, most professional soldiers believed a strong display of mobile military force could better convince the Indians to refrain from attacking emigrant wagon trains

Colonel Kearny was of this opinion and relished his orders to demonstrate convincingly

by word if possible, by force if necessary the futility of harassing pioneers

these differing approaches contrasted Fremont's optimistic view of the West

as a garden inviting settlement and Kearny's pessimistic view of it as an uninhabitable desert

Kearny's specific assignment was to gather information and map the plains country,

protect emigrants on the Oregon Trail as far as South Pass, visit Bent's Fort
and convoy traders' wagon caravans from Santa Fe to St. Louis -- summer 1845
he would follow the Oregon Trail to South Pass and in the process visit Bent's Fort (Colorado),
Fort Laramie (Wyoming) and Fort Leavenworth (Kansas)
he would hold councils with the Oglala bands of Sioux, the Cheyenne and the Arapaho Indians

ESTHER PARISEAU BECOMES SISTER JOSEPH (LATER MOTHER JOSEPH)

(Esther Pariseau was born to Joseph and Francoise Pariseau [April 16, 1823]
she was the third of twelve children born to on their farm in St. Elzear, Quebec, Canada
this dark-haired, gray-eyed girl served as a second mother
to her younger brothers and sisters -- a role she relished
Esther's father was a respected coachmaker and young Esther spent a great deal of time with him
working in his shop where she learned carpentry and design skills
she became a capable craftsman
Esther at age seventeen was enrolled by her mother in a newly-opened Saint Martin de Laval
boarding school [1840]
her mother was determined that her daughter's intellect, talents and skills
be broadened and enriched beyond what the family's home education could provide
when Esther Pariseau turned twenty years old her school was visited by Monseigneur Bourget
he told the students of a new order of nuns, the Sisters of Providence, who served the poor
with wonderful works of charity for the sick and destitute in Montreal
their training was taking place at Asile of Providence convent
Esther began to think about life as a devout woman
within a few months she entered the Asile of Providence convent to become a nun [1843]
Esther Pariseau took her vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and service to the poor
to honor of her father she took the name Sister Joseph -- July 21, 1845
Sister Joseph expanded the carpentry skills she had first developed while working with her father,
she was the nurse at Mother Gamelin's bedside as she lie dying of cholera [185]
she was named as assistant to the community's new superior, Mother Caron [1856]

VICAR FRANCIS NORBERT BLANCHET BECOMES BISHOP BLANCHET

After spending a month in England Vicar Blanchet sailed from Deal, England
Blanchet sailed to Boston then traveled overland to Quebec and Montreal
Vicar Blanchet was greeted in Montreal by Right Rev. Dr. Bourget
While in Montreal, Vicar Blanchet was consecrated Blanchet was consecrated Bishop of Drasa
in Saint James Cathedral in Montreal -- July 25, 1845
Bishop Blanchet was assigned to Columbia District (Oregon Country)
Bishop Francis Blanchet sailed out of Montreal to Europe to raise funds and seek volunteers

OREGON COUNTRY'S SECOND ORGANIC LAWS OF OREGON 1845 ARE APPROVED

Oregon Country [1843] Organic Laws were so greatly modified that a vote of the people was required
large majority of those voting gave resounding support to the proposals -- July 26, 1845
one change in the original proposal was that the Provisional Legislative Council
was to be replaced by a House of Representatives initially with thirteen members

and permitted to have up to sixty-one legislators
this House of Representatives had the authority to change the laws by vote
without a need to submit changes to a popular vote of the people
It was a feat as astounding, politically speaking, as the more highly touted
formation of self-governing bodies by the California miners (four years later [1849])
because no international tensions were at work in California
War between the United States and Great Britain was a distinct possibility -- 1845
while antagonists in the United States Congress and the British House of Commons
hurled inflammatory pronouncements at the other country
and international diplomats exchanged stiff notes
as they regularly altered their positions on the boundary dispute
Oregon Country's people, ignored by the federal government,
worked out a peaceable solution with their British counterparts

WAGON TRAIN GUIDED BY STEPHEN HALL L. MEEK REACHS FORT HALL

When guide Stephen Meek arrived at Fort Hall this ended the mountain man's service as guide
to the pioneers -- early August 1845
At Fort Hall, promoters encouraged the newly-arrived emigrants to travel south to California
to take advantage of Captain John Sutter's offer of free land at New Helvetia
Sutter's promoters encouraged the emigrants and others warned them of the potential
for Indian attack along the main stem of the Oregon Trail
and of the dangers of crossing the Blue Mountains
it was made known to the 1845 pioneers that the Walla Walla and Cayuse Indians,
who lived along the Oregon Trail route in the country west of the Blue Mountains,
were somewhat disposed to be unfriendly to the whites
and that they had threatened to make themselves troublesome to immigrants
passing through their country
Looking for work once again, Stephen Meek and Nathaniel Olney hit upon a novel idea
they devised a plan to save time and bypass the dangers ahead
they would travel directly west from the Oregon Trail
where it crossed the Malheur (pronounced malare) River
Meek would offer to guide the 1845 emigrants over an old trappers' pack trail
through central Oregon to The Dalles on the Columbia River
to avoid anticipated Indian harassment on the "regular" northern route
Meek and Olney were convinced they could connect a route through central Oregon,
over the Cascade Mountains and into the Willamette Valley
Sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White, traveling to Washington City from the Willamette Valley,
was at Fort Hall at this time
he encouraged the emigrants to try the "new" route
although he, himself, had never attempted it
Several wagons of pioneers turned south toward California from Fort Hall
all of the others continued west along the Oregon Trail

STEPHEN MEEK SELLS HIS PLAN WHILE ON THE TRAIL FROM FORT HALL TO FORT BOISE

After leaving Fort Hall and while traveling toward Fort Boise

Stephen Meek continued to warn the immigrants of the dangers ahead along the usual trail he noted both the Blue Mountains of eastern Oregon and the fearsome rapids at the Dalles he informed everyone who would listen that he knew a shortcut to avoid these perils along the Malheur River, to the John Day or Deschutes River to The Dalles

Meek rode up the Snake River Trail offering his services to the lead wagon train members with the assistance of Nathan Olney, Meek made a crude map of the routes he had taken when he crossed the Malheur, Owyhee, and the John Day rivers [1834] with Bonneville) he informed them there would be no Indian trouble as the land of the Snakes would be avoided his proposed route through central Oregon would give the Cayuse and Walla Walla country a wide berth and enable emigrants to avoid all contact with the supposedly hostile Indians he also promised to eliminate 100 or 200 miles from the grueling crossing all of this for \$5.00 per wagon and provisions for himself, his wife and Nathan Olney a very reasonable price, indeed

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET ESTABLISHES TWO NEW CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Father De Smet spent several months at St. Mary's Mission in the Bitter Root Valley visiting with the Flathead Indians -- August 1845

He again took up his travels going to Fort Colville located near Kettle Falls on the Columbia River he completed his inspection and resupplying of the missions he had founded Columbia District

Father De Smet now turned his attention to exploring the region and visiting Indian camps he stopped at a village located below Kettle Falls

being built by about seventy families of mixed French-Canadian and Cree blood their village included a chapel, which Father De Smet named St. Francis Regis -- August 1845 this mission located at (today's Chewelah, Washington) eventually was placed under the care of under Father Louis Vercruyse [1848]

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet built a temporary building above Kettle Falls

to serve the more than eight-hundred Indians who assembled there annually for the fishing season two of the new recruits he brought with him from Europe, Father Anthony Ravalli and Father Adrian Hoecken, were placed in charge of the new St. Paul Mission to serve the Colville Indians

CAPTAIN COUCH MOVES FROM OREGON CITY

Captain John H. Couch of the Cushing and Company trading firm grew tired of fighting the Clackamas rapids below Oregon City

He found a place lower down the Willamette River

where deep water lay conveniently close to the bank for oceangoing ships to unload

Captain Couch took up a claim at what became known as "Couch's Addition" -- August 1845 soon others moved in

Couch and others built a covered wharf so that goods could be handled during the winter rains when the land rush came they were ready

MEEK SEEKS ADVICE AT FORT BOISE REGARDING ROUTES TO THE WILLAMETTE

When the Stephen Meek's Oregon bound wagon trains reached Fort Boise

Hudson's Bay Company Factor at Fort Boise, James Craigie said to his knowledge
Stephen Meek had passed through the fort three times
Craigie confirmed the existence of an old American Fur Company pack trail
reached across Eastern Oregon

CAPTAIN JOHN C. FREMONT REACHES THE ARKANSAS RIVER

After reaching the Arkansas River Fremont suddenly left the upper river
and traveled from Great Salt Lake through Mexican Territory south of the 42nd parallel
strait to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River in California
no explanation was given for this decision leading to speculation of a secret purpose
to assist the United States, in case of war with Mexico, to gain possession of California
It was during this portion of his expedition that Fremont renamed Mary's River
(originally named in the 1820s by Hudson's Bay Company trapper Peter Ogden)
henceforth it was known as the Humboldt River
and quickly became a principal route across the Great Basin

MICHAEL SIMMONS AND HIS PARTY REACH PUGET SOUND

Colonel Simmons and his eight traveling companions reached Puget Sound -- August 1845
they acquired canoes and investigated the region
they traveled around the head of Whidbey Island and returned to the east side of the island
through Deception Pass
they ultimately decided to settle at the head of Budd Inlet where they found land
that met with their approval
Simmons was attracted by the waterfalls on the Deschutes River
and the natural harbor of Budd Inlet at the southern end of Puget Sound
Convinced the Budd Inlet region could be profitably developed
Simmons and his companions hurried back to Washougal where their families
and others who had made camp there for the winter were waiting to discuss options
preparations for the move to Puget Sound were begun

AMERICANS AT WASHOUGAL NEED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Preparations were underway by five families of the Simmons-Bush wagon train at Washougal
they intended to travel to Puget Sound and homestead over the strong objections
of the Hudson's Bay Company who preferred they settle in the Willamette Valley
reluctantly Chief Factor James Douglas gave George Washington Bush, Michael Simmons,
James McAllister, David Kindred and Gabriel Jones a generous letter of reference
and a written order to Dr. William F. Tolmie for supplies on Fort Nisqually: **"They have
all conducted themselves in a most neighborly, friendly manner, and I beg to recommend them to
your kind assistance and friendly offices."**⁵⁰¹

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES GOES INTO SESSION

With renewed confidence provided by the voters Oregon's newly-elected House of Representatives

⁵⁰¹ Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington*, Vol. 2, P. 430.

went into Special Session in Oregon City -- August 5, 1845
once again M.M. McCarver was elected Speaker
and Judge J.E. Long was elected Territorial Recorder and Clerk
Mr. Shaw was elected Sergeant-At-Arms
under the Second Organic Laws business was conducted in a semi-formal fashion
rules were frequently suspended
three new standing subcommittees were created at this session
Claims, Elections and Indian Affairs

DUELING OUTLAWED IN OREGON COUNTRY

Early in the 1845 session, Jesse Applegate is reputed to have rushed breathlessly
into the legislative chamber and promptly asked the rules be suspended
to permit him to introduce a Bill to prohibit dueling
Applegate wanted to prevent a duel which appeared imminent
between Dr. Elijah White and Samuel M. Holderness
Provisional House of Representatives put aside the rules -- a Bill was read once for information
and twice simply by title and then passed
Within the hour of when Applegate had rushed onto the floor,
the Bill had become law and the duel had been averted -- August 11, 1845

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS CONTINUE THEIR JOURNEY TO THE COLUMBIA DISTRICT

Leaving Fort Edmonton Ogden's brigade moved toward the greatly-anticipated Rocky Mountains
they crossed the Bow River and began an ascent of the foothills
directly into the smoke of an enormous forest fire
changing direction, Peter Skene Ogden led his party over Whitehead Pass (near Creston, B.C.)
south of the usual route across the Continental Divide
On the West side of the Rockies they cut to the upper Kootenai River
their descent in miserable weather led to another mountain pass
before their guide led them to the north-running Columbia River (near Radium Hot Springs)
where they turned south to the Kootenai River again
Reaching St. Mary Lake Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour stopped to visit with Father De Smet
before continuing to the Pend Oreille River
Finally once again reaching the Columbia River
at Fort Colville they traveled by Hudson's Bay Company bateau -- August 12, 1845
past Grand Rapids between Kettle Falls and the mouth of the Spokane River

OREGON COUNTRY'S NEGRO EXCLUSION LAW IS REMOVED

Idea of the exclusion of black people was repulsive to some Oregonians
most believed themselves remote from pressing racial issues in the United States
anti-slavery clause included in the [1843] Organic Laws
had reflected the influence of pioneers arriving from the Midwestern states
Provisional House of Representatives received a petition signed by 113 settlers
activists who signed, including Jesse Applegate, favored repeal of the [1844] Exclusion Law
Negro exclusion act was thrown out

(however, during the drive for statehood shortly before the Civil War
Oregon's territorial government passed a new black exclusion law [September 1849]
that would become the basis for the black exclusion law
included in the Oregon state constitution of [1859])

PROVISIONAL AND COMPANY LEADERS REACH AN AGREEMENT

After considerable negotiation between the leaders of the Oregon Provisional Government
and the Hudson's Bay Company's officers at Fort Vancouver
Provisional Committee on Apportionment of Representation
addressed a communication to Dr. John McLoughlin -- August 14, 1845

**“Do you think the gentlemen of the company, over which you preside, will
become parties to the Articles of Compact, by the payment of taxes and in other respects complying
with the laws of the Provisional government?”⁵⁰²**

Provisional Government formalized an agreement with Hudson's Bay Company -- August 15, 1845
matter of allegiance had been addressed by the new Oath of Office

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND FORT VANCOUVER OFFICERS REACH AN AGREEMENT

Chief Factors Dr. John McLoughlin and James Douglas promptly replied
to the Provisional Government inquiry -- August 15, 1845

**“Viewing the organization as a compact of certain parties, British and American
subjects residing in Oregon, to afford each other protection in person and property, to maintain the
peace of the community, and prevent the commission of crime -- a protection which all parties in
this country feel they particularly stand in need of, as neither the British nor American
governments appear at liberty to extend the jurisdiction of their laws to this part of America; and,
moreover, seeing that this compact does not interfere with our duties and allegiance to our
respective governments, nor with any rights of trade now enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company --
we, the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, consent to become parties to the articles of compact,
provided we are called upon to pay taxes only on our sales to settlers.”⁵⁰³**

Americans had won a significant victory

both Dr. McLoughlin and James Douglas submitted to the authority of Provisional Government
they agreed to place the company's forts and farms under the jurisdiction of the Americans
who would protect all of Hudson's Bay Company property from American trespass
Peter Skene Ogden, the third member of the company triumvirate, was not on hand to sign,
he had gone east some months earlier

OREGON COUNTRY BECAME A SELF-SUPPORTING AMERICAN COLONY

Americans and British in Oregon Country (Columbia District) mutually agreed to help each other
to maintain peace, prevent crime and protect persons and property
Factions of Oregon's population had become more firmly united
emphasis on Provisional (temporary) nature of the government was dropped
and a more satisfactory judiciary was empowered

⁵⁰² Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington: Embracing ...*, Volume 1, P.
270.

⁵⁰³ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Oregon, 1886-88*, P. 495.

However, the company's annual supply vessels were ordered, for the first time in their history, to avoid the Columbia River and unload their cargoes at Fort Victoria as a precaution

DR. ELIJAH WHITE RESPONDES TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White had received two messages from the Provisional Government to be delivered to Congress

one was a resolution from the Legislative Council **“to the favorable consideration of Congress the just claims of Dr. E. White, sub Indian agent, for a remuneration for the heavy expenses by him incurred in attempting to discover a southern passage through the Cascade Mountains”**⁵⁰⁴

second was the Memorial to Congress from the newly elected House of Representatives with a copy of the newly adopted Second Organic Laws

Dr. White addressed a note to the Oregon House of Representatives -- August 17, 1845

“To the HONORABLE etc.,

“Gentlemen: Being on my way, and having but a moment to reflect, I have been at much of a loss which of your two resolutions most to respect, or which to obey; but at length have become satisfied that the first was taken most soberly, and, as it answers my purpose best, I pledge myself to adhere strictly to that. Sincerely wishing you good luck in legislating, I am, dear sirs, very respectfully yours,

E. WHITE”

Dr. White stated clearly that he intended to lobby Congress in his effort to become governor of Oregon Territory and to receive payment for expenses incurred to date (he will be notably unsuccessful in both endeavors)

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REACTS TO DR. ELIJAH WHITE

Provisional House of Representatives was horrified by the note they received from sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White advocating his selected as Oregon Territory governor it was resolved that proper procedures had not been followed in sending Dr. White with the packet for Congress

therefore the House: **“Resolved, that the clerk dispatch for them a messenger to Vancouver, with authority to bring said documents back, and that he deliver them to the secretary; and that the expenses incurred be paid by the members of this House who voted for the resolution.”**

On the next day the House resolved: **“That whereas, the Speaker of this House has signed certain documents, ordered to be sent to the United States, by a vote of this legislature, from a mistaken sense of duty, and not from...contempt for this House; therefore,**

“Resolved, that M.M. McCarver, said Speaker, have leave of absence for the purpose of following Dr. E. White to Vancouver; and this House enjoins that said Speaker erase his name from said documents, to wit: the Organic Law and two resolutions in favor of Dr. E. White.”

It was further **“Resolved, that it was not the intention of this House, in passing resolutions in favor of Dr. E. White, to recommend him to the government of the United States as a suitable person to fill any office in this territory;”**

⁵⁰⁴ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington* Vol. 1., P. 269

and it was further **“Resolved, that the Clerk of this House forward, by some suitable person, an attested copy of this resolution, to the United States government.”**

VANCOUVER COUNTY IS CREATED NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Act of the Provisional House of Representatives extended American jurisdiction north of the Columbia River with the creation of Vancouver County -- August 20, 1845

Vancouver County was carved out of the Clackamas District and comprised all of Oregon Country north of the Columbia River, west of the Rocky Mountains and south of Russian-America

Hudson’s Bay Company insisted on naming the newly created district “Vancouver” while the Provisional House of Representatives demanded “Lewis and Clark”

this petty wrangle was quickly cast aside by the Americans

Provisional Government had extended jurisdiction over land north of the Columbia although Great Britain had not officially relinquished its authority

however, Hudson’s Bay Company’s authority in Vancouver County was recognized as the only settlements the county were the Hudson's Bay Company establishments

Fort Vancouver, Fort Victoria Cowlitz Farms, Fort Nisqually, and the French-Canadian settlement at Cowlitz

Village of Vancouver was designated the District seat of government

movement was begun to change the name of the town of Vancouver to Columbia City (this idea was spurned by the Washington Territorial Legislature [1855])

Vancouver County came under domain of Provisional Government

but Hudson’s Bay Company would control appointments for judge and sheriff

most of the district government positions were given to British residents

in exchange for Hudson’s Bay Company assistance in controlling the Indians and the Company’s contribution in taxes

Vancouver County judges:

- Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factor James Douglas
- manager of Cowlitz Farms Charles Forrest
- American Michael Simmons who was, incongruously enough, illiterate

two new sheriffs in Vancouver District were selected:

Colonel Michael Simmons of New Market
John R. Jackson of the Cowlitz Plains

To make sure that Fort Vancouver was properly protected,

nine loyal company men filed claims, under the provisional government,

to nine pieces of ground embracing the company fields and orchards

now, according to Jesse Applegate, there could be no trespass by Americans

similar steps were taken to defend choice lands of the Cowlitz and Nisqually farms

When Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin agreed to place company forts and farms

under the jurisdiction of the provisional government he was performing

his last significant act in the Northwest

With than great step forward in resolving local American-British relations

the Provisional House of Representatives adjourned -- August 20, 1845

SHERIFF JOE MEEK TAKES A CENSUS OF OREGON COUNTRY

Sheriff Meek enumerated the population in the six counties of Oregon Country -- 1845

Clackamas and Champoeg east of Willamette River

Twality, Yamhill and Clatsop west of Willamette River

Vancouver County north of the Columbia River

Meek counted French-Canadians, Methodist and independent missionaries

he counted American remnants of Astor and Wyeth expeditions

he counted American free fur trappers and pioneers who had arrive by wagon train and boat

he also counted a few British subjects

As a result of his census Sheriff Meek counted 2,109 Americans

1,259 men and 851 women -- 5,000 free, male inhabitants were required to become a territory population of Oregon Country had nearly doubled with the arrival of 1845 immigrants

French-Canadians found themselves in the minority

as the American now outnumber British subjects

this forced a new tolerance toward the American Provisional Government

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM PEEL INVESTIGATES THE COLUMBIA RIVER REGION

British Prime Minister's son Lieutenant William Peel arrived at Fort Vancouver

he asked questions everywhere of everyone -- but only casually of Dr. John McLoughlin

the implications were obvious -- Lieutenant Peel was gathering military information

but because McLoughlin helped so materially in furthering American strength in Oregon,

British government was not sure of his loyalties and he was not taken into confidence

by coincidence (or perhaps something more) Lieutenant Peel arrived in time

to exchange views with British spies Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour

STEPHEN MEEK CONVINCES FOUR WAGON TRAINS TO ACCOMPANY HIM

Stephen Meek convinced four parties of pioneers, some 1,000 people in 200 wagons,

to break away from the main wagon train because his route was safer and shorter

they did not know that Stephen Meek, personally, had never crossed this country

he had been a trapper in the vicinity and he had heard others speak of such a pass

it was well known that Southeastern Oregon was less mountainous than the northern region

Meek assumed from this information a more feasible route could there be found

he also believed a lower and better pass through the Cascade Mountains existed

Parties who chose to follow Stephen Meek into the wilderness were composed of:

- Savannah Oregon Emigrating Company composed of the Officer and Cooley families

- a party known as the English group composed of Sam Barlow and Susannah (Lee) Barlow,

James and Dorcas McDonald, Henry Montgomery and Elizabeth (Martin) Knighton parties

These fifty wagons guided by Stephen Meek were fairly evenly divided

into four companies of around fifty wagons each

within these companies were traveling parties and small groups of families

followed by thousands of heads of livestock

(These four wagon trains were later joined by companies headed by:

- Joel Palmer and his wife Catherine (Caffey) Palmer,

- Abner Hackleman and his wife Elizabeth (Lines) Hackleman,

- John Henry Brown led those who remained with him after Captain William B. Ide turned off for California at Fort Hall

1845 EMIGRANTS REACH WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS MEEK'S CUTOFF

From Fort Boise all of the 1845 pioneers traveled westward into central eastern Oregon on the main branch of the Oregon Trail

Following the route of the Oregon Trail Stephen Meek and his lead wagon train reached what became known as Meek's Cutoff (very near present-day Vale, Oregon)

Two hundred wagons left the main trail to follow guide Stephen Meek across the barren and desolate high sage plains east of the Cascade Mountains where no road existed except an old pack trail existed

while the main body of emigrants chose to continue over the Oregon Trail toward Fort Walla Walla and the Columbia River

Stephen Meek's four wagon trains set out on successive days

Captains Nicholas Ownbey and Samuel Parker and the members of their wagon train left the main trail sixteen miles from the Owyhee River -- August 24, 1845

next came Captain James B. Riggs, following the route set out by Meek departing [August 25] then another company, perhaps led by Alexander Liggett, that left the same day on the same trail finally Captain Solomon Tetherow leading the Savannah Oregon Emigrating Society followed the preceding wagon trains departing [August 26]

Among those following Meek were James Field, Eli Casey Cooley, Jesse Harritt, John Herren, John Howell and Samuel Parker -- each kept a record of the journey

OWNBEY AND PARKER CARAVAN SET OUT GUIDED BY STEPHEN MEEK

Stephen Meek, an experienced mountain man, led Captains Nicholas Ownbey and Samuel Parker and their wagon train as they turned away from the Oregon Trail sixteen miles from the Owyhee River -- August 24, 1845

they would be followed by three other wagon trains

roughly 1,500 people in fifty wagons would follow Stephen Meek

they turned a little south of west following a good road

across the arid plains west of (Vale, Oregon) toward the eastern slopes of the Cascades (there is a highway kiosk on the west end of Vale adjacent to Oregon State Highway 20 which discusses the passage of these emigrants)

terrain was tolerable and grass was plentiful that day however, the route became frightfully dusty dust frequently more than shoe deep lay on the desert ground

when the wind happened to blow length-wise with the trail,

dust was so thick the next wagon ahead in line could not be seen

they progressed up a major Snake River tributary, the Malheur River

that flowed from west to east through central Oregon

Eli Cooley, now traveling with the lead wagon train of Nicholas Ownbey and Samuel Parker noted the event in his daily journal -- Sunday, August 24

“Mr. Meek this morning started to pilot us the new rout. Wee left the old rout and turned to the left. Crossed the Mallaer River whare wee camped and have traveled up it to day

though only in site of it until wee camped. Struck it and camped on it. The road has been verry good. Weather fine. The corse has been nearly west. 8 miles [traveled that day]”⁵⁰⁵

Camp was made on the Malheur River near a fork in the road (very near present day Vale, Oregon) where they found grass for feed and willows to burn

STEPHEN MEEK GUIDES THE LEAD WAGONS OF A CARAVAN OF FOUR TRAINS

On the second day following the new route, guide Stephen Meek led the Ownbey-Parker wagon train bearing a little south of west along the rocky banks of the Malheur River -- August 25, 1845

Two other wagon trains followed the trail set out by Meek

Captain James B. Riggs' Caravan left Meek's Cutoff -- August 25

they followed the track of Ownbey-Parker wagon train

over the next three days [August 25-28] Riggs' party traveled thirty miles

over rough trail whose sharp rocks cut their animals' hooves

another company, perhaps led by Alexander Liggett,

left Meek's Cutoff later on the same day along the same trail

Meek-led Ownbey-Parker wagon train moved up and over rocky and rough bluffs

sharp, hard volcanic stones made the cattle flinch with pain at each step

route taken by the emigrants was the old American Fur Company Trail

by the way of Burnt River and the Grande Ronde Valley

and across the Blue Mountains to the waters of the Umatilla River

at this point the wagons were proving to be very maneuverable

however, oxen and emigrants had a very difficult time with the route

some of the pioneers moved more quickly than did others

after following the Malheur River for a few miles (and crossing it several times),

Meek turned the caravan up a creek

Travel of the Ownbey-Parker train leading the others was recorded in Eli Cooley's diary:

“Traveled up Mallear to day. Come about 1 mile and ½ and crossed the River and in a few hundred yards crossed it again and in about 1 mile crossed again and in a short distance crossed again and thare turned to the rite up the bluff and in about 2 miles struck it again. Went ½ mile up it and camped. Plenty of grass and willow here. The road to whare wee crossed the first time is verry good; it then is quite broken and rough to whare wee struck it the last time; it then is verry good. Weather fine to day.”⁵⁰⁶

Meek's route was turning out to be very tough on man, beast and equipment

already three or four oxen had given out

FIRST LEGEND OF THE BLUE BUCKET MINE

Several accounts of finding the Blue Bucket Mine varied

in the course of their travels several oxen were lost -- August 25, 1845

⁵⁰⁵ NOTE: References to the Cooley diary are from Michael F. and Mary Lou Cooley for the Officer-Cooley Family Association, *The Transcribed Diary of Eli Casey Cooley as he came across the Oregon Trail and the Meek Cutoff in 1845*.

⁵⁰⁶ NOTE: References to the Ownbey-Parker wagon train are from Michael F. and Mary Lou Cooley for the Officer-Cooley Family Association, *The Transcribed Diary of Eli Casey Cooley as he came across the Oregon Trail and the Meek Cutoff in 1845*.

three young men (or three boys or a single girl) soon went out in search of the stock
they walked well into the late afternoon before coming to a small stream
after quenching their thirst, they picked up fifteen to twenty unusually colored pebbles
from the creek bed

Finding their oxen later in the day, they returned to the wagon train
where they showed their stones to an older man who pronounced them to be copper
when the young men were asked if there were a lot of these stones one of boys replied:
“We could have filled one of these blue buckets.”⁵⁰⁷

One of the pioneers, Mrs. Fisher, kept a single nugget
leaving behind the other stones the wagon train continued its journey
(This story was forgotten until three years later when gold was discovered in California
Mrs. Fisher discovered the stone she had kept was actually gold
thus the first legend [there are two] of the Blue Bucket Mine was born
however, this story may have been a ruse to put gold-seekers on the wrong path)

CHIEF FACTOR PETER SKENE OGDEN ARRIVES AT FORT VANCOUVER

Peter Skene Ogden had served Hudson’s Bay Company
as the Chief Factor of New Caledonia (British Columbia) from [1831] to 1845
After receiving new orders from Governor Sir George Simpson
he arrived at Fort Vancouver -- August 25, 1845
with him came two inquisitive individuals
British lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour who had been assigned
to scrutinize the possibility of a British plan of defense of the region
if the Americans should attack and begin a war

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS WARRE AND VAVASOUR ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

British lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour were to make recommendations
on how best to protect British interests
they were to advise the British government regarding how to fortify the Columbia River
and how to protect various British forts against American attack
they also had to assess the feasibility of transporting troops overland to the Pacific coast
in their report to their commanders and in other reports that followed,
Warre and Vavasour complained about the lawless nature of the American settlers
in the Willamette Valley
they fretted that Dr. John McLoughlin and James Douglas
were too kind to American expansionists

MEEK’S LEAD WAGON TRAIN REACHES HARPER VALLEY

Meek led the Ownbey-Parker wagon train through (today’s Harper Valley)
north fork of the Malheur River was crossed four times -- August 26, 1845
Meek, Ownbey and their companions made camp that night (near present-day Harper, Oregon)
white chalk cliffs on the north side of the Malheur Valley were very discernable from here

⁵⁰⁷ *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

Eli Cooley failed to mention them
he often failed to mention geographic features recorded in other diaries
his concern seemed to focus on road conditions, water, wood and grass

Samuel Parker left the lead company
he fell in with the trailing Captain James B. Riggs' Company -- August 26, 1845
this was not uncommon as companies tended to spread out once travel was started
it was simply impossible for all of the emigrants in a company to stay grouped together
pioneers moved from company to company and back again
reasons for these actions were usually not recorded but were simply accepted

Captain James B. Riggs' Company, keeping on the Malheur River, crossed it twice -- August 26
they were eventually forced to take to the bluffs to get across several narrow bends in the river
these detours were rocky and hilly and seemed to become increasingly difficult
but the pioneers acquired the impression the wagons could go anywhere

Captain Alexander Liggett probably led the third wagon company and followed Captain Riggs
having set out from Meek's Cutoff later on the same day as the Riggs Company

Captain Solomon Tetherow led out the last of the four wagon trains attempting the short cut
his Savannah Oregon Emigrating Society started from Meek's Cutoff -- August 26, 1845

All told there were roughly 200 wagons that departed on the 1845 Meek Cut-off
miles stretched between small groups roughly following Meek's route
in some cases the companies followed just a day behind the lead,
others followed several days later

GOVERNOR SIMPSON ORDERS HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY HEADQUARTERS MOVED

Governor Sir George Simpson feared American continued plundering of company property
equally important, he wanted to save Fort Victoria and Vancouver Island for the British

Hudson's Bay Company's Governor Sir George Simpson began to impose his vision
he shifted fur operations northward to Peter Skene Ogden in New Caledonia

Governor Simpson issued new orders to move Hudson's Bay Company supplies
at Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island -- 1845

Hudson's Bay Company mill was sold to Catholic priests at St. Paul Mission -- 1845
who changed the name of the operation to Mission Mill

LEADERSHIP OF FORT VANCOUVER CHANGES

Dr. John McLoughlin's humane policies toward Americans were not in favor in London
he was forced to share authority as one member of a triumvirate

Governor Sir George Simpson put into place a Three-man Board of Management Directors
who led Hudson's Bay Company's operations throughout the Pacific Northwest

Dr. John McLoughlin, James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden shared power
it may have been a greater kindness to fire him outright

McLoughlin's domain was cut, his salary reduced by five hundred pounds a year
and his power taken away

obediently at the age of sixty-one Dr. John McLoughlin absorbed the humiliations

All three Directors held differing views regarding the intentions of the Americans
James Douglas attempted to ignore the encroaching pioneer government;

Peter Skene Ogden believed the settlers were plotting
to expel those who were not Americans from the districts south of the Columbia River;
Dr. John McLoughlin took up residence in Oregon City -- south of the Columbia River

TRAVEL OVER DETERIORATING ROADS BECOMES INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT

In the Meek-Ownbey lead wagon train Eli Cooley noted in his diary -- August 28, 1845

“The road to day has been verry broken and rough to day. Had some rain to nite. Traveled up the hollow over some verry large hills. About 9 mile is a small spring near the road and about 3 mile further some out of the way to the left whare wee camped is a small spring and some wood and grass. Some oxen give out today.”

(that the oxen were giving out this early in the trek is an ominous sign
worse terrain and much more difficult hardships lay ahead for the emigrants
if they been aware of the increasing dangers, they probably would have turned around)

Captain James B. Riggs' following wagon train, according to Samuel Parker,
struggled along **“Bad Road”** -- August 28

Trailing wagon trains led by Captain Alexander Liggett and Captain Solomon Tetherow
led their companies in the wake of the Meek-Ownbey and James B. Riggs caravan
along the course chartered by Stephen Meek

TRAVEL CONTINUES TO BE DIFFICULT FOR THE MEEK CARAVAN

Meek-Ownbey wagons turned slightly south of west (at present-day Westfall)
they began to climb into the mountains -- August 29, 1845

Eli Cooley described Captain Ownbey's progress in his journal -- August 29

“The road to day has been quite broken and rough. To day weather fine. Road quite crooked. Come about 6 miles and camped on a hill. Plenty of grass and willow here. West the general corse has been about 6 miles.”

Samuel Parker traveling with Captain James B. Riggs' caravan
reported emphatically in his diary -- August 29

“Verry bad Road, Broak 3 wagens this day.”

PETER SKENE OGDEN VISITS THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Just arrived with the Hudson's Bay Company Brigade, Ogden hurried to the mouth of the Columbia
there he began work on a post he said was for trade purposes

but Dr. John McLoughlin was too familiar with the land to believe that story
in fact, Ogden had been ordered by Hudson's Bay Company directors in London
to purchase Cape Disappointment to enhance British claims to the region

Down from the British Man-of-War *America*, came a young lieutenant William Peel

Peel asked questions everywhere of everyone -- but only casually of Dr. McLoughlin

CONDITIONS DO NOT IMPROVE MUCH FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE MEEK CARAVAN

Lead Meek-Ownbey wagon train had easier travel on this day -- August 30, 1845

Diarist Eli Cooley reported

“The road to day has been broken but tolerable good. A sprinkle of rain this evening. Come about West [written in left margin: “crossed a small branch”] for about 4 miles and struck

Mallaer River and camped. Plenty of grass and wood here. Traveled down the creek wee camped on last nite about 1 ½ and left it on our left. Come to the left of a verry high mountain leaving it on our rite. 4 miles.”

Samuel Parker in the trailing wagons expressed in his diary that Captain Riggs’ caravan faced
“Rock all day, pore grass, more swaring than you everheard....” -- August 30

FURTHER HARDSHIPS ARE EXPERIENCED ALONG THE MALHEUR RIVER

Meek guided the Meek-Ownbey wagon train across harsh terrain

Eli Cooley wrote in his journal regarding the hardships -- August 31, 1845

“The road to has been verry broken and some rock. Crossed the [Malheur] River this morning & there turned to the rite over the hills and in about 1 ½ miles come near the River then left it again. Went over the hills. Again here a verry steep hill, then struck the river again and come about 1 mile up it and camped. Plenty of grass and wood here. Weather fine. Freemonts peak [Castle Rock]. 5 miles”

(Castle Rock is the highest geologic feature in this part of the country

located west of present-day Westfall, Oregon

it can be seen in different directions for many miles

most likely the name “Fremont” was provided for the peak by Stephen Meek

who was the only person on the trek anywhere near this location before)

camp was made once more on Malheur River in the Blue Mountains

near “Freemonts Peak”

Captain James B. Riggs’ trailing company traveled about five miles that morning -- August 31
before camp was constructed several miles behind Meek and Ownbey

BRITISH LIEUTENANT WILLIAM PEEL GOES TO VANCOUVER TO GATHER INFORMATION

British Man-of-War *America* under Captain Sir John Gordon, remained anchored

in Strait of Juan de Fuca showing the British colors -- August 31, 1845

one of the young officers on board was Lieutenant William Peel the son of British Prime Minister

In order to obtain firsthand military view of Oregon, Captain Gordon sent Lieutenant Peel

overland from Puget Sound to examine Fort Vancouver and to cross the Columbia River

and journey up the Willamette River **“to examine and procure information of the present state of the new American settlement on the Willamette.”**⁵⁰⁸

STEPHEN MEEK LED THE MEEK-OWNBEY TRAIN FROM CASTLE ROCK

From Castle Rock, a prominent landscape feature north of (today’s Beulah Reservoir)

Meek-Ownbey wagons guided by Stephen Meek moved west only as fast as the oxen could go

bad roads made it exceedingly difficult for the pioneers to make adequate progress

breakdowns, as well as problems with the oxen’s sensitive hooves were the cause of delays

rocky ground cut and bruised the animals’ feet leaving behind a bloodstained track

scarred by the iron-stained wagon wheels which also left red stain on the sharp rocks

Eli Cooley traveling with Captain Ownbey’s Company wrote -- September 1, 1845

⁵⁰⁸ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 183.

“Weather fine to day. Road verry rough and broken. Crossed the creek this morning and come up a hollow which is verry rocky. Come about 4 miles and struck a branch - only water in holes. Come about 1 mile down it and after crossing it 3 times left it to our left and turned up a hollow and in about 5 miles further struck a branch and camped. Plenty of grass and willow here. Plenty of wood and grass on the branch wee crossed 3 times. The corse has been a little West of South. 10 miles”

they probably passed Warm Springs Creek on this date
as they headed toward (the present site of Beulah Reservoir)
Captain James B. Riggs’ Caravan continued to follow Meek, but traveled an independent course
about five miles were again made before camp was established on the Malheur River
Samuel Parker noted: **“the worst Road you ever seen, 5 wagons Broak;”** -- September 1, 1845

TRAVELING CONDITIONS DID NOT IMPROVE ALONG THE MALHEUR RIVER

Meek-Ownbey wagon train covered ten miles on this day -- September 2, 1845
(they passed by the vicinity of today’s Drewsey, Oregon)
once again Eli Cooley recorded progress: **“The road to day has been broken. Weather fine. Crossed the branch this morning and traveled about South for about 5 miles and struck a creek and traveled up it a short distance and crossed it then left it to our rite and in about 5 miles struck a Drean (Stream) of the creek and camped. The drean (stream) has only water in holes. Plenty of grass and willow on the creek and also here the road for about 7 miles is clear of rock; then is some what rocky to the bottom of the drean (stream) on which wee camped.”**

Captain James B. Riggs’ Company covered about fifteen miles
along the worst road seen yet in a direction but little west of south
camp was made on a small branch of the Malheur River -- September 2
Because of continual bad roads there was a great deal of dissatisfaction developing
among all four companies regarding Stephen Meek’s new route

ANOTHER DAY OF SLOW TRAVEL

Eli Cooley reported the conditions faced by the Meek-Ownbey party: **“The road to day has been verry broken and rocky. Weather fine. Crossed the Drean (stream) this morning and have traveled about a South West corse - in about 7 miles crossed a Drean (stream) after coming down a verry steep hill. Some grass and wood. Water in holes and in about 1 mile furthur crossed a branch and camped. Some grass and wood here. Some scattering seder on the hills now for about 30 or 40 miles.”**

that night they camped on the South fork of Malheur River again
Captain Riggs’ Company went only about six miles on very rocky ground -- September 3, 1845
as they were forced to stop and put in a new axle-tree on a wagon
that night they camped on the South fork of Malheur River again
Joel Palmer traveling with the Riggs party recorded, perhaps in a fit of frustration,
Stephen Meek’s promise made early on to those who journeyed with him:

“September 3, 1845...At this place are two trails; the fork is in the bottom above the crossing of the creek, and there is a possibility of emigrants pursuing the wrong route. I do not deem it amiss to give some particulars in relation to this road. Mr. Meek, who had been previously engaged as our pilot, but had previously went in advance of the companies who had employed him,

and who after reaching Fort Hall fitted up a party to pilot through to Oregon, informed the emigrants that he could, by taking up this stream to near its source, and then striking across the plains, so as to intersect the old road near to the mouth of Deschutes or Falls river, save about one hundred and fifty miles travel; also that he was perfectly familiar with the country through which the proposed route lay, as he had traveled it; that no difficulty or danger attended its travel. He succeeded in inducing about two hundred families to pursue this route; they accordingly directed their course to the left, up this creek, about ten days previous to our arrival at the forks.”⁵⁰⁹

Solomon Tetherow’s Savannah Oregon Emigrating Society was traveling a day or two behind Captain James Riggs’ Company

death hit the Tetherow Company along the North Fork of the Malheur River

Sarah King Chambers suddenly succumbed to a “camp fever” contracted a few days before she was buried six miles east of the mouth of Crane Creek

her husband, Rowland, and the party placed a large stone marker on her lonely grave inscribed: Mrs. S. Chambers Sept. 3rd 1845

her’s was the first death among those following Stephen Meek

TRAVEL CONDITION IMPROVE FOR THE LEAD WAGON TRAIN

Stephen Meek was traveling with Meek-Ownbey company one day’s journey ahead of the others an effort was made to climb (today’s Stinkingwater Mountains)

(they were a few miles from where today’s Highway 20 goes through Stinkingwater Pass)

their progress was recorded by Eli Cooley -- September 4, 1845

“Weather fine to day and the road has been broken for a pease and then first rate.

Crossed the main divide to day which is about 7 mile from whare wee camped and about 3 miles further to a valley. This far the road is verry broken and rough and some seder (cedar) and pine timber. After wee got in to the valley the road was first rate to whare wee camped which was on a small drean (stream) about 4 miles from whare wee struck the valley. Some willow and plenty of grass. Here as wee come over the divide wee saw the Cascade Mountains at a considerable distance. [Actually they were looking at the Steens Mountains to the south rather than the Cascades which are not visible from there.] Here the valley appears to be perfectly level as far as the eye can reach. Saw some Indians here. The corse is about South West to day. 14 miles”

(“perfectly level” valley Eli Cooley refers to would be the Harney-Malheur Lake Basin)

Captain James B. Riggs’ caravan covered about eighteen miles -- September 4, 1845

only a few miles of road were rough and rocky

as they crossed Eastern Oregon south of the Blue Mountains

whenever possible, Riggs reached the campground left behind by Meek-Ownbey train

there the new arrivals would find a note buried at the foot of a stake

stating the distance to the next camp, and the (often incorrect) names of nearby streams

their first glimpse of the rugged Blue Mountains were destitute of trees

but as they continued on they began to see some low-growing cedar

climbing the ever-rising hills that day, cedar gave way to tall pine trees

when they crested the last hill they looked into a hollow surrounded by tree-topped hills

that evening they camped at the head of a small branch of the South fork of Malheur River

⁵⁰⁹ *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

STEPHEN MEEK SEEMS TO BE CONFUSED

Matters worsened when Stephen Meek and the Meek-Ownbey wagon train crested the Stinkingwater Mountains above the Harney Valley -- September 4, 1845 broad Malheur Lake, which he expected to see, was gone in its place was a large, marshy and stagnant pool its water was too brackish for both pioneer and beasts grasses became drier in the valley and water grew increasingly scarce John Day River is one of three major Oregon south-to-north flowing tributaries which empty into the Columbia River between the Umatilla River on the east, and the Deschutes River further west Stephen Meek, pilot leading the company on this route, rather than following the Oregon Trail could easily lead his companies up one of the northern tributaries of the Malheur River and then down the John Day, but whether he had told them he would do so is doubtful By now no one in the four wagon trains seemed to know exactly where Meek was headed it was growing apparent that Stephen Meek did not intend to travel to the Columbia River via the John Day River at all as he told them on leaving Fort Boise he still might lead them down the John Day or, perhaps, the Deschutes rivers to The Dalles, or across the Cascade Mountains and directly into the Willamette Valley still following a south-west route they were evidently now attempting to cut through the Blue Mountains -- September 4 (it was later said by members of the train that Meek's intention was to take them to the head of the Willamette River to find a place along The Cascades Rapids which would allow passage of wagons and if not found they would continue down the Deschutes River to the Columbia)

GUIDE STEPHEN MEEK PUT UP A BRAVE FRONT

Stephen Meek told the Meek-Ownbey party traveling with him

“I have brought you here and will take you off.”

An Indian led the Meek-Ownbey train to the forks of the (most likely) Malheur Sough (Meek believed they had reached the John Day River)

experience of the Meek-Ownbey travelers was documented by Eli Cooley -- September 5, 1845

“The road to day has been first rate and level. Weather fine. Crossed the dreaan (stream) this morning and left it on our left and have traveled about a South West corse. Crossed a small creek and camped. It runs to the left. Plenty of grass and willow here. Saw a few Indians to day. 15 miles”

camp that night (probably) on the Malheur Sough or one of its branches (south of today's Ochoco National Forest)

Captain James B. Riggs' Company covered fifteen miles -- September 5 route they had followed for the past few days led across the Blue Mountains this course over the high desert grew steadily steeper toward the west eventually passes in excesses of 4,700 feet high were climbed (Snoqualmie Pass is 3,022 feet high)

CONFUSTION INCREASES FOR THE PIONEERS

Their map of the country incorrectly indicated they had passed the head of the John Day River (Malheur River was shown to flow much further south than the John Day yet they continued a south-south-west course away from the Malheur River) this confusion suffered by the trailing pioneers regarding the local geography was a result of the notes Stephen Meek left each night under a stake driven into the ground to indicate the night's campsite Meek had changed his mind about where they were three times in three days going from being on what he believed was the South Fork of the Malheur River, to the Lake Fork of the John Day River (whatever that was), to finally thinking he was on the Crooked River, the main southeasterly tributary of the Deschutes these were not just minor errors over the names of the streams either three rivers named by Meek occupied entirely separate watersheds So far the route Meek had originally described and the route he followed were vastly different he had apparently invented his story about being familiar with the region to get them to use this route -- he would now take them wherever he pleased Meek was creating the impression that he was hopelessly lost not only did he not know where they were, but apparently he did not seem to even know where they were going

FATHER PIERRE JEAN DE SMET VISITS WITH THE BLACKFEET NATIVES

Father De Smet, seemingly inexhaustible, set out to visit the Blackfoot Indians he took Father Nicholas Point with him leaving Father Joseph Joset at St. Joseph's Mission After an exhausting journey, Father De Smet and Father Point found a Blackfoot hunting party this was also a war party that had suffered the loss of men and animals they had also been exposed to a smallpox epidemic that claimed many of their numbers these Blackfoot were ready for some kind of change and were willing to try Christianity Father Point stayed with the Blackfoot Indians and founded a mission among them Father Pierre-Jean De Smet continued with his travels unfortunately he became hopelessly lost with an inept guide and spent the winter in Canada

STEPHEN MEEK GUIDES HIS "LOST WAGON TRAIN"

Members of the Meek-Ownbey wagon train discovered -- September 6, 1845

Stephen Meek had no intention of following the John Day River to the Columbia

Eli Cooley indicated in his journal -- September 6

"The road to day is first rate. Weather fine. Come about 3 miles and crossed a small creek. Plenty of grass and willow here on the creek. In about 1 mile further passed the point of a ridge leaving it to the rite and in about 14 miles further camped by a lake. Leaving it to the left the creek runs to the left. Plenty of grass, no wood, some sage here. The corse has been a little West of South. 18 miles"

(Wright's Point far to the south would be the "point of a ridge" referred to by Cooley this very prominent feature about ten miles south and west of present-day Burns, Oregon) even today it is easy to see why the emigrants had to divert to the south to get around it

camp was probably made at the end of Malheur Lake
this lake fluctuates dramatically in size with the season
Other companies emerged from the lower end of the Blue Mountain range
travel became ever more difficult as pioneers worked through the area (near today's Drewsey)
they were actually proceeding from various branches of the Malheur River,
crossing the (Stinkingwater Mountain) heading toward (Malheur Lake)
they were, in actuality, moving Southwest -- away from the Columbia River

MEMBERS OF THE MEEK-OWNBEY WAGON TRAIN SUFFER A GREAT SHOCK

Route of the Meek-Ownbey lead wagon train was described by Eli Cooley -- September 7, 1845

“The road to day has been good. Weather fine. Come about 10 miles and struck a creek and camped. Plenty of grass and willow here. The creek runs to the left and through (through) the lake and then round to the rite in to Jays river round the mountains. [This was the name Stephen Meek used for the John Day River which was in an entirely different drainage system draining to the Columbia at least seventy-five miles north of this point] **Wee left holes (?) to the rite and left. The corse has been about South West or near so. Traveled allmost towards a high point or peak** [probably Wagontire Mountain] **and to the rite is and other (another) some distance off** (probably Sheep Mountain). **Crossed a small dream (stream) just befor it.”**

there can be no doubt that Meek was very lost

Meek-Ownbey pioneers camped in the Harney Valley on the north edge of Harney Lake

this shallow, alkali lake in southeastern Oregon was filled with brackish water

what remained of the sludgy lake being was surrounded by tall rushes

divisions of men wandered for miles searching for fresh spring water

its miserable, stagnant water unfit for drinking was filled with ducks, geese and cranes

emigrants also found that the valley was a haven for game birds

as Meek-Ownbey Company was camped on Harney Lake -- September 7

their wagon train was approached by Paiute Indians living along the shores of the lake

although Indians had often been seen in small groups at a distance,

this was their first direct encounter with the Piautes since leaving the main Oregon Trail

these natives confirmed the lack of water in this season and offered no solution

pioneers did find small diversions from their anxiety at Harney Lake

large deposits of alkali along the dried lake shore could be used as baking powder

crystals were eagerly collected for making bread

Captain James Riggs' company traveled all day to cover sixteen miles -- September 7

Riggs' wagon train made camp at Malheur Lake

near Harney Lake where Nicholas Ownbey and Meek had camped their company

Malheur Lake is located almost due southwest from where the companies had started

they had been traveling in a steady southwesterly direction

away from the source of the South Fork of the John Day River

and also away from The Dalles on the Columbia River

pioneers' animals enjoyed excellent grass,

but the travelers were forced to pack wormwood half a mile for fuel -- September 7

during the night fifteen head of horses and mules escaped

PIONEERS' CONCERNS CONTINUE TO MOUNT

All of the companies had entered into the central Oregon high plateau with its long stretches of flat, monotonous arid desert as far as the eye could see September's first week was ending various groups were concerned that their situation would worsen rumor and frustration mounted within the four camps as they came to realize they were lost

BISHOP FRANCIS BLANCHET ARRIVES IN EUROPE

On his voyage from Montreal Bishop Blanchet landed in Dieppe, France -- September 7, 1845 Bishop Blanchet remained on the continent for seventeen months raising money and gathering missionaries was received in the Courts of Belgium, Austria, France, Germany and Rome where he requested the addition of bishops to assist him in administering the vast Columbia District (Oregon Country) Bishop Blanchet recruited six secular priests, four Jesuit priests, three lay brothers and seven Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur: Sister Laurence, Sister Alphonse Marie, Sister Renilde, Sister Odellie, Sister Francisca, Sister Aldegonde, and Sister Mary Bernard

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) NOTES THE ARRIVAL OF A TEACHER

Catherine Sager described new arrivals at Waiilatpu in her journal: **“One Sunday morning in the autumn of 1845 two men arrived at the station. One of them, Andrew Rodgers, was a young man of about twenty-five, tall and slender, sandy hair and sallow looking that betokened ill-health. He sang hymns and played the violin, so the ‘Seceders,’ to which church he belonged, turned him out. [Seceders had broken away from the Presbyterian Church in Scotland -- 1733] His gentlemanly appearance and intelligence won the admiration of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. He came to procure room and care for a friend who was ill with consumption [Tuberculosis]. He succeeded in this and was also engaged to teach school the ensuing winter. Going to Umatilla he soon returned with his friend, Joseph Finly, who took board with the family of Mr. [Josiah] Osborne, his relative. He had made the journey to Oregon hoping for improved health. For awhile he improved and seemed stronger. Dr. and Mrs. Whitman became much attached to him. He was one day taken worse when at their house and never left it. They made him conformable and attended to him as if he were a son or brother. He died very happy, bidding all good-bye and thanking his friends for all their care of him. All gathered round the deathbed, and the scene was very impressive as he gave his last farewell to all around him.”**⁵¹⁰

MEEK-OWNBEY TRAIN LEFT LAKE HARNEY

Stephen Meek-Nicholas Ownbey Caravan moved from Harney Lake traveling all day surely the emigrants' situation could not get much worse details of the day's journey through extremely dry country with water becoming very limited was recorded by Eli Cooley -- September 8, 1845

⁵¹⁰ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 524-525.

“The road to day has been good except one little rocky place. Weather fine. Traveled up the creek around the head of it. Towards the peak the creek runs along by the side of a bluff [this appears to be Silver Creek] and we come along by the point of the bluff leaving it to the left. Here at the point of the bluff is a excellent (excellent) spring. Some grass, no wood except sage. Then on about a South west course and by the point of another bluff leaving it to the right then on near the peak leaving it to the left then on to an other high bluff or bench and camped. No water here though we found some water in a hole to the left up a hollow which was sufficient for cooking. Here some of the oxen was tied up all night; others left out. Those that was left out went back to the spring from where we camped last nite. To the spring is about 5 miles. From the spring to where we lay at nite is about 6. [Almost] 11 miles”

it appears they crossed Silver Creek and continued in a primarily westerly direction
this is extremely dry country and water is becoming very limited

Death found Captain James B. F’ company at Malheur Lake

fever was sweeping through the wagon train causing additional suffering for many
there were a number of pioneers sick in camp -- the majority complained of fever
lack of good drinking water and unknown micro-organisms were the logical cause
Elkanah Packwood, twenty-one-month-old son of Elisha and Paulina Packwood,
died suddenly of a strange fever -- in the evening of September 8
the child was buried in the barren hills

this mysterious disease, which was to soon become widespread on the Meek Cutoff route,
did not strike any of the other 1845 emigrants who stayed with the usual Oregon Trail
both sets of wagon trains were about the same size and had similar supplies of food
except that those on the regular route had a continuous and reliable source of fresh water

DOUBTS REGARDING MEEK SURFACE IN THE MEEK-OWNBEY PARTY

Following Meek’s led the pioneers camped at tiny Silver Lake -- night of September 8, 1845
leaders of the wagon train called a meeting

guide Stephen Meek thought it best to stay on the American Fur Company trapper’s trail
and cross through the central Cascades into the Willamette Valley

Meek probably intended to follow the Crooked River down to the Deschutes
where an old fur trading trail would take them to The Dalles

however, having lost all faith in Meek’s abilities and suspicious of his motives,
members of the train refused to follow him if he attempted the difficult route
necessary to escape the region and reach the Crooked River

pioneers argued that it would be better to abandon the trappers’ trail
and head straight for the Deschutes River, cross it and work toward the Cascade Mountains
then, if they could not find a pass through the mountains,

they could still travel up the Deschutes River to The Dalles -- and safety

Meek’s authority and assertions about the lack of water in the region were ignored by the pioneers
emigrants dismissed his opinions and demanded to impose their plan

Meek agreed to strike a westerly direction in an effort to reach the Deschutes River
by way of (Wagontire Mountain) as the weary and fearful pioneers insisted
he well knew there was little grass or water across this section of desert
and he informed the travelers of the difficult prospect

members of the Meek-Ownbey party pressed him to make the attempt, anyway

PIONEERS HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO MOVE ON

Nicholas Ownbey train followed a route of their own

in opposition to the advice of their guide the lead wagon train of the caravan of four trains
set out on a slow, dry pull to Wagontire Mountain

Eli Cooley noted slow progress as the pioneers now set their own course -- September 9, 1845

“Some rock to day. Weather fine. Some of the wagons started early this morning though some of them did not get off until 10 o’clock. Come around the bench leaving it 2 of 3 to the rite. Come around and down in to the valley along it for some distance leaving the peak that wee saw to the rite a little to the rite come along and went over a ridge; some seder on it; leaving 2 ridges between us and the peak and about 2 miles through a valley then over another ridge with seder on it. Still laving (leaving) the peak to the rite then turned to the left leaving the peak nearly behind us for about ½ or 2 mile and camped - to a first rate spring. Plenty of grass and some wood here. The corse is about west. The road should not come so near the first peak nor over the ridge or bench but after leaving the spring the road should turn more to the rite leaving the first peak further to the left and strike across to the rite hand peak leaving it a little to the rite and struck the road again.”

travel conditions across the high desert were very difficult

a strenuous fifteen miles to the west were covered, including necessary retracing of the route,
during this passage more than one hundred horses and mules escaped to find food and water
neither time nor energy could be spared to pursue them

they must have reached the location of (present-day location of Oregon State Highway 395)

perhaps a dozen miles north (of today’s Wagontire, Oregon)

they were headed toward a point between (Wagontire Mountain and Sheep Mountain)

their route was becoming mountainous and full of rim rocks

Cooley’s original diary contains a freehand map showing lines of rim rocks they passed
and then had to backtrack out of and try a different route

camp was made at a first-rate spring with sufficient grass and some wood

their situation was critical:

- after three weeks of travel
 - it became obvious Stephen Meek had no knowledge of the country;
- there was little confidence in Meek’s knowledge of the route they should follow;
- animals still suffered from the painful effects of rocky roads their hooves had endured;
- fever was spreading though the wagon train;
- they were crossing a barren desert during the hottest part of the summer;
- lack of water was having an effect

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN LEAVES THE SAFETY OF MALHEUR LAKE

Captain James B. Riggs’ wagon train moved away from Malheur Lake -- September 9, 1845

concerned about animals (or humans) stealing from the grave of little Elkanah Packwood
pioneers took care the following morning to roll their wagon wheels

over the small burial mound smoothing the ground so that there would be no hint
of the child’s body within

cases of illness increased throughout the wagon train which traveled only six miles this day

Riggs' wagon train reached Crane Springs on the western side of tiny Silver Lake camp was set up near a spring which smelled badly where it came out of the ground

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS INVESTIGATE THE REGION

Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour posing as tourists and hunters spent the next six months exploring the Columbia District they prowled about Fort Vancouver making sketches Mervin Vavasour prepared maps of a number of British forts including Fort Vancouver he drew a map of the entrance of the Columbia River with suggestions for possible fortifications they went into the Willamette Valley and asked innumerable questions about the able-bodied males, supplies, politics, national sympathies, and other matters unrelated to hunting but they did not consult Dr. John McLoughlin

Warre and Vavasour traveled north up the Cowlitz River to Fort Nisqually and drew a map with defensive proposals shown they crossed Puget Sound to visit Fort Victoria located at Cammusan Harbour (now Victoria Harbour) at the south end of Vancouver Island on another map, Vavasour showed a plan for Fort Victoria

Returning to the Columbia River they kept up their ruse as they spent the winter at Fort Vancouver Dr. McLoughlin, not at all deceived by their story, believed they had been sent by Governor Sir George Simpson to spy on him

Throughout these travels Lieutenant Warre completed numerous landscape sketches of the region he painted watercolors of the post and the American village of Oregon City (Warre published a book reproducing his watercolor drawings [1846] *A Sketch of the Journey Across the Continent of North American from Canada to Oregon Country and Pacific Ocean*)

BRITISH LIEUTENANT WILLIAM PEEL LEARNS THE CENSUS RESULTS

Lieutenant William Peel, the son of the British Prime Minister, learned the population in Oregon Country now favored the Americans according to Sheriff Joe Meek who had conducted a haphazard census counting in addition, the next year's immigration, reputed to be the largest yet, was forming in St. Louis Peel learned the Americans in Oregon and those on the way were frontiersmen better able to use guns than the Hudson's Bay Company French-Canadians even more significantly, if American families could journey overland in a matter of months, American troops could easily do the same

All of this accumulated information young Lieutenant Peel dutifully took back to Captain Sir John Gordon aboard the British Man-of-War *America* anchored in Puget Sound

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS' REPORT ATTACKS DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour of the British Royal Marines investigated the condition of Columbia District (Oregon Country) and of the charge that officers of the Hudson's Bay Company,

particularly Dr. McLoughlin, had encouraged American settlement

Warre and Vavasour's report noted: **"They (Fort Vancouver officers) had sold goods to American settlers cheaper than to British subjects; they had joined the Provisional government, without reserve, save the mere form of oath. They were accessory to the appropriation of the territory by the American settlers."**

(Dr. McLoughlin later responded to these charges of treachery to his country and the company in an autobiographical memorandum: **"By British demagogues I have been represented as a traitor. For what? Because I acted as a Christian, - saved American citizens, men, women and children, from the Indian tomahawk, and enabled them to make farms to support their families. American demagogues have been base enough to assert that I had caused American citizens to be massacred by hundreds by the savages. I, who saved all I could.... I felt it my bounden duty as a Christian, to act as I did, and which I think averted the evil (a disturbance here which might have led to a war between Great Britain and the States), and which was so displeasing to some English demagogues, that they represented me to the British government as a person so partial to American interests as to sell the Hudson's Bay Company's goods, in my charge, cheaper to American interests than I did to British subjects. On the other hand, though, if the American immigrants had been my brothers and sisters, I could not have done more for them...."**⁵¹¹)

TWO COMPANIES MAKE CONTACT

Suffering from exhaustion and even more from thirst the Ownbey pioneers stopped for the day their situation was rapidly becoming very desperate

Eli Cooley reported the party remained in camp this day -- September 10, 1845

"The Company laid by to day (probably to hunt for water). Weather fine. Yesterday Mr. Wilborn started out to hunt water and lost his horse and when he got in to camp was almost dead (dead). He was found in the road setting down resting and one of the men [from Riggs'] company come there to nite from (Crane Springs) ...gave him his horse and he got in to camp about 1 hour by Sun. Also about 100 head of cattle was let go off yesterday and was not got until the other company got in - several lost."

James Riggs' caravan covered about thirty miles -- September 10

Riggs's people found most of the water-famished cattle lost by the Ownbey pioneers although they looked miserable, the animals were successfully driven by the discoverers only a few of the animals gave out on the way camp was not established until just after midnight that night

TRAVEL IS SLOW FOR THE LEAD WAGON TRAIN

Since guide Stephen Meek had lost control of the Ownbey wagon train

it took two days to travel the twenty-five miles from Silver Lake to Wagontire Mountain tensions also rose in camp as Eli Cooley wrote -- September 11, 1845

"The company started after considerable confusion and 1 fite..."

progress of only four miles provides some indication of the harsh traveling conditions

Captain James B. Riggs' company set out from camp about noon -- September 11

this tardy start was due to the lateness of establishing camp the night before

⁵¹¹ Henry Laurenz Wells, *A Popular History of Oregon from the Discovery of America to the Admission of the States into the Union*, P. 239.

these emigrants were in a great deal of confusion and had no confidence remaining in their guide
many of the men attempted to hunt for a trail through the desert on their own
camp was made after only six or seven miles

MEMBERS OF THE MEEK-OWNBEY WAGON TRAIN MAKE CAMP AFTER MIDNIGHT

After traveling into the night, camp was set up at a spring
just after midnight -- September 12, 1845

Eli Cooley noted **“Plenty of grass and some wood and willow.”**
(it might have actually been Lost Creek on the north face of Wagontire Mountain)
pioneer Betsey Bayley (four years later) reflected on their situation:

**“We camped at a spring which we gave the name of ‘The Lost Hollow’ [Lost Creek]”
because there was very little water there. We had men out in every direction in search of water.
They traveled 40 or 50 miles in search of water but found none. You cannot imagine how we all felt.
Go back, we could not and we knew not what was before us. Our provisions were failing us. There
was sorrow and dismay depicted on every countenance. We were like mariners lost at sea and in the
mountainous wilderness we had to remain for five days.”**⁵¹²

Alarm and grief overtook the pioneers
they could not retrace their route back to safety
ahead lay a mountainous wilderness unknown even to their suspect guide
much like sailors lost at sea, deliverance lay in their own abilities and strength
For days there were at least a hundred men on horseback
who rode out into the desert looking for the next watering hole
scouts traveled up to forty miles west of the Lost Creek and still found no water
each night they returned without achieving any successful
pioneers in camp could do nothing but remain trapped in the Oregon high desert

ONLY ONE-THIRD OF THE OWNBEY WAGON TRAIN HAVE THE STRENGTH TO GO ON

Guide Stephen Meek pressed those members of Ownbey train who were able
to break the Lost Creek camp -- September 13, 1845

About a third of the lead wagon train pioneers were brave enough and strong enough
to attempt to cross the desert
they were desperate:

- they were running dangerously low on food;
- cases of fever continued to increase;
- unrelenting heat nearly suffocated wagon occupants under the heavy wagon covers;
- weakened oxen trudged steadily onward even with the extra weight of passengers;
- stronger women and children plodded alongside wagons tripping over sharp rocks
now and then an ox fell never to get up -- and a cow was yoked in its place;
- occasionally the contents of a wagon had to be transferred and the empty wagon left behind
while the team was hitched to someone else’s wagon;
- they could not go back the way they had come
and they had no way of anticipating the terrors that may lay ahead;

⁵¹² *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

•each of these calamities was simply background noise to the ever-present lack of water
Stephen Meek and Nicholas Ownbey led about one-third of Ownbey Company
in an attempt to cross the desert -- diarist Eli Cooley joined the effort
this vanguard left behind at the Lost Creek two-thirds of their wagon train
and, somewhere in the vicinity, the other three caravans

RIGGS' WAGON TRAIN DECIDES TO TRAVEL IN THE COOL OF THE NIGHT

After journeying west only about six miles from their previous camp, the Riggs' caravan discovered
two-thirds of the Ownbey Company still in their camp at the Lost Creek
after more than twenty-four hours -- 2:00 a.m., September 14, 1845
the other third had set out with the Pilot Stephen Meek and Captain Nicholas Ownbey
Captain James B. Riggs' Company shared the Lost Creek campsite near Wagontire Mountain
with the remaining members of the Ownbey party

MERGED WAGON TRAIN LEAVES THE LOST CREEK CAMP

Riggs' wagons combined with the remaining two-thirds of the Ownbey Company
still at the Lost Creek camp

United they started out in the morning -- September 14, 1845

with the expectation of a long drive across the plain following the trail of Meek and Ownbey
About four miles out they met Stephen Meek's wife, Elizabeth, traveling toward them with a friend
she delivered the news the leading party had found no water as yet
she requested all who were at the Lost Creek to remain there

until her husband found a campsite and returned or he sent word back for them to come on
Nothing remained for the pioneers to do but return to the Lost Creek camp they had just left
as Eli Cooley noted in his diary, **"The men that first started had to bring their oxen back to
the spring for they had found no water and took water back to the famileys to drink."**

COMBINED WAGON TRAIN UNDER CAPTAIN RIGGS RETURNS TO LOST CREEK CAMP

Riggs' pioneers combined with two-thirds of the Ownbey train returned to the Lost Creek campsite
they found Captain Solomon Tetherow's company there -- September 14, 1845
by now the small camping site was nearly destitute of pasture
because of overgrazing the preceding days

There were natural springs at Wagontire Mountain, but there were not many of them
and those few did not provide a great deal of water

LOST CREEK CAMP PROVIDES LITTLE SECURITY

Under the pressure of overuse use, the spring's flow was nearly depleted -- September 14, 1845
water was carried back to camp -- but it was not enough to last long
as Captain Solomon Tetherow noted: **"198 wagons, 2299 head of cattle, 811 head of oxen, 1051
souls all consume a heap of water"** -- which was quickly becoming very polluted
Autumn was close a hand
daytime temperatures soared and the little water in camp froze at night

STEPHEN MEEK AND NICHOLAS OWNBEY LEAD THEIR PARTY BACK TO LOST CREEK

One-third of the emigrants led by Meek and Ownbey had attempted the move west across the desert from Lost Creek

They now returned carrying their equipment and empty water kegs and leading their teams and cattle -- evening September 14, 1845

their wagons had been left behind on the desert seven miles away no water had been found within thirty miles or more of where they stopped

By now at least the four companies were reunited

but these wagon train members who had placed their trust in Stephen Meek faced a crisis company captains, emigrants, and livestock numbering more than 4000 cattle, oxen and sheep were in an extremely dangerous condition

All confidence in guide Stephen Meek had been lost

Meek was forced to escape from the emigrants into the desert hidden in a wagon there he stayed, but he sent orders for everyone to remain in camp until the next morning when ten or twelve men would accompany him with spades to dig in a dry creek bed where he thought water could be found

SUSPICION OF STEPHEN MEEK WAS REPLACED BY ANGER

In addition to all their other problems, the crisis was closing in on guide Stephen Meek because of the delays there were those who were now nearly out of provisions Lost Creek was not a suitable place to stay

There was speculation around the various evening campfires that Meek had lied from the beginning some speculated that Meek had been paid by Hudson's Bay Company or by the Indians to lose the pioneers in the desert

some decided he should be hanged

they arranged their wagons to form a gallows from a tripod of wagon tongues others argued that Meek was their only hope for escape

he was the only man among them who had been in this region of the country before Meek's life was only as good as the route he chose to deliver them to civilization and there was a rapidly diminishing time constraint on that prospect

Meek came in after dark and said that from the top of a mountain (Glass Butte) a short distance away he had discovered a cut in the side of a mountain approximately sixteen miles distant bright green appearance of the willows and grass showed the probability of water ahead

Meek requested some horsemen accompany him

to search the mountainsides more closely the next morning

he thought there would be no danger in some wagons starting out tomorrow

That night a local Warm Springs Indian who was hungry and looking for a meal arrived in Solomon Tetherow's camp -- September 14, 1845

after he was fed the pioneers described their need for water

they were provided information that offered potential access to water

(probably Buck Creek, the first southern branch of the South Fork of Crooked River the main tributary of the north-flowing Deschutes River)

Captain Riggs accompanied by brothers Francis and Ralph Wilcox immediately set out to find water in the direction indicated by the Warm Springs Indian

TETHEROW AND MEEK LEAD A WAGON TRAIN NORTH FROM LOST CREEK

While they were camped at Lost Creek, the wagon trains reorganized

Tetherow's mixed caravan now consisting of about forty wagons and a hundred people
filled beef hides and anything else they could use with water

Stephen Meek, who had returned to camp after his unsuccessful morning search for water,
would accompany this wagon train

Although there was considerable sickness in the company

Tetherow's wagon train set out from the Lost Creek camp

at three o'clock in the afternoon seeking the cut in the mountains -- September 15, 1845

they moved in a northeasterly direction toward the Deschutes River

where water could possibly be found

several groups of wagons followed in their wake but did not join the main expedition

As the Tetherow-Meek wagons moved on, scouts ventured out to find water

regardless of their illness, those traveling with Tetherow and Meek traveled all afternoon

as Tetherow's party journeyed, they listened intently for the sounds of gunfire

those blazing a route agreed to fire three shots in quick succession when water was found
continuing into the night as they followed a line of small sagebrush fires
set by the advance scouts and Meek who had plotted their course

TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN MAKES CAMP

After a trek of six or seven miles from Lost Creek they reached "the Sinks of Lost Creek"

where Lost Creek goes completely underground

there camp was set up for the night -- but even then folks continued to look for water

animals were turned out to feed on the grass they could find and to partake of the fresh dew

While Stephen Meek was out with several others scouting for water

a meeting was convened in camp -- night of September 15, 1845

hostility toward the guide and the danger he had brought to them was heatedly reiterated

When the guide returned to camp several persons reported the discontent and threats to Meek

he was asked why he guided the wagon train so far south when The Dalles was north and west

Meek recounted the dilemmas, discussions and decisions that led to the present situation

he noted that he had yielded to the will of the people rather than rely on his own good judgment
and now he was being blamed for their present crisis

he stated, in essence, that since he had gotten them into this mess he would lead them out of it

Meek was not convincing and his friends persuaded him to hide away in a wagon

this was a safe place where he could still put his instincts and experience to good use

while at the same time he could remain hidden

HOPE COMES TO THOSE REMAINING AT LOST CREEK CAMP

Captain Riggs accompanied by brothers Francis and Ralph Wilcox after the previous all-day trek
toward the mountains to the spot where water might be found,

and an all-night trek back, they returned to Lost Creek-- daybreak September 16, 1845

They reported they had found plenty of water and grass

(perhaps they saw either the southern-most branch of the South Fork of the Crooked River,
or the main eastern tributary of the north-flowing Deschutes River)

RIGGS-PARKER COMPANY LEADS THE WAY FROM LOST CREEK CAMP

Preparations were begun but because the cattle were so scattered they were slow to complete
Riggs-Parker Company leading the way broke camp at Lost Creek -- late afternoon September 16
traveling north in the direction of the Maury Mountains
(wagon ruts can still be seen today up to Steen's Ridge)
(they probably passed the present-day settlement of Hampton along Oregon State Highway 20)

REMAINING WAGONS DEPART FROM LOST CREEK CAMP

Some had chosen not to follow Tetherow-Meek wagon train into the night
weakened animals, illness, or broken spirits, motivated people to wait at Lost Creek
until they were sure that water was ahead -- September 16, 1845
(Over the next several days, remaining groups of wagons pulled out of Lost Creek,
they followed wagon tracks and bonfires at night to the northeast
left by the Riggs-Parker Company moving toward the Crooked River
a number of these people were sick
camp fever, lack of water and limited rations of rancid beef
compounded the difficulties of already difficult travel conditions
some wagons traveled a dozen miles, some only half a dozen
good weather and clear night skies made tracking the leading wagon train an easy, cool task)

TETHEROW-MEEK CARAVAN CONTINUES ON TOWARD THE DESCHUTES RIVER

Good weather made travel easier on this day -- September 16, 1845
sadly Emaline McNamee, baby daughter of Job and Hannah McNamee, died
still the trek continued stopping only briefly along the way to bury the infant
after traveling about five miles south and west, this caravan turned north
In the evening the oxen were rewarded with a little water carried from Lost Creek before continuing
their trek throughout the night toward the Deschutes River -- September 16-17, 1845

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN STOPS FOR THE MORNING

Lead wagons of the Riggs-Parker company reached the much-sought spot in the mountains
earlier identified by Captain James B. Riggs and the brothers Francis and Ralph Wilcox
Camp was established on the south fork of the Crooked River -- daybreak September 17, 1845

TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN TRAVELS THROUGH THE NIGHT

Early morning dew provided enough moisture enough to keep the animals alive -- September 17
(today there is a great deal of speculation regarding the route taken by Solomon Tetherow
sights such as Pilot Butte, Cline Falls on the Deschutes River, Powell Butte and Smith Rocks
are all mentioned by members of the wagon train
speculation also has been presented that Tetherow-Meek train passed the location
of present-day communities of Alfalfa, Bend and Redmond on this trek
but no one has really been able to pin down his route with certainty
because no diary was ever found that described the route)
Eli Cooley who was part of a group of wagons following the Tetherow-Meek trail

recorded in his journal, “**News come [from Captain Solomon Tetherow] that there was water and this evening we started and got to a branch [of the trail] onset morning at sun rise. Traveled down the hollow out at the Mouth which is about 2 miles and along the way we first started for about 3 miles further. The course this far is about South west (he meant northwest). Then we turned to the right and traveled about a North course for about 19 miles and camped on a branch (probably Buck Creek, a tributary of the South Fork of the Crooked River). Plenty of grass and some willow and plenty of sage here. For 5 miles the road is good; then rocky and some what broken for about 15 miles then good and level to the branch**”.

TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN FINDS WATER AS DAWN APPROACHES

Before sunrise members of the Tetherow-Meek wagon train
heard the sound of gunshots -- September 17, 1845
additional firing was heard in the direction of their travels, but nearer to them this time
finally a man was seen riding toward them at full gallop
Stephen Meek had returned with news he had found water
this fortunate discovery of water by the scouting party restored hope -- at least for the present
Motivated by the signal travel continued through the night
Tetherow-Meek train stopped to rest along Buck Creek -- about sunrise, September 17
cattle were provided an opportunity to graze on all the grass they could find
Tetherow-Meek caravan took the day to rest
Riders were sent to the Lost Creek camp
they reported that a source of water had been found thirty miles to the north

MANY WAGONS FOLLOW IN THE TRACKS OF THE RIGGS-PARKER WAGONS

That night the trailing wagons had a clear, full moon as they followed the North Star
on their toilsome way as they traveled twenty-four miles to the northeast
across the Maury Mountains toward Crooked River -- September 17, 1845

THREE LARGE WAGON TRAINS TRAVELING AS ONE BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE

Many of the wagons following the route of the Riggs-Parker wagon train were united in camp
along the Crooked River
Coordination of three large wagon trains proved to be very difficult -- September 17, 1845
many pioneers thought the gigantic company should separate
as nothing was being accomplished by remaining together
some in the party wanted to go north directly to The Dalles;
others however, wanted to go west to the Deschutes River
and, if there was no pass into the Cascades, follow that river north to The Dalles
Time was taken to create smaller companies that were formed (in today's Ochoco National Forest)

TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN ACCOMPANIED BY ELI COOLEY MOVES ON

Tetherow-Meek wagon train was again under way -- about noon September 17, 1845
Chronicler Eli Cooley traced the progress of his traveling party: “**...in about 6 miles struck a spring creek and camped near the head. Plenty of grass, some sage, no willow. Mr. Tetherow started this morning and camped just below us. Weather fine.**”

striking “a spring creek” on this day implies they found water here -- September 17, 1845
this may account why they only traveled six miles and stopped
Mention of Solomon Tetherow is very significant

(historians and diarists are in general agreement that Solomon Tetherow lead his wagons
further to the west than the other wagon trains

Eli, in all probability, was in a wagon train that followed by Solomon Tetherow
and covered the same route on their trek to The Dalles

Eli’s record for September 17 verifies that they are on the same route two full days
after the emigrants left the vicinity of Lost Creek on Wagontire Mountain)

there is reason to believe they continued to travel the same route all the way to The Dalles

Cooley recorded, **“Weather fine to day. Road tolerable good. Come down the creek
[probably Bear Creek] North west about 3 miles and crossed it and in about 11 miles further struck a
hollow and come down about 1 mile further and camped at a spring. Plenty of grass and some wood
on the bluff here.”**

They had arrived at the bottom of a long hill -- September 17

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES ON THEIR TRAVLES ALONG CROOKED RIVER

Camp on the south fork of the Crooked River which had been set up about sunrise

was now broken -- about noon, September 17, 1845

as the pioneers set out for the Cascade Mountains in an effort to find a passage through them

Traveling with great difficulty, the sick and weary pioneers followed the south fork

they covered fourteen miles this day -- September 17, 1845

that evening they camped on another fork of Crooked River

SECOND LEGEND OF THE BLUE BUCKET MINE

Traveling in good weather on adequate road, the Tetherow-Meek wagon train
journeyed about fifteen miles before camp was made

(probably at Bear Creek) -- September 18, 1845

Legend tells that somewhere on the trail a little girl traveling with the Tetherow-Meek party

loaded her blue water bucket with sand and shiny rocks -- September 18

she carried them to back to the wagon train

the child had to leave her pretty rocks behind -- but some were carried by a blacksmith

who later pounded some of them into fishing weights and tossed them into his toolbox

(after the [1849] California gold discovery, someone realized the rocks were gold)

legend or not, the gold would have been of little value to the desperate emigrants

nonsense or not, the tale (or tales) of the Blue Bucket Mine entered Western folklore

and provided great motivation for many prospecting trips to Oregon

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN PARTY CONTINUES ITS STRUGGLES

Now the widespread group traveled along the south fork of the Crooked River to Cold Springs
they turned northwest from Crooked River -- September 18, 1845

Pressing on, they worked across the sagebrush plain before again joining the Crooked River
just west of the mouth of Camp Creek

TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN FOLLOWS THE ADVICE OF A LOCAL INDIAN

Eli Cooley traveling with a group of wagons on a course similar to the Tetherow-Meek train wrote in his diary, **“Road tolerable good today. Weather fine. Come down the branch about 2 mile and turned to the left up the hill and in about 5 mile struck the same creek wee crossed yesterday and traveled down it about 3 mile and camped. Plenty of grass and some willow. Tetherow just below on the creek** (this is evidence they were traveling along the same route toward The Dalles) **The corse to the creek is about North west** (consistent with Bear Creek in this area) **then down the creek this far about west to north west. Some good to see us** (this implies they were happy to be camping near each other again)”

Eli reported that ten miles were traveled on this day -- September 19, 1845

PARKER-RIGGS WAGON TRAIN PRESSES ON

These suffering pioneers struggled through hills, valleys and through the waters of Crooked River moving northwest toward the center of Oregon (near the present town of Post)

Leaving the valley they continued across the sagebrush plains

before again joining the Crooked River just west of the mouth of Camp Creek

Along the way thirteen-year-old Eliza Harris, the daughter of Phillip and Sarah Harris, died of fever pioneers stopped to bury the teenager -- September 19, 1845

ELI COOLEY REPORTED THE PROGRESS OF HIS WAGON TRAIN

“Badd road to day. Weather fine. Traveled down the creek to day and generally in the bottoms of it some scattering seder and pine timber on the hills. They is plenty of grass and willow to camp any whare on the creek. Camped on the creek. Plenty of grass and wood here.”

Twelve miles were reportedly traveled by the Tetherow-Meek train this day before reaching the area (of today’s Alfalfa, Oregon) -- September 20, 1845 they buried one, if not two, traveling companions

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES TO FOLLOW THE CROOKED RIVER

After resting overnight, the sick and exhausted group

struggled over rocky ledges and through thick timber before reaching Wikiup Creek

They crossed the Crooked River again at Wikiup Creek,

then moved north onto a dry and sparsely timbered high plateau

After crossing (Dixie Meadow) and (Combs Flat)

they slowly moved to Ochoco Creek and followed it (into today’s Prineville, Oregon)

they continued west on their course back to the Crooked River

That night camp was again placed along the Crooked River

MEMBERS OF THE TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN CONTINUE THEIR TREK

Leaving (today’s Alfalfa) they turned northwest -- September 21, 1845

at what appears to be a nooning place, someone carved “Lost Meeks 1845”

into the lower limb of a large juniper

they continued toward the Deschutes River following a route expected to lead to a mountain pass

That evening camp was made a little south of Cline Falls (today’s Redmond, Oregon)

while in camp the scouts returned and reported they were unable to find a route

through the Cascade Mountains in the time allotted
Members of the wagon train decided to put off finding a pass through the mountains
instead they would turn toward The Dalles

RIGGS- PARKER WAGON TRAIN APPROACHES THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Riggs-Parker Company moved on through the vicinity (of Prineville) in a northwesterly direction
they kept along the Crooked River to Lytle Creek
An ever increasing number of people fell ill with camp fever
there was water enough and plenty of grass for the livestock,
but food for the humans was ever-diminishing
hurrying to The Dalles was essential, but nearly impossible

ELI COOLEY REPORTED ON CONDITIONS FACED BY THE PARTY HE ACCOMPANIED

Eli Cooley wrote in his diary -- September 21, 1845

“Still bad road. Weather fine. Traveled down the creek to day and have crossed it several times to day and have camped on it. Plenty of grass and willow here and all along on the creek still seder and pine on the hills. West.”

Progress was listed as twelve miles

WAGON TRAINS CROSSING ON THE OREGON TRAIL REACH THE DALLES

Traveling along the usual Oregon Trail route The Dalles was the end of the wagon road
six caravans arrived at The Dalles -- 1845

289 wagons with 1765 people:

- forty wagons led by Samuel Brown;
- thirty wagons led by Lawrence Hall;
- forty wagons led by Samuel Hancock;
- fifty-two wagon led by Hackleman;
- sixty-one wagons led by W.G. T’Vault;
- sixty-six wagons led by Sam Barlow

to their surprise they found the Stephen Meek caravan had not yet arrived in The Dalles
but Stephen Meek, himself, had just shown up in town

CONFUSION REIGNS AT THE DALLES

There was a snarl of terrible congestion at The Dalles created by the survivors
of the Stephen Meek ordeal whose food was gone
local food stores were dangerously low on supplies

Transportation would have to be down the Columbia River in whatever conveyance was available
only a handful of Hudson’s Bay Company bateaux were available
and one or two ramshackle ferries put into operation by settlers already established
livestock was normally driven down the north side of the Columbia River
by drovers on foot or horseback

When Sam Barlow and his family arrived at The Dalles -- September 1845

as many as sixty families were waiting for river transport

a wait of more than ten days was expected and the transportation "exorbitantly" priced

local inquiries turned up little information about traveling over the mountains
except that water, timber and grazing were plentiful

SAM BARLOW DEVELOPS A PLAN AT THE DALLES

Barlow decided to attempt the first wagon crossing of the Cascade Mountains around Mount Hood rather than wait indefinitely at The Dalles for the usual raft trip down the Columbia River or attempt the impossible route created by Rev. Daniel Lee to drive a small number of cattle from the Willamette Valley to The Dalles

Barlow proposed to find a mountain pass and develop a route from The Dalles to the Willamette Valley that would be safer and cheaper than the expensive journey down the Columbia by barge or raft they would travel thirty miles to the south of The Dalles to (today's Tygh Valley where an Indian trail cut through the mountains to the west if they found this to be too difficult, the volunteers would return in time to reach The Dalles for the winter, or to go down the Columbia River to their destinations

After resting a few days and recruiting his followers, teams of oxen and cattle, notice was given that the company's captain, Samuel K. Barlow, was going to cross the Cascades with his family, wagons and possessions an invitation was extended to any and all who felt disposed to join his expedition but he wished none to follow him who had ever learned the adaptability of the word "can't" Old mountaineers, who had trapped all over the mountains, missionaries and Hudson's Bay men said it was a useless attempt, particularly at this season of the year as the rainy season would soon set in; with only jaded teams to undertake the effort everyone said it would be hazardous

SAM BARLOW PREPARES TO FIND A ROUTE ACROSS THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

William L. Rector was the only volunteer to answer Sam Barlow's announcement Barlow and his extended family were accompanied by Rector and his family as they prepared for their hazardous (some said fool-hardy) undertaking Preparations soon were as complete as possible under the circumstances Barlow's company of seven wagons was well equipped with provisions and money for a journey of a few weeks

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN LEAVES THE CROOKED RIVER

After they broke camp they struck a north-northwesterly route away from the Crooked River -- September 22, 1845 They came in sight of a tremendous hill that was necessary to ascend at first sight there appeared to be string of wagons from the bottom to near the top several companies were engaged climbing the hill at the same time Riggs-Parker wagon train joined the long, hard pull to ascend the hill in the morning but once at the top they felt amply repaid for their trouble -- ahead were the Cascade Mountains stretching along the western horizon not more than forty miles away forming a dark outline broken by an occasional snow-covered peak that would rise lofty and spire-like, as if it were some departed monument to greatness

Eli Cooley traveling with a group of wagons noted: **“Bad road to day. Weather fine. Come down the creek about 2 miles and then turned to the rite and left it after crossing it 3 times. Here wee had a verry steep hill to pull up and about 8 miles further struck a creek and camped in the forks. The creek wee camped on is to our rite. Some seder [cedar] on the hills. The corse to whare wee left the creek is about west then about North to here.”**

SAM BARLOW SETS OUT TO FIND A ROUTE ACROSS THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Sam Barlow accompanied by three men set out on foot to scout ahead of the seven wagons to select and blaze a route to the promised land

while earlier Indians and fur trappers had crossed the Oregon Cascades

none had driven wagons over the mountain range

Those of the Barlow party, nineteen adults and several children,

were to follow the marked pathway with their seven wagons

and cut out the road for their wagons so that in case the leaders found a pass

they would be that much farther on their journey;

or, should it prove a failure, they would have a road

on which to make the trip back to The Dalles

TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN BECOMES INCREASINGLY DESPERATE

After a full day of effort, they stopped for the evening at Rim Rock Springs -- September 23, 1845

(located just east of present-day U.S. Highway 26 ten miles or so after the highway swings northwesterly heading toward today's Madras, Oregon and the Deschutes River beyond)

These pioneers, at last, had plenty of fresh water

but the entire migration led by Stephen Meek now carried with them

an unwelcome traveling companion -- typhoid fever due to poor-quality drinking water

which they had unknowingly acquired along the route

WAGON TRAIN CARRYING ELI COOLEY IS IN BETTER CONDITION THAN THE OTHERS

Cooley wrote in his diary -- September 23, 1845

“The road to day has been tolerable good. Weather fine. Crossed the creek this morning near its mouth whare it runs into the same creek wee have been traveling down and come about 3 miles down the creek here leaving it to our left and have traveled about a South West corse. About 3 miles from whare (where) wee left the creek is a spring and plenty of grass and some few willow. Camped about 8 miles further at a branch or spring. Plenty of grass and some seder (cedar) wood on the hills to the left about ¼ mile.”

More than twelve miles we traveled this day

RIGGS- PARKER WAGON TRAIN

As September's days grew shorter and the group neared the Cascade Mountains

emigrants noted the beautiful mountains to the west

against that magnificent backdrop, ever more people fell ill with camp fever

Samuel Parker kept a record of the sick and dying and noted:

“Beried 4 persons heare.” -- September 23, 1845

they were camped just beyond Willow Creek, northwest of Lytle Creek

for the first time fever had taken an alarmingly large number of people -- four in one day
these deaths may not all have occurred on the same day as the burials,
but the emigrants' situation for the time being was desperate
Twelve miles had been made on this day

SAM BARLOW SCOUTS AHEAD OF HIS WAGON TRAIN

Barlow and three companions entered the foothills of Mount Hood from the east near Tygh Creek
they came within perhaps twelve miles of Mount Hood
and thought they saw the Willamette Valley
they learned from the Indians there was a trail around the south side of Mount Hood
leading to Oregon City

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN REACHED RIM ROCK SPRINGS

Emigrants departed from the vicinity Willow Creek
working their way along a northwest route for about ten miles
before they turned west with the expectation of striking the Deschutes River
They arrived at Rim Rock Springs where camp was made -- September 24, 1845
after Tetherow's Company had spent the previous night there
Wagon driver James Field, who had recorded the events of the adventure in a daily diary,
made this uncharacteristically terse comment: **“Went about 15 miles, camping at a spring in
the midst of the plains, without a single landmark to tell its situation.”**
there was a reason for his brevity of this entry dated September 24
it was the last entry James Field recorded in his diary
on that day, exactly one month after the company had started out on the Meek Cutoff
strapping and healthy twenty-two-year-old Riggs party's lead teamster
was overcome by the deadly camp fever

TETHEROW-MEEK WAGON TRAIN PRESSES ON AROUND THE CLOCK

After leaving Rim Rock Springs, Tetherow-Meeker pioneers
traveled around the clock for two days -- September 24-25, 1845
a growing shortage of food caused alarm among the pioneers
dangerous effects of Typhoid fever escalated that alarm into terror
every effort must be made to reach The Dalles before all was lost
Once across the Crooked River, Tetherow and Meek turned their wagons
to a north-northwesterly course over the plateaus and Juniper Ridge, through (today's Madras)
they continued their journey through the night

CONDITIONS OF ALL OF THE PIONEERS WERE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING

Tetherow-Meek and Riggs-Parker wagon trains had followed separate but parallel routes
as they worked they way northward
Tetherow-Meek had pursued a more Westerly course than the others

TETHEROW-MEEK CARAVAN CONTINUES ON THROUGH THE NIGHT

Completing the trek from (Madras, Oregon) through the night of September 24-25

the exhausted pioneers struck water about 10:00 a.m., September 25, 1845
south of where the northeasterly-flowing Deschutes is joined by Trout Creek
(near present-day Willowdale, Oregon)

Camp was set up (near the present-day Jefferson-Wasco County line)
sixty-five miles had been covered during this two day trek
(some of the exertion involved scouting efforts northwest of Madras
looking for a place to cross the Deschutes River)

RIGGS-PARKER COMPANY MAKES AN EARLY START

They proceeded northward about eight miles -- September 25, 1845
they knew the Deschutes River was just to the west and that to get to The Dalles
they would eventually have to descend the steep canyon and cross the river
While the main body of the wagon train continued on their parallel course to the river
several scouts were sent ahead to locate a crossing
Camp was made on a hill about one-and-a-half miles from the Deschutes River (on the rim above)
cattle were driven down a hollow to find water
(they were probably near the community of present-day Gateway, Oregon)
Several scouts were sent ahead to locate a crossing of the Deschutes River
but the river was daunting and unyielding -- there seemed no easy way down to the river's water
and no safe place to ferry the wagons and animals across the water

WAGON TRAIN OF ELI COOLEY IS IN THE SAME VICINITY AS THE RIGGS-PARKER TRAIN

Eli Cooley recorded the encounter of the two companies -- September 25, 1845

“The road to day has been tolerable good except some few rocky places. Weather fine. This morning wee started early and traveled nearly North for about 8 mile and camped on the hill about 1 ½ mile from Shoots or Fales (Deschutes) River (probably near the community of Gateway, Oregon) and drove our cattle down a hollow to water. Some seder (cedar) wood here and some grass. The rite hand road is some nearest as the company behind made a cut off on us.”

(this seems to imply the Riggs-Cooley company was catching-up and passing
Tetherow's "splinter group" traveling with Eli Cooley)

JOEL PALMER LEADS A WAGON TRAIN OUT OF THE DALLES INTO THE CASCADES

Joel Palmer led fifteen men, several with their families, in twenty-three wagons
following Sam Barlow's trail south from The Dalles into the mountains
Palmer was joined by J.C. Caplinger, Andrew Hood, John M. Bacon and Reuben Alonzo Gesner
who were among the few volunteers who traveled thirty miles south and crossed Tygh Creek
(just a little upstream from where Stephen Meek's Lost Wagon Train
wound cross the Deschutes River the very next day)
Palmer crossed Tygh Valley before turning west to follow the north bank of the White River
and begin the climb through the Cascade Mountains
everything moved along harmoniously and without special incident for the first forty miles

RIGGS-PARKER WAGON TRAIN TRAVELS LATE INTO THE NIGHT

Sagebrush Springs was reached where camp was set up near mid-night -- September 25, 1845

in fact, it was too dark to see the worn path created by the Tetherow- Meek wagon train
just a few hours earlier
Among those with the Riggs-Parker emigrants at least one, and perhaps two, more had died

TETHEROW-MEEK AND RIGGS-PARKER WAGONS UNITE AT SAGEBRUSH SPRINGS

It was nearly miraculous that the Tetherow-Meek and Riggs-Parker wagon trains
which had traveled separate routes for ten days arrived at Sagebrush Springs
at nearly the same time
it also appears Eli Cooley and, perhaps the train he had accompanied, also arrived in camp
Camp fever, hunger and illness had taken the lives of the Lost Wagon Train members
thirty-two people were so sick that spring water had to be carried to them
six more burials brought the total deaths from camp fever to ten persons in only four days
however, a chord of hope was struck at Sagebrush Springs that night -- a baby was born
Pioneers decided to camp together and proceeded on again as one wagon train
as before, the wagon train took hours to get started -- families packed and left when they could
for those who left family members behind, the departure must have been agonizing
Eli Cooley noted the day's journey -- September 26, 1845

**“The road to day has been tolerable good except one Big hill to come down which is rocky.
Weather fine. Traveled about a North East course and camped at a spring. Plenty of grass here,
some cedar wood some distance off.”**

COMBINED WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES TO STRING OUT

Pioneers, as they could, packed up and continued on their way -- September 27, 1845
they worked their way northward, following a course roughly parallel to the Deschutes River
knowing the river was just to the west and that to get to The Dalles,
they would eventually have to descend the steep canyon and cross it
several scouts were sent ahead to attempt to locate a crossing site
Eli Cooley continues writing in his diary of the day's six miles of travel-- September 27

**“Some rock in the road to day. Weather fine. Traveled about a North East course. Come
about 2 ½ mile and struck a hollow and turned to the left and in about ½ mile is a spring. Plenty of
grass; no wood and in about 1 mile further struck a small creek and traveled about 2 mile up it and
camped. Plenty of grass and wood on the creek. Saw a few Indians this morning.”**

All of the members of the wagon train continued to suffer
several more had become ill including Samuel Parker's wife Elizabeth
who was then pregnant with their ninth child
also sick was one of their daughters, one-year old Virginia

AN ADVANCE PARTY SETS OUT TO FIND THE DESCHUTES RIVER

Stephen Meek, Elizabeth, Nathaniel Olney and several others reached (Buck Hollow Creek)
above the Deschutes River -- September 27, 1845
When they reached the river they found it to be daunting and unyielding
there seemed no easy way down to the Deschutes River's edge
and no safe place to ferry the wagons and animals across the water
where they arrived at the Deschutes presented the worst place for crossing that could be imagined

Samuel Parker, a member of the scouting party, noted: **“The place at which we struck the Deschutes river presented the most unfavorable place for crossing that could be imagined. The river is, at that point, four rods (sixty-six feet) wide, flowing between perpendicular walls of basalt, the water very deep and the current very rapid.”**

STEPHEN MEEK’S LIFE IS THREATENED

Meek and his advanced party reached Sherars Falls on the Deschutes River -- September 28, 1845
(this waterfall was probably first discovered by Peter Skene Ogden [September 1826])

Scouting party climbed down the canyon to see if the wagons could cross the river in this area
they found the smoothest path down a very steep slope
working together, as they had done so many times before, they set up drag teams
to move their wagons to the bottom of the canyon

Deschutes River proved to be a greater barrier than the Cascade Mountains
it was too swift to ford or to navigate

Advanced party watched Indians fish from platforms
drying racks were set up at intervals

leaving plenty of room for the anticipated trickle of wagons to park
before being ferried across the river

An ingenious solution to the problem of crossing the river was suggested
some of the tighter wagon beds could be calked with tar to make them watertight
pioneers could pull these wagons back and forth across the river using ropes
in this way all of the travelers and their belongings could be ferried across

One of the members of the Lost Wagon Train who had lost two sons came gunning for Meek
Meek and his wife Elizabeth were taken across the Deschutes River with the help of local Indians
once across the Deschutes, Stephen Meek estimated they were thirty miles from The Dalles

While the main party of scouts returned to the wagon train to explain their plan
Stephen Meek, Elizabeth Meek, and Nathaniel Olney rode ahead to The Dalles
on horses borrowed from local Indians

to purchase the necessary supplies and alert Wascopam Mission
and tell the community that the 200 families and their wagons were coming in

MAIN BODY OF THE COMBINED WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES ON

All day was spent as the wagon train slowly pulled east through Lyle Gap-- September 28, 1845
preparations began for the horrendous double-teamed ascent up Bull Mountain from the south
this long, steep, uphill climb was required to reach Shaniko Flats (near Shaniko, Oregon)
a looming challenge that would continue for days as wagons continued to appear
at the top of Bull Mountain at least one group made a dry camp at Criterion Summit
(south of today’s Maupin, Oregon)

Eli Cooley noted the day’s travel of eight miles -- September 28

“The road to day has been verry rocky. Weather fine. Come up the creek a short distance to a dry fork and turned to the left up a verry steep hill then the road is level but rocky. Camped at a spring in a hollow. Plenty of grass here; wood scarce. Saw a few Indians here.”

(Eli is probably in the vicinity of present-day Shaniko, Oregon where the terrain is relatively flat
but a long steep uphill climb would be required to reach it from the south)

MAIN WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES TOWARD THE DESCHUTES RIVER

Water was in short supply as arriving wagons continued the struggle up Bull Mountain
Health and moral of the immigrants deteriorated more rapidly each day

there was no possibility of taking time to find an easier route -- even if one existed
(one does farther north)

Samuel Parker, keeping his grim record, again noted: **“beried 3 heare.”** -- September 29, 1845
Many accounts of the wagon train’s circumstances mention emigrants who died and were buried
at almost every campsite over the last few days

all of the emigrants were under extreme stress by now -- September 29

they were in a headlong dash for The Dalles -- nearest site of civilization and relative safety
Eli Cooley skipped his entry for the day [he added it between October 4 and 5]

REACHING THE DESCHUTES RIVER BECAME THE FOCUS OF THE PIONEERS

Traveling all day and into the night, the scattered caravan covered thirty-five miles -- September 30

Samuel Parker’s group found a camp site on Booten Creek

at the crossing place along the Deschutes River (at today’s Maupin, Oregon)

there according to Parker’s diary **“5 beried heare.”**

death toll had reached eighteen in only a week

This day’s travel of six miles was recorded by Eli Cooley, **“The road to day has been quite rocky.
Weather fine. Had a verry steep hill to pull up to day and also to come down. Camped at a spring.
Some wood and grass here. A short distance back is an other spring.”**

that portion of the wagon train carrying Eli Cooley had descended Buck Hollow Canyon
and was moving toward the Deschutes River

STEPHEN AND ELIZABETH MEEK REACH THE SETTLEMENT OF THE DALLES

Stephen and Elizabeth Meek arrived at The Dalles Methodist Mission of Wascopam
in the afternoon -- September 30, 1845

only to learn the missionaries’ work was for the Indians, not for emigrants -- help was denied
Meek met an old Mountain Man he knew who was visiting the mission: Moses “Black” Harris
fearing for his life Meek persuaded his old friend to take provisions

back to where the wagon train was trapped at the Deschutes crossing

Harris also volunteered his services as pilot

In the community, Meek paid out of his own pocket for axes, ropes and pulleys

needed for crossing the Deschutes River and for food for the starving emigrants

Moses “Black” Harris, along with several others, started in search of the lost company

BRITISH FRIGATE *AMERICA* DEPARTS FROM THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

After a one month visit to Puget Sound Captain Sir John Gordon

decided the wilderness he saw from shipboard was not worth a fight

Turning the dull job of watchful waiting over to the *Modeste*

(and to the frigate *Fisgard*, due to arrive shortly)

Captain Gordon sailed to Hawaii -- October 1845

(In Hawaii, Captain Gordon dispatched Lieutenant Peel to London aboard a ship bound to Mexico)

with instructions that the lieutenant should cross the country as rapidly as possible
and catch the first available transport to England
where, as son of the Prime Minister, he was sure to make his report heard)

STEPHEN MEEK'S LOST WAGON TRAIN CONTINUES DOWN BUCK HOLLOW CANYON

Main body of emigrants wound their way down Buck Hollow Canyon into the Deschutes Gorge
nine miles were made down the steep descent -- October 1, 1845
difficult conditions presented by the surrounding terrain
forced them to take the wagons single-file down to the river bottom

MOSES "BLACK" HARRIS ARRIVED AT THE DESCHUTES RIVER

Supplies were moved from The Dalles in the direction of the Deschutes River as quickly as possible
Moses "Black" Harris' relief party was welcomed by all when he arrived at the Deschutes River
at a place (now known as "Shears Bridge")
carrying ropes, pulleys and supplies Stephen Meek had bought at Wascopam Mission
Harris found the wagon train members reduced by deprivation -- October 1, 1845
their provisions were nearly exhausted, they were weakened by constant exertion
and fearful of never again reaching civilization
This first contact with civilization after unbelievable suffering generated unrestrained excitement
pioneers sent some of the supplies up the canyon to waiting companions, together with the news
that they now had the ropes, pulleys, axes and other implements
needed to conquer this one final obstacle

WORK WAS BEGUN IMMEDIATELY TO CROSS THE DESCHUTES RIVER

One of the pioneers, William A. Goulder, reported the activity:

"Our friends, white and red, are on the opposite bank of the river having arrived from The Dalles, bringing axes and ropes and other implements and materials to assist in the task of crossing. They are led by a brave old mountaineer, one of the noblest...who was known to everybody as 'Black Harris.' They are soon at work improvising temporary floating structures and suspension bridges. Pretty soon an Indian is seen to plump into the river with the end of a long rope in his mouth, and swim over to our side. Now it is necessary for some of our party to be on the other side to look out for the running gear of the wagons that are fastened to the ropes and thus dragged through the water. In order to test the strength of the rope and the safety of this method of transit, the rope was passed around my body, just under my arms, and I was dragged through the raging torrent to the other side. I could but feel that I was in the hands of my friends, nor could I be insensible to the fact that the water was of icy coldness, just being lately arrived from the snowy brow of Mt. Hood. It has been my good fortune to enjoy some very cool and refreshing baths, but nothing in my experience ever equaled this one. Several of the young men followed my example, while the main body of the company waited for more elaborate contrivances."⁵¹³

PIONEERS CONTINUE FERRYING EQUIPMENT AND GOODS

Incredibly with the Indians' help, the livestock, people, and wagons

⁵¹³ *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

began moving across the Deschutes Gorge -- October 2, 1845
at a very narrow defile with a falls -- (Shears Bridge on today's Highway 216)
(this crossing would later be referred to as "the most amazing feat of all"
especially given how sick and thoroughly worn out these stricken emigrants were
on this, their thirty-ninth day from Meek's Cutoff)
Crossing the Deschutes River would take two weeks
wagon by wagon they maneuvered the entire wagon train over the river
those who were most ill were ferried across first
Like the day before, this day was spent disassembling wagons
to be carried across the Deschutes River
wagon parts were placed in the watertight wagon bed and pulled across by ropes
Two-thirds of the emigrants were suffering from camp fever
Parker notes that Mrs. Catherine (Bonnet) Butts died -- October 2, 1845
her body was carried for three more days since no ground suitable for a grave could be found

FIRST MEMBERS OF THE LOST WAGON TRAIN ARRIVE AT THE DALLES

Moses "Black" Harris piloted the lead wagons of the Lost Wagon Train on the last leg of their trek
from (present-day Dufur, Oregon) into The Dalles -- October 3, 1845
By the time the safety of civilization had been reached members of the Lost Wagon Train
had suffered forty days of privation and agony
number of emigrants that died on the trip from camp fever, accidents, drowning, and other causes
was estimated to range from twenty-three to fifty
(legend says forty-four members of the Donner Party disaster
died crossing the Sierra Mountains of California [1846-1847] on the way to California)
where forty-one pioneers died)
Still at the Deschutes River, Samuel Parker's own wagon
was taken apart and pulled across the Deschutes River -- October 3
in addition to his pregnant wife Elizabeth, five of their eight children were all ill
Pricilla 13, Susan 7, Gideon 6, George 3, and Virginia 1
only Sarah 16, Newton 11, and Armanda 9, had been spared so far

SAMUEL PARKER'S FAMILY CONTINUES ON IN SPITE OF ILLNESS

After crossing the Deschutes River, three miles were made before they reached a small creek
camp fever continued to take an increasing toll as the total rose to twenty-one -- October 5, 1845
Mrs. Catherine Butts, her body having been carried for three days
until they finally got out of the steep river canyon allowing them to bury her
was buried on the open prairie along with three others -- October 5

JOEL PALMER'S WAGON TRAIN CATCHES UP WITH SAM BARLOW'S WAGONS

Joel Palmer's party came upon the seven wagons belonging to Sam Barlow and camped
thirty wagons were now joined in the search for a new route around the south side of Mount Hood
Joel Palmer spent the next two days searching up the White River and into the mountains to the west
he returned to where the wagons were camped and found Sam Barlow with his three companions
had returned from scouting in the same general area

SAMUEL PARKER'S FAMILY ARRIVES AT THE DALLES

After forty-five days on the Meek Cutoff, The Dalles was finally reached -- October 7, 1845

(a week later, Parker buried his wife Elizabeth and newborn James Luther at the mission
just days later his young daughter, Virginia, died from fever and also was buried there)

Parker wrote: **"...got in a house with my family -- got something to eat -- this was the first day we had done without something to eat. But some of the Company had been with out bread fore 15 days and had to live on pore beef with out any thing else."**⁵¹⁴

(pore beef was the term used for beef usually from oxen so thin and emaciated
from pulling the wagons across the country, that it was so tough and tasteless
as to be near worthless for eating and was used only as a last resort
sometimes pioneers referred to it as "blue and glue")

Sarah Cummings, whose family followed Sam Barlow and his family

and then took the Oregon Trail's main route avoiding the Meek Cutoff watched
as the members of the Meek wagon train struggled into town and she noted: **"One day shortly after our arrival in The Dalles a man was seen approaching...he told us that his wife, and five other mothers had died. The children and the remainder of the party were in camp about a day's travel up the river. They were dying of starvation... One woman whose death occurred in this party was Mrs. Sam Parker. She left a large family of children..."**⁵¹⁵

Eli Cooley ended his journal report of the Lost Wagon Train by noting the prices at The Dalles:

"Flower is \$8 per hundred; Beef 6 cts per pound; Potatoes 60 cts per Bushel" -- October 7
these prices must have seemed extraordinarily high to the emigrants

BARLOW-PALMER COMBINED WAGON TRAIN SENDS OUT PARTIES

Members of the combined Barlow-Palmer wagon train decided to send some men ahead
to drive the loose cattle over the Rev. Daniel Lee cattle trail

around the north side of Mount Hood to Oregon City and then return with provisions
another small party went to The Dalles as provisions were running low
and there was an immediate need

Joel Palmer and Sam Barlow were to scout ahead with Harrison Locke
searching for a mountain pass

others were to remain with the wagons and work on advancing the road into the wilderness

MOUNT HOOD IS CLIMBED TO SCOUT THE TRAIL AHEAD

Sam Barlow, Joel Palmer and Harrison Locke left the wagons traveling on foot -- October 11, 1845
they intended to scout far enough ahead to find a route the wagons could travel
they pushed through heavy timber and brush so thick it was almost impossible to penetrate
after a hard struggle they reached the top of a ridge where they continued to investigate
(what later became known as Barlow Pass) as they reached the 4,155-foot Cascade summit
they were effectively lost

⁵¹⁴ *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

⁵¹⁵ *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

BARLOW, PALMER AND LOCKE SCOUT THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF MOUNT HOOD

Crossing (the future Barlow Pass) the three scouts searched for a westward route off Mount Hood

Palmer regarded the spectacular mountain (he later wrote) **“I had never before looked upon a sight so nobly grand.”**⁵¹⁶

they crossed a wide, stone-filled field, then continued up the mountain for a better view ahead
they reached a wide, steeply sloped ravine so deep the timber below

resembled miniature Christmas trees (they were probably looking across Zigzag Canyon)

Palmer’s journal describes the spot: **“A precipitate cliff of rocks, at the head, prevented passage around it. The hills were of the same material as that we had been travelling over, and were very steep.”**⁵¹⁷

Sam Barlow, Joel Palmer and Harrison Locke decided to climb higher up the mountain

hoping to find a path into the Willamette Valley -- October 12, 1845

when snow was encountered Palmer, in better physical condition than the others, went on alone

he ventured out onto (what is probably) Zigzag Glacier

Palmer climbed about one-third of the distance from the timberline to the summit,

although his moccasins had worn thin and he traveled much of the distance barefoot

he took detailed notes regarding the surrounding ridges and rivers

looking south over the country Palmer saw the Big Sandy and Clackamas rivers running
down to where they emptied into the Willamette

he could see a low gap in the mountains that might provide a passage for the wagons

When Joel Palmer rejoined his companions they had only one biscuit each to eat

they headed back for wagons gathering berries as they descended

SAM BARLOW AND HIS TWO COMPANIONS RETURN TO THEIR WAGON TRAIN

Returning to the wagons Sam Barlow, Joel Palmer and Harrison Locke met the road-building crew

on Barlow Creek and arrived in camp near Tygh Creek about 11:00 that night

about five days after their departure from The Dalles

they had scouted twenty or twenty-five miles into the Cascades and had not found a wagon route

but they had found a likely camping spot at (present-day Summit Meadows)

if that option became necessary

At about this time H.M. Knighton decided the venture was impractical and gave up

he returned to The Dalles

JOEL PALMER SCOUTS AHEAD FOR A ROUTE ONCE AGAIN

Joel Palmer insisted on giving the effort one more attempt

he led a scouting party into the Cascade Mountains once again -- October 13, 1845

he noticed the weather which had been clear for months began to cloud up

in the morning light birds and squirrels seemed to indicate the approach of a storm

Palmer and his party realized that more labor would be necessary than was possible

to clear a road before the rainy season began with its prospects of snow

even worse, those waiting with the wagons were near starvation

⁵¹⁶ Joel Palmer, *Journal of travels over the Rocky Mountains, to the Mouth of the Columbia River*, P. 60

⁵¹⁷ Joel Palmer, *Journal of travels over the Rocky Mountains, to the Mouth of the Columbia River*, P. 61.

SAM BARLOW'S WAGON TRAIN FACES A CRUCIAL DECISION

Joel Palmer felt responsible for convincing others to follow him into the Cascade Mountains
his conscience would not allow him to continue to endanger so many families
Palmer decided to return to the wagons and explain the difficulties they faced
they needed to find a suitable place to camp, build a cabin, leave their wagons
and return to The Dalles
everything they could not pack out would be left in the care of someone
they could continue the effort to cross the mountains in the (spring)
when they were not encumbered with their families and cattle

AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED TO LEAVE THE WAGONS IN THE MOUNTAINS

When he reached the wagons, Joel Palmer explained the dire straits
faced by the members of the wagon train and proposed leaving their property in the mountains
Sam Barlow agreed with Joel Palmer's proposal
after some discussion a crucial decision was made that altered the fate of these pioneers
instead of continuing on with their wagons and possessions it was decided
to pack out the women and children on the few animals they had left
they would be spared what could have become a terrifying and disastrous situation
two or three trusty young men would be left with the wagons and goods until (spring)
Sam Barlow and William Rector set out to see if they could walk the proposed wagon road
down the Cascade Mountains to Oregon City
Barlow said that as soon as the work could be done (in the spring)
he would return with a gang of men to cut a road through the mountains
and carry everything out

ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE TO LEAVE THE WAGONS IN THE MOUNTAINS

All thirty wagons were moved to a suitable place near the summit of the Cascade Mountains
located just east of the newly blazed trail over (what is now known as Barlow Pass)
that had been identified earlier where they could leave their heavy goods and wagons
they named this place "Fort Deposit" -- October 15, 1845
A cabin was soon constructed on Barlow Creek to hold the goods likely to spoil from dampness
or from a heavy weight of snow
Packing had to be well organized -- when everything was put away, preparations for moving began
each woman packed her own domestic possessions,
cramming her wardrobe and indispensables into as small parcels as possible
as the number of horses was very limited
and no one knew how the oxen would stand the pack saddle
Next the limited supply of provisions was divided among those staying with the wagons all winter
and those attempting to go on to the Willamette Valley
William Berry volunteered to stay alone in the mountains so less food was necessary
and John M. Bacon and William Barlow could accompany their families
and help ease their hardships

LAST OF MEEK'S WAGON TRAIN ARRIVED IN THE DALLES

As written by Samuel Hancock in mid-October: **“After crossing the river we had everything made ready for starting in the direction of Waller’s mission [at The Dalles], which we had reached the following day; here Mr. Waller had wheat, peas and potatoes, which he sold to the half famished emigrants, who were too hungry to cook their food more than half done, before eating it, in consequence of which, before morning many of them were very sick, and my most intimate companion on this journey had died from the effects: the others all recovered but I felt the loss of my friend most sensibly.”**⁵¹⁸

Once at The Dalles, many of the emigrants who followed Stephen Meek recuperated with strength restored, they continued on to the Willamette Valley a number of others died at The Dalles, but specific information is difficult to obtain Marla King wrote a letter to her parents noting:

“Sickness and death attended us. Upwards of fifty died on the new route.”

Hiram Smith described their suffering and the loss of **“near fifty souls, young and old. The greatest number that died were children. Those that traveled the old road got in well and in good time.”**

Samuel Parker deserves the last word on the exploits of the Meek caravan:

“I will just say pen and tong [tongue] will both fall short when they gow [go] to tell the suffering the company went through.”⁵¹⁹

TANGLE OF IMMIGRANTS AT THE DALLES

Meek’s wagon train members only added to the terrible congestion already at The Dalles food was gone, rains threatened, transportation was limited to a handful of Hudson’s Bay Company bateaux and one or two dilapidated ferryboats put into service by already established settlers There were so many suffering members of the Meek Expedition arriving at The Dalles’ Wascopam Mission -- mid-October that the person in charge wrote to Rev. George Gary in Oregon City asking what to do with so many people suffering Meek’s new route had been a tragic mistake of the first magnitude it was by far the worst disaster in the annals of the Oregon Trail, and perhaps even the entire western migration Emigrants’ animosity and mistrust of Stephen Meek was sustained for years pioneers’ bewilderment, anger, and losses stigmatized Meek and all who participated Although the first effort across the high desert was permeated with loss and fury, Meek’s route served as a conduit for permanent roads (in later years, rumors of the Blue Bucket gold discovery inspired many eager prospectors back onto Meek’s trail in the 1860s)

SAM BARLOW AND WILLIAM RECTOR SET OUT FOR OREGON CITY

Sam Barlow and William L. Rector left their families with the others at Fort Deposit they set out on foot to walk the proposed route to Oregon City to bring back supplies

⁵¹⁸ *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

⁵¹⁹ *Meek Cutoff 1845*, Compiled by Karen Bassett, Jim Renner, and Joyce White, Published electronically, 1998.

following the Big Sandy River this disastrous expedition left both men starving and lost
They encountered a group of drovers (near present-day Zigzag, Oregon)
who were driving cattle along a trail around the north side of Mount Hood
that had first been used by Rev. Daniel Lee to drive cattle to the Willamette Valley
by way of Lolo Pass [in the late 1830s]
this was far too difficult a route to be used successfully by wagons)
(Sam Barlow and William L. Rector turned southwest to reach (today's Eagle Creek, Oregon)
and continued on to Philip Foster's farm near present-day Clackamas)
they finally reached Oregon City where they secured provisions
(Sam Barlow took the opportunity while in Oregon City to request financing to build a trail
around the southern slope of Mount Hood from The Dalles to Oregon City
Barlow and Rector then set out on the return trip to Fort Deposit)

MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE BARLOW WAGON TRAIN LEAVE FORT DEPOSIT

Shortly after Sam Barlow and William L. Rector set out for Oregon City
Fort Deposit was hit by a heavy snow-storm
Joel Palmer, William Buffams and his Caroline and Arthur Thompson's wife Miriam
decided to leave the miserable conditions at Fort Deposit and head down the mountain
Palmer noted the narrow Rev. Daniel Lee Trail used to drive cattle
linking the Willamette Valley with Wascopam Mission
they proceeded along the trail in the direction of Oregon City
Several families, traveling in wagons ill-suited to crossing through the wilderness in (winter)
remained at Fort Deposit while the remainder returned to The Dalles

JOEL PALMER AND HIS PARTY MEET A PARTY FROM OREGON CITY CARRYING SUPPLIES

Rescuers from Oregon City sent by Sam Barlow and William L. Rector
after they reached Oregon City were encountered
on the Rev. Daniel Lee cattle trail from Oregon City -- October 19, 1845
Joel Palmer turned back to Fort Deposit with the rescue party
Mr. and Mrs. William Buffams and Mrs. Miriam Thompson went on to Oregon City
(where they arrived [October 22])

AMERICANS TRAVEL NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER IN SEARCH OF LAND

Colonel Michael Simmons led the first American immigration to Puget Sound -- October 1845
Simmons, George Washington Bush, James McAllister, David Kindred, and Gabriel Jones
and their families were accompanied by two single men, Samuel Crockett and Jesse Ferguson
twenty-eight pioneers insisted in making their homes north of Columbia River
on land claimed by Hudson's Bay Company and the British government
they journeyed down the Columbia to the Cowlitz River and up that river to Cowlitz Landing
Peter Bercier of the French-Canadian Cowlitz settlement acted as a guide from the Cowlitz Prairie
they followed the Cowlitz Trail through mud and uncut forest as women drove the oxen and cattle
over country that George Washington Bush had explored years before
they spent fifteen days industriously chopping a sixty-mile ox-team road through the dense forest
between Cowlitz Landing and the falls of the Des Chutes River near Budd Inlet

this is the worst part of the whole journey

ARRIVAL OF THE BUSH PRAIRIE SETTLERS CAME LATE IN THE YEAR

Puget Sound became home to the first white settlers as Elizabeth (Kindred) Simmons, Isabella (James) Washington Bush, Charlotte (Smith) McAllister, Talitha (Ramey) Kindred and Keziah (Bishop) Jones arrived with their husbands and children arrived at Des Chutes Falls (in today's Tumwater, Washington) -- October 1845 These pioneers were forced to hurry construction of a crude log twenty-by-forty foot cabin belonging to David and Talitha Kindred before (winter) arrived it was located at the edge of the prairie (about two miles south of Tumwater) all twenty-eight pioneers lived in the communal building

SAM BARLOW PETITIONS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO BUILD A ROAD

Sam Barlow considered the route over the Cascade Mountains he had attempted to open he petitioned the Oregon Provisional Legislature for permission to build a road his estimated cost of \$4000 was lower than the bids of others familiar with the route

JOEL PALMER ONCE AGAIN SETS OUT FOR OREGON CITY

Joel Palmer again left Fort Deposit as he took to the Rev. Daniel Lee cattle trail to Oregon City he met Sam Barlow and William Rector on their way back to Fort Deposit -- October 25, 1845 (Joel Palmer, himself, reached at Oregon City [November 1, 1845])

FORT NISQUALLY PROVIDES ASSISTANCE TO THE AMERICAN SETTLERS

Hudson's Bay Company had good relations with the Puget Sound Indians, whom they treated as trading partners and allies with Dr. Tolmie's encouragement, the Simmons-Bush party followed that example Michael Simmons, George Washington Bush, James McAllister, David Kindred, and Gabriel Jones and their families, Samuel Crockett and Jesse Ferguson were welcomed using the letter of credit provided by Chief Factor James Douglas they purchased wheat, peas, potatoes and beef cattle on credit from Dr. Tolmie at Fort Nisqually in lieu of cash they cut hand-made wooden shingles to work off their debt these settlers visited Nisqually Farm operated by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company near Fort Nisqually interestingly, of the five family names, only Bush does not appear on the Fort's credit list, apparently corroborating that he brought sufficient cash to pay for their supplies Newly-arrived Americans also were welcomed by Nisqually Indians led by Leschi who brought horse-loads of supplies Local Indians taught newcomers from the Midwest to take advantage of the unfamiliar seafood which the region provided in abundance they soon learned to find oysters, dig for clams and harvest salmon returning up the rivers, as well as how to use many native plants

FORT DEPOSIT IS DESERTED

Most of the pioneers traveling in small groups made their way out of the mountains to Oregon City

with what belongings they could pack out without their wagons
some on foot, some on horseback using the Rev. Daniel Lee cattle trail
at least one woman rode a cow to Oregon City -- by November 1, 1845
William Rector took his wife Ann back to The Dalles
Sam Barlow, his wife Susannah accompanied by Arthur and Anna Caplinger set out for Oregon City
this last party reached Oregon City (on Christmas Eve)

COLONEL MICHAEL SIMMONS SETTLES AT NEW MARKET

Michael Simmons was attracted by Des Chutes Falls and natural harbor of Budd Inlet
he laid out a community he called New Market at the waterfalls -- early November 1845
(later this became Tumwater, Washington)
Christopher Columbus Simmons was the first white infant to live beside Puget Sound
Simmons and Gabriel Jones built a water-powered sawmill and a gristmill
industry began in the region

GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSH WORKS HIS LAND

George W. and Isabella Bush and their sons settled farther up the Deschutes River
on a fertile open prairie a few miles south of New Market
that soon became known as Bush Prairie
they began a farm using seeds they had carried with them
George Washington Bush's first harvests were small but he continued to improve his farm
he was a skilled farmer and quickly made progress
he constantly produced bumper crops of wheat, corn, beans and pumpkins
which he frequently gave to starving new arrivals
in addition to his grain and vegetable crops, Bush established fruit trees
he grew from seeds he had carried over the Oregon Trail

DAVID KINDRED AND JAMES McALLISTER SETTLE ON BUSH PRAIRIE

David Kindred and James McAllister and their families took land nearby
Leschi, a Nisqually Indian, met them when they arrived and helped them select a building site
he even invited McAllister to join his tribe
James McAllister developed a two-story home
he taught Leschi and Quimuth how to plant wheat and potatoes
both of the Nisqually Indian brothers grew crops on their Muck Creek farm
Leschi adopted the Catholic faith and began to dress as the white settlers dressed

SIMMONS-BUSH PARTY MEETS WITH SUCCESS

Michael Simmons built his first sawmill at New Market (Tumwater) and lumber was sold for cash
Simmons and George Washington Bush constructed the first grist mill on Puget Sound
at Simmons' claim at Deschutes Falls
its millstone was chiseled out of granite boulders found on the beach
settlers could grind their own flour for the first time rather than depending on Fort Nisqually
(Simmons-Bush Party is credited by some historians as having been in large part
responsible for bringing the land north of the Columbia River into the United States)

they established a presence that attracted other settlers
and strengthened the American claim to the area in later debates
between Great Britain and the United States over partitioning Oregon Country)

SAM BARLOW'S WAGONS REMAIN IN THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS

Crossing the Cascade Mountains had taken more than two months
William Berry, perhaps with a companion, returned to Fort Deposit from Oregon City
to stay in the now-deserted fort and guard the party's supplies, wagons and possessions
throughout the harsh winter of 1845-[1846]
(William Barlow, the son of Sam Barlow, settled in Oregon City
and eventually he bought his father's land claim [1852]
where the community of Barlow, Oregon was to stand and speculated in land development
Barlow, Oregon was named in honor of William rather than his father Sam)

PIONEERS ARRIVE IN OREGON COUNTRY IN GREATLY INCREASING NUMBERS

Immigration of 1845 far exceeded in number any of its predecessors
it was estimated three thousand new arrivals doubled the population to about 6000
in that immigration, Oregon received valuable additions to her population
among the number were Joel Palmer, Solomon Tetherow, William T'Vault, Joseph Avery,
Frederick Waymire, John Waymire, John Fleming, Stephen Staats and Dr. Ralph Wilcox
thereafter, the number of American occupants vastly outnumbered the British

BRITISH WAR SHIP RAISES AMERICAN CONCERNS IN OREGON COUNTRY

British sloop-of-war *Modeste* (18-guns) under command of Captain Thomas Baillie
returned to the Columbia River after a year's absence arriving -- November 29, 1845
as a consequence of the election of James K. Polk to the presidency
Modeste was to show the British flag in the Columbia District as a warning
that Britain was not prepared to give up the area without a fight
British government had shipped a barrel of silver dollars to help pay the crew
this provided a much needed and a greatly appreciated infusion of cash into Oregon's economy
However, *Modeste* was regarded by the Americans as an ominous presence
to ease resentment, British sailors and mariners planned several shipboard parties,
and entertainment events for the public
and the British crew brought new energy to the social scene at Fort Vancouver
Lieutenant Henry J. Warre apparently relished the company of other British officers
Secret Agents Warre and Mervin Vavasour had a difficult time maintaining their cover
especially when Warre bragged about how much his uncle, Sir Richard Jackson,
commander-in-chief of all forces in British North America, paid his cook
Still, the popularity of *Modeste*'s officers and their entertainment failed to convince Americans
to appreciate, or even accept, her presence -- many regarded her presence as a standing menace
there was no mistaking the destructive power the ship possessed

PRESIDENT POLK DELIVERS A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS REGARDING OREGON COUNTRY

President James K. Polk made several recommendations to Congress -- December 2, 1845

he noted the failure of negotiations to draw an international boundary
he stated **“no compromise the United States ought to accept can be affected.”**⁵²⁰
and announced a year’s notice to end joint occupation with Great Britain
he demanded to extend United States jurisdiction over Oregon settlers
he proposed an Indian Agency West of the Rockies be founded
and recommended that a line of forts be constructed from the Missouri River to the Rockies
with a force of riflemen to provide military protection along the Oregon Trail
President Polk also demanded to extend United States jurisdiction over Oregon Country settlers
Expansionists Senators led by Senator Lewis Cass (Michigan)
and Senator Stephen A. Douglas (Illinois) agreed with the president
Expansionist agenda of President Polk and the Democratic Party
created the possibility of two different, simultaneous wars
relations between the United States and Mexico were tenuous
as the Republic of Texas sought to be annexed into the United States
Great Britain offered no progress on resolving the Oregon boundary dispute

PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK ANNOUNCES AN END TO JOINT OCCUPATION OF OREGON

Convention of [1818] required President James K. Polk
to give Great Britain one year’s notice to end Joint Occupation
In his annual address to Congress President James K. Polk recommended
giving the British the required one-year notice of termination -- December 2, 1845

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONVENES

Regular session of the Provisional House of Representatives
was required to meet (on the first Tuesday in December)
this session was held at home of Theophilus McGruder in Oregon City -- December 2-[19], 1845
Political leadership selected for this session was composed of many newcomers
Peter H. Burnett [who arrived 1844]
Robert “Doc” Newell [arrived 1840] served as Speaker of the House through December 2-[10]
his wife, Kitty, was the daughter of a Nez Perce sub-chief
Henry A. G. Lee (he had arrived 1840 with John C. Fremont) assumed the post of Speaker
until the conclusion of the session -- ([December 10-19]
Dr. John Edwin Long [arrived 1843] served as Recorder and Chief Clerk
Supreme Judge -- James W. Nesmith (arrived in 1844 with Burnett’s wagon train)
he was twenty-five years old when elected to the Provisional House of Representatives
although he held a law license, his occupation was farming and running a mill
he was the first judge elected by the Provisional House of Representatives 1845-[1846]

CONGRESS GOES INTO SESSION

Twenty-ninth Congress convened in Washington City -- December 4, 1845
Committee on Foreign Relations in both the national House of Representatives and Senate
introduced a resolution to notify England at once of the close of the Joint Occupation Treaty

⁵²⁰ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 199.

Democratic expansionists from the Midwest called for war with the United Kingdom rather than accepting anything short of all of Oregon up to 54° 40' north (54° 40' was then the southern boundary of the Russian claim to Alaska) excitement rose to a fiercely heated level

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ADDRESSES FINANCES

Hard money was scarce in Oregon Country

Provisional Government pass a law relating to the currency -- December 4, 1845

this new law made **"...gold and silver, treasury drafts, accepted orders on solvent merchants, and good, merchantable wheat at market price, delivered at a customary depot for wheat, lawful tender for the payment of taxes, judgments rendered in the courts, and for all debts contracted in the territory where no special contract had been made to the contrary."**⁵²¹

those paying taxes in wheat were required to deliver the grain at the warehouse or place designated for the county as depots for receiving public revenue person in charge of the warehouse was authorized to give a receipt stating the amount offered which should be placed to the credit of the treasurer of the respective counties in another act the Provisional Government voted to agree to accept hides tallow, beef, pork, lumber and similar exportable goods as legal tender

SUB-INDIAN AGENT DR. ELIJAH WHITE DELIVERS THE 1845 MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

Dr. Elijah White was presented in the United States Senate

by Thomas H. Benton -- December 8, 1845

regarding the 1835 Memorial, the senator noted: **"These petitioners stated that, for the preservation of order, they had, among themselves, established a Provisional and temporary government, subject to the ratification of the United States government. The petition sets forth, in strong and respectful language, arguments why the citizens residing in that section of country should be protected for the purpose of preserving their rights, and also as a means of preserving order. The memorial was drawn up in a manner creditable to the body by which it was presented, to the talents by which it was dictated, and to the patriotic sentiments which pervaded it; and the application was worthy of a favorable consideration for its moderation, reasonableness and justice. As the best means of spreading the contents of this petition before the country, and doing honor to the ability and enterprise of those who presented it, he moved that it be read at the bar of the Senate."**⁵²²

BARLOW ROAD IS AUTHORIZED BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Morton Mathew (M.M.) McCarver reported a bill to the Provisional House of Representatives

authorizing Samuel K. Barlow to open a road across the Cascade Mountains

this bill passed by a vote of eight to two

it was signed by Provisional Governor George Abernathy -- December 18, 1845

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ADDS NEW COUNTIES IN OREGON COUNTRY

⁵²¹ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington: Embracing ...*, Volume 1, P. 271.

⁵²² "Congressional Globe," Vol. XV, page 24, first session twenty-ninth Congress, 1845-6.

Twality District, Yamhill District, Clackamas District and Champooick District, Clackamas District and Vancouver District became known as counties

Former Vancouver District divided into two counties -- December 21, 1845

Lewis County was created to include all land north of the Columbia River and west of the Cowlitz River

this county was named to honor American explorer Meriwether Lewis
this better reflected American claims to the land

Vancouver County comprised the remainder of the Vancouver District⁵²³

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ADDS ANOTHER NEW COUNTY IN OREGON COUNTRY

Polk County named in honor of President James K. Polk

was located on the west side of the Willamette Valley south of Yamhill County and into the foothills of the Coast Mountains including land between Willamette River and Pacific Ocean

Polk County was established by the Oregon Provisional Legislature -- December 22, 1845

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SESSION ADJOURNS

Speaker Henry A. G. Lee gaveled the legislative body to a close -- December 22, 1845

Much had been accomplished

taxes were collected, property was better protected, contracts were enforced,
new counties had been created and a school was established

ANOTHER ENCROACHMENT ON HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PROPERTY

Amos and Esther Short and their eight children arrived at Fort Vancouver -- Christmas Day, 1845 after Amos had explored parts of the Willamette Valley for a suitable farm

he settled in the wilderness near Fort Vancouver

eastern boundary of his land was marked by a Balm of Gilead tree on the banks of the Columbia River

all of the mile square area was forest except near the western boundary where level bottomland suggested an opportunity to raise crops

to the Shorts this tract of land was just a place to raise potatoes

but to the British it was an encroachment to be looked on with suspicion and resentment

Amos and Esther Short build a log cabin

almost before the British were aware of their new neighbors

Hudson's Bay officials, although they had no legal right to evict settlers from this territory, said the eastern boundary of the Short farm encroached on their property

Several additional settlers moved north of the Columbia River

“What started out as a thin trickle of American settlers into the area [around Fort Vancouver] turned into a surging flood of homesteaders who either settled on acreage which had been cleared and cultivated by the Company, or built on land claimed by native Indians. The

⁵²³ Vancouver County was renamed Clark County on September 3, 1949 to honor George Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. From 1854 until 1925, it was actually spelled “Clarke County” as the result of a spelling error.

inevitable conflicts between settlers and Indians gave rise to fears of a bloody, full-scale Indian uprising....”⁵²⁴

BRITISH CONCERN REGARDING UNITED STATES BOUNDARY PROPOSAL

Apparent readiness of Americans to fight for Oregon Country caused concern in England
British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton-Gordon)
and Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel both were men of peace
their dreams of free-trade agreements could become a reality
only in an atmosphere of international calm

British Cabinet was also a peace Cabinet

British Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton-Gordon) seemed to be intimidated
by the threat of war in this difficult-to-supply region of the British Empire
and by the apparent determination of the Americans to control the Pacific coast

Lord Aberdeen told Parliament: **“My lords, I consider war to be the greatest folly, if not the greatest crime of which a country could be guilty, if lightly entered into.”⁵²⁵**

Lord Aberdeen set out to win over the British Cabinet and the nation to his point of view
without loss of national pride

by clever use of propaganda he convinced his party and his people trade and prosperity
were more important than a region threatened by “border ruffians”

BRITISH REQUEST ARBITRATION BE USED TO LOCATE THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY

British Minister to the United States Richard Pakenham met with Secretary of State James Buchanan
and proposed a request that the question of the international boundary
be submitted to arbitration by some third party -- December 27, 1845

This proposal was rejected by President James K. Polk who had been nominated for office
on a platform claiming the “whole” of Oregon

President Polk held the position that Great Britain had no claim to any part of Oregon Country
although America, in fact, had already offered to accept 49° north
as the international boundary

FEELINGS OF MANIFEST DESTINY RAPIDLY SPREADS ACROSS AMERICA

Journalist John O’Sullivan used the phrase in his influential newspaper
the *New York Morning News* -- December 27, 1845

when he addressed the ongoing dispute over the international boundary question

O’Sullivan argued the United States had the right to claim “the whole of Oregon”

he wrote: **“And that claim is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.”**

O’Sullivan believed that God had given the United States a mission
to spread “republican democracy” throughout North America

Great Britain would not make this effort in Oregon thus her claims could be disregarded

⁵²⁴ Yvonne Mearns Klan, “Kanaka William,” *Beaver Magazine*. P. 42.

⁵²⁵ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington.*, P. 36.

Manifest Destiny was a higher moral law that superseded international laws and agreements

MANIFEST DESTINY FOCUSES ON THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

America justified its desire to expand across the North American continent
interest continued, and even increased, to bring Christianity to the Native Americans
Westward movement of agrarian emigrants dominated the expansion effort
Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes published his full report --1845
Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842
also published were a number of maps showing the potential
provided by Pacific coast harbors that enhanced the demand to expand
Captain John C. Fremont's report and Charles Preuss's map generated phenomenal enthusiasm
U.S. foreign and domestic policy reflected all of these mandates
American interest in the Pacific Northwest reached epic proportions

FORMER-SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN C. CALHOUN IS CAUGHT IN A DELIMMA

U.S. Senator John C. Calhoun from South Carolina
had previously served as Secretary of State [1817-1825]
Calhoun had first been previously served the United States Senate [1833-1843]
Calhoun had recently returned to the United States Senate representing South Carolina
Sen. Calhoun was managing the "Oregon Question" on the floor of the Senate
he found himself in a difficult position as he did not really wish to annex all of Oregon Country
because he feared the negative effect that would have on the expansion of slavery
yet he dare not oppose the tremendous spirits of patriotism and ambition
that was raging in the nation
compromise was his only recourse
powerful moderate leaders from both nations brought their influence to bear

LONE STAR REPUBLIC (TEXAS) BECOMES PART OF THE UNITED STATES

Texas, formerly an independent nation (Republic of Texas), entered the Union as the 28th state
and became known as the "Lone Star State" when President Polk signed the enabling act
into law -- December 29, 1845
With the arrival of a new slave state, Southern politicians including U.S. Senator John C. Calhoun
immediately lost interest in Oregon Country
status of slavery in American territories in general and Oregon Country in particular
to the pleasure of Southern political leaders, remained unresolved

WAR WITH MEXICO -- BACKGROUND

Mexico did not recognize the Lone Star Republic [1836- 1846] and believed it was a rebel province
Mexican government had long warned that annexation would mean war with the United States
Britain and France, which both recognized the Lone Star Republic
repeatedly tried to convince the Mexican government not to declare war
British efforts to mediate the situation failed
in part because additional political disputes (particularly the Oregon boundary dispute)
that arose among Mexico, Britain and the United States

Mexico was further provoked when the U.S. offered admission to the Union to Texas ([March 1, 1845]
Texas ratified the proposal [July 4, 1845]
creation of the State of Texas -- December 29, 1845
did not change the status of rebel province for the Mexican government
(nor did the transfer of governmental power from the Lone Star Republic to the State of Texas [February 19, 1846]

AMERICAN EXPANSIONISTS ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH ACQUIRING TEXAS

United States expansionists also wanted California
as a means of stopping supposed British ambitions in the area and to have a Pacific Ocean port
President James K. Polk in an attempt to purchase Mexico's Alta California and Santa Fe de Nuevo -- both territories of Mexico
had sent diplomat John Slidell to Mexico City [1845]
Polk authorized Slidell to forgive the \$4.5 million owed to American citizens for damages caused by the Texas War of Independence [1835-1836]
and to pay another \$25 to \$30 million in exchange for the two territories

CAPTAIN JOHN C. FREMONT REACHES SUTTER'S FORT

John C. Fremont was quickly becoming known as "The Pathfinder" -- winter 1845-1846
accompanied by Christopher "Kit" Carson and fifty-four other men
arrived at Captain John Sutter's New Helvetia -- winter 1845-1846
because of the number of American immigrants who had settled in California,
Mexican authorities became suspicious and hostile
they ordered Fremont out of the province
Sutter issued Fremont a passport to travel to Monterey, California to meet with Mexican officials
Fremont made camp near the summit of a mountain overlooking Monterey, fortified his position,
and raised the United States flag
he promptly set to work stirring up the patriotic enthusiasm of the American living there
he promised that if war with Mexico began his military force would protect them
he nearly provoked a battle with Mexican General Jose Castro near Monterey, California
Fremont then fled Mexican-controlled California traveling toward Oregon Country

FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONS IN DOUBT

Protestant missions east of the Cascade Mountains were in danger of collapse -- close of 1845
Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding believed he knew why
it was the fault, he sputtered in an angry letter to his Board of Tom Hill, "**a most debased infidel half breed Delaware, who has been some years in the Mts spreading his poison.... Perhaps 1000 have joined his party including a or 9 chiefs. They have abandoned all forms of worship.**"⁵²⁶

GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE SIMPSON SEALS DR. McLOUGHLIN'S FATE

Dr. John McLoughlin received a letter from Hudson's Bay Company Governor Sir George Simpson

⁵²⁶ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 257.

responding to his offer to purchase all Hudson's Bay Company land claims in Oregon City
Chief Factor was shocked to read -- January 4, 1846

that Simpson was selling him all of Hudson's Bay Company's land claims in Oregon City
and had cashed McLoughlin's checks for £4175 (more than \$20,000)

In a rage, Dr. McLoughlin replied in writing that he had not intended the offer to be taken seriously
he could not afford the more than twenty thousand dollars it would cost him
yet even as he wrote the Chief Factor realized the sale could not be undone

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN RESIGNS HIS POSITION AS CHIEF FACTOR

Feeling humiliated and cheated by Governor Sir George Simpson,

Dr. McLoughlin sent a letter of resignation to the directors of Hudson's Bay Company
as Governor Simpson must have known he would
it was the only path open to him to maintain his self-respect

but the rules of the Company required one year's notice before an officer could resign
he was forced to accept his lesser status for one year

After his resignation Dr. John McLoughlin left the great fort he had built -- January 4, 1846
and moved up the Willamette River to the growing village by Willamette Falls

John McLoughlin took up residence south of the Columbia River
where he kept a store and lived at Oregon City

as far as he was able, he maintained the same hospitality and humane treatment
he had exercised when he was Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver

Dr. McLoughlin was by no means destitute

for several years he received profits from his Hudson's Bay Company partnership stock
his reluctantly-acquired Willamette sawmill was rented for a thousand dollars a year
this was part of the company property he had purchased
but did not want the company to honor

his other Oregon City property was leased or sold for considerable sums

Provisional Governor George Abernathy became sole owner
of the Oregon Milling Company and its property located on Governor Island
he kept a grist mill that he ran himself

U.S. EFFORT TO END JOINT OCCUPATION REACHES A CLIMAX

American pioneers had rushed in and settled Oregon Country
where the British had exercised control for three decades

through the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company

As required by the Convention of ([1818] a resolution for terminating joint occupation
passed the United States House of Representatives (142-46) -- January 5, 1846

(to be effective one year later [1847])

this resolution was sent on to the United States Senate for their consideration

DAVID THOMPSON, LIVING IN CANADA, WORKS ON A MANUSCRIPT OF HIS LIFE

At age seventy-six, David Thompson, the old Nor'Wester still found the strength
to weave his journals and his memories into his manuscript: *Travels*
his writings show he had a remarkable power of description

Thompson took great satisfaction in being the outsider:

- a white man among the Indian,
- a Welshman among the Scots,
- a pious man among the colorfully profane French *voyagers*

Public interest in Thompson's explorations on the Columbia River momentarily arose, but waned quickly as Mexican War pressure diminished the dispute for ownership of Oregon even in Great Britain and Canada

SAM BARLOW SENDS A PARTY TO ASSIST WILLIAM BERRY

William Berry had volunteered to return to Fort Deposit on the slope of Mount Hood he had remained diligent to his duties protecting the Barlow train's wagons and goods Sam Barlow's oldest son William and J.E. Eaton returned up the Western slopes of the Cascades with necessary supplies -- early January 1846 after a hike of four days they reached the cache Appreciative of the flour, bacon, sugar and coffee, Berry decided to continue on alone caring for the property William Barlow and J.E. Eaton returned to the Willamette Valley as the weather became very cold and the snow deep trees buried in snow had to be uncovered to find the blaze marks for the trail on one occasion a horse had to be dug out of a drift they arrived in Oregon City just eight days after they had departed on their mission

CAPTAIN JOHN C. FREMONT REACHES SUTTER'S FORT

Fremont was quickly becoming known as "The Pathfinder" as he led his Third Expedition west he was accompanied by Christopher "Kit" Carson and fifty-four other men who arrived at Captain John Sutter's New Helvetia -- winter 1845-1846 Because of the number of American immigrants who had settled in California, Mexican authorities became suspicious and hostile they ordered Fremont out of the province Sutter, who was an official in the Mexican government, issued Fremont a passport to travel to Monterey, California to meet with Mexican officials Fremont made camp near the summit of a mountain overlooking Monterey, fortified his position, and raised the United States flag he promptly set to work stirring up the patriotic enthusiasms of the Americans living there he promised that if war with Mexico began his military force would protect them he nearly provoked a battle with Mexican General Jose Castro near Monterey, California Fremont then fled Mexican-controlled California traveling toward Oregon Country

FATHER JEAN-PIERRE DE SMET ARRIVES AT VANCOUVER (WASHINGTON)

After spending the winter in Canada Father Jean-Pierre De Smet arrived at Fort Vancouver there De Smet learned the Flathead Indians had gone to war with the Crow Indians Father Jean-Pierre De Smet set out for St. Mary's Mission on the Bitterroot River (Idaho) he and Father Nicholas Point pursued the Flatheads but were unable to overtake them until after a battle had been decided

Flathead Indians had been victorious and the Crow had fled the area
There were a few Blackfoot Indians traveling with the Flatheads
they offered to take Father De Smet and Father Point to the main Blackfoot camp
located on an island in the Missouri River near Fort Benton (Montana)
De Smet and Point brokered a peace between the Blackfoot and the Flatheads

OREGON CITY NEWSPAPER *OREGON SPECTATOR* BEGINS PUBLICATION

Oregon City had a population of less than five hundred
pioneers in and around Oregon City were determined to have a newspaper
Oregon City businessmen organized the Oregon Printing Association
as an outgrowth of the Oregon Lyceum
to publish the first American newspaper west of the Rocky Mountains
Oregon Spectator's goals were identified: **“To promote science, temperance, morality and general intelligence; to establish a printing press; to publish a newspaper.”**⁵²⁷
paper's motto was: *Westward the Star of Empire takes its way*

Oregon Printing Association officers were:

- William G. T'Vault became president and the first editor
he was an attorney and former wagon train captain -- his salary was \$300.00 per year,
- Supreme Judge James W. Nesmith, well known political leader, was vice-president,
- John P. Brooks, Oregon Lyceum member, was secretary,
- Chief Clerk John E. Long, Provisional Council and House of Representatives Recorder, trustee,
- Sea Captain John H. Couch was a second trustee,
- Robert “Doc” Newell, well known pioneer and political leader, served as publisher
he exerted a great deal of influence over the newspaper,
- Provisional Governor George Abernethy was the treasurer
as a Whig, he used his position on the *Oregon Spectator's* Board of Directors
to squelch Democratic editors (including T'Vault) by demanding that the paper
not become involved in political debates
in fact, the first four years the Oregon Printing Association
did not allow political discussions in the paper

Subscription agreement was prepared and enough pledges at ten dollars a share were secured
to raise approximately twelve hundred dollars
that money was entrusted to Governor Abernethy and forwarded to New York
a hand-press, type, cases and other items needed in a printing plant, including a supply of paper,
were purchased and sent to Oregon City in a sailing vessel via Cape Horn

Arrangements were made with John Fleming, a printer from Ohio
he came across the plains to Oregon City to do the printing

First issue was published on a hand press obtained by George Abernethy while visiting in the East
four tabloid pages 11½ by 15½ inches were distributed -- February 5, 1846

each page had four columns
every two weeks the newspaper printed old news and editorials
(William T'Vault served for thirteen months as editor when he was fired)

⁵²⁷ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington: Embracing ...*, Volume 1, P. 273.

he said this was because of his political activism as a pro-slavery Democrat
Oregon Printing Association officers said it was because of his poor spelling
T'Vault was succeeded by Henry A.G. Lee, who shortly gave place to George L. Curry
(Curry resigned the next year [1847]
because of publisher Robert "Doc" Newell's strict censorship of his work)
The Oregon Spectator continued until [March 1855]
becoming staunchly Democratic, it influenced political and cultural life in Oregon Country)

OREGON COUNTRY GETS ITS SECOND CATHOLIC CHURCH

St. John the Apostle Catholic Church was the second Catholic parish dedicated in Oregon Country
after St. Louis Catholic Church [1845]
St. John's replaced Mission Du Wlamette (also had been known as the Log Church)
St. John's was constructed to serve as the cathedral of the Oregon City Archdiocese
60,000 bricks from pits behind the church were fired on site for the two-foot walls
building was dedicated -- February 8, 1846

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM PEEL REPORTS TO LONDON

Conservative British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel's son William
after crossing the Atlantic Ocean from Mexico returned to London -- February 9, 1846
Peel gave a full report of his firsthand knowledge of the situation in Columbia District to his father
young Peel's report confirmed the American population
was increasing rapidly on the Pacific coast
American settlements running south from Willamette Valley
would soon unite with American settlements running north from Sacramento
this would make American possession of the port of San Francisco inevitable
Peel noted the extent of settlement that had developed along Puget Sound
Lieutenant Peel reported British traders were willing to withdraw from the Columbia River area
and described that Hudson's Bay Company felt so powerless
they had abdicated authority to the local government dominated by Americans
he suggested the British would have great difficulty defending the Northwest
against a determined American attack

FORT WALLA WALLA CHANGES LEADERS

Hudson's Bay Company found Fort Walla Walla was on United States soil
when the boarder was moved much further north to the 49th parallel by the Oregon Convention
this treaty did allow Hudson's Bay Company navigation rights on the Columbia River
to supply their fur trading posts and forts
Hudson's Bay Company maintained title to these properties and could sell if they wanted
Fort Walla Walla would be maintained by the Company (for another decade)
Hudson's Bay Company Factor Archibald McKinlay was replaced by William McBean
as superintendent at Fort Walla Walla -- February 1846

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY TALKS CONTINUE

Changing situation in Columbia District forced the British government

to recede from their position on the international boundary
 British Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton-Gordon)
 and probably Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, could accept 49° north as the boundary
 however, modifications of the American positions regarding Vancouver Island
 and free use of northern ports and of the Columbia River would be necessary
 British Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton-Gordon)
 developed a compromise proposal to the American demand of 54°40' north
 this proposal was in the form of a draft treaty presented to the United States:

- forty-ninth parallel from the crest of the Rockies as far as the Columbia River
 and then down the river to the sea would give the British all of Vancouver Island
 and free access to ports in that region;
- Lord Aberdeen also demanded free British navigation of the Columbia River;
- Lord Aberdeen offered free port facilities for American ships north of 49°

Lord Aberdeen directed British Minister Richard Packenham to revive negotiations
 which previously had been rudely broken off by the Americans
 American Secretary of State James Buchanan
 informed Louis McLane, United States Minister at London -- February 26, 1846
 that discussions would be reopened if the British took the initiative
 but there was strong resistance in the British government to making any further concessions

FORT COLVILLE INCREASES IN IMPORTANCE

With the controversy regarding the international boundary on the verge of war
 an inventory of properties at Fort Colville was taken -- 1846
 no less than nineteen separate buildings were listed
 ranging from a store twenty-five feet by sixty feet to a pigeon house nine feet by nine feet
 all were surrounded by a protective stockade
 Fort Colville had 340 acres under cultivation, blacksmith and carpenter shops, flour mill and bakery
 in effect, it was self-sufficient

UNITED STATES-MEXICO RELATIONS DETERIORATE

Mexico was neither inclined to propose, nor able to negotiate,
 an agreement with the United States over the Texas statehood issue
 Mexican presidency changed hands four times, the war ministry six times,
 and the finance ministry sixteen times in 1846 alone
 public opinion and all political factions agreed that selling the territories to the United States
 would diminish national honor
 Mexicans who opposed open conflict with the United States,
 including President Jose Joaquin de Herrera, were viewed as traitors
 he was accused of treason and deposed
 General Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, a more nationalistic leader, came to power
 In the United States, the war was a political issue
 most Democrats, representing the American South and West supported war
 fueled by the popular belief in Manifest Destiny and the opportunity to expand slavery
 most Whigs, from the North and East, were opposed to the war and feared the spread of slavery

President Polk loudly banged the drum of war but the United States Senate did not comply
In Mexico, the war was considered a matter of national pride

CHANGE OF COMMAND TAKES PLACE AT FORT VANCOUVER

John Work replaced Dr. John McLoughlin as Hudson's Bay Company triumvirate
taking a place with Sir James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden
they now faced the problems of operating in an area under dispute with the United States
Ogden zealously followed the company's orders to exclude Americans north of the Columbia
In spite of President James K Polk's intention to extend American sovereignty over the Oregon
Hudson's Bay Company remained the recognized authority in much of the area
British were accustomed to having their word taken as law
but the arrival of increasing numbers of pioneers from the east disrupted the stable relations
with the Indians upon which the trading activities of Hudson's Bay Company depended
Douglas, Ogden and Work were astonished by the encroachment of Americans
Amos and Esther Short and their family at the very gate to Fort Vancouver
Naturally there was trouble
while Amos Short was away, Esther and her eight children were loaded on a boat by the British
they were taken across the Columbia River where they were told to stay
they immediately returned to their home -- but so did the British
again catching the family unaware, Ogden's men loaded the family onto a scow
Amos, Esther and their children were cast adrift on the Columbia without a single oar
this time when the family returned to their cabin Amos kept his rifle handy
There was trouble in the making after that
a Hudson's Bay Company man came to the cabin door and struck Ester in the face with a club
Amos carried his rifle with him after

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS LEAVE COLUMBIA DISTRICT

British Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour departed Fort Vancouver -- March 1846
with the Hudson's Bay Company Spring Brigade
Keeping up their pretense of being visiting sportsmen, they detoured from Fort Walla Walla
overland to Palouse Falls where Warre painted the scene

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CLOSES ITS YERBA BUENA (SAN FRANCISCO) POST

After the death of William Glen Rae, British vice-counsel at Monterey, James Alexander Forbes,
took charge of Hudson's Bay Company's affairs
Dugald McTavish arrived to close the business -- March 1846
Hudson's Bay Company's operations in California, limited in size from the start, now ended

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN IS NOT ACCEPTED IN OREGON CITY

Dr. John McLoughlin built a beautiful home near the falls of the Willamette River
and brought his wife, son David, daughter Eloisa and her three children
to reside there -- only to be met with hostility from his neighbors
who feared the former Chief Factor's continued domination of life in Oregon Country
It was a tremendous blow to the very proud former Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company

he had assumed a large part of the debt owed to the company by American pioneers
as his own private responsibility
but these debts caused his countrymen such as snoopers Harry Warre and Mervin Vavasour
to suspect Dr. McLoughlin was pro-American

ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION IS MOVED TO A BETTER LOCATION

St. Joseph's Mission had been planned as a permanent facility but after three years of service
this location on the Saint Joe River flood plain proved to be unsatisfactory
since the fields flooded (each spring) hampering farming and mosquitoes caused illness
Father Joseph Joset had succeeded Father Nicholas Point at St. Joseph's Mission
Father Joset surveyed Lake Coeur d'Alene and the river region
St. Joseph's Mission's original building site and structures were abandoned -- spring 1846

SACRED HEART MISSION REPLACES ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION

Father Joseph Joset relocated St. Joseph's Mission near an Indian village and burial site
this new site was chosen about thirty-five miles from St. Joe River -- spring 1846
on a grassy knoll above the Coeur d'Alene River (by today's Cataldo, Idaho)
Construction of the new mission consisting of an interim chapel made of bark,
a rudimentary barn and a trio of log houses was begun amid wheat, potato and oat fields
this was named Sacred Heart Mission and Father Joseph Joset was placed in charge
Father Joset was appointed Vice-Provincial of the Missions of the Northwest
under the supervision of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet
(Father Joset learned the language of the local Indians continued to serve them
until his death at age ninety [1900])

SAM BARLOW SETS OUT TO CONSTRUCT A ROAD

Captain Samuel K. Barlow formed a partnership with his financial backer Philip Foster
they organized a crew of forty men to develop a pass through the Cascade Mountains
and to construct a wagon road leading from The Dalles to Oregon City
As soon as the weather permitted -- spring 1846
men and oxen started to build a road to retrieve the supplies and goods cached at "Fort Deposit"
located at the extreme western side (of today's as Tygh Valley)
they retraced the route Barlow, son William and John Bacon had followed a few weeks before
beginning at Philip Foster's farm near present-day Clackamas in the Willamette Valley
and traveling east into the Cascade Mountains
Sam remembered something he had neglected to mention in his application for \$4000 -- bridges!
several would have to be built to cross such rivers as the Sandy, Zigzag, White, and Salmon

CONSTRUCTION EFFORT ON THE BARLOW ROAD IS VERY DIFFICULT

Barlow's crew hacked a narrow road as they followed an Indian trail
to within ten miles of the north side of Mount Hood
here the year before William L. Rector and Sam Barlow
had discovered a natural gap in the range of mountains
here they determined to blaze the path

and afterwards construct a road through to the Willamette Valley
here all traces of human footsteps or wild animal trails disappeared
From here on the road was made
through tangled forests and fallen trees that crossed and re-crossed on each other in unruly piles
across rivers, swamps and marshy meadows
they conquered rocks, canyons crisscrossed and interlaced with briars and vines
and innumerable other barriers and obstacles
Not much could be done about Laurel Hill -- the worst part of the whole Oregon Trail
here canyons, steep rocks, swamps, sand-hills, angled forests, fallen trees,
lush shrubbery of briars and vines all met the construction crew (and later the pioneers)
Barlow Road's elevation was also a source of difficulty for the emigrants
as snow and icy fog were commonplace on the mountain (during the fall) when they arrived
Sam Barlow proclaimed the old Indian trail was now a toll road and built a toll gate
on the east end of the Barlow Road
Barlow Road covered a distance of about eighty miles from The Dalles to the Willamette Valley
in preparation for the first Oregon Trail travelers, who would be arriving (by September)
for the first fifteen years of its existence, the route was one way -- west

BRITISH SLOOP *MODESTE* REMAINS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Members of British Sloop-of-war *Modeste* had remained anchored off Fort Vancouver
to soften American resentment toward their presence
British crewmen presented a series of plays attended by many Oregon City residents
first known theatrical performance was given -- spring 1846
they also provided dances, curling matches, horse races and visits to the settlers

SECOND BRITISH WAR SHIP ARRIVES ON PUGET SOUND

British frigate *Fisgard* anchored at Fort Nisqually to support the sloop-of-war *Modeste*
then stationed at Fort Vancouver -- spring 1846
This additional implied threat caused American settlers to form a company of mounted riflemen
"Oregon Rangers" elected Charles Bennett their captain

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN CONSTRUCTS A WATERPOWERED SAWMILL NEAR WAILLATPU

Previously some pine timber had been hand-sawed in the Blue Mountains
these planks were dragged to the mission by horses
Whitman felt a dire need for a water-powered sawmill
among other things, he wanted to replace his leaky, earthen roofs with boards
He picked a spot on a stream in the foothills about twenty miles from Waiilatpu Mission
soon the sawmill ready for operation --1846

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN HAS AN ENCOUNTER WITH A BAD INDIAN

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) described a conflict Dr. Marcus Whitman
had with the Indian Tam-a-has: **"The next spring Mr. [Andrew] Rogers was away much of the time at the Spokane mission, conducted by Messrs. [Elkanah] Walker and [Cushing] Eells. Dr. Whitman was absent at the saw mill or breaking up land for the Indians and putting in their crops.**

Mrs. Whitman and the girls spent the time at home and found enough to employ them to prevent feeling lonesome. We studied botany with her and rambled over the country in search of flowers and plants.

“A bad man was named Tam-a-has, meaning murderer, as he had once killed a man. One day the doctor was at work in his field when this man rode up and ordered him peremptorily, to go and grind grist [grain] for him. When the doctor objected to his talking and acting so, he [Tam-a-has] said he could grind it for himself, and started for the mill. The doctor could walk across sooner and did so. Tam-a-has came at him there with a club, but saw an iron bar in his [Dr. Whitman’s] hand. They had a serious time of it, both with words and blows, but the iron bar was a full match of the club, and Tam-a-has finally agreed to behave himself and have his grist ground. Exhausted in mind and body the doctor came to the house and threw himself down, saying that if they [Indians] would only say so he would gladly leave, for he was tired almost beyond endurance.

“It is hardly possible to conceive of a greater change than Dr. Whitman had worked in the life of the Cayuses. They had now growing fields, could have good homes, a mill to grind their meal, and they were taught things of the greatest use, yet some of them could not realize that he was unselfish in all of this.”⁵²⁸

UNITED STATES ACCEPTS BRITISH OFFER FOR A BOUNDARY

President James K. Polk asked the U.S. Senate’s advice on a draft treaty proposed by Lord Aberdeen with its boundary to run along 49° north except for Vancouver Island

President Polk was urged by the Senate to accept it

Resolution to accept Lord Aberdeen’s proposal was introduced in the U.S. Senate after lengthy debate (including a Senate filibuster led by Southern Democrats)

it passed the Senate (42-10) -- April 23, 1846

this proposal also passed the U.S. House of Representatives the same day

This Congressional advice was sent on to the President for his consideration

but the Senate and House vote was not binding on the President

as this was a treaty -- not a law

MEXICAN INCIDENT

Mexican government was encouraged by the fact

that America was facing an international crisis with England over possession of Oregon Country

To exert an American influence in Mexico

President Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to march to the Rio Grande River

Mexican army, in response to a manifest by their president,

crossed the Rio Grande River -- April 25, 1846

they attacked an American scouting party inside the southern border of Texas

(or inside the northern border of Mexico) as the case was interpreted by Mexico

CONGRESS PASSES RESOLUTION TO END JOINT OCCUPATION

Both houses of Congress adopted a Joint Congressional Resolution ending the Convention of [1818]

thus ending the joint occupation agreement

⁵²⁸ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 526.

this action, again, was advisory only and not binding on the President
President Polk signed the Congressional resolution -- April 27, 1846
which authorized the President to give the required year's notice at his discretion
moderation had won out over calls for war

PRESIDENT POLK NOTIFIES THE BRITISH OF THE END OF JOINT OCCUPATION

President's Polk's administration made it known that the British government should offer terms
to settle the joint occupation of Oregon -- April 30, 1846
Time was of great concern to Americans as the government of British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel
was on the verge of falling -- negotiations would have to begin again with a new government
British Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton-Gordon) worked out an agreement
with American Minister to the United Kingdom Louis McLane
this was quickly sent to the United States

CAPTAIN JOHN CHARLES FREMONT IS ONCE AGAIN IN OREGON COUNTRY

Fleeing California to escape from Mexican officials concerned with his presence in their country
Captain Fremont reached Oregon Country and made camp at Klamath Lake
Modoc Indians attacked members Fremont's Third Expedition during a night -- May 9, 1846
Fremont lost three men as the Modoc chief of the war party was killed
Fremont chose to attack the Klamath Indian fishing native village of Dokdokwas,
located at the junction of the Williamson River and Klamath Lake -- May 10
Fremont set an ambush and extracted a heavy toll from pursuing natives
this village was completely destroyed
Christopher "Kit" Carson was nearly killed by a Klamath warrior later that day
when the warrior took aim with a poison arrow and Carson's gun misfired
Fremont raced his horse to trample the native
A few days later as Fremont was proceeding toward the Willamette Valley
Captain Fremont received word that war between Mexico and the United States was imminent
from an American secret agent, Archibald Gillespie, an officer in the U.S. Marines
who disguised himself as a whiskey merchant
Gillespie carried new instructions that caused Fremont to retrace his steps back to California
and, perhaps, to consider plans for provoking a war with Mexico
American Consul Thomas O. Larkin stationed in Monterey, California on hearing rumors of war
tried to keep peace between his country and a small local Mexican military garrison

CONGRESS DECLARES WAR ON MEXICO

Congress received news of the [April 25] attack on an American Army scouting party
still General Zachary Taylor's army remained in a region claimed by Mexico
President James K. Polk declared war on Mexico -- May 13, 1846
American excitement and oratory about Oregon Country was diverted
(it took almost two months [mid-July 1846] for definite word of war to reach California)

SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE REMAINS ACTIVE IN OREGON COUNTRY

Some pioneers in Oregon Country continued to agitate for an independent government

one candidate for the Provisional House of Representatives stated in a stump speech that he believed the people of Oregon Country had a right to govern themselves rather than fall under the control of either the United States or Great Britain he resented the prospect of government officials being appointed by political leaders far away who would impose their political will -- May 1846

JOINT OCCUPATION COMES TO AN END IN OREGON COUNTRY

After passage of the [April 27, 1846] Joint Congressional Resolution to end Joint Occupation President Polk faced two possibilities:

- negotiate a new treaty to resolve the boundary dispute,
- or go to war with Great Britain

Following the advice of Congress, President Polk served official notice to Great Britain he would end the Convention of [1818] thus ending Joint Occupation -- May 26, 1846

SAM BARLOW BEGINS CONSTRUCTION ON A TOLL ROAD

Sam Barlow's Road covered a distance of about eighty miles to The Dalles

Barlow busily began building a toll gate -- late spring 1846

in preparation for the first Oregon Trail travelers, who would be arriving (by September)

JOE MEEK BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sheriff Joe Meek collected taxes, summoned juries and witnesses, arrested miscreants and even took another census

Meek was elected to the Provisional House of Representatives -- June 1, 1846

TERMS OF THE CONVENTION OF 1846 (OREGON TREATY) ARE AGREED TO

British government, not yet aware of the United States war with Mexico, decided not to run the risk of war with the United States

they suggested 49° North as the international boundary line

British Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen, submitted a draft treaty

which reached Washington City -- June 6, 1846

this offer, which was full of problems, was to counter the American claim of 54°40' north

Article I: Extend boundary from Rocky Mountains along 49° North to the "middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and then southerly through the middle of said channel."

Problem: there are two channels -- 172 islands of the San Juan Archipelago lay in between

Article II: Navigation of Columbia River to remain "free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company and all British subjects trading with the same...."

Problem: free and open did not mean equal access to the Americans

Article III: "The possessing rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and all British subjects...were to be represented."

Problem: advancement of American settlers lowered land value to Hudson's Bay Company

Article IV: "Properties of Puget Sound Agricultural Company were confirmed however...the property should be transferred at an agreed upon evaluation."

Problem: United States could set the date of sale as property values were lowering

However, the treaty was ambiguous regarding the route of the boundary through Puget Sound
it stated the international border was to follow “the deepest channel”
out to the Strait of Juan de Fuca
there were two main channels: the Strait of Haro and the Strait of Juan de Fuca
in between lay the San Juan Islands archipelago

BEGINNING OF THE BEAR FLAG REPUBLIC (CALIFORNIA)

Several hundred Americans were scattered throughout California
most settled either in the Sonoma-Napa area, or north of Sutter’s Fort
(near present day Sacramento)
very few of them obtained land grants from the Mexican authorities
Mexican Governor Jose Castro proclaimed that the purchase or acquisition of land
by foreigners who had not been naturalized as Mexicans would be illegal
and the trespassers expelled whenever the Mexican government felt it convenient
rumors began to spread that Castro’s edict would soon be enforced,
and that Native Americans had been encouraged to burn the foreigners’ crops
Several leaders of the Americans discussed their concerns regarding Mexican aggression
with U.S. Army Captain John C. Fremont who had returned to California
Fremont encouraged the American settlers to resist
About thirty American settlers calling themselves “Osos” (Spanish for bears)
put themselves under the leadership of Ezekiel “Stuttering” Merritt
they set out to assault the town of Sonoma -- June 9, 1846
this town was home to the very influential Mexican General Mariano Vallejo
however, the town was not strongly garrisoned

OREGON TREATY (CONVENTION OF 1846) IS ACCEPTED BY THE U.S. SENATE

President James K. Polk, at the suggestion of his Cabinet, deemed it proper
to take the unprecedented course of laying the British proposal before the Senate for its advice
President Polk presented Britain’s proposed draft treaty to Senate -- June 10, 1846
he wanted instructions from the Senate
he reminded them of his proposal for a boundary along 54°40’ north
senators advised President Polk to accept the British offer (37-12) -- June 12

BEAR FLAG REPUBLIC GAINS A Foothold IN CALIFORNIA

Encouraged by Captain John C. Fremont, some thirty settlers calling themselves Osos
staged a revolt led by Ezekiel Merritt as they seized the small Mexican garrison in Sonoma
just north of San Francisco) -- surprise was so complete not a shot was fired -- June 14, 1846
General Mariano Vallejo was awakened and taken prisoner with others
they were then transported to Sutter’s Fort in Sacramento
this became known as the Bear Flag Revolt
William Ide was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Osos
he proceeded to declare California an independent republic
Osos insurgents raised the famous Lone Star flag (Texas)
with a rudely-shaped figure of a grizzly bear painted on it

(some thought it was a porcupine)
by capturing Sonoma, the rebels sought to protect the American settlers in the area
“Bear Flag” of the California Republic flew over Sonoma
(California’s state flag today is based on this original Bear Flag
and still contains the words “California Republic”)

INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS ON THE BOUNDARY SOFTEN

Democrats in Congress passed a reduction of the tariff on British goods
this new tariff pleased the British -- and they softened their disposition toward the loss of Oregon
Whigs charged Oregon Country was purchased by the reduction in tariff
die-hard Democrats were still shouting “Fifty-four forty or fight”
in reality, modification in the tariff created good feelings in both countries
Senate voted to accept the British draft proposal as final (41-14) -- June 15, 1846
opposition came from expansionists elements in the Old Northwest who still wanted 54° 40’ north
however, President Polk had not yet signed the treaty
this this the only time in American history that a treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate
before it was signed by the president

JOINT OCCUPATION AGREEMENT WRITTEN IN BRITAIN ARRIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

Official agreement to end Joint Occupation written in Great Britain
was received in the United States -- June 18, 1846
British Minister to the United States Richard Pakenham and Secretary of State James Buchanan
drew up a formal treaty known as the “Oregon Treaty” which was sent to the U.S. Senate

OREGON CONVENTION OF 1846 (OREGON TREATY) IS SIGNED

Polk signed the Oregon Convention as ratified by the Senate -- June 19, 1846
as opposed to the official proposal delivered by the British Minister Richard Pakenham
dispute between the United States and Great Britain was resolved with the Oregon Treaty
all of the spying efforts of British Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour
were rendered unnecessary
This treaty was called a “Convention” by Americans so as to not embarrass the British
a gesture largely lost in significance as the treaty was called the “Oregon Treaty” by the British
Convention of 1846 set the international boundary between the U.S. and Canada at the 49th parallel
Oregon Country had become the property of the United States
no one bothered to notify the Northwest
it took five months for the news to reach Oregon Country
when a newspaper brought by ship from the Sandwich islands arrived in Oregon
Provisional Government remained in place as no territorial government had been put into place
Boundary settlement removed all international barriers to establishing the Territory of Oregon
however, several loose ends remained to be tied:
•ownership of San Juan Islands remained unresolved,
•fair compensation for Hudson’s Bay Company property which was left behind,
•Fort Nisqually remained in British hands -- an English island in an American sea
but once again Congress was slow so act

BRITISH SECRET AGENTS ISSUE THEIR FINAL REPORT

Secret agents British lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour continued on their journey leaving Palouse Falls they eventually reached Red River Colony [Winnipeg, Alberta] where they wrote final reports of their impressions of the possibilities for a British military defense of the Oregon Country unaware that the Oregon Boundary Treaty was then being signed -- mid-June 1846 (Warre published a book of his watercolor drawings entitled: *A Sketch of the Journey Across the Continent of North American from Canada to Oregon Country and Pacific Ocean* -- 1846)

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TEMPORARILY KEEPS FORT VANCOUVER

After the signing of the Oregon Convention, Fort Vancouver was officially on American property however, the British continue to operate the fort for several years James Douglas, Peter Skene Ogden and John Work continued to serve as Chief Factors of Columbia District (for the next three years) (Ogden was in command at Fort Vancouver when Americans arrived to occupy the fort Chief Trader at the fort was Archibald McKinley)

U.S. CAPTAIN FREMONT TAKES COMMAND OF THE "BEAR FLAGGERS"

Given the small number of American rebels at Sonoma and the threat of a Mexican assault on the town led by Governor Jose Castro U.S. Army Captain John Charles Fremont dropped all pretense of neutrality he departed for Sonoma with a force of about ninety men Fremont arrived at Sonoma, California with his Army Corps of Topographical Engineers who played a prominent role in the American effort to separate California from Mexico Fremont discussed with Osos insurgent Commander-in-Chief William Ide the prospect of having the Osos join with Captain Fremont's sixty-man Army of Topographical Engineers to form a "California Battalion" which varied in size from 160 to 400 men Captain Fremont took command of the insurgents then in control of Sonoma -- June 23, 1846 Marine Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, who had first met Fremont at the Oregon border, was chosen by Fremont to serve as his Adjunct

SITUATION IN CALIFORNIA REMAINS CONFUSED

Insurgents had run the Bear Flag up the flagpole in Sonoma but most of the people present believed it was simply an amusement without significance everyone wondered what role, if any, the United States represented by Captain John C. Fremont would play in future developments Fremont spoke to the crowd but said nothing to clarify the situation Three companies of men were formed in Sonoma to serve as an American militia

CAPTAIN JOHN C. FREMONT MARCHES ON SAN SOLITO

Captain Fremont advanced to San Solito (today's Sausalito) with his California Battalion -- late June he launched an assault on the undefended Mexican fortification Castillo de San Joaquin built to protect San Francisco Bay on the south side of the Bay entrance

seven cannon were “spiked” (disabled)
Yerba Buena (San Francisco) fell to the Americans
Fremont sent several men to patrol the bay and prevent any passage of Mexican forces

CAPTAIN JOHN C. FREMONT COMMITS WAR ATROCITIES

After the success at San Solito (Sausalito) Fremont intercepted three Mexican men at San Rafael Mission who were crossing San Francisco Bay near San Quentin Island
Fremont ordered Kit Carson to execute the men
in revenge for the deaths of two Americans -- June 28, 1846
when Carson questioned the orders Fremont yelled that Carson was to do his duty
all three were shot dead
Jose de los Reyes Berrevesa whose son, the Alcalde (mayor) of Sonoma, had been recently imprisoned by Fremont
the other two men, twin nineteen-year-old brothers Ramon and Francisco De Haro were the sons of Francisco de Haro the first Alcade (mayor) of Yerba Buena
(Fremont’s unprovoked killing of these three men later hindered his political career as he was prevented from becoming the first American governor of California and possibly being elected as the President of the United States)

ROBERT “DOC” NEWELL BEGINS A NEW BUSINESS

Robert “Doc” Newell’s wife Kitty died
Doc Newell remarried --his second wife was Rebecca (Newman) -- June 28, 1846
Doc Newell began a river boat service transporting goods between Oregon City and Willamette Falls with two keel boats

COLONEL STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY IS PROMOTED TO THE RANK OF GENERAL

General Kearny’s command consisted of Kearny’s own 1st Dragoon Regiment of 300 Dragoons they were occupied with patrolling the Oregon Trail and Santa Fe Trail -- June 30, 1846
General Kearny’s command was expanded by two regiments of Missouri volunteers, artillery and infantry battalions and the 500 volunteer soldiers of the Mormon Battalion
in all Kearny led a military expedition of 1,700 cavalrymen and artillerymen
a third regiment, the 1st Regiment of New York Volunteers
(would travel by ships to California and would muster out and remain in California)
General Stephen Watts Kearny and his “Army of the West” shared the overland trails with emigrant wagons that summer
their mission was to show the flag and the military power of the “Great Father” (President) to the Indian tribes and warn them to leave the white travelers alone
guided by Tom “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick, the dragoons rode as far as South Pass, then swung south along the Front Range of the Rockies to return to their base at Fort Leavenworth by way of Bent’s Fort and the Santa Fe Trail

SIR ROBERT PEEL’S CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT COLLAPSES

British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel was replaced -- June 30, 1846
newly-elected Prime Minister Lord John Russel was a leading liberal politician in Great Britain

his Whig government adopted a conciliatory approach toward the question of the boundary

VAGUE INTERNATIONAL TREATY LANGUAGE CAUSES PROBLEMS

Boundary commissions representing the United States and Great Britain respectively decided on the 49th parallel as the international borders

boundary ran from Lake of the Woods, Minnesota to Washington Territory

running down the main channel between Vancouver Island and the U.S. mainland

With the loose wording of “the main channel,” a dispute arose over which was the main channel two primary channels exist: Haro Strait and Rosario Strait -- with San Juan Island in between both countries claimed ownership over the island

Problems with agreement could have been easily resolved but United States was still involved with:

- Mexican War,
- Conquest of California,
- slavery controversy

UNITED STATES NAVY ARRIVES OFF CALIFORNIA

United States Navy Commander John Drake Sloat, commander of the U.S. Navy Pacific Squadron then reconnoitering off Mazatlan had no knowledge of the U.S. declaration of war on Mexico however, after hearing of the revolt in Sonoma, he raced north to defend California

(the British were reportedly interested in California

and there were American fears California would be lost as the Britain’s Pacific-based ships then off California were stronger in vessels, guns and men)

Commodore Sloat arrived in Monterey, California on the frigate Savannah -- July 1, 1846

Savannah joined two sloops, USS Cyane and USS Levant already in Monterey Bay

CELEBRATION IN OREGON COUNTRY

Presence of British war ships gave rise to a full measure of American patriotic zeal

British sloop-of-war *Modeste* was stationed at Fort Vancouver

British frigate *Fisgard* watched Puget Sound from Fort Nisqually

British war ship *Cormorant* had arrived and patrolled Puget Sound and Vancouver Island

Salem was the location of a July 4th commemoration in the Willamette valley

during the grand demonstration guns were fired

toasts were followed by patriotic speeches -- Peter H. Burnett was the day’s orator

and a grand ball closed the festivities

Still there was no news about the establishment of the international boundary

U.S. COMMODORE SLOAT DECIDES TO SEIZE MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

U.S. Captain William Mervine of the Cyane went ashore at Monterey, California

with a small landing party from the ship Savannah -- 7:30 a.m., July 7, 1846

They demanded the surrender of the port from Mexican commander Captain Mariano Silva

Silva replied that he did not have the authority to surrender

in fact, the troops supposedly under Silva’s command did not exist

as the California soldiers had already left the town defenseless and gone to Los Angeles

Commodore John Drake Sloat landed sailors and marines from his three warships -- 10:00 a.m.

they marched to the Monterey Customs House where he read a proclamation written by himself that stated war existed between the United States and Mexico and California was now annexed
Commodore Sloat declared himself Military Governor of California
the only shots fired were a twenty-one-gun salute from each of the three American war ships in honor of the new United States flag
British war ships observed but took no action
Commodore Sloat then wondered if Captain Fremont would cooperate
With the raising the American flag in California, the Bear Flag Republic was no more
it has lasted twenty-four days

MEXICO DECLARES WAR ON THE UNITED STATES

Faced with ongoing events along their northern border
Mexican Congress passed a declaration of war -- July 7, 1846
(sometimes the manifest from Mexican President Mariano Paredes [May 23, 1846] is considered a declaration of war,
but only the Mexican Congress had the power to officially declare war)

YERBA BUENA IS CAPTURED BY THE AMERICAN NAVY

U.S. Navy Commodore John Drake Sloat sent a message to Captain B. Montgomery aboard the *Portsmouth* telling him to capture Yerba Buena (San Francisco) which was done -- 8:00 a.m., July 9, 1846
Montgomery replaced the Bear Flag with the Stars and Stripes of the United States with a twenty-one-gun salute
Captain Montgomery sent a messenger to notify Captain John C. Fremont at Sonoma

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA IS CONTROLLED BY THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND NAVY

U.S. Army Captain John Charles Fremont in Sonoma received word of the capture of Monterey by Navy Commodore John D. Sloat -- July 10, 1846
Fremont raised the American flag over Sonoma
American settlers in the region became convinced by Fremont's actions that war had broken out some of them decided to declare California independent of Mexico
American under U.S. Army Captain Fremont, U.S. Navy Commodore Sloat and U.S. Navy Captain Montgomery had easily taken over Northern California within a matter of days they controlled Sonoma, Monterey, Yerba Buena (San Francisco) and Sutter's Fort in Sacramento
Captain John C. Fremont named himself the California Republic's military governor although Commodore Sloat had already taken the position for himself
Fremont added those U.S. Navy sailors and marines in the vicinity to his California Battalion

CAPTAIN FREMONT MEETS WITH COMMODORE JOHN DRAKE SLOAT

Captain Fremont, now acting as the California Republic Military Governor left Sonoma when he and his California Battalion arrived at Monterey
he met with Commandant John Drake Sloat aboard the *USS Savannah*

When the two military governors of California met
Commandant Sloat requested Fremont show him the orders under which he had been operating
Fremont had none
Sloat abruptly ended the meeting and refused to do anything more
until orders arrived from Washington City

UNITED STATES SCHOONER *SHARK* ARRIVES IN OREGON COUNTRY

USS *Shark* under Lieutenant Neil M. Howison sailed from California
Shark arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River -- July 15, 1846
just inside of Cape Disappointment she was met by a boat containing
Rev. Henry Spalding, William H. Gray and General Asa L. Lovejoy, mayor of Oregon City
who assisted the ship in avoiding a nearly disastrous entrance into the river

U.S. NAVY COMMODORE ROBERT F. STOCKTON ARRIVES IN MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

Commodore Robert F. "Fighting Bob" Stockton took over command of the Pacific Squadron
from ailing Commodore John Drake Sloat -- July 23, 1846
Sloat sailed home to the United States
Commodore Stockton's Pacific Squadron was now composed of his command ship, USS *Congress*,
three frigates with about 480 men each, four sloops with 200 men each,
one ship-of-the-line with about 780 men and three store ships
Stockton had the strongest naval force in California and was the senior officer in command
Captain John C. Fremont would now report to Commodore Robert Stockton
since the two men were very much alike in character they got along exceptionally well
Commodore Stockton recognized the California Battalion as an American fighting unit
Fremont was promoted to Major and given command of all volunteer militias

VICARIATE APOSTOLIC OREGON IS DIVIDED INTO THREE DIOCESES

Pope Pius IX divided the Vicar Francis Blanchet's vicar apostolic into three dioceses -- June 24, 1846
Oregon City Dioceses, Walla Walla Dioceses and Vancouver Island Dioceses
would each become the responsibility of a Catholic bishop
Vicar Frances Blanchet was elevated to the position of Catholic Bishop of Oregon City
St. John the Apostle became the mother parish of the new Archdiocese of Oregon City
when it was dedicated this was the first Catholic cathedral north of San Francisco

U.S. SCHOONER *SHARK* REACHES FORT VANCOUVER

After a near disaster at the entrance of the Columbia River lasting four days
Shark anchored off Astoria [July 19, 1846]
five days later she dropped anchor at Fort Vancouver -- July 24, 1846
where she entered into the company of the British warship *Modeste*
and two barks and a ship belonging to Hudson's Bay Company

Master of the USS *Shark* Lieutenant Neil M. Howison's remarks to the Americans indicated: **"At this time we had not heard of the settlement of the boundary question, and intense excitement prevailed among all classes of residents on this important subject. I enjoined it by letter on the officers under my command to refrain from engaging in arguments touching the ownership of the soil, as it was**

our duty rather to allay than increase excitement on a question which no power hereabouts can settle. Besides the sloop-of-war *Modeste*, anchored in the river, the British government kept the frigate *Fisgard* in Puget Sound, and the strongly armed steamer *Cormorant* in the Sound and about Vancouver Island. These unusual demonstrations produced anything but a tranquilizing effect upon the American portion of the population; and the presence of the British flag was a constant source of irritation.

“The English officers used every gentlemanly caution to reconcile our countrymen to their presence, but no really good feeling existed. Indeed, there never could be congeniality between persons so entirely dissimilar as an American frontiersman and a British naval officer. But the officers, never to my knowledge, had to complain of rude treatment. The English residents calculated with great certainty upon the river being adopted as the future dividing line, and looked with jealousy upon the American advance into the northern portion of the territory, which had some influence in restraining emigration.”⁵²⁹

Lieutenant Neil M. Howison could report only that the United States Pacific squadron was assembling farther to the south

this might imply anything: war with Mexico, war with England, war with both or merely that the United States navy was undertaking maneuvers

It was a further blow to American patriotic attitudes when ten sailors deserted almost immediately drawn to the prospect of free land and escape from the potential rigors of America at war only two men were ever turned in even after a reward of thirty dollars was offered

SHEEP RAISING MOVES TO THE PUGET SOUND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY

Although the sheep business came to be located primarily at Fort Nisqually, sheep farming continued to be a significant activity at Fort Vancouver -- at least through 1846 six employees, including two shepherds listed on the Fort Vancouver labor rolls, were employed by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company

Hudson's Bay Company London Governor Sir John Pelly

reported to Lord Palmerston of the British Foreign Office -- July 1846

Puget's Sound Agricultural Company had 1,977 sheep at Fort Vancouver, valued at £2,037

On the plus side, Puget Sound Agricultural Company shareholders received a dividend -- 1846

AMERICAN TROOPS ARE ORDERED INTO TEXAS

After Mexico's declaration of war, Americans prepared for a war on two fronts -- August 1, 1846

United States War Department sent General Zachery Taylor

(known as “Old Rough-and-Ready” for his indifference to hardship in the War of 1812)

was ordered to move his forces across the Louisiana-Texas border into Texas (Northern Mexico)

accompanying General Taylor was second in command General John E. Wool

who trained and marched his own army composed mostly of western volunteers

General Winfield Scott

(known as “Old Fuss and Feathers” because he focused on each soldier's appearance)

would an amphibious attack on the coastal Mexican town of Vera Cruz

⁵²⁹ Report of Lieutenant Howison, U.S. Navy, House of Representatives, thirtieth Congress, first session. Miscellaneous Documents No, 29.

U.S. PACIFIC SQUADRON LANDS IN SAN PEDRO, CALIFORNIA

Commodore Robert F. Stockton aboard the USS *Congress* sailed into San Pedro (south of today's Los Angeles) -- August 1846

Commodore Stockton then led a march on Pueblo de Los Angeles capturing it without a fight
Stockton left Marine Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie in command of a small garrison before sailing for northern California

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT IS PROMOTED BY COMMODORE STOCKTON

U.S. Navy Commodore Stockton was so taken with U.S. Army Captain John C. Fremont that Fremont was elevated to the rank of U.S. Army Major
and Fremont's California Battalion was taken into the United States Army
they were used to maintain order in towns that had surrendered and drew regular army pay
Major Fremont was ordered to take his California Battalion aboard the *USS Cyane* to San Diego
Commodore Stockton followed with a force of sailors

Combined Army-Navy force won battles in both San Diego and Los Angeles
Commodore Robert F. Stockton proclaimed himself Governor of California -- August 17, 1846

GENERAL STEPHEN KEARNY MARCHES HIS ARMY TO CALIFORNIA

U.S. War Department sent now-General Stephen W. Kearny with his Army of the West from Fort Leavenworth down the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe, New Mexico to seize that Mexican province

Lieutenant William B. Franklin went along to record scientific data
and added his own map to a growing cartographic library of the Topographical Engineers
Kearny and his troops took possession of Santa Fe without a battle -- August 18, 1846

General Kearny promptly established a territorial government in New Mexico over the protest of Texas officials who claimed the region as their own
General Kearny was named military governor of New Mexico
within just one month he ensured that a civilian government was in place

WHEAT PROVIDES THE CASH CROP IN OREGON COUNTRY

Wheat was the money crop and the Willamette Prairie produced grain in abundance -- 1846-[1848]
crops were sown just in (autumn) before the winter rains arrived
and were harvested the following (summer) with hand scythes and awkward cradles
wheat could be harvested up to three years without re-tilling the soil

Grain was sold to Hudson's Bay Company to supply the Russians (in Alaska)
flour was easier to ship than grain, and so grist mills sprang up wherever there was water power
if no mill was nearby, the grain was bagged and hauled over poor roads
to the nearest river landing where it was loaded on a raft or barge or sail-rigged keelboat
Production of wheat in Oregon Country increased dramatically with the arrival of more farmers
market price steadily declined as the rapidly increasing numbers of immigrants
began raising more grain than the Hudson's Bay Company could use or sell
there was no corresponding reduction in price on other goods
commodities costs were 300% to 400% higher than in the mid-West

There was little currency
small transactions were conducted by barter
or by promises to pay in cattle, timber, or labor at some future time
large deals were based on warehouse receipts for stored wheat
but the credit system was becoming unreliable as Hudson's Bay Company lost its influence

SALEM, OREGON IS ESTABLISHED

Mrs. Chloe (Clark) Willson was the first teacher at the Oregon Institute [1844]
In anticipation of Oregon eventually becoming a territory of the United States
directors of the Oregon Institute appointed William H. Willson as their agent
to create a town plat with real estate lots to sell
to provide needed income for the institute -- 1846
William H. Willson platted a town site
local leaders insisted on replacing the Indian name of Chemeketa "meeting place or resting place"
but the origin of the newly-chosen name of "Salem" remains in dispute
William Willson may have wanted
an Americanized version of the Biblical word "Shalom" meaning "peace"
or Rev. David Leslie, President of the town's Trustees may have wanted a Biblical name
and suggested using the last five letters of "Jerusalem"
or the town may be named after Salem, Massachusetts where Leslie was educated
Oregon Spectator advertised city lots to be sold at auction on August 20, 1846

U.S. SCHOONER *SHARK* IS SCHEDULED TO LEAVE THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

USS *Shark* ended her tour of duty at Fort Vancouver -- September 1, 1846
Lieutenant Neil M. Howison's instructions were to leave the mouth of the river
However, the ship was detained in Baker's Bay where for several days
she undertook an examination of the bar at the mouth of the Columbia River

JOHN C. FREMONT IS NAMED MILITARY COMMANDER OF CALIFORNIA

Commodore Robert F. Stockton believed the conquest of California was complete
he decided to sail south in an effort to engage in the main United States war effort in Mexico
Stockton named Major John C. Fremont military commandant of California -- September 2, 1846
and divided the state into three military departments under his jurisdiction

U.S. SCHOONER *SHARK* LOST

USS *Shark's* visit was a comforting American counter to the British *Modeste*
or would have been if the American vessel had not embarrassed everyone
by wrecking herself on the bar of the Columbia River
Attempting to exit the river, *Shark* was completely wrecked -- September 10, 1846
stranded sailors carved their names on a rock
(near today's 13th and Exchange Streets in Astoria
part of the rock was removed and is now in the Maritime Museum
while the remainder was buried under fill for a parking lot)
a portion of the *Shark's* hull and three cannons were taken twenty-five miles south

and became the namesake of Cannon Beach, Oregon
Several officers and crew of the *Shark* eventually reached San Francisco
after chartering the Hudson's Bay Company's schooner *Cadboro*

CALIFORNIA-OREGON TRAIL HAD LONG BEEN AN INDIAN TRADE ROUTE

California-Oregon Trail began as an ancient overland Indian trail
linking the Willamette Valley with California
It was first expanded when Indians guided Hudson's Bay Company trader Peter Skene Ogden
leading a company brigade over the Siskiyou Summit [1827]
After several years use as a fur brigade route Ewing Young had driven cattle over the route [1834]
to provide animals for Americans in the Willamette Valley
With increasing use two divisions of the track separated by the Willamette River had developed

APPLEGATE TRAIL (OLD SOUTH ROAD) IS CONSTRUCTED

Construction began on a second route into Oregon
road building from the Willamette Valley south across the desert was motivated
by the memory of the two family members the Applegates had lost at the Dalles [1843]
as well as the need for an alternate route from Fort Hall into the Willamette Valley
that could be used in the event of war with Great Britain

Old South Road Company, was organized -- late summer 1846
by the Applegate brothers Jesse and Lindsay, the Scott brothers Levi and John,
along with Moses "Black" Harris and ten others
each of the fifteen men equipped himself with a saddle-horse and a pack-horse,
rifle and other essentials

Applegates along with the others followed the Westside California-Oregon pack trail
which they developed into an emigrant wagon trail to California -- 1846
they pushed south out of the Willamette Valley and into Umpqua and Rogue river valleys
crossing the Klamath River they discovered a way out of the Cascade Mountains
onto the bleak deserts of the interior

Road builders proceeded in a southeasterly direction across northern California and Nevada
until they reached the Humboldt River intersection (today's Nevada) with the California Cutoff
they traced the California Cutoff northeast toward the main line of the Oregon Trail at Fort Hall
Indians killed one of the road construction gang, and thirst nearly did in the rest
but an advance party at last broke through to Fort Hall

Old South Road, as it became known, bypassed English forts
at crossed northern Nevada and California to the Rogue River near Grants Pass
then turned almost due north to the Willamette Valley and Oregon City

PRESBYTERRIAN CHURCH REACHES OREGON COUNTRY

Rev. Lewis Thompson organized the first Presbyterian Church in Oregon Country
in home of William H. Gray-- September 19, 1846
four members were active in the church: William H. and Mary Gray, Alva and Lillian Condit
Rev. Thompson served as Pastor of the Clatsop Plains Presbyterian Church for twenty-two years

GENERAL STEPHEN KEARNY MARCHES TO CALIFORNIA

Less than a month after being positioned as military governor of New Mexico
General Kearny led his Army of the West, a force of only 300 men, from Santa Fe
En route he met noted scout Christopher “Kit” Carson who was carrying messages
from California Military Commandant John C. Fremont to Washington City
Carson incorrectly informed General Kearny that California
had already surrendered to John C. Fremont and Commodore Robert Stockton
Kearny enlisted Carson to guide him to southern California -- September 25, 1846
and the messages Kit Carson was carrying were given to another courier
thinking California was secure, Kearny sent 200 of his troops back to Santa Fe

GIFT FROM THE U.S. SCHOONER *SHARK* TO AMERICANS IN OREGON COUNTRY

Before leaving San Francisco, Captain Howison presented to the Oregon Provisional Government
Shark’s flag and cannon which had been salvaged and taken to the Willamette Valley
these became Oregon City’s first official emblem and armament
in his letter to Provisional Governor George Abernethy, Howison said: **“To display this national emblem, and cheer our citizens in this distant territory by its presence, was a principal object of the *Shark’s* visit to the Columbia; and it appears to me, therefore, highly proper that it should henceforth remain with you, as a memento of parental regard from the general government. With the fullest confidence that it will be received and duly appreciated as such by our countrymen here, I do myself the honor of transmitting the flags to your address; nor can I omit the occasion to express my gratification and pride that this relic of my late command should be emphatically the first United States flag to wave over the undisputed and purely American territory of Oregon.”**⁵³⁰
dated September 27, 1846

Governor Abernethy gracefully and gratefully received the colors
on behalf of the American settlers of Oregon, and responded: **“We will fling it to the breeze on every suitable occasion, and rejoice under the emblem of our country’s glory, sincerely hoping that the ‘star-spangled banner’ may ever wave over this portion of the United States.”**⁵³¹

FATHER AUGUSTINE MAGLOIRE ALEXANDER (A.M.A.) BLANCHET BECOMES A BISHOP

Father Augustine Magloire Alexander (A.M.A.) Blanchet
was the younger brother of Bishop of Oregon City Francois Norbert Blanchet
Father A.M.A Blanchet was born on their father’s farm [August 22, 1797]
near the village of Saint-Pierre, Riviere du Sud, Canada
A.M.A. Blanchet was sent to Quebec with his brother Francis to study for the priesthood
after his ordination Father A.M.A. Blanchet served as a parish priest for a year
he next become a missionary at Cape Breton Island, Canada
for the next twenty years he served as priest to four successive parishes
he was elevated to Canon of the Montreal Cathedral
Father A.M.A. Blanchet in Montreal was ordained Bishop of Walla Walla -- September 27, 1846

⁵³⁰ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington: Embracing ...*, Volume 1, P. 274.

⁵³¹ Report of Lieutenant Howison, U.S. Navy, House of Representatives, thirtieth Congress, first session. Miscellaneous Documents No, 29.

FATHER PIERRE JEAN De SMET HAS GREAT SUCCESS

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet departed from the Blackfoot Indians on their Island in the Missouri River he traveled on a small boat to St. Louis where he arrived -- September 28, 1846
Father De Smet spent the next two years 1846-[1847] visiting very frequently with all of the missions and tribes of the Northwest where he exerted his Catholic influence
Indians everywhere liked and respected him as he took up the new role of peace negotiator

FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET WAS ALWAYS ON THE MOVE

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet had traveled 50,000 miles or more between the years [1840-1847] creating new missions and seeking their support
he made nineteen crossings of the Atlantic Ocean
one voyage around Cape Horn
two trips from East to West by way of Panama
a tower of strength, he traveled an estimated 180,000 miles in his lifetime
Father De Smet numbered his Catholic converts in the thousands
eventually he held the confidence of every tribe from Minnesota to the Oregon coast
beloved, protected and all but worshiped by the Flathead Indians
his positive attitude and good works spread rapidly
as he often served as a mediator in private and governmental issues
(Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was kept busy with church business in St. Louis [until 1851]
he left a graphic and interesting report on religious progress in his book *Oregon Missions*
also he provided a charming descriptions of scenery and the natural beauty
in his book *Western Missions and Missionaries*)

NEWS OF JOHN C. FREMONT'S PROMOTION ARRIVES IN CALIFORNIA

President James K. Polk had promoted John C. Fremont to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel [May 1846]
Fremont previously had officially held the rank of U.S. Army Captain
he had been brevetted (elevated in rank in the field) to Major by Commodore Robert Stockton and named Military Commandant of California also by Stockton
with his rank of Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont was to organize a new regiment of mounted riflemen to fight in the Mexican-American War

REVOLT IN PUBLLO DE LOS ANGELES

Mexican Nationals known as the Californio militia rebelled against what they regarded as the needlessly harsh American military rule of U.S. Marine Lieutenant Archibald Gillispie and his small garrison
Besieged by insurrectionists who took control of the town (today's Los Angeles)
United States military men fled in disgrace to San Pedro -- October 1846
Several attempts by Gillespie's men to retake Los Angeles were unsuccessful

ANOTHER EPIDEMIC SWEEPS ACROSS OREGON COUNTRY

Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) described the arrival of measles and whooping cough: **“The doctor [Whitman] made his fall visit to the [Willamette] valley, bringing back something for each one of us. He always remembered the children when he went to the valley, and brought us all some token of his love. He piloted the emigrants by a nearer and better route to The Dalles, and learned with apprehension that the last of the train was afflicted with measles and whooping cough. He knew they would spread throughout the native camps and feared the consequences. None of his own family had had the measles and but few of the others [either].**

“This fall brother John had his horse saddled to return to The Dalles to reside, but at Dr. Whitman’s earnest request he consented to remain. Had he gone there he might now be living! Laying aside his gun, he now devoted himself to his studies. He rose early at 4 o’clock and wrote, but I never knew what he wrote about as the papers were all destroyed after the massacre.

“The measles were among the natives, and in the doctor’s absence Mrs. Whitman was their physician. All arrangements were made for the winter, teachers were employed, and all things were in order. The emigration had brought a Canadian half-breed named Jo Lewis, who was so disagreeable that they [a wagon train] refused to let him travel farther in their company. Dr. Whitman reluctantly gave him some work. He tried to send him below [to the Willamette Valley] with a company, but in a few days he was back again, so the doctor reluctantly engaged him for the winter. He was destitute of clothes and was supplied. We all disliked him, but he was well and kindly treated. Yet this wretch laid the careful plans and told the terrible lies that led to the massacre, and took an active part in murder and robbery.”⁵³² -- fall 1846

TRAVELING THE OREGON TRAIL WAS ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT

Transportation choke points had always existed at the rapids of the Dalles and the Columbia Gorge even in the earliest times it was necessary to portage around the ferocious torrents of water Wascopam and Waiilatpu missions were flooded (each autumn) by thousands of starving emigrants facing the last great barrier of the Oregon Trail -- the Cascade Mountains
Pioneers could not drive their wagons west through the Columbia Gorge
steep cliffs dropped right to the water’s edge
they had to abandon the wagons or disassemble them, load them on rafts or bateaux
float down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver or the mouth of the Willamette River

1846 PIONEERS CAN USE THE BARLOW ROAD

Barlow Road was completed early enough to enable, as Barlow noted,
145 immigrant wagons and 1,559 head of livestock to pass that season -- fall 1846
wagons, with their contents, finally reached Oregon City
this was the vanguard of many years of immigration over the Barlow Road
Reuban Gant was recorded as the driver of the first wagon across the new road -- 1846
as reported by Sam Barlow to the *Oregon Spectator*
Very few who made the trek had fond memories of the experience
Laurel Hill was such a nightmare that even after months of heat, dust, disease and death
most diarists proclaimed it the single worst stretch of the Oregon Trail -- bar none
it was reported wagons were chained to trees to keep them from running over the oxen

⁵³² Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 526-527.

pioneers used downed trees and limbs attached to the rear of the wagon
to rake the ground to act as crude brakes over rocks, moss and alder trees
Laurel Hill's steepest part was known as "The Chute"
a mossy terror in autumn it was slick all the way -- all the time
it was so steep on the western slope, 60% grade for half a mile,
that wagons had to be let down dragging hundred-foot-long tree trunks behind
tree branches were jammed in a wheel passed under the wagon bed
and out the other wheel
winding ropes around Douglas Fir trees were tied to the end of each vehicle
as wagons were slowly lowered down from level bench to level bench

Adrietta Applegate Hixon wrote in her diary: **"It looked as if we had come to the jumping-off place. It seemed almost perpendicular and such a long descent.... The locked wheels made a most dismal screeching sound that echoed back and forth through the woods."**⁵³³

SAM BARLOW BECOMES ONE OF THE MOST HATED MEN IN OREGON COUNTRY

Barlow's original toll gate was on the east side of the mountain
Barlow Road could be used or \$5 a wagon and team; 50¢ for each single animal;
Barlow Road could be used or \$5 a wagon and team; 50¢ for each single animal;
\$1.00 per man or woman -- payable in cash, note, or "in-kind" (goods or services)
for this amount they had the privilege of clearing downed trees, rock slides and other debris,
maneuvering across seemingly bottomless swamps and steep grades,
foraging countless and dangerously-swollen streams,
and even having to lower their wagons with ropes down the steep cliffs
of the infamous Laurel Hill
despite being cheaper than renting a Hudson's Bay Company bateaux
and (perhaps) being safer than rafting down the Columbia River
many emigrants were incensed at the idea of having to pay a toll
for the last eighty miles of a 2000-mile journey
Sam Barlow himself tended the gate for the two months of "immigrant season" 1846-[1847]
many immigrants were unable to pay the toll
in every case they were allowed to pass free and use all the privileges of the road
weary and frustrated emigrants cursed Barlow for collecting tolls "from dead people"
that is, charging tolls to people who would die
while attempting to follow his road into the Willamette Valley

BARLOW ROAD IS NOT A SOURCE OF INCOME FOR ITS BUILDER

After the opening of the Barlow Road
it was estimated fewer than one in four people chose the old Columbia River route
however, this was not enough as the Barlow Road proved to be a financial failure
many pioneers lacked the payment price and years later "forgot" to pay
as bad as it was, the Barlow Road encouraged many settlers to turn toward Oregon
rather than journey to the north side of the Columbia River

⁵³³ Adrietta Applegate Hixon, *On to Oregon*.

TOLL ROADS PROVIDE FOR OVERLAND TRANSPORTATION

Most roads in Oregon Country were privately owned
often they were just paths through the woods wide enough for a wagon
low and wet spots were roughly filled in with blocks of wood or “corduroyed”
to make them passable
streams were made fordable
Toll gate at one end was tended by the gatekeeper who collected the toll
toll charges usually were moderate -- but necessary to cover cost of construction

POPULATION OF OREGON COUNTRY DOUBLES ONCE AGAIN

More than of 1,500 immigrants arrived over the Oregon Trail -- fall 1846
region’s population was double what it had been in [1845] and was four times that of [1844]
population on French Prairie was between six hundred and seven hundred inhabitants
Willamette Valley’s choicest farm lands were already inhabited
Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine noted -- 1846

“Their ploughs turn its sods, their axes level its timber...no power on earth, nor all the powers of the earth, can check the swelling tide of the American population...”⁵³⁴

Oregon City develops as a population of 500 at the Falls on the Willamette River
including four tailors, two hatters, two silversmiths, carpenters, and cabinet makers
building included a Methodist Church, two saloons, two blacksmith shops
and newly constructed St. John The Apostle Catholic Cathedral
several families had settled near what was to become (Eugene City) -- 1846
at the southern end of the valley floor and the upper end of water navigation
still others opened the Umpqua and Rogue river valleys

INDIANS RESENT WHITE INVADERS

Littered campsites, slaughtered deer and devoured grass all defaced their native land
As the natives grew more aggressive, the whites responded with surprising submissiveness
pioneers with worn-out teams and wagons; with frightened families; low on supplies
were not eager to deal with trouble
Cayuse, Wascopam and Chinook Indians began bullying small emigrant parties and stealing horses
whites, in retaliation stole replacement animals from unguarded Indian herds
resentment was matched by bitterness and the cycle deepened

EDUCATION IN THE ROUGH

As various missionaries shied away from the natives and toward white settlers
the desire to foster an education rapidly developed
Elementary “Term Schools” began to appear in Oregon City
first of these was organized by John E. Lyle -- 1846
given the dignified name “Jefferson Institute”
this school was a log house located in Yamhill County

⁵³⁴ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 121.

in a memoir [published in 1929] Harriet Nesmith McArthur recalled that her mother had attended Mr. Lyle's school she wrote: **"The institute was a log building.... Benches made of log planks were placed near the walls. The children, however, sat facing the walls, with wide boards set on props against the walls for desks. Pupils usually wrote with goose quills which Lyle kept in condition, and the only pencils ever used were pointed lead bullets. The writing paper was blue, and is believed to have been purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. School books were those which pioneers had brought with them, and indispensable was the Bible from which each child read a verse at the beginning of the school day. In all, twenty-five students, including three Applegates, attended the first year, and the experiment was considered a success."**⁵³⁵

Tabitha Moffat Brown, or "Grandma" as she became affectionately known, arrived by wagon train in Oregon Country at age sixty-six -- 1846 she first settled at West Tualatin where she found some fifteen or twenty immigrant orphans these she gathered into a school using a log church (at what became the campus of Pacific University) here she taught 3 Rs, how to cook, sew and perform other useful tasks

MORE SETTLERS ARRIVE IN SOUTH PUGET SOUND

Levi Lathrop Smith was a personable young man who suffered from epilepsy among his many friends was Maine fisherman Edmund Sylvester who had first reached Portland, Oregon on a Cushing and Company trading ship Sylvester accompanied Smith to Puget Sound to care for the epileptic during his seizures they formed the Puget Sound Milling Company along with eight settlers -- October 1846 Together they took up adjoining claims to 320 acres along Budd Inlet at the mouth of the Des Chutes River about two miles north of Michael Simmons' New Marker (at what will become Olympia) local Squaxon tribe had a winter settlement there they called "Cheet-woot" or bear (at high tide, the shoreline resembled a bear) young epileptic Levi Smith chose as his claim a two-acre clearing where he built a sixteen-foot-square shingle-roofed log hutch with a magnificent view of Mount Rainier to the east and of the Olympic Mountains to the northwest Smith named the property Smithfield Edmund Sylvester settled on the edge of Chambers Prairie Together they began the lumbering industry in the area when they dictated their wills Sylvester and Smith even made each the other's heir

SENSE OF COMMUNITY GROWS NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Richard and Anna Covington arrived at Fort Vancouver by ship from England both husband and wife worked as teachers at the fort's school and ran a boarding school they brought with them a violin, guitar, and the region's first piano (few years later George Barnes of Olympia imported another piano)

⁵³⁵ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*. P. 210.

Covington's log cabin became known as a center of hospitality and musical entertainment
music was played and taught to the children

STAGECOACH SERVICE ARRIVES IN OREGON CITY

First mention of a commercial stage line appeared in Oregon City's *Spectator* -- November 29, 1846
Stephen H.L. Meek, proprietor announced that his new company the Telegraph Line
with "Eight Ox Power" would operate on a semi-weekly basis between Oregon City
and the Tualatin settlement
"rain or shine -- mud or no mud -- load or no load, but not without pay"⁵³⁶

LACK OF A POSTAL SERVICE CREATES A HARDSHIP

When letters were to be sent to the United States [before 1850]
one simply waited for someone who might be going East
and would be willing, at prices based mostly on dickering, to deposit the letter in a mailbox
when reaching Missouri
Congress after deciding not to build a post road between Missouri and the Columbia River -- 1846
appropriated \$100,000 to provide bimonthly mail service
between the states and Astoria across the Isthmus of Panama
(later the United States Government scheduled a steamship run around Cape Horn
however, the first mail vessels were sidetracked by the California gold rush
they never reached Oregon)

STAGECOACH TRAVEL WAS PRIMITIVE

Travel by stagecoach whetted the appetite and contributed to the enjoyment of a good night's sleep
stations were usually at ten to fifteen-mile intervals along the country roads
Frequently the stations were rude farmhouses where overworked housewives "took in boarders"
at some of these, stops were made only long enough for a hasty exchange of horses
at such places passengers hastened to get out of the coach to stretch their cramped legs
if the stop was at meal time or late at night they partook of whatever services
such places had to offer
here the hungry and much bounced-about traveler was as one person noted: **"fed chiefly on
small squared bits of tough, fried meat, with fried potatoes, and sometimes pie. (This last you would
eat of more freely were it not for the legions of houseflies, which dispute with your every
mouthful!)"**⁵³⁷

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN APPLIES TO BECOME A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES

Former Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin's long association with the Hudson's Bay Company
led the Americans in Oregon City to avoid him as pro-British -- November 1846
McLoughlin consulted Jesse Applegate and Provisional Government Supreme Judge Peter H. Burnett
about taking the oath of allegiance to the United States and taking out naturalization papers
Burnett had no authority from the United States or other jurisdiction to administer such an oath
this provided McLoughlin's enemies opportunity to claim he was a British subject

⁵³⁶ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 187.

⁵³⁷ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 202.

and had not taken the oath of allegiance to the United States
nor had he applied to become a citizen of the United States
thus his land claims were not legal

UNOFFICIAL WORD OF THE BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT REACHES OREGON COUNTRY

Captain Nathaniel Crosbie was master of the American bark *Toulon*
sailed into Portland harbor -- November 12, 1846
he brought the first (unofficial) word of the international boundary settlement with Britain
Benjamin Stark came to Portland as a super-cargo (master of the cargo) aboard the bark *Toulon*
he established a merchandising business in the village of Portland, Oregon

PORTLAND, OREGON EXPANDS

After the famous coin toss to name the settlement was won by Francis W. Pettygrove [1844]
sixteen city blocks and four streets had been cleared from the forest [1845]
Asa L. Lovejoy (who lost the coin toss) sold his interest in 640 acres
which constituted the village of Portland to just-arrived Benjamin Stark
for five thousand dollars' worth of tanned buckskins -- 1846
Daniel Lowndale built the first tannery in the Northwest
Francis W. Pettygrove joined with Dr. McLoughlin's son David as a partner -- 1846
(within two years they had a granary constructed at Champoeg
later Pettygrove moved to California
before returning to found the village of Port Townsend [1851])
James Terwilliger established a claim to the South of Portland where he built a blacksmith shop

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUES TO FUNCTION

Provisional House of Representatives convened under Speaker Asa Lovejoy -- December 1, 1846
there were serious faults in the existing liquor laws
fines were divided among informers, witnesses and officials who tried the case
making all parties interested in securing a conviction
Provisional House of Representatives passed a license law
to regulate the manufacture and sale of liquor
Provisional Governor Abernethy vetoed the new liquor law

OFFICIAL NEWS OF OREGON CONVENTION OF 1846 REACHES OREGON CITY

Although the Oregon Treaty between the U.S. and Great Britain had been signed [June 19, 1846]
official news did not reach Oregon Country until December 3, 1846
Terms of the Convention of 1846 (Oregon Treaty) when received in Oregon
was not considered to be all good news
it was noted Oregon was restricted to the territory south of the 49° north latitude
thus giving up the hope of 54°40' as the northern boundary
Although disappointed by the surrender of so much land to Great Britain,
Americans were jubilant their homes would be within the United States of America,
they would be citizens of one of its territories
entitled to share the protection and blessings of the Union

and they would be able to officially file their land claims
many American settlers hailed the prospect that their highest hopes were soon to be realized

GENERAL STEPHEN WATTS KEARNEY LEADS THE ARMY OF THE WEST TO CALIFORNIA

General Stephen Kearny and his 100 dragoons reached California -- early December
Kearny encountered Marine Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie and about thirty men
who gave the news of the ongoing revolt taking place in Los Angeles
Despite the exhaustion of his men as a result of their long march from Santa Fe,
Kearny ordered a surprise attack by his Army of the West on the Californio militia
in hopes of a swift victory-- December 6-7
his weary troops were fought to a standstill by the Mexican cavalry as neither side
could claim a decisive victory in the Battle of San Pasqual -- December 6-7, 1846
Kearny himself was slightly wounded

General Stephen Kearney was forced to retreat to nearby ridge and wait
Christopher “Kit” Carson, who had guided Kearney into California, penetrated the Mexican lines
and returned to San Diego where he informed U.S. Navy Commodore Robert F. Stockton
of General Kearny’s plight

APPLEGATE TRAIL (OLD SOUTH ROAD) RECEIVES TRAVELERS

Once at Fort Hall, Jesse Applegate and the road builders persuaded several pioneers
that the route they had just completed building was shorter and easier
than the water ride down the Columbia River or the newly available Barlow Road
More than one hundred wagons swung into line -- late fall 1846
guided along the South Road by Levi Scott accompanied by Jesse Applegate and other builders
They soon wished they hadn’t made the attempt as the terrain was harsh and dry
heat, shortage of pasture, and ill-judged stopovers encouraged by Jesse wore them down
one pioneer, Jesse Quinn Thornton wrote: **“We had toiled on amidst great suffering. We
found a desert as dry and blasted, as if it had just been heaved upon from some infernal
volcano.”**⁵³⁸

Thornton never forgave Jesse Applegate
quarrels, brought on by months of hard travel and constantly facing challenges,
delayed the party long enough that winter rains caught them
in the dense forests of southern Oregon
remainder of the journey was a nightmare of rain, mud and flooded streams
Moses “Black” Harris, using his knowledge and skill as a guide,
helped rescue the group stranded on the Applegate Trail in southern Oregon
(he participated in efforts to explore the Cascade Mountain in search of better routes
and continued to guide wagon trains until dying of cholera [1849])

APPLEGATE TRAIL (SOUTH ROAD) OPENS SOUTHERN OREGON

Southern route into Oregon had been found to be possible
if not any more practical than any other route

⁵³⁸ Winther, Oscar Osburn, *The Great Northwest*, P. 112.

land south of the Willamette Valley had been opened to settlement
(Applegates themselves [two years later in 1848]) cleared new farms for their families
in the Rogue and Umpqua valleys
increasing use of the route would initiate necessary improvements
(In later years the emigrants' worst fears occasionally came true
Klamath Indians sometimes raided passing wagons
more than one wagon train over the years had to be rescued by Army troops or irregulars
riding out of the Willamette Valley)

PRESIDENT POLK URGES THAT A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT BE CREATED IN OREGON

President James Polk urged Congress to create a territorial government
in Oregon -- December 8, 1846
he noted that provisional laws excluded slavery from the region
Ensuing debates in Congress raised the issue of the constitutional power of Congress
to prohibit slavery in the territories of the United States

GENERAL KEARNEY'S ARMY OF THE WEST FINDS SAFETY IN SAN DIEGO

After the Battle of San Pasqual Kearny's battered Army of the West was escorted to safety
by U.S. Marines and U.S. Navy bluejacket sailors from San Diego
sent by Navy Commodore Robert Stockton
they returned to Stockton's headquarters at San Diego -- December 11, 1846

COMMODORE STOCKTON AND GENERAL KEARNY JOIN FORCES AT SAN DIEGO

Commodore David Stockton and General Stephen Kearny disputed over the right of command
as the American forces combined -- December 12, 1846
Commodore Stockton's more than 600 sailors and marines was assured the command position
over General Kearny's remaining force of about sixty dragoons of the Army of the West
and two companies of Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fremont's California Battalion

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SCALES BACK

In light of the international agreement the political agenda was pared back to only essential business
with the international boundary settled but no territorial government in place,
Provisional Government filled the void
it provided for laws governing land claims, maintained taxation and a court system
pioneers assumed the next session of Congress, which was just about to begin,
would establish a territorial government for Oregon Country
they knew this was also the desire of President James K. Polk
With little to accomplish the Provisional House of Representatives adjourned -- December 19, 1846

COMMODORE STOCKTON AND GENERAL KEARNEY COMBINE THEIR FORCES

Stockton's conquest of California would not be complete unless he could rein in unruly Los Angeles
Stockton, Kearny and Fremont set out toward Los Angeles with their combined force
accompanied by six cannons -- December 29, 1846

PUGET SOUND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY CONTINUES TO EXPAND

An employee of Puget Sound Agricultural Company
stated that about twelve hundred acres were enclosed
these were subdivided by fences and ditches into fields of convenient size
from fifty to one hundred acres
portions of this land were under cultivated grasses, and pastures were fully stocked
Altogether, 1,432½ acres were under cultivation by the company -- winter 1846-1847
crops included wheat, oats, barley, peas, turnips, beans and potatoes

OREGON COUNTRY NOT COMPLETELY FORGOTTEN

After approving the U.S.-Canadian international boundary
Congress had failed to further act in behalf of Oregon Country -- 1846-1847
President Polk felt a deep interest in bringing the Far West into the Union
this caused Secretary of State James Buchanan to write a letter to people of Oregon Country
encouraging them to expect favorable action at the next Congressional [1847] session
Congress was already meeting when the letter arrived at its destination
U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton (Missouri) also wrote a letter received in Oregon Country
he threw the blame for inaction on John C. Calhoun, but declared: **“You will not be outlawed for not admitting slavery.... I promise you this in the name of the South, as well as of the North....”**⁵³⁹

PEOPLE LIVING AT THE WAILATPU MISSION FACE A VERY COLD WINTER

In her journal Catherine Sager (Mrs. Clark Pringle) described the effects of the very cold winter on the natives: **“The following winter [1846-1847] was very cold, the coldest ever known in the country, and the Indians charged the whites with bringing the cold weather upon them. Old Jimmy, a Catholic Indian, claimed the power of working miracles, and said he brought the cold upon them (the Indians) to punish them for their unbelief and wickedness. They paid him liberally to bring about a change and finally a thaw did come and he claimed the merit of it.”**⁵⁴⁰

AMERICANS FIGHT A BATTLE IN CALIFORNIA

U.S. Navy Commodore Robert Stockton, General Stephen Kearny and Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont fought a pitched battle against the Californio militia under General Jose Maria Flores while crossing the San Gabriel River -- January 8, 1847
Kearny ordered the artillery unlimbered to cover the crossing -- January 8
but Stockton countered the order and began to move across the river
this crossing proved to be especially difficult as the 560-man force came under fire
Kearny led and commanded the assault force while Stockton stayed with the cannons
Battle of San Gabriel lasted an hour and a half and was decisive in achieving control of Los Angeles (and today's southern California)

LOS ANGELES FALLS TO THE AMERICANS

Stockton, Kearny and Fremont pursued General Flores's Californio militia from the San Gabriel River

⁵³⁹ Joseph Schafer, PhD., *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 187.

⁵⁴⁰ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 526.

west toward the Los Angeles River where they defeated Flore's Californio militia
in the Battle of La Mesa -- January 9, 1847
After two days of fighting the combined Stockton-Kearny force
reoccupied Los Angeles -- January 10
all of southern California was secure

AMERICAN TROOPS TAKE CONTROL OF CALIFORNIA'S GOVERNMENT

Mexican General Flore's Californio militia surrendered and the Treaty of Cahuenga was signed
Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont proposed terms of the treaty that were so lenient
that native Californians held Fremont as a friend -- January 13, 1847

CONTROL OF THE NEW CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT IS IN DISPUTE

Command issues between General Kearny and Commodore Stockton heated up
General Stephen Kearny, as ranking the Army officer, claimed leadership of California
Commodore Robert Stockton had named himself the Military Governor of California
unfortunately the War Department had not worked out a protocol for who would be in charge
Stockton seized on the Treaty of Cahuenga
as the beginning of the American government in California
Stockton appointed his aide, John Charles Fremont military governor of California
Kearny claimed the military governorship for himself but was ignored
Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont refused to recognize General Kearny as his superior officer
(General Stephen Kearny established his military headquarters at Monterey, California
he asked Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fremont to report there for duty
Fremont refused to obey Kearny's orders and Kearny had him arrested
charges of insubordination and mutiny were pressed against Fremont
General Kearny left California for St. Louis accompanied by Fremont [May 31, 1847]
Commodore Robert F. Stockton left California [June 20, 1847]
following a court martial in Washington City that found him guilty, Fremont resigned
President James K Polk commuted Fremont's conviction)

BILL TO CREATE OREGON TERRITORY PASSES THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

United States was deeply divided on the issue of slavery
thirteen pro-slavery states were represented by 136 Congressmen and twenty-six U.S. Senators
thirteen anti-slavery states were represented by 91 Congressmen and twenty-six U.S. Senators
Oregon Country's Provisional Government had outlawed slavery in the Organic Laws
they had included in the Organic Laws Thomas Jefferson's words in the Ordinance of 1787 that:
"neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime" would ever be
permitted
U.S. House of Representatives with its greater number of northern (anti-slavery) Congressmen
passed the "Oregon Bill" creating a new territory -- January 16, 1847

REV. HENRY SPALDING ENJOYS LITTLE SUCCESS AT LAPWAI MISSION

Rev. Henry Spalding commenced a long series of letters regarding Lapwai Mission
to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions -- February 1847

he described the desertion of the mission by nearly all the Indians at Lapwai
he noted the closing of his school
he described destruction of property and acts of personal violence carried out by the Indians
he related the natives general return to gambling, licentiousness and sorcery

JESSE QUINN THORNTON INFLUENCES OREGON COUNTRY

Abolitionist Attorney Jesse Quinn Thornton and his wife Agnes (usually known as Nancy)
had come west to escape the ravages of slavery and as a response to editor Horace Greely's call:
"Move West Young Man"
they had arrived in Oregon Country with the first crossing of the Applegate Trail [1846]
trail leaders led their party into severe hardships and suffering on their new southern route
Thornton maintained his great bitterness toward Jesse Applegate and David Goff
Provisional Governor George Abernethy selected Jesse Quinn Thornton
to serve as Provisional Supreme Judge -- February 20, 1847

BISHOP FRANCIS BLANCHET SAILS BACK TO THE PACIFIC COAST

Bishop Francis Blanchet found passage to the Pacific coast on a French ship, *L'Etoile du Matin*
accompanied by six secular priests, four Jesuit priests, three lay brothers
and seven Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur: Sister Laurence, Sister Alphonse Marie,
Sister Renilde, Sister Odellie, Sister Francisca, Sister Aldegonde, and Sister Mary Bernard
Bishop Blanchet and his traveling companions sailed from France -- February 22, 1847

BILL TO CREATE OREGON TERRITORY STALLS THE U.S. SENATE

Oregon Bill to create Oregon Territory moved to the United States Senate
where it was presented by U.S. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois
Oregon Bill was strongly opposed by pro-slavery leaders like John C. Calhoun of South Carolina
Oregon Bill was tabled (delayed) in the U.S. Senate -- March 3, 1847
in an effort was led by pro-slavery Southern Democrat Senators
who were concerned about the balance of power in the United States Senate
this kept alive the issue of slavery in the West
which had been forbidden Mexican Territory under Mexican law

SOME PEOPLE IN OREGON COUNTRY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT TERRITORIAL STATUS

As anxious as most of the people in Oregon Country were for the protection of the United States
that would be provided with territorial status
the idea of self-government remained strong in places
it was believed that President James K. Polk had a list of territorial officials already made out
pioneers in Oregon called for a convention of delegates **"for the purpose of recommending
to the Executive of the United States suitable persons to fill the various offices that will be created
upon the passage of a bill establishing a territorial government in Oregon"**⁵⁴¹

BISHOP A.M.A. BLANCHET TRAVELS FROM MONTREAL TO HIS NEW ASSIGNMENT

⁵⁴¹ Oregon Historical Quarterly, Volume 11, P. 346.

Bishop of Walla Walla Augustine Magloire Alexander (A.M.A.) Blanchet traveled from Montreal, Canada toward St. Louis on his way to his new assignment in Oregon Country -- March 4, 1847
Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet was accompanied by Father Jean-Baptiste Brouillet
Father Louis Roussau and four lay Brothers
at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Blanchet declared his intention to become an American citizen
at St. Louis Father Charles A. Richard and two deacons joined the pilgrimage

1st REGIMENT OF NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS ARRIVES IN CALIFORNIA

Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson had raised ten companies of seventy-seven men each to form the 1st Regiment of New York Volunteers
they had traveled in three merchant ships and the sloop USS *Preble*
these ships reached San Francisco Bay during the month of March 1847
after desertions and deaths in transit had taken their toll 648 men arrived in California
these troops finally allowed General Stephen Kearny to assume command of California as the ranking Army officer
(additional troops would continue to arrive throughout the year)

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENTS IN OREGON COUNTRY

John W. Shively opened first post office west of the Rockies in Astoria -- March 9, 1847
William G. T'Vault, Oregon City's first postmaster,
replaced George Curry as editor of the *Oregon Spectator*
T'Vault maintained the strongly Democratic support for which the newspaper was known
Michael Simmons constructed first sawmill on Puget Sound at Tumwater Falls -- 1847
Simon Plamondon, one of the first British settlers north of the Columbia River,
built the first brick kiln was built on his Cowlitz River farm -- 1847
Mission Mill at the falls of the Willamette River was again sold -- this time to James McKay
who operated both a flour mill and a lumber mill at the dam on the river
Mission Mill remained in operation for over forty years

WASCOPAM MISSION IS SOLD TO DR. MARCUS WHITMAN

Dr. Whitman was conscious of impending disaster as his own letters show
he had been repeatedly warned of Indian trouble by Hudson's Bay Company men
Cayuse had become so insolent and surly that Dr. Whitman seems to have thought seriously
of abandoning the mission and removing his family
Wascopam Mission at the Dalles, one hundred sixty miles downstream from Waiilatpu,
was sold to Dr. Whitman for \$600 -- April 1847
at least partly to keep the increasingly active Jesuits from getting it
Dr. Whitman established a Presbyterian Mission at the site
Whitman wrote to the American Board that he did not know **“whether to stay or go, nor at what time. Whether it be demanded by the Indians or the Board, I think in the course of the**

ensuing summer I shall locate a claim for land in the lower country to be ready in case of retirement.”⁵⁴²

END OF THE METHODIST MISSIONARY ERA CAME WITH SUDDENNESS

Methodist missionaries had had little success

fourteen years after establishing Mission Bottom (Champoeg)

Methodist's ended their missionary effort in the Willamette Valley
they had 348 Methodist Church members in Oregon County -- eight were Indian
Rev. George Gary having replaced Rev. Jason Lee as Methodist missionary leader

Gary closed Methodist Chemeketa (Salem) Mission and sold all of the properties -- 1847
keeping only Wascopam Mission at the Dalles

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR GEORGE ABERNETHY ELECTED AGAIN

Once again Provisional Governor George Abernathy who represented the Methodist Party interests
who wished to protect the large tracts of land claimed by the Methodist missions
ran against A.L. Lovejoy representing the interests of the American Party
and the desire for Territorial status

In a very close election Abernathy defeated his competitor General A.L. Lovejoy -- June 1847
Willamette Valley and all other counties but one

had given Abernathy four hundred and seventy-seven votes
while Lovejoy received five hundred eighteen

Lewis County, north of the Columbia and last to be heard from,

gave sixty-one votes for Abernathy and two for Lovejoy, changing the result
Provisional Governor Abernathy retained his office by a margin of sixteen votes

GENERAL STEPHEN KEARNY TAKES COMMAND IN CALIFORNIA

After the arrival of the 1st Regiment of New York General Kearny was able to assume command
Commodore David Stockton left California overland -- June 20, 1847
(he arrived at Washington City [about December 1, 1847])

1st Regiment of New York took over Stockton's Pacific Squadron military and garrison duties
along with Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fremont's California Battalion and Mormon Battalion
General Kearny, as the new commander, appointed his own territorial military governor a
he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fremont to resign his position

BISHOP FRANCIS BLANCHET ARRIVES AT ASTORIA

After completing the voyage from France, Archbishop Blanchet reached Astoria -- August 15, 1847
also aboard the ship *L'Etoile du Matin* were four Jesuit priests, six secular priests,
secular priests had not taken vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience a
they lived in the world at large rather than in a religious institute
seven Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur: Sister Laurence,
Sister Alphonse Marie, Sister Renilde, Sister Odelie, Sister Francisca, Sister Aldegonde,
and Sister Mary Bernard

⁵⁴² George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P.145.

and three lay brothers all of whom had joined Blanchet in Europe

GENERAL STEPHEN KEARNY LEAVES CALIFORNIA

General Kearny left California and returned to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas -- August 1847
he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fremont to accompany him
(Fremont was arrested when they arrived at Fort Leavenworth -- August 22, 1847
he was charged with mutiny, disobedience of orders, assumption of powers,
along with several other military offenses
he was ordered by General Kearny to report to the adjutant general in Washington City
to stand for court-martial
Fremont was convicted of mutiny, disobedience of a superior officer and military misconduct
and ordered that he receive dishonorable discharge
while approving the court's decision, President James K. Polk
quickly commuted Fremont's sentence due to the services he had rendered over his career
Fremont resigned his commission in the U.S. Army in disgust and settled in California
his colorful career was well publicized and created additional interest in Oregon Country:
he published his exploits in the West: *To Oregon and Northern California*
his memoir was reprinted many times under different titles
Fremont was later elected one of the first U.S. senators from California
and was the first presidential candidate of the new Republican Party [1856]
General Stephen Kearny remained military governor of California through August
(when he traveled to Washington City and was welcomed as a hero
he was reassigned to duty in Mexico where received a brevet promotion to major general
over the heated opposition of John C. Fremont's father-in-law
Senator Thomas Hart Benton
General Fremont served as military commander at Veracruz
and later at Mexico City until an attack of yellow fever ended his career)

BISHOP FRANCIS BLANCHET REACHES OREGON CITY

Bishop Francis Blanchet arrived at St. Paul Mission in the Willamette Valley -- August 26, 1847
after an absence of almost three and a half years
(Bishop Francis Blanchet with untiring devotion labored for the next thirty-two years
among his people -- he eventually served 1,200 local parishioners
at St. John The Apostle Cathedral in Oregon City)
Seven Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur brought with them from Belgium two weaving machines,
shoe-making equipment, new stoves and utensils
these and other items were placed in the attic over the kitchen at St. Paul Mission
in anticipation of their use in the Oregon City house
Six other sisters of Notre Dame de Namur were already in residence in Oregon Country
they had opened Sainte Marie De Willamette Academy for girls opened
in the small Catholic community of St. Paul, Oregon [1844] by the
Recently arrive seven sisters of Notre Dame de Namur planned to open another school
this one to be located in Oregon City where Dr. John McLoughlin had given a block
of his Oregon City claim to the Sisters [1846] four blocks north of the Catholic church

it was anticipated a new home for the Sisters would be built on this block

REV. HENRY SPALDING ARRIVES AT WAILATPU

He journeyed from Lapwai Mission to deliver seventeen mule loads of grain
and to put Eliza, his ten-year-old daughter, in the Wailatpu school
Indians in the area of the Lapwai appeared to be nervous

BISHOP A.M.A BLANCHET REACHES FORT WALLA WALLA

Bishop of Walla Walla Augustine Magloire Alexander (A.M.A.) Blanchet
accompanied by Vicar-General Very Rev. J.B.A. Brouillet, Father Louis Roussau,
Father Charles A. Richard, two deacons and four lay Brothers
arrived at Fort Walla Walla -- September 4, 1847

Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet was surprised to find no settlement but only a rough fort
he immediately began working to identify potential sites for mission stations
he met with Hudson's Bay Company officials, local tribal leaders
and Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Henry Spalding at the fort
Rev. Spalding agreed to send the Catholics needed supplies

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT WINS VICTORIES DURING THE MEXICAN WAR

General Winfield Scott invaded southern Mexico and captured Vera Cruz
after an unbroken string of victories he moved on Mexico City
which he captured -- September 14, 1847

CONGRESS HAD DONE NOTHING TO ORGANIZE A GOVERNMENT FOR OREGON

Even though the international boundary question had been settled the year before
and armed troops intended to protect the Oregon Trail were supposed to be on the way
in fact, these soldiers had been diverted to the Mexican War
at a minimum, the attack at Wailatpu Mission showed the need for protection and law in Oregon
Provisional Government continued to function as best it could
there was great fear of additional attacks if the upriver tribes should unite
and destroy all of the white people in Oregon Country
but locally little advanced preparation had been made for such an attack by the natives

TERRIBLE MEASLE PIDEMICS ARRIVE IN OREGON COUNTRY

When white settlers increased dramatically in numbers in Oregon Country
Indians became alarmed and commenced to molest them
it was an ominous introduction to the 4,000 to 5,000 immigrants
who made up the migration of 1847

Immigration to Oregon Country on Great Medicine Road

convinced the Indians that Delaware Indian Tom Hill's predictions were correct
he had stated an endless stream of whites would take all of the Indians' land

When the wagons began straggling out of the Blue Mountains they brought measles with them
many of their children were sick with a virulent form of measles
Measles spread rapidly from The Dalles through Snake Indian Country

Indians had no immunity and as a result more than half the Cayuse tribe died
in conditions of unutterable filth and misery

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN COMES UNDER INDIAN SUSPICION

Dr. Whitman did what he could as he treated both whites and natives sick with measles
many natives who were treated by Dr. Whitman died
whites naturally suffered less from the illness

Suspicion arose that Dr. Whitman was allowing Indian children to die or was trying to kill them
or at the least he was not trying to cure them

Dr. Whitman knew of the Indians' feelings -- but paid little attention
his own affairs were devouring most of his time

he had just purchased the Wascopam Mission at The Dalles,
partly to keep the increasingly active Jesuits from getting it
transfer of ownership of the mission had to be put in order

he was involved in transporting equipment upriver for a new grist mill at Waiilatpu Mission
and in establishing a sawmill in the Blue Mountains

as usual, a number of destitute immigrants had congregated at his station

BISHOP A.M.A. BLANCHET OPENS THE FIRST MISSION IN WALLA WALLA DIOCESE

St. Rose's Mission, the first Catholic mission in the Walla Walla Dioces
was located at the confluence of the Columbia and Yakima rivers
about forty miles northwest of Waiilatpu Mission

St. Rose's Mission was placed in the charge of Father Pascal Ricard

OREGON PIONEERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE CREATION OF OREGON TERRITORY

Many questions remained unresolved in Oregon Country regarding their new status
when Oregon became a territory of the United States

great concern was expressed among independent-minded Oregon pioneers

great concern that remained unresolved regarding the ownership of land

would the Methodist missions be able to retain their vast properties under U.S. law

what rights would British subjects have to possess land

most notable was the dispute over the Oregon City claim of Dr. John McLoughlin

Numerous meetings were held to discuss these and similar issues

but, of course, solutions lay 3,000 miles to the east in the nation's capital

it was decided to send a delegate chosen by the people of Oregon Country -- fall 1847

to represent their interests in Washington City

however, this effort ended in failure as no delegate could be agreed on

OREGON PIONEERS REQUEST A VOICE IN SELECTING THEIR TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS

Independent-minded pioneers of Oregon Country held a convention in Lafayette, Oregon

for the purpose of memorializing President James K. Polk and members of congress

to appoint Oregon Country settlers to territorial offices rather than outsiders-- fall 1847

Delegates to the convention selected a committee of three members

to draft a Memorial to Congress upon the needs of Oregon

Judge Peter H. Burnett, George L. Curry and L.A. Rice were selected
although all three committee members signed the petition
it was written in Burnett's handwriting

This Memorial was a protest against further neglect of the region by the United States government

•it depicted the needs of settlers to receive additional considerations:

-set forth settlers' inability to deal with Indians and criminals,

-settlers asked that the title to the lands earned by them might be protected;

•it portrayed the resources and importance of the territory;

•it concluded: **"We think we merit the respectful consideration of our government. It is with our country whether she will hear us or not."**⁵⁴³

Lafayette Convention did not attempt to reconcile who might be the proper person
to carry this Memorial to the seat of government to urge these considerations
on the President and Congress

SECOND CATHOLIC MISSION IN THE WALLA WALLA DIOCESE IS OPENED

Bishop of Walla Walla Augustine Magloire Alexander (A.M.A.) Blanchet

and Father Jean-Baptiste Brouillet left Fort Walla Walla

and established St. Anne's Mission in a cabin on the Umatilla River near The Dalles

about twenty-five miles south of Waiilatpu Mission

Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet settled at The Dalles -- his field of labor as the Bishop of Walla Walla

extended from the summit of the Cascade Mountains to the Great Divide of the Rockies

and from Fort Hall on the Snake River in the south

to the Canadian Kootenay Country in the north

Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet endured many hardships and braved hostile animals

and even more antagonistic men:

•he established missions, built churches, founded academies and colleges,

•he started schools for the Indians,

•he begged for priests in Canada and abroad

•he obtained Catholic sisters to open hospitals and other institutions

CATHOLIC CHURCH ARRIVES IN THE KITTITAS VALLEY⁵⁴⁴

(Lay missionaries Charles M. Pandosy, Eugene Casimir Chirouse and Celestin Verney
had departed from their native France)

they crossed America with a wagon train and arrived at Fort Walla Walla -- October 5, 1847

Yakama chief Owhi visited Fort Perces and asked that missionaries be sent to his people

in response, Brother George Blanchet (no relation to the Catholic Bishop brothers)

and another missionary, Brother Celestine Verney, traveled to the Kittitas Valley

they started building a small structure on Manastash Creek to serve as a mission,

but were unable to complete their work on the Immaculate Conception Mission

In the meantime, Charles M. Pandosy, Eugene Casimir Chirouse prepared themselves for the ministry

⁵⁴³ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington: Embracing ...*, Volume 1, P. 275.

⁵⁴⁴ Paula Becker, Essay 7496, Historylink.org, October 12, 2005.

MEMORIAL TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS IS TAKEN TO WASHINGTON CITY

Provisional Governor George Abernathy wanted a Presidential appointment
as the governor if the new territory

Jesse Quinn Thornton resigned as Supreme Judge -- November 7, 1847

he was a young attorney, but also a strait-laced abolitionist who supported the mission group
Governor Abernathy, acting on his own authority, sent Thornton by ship to Washington City
he carried the Lafayette Memorial to the President and Congress
to plead for official recognition of Oregon Country

Thornton also was given a letter stating George Abernathy spoke for all Oregonians
this letter did a great deal to solidify opposition against Provisional Governor Abernathy
as he did not speak for all Oregonians

JESSE QUINN THORNTON JOURNEYS TO WASHINGTON CITY

Sailed on bark *Whiton* -- November 10, 1847

bound for San Francisco where he was to sell flour and other commodities to defray expenses
Thornton found the sloop-of-war *Portsmouth* at San Jose, California
he secured passage bound for Boston

ANTI-ABERNETHY POLITICAL PARTY FORMS IN OREGON COUNTRY

Governor Abernathy was sharply criticized for sending his own emissary, Jesse Quinn Thornton,
to carry the Memorial to Washington City
many felt Thornton represented the interests of the Methodist Missions and George Abernathy
rather than the settlers in general
this overstepping of his authority allowed Abernathy's enemies an opportunity
American Party members depicted him as grasping for power and control
American Party members became focused on depriving Provisional Governor George Abernathy
of any possibility to becoming the governor of Oregon Territory when that came about
they formed the Anti-Abernathy Party -- November 1847

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN'S WAILLATPU MISSION CONTINUES TO GROW

Waiilatpu Mission had become a small settlement by the end of November 1847
and served as an important stop on the Oregon Trail

Waiilatpu was fast becoming the most substantial and comfortable of all the stations
from time to time, the other missionaries showed signs of envy toward the Whitmans

Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman's immediate family consisted of nine children:

Perrin B. Whitman -- seventeen-year-old nephew who arrived in [1843]

David Malin Cortez (age 10) -- a Spanish-Indian waif

seven Sager children: John age 17, Francis age 15, Catherine age 13, Elizabeth age 10,

Matilda Jane age 8, Hannah Louise age 6, Henrietta age 4

also living at the mission as borders and attending school were two half-breed girls:

Mary Ann Bridger (age 11) daughter of Jim Bridger

Helen Mar Meek (age 10) daughter of Joe Meek

eighteen additional children of wintering pioneers also lived at the mission station

a small cabin was built at the sawmill to house two emigrant families
whom Dr. Whitman hired that autumn for a season of sawing
In all, Dr. Whitman and Narcissa were providing for fifty-nine people
living at the Waiilatpu Mission:

seventeen men, thirteen women, and twenty-nine children
twenty-two in the mission house
twenty-nine in the immigrant house
eight in the blacksmith shop

in addition two emigrant families, thirteen people, whom Dr. Whitman hired that autumn
for a season of sawing lived in a small cabin twenty miles away

POOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RACES EXISTED AT WAILLATPU MISSION

Indians held grievances against Dr. Marcus Whitman:

- measles epidemic wiped out half of the Cayuse Tribe -- Indian children died of the disease
- poison meat to kill wolves was put out by William Gray and eaten by the natives
- Dr. Whitman always appeared to be siding with whites against the natives

Jo Lewis and Tom Hill two Eastern metis Indians

circulated the charge that Whitman had caused the measles epidemic

Lewis seems to have become possessed with the idea of a massacre
he circulated the idea Dr. Whitman was poisoning the natives

CATHERINE SAGER (MRS. CLARK PRINGLE) NOTED CONDITIONS AT WAILLATPU

Catherine set the scene for the coming events: **“In the fall of 1847 the emigration over the mountain brought the measles. It spread among the Indians, and owing to their manner of living it proved very fatal. It was customary for emigrant families who arrived late to winter at the station, and some seven or eight families had put up there to spend the winter of 1847. Among the arrivals was a half-breed named Jo Lewis, who had joined the emigration at Fort Hall. Much against his will the doctor admitted this person into his family for the winter. We none of us liked him; he seemed surly and morose. There was also a Frenchman named Joseph Stanfield who had been in the doctor’s employ since the year of 1845. Up to the year of 1847 the Protestant missions had been the only religious influence among the [Walla Walla] Indians. In the fall of this year the Catholic Church established missions among them, and the teachings of the two clashed. The Indian mind is so constructed that he cannot reconcile the different ‘isms,’ consequently they became much worked up on the subject. Many long talks occurred between them and Dr. Whitman in reference to the two religious systems. Owing to the sickness and these other causes, the natives began to show an insolent and hostile feeling. It was now late in the season and the weather was very inclement. Whitman’s large family were all sick, and the disease was raging fearfully among the Indians who were rapidly dying. I saw from five to six buried daily. The field was open for creating mischief, and the two Joes [Jo Lewis and Joe Stanfield] improved it. Jo Lewis was the chief agent; his cupidity had been awakened and he and his associate expected to reap a large spoil.”**⁵⁴⁵

REV. HENRY SPALDING ARRIVES AT WAILLATPU MISSION

⁵⁴⁵ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 528.-529

Rev. Henry Spalding brought his daughter, ten-year-old Eliza to attend school at Waiilatpu Mission
Catharine Sager reported in her journal, **“She was the second child born of white parents west of the Rocky Mountains, Dr. Whitman’s child [Alice Clarissa] being the first. She had lived her ten years of life among the natives, and spoke the language fluently.”**⁵⁴⁶

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN IS CALLED TO THE UMATILLA VALLEY

Dr. Whitman received a request for medical assistance -- November 27, 1847

from a native lodge in the Umatilla Valley thirty-some miles to the southwest of Waiilatpu
he was reluctant to go

several of the people at the mission were sick,

including three of the seven orphaned Sager children,

besides, each day Indians were dying within sight of Waiilatpu

there were other pressing needs that demanded his attention at home but he was aware

Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet was opening St. Anne’s Catholic mission in the Umatilla Valley

Dr. Whitman was concerned about the influence this might have on the Indians

Dr. Whitman reluctantly answered the request for assistance

he was accompanied to the Umatilla Valley by the recently arrived Rev. Henry Spalding

Catherine Sager reported: [Dr. Whitman and Rev. Spalding] **“...rode to the Umatilla to visit the Indians there and hold a meeting for worship with them upon the Sabbath. They rode all night in heavy rain.”**⁵⁴⁷

as the two missionaries rode through the stormy night -- November 27, 1847

Rev. Spalding’s horse fell, wrenching the rider’s knee

because of the injury Spalding, amicably enough, accepted an invitation

to spend the next day and following night at the Catholic mission

DR. WHITMAN TREATED SICK INDIANS OF THE UMATILLA VALLEY

Leaving Rev. Henry Spalding at the Umatilla Valley St. Anne’s Catholic mission,

Dr. Whitman went to the village home of the sick natives -- November 28, 1847

Catherine Sager relates: **“Dr. Whitman spent the next day visiting the sick, and returned to the lodge where Mr. Spaulding [sic] was staying, late in the afternoon, nerly worn out with fatigue. The condition of his family [at Waiilatpu] made it imperative that he should return home, so arrangements were made for Mr. Spaulding to remain a few days on the Umatilla to visit among and preach to the Indians.”**⁵⁴⁸

DR. WHITMAN MEETS A FRIEND ON THE TRAIL FROM THE UMATILLA VALLEY

Under cover of darkness Dr. Whitman’s Indian friend, Sticcus, came to the doctor

risking his own life, Sticcus told Whitman of threats against his life -- November 28, 1847

Catherine Sager relates the incident in her journal: **“As Dr. Whitman was mounting his horse to leave, Stickas, a friendly Christian Indian, who was the owner of the lodge [where Rev. Spalding was staying] came out and told him that ‘Jo Lewis was making trouble; that he was telling his (Stickas’s) people that he doctor and Mr. Spaulding [sic] were poisoning the Indians so as to give**

⁵⁴⁶ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 529.

⁵⁴⁷ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 529.

⁵⁴⁸ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 529.

their country to his own people.’ He said, ‘I do not believe him, but some do, and I fear they will do you harm; you had better to away for awhile until my people have better hearts’.”⁵⁴⁹

After accomplishing as much as he could for the sick natives -- November 28, 1847

Dr. Whitman returned to St. Anne’s Catholic mission to check on Rev. Spalding

Whitman announced that he felt he must return straight home

he borrowed a mule from the Catholics to replace his own exhausted horse,

and hurried off through the deepening November dusk

DR. WHITMAN REACHES WAILATPU

Catherine Sager continues her account: **“Dr. Whitman arrived at home about 10 o’clock that night having ridden twenty-five miles after sundown. He sent my two brothers, who were sitting up with the sick, to bed saying that he would watch the remainder of the night. After they had retired he examined the patients one after the other.)I also was sick at the time.) Coming to Helen, she spoke and told his wife, who was lying on the bed, that Helen was dying. He sat and watched her for some time, when she rallied and seemed better. I had noticed that he seemed to be troubled when he first came home, but concluded that it was anxiety in reference to the sick children.”**⁵⁵⁰

Narcissa was still up when the doctor returned home

she was watching Helen Mar Meek and Louise Sager, one of her adopted daughters

both girls were desperately ill

Catherine Sager relates the Whitman’s conversation

talking as privately as possible with his wife, **“...he related to her what Stickas [sic] had told him that day.... After conversing for some time his wife retired to another room and the doctor kept his lonely watch. Observing that I was restless, he surmised that I had overheard the conversation. By kind and soothing words he allayed my fears and I went to sleep. I can see it all now and remember just how he looked.”**⁵⁵¹

Narcissa was devastated by the news

she seemed so weary that Marcus, who had had little enough sleep himself, sent her to bed

Narcissa locked herself in her room and cried all night

Dr. Whitman continued the vigil himself until breakfast

FATEFUL DAY BEGINS AT WAILATPU MISSION

After breakfast, Dr. Whitman went wearily outside to make arrangements for killing a beef

an activity that always took place in the yard of the mission house

Catherine Sager describes the day -- Monday, November 29, 1847

“The [day]...dawned a cold, foggy morning. It would seem as though the sun was afraid to look upon the bloody deed the day was to bring forth, and that nature was weeping over the wickedness of man. Father’s (Dr. Marcus Whitman) brow was serene, with no trace of the storm that had raged in his breast during the night. He was somewhat more serious than usual. Most of the children were better, only three being dangerous; two of these afterwards died. We saw nothing of mother (Mrs. Whitman). One of the girls put some breakfast on a plate and carried it to her. She

⁵⁴⁹ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 529.

⁵⁵⁰ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 529.

⁵⁵¹ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 529-230.

was sitting with her face buried in her handkerchief, sobbing bitterly. Taking the food, she motioned the child to leave. The food was there, untouched, next morning.

“An Indian child had died during the night, and was to be brought to the station for burial. While awaiting the coming of the corpse, Dr. Whitman sat reading and conversing with his assistant, Mr. [Andrew] Rogers, upon the difficulties that seemed to surround him....

“Being informed of the arrival of the corpse, he arose, and after calling his wife and giving her directions in regard to the sick children, he wended his way to the graveyard.

“A beef had to be killed for the use of the station and my brother, Francis, accompanied by Jo Stanfield, had gone early to the range and driven it in, and three or four men were dressing it near the grist mill, which was running, grinding grists for the Indians.”⁵⁵²

Late morning found the beef hanging from a tree and the butchering in progress

Jo Stanfield, Nathan Kimball, Jacob Hoffman, and perhaps one other were butchering the animal

Andrew Rodgers, Dr. Whitman’s assistant, was working in the garden

Walter March was in the grist mill where he was grinding wheat

Peter D. Hall, a carpenter, was laying the upper floor in a building

Isaac Gilliland, a tailor by trade, was in the immigrant house sewing a new suit for Dr. Whitman

DAY’S ACTIVITIES AT WAILATPU PROGRESS

Catherine Sager continued: **“Upon the return from the funeral, the doctor remarked that none but the relatives were at the burying, although large numbers were assembled near by; but it might be owing to the beef being killed, as it was their custom to gather at such times. His wife requested him to go upstairs and see Miss [Lorinda] Bewley, who was quite sick. He complied, returning shortly with a troubled look on his countenance. He crossed the room to a sash door that fronted the mill and stood for some moments drumming upon the glass with his fingers. Turning around he said: ‘Poor Lorinda is in trouble and does not know the cause. I found her weeping and she said there was a presentiment of evil on her mind that she could not overcome. I will get her some medicine, and wife, you take it up to her, and try to comfort her a little, for I have failed in the attempt.’**

“As he said this he walked to the medicine case and was making a selection. His wife had gone to the pantry for milk for one of the children; the kitchen was full of Indians and their boisterous manner alarmed her. She fled to the sitting room, bolting the door in the face of the savages who tried to pass in. She had not taken her hand from the lock when the Indians rapped and asked for the doctor.”⁵⁵³

MASSACRE BEGINS AT WAILATPU MISSION

Dr. Whitman was sitting at his desk writing --1:00 p.m., Monday, November 29, 1847

when he was called to the kitchen doorway by two Cayuse Indians

Tamahas engaged him in conversation

Tamsucky came up behind him and a tomahawk crashed into the doctor’s skull

Tiloukaikt chopped the doctor’s face so badly that his features could not be recognized

⁵⁵² Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 530.

⁵⁵³ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 531.

According to Peter Skene Ogden "... [Dr. Whitman] **did not for an instant lose his composure, but calmly returning into the house, drew a chair toward the fire and sat down, his hands clasped together in prayer, resigned to whatever fate might await him.**"⁵⁵⁴

Seventeen-year-old John Sager, who was winding twine in the kitchen at the time,
ran toward a pistol on the wall -- he was killed by a rifle shot

"She [Narcissa Whitman] had scarcely sat down when we were all startled by an explosion. Listening for a moment she seemed to be reassured, crossed the room and took up the youngest child [Henrietta Sager]. She sat down with this child in her arms. Just then Mrs. [Marguerite] Osborne came in from an adjoining room and sat down. This was the first time this lady had been out of her room for weeks, having been very ill.

"She [Mrs. Whitman] had scarcely sat down when we were all startled by [another] explosion that seemed to shake the house. The two women sprang to their feet and stood with white faces and distended eyes. The children rushed out doors, some of them without clothes, as we were taking a bath. Placing the child on the bed, Mrs. Whitman called us back and started for the kitchen, but changing her mind, she fastened the door and told Mrs. Osborne to go to her room and lock the door, at the same time telling us to put on our clothes. All this happened much quicker than I can write it.

"Mrs. Whitman then began to walk the floor, wringing her hands, saying 'Oh, the Indians! the Indians! they have killed my husband, and I am a widow!' She repeated this many times. At this moment Mary Ann [Bridger], who was in the kitchen, rushed around the house and came in at a door that was not locked; her face was deathly white; we gathered around her and inquired if father was dead. She replied, 'Yes'."⁵⁵⁵

Three or four men were busy dressing a beef in the mission yard

Jacob Hoffman was killed by attackers while defending himself with an axe

Andrew Rodgers, holding his injured wrist, ran from the garden toward the mission house

Nathan Kimball, who had his arm broken by a bullet, accompanied Rodgers

DEATH AT WAILATPU MISSION IS CONFIRMED

Catherine Sager continues: **"Just then a man from the beef [Nathan Kimball] came in at the same door, with his arm broken. He said, 'Mrs. Whitman, the Indians are killing us all.' This roused her to action. The wounded man was lying upon the floor calling for water. She brought him a pitcher full from another room, locked all the doors, then unlocking that door, she went into the kitchen. As she did so several emigrant women with their small children rushed in. Mrs. Whitman was trying to drag her husband in [from the kitchen]; one of the women went to her aid, and they brought him in. He was fatally wounded, but conscious. The blood was streaming from a gunshot wound in the throat. Kneeling over him she implored him to speak to her. To all her questions he whispered 'yes' or 'no' as the case might be. Mrs. Whitman would often step to the sash door and look out through the window to see what was going on out of doors, as the roar of guns showed us that the bloodthirsty fiends were not yet satisfied. At such times she would exclaim: 'Oh, that Jo Lewis is doing it all!' Several times this wretch came to the door and tried to get into the room where we were. When Mrs. Whitman would ask, 'What do you want, Jo?' he would run away."⁵⁵⁶**

⁵⁵⁴ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*. P. 225.

⁵⁵⁵ Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 531.

⁵⁵⁶ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 531-532.

MISSION HOUSE BECOMES A PLACE OF SAFETY

Nathan S. Kimball was wounded, but he had reached the mission house -- November 29, 1847

Andrew Rodgers, Dr. Whitman's assistant, had been working in the garden

he was wounded by a bullet to the wrist but, he too, safely reached the Whitman's mission house

Catherine Sager states: **"Looking out we saw Mr. Rogers [sic] running toward the house, hotly pursued by Indians. He sprang against the door breaking out two panes of glass. Mrs. Whitman opened the door and let him in, and closed it in the face of his pursuers, who, with a yell, turned to seek other victims. Mr. Rogers was shot through the wrist and tomahawked on the head; seeing the doctor lying upon the floor, he asked if he was dead, to which the doctor replied, 'No'."**⁵⁵⁷

CHILDREN ATTEMPT TO HIDE IN THE SCHOOLHOUSE

Group of six children had climbed to a loft above the schoolroom -- November 29, 1847

among them were two of the Sagers: Matilda Jane age 8, and Francis age 15

also David Malin Cortez 10, Eliza Spalding 10,

and two metis Manson boys, John and Stephen

Catherine Sager recalled: **"The schoolteacher [L.W. Saunders who was in the mission school], hearing the report of the guns in the kitchen, ran down to see what had happened; finding the door fastened, he stood for a moment when Mrs. Whitman saw him and motioned him to go back [to the schoolhouse]. He did so, and had reached the stairs leading to the schoolroom, when he was seized by a savage who had a large butcher knife [Tamsuky soon after he had killed Isaac Gilliland]. Mr. Sanders struggled and was about to get away when another burly savage came to the aid of the first."**⁵⁵⁸

WAILLATPU MISSION HOUSE BECOMES A SCENE OF TERROR

Catherine Sager described the scene: **"Standing by Mrs. Whitman's side, I watched the horrid strife until, sickened, I turned away. Just then a bullet came through the window, piercing Mrs. Whitman's shoulder. Clapping her hands to the wound, she shrieked with pain and fell to the floor. I ran to her and tried to raise her up. She said, 'Child, you cannot help me, save yourself.' We all crowded around her and began to weep. She commenced praying for us, 'Lord, save these little ones.' She repeated this over many times. She also prayed for her parents, saying: 'This will kill my poor mother.'**⁵⁵⁹

Narcissa, shot in the shoulder by an Indian standing on the schoolroom steps,

regained her feet, and instructed everyone that they must all go upstairs -- November 29, 1847

Catherine Sager explains: **"The women [Mrs. Rebecca Hays and Mrs. Peter D. Hall] now began to go upstairs, and Mr. Rogers pushed us [Catherine 13, Elizabeth 10, and Mary Ann 11] to the stairway [along with the wounded Nathan Kimball]. I was filled with agony at the idea of leaving the sick children and refused to go. Mr. Rogers was too excited to speak, so taking up one of the children [six year old Hannah Louise Sager], he handed her to me, and motioned for me to take her up. I passed her to someone else, turned and took another [Helen Mar Meek 10], and then the third [Henrietta 4] and ran up myself. Mr. Rogers then helped mother to her feet, and brought her**

⁵⁵⁷ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon* P. 532.

⁵⁵⁸ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon* P. 532.

⁵⁵⁹ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 532.

upstairs and laid her on the bed. [The three children were laid on the bed beside Mrs. Whitman.] **He then knelt in prayer, and while thus engaged, the crashing of doors informed us that the work of death was accomplished out of doors, and our time had come. The wounded man, whose name was Kimball, said that if we had a gun to hold over the banister it might keep them away. There happened to be an old broken gun in the room, and this was placed over the railing. By this time they were smashing the door leading to the stairway. Having accomplished this they retired.**⁵⁶⁰

Indians filled the lower part of the mission house
they broke down the door leading to the stairway
but they did not ascend as they feared being fired upon

CHILDREN FILLED WITH FEAR WAIT IN THE MISSION HOUSE

Catherine Sager observed: **“All was quiet for awhile, then we heard footsteps in the room below, and a voice at the bottom of the stairway called Mr. Rogers. It was an Indian [Tamsuky] who represented that he had just come; he would save them if they would come down. After a good deal of parleying [at Mrs. Whitman’s request] he came up [and talked with Andrew Rogers]. I told mother that I had seen him killing the teacher [L.W. Saunders], but she thought I was mistaken. He [shook hands, professed sorrow and] said that they were going to burn the house, and that we must leave it.”**⁵⁶¹

Tamsuky offered to conduct the whites to the immigrant house -- November 29, 1847

Mrs. Whitman accepted the offer

it was agreed the women should be taken over to immigrant house first
children next -- followed by the men
all of the adults descended into the living room
except Nathan Kimball who had rolled into a dark corner and did not move
and was overlooked by Tamsuky

Catherine, Elizabeth, and Mary Ann stayed behind to comfort the three sick children:
Helen, Hanna Louis and Henrietta

Catherine Sager wrote that after reaching the living room: **“I wrapped my little sister [Henrietta] up and handed her to him [Andrew Rogers] with the request that he would carry her. He said that they would take Mrs. Whitman away and then come back for us. Then all left save the children and Mr. Kimball.”**⁵⁶²

Peter Skene Ogden states in his narrative of the scene that, **“Bleeding profusely, [Mrs. Whitman] hastily descended to her husband’s room, and embracing him, began to wipe with her handkerchief the blood that was trickling from his wounds. He fondly returned the caresses of her who for the last fifteen years had been the devoted partner of his joys and sorrows in the missionary field, and who in this last dark hour proved herself the same affectionate wife, regardless of her own sufferings....”**⁵⁶³

Narcissa helped to place Dr. Whitman on a couch where, at age 45, he died

NARCISSA WHITMAN IS KILLED

⁵⁶⁰ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 532-533.

⁵⁶¹ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 533.

⁵⁶² Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 533.

⁵⁶³ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*, P. 225.

Catherine Sager continued to describe the events unfolding before her: **“When they reached the room below, mother was laid upon a settee and carried out into the yard by Mr. Rogers and Jo Lewis. Having reached the yard [ten feet from the house], Jo dropped his end of the settee [and stepped back; Andrew Rodgers, lowering his end of the settee, began to talk with the attackers] ...a volley of bullets laid Mr. Rogers, mother, and brother Francis bleeding and dying on the ground.”**⁵⁶⁴

“While the Indians were holding a council to decide how to get Mrs. Whitman and Mr. Rogers into their hands, Jo Lewis had been sent to the schoolroom to get the school children. They had hid in the attic, but [were] ferreted out and brought to the kitchen where they were placed in a row to be shot. But the chief relented and said they should not be hurt; but my brother Francis [was pushed out from among the children by the natives and] was killed soon after. My older brother [John] was shot at the same time the doctor was.”⁵⁶⁵

Peter Skene Ogden says of Andrew Rodgers, **“The next victim was Dr. Whitman’s assistant [Andrew Rodgers], who, as several eye-witnesses have alleged, not only implored the Indians to spare him, but acknowledged it was too true that the doctor had administered poison to kill them.... After making this admission, the savages promised to spare his life and left him. A few minutes after, however, an Indian who was at some distance when the promise was made, and was not aware of it, came up with him, and in another moment his earthly career was ended.”**⁵⁶⁶

Narcissa, struck at least twice by gunfire, slipped off the settee into the mud

an Indian lifted her by her blond hair and struck her in the face with his riding whip as she died

Mrs. Whitman was the only woman killed in the attack

JAMES YOUNG ARRIVED AT WAILLATPU

James Young unknowingly drove a wagon load of lumber from the sawmill to the mission yard

later the same day -- November 29, 1847

He was attacked and killed

NIGHT FALLS OVER THE TRADEGY AT WAILLATPU MISSION

Catherine Sager reported that: **“Night had now come, and the chief made a speech in favor of sparing the women and children, which was done, and they all became prisoners. Ten ghastly, bleeding corpses lay in and around the house. Mr. [Josiah] Osborn’s family had secreted themselves under the floor, and escaped during the night, and after great hardships reached Fort Walla Walla. One other man [Peter D. Hall] escaped to this fort, but was never heard of again. Another [William D. Canfield] fled to Mr. Spaulding’s [sic] station; Mr. [Nathan] Kinmball [sic] was killed the next day; Mr. Spaulding remained at Umatilla until Wednesday, and was within a few miles of the doctor’s station when he learned the dreadful news. He fled, and after great suffering, reached his station, which had been saved by the presence of mind and shrewdness of his wife. Mr. Canfield was wounded, but concealing himself until night, he fled to Mr. Spaulding’s station.**

“The November moon looked down, bright and cold upon the scene, nor heeded the groans of the dying who gave forth their plaints to the chill night air. Mr. Osborne’s family were concealed where they could hear Mr. Rogers’ words as he prayed to that Savior whom he had loved and

⁵⁶⁴ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 533.

⁵⁶⁵ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 533.

⁵⁶⁶ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State: A Literary Chronicle*, P. 225-226.

served for many years. His last words were: ‘Come Lord Jesus, come quickly!’ The clock tolled the midnight hour ere death came to the relief of these victims of savage brutality.⁵⁶⁷

JOSIAH OSBORNE ESCAPES WITH HIS FAMILY

(Josiah Osborne later reported the harrowing tale of his escape with his wife Marguerite and their three children nine-year-old Nancy, three-year-old John, two-year-old Alexander): “As the guns fired and the yells commenced I leaned my head upon the bed and committed myself and family to my Maker. My wife removed the loose floor. I dropped under the floor with my sick family in their night clothes, taking only two woolen sheets, a piece of bread, and some cold mush, and pulled the floor over us. In five minutes, the room was full of Indians, but they did not discover us. The roar of guns, the yells of the savages, and the crash of clubs and knives and the groans of the dying continued till dark. We distinctly heard the dying groans of Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rodgers, and Francis [Sager], till they died away one after the other. We heard the last words of Mr. Rogers in a slow voice calling ‘Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.’ Soon after this I removed the floor and we went out. We saw the white face of Francis by the door. It was warm as we laid our hand upon it, but he was dead. I carried my two youngest children, who were sick, and my wife held on to my clothes in her great weakness. We had all been sick with measles. Two infants had died. She had not left her bed in six weeks till that day, when she stood up a few minutes. The naked, painted Indians were dancing the scalp dance around a large fire at a little distance. There seemed no hope for us and we knew not which way to go, but bent our steps toward Fort Walla Walla. A dense cold fog shut out every star and the darkness was complete. We could see no trail, and not even the hand before the face. We had to feel out the trail with our feet. My wife almost fainted but staggered along. Mill Creek, which we had to wade, was high with late rains and came up to the waist. My wife in her great weakness came nigh washing down, but held to my clothes. I braced myself with a stick, holding a child in one arm. I had to cross five times for the children. The water was icy cold and the air freezing some. Staggering along about two miles, Mrs. Osborne fainted and could go no farther, and we hid ourselves in the brush of the Walla Walla River, not far below Tamsuky’s lodges, who was very active at the commencement of the butchery. We were thoroughly wet, and the cold fog like snow was about us. The cold mud was partially frozen as we crawled, feeling our way, into the dark brush. We could see nothing, the darkness was so extreme. I spread one wet sheet down on the frozen ground; wife and children crouched upon it. I covered the other over them. I thought they must soon perish as they were shaking and their teeth rattling with cold. I kneeled down and commended us to my Maker.”⁵⁶⁸

November 29, 1847

RESULT OF THE MASSACRE AT WAILLATPU MISSION

Catherine Sager expanded the picture: “The manner of the attack on Dr. Whitman I learned afterward from the Indians. Upon entering the kitchen, he took his usual seat upon a settee which was between the wall and the cook stove; an Indian began to talk to him in reference to a patient the doctor was attending. While thus engaged, an Indian struck him from behind on the head with a tomahawk; at the same moment two guns were discharged, one at the doctor, and the other at brother John who was engaged in winding twine for the purpose of making brooms.

⁵⁶⁷ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 533-534.

⁵⁶⁸ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 207-208.

“The men at the beef were set upon; Mr. Kinmball [sic] had his arm broken by a bullet, and fled to the doctor’s house. Mr. [Jacob] Hoffman fought bravely with an axe; he split the foot of the savage who first struck the doctor, but was overpowered. Mr. [William D.] Canfield was shot, the bullet entering his side, but he made his escape. The miller [Walter Marsh] fell at his post [in the grist mill where he was grinding wheat]. Mr. [Peter D.] Hall was laying the upper floor in a building; leaping to the ground, he wrestled a gun from an Indian, and fled to the fort. He was never seen of heard of afterwards, and it is surmised that he was murdered there. The tailor [Isaac Gilliland] was sitting upon his table sewing, an Indian stepped in, shot him with a pistol, and then went out; he died at midnight after great suffering. Night came and put an end to the carnival of blood.”⁵⁶⁹

Eight men, one woman, and a young man

had now been killed during the massacre -- November 29, 1847

Dr. Marcus Whitman, John Sager, Jacob Hoffman, Isaac Gilliland, Walter March,

L.W. Sanders, Andrew Rogers and James Young

Narcissa Whitman was the only woman killed that day

Frank Sager, age 15, had been killed early in the attack

SEVERAL MEN SURVIVE THE INITIAL ATTACK

Daniel Young, age 21, arrived from the sawmill -- November 29, 1847

he came to the mission from the sawmill in search of his brother James who had been murdered

he was sent back to the sawmill by the Indians

Crockett Bewley and Amos Sales were still ill with measles

they had been carried by the Indians to the same room in the immigrant house

where the survivors of the attack were staying

Indians believed both soon would die of the illness

Peter D. Hall was the carpenter who was building an annex to the mission

alone he fled from the mission for Fort Walla Walla in an effort to get help

William D. Canfield had received only a minor wound

he ran to the blacksmith shop to retrieve his family

he then took his five children (Ellen 16, Oscar 9, Clarissa 7, Sylvia 5 and Albert 3)

to the immigrant house where they all hid into the night

CHILDREN PASS A FEARFUL NIGHT IN THE MISSION HOUSE

Catherine Sager also noted: **“The night of November 29, 1847, found me, a girl of thirteen years, sitting in company with two sisters [Elizabeth and Hanna Louise] and two half-breed girls [Helen Mar Meek and Mary Ann Bridger] upon a bed in the chamber of a large adobe house. On the floor lay a white man with his arm broken [Nathan Kimball]. A fearful scene had been enacted during the day; savage fury had swept over Whitman’s station, and we thought that we only, of all who awoke to busy life in the morning, remained alive. When the woman who had supplied the place of mother to us for several years had been induced, by what proved to be false promises, to leave for a place of safety, we expected soon to join her and accompany her to the fort, but the roar of musketry that soon shook the house left us in utter despair. We were convinced of the treachery of the savages,**

⁵⁶⁹ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 534.

and hope, which a moment before had lifted our hearts to buoyancy, had not fled entirely. The wounded man exclaimed, 'Treachery! Treachery! Children, prepare for the worst'.

"With hearts filled with fright, we awaited the coming of the murderers, and cold chills seized me as I thought of the dreadful knives I had seen them using upon their victims. During the day we were too much palsied with terror to even cry, but stood listening with pale cheeks and distended eyed to every move below. Soon we heard the savages splitting kindling; then one called for fire. We now thought our doom was to die by fire and that our home would be our funeral pile; but, stranger to say, I experienced a feeling of relief at the thought -- anything rather than meet again those fierce savages with their knives.

"We listened in vain for the roar of the flames; we heard instead some one addressing the Indians. The speech continued for some time, and then all was still. They had evidently left the premises. Three of the children were very sick; their clothing was wet with blood from lying on the bed with Mrs. Whitman after she was wounded. We had no fire or light, and we did not even think to get warmth by wrapping bedding around us. I tried to soothe the children to sleep, reasoning to myself that if we could lose consciousness in slumber that the roof of the burning house would fall on us and we would not know it. The sick children were suffering for water, and begged for it continually. I remembered taking up a cupful the day previous for a young lady who was lying ill. I directed my sister where to find it, but in searching for it in the dark she knocked it down and spilt it. The disappointment seemed to add to their thirst, and their pleading for a drink were heartrending. I begged of the wounded man to let them have some from the pitcher he had brought up with him, but he said it was bloody and not fit to drink. The hours dragged slowly along, and from exhaustion the children fell asleep one after another, until the man and I were the only ones awake. I sat upon the side of the bed, watching hour and hour while the horrors of the day passed and repassed before my mind. I had always been very much afraid of the dark, but now I felt that the darkness was a protection to us and I prayed that it might always remain so. I dreaded the coming of daylight; again I would think with a shudder, of the dead lying in the room below. I heard the cats racing about and squalling, with a feeling that seemed to freeze the blood in my veins. I remember yet how terrible the striking of the clock sounded. Occasionally Mr. [Nathan] Kimball [sic] would ask if I were asleep.

"Hours were passed in this manner, when sleep came and locked my senses in its friendly embrace. About 3 o'clock I awoke with a start. As I move my hand I felt a shaggy head and shrieked with alarm. Kimball spoke and told me not to be alarmed, that it was he. He had become cold and tried lying on the floor, and was sitting up to rest, but had to lean against the bed because he was so faint. We conversed for some time, our voices awakening the children, who renewed their calls for water. Day began to break, and Mr. Kimball told me to take a sheet off the bed and bind up his arm, and he would try to get some. I arose, stiff with cold, and with a dazed, uncertain feeling. He repeated his request. I said, 'Mother would not like to have the sheets torn up.' Looking at me, he said: 'Child, don't you know your mother is dead and will never have any use for the sheets?' I seemed to be dreaming, and he had to urge me to comply with his request. I took a sheet from the bed and tore off some strips, which, by his directions, I wound around his arm. He then told me to put a blanket around him, as he might faint on the way and not be able to get up, and would suffer from the cold. Taking a pair of blankets from the bed, I put them around him, tying

them around the waist with a strip of the sheets. I then placed his hat on his head and he went downstairs. We waited long for him, but he came not, and we never saw him again alive.”⁵⁷⁰

Nathan Kimball left the Mission House in an effort to retrieve water for the children
he was climbing a fence when he was killed in the effort -- night of November 29, 1847

TWO ADDITIONAL SURVIVORS ARE ILL AND ALONE

Crockett Bewley age eighteen and Amos Sales in his early twenties
had not been approached by Indians -- night November 29, 1847
Crockett Bewley lay in his sickbed in the downstairs bedroom of the immigrant house
Amos Sales, also ill, was bedridden in the blacksmith shop

Catherine Sager recorded: **“There were two young men at the station who were sick with a fever at the time of the massacre. These men were not killed at that time. One of them [Crockett Bewley] spent the night of the 29th of November alone in his room, not knowing that any one else was alive aside from himself.”⁵⁷¹**

JOSIAH OSBORN AND HIS FAMILY HAD SURVIVED THE NIGHT

“The day [Tuesday, November 30] finally dawned and we could see the Indians riding furiously up and down the trail. Sometimes they would come close to the brush and our blood would warm and the shaking would stop from fear for a moment. The day seemed a week. [I] Expected every moment my wife would breathe her last.”⁵⁷²

Josiah Osborn his wife and three children hid from the Indians throughout the day
they had traveled only three miles from Waiilatpu Mission -- November 30, 1847

WILLIAM D. CANFIELD ESCAPES TO GET HELP FROM LAPWAI

William D. Canfield had spent the night in the immigrant house with his family
in the morning his wife gave him some food before he set out on foot for help
he fled to Mr. Spalding’s station following a trail which he discovered
but had no idea where it led -- November 30, 1847

MORNING COMES TO THOSE IN THE MISSION HOUSE

Catherine Sager recalled: **“It was now fully light [Tuesday November 30], and we heard the Indians arriving. They were calling Mr. Osborne, and we heard utensils jingling, and concluded that Mr. Osborne’s family had been spared and were getting breakfast. Soon we heard approaching footsteps and someone ascended the stairs. We huddled together and almost held our breath, not knowing what would happen to us. It was Jo Lewis and several Indians. He told us that we would not be hurt; that he was going to take us to the fort as soon as he could get up a team. Saying this he left. The [other] Indians remained; they were mostly young men; they asked what made the children cry. I replied they were hungry, and want water. One of them went for water and one for food. They soon returned, one bearing a bowl of water and the other a plate of cold victuals. They directed me to gather up our clothes in readiness to go to the fort. Bringing a large basket for me to put them in, they also brought a loaf of bread..., saying we would get hungry. We**

⁵⁷⁰ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 536-538.

⁵⁷¹ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 539.

⁵⁷² Denison Lyman William, *The Columbia River*, P. 208-209.

had none of us yet ventured downstairs. The water was consumed and the children were begging for more. I tried to get some of the natives to go for more, but they seemed to think that they had done enough and refused. I could not bear to hear the piteous calls for water, so taking the bowl I went down. I found my shoes where I had left them the day before; putting them on I went to the river after water. Having obtained it I was returning. Some Indians were sitting upon a fence; one of them pointed his gun at me. I was terribly frightened, but walked on. One sitting near him knocked the gun up and it went off in the air. I went to the children with the water. There were no Indians in the house, and we ventured down to take a look at things. The Indians had spread quilts over the corpses. Mary Ann [Bridger], my sister, lifted the quilt from Dr. Whitman's face, and said: 'Oh, girls come and see father.' We did so, and saw a sight we will never forget. Passing into the kitchen we found the mangled body of brother John. We were crying bitterly when Joe Stanfield stepped out of the pantry and ordered us to hush; that 'the Indians would be mad and kill us if they saw us taking on so'. The savages were now crowding in, and we again retreated upstairs. Joe Stanfield had told us to go over to the other [immigrant] house, as the other women and children were there, but we were afraid to leave our own retreat. As we passed through the sitting room many native women were in it; they wept over us, and loaded us down with clothing which they were collecting. The Indians came up and urged us to leave, so mustering courage I took one child [Helen Mar Meek] and my sister [Elizabeth]. As Mary Ann [Bridger] was not strong enough to carry the other one [Hannah Louise], and would not stay with her, we were under the necessity of leaving her [Helen], promising to return as soon as we could. Upon reaching the room below we found the kitchen to be full of savages, and were afraid to pass through, so we went out through the Indian room. At the outer door we passed the corpse of Francis [Sager]. We were met half way by the girls [from the immigrant house]; for several moments we all wept, and then some of them relieved us of our loads. On reaching the [immigrant] house [and laying Hannah Louise on a bed], I fainted. As soon as consciousness returned I informed them that Helen was still at the house, and I would have to return for her. Several volunteered to go with me. We found her [Helen] screaming with fright and calling for me."⁵⁷³

Catherine led Helen Mar Meek from the mission house the immigrant house
accompanied a woman who had gone with Catherine to rescue Helen
as they reached immigrant house they saw Matilda Jane there with Eliza Spalding
they fell into one another's arms as Matilda burst into tears -- November 30, 1847

FATE OF THE CHILDREN IN THE MISSION HOUSE IS IN THE HANDS OF THE INDIANS

John and Stephen Manson and David Cortez, each of whom was part Indian,
were taken by the Indians to Fort Walla Walla -- November 30, 1847
Mary Ann Bridger and

Helen Mar Meek was too ill to have gone anywhere, even if the Indians had suggested it
Helen and Hannah Louise Sager, both unconscious part of the time, lay in one bed
Catherine Sager sat beside them giving them water and trying to soothe them
Hannah Louise moaned constantly for her brother John
Henrietta Sager was now able to be dressed, so Mrs. Saunders found the courage
to speak to one of the chiefs about the Sager children's clothing

⁵⁷³ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 538-539.

all he brought was one ragged blanket apiece a few bits of Mrs. Whitman underclothing
someone had to lend them clothes
Helen Mar Meek also remained in the mission house

SOME OF THE CHILDREN REMAIN IN HIDING IN THE SCHOOLHOUSE

At the first sound of gunfire Judge Saunders, the teacher, rushed to the schoolroom door
only to be shot down -- November 30, 1847
Frank Sager, the oldest boy in the room, decided the children should take refuge in the loft
they piled books on a chair until he could reach the trapdoor opening
one by one, he boosted the children through it, then followed them up himself
Later all but Frank went down to the yard
where the Indians lined them up against the side of the school
and discussed whether or not to shoot them
one of the older men said there had been enough killing
After a while, Matilda Sager was comforted to see Frank coming toward her
he took her hand and stood beside her
Joe Lewis saw Frank, grabbed him by the shirt, and pulled him out of the line
and shot him through the head
Women whose children had been in the schoolroom rushed to take them to the immigrant house
Matilda Sager and Eliza Spalding were left alone -- they were too frightened to move or speak
all they could do was wait hand-in-hand
how long they waited they do not know
Finally, the man who had protested against more killing came back
he took the two girls by the hand and led them to the immigrant house
where kind Mrs. Saunders, in spite of her own grief, drew them into her room
where she warmed them and gave something to eat

SURVIVORS AT WAILLATPU MISSION ARE HELD CAPTIVE

Forty people were being held captive -- November 30, 1847
twelve women and twenty-eight children

Catherine Sager described the plight of the hostages: **“We were now held captives of a horde of savages. The house we were held captive in was a large, square adobe building, containing five rooms, one being a bedroom and the others large living rooms. Each of these rooms had two families living in it. The Indians supplied us with plenty of food. Every morning early they would come from their village, a mile or two away, and stay until late at night. We had to prepare food for them, of which they would make us eat first, for fear that we had put poison in it. The women seldom came around. When night came and the beds were made down, the Indians would take possession of them, and we would frequently have to sit up until midnight before they would leave the house.”**⁵⁷⁴

FATHER MODESTE DE MERS IS ELEVATED TO BISHOP OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

Father De Mers, faithful companion of Bishop Francis Blanchet

⁵⁷⁴ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 539.

had served as Oregon City's first priest [1844]
Bishop Modeste De Mers was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island -- November 30, 1847
his work took him north (to present day British Columbia)
where his knowledge of French and English, and his affinity for native languages
allowed him to serve a variety of people
he was responsible for the Queen Charlotte Islands and New Caledonia (Canada)
Bishop De Mers diocese lacked funds and priests and was largely unexposed to Christianity
De Mers worked tirelessly traveling to raise funds and acquire new priests
while he preferred to work among the Indians
his duties soon focused on the rough and cosmopolitan element found in Victoria

JOSIAH OSBORN AND HIS FAMILY CONTINUE THEIR ESCAPE

Hiding with his wife and three children, Josiah Osborn continues his narrative of escape: [The night of November 30 we] "... **felt our way to the trail and staggered along the Sutucksina [Dog Creek, which we waded as we did the other creek, and kept on about two miles when my wife fainted and could go no farther. Crawled into the brush and frozen mud to shake and suffer on from hunger and cold, and without sleep. The children, too, wet and cold, called incessantly for food, but the shock of groans and yells at first so frightened them that they did not speak loud.**"⁵⁷⁵

CARPENTER PETER D. HALL REACHES FORT WALLA WALLA

Peter D. Hall arrived safely at Fort Walla Walla
early in the morning Wednesday, December 1, 1847
he reported to Hudson's Bay Company Factor William McBean
only that Dr. Whitman and one other was killed
Fort Walla Walla Factor McBean, with strange disregard for human feelings, shut him out of the fort
Peter Hall continued down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver to seek help
Factor McBean sent a messenger to Fort Vancouver to appeal for protection -- December 1
Alanson Hinman, who had taught school at Waiilatpu, accompanied the courier
they did not even stop at The Dalles to warn those people

SURVIVORS OF THE WHITMAN MASSACRE REMAIN HOSTAGE

Catherine Sager described the scene at Waiilatpu Mission: "**The dead bodies lay where they fell from [Monday] night until [Wednesday December 1], when the Christian Indians, among whom the doctor and his wife had labored for eleven years, and from whom the natives had received nothing but kindness, gave consent to have them buried, but not one of them would help in the task. Joe Stanfield was set at the work.**"⁵⁷⁶

FATHER BROUILLET REACHES WAILATPU MISSION

Father J.B.A. Brouillet rode from the Catholic mission of St. Anne's into Tilaukait's camp
accompanied by a single Indian interpreter -- evening Wednesday December 1, 1847
here both men learned of the massacre at Waiilatpu Mission
they hastened to the sight of the massacre that evening to see what they could do

⁵⁷⁵ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 209.

⁵⁷⁶ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 534

Father Brouillet found survivor Joseph Stanfield had dug a shallow mass grave
and was preparing the bodies to be buried
Stanfield and the priest carried all thirteen bodies to the grave
Father Brouillet read the burial service over the dead

Catherine Sager noted the event in her journal: **“A grave three feet deep and wide enough to receive the...victims was dug, and the bodies placed in it. Wolves excavated the grave and devoured the remains.”**⁵⁷⁷

Joe Stanfield and the priest carried all thirteen bodies to the grave
Father Brouillet read the burial service over the dead

JOSIAH OSBORN SETS OUT ONCE AGAIN FOR FORT WALLA WALLA

Josiah Osborn’s terrifying narrative continues: **“Wednesday night [December 1] my wife was too weak to stand. I took our second child [John] and started for Walla Walla; had to wade the Touchet [River]; stopped frequently in the brush from weakness; had not recovered from measles. Heard a horseman pass and repass as I lay concealed in the willows. Have since learned that it was Mr. [Henry] Spalding.”**⁵⁷⁸

Josiah Osborne decided to conceal his wife and two other children -- December 1
that night he carried his two-year-old son to Fort Walla Walla -- a distance of twenty-five miles

FATHER J.B.A. BROUILLET RETURNS TOWARD THE UMATILLA MISSION

With a son of one of the chiefs tagging along to keep an eye on him,
Father Brouillet started back to St. Anne’s Mission to intercept Rev. Henry Spalding
Just outside Waiilatpu the priest met the protestant missionary
who became wild with anxiety about the fate of his daughter
Father Brouillet assured him the girl was alive and urged him to flee at once,
for the chief’s son had already galloped back to tell the others
that Spalding had been found -- night December 1, 1847

According to the account reported by Peter Skene Ogden, **“An ... incident worthy of record... was the almost miraculous escape of the Rev. Mr. Spalding, for which, indeed, he was indebted to the timely aid and advice of the Rev. Mr. Brouillet of the Roman Catholic Mission. The former gentleman was on his return from the Umatilla River... when within a short distance of the mission at Waiilatpu... he was happy enough to meet the Rev. Mr. Brouillet, who had just left the scene of bloodshed.**

“He had gone there, it appears, to administer baptism to two children... [only] to find the bodies of...his fellow creatures so shockingly mutilated, and lying like dogs in the mud and dirt with scarcely any covering. With the assistance of his interpreter, he dug one grave for all, and having procured shrouds, he had the satisfaction... of rendering them the last kind office that one mortal owes to another. Had the remains been exposed one night longer, they would have become prey to wolves and dogs.

“The Rev. Mr. Brouillet was returning from the performance of this duty, being accompanied by his interpreter and an Indian who had evil designs on Mr. Spalding, when they met the latter about six miles from the mission.... It required some presence of mind on the part of Mr. Brouillet

⁵⁷⁷ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 535.

⁵⁷⁸ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 209.

to warn Mr. Spalding of his danger without creating any suspicion in the mind of the Indian. ...He ordered the interpreter to stop and light his pipe, and by the same ruse detained the Indian in the rear to strike fire. The two divines proceeding on in company, Mr. Spalding was soon made acquainted with the particulars of the late occurrence and strongly advised to escape, his Catholic friend assisting him from his own small stock of provisions.

“The advice was acted upon in the same haste that it was given.... In an instant he left the trail and proceeded toward the mountains. Mr. Brouillet meanwhile made all dispatch to reach his own mission, and when almost within sight of it, the Indian interpreter overtook him. The former, finding Mr. Spalding no longer in company, cast a savage and threatening look on Mr. Brouillet and immediately retraced his steps in pursuit of his victim. Fortunately a dense fog and presently afterwards the darkness of night coming on, frustrated his evil designs, and thus the life of Mr. Spalding was preserved to his wife & family, whom he rejoined at Clearwater, after wandering for six days and nights among the mountains, losing his horse and provisions, and at last reaching home barefoot.”⁵⁷⁹

Rev. Spalding, after riding for Lapwai in the darkness, eventually dismounted
fell into an exhausted sleep without hobbling his horse and the animal ran away
he walked the remaining ninety miles in six days
foodless and tortured by his wrenched knee and ill-fitting shoes

JOSIAH OSBORN REACHES FORT WALLA WALLA

Josiah Osborn continued to relate his experiences: “Reached Fort Walla Walla after daylight [Thursday morning, December 2]; begged Mr. [William] McBean for horses to get my family, for food, for blankets, and clothing to take to them, and to take care of my child till I could bring my family in, should I live to find them alive. Mr. McBean told me I could not bring my family to his fort.

“Mr. [Peter D.] Hall [had come] in on Tuesday night [actually early in the morning of Wednesday, December 1], but he [Mr. McBean] could not have an American in his fort, and he had put him over the Columbia River; [McBean stated] that he could not let me have horses or anything for my wife and children, and I must go to Umatilla. I insisted on bringing my family to the fort, but he refused; said he would not let us in. I next begged the priests to show pity, as my wife and children would perish and the Indians undoubtedly would kill me, with no success. I then begged to leave my child, who was not safe, in the fort but they refused.

“There were many priests in the fort. Mr. McBean gave me breakfast, but I saved most of it for my family. Providentially Mr. Stanley, an artist, came in from Colville, narrowly escaped the Cayuse Indians by telling them he was ‘Alain’ [a friend of] Hudson’s Bay. He let me have his two horses, some food he had left from Rev. Eells’ and Walker’s [Spokane House] mission; also a cap, a pair of socks, a shirt, and handkerchief, and Mr. McBean furnished an Indian who proved most faithful, and Thursday night we started back, taking my child, but with a sad heart that I could not find mercy at the hands of the priests of God. The Indian guided me in the thick darkness to where I supposed I had left my dear wife and children. We could see nothing and dared not call aloud.”⁵⁸⁰

JOSIAH OSBORN PRESENTS HIS VERSION OF THE RESCUE

⁵⁷⁹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 228.

⁵⁸⁰ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 209-210.

Josiah Osborn explained his circumstances: **“Daylight came [Friday December 3] and I was exposed to Indians, but we continued to search till I was about to give up in despair when the Indian discovered one of the twigs I had broken as a guide in coming out to the trail. Following these he soon found my wife and children still alive. I distributed what little food and clothing I had, and we started for the Umatilla [Catholic mission] the guide leading the way to the ford.**

“[Upon reaching Fort Walla Walla] Mr. McBean came and asked who was there. I replied. He said he could not let us in; we must go to Umatilla or he would put us over the [Columbia] River, as he had Mr. Hall. My wife replied she would die at the gate but she would not leave. He finally opened and took us into a secret room and sent an allowance of food for us every day.”

“I asked him [Mr. McBean] for blankets for my sick wife to lie on. He had nothing.”⁵⁸¹

PETER SKENE OGDEN ISSUES A REPORT TO HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY

In his report to Hudson’s Bay Company Peter Skene Ogden gave a significantly different version: **“No time was lost by the gentlemen in charge [William McBean] there [Fort Walla Walla] in sending relief and assistance to the poor woman, but strange to relate, after a search of two days, the husband despaired of finding her and concluded that she was lost... murdered by the Indians. He was on the eve of abandoning his search, but a friendly Indian who had accompanied him from the fort was far from losing all hope.... He renewed the search and succeeded in finding the now almost lifeless woman, lying concealed with her children in the very spot where they had been left, with scarcely any covering and without food or fire to keep them warm, in which deplorable state they had now remained four days and nights. The whole party reached the fort in safety [Friday, December 3]”**⁵⁸²

JOSIAH OSBORN RECEIVES LITTLE HELP

Josiah Osborn concluded his harrowing narrative: **“Next day [Saturday, December 4] I urged again. He [William McBean] had nothing to give, but would sell a blanket out of the store. I told I had lost everything, and had nothing to pay; but if I should live to get to the Willamette I would pay. He consented. But the hipbones of my dear wife wore through the skin on the hard floor. Stickus [sic], the chief, came in one day and took the cap from his head and gave it to me, and a handkerchief to my child.”**⁵⁸³

WILLIAM CANFIELD ARRIVES AT LAPWAI MISSION

According to Peter Skene Ogden on Sunday, December 5, 1847: **“... [William Canfield] escaped by following in his wounded state, a marked [trail] which he struck upon by mere chance, and which led him, by a course of two hundred miles, to the Clearwater Mission [Lapwai], where he had never been before, and which he reached after six days and nights traveling, though without food.”**⁵⁸⁴

William Canfield brought news of the massacre to Mrs. Eliza Spalding

Rev. Spalding had gone to the Umatilla River area

and was, at this time, attempting to make his way to Lapwai

⁵⁸¹ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, P. 210.

⁵⁸² W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*, P. 226.

⁵⁸³ William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*. P. 210.

⁵⁸⁴ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*, P. 226.

DEATH CONTINUES TO TAKE A TOLL AT WAILLATPU MISSION

Catherine Sager stated **“On [Sunday] the 5th of December my little sister [Hannah Louise], six years old, died [of measles].”**⁵⁸⁵

Indians saw that the young men, Crockett Bewley and Amos Sales, were recovering from the measles both had criticized the Cayuse for their attack

Catherine Sager stated: **“One evening we were startled by the savages attacking these men as they lay in their bed. We all rushed outside, supposing that we were all to be killed. An Indian told us to come back, that only the two were to be killed.”**⁵⁸⁶

Crockett Bewley and Amos Sales were beaten and stabbed to death by the warriors before the eyes of the women and children who were now hostages at the mission their mangled bodies were left by the door -- December 5, 1847

(for two days, the captives had to step over the dead to get food and water)

TWO MORE FAMILIES ARRIVE AT WAILLATPU

Catherine Sager recalled: **“Late that evening there was a knock at the door, and a voice in English called the name of one of the young women named Mary Smith [age 15]. It proved to be her father, who with his family and another family [Elam Young’s son Daniel] had arrived from the saw mill, where they were employed. They had been brought down to be murdered, but word had come from the fort that no more Americans were to be slaughtered. It came too late to save the two young men, who had been dead several hours. These men were set at running the grist mill.”**⁵⁸⁷

These people were captured raising the total number of captives to forty-seven

ACCOUNTS OF THE CAPTIVITY REFLECT THE INTENSE FEAR

There were no killings at Waiilatpu after the sick young men had been murdered
Indian treatment of the captive women is a matter of some controversy
at a minimum, the women were submitted to great annoyance
and were in constant fear of violence

Rev. Henry Spalding later provided a hysterical account in his published lectures
some of his more sensational episodes are not supported by facts
his accusations were denied by the survivors -- native and white alike

Peter Skene Ogden reported in a less hysterical voice, **“After Mr. Rogers had fallen, and the two surviving Americans [escape of Josiah Osborne was unknown to Ogden at this time] had thus baffled pursuit, or escaped unnoticed, there remained but the now desolate women and children, who had been eyewitness of the massacre of their husbands and fathers. The number of these unfortunates exceeded fifty.... Their lives, indeed, were spared them, but three of the young women were reserved for a more cruel fate, over which I must draw a veil.”**⁵⁸⁸

A more detailed account was provided by Catherine Sager: **“One evening an Indian came to the house and seemed to be looking for someone. We learned that it was [twenty-two-year-old] Miss [Lorinda] Bewley. She was sick with argue [chills and shivering] and was lying in bed. He went to the bed and began to fondle over her. She sprang up and sat down behind the stove. He sat down by**

⁵⁸⁵ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 539.

⁵⁸⁶ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 539.

⁵⁸⁷ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 534.

⁵⁸⁸ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 226-227.

her and tried to prevail upon her to be his wife. She told him that he had a wife, and that she would not have him. Finding that persuasion nor threats availed, he seized her and dragged her out of the house, and tried to place her upon his horse; he failed in this also. She told him that she would tell the chief of his conduct the next day. He said he would not let her do so. She replied that she would call loud enough for him to hear her and come to see what was the matter. He tried to stop her screams by placing his hand over her mouth. The contest lasted for some time, when, becoming enraged, he threw her with violence upon the ground. After perpetrating his hellish designs upon her, he ordered her to go to the house. The poor, heartbroken girl came in, shaking with agitation. One of the women sent Eliza [Spalding] and I to get some medicine for her. It was in another room; the fiend was in there, and wanted to know what we wanted of the medicine. We told him it was for a sick child. We carried it in, well pleased with our ruse. A few days after this a chief of the Umatillas sent for and carried Miss B[ewley] there and held her as his wife. The evening after she left the other [attacker] came with a wagon and a team. He had ropes and men to assist him to carry her to his lodge.

“Previous to this the Indians had held a council to decide what to do with their prisoners. Many speeches were made; the savage mentioned above [attacker] said he could see no use in bothering with them; the easiest and quickest way to get rid of them was to kill them. He sat down and a Nez Perce arose and gave him such a scathing rebuke that he cowered down and had no more to say. They decided to keep us during the winter, and then send us below [to the Willamette Valley] in the spring. We were informed of this, with the assurance that we would all be killed if our countrymen attempted our rescue. A few evenings after this another council was held, at which we were required to be present. The council was for the purpose of setting before the young women the policy of taking chiefs for their husbands to protect them from violence. The poor girls had to submit to the decrees of their captors. The remembrance of these things takes all admiration for the noble red man from those who had the experience.”⁵⁸⁹

HOSTAGES FIND SOLACE IN WORK

Indians found the Whitman’s cellar which was well stocked with food
they brought quantities of food to the mission house to be cooked for them
Before each meal the Indians insisted on asking a blessing
using words that the Whitmans had taught them
after the prayer, some of the women were forced to taste each dish
in the presence of their captors to assure them nothing had been poisoned
Next the Indians brought bolts of calico from Narcissa’s supply
they demanded the women make them shirts
every woman and girl who could hold a needle worked through the daylight hours
and often by candlelight to finish the garments

Catherine Sager explains, “Our captors kept us busy making shirts out of the goods taken at the station -- we knew that the Indians were planning an expedition to The Dalles. It was no unusual thing for one to come and demand a shirt made against a set time, as he was going to The Dalles. We would make the shirt, he would come and get it, bid us good-bye, and leave, but in a day or two be back with another shirt to make. We learned that this was a ruse adopted to have their sewing

⁵⁸⁹ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 540-541.

done first. Sometimes it was done to see if we would sew upon the Sabbath. One Sabbath evening a fellow came and wanted us to make him a shirt that evening. We refused telling him it was the Sabbath. He became very abusive, so we commenced the shirt, and seeing this he left. We then laid it aside, and next day complained to the chief, and he forbid them bringing us work to do upon the Sabbath.

“The Indians generally stayed around until near midnight. After they would leave, some of the vagabonds would come in and harass us and manage to frighten us thoroughly for their own amusement. To prevent this we adopted the plan of hiring some of the influential men to stay with us until 1 or 2 o’clock. The one who oftenest performed this service was Beardy. He had remained in the lodge on the day of the massacre till late in the day, when he came upon the scene and made a touching appeal for the lives of the women and children. He was a professor of religion [believer] and was regarded as a good Indian. The ladies were in the habit of setting him a lunch before he left. One of them had baked some pies made of dried peaches, and which were kept hid from the other natives. These particularly suited old Beardy’s taste, and notwithstanding he had eaten several hearty meals during the day, he partook freely of them. Seeing the fruit thrown from his stomach, he mistook it for blood and concluded that we had poisoned him, and vowed that our lives should pay the forfeit. He was sick three days; on the fourth he came armed with a band of savages to wreak vengeance upon our defenseless heads. During the night an Indian woman had arrived from Fort Hall. Her husband was a white man, and she spoke the English language well. As soon as she heard of the massacre she started for the station, and her arrival was very opportune. She pleaded our cause with Beardy and convinced him that he alone was to blame -- that he had only over eaten himself. He was very much ashamed of the affair, and used to laugh over it. It came near being a serious joke to us.

“It was our custom to gather in some one of the rooms to spend the evening; we felt better when thus together. One evening I was sitting by the fire in a room some distance from the one I occupied, when a stalwart savage came in, seized me by the arm and dragged me shrieking through the house to our room, which was empty at the time, excepting the sleeping children. Placing a chair, he told me to sit down; he then began to court me for his friend. The friend soon came in and I was compelled to listen to their love speeches. A half-breed presently came in and told them not to try to carry me away. They said they did not intend to; they only wanted to amuse themselves. I could not see the fun, but sat shivering with fright and cold. I begged them to let me go to the fire; they refused and wrapped a blanket around me. They made my life a torment to me, and so afraid was I of being carried off by them that I was tempted to end my troubles by jumping in the mill pond. My fellow prisoners sympathized with me, and laid many plans for eluding them. Jo Stanfield proposed that I should go to the straw stack and sleep, but this the women would not allow, as they were suspicious of him. Some proposed that I go to Joe Finlay’s lodge in company with one of Mr. [James] Young’s sons. This was also abandoned. Mr. Young and his wife then laid a plan by which they thought I could elude them. During the day their extra beds were thrown upon the bedstead. In the evening the old gentleman was in the habit of lying on the front of the bedstead. The girls were to watch their chance, when the Indians would be out of the room and take me in. I was then to get over behind the pile of bedding and lie down. A few evenings afterwards they [the Indians] came and the plan was carried out with complete success. I lay quiet, and although they searched the house, they failed to find me, and left, giving vent to their chagrin in loud whoops. Soon after one of them came again. I went to bed and was asleep as was everyone else. I felt

someone pulling me by the arm; starting up, I confronted my enemy; he wanted me to sit by the fire with him; I refused. He tried coaxing and threats, but in my desperation, I lost all fear of him, and fought with teeth and nails. He said if I would sit and talk with him he would go away, but I would not. The contest lasted for some time, then he raised his whip and said he would whip me, but I cared not, and still fought him, calling upon other Indians who were sleeping near to help me. They paid no heed, but the white men, getting tired of the row, jumped up, when he left and never came back. The Indians called me a brave girl that would thus fight a man.

“Knowing how treacherous the nature of the savages was, we lived in constant fear of their murdering us. We watched their coming in the morning and only felt safe when they departed at night. It was my custom to take my sister, who was three years old and was prostrated by a long and severe illness, in my arms and sit down behind the stove with her every morning and thus await their coming, resolved to die with her in my arms should they murder us. Occasionally I would go over to my desolate home [mission house]. What a scene was presented there! Mutilated furniture, feathers, ashes, straw and blood all co-mingled in one indiscriminate mass; desolation reigned where once had been peace and harmony. Amid all the anguish and turmoil of those dark days there would sometimes things occur that were ludicrous enough to make us for a moment forget sorrow and indulge in a hearty laugh. One day an Indian brave came riding to the house with a large map of the world thrown over his horse for a blanket. At another time the voices of the children would be heard singing hymns, accompanied by the natives. Oh, blessed childhood, that can thus throw off sorrow and gloom!”⁵⁹⁰

NEWS OF THE ATTACK REACHES FORT VANCOUVER

According to Peter Skene Ogden, “On the evening of the 6th of December we were seated around our cheerful fireside, ‘holding sweet converse’ on the different topics of news we had lately received from Canada and England by our overland express, when a loud knocking at the door attracted the attention of all present, and a Mr. H[inman] from the Dalles mission made his appearance, accompanied by a servant of the Company from Walla Walla.... They announced to us the melancholy tidings of the murder of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and twelve Americans, with the entire destruction of Waiilatpu Mission....”⁵⁹¹

HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY MAKES PLANS TO DEAL WITH THE HOSTILE NATIVES

At Fort Vancouver, Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factors James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden immediately assumed responsibility for protecting all settlers -- British and American alike they decided to send a British expedition up the Columbia River at once -- December 7, 1847 it also was decided not to inform the pioneers of the Willamette Valley of the tragic events

WILLAMETTE VALLEY SETTLERS ARE STILL UNAWARE OF EVENTS AT WAILLATPU

Seventeen members of the Provisional House of Representatives representing ten counties met at Oregon City for the regular legislative session -- December 7, 1847 they were not yet aware of the events at Waiilatpu Still feeling neglected by the United States government James W. Nesmith introduced a resolution in the Provisional House of Representatives

⁵⁹⁰ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 541-543.

⁵⁹¹ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 224.

protesting against the appointment of Judge Jesse Quinn Thornton
to any office in the territory -- December 7, 1847
this was adopted, then reconsidered and ultimately defeated
with the Speaker of the House casting his vote in opposition to the proposal

REV. HENRY SPALDING REACHES LAPWAI MISSION

On the sixth day of his journey from the Waiilatpu massacre -- Tuesday, December 7, 1847
Rev. Spalding crept up to the bluffs overlooking his home
he could see Indians were plundering it
For an agonizing few hours he thought that his family, too, had been massacred,
but finally he reached a friendly Nez Perce Indian
who told him that William D. Canfield's warning had arrived in time
Eliza and the mission workers had found refuge at the home of William Craig,
a mountain man who had settled nearby with his Nez Perce wife
loyal Nez Perce Indians, many of whom were genuinely fond of Eliza Spalding,
put a strong guard around Craig's farm
both to protect the missionaries and to strengthen their tribe's bond with the whites
there Henry Spalding joined them

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TAKES THE LEAD

Peter Skene Ogden, an old and influential Hudson's Bay Company leader,
departed from Fort Vancouver with a force of sixteen heavily armed company men in three boats
these were mainly French-Canadians or metis -- December 8, 1847
on the way to the scene of the tragedy they traveled to Wascopam Mission at the Dalles
to advise the people there of their danger as they passed
(their journey to Waiilatpu Mission took twelve days to complete)

DEATH ONCE AGAIN VISITS WAILLATPU MISSION

Catherine Sager reported that "**Helen [Mar Meek] died**" [of measles]⁵⁹² -- December 8, 1847
along with another pioneer immigrant child who died of exposure
Three children, Hannah Louise Sager, Helen Mar Meek, and the immigrant child
were buried near the great mound not far from little Alice Clarissa Whitman's grave

NEWS OF THE WHITMAN MASSACRE FINALLY ARRIVES AT OREGON CITY

When there was no possibility of Ogden's men being overtaken by Americans in search of revenge
Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James Douglas at Fort Vancouver forwarded word
of the Waiilatpu disaster to Provisional Governor George Abernathy -- December 8, 1847
In Oregon City Governor Abernathy addressed the assembled provisional legislature
settlers immediately reacted as furiously as Hudson's Bay Company leaders had anticipated
Racial paranoia swept through the Willamette Valley
many Oregonians convinced themselves that Indians and blacks would collaborate
joining forces to wipe out all the whites in Oregon Country

⁵⁹² Samuel A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Volume II*, P. 539.

some went so far as to argue that without the Exclusion Law
African Americans and Native Americans might intermarry
and eventually reduce the white population to a threatened minority

AMERICAN PIONEERS WERE UNPREPARED

Congress had done nothing to organize the Territory
although the international boundary question had been settled the year before
armed troops intended to protect the Oregon Trail were supposed to be on the way
in fact, they had been diverted to the Mexican War
After learning of the attack from the Hudson's Bay Company
Governor Abernethy and the legislature met to discuss the situation
at a minimum, the attack at Waiilatpu showed the need for protection and law
Provisional Government continued to function as best it could
there was great fear of additional attacks if the upriver tribes should unite
and destroy all of the white people in Oregon Country
but locally little advanced preparation had been made for such an attack by the natives

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO ASSESS THE CRISIS

Oregon Country Provisional House of Representatives was in session
they attempted to gather together reports and rumors swirling about Oregon Country
to determine if the Indians East of the Cascade Mountains had united against the settlers
everyone knew that help from the United States was at least a year away

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TAKES ACTION

Many of the white settlers and most of the Americans felt the natives should be punished
they wanted to provide assurance Oregon would be safe for settlement
frontier justice demanded vengeance

War fever swept Oregon Country

Provisional Legislature instructed Governor Abernethy to raise a body of militia
to quell the uprising and to seek out the Cayuse enemy
in particular the Waiilatpu murderers
these actions advanced the Cayuse War -- 1847- [1850]

At the same time, the legislature resolved to write yet another Memorial to Congress

this one **“for the purpose of soliciting the Immediate influence and protection of the U.S.
Government in our internal affairs”**

EFFORT TO RAISE A MILITIA IN OREGON COUNTRY BEGINS

With about as much efficiency as could be expected
from an amateur government with no military experience

Provisional Legislators took steps to raise troops and to seek out the Cayuse enemy
James W. Nesmith introduced a resolution in the Provisional House of Representatives
which was unanimously passed

**“authorizing the governor to raise a company of riflemen, not to exceed fifty men, rank
and file, and to dispatch them forthwith to occupy the [Whitman] Mission” -- December 8, 1847**

to quell the uprising and seek out the Cayuse enemy -- in particular the Waiilatpu killers they were to serve for ten months unless discharged sooner
Many political leaders were for pushing into the enemy's country at once with a formidable force but wiser heads prevailed and nothing was done to prevent the Indians from surrendering their white captives to Hudson's Bay Company

OREGON COUNTRY LEADERS PREPARE FOR WAR

Provisional Government had little authority, few officials, no funds and no militia residents of Willamette Valley decided to send a force of men up the Columbia River they immediately began the frustrating task of preparing prepare a force to punish the Indians and equipping a militia of five hundred men
Local government could not afford to finance a war there was only \$43.72 was in the treasury with debts amounting to \$4,123.46 money had to be raised to keep the militia in the field
Jesse Applegate, George L. Curry and A.L. Lovejoy constituted a funding commission to negotiate a loan of \$100,000 from Hudson's Bay Company to pay for the expenses of outfitting the militia secured by the credit of the territory many Oregon settlers blamed Congress for the evil they had suffered it was generally believed the U. S. government would take the burden of debt it was thought to be least the government could do for leaving Oregon defenseless

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT PETITIONS CONGRESS FOR SUPPORT

In an effort to secure federal support Oregon Country leaders prepared a ringing Memorial to be delivered to congress -- December 8, 1847

“Having called upon the government so often in vain, we have almost despaired of receiving its protection; yet we trust that our present situation, when fully laid before you, will at once satisfy your honorable body of the necessity of extending the strong arm of guardianship and protection over this distant, but beautiful portion of the United States' domain. Our relations with the proud and powerful tribes of Indians residing east of the Cascade Mountains, hitherto uniformly amicable and pacific, have recently assumed quite a different character. They have shouted the war whoop, and crimsoned their tomahawks in the blood of our citizens.... Circumstances warrant your memorialists in believing that many of the powerful tribes...have formed an alliance for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against our settlements.... To repel the attacks of so formidable a foe, and protect our families and property from violence and rapine, will require more strength than we possess...we have a right to expect your aid, and you are in justice bound to extend it.... If it be at all the intention of our honored parent to spread her guardian wings over her sons and daughters on Oregon, she surely will not refuse to do it now, when they are struggling with all the ills of a weak and temporary government, and when perils are daily thickening around them, and preparing to burst upon their heads. When the ensuing summer's sun shall have dispelled the snow from the mountains we shall look with glowing hopes and restless anxiety for the coming of your laws and your arms.”⁵⁹³

⁵⁹³ Joseph Schafer *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 195.

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PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZES A MILITIA -- THE OREGON RIFLES

Provisional House of Representatives authorized Governor George Abernathy
to raise a regiment of 500 volunteers -- December 9, 1847
sixteen companies were to be formed to punish the Cayuse Indians
for their part in the Whitman Massacre
while many were interested in protecting their homes and families
these men were not interested in fighting the Indians for nothing
the prospect of receiving pay was an inspirational motivator
Provisional Governor Abernathy selected the Oregon Rifles' leaders
Cornelius Gilliam was selected to serve as colonel
Gilliam, a fundamentalist preacher and wagon train master, was a leader of men
robust, impulsive, sympathetic and willful, he was a man of great courage and energy
although not a professional soldier his previous military experience was acquired
during the Mid-West Black Hawk War [1832]
and the Seminole Wars in Florida [1835]
James Waters was selected to serve as lieutenant-colonel,
Henry A.G. Lee was promoted from captain of the Oregon Rifles to the position of major
named captains were: Henry A.G. Lee, R. W. Morrison, Richard Woodcock, Elijah Bunton
and William Shaw who was Colonel Gilliam's brother-in-law
officers of the Oregon Rifles were elected by the men of the company:
First Lieutenant Joseph Magone
Second Lieutenant John E. Ross
Surgeon W.W. Carpenter

OREGON COUNTRY INHABITANTS VOLUNTEER TO CONFRONT THE HOSTILE INDIANS

Pioneers began to organize and prepare a militia company
many of the white settlers and most of the Americans felt the natives should be punished
they wanted to provide assurance Oregon Country would be safe for settlement
frontier justice demanded vengeance

Forty-eight volunteers between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four assembled at Samuel K. Barlow's home in Oregon City they were sworn in as members of the Oregon Rifles -- noon, December 9, 1847 this militia was equipped as well as means would allow while many of the men were interested in protecting their homes and families the prospect of receiving pay was also an inspirational motivation they were not interested in fighting the Indians for nothing Without delay the volunteer militia began to assemble barges to carry their inadequate supplies Major Henry A.G. Lee led an advance party of forty-eight men as they left Oregon City on boats and hurried up the Columbia River toward The Dalles -- December 9, 1847 it was great sacrifice for these men to leave their families and journey upriver in mid-winter also, they did not want to leave their own homes unprotected this contingent of militiamen was only two days behind Peter Skene Ogden's men

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TALKS WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY FAIL

Three-man funding commission, Jesse Applegate, George L. Curry and A.L. Lovejoy, continued discussions with Hudson's Bay Company in an effort to secure a loan for equipment However Hudson's Bay Company would not extend credit to the Provisional Government Americans discovered that standing orders from London instructed the local officers in charge **"not to deal in government securities"**⁵⁹⁴ Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor James Douglas in the most positive terms expressed warm sympathy with the provisional government **"in its efforts to prevent further aggression, and to rescue from the hands of the Indians the women and children who survived the massacre"**⁵⁹⁵

Governor Abernethy and funding committee members Jesse Applegate and A.L. Lovejoy provided their personal pledge to repay a loan used to purchase equipment some Oregon City merchants and militiamen also pledged their individual credit with the expectation the provisional government or new territorial government would repay them in the future voluntary subscriptions had raised \$2,885 loans totaling \$3,600 were secured (Cayuse War 1847-[1850] actually cost \$175,000)

PROVISIONAL LEGISLATORS SELECT THEIR OWN MESSENGER TO CONGRESS

Governor Abernethy had appointed his own representative to Congress, Jesse Quinn Thornton who was currently en route by ship to the east coast Abernethy's opponents saw an opportunity to counter Thornton's influence -- December 9, 1847 Provisional House of Representatives selected their colleague Joseph L. Meek as the messenger to carry the most recent Memorial overland to Washington City Joe Meek, incredibly enough, was related to President James K. Polk's wife and thus would have access to the White House itself Meek was to be accompanied by several others including his old friend George Ebbert physically, Joe Meek was an obvious choice

⁵⁹⁴ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. 1*, P. 278

⁵⁹⁵ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. 1*, P. 278

he was thirty-seven years old, six feet tall and strong as a buffalo
this fearless mountain man also was familiar with the dangers of the route he must take
Joe appealed to the Oregon Country lawmakers as their representative
he had been a well-known first sheriff of Oregon Country
he was a member of the Provisional House of Representatives
he had allied himself with the American Party
known for its anti-missionary (anti-Governor Abernathy) attitude
Governor Abernathy wanted Joe Meek and his companions to travel first to Sacramento
to ask the governor of U.S. Army-occupied California for supplies
and for whatever troops he could spare and for a warship to patrol the Columbia River
Meek, however, doubted it would be possible to cross the Siskiyou Mountains
between Oregon and California in the dead of winter

GOVERNOR ABERNATHY APPOINTS A PEACE COMMISSION

Provisional Government leaders conducting the Cayuse War were of two minds
legislature supported Colonel Cornelius Gilliam and the militia which was eager for action
(they sometimes provoked conflicts with hostile and friendly Indians alike)
Governor Abernathy supported the friendly natives who tried to end the conflict
About now it occurred to Governor Abernathy that if the Indians of the interior united against them
their small militia could be wiped out leaving all of the settlers to an unknown fate
Governor Abernathy named Joel Palmer to serve as Superintendent of Indian Affairs
and Commissary-General of the Oregon Rifles -- December 10, 1847
he was named the head of the Peace Commission
and possessed the power to act in the event negotiations were possible
Governor Abernathy also appointed Robert "Doc" Newell as a Peace Commissioner
because of his knowledge of Indian traits and his many years working as a Mountain Man
Provisional Governor George Abernathy's instructions to the Peace Commission stated:
•Indians were to be informed Americans desired
only the surrender of the Waiilatpu murderers;
•restitution must be offered by the natives for stolen property;
•assurances must be provided that immigrants would not be molested in the future
both Peace Commission members were to accompany the militia into hostile country
they were to visit with the Nez Perce Indians and other interior tribes
and convince them not to join with the Cayuse
Public manifestoes were immediately issued by the governor declaring that this really was not a war
but rather was an expedition to capture the murderers of the whites slain at Waiilatpu Mission

PEACE COMMISSION GOALS CLASH WITH THE OREGON RIFLES' GOALS

Provisional Governor George Abernathy's declaration of intent to the peace commissioners
greatly antagonized illiterate but brave and independent Michael Simmons
who thundered to everyone within hearing distance that they had enlisted to fight
Colonel Cornelius Gilliam also did not approve of the peace commissioners or its mission
their presence embarrassed the aggressive commander
This obvious conflict of purposes resulted in explosive quarrels between

the Oregon Rifle's antagonistic colonel and the two peace commissioners traveling with him who were assigned to soothe the enemy and to restrain undue wrath on the part of the troops

OREGON VOLUNTEERS REACH THE CASCADES RAPIDS OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

The Cascades Rapids was the site of a village that consisted of just a few cabins along the North bank of the Columbia River
some of these men were detailed to improve the portage route around The Cascades Rapids

TWO MORE SETTLERS ACCOMPANY THE OREGON COUNTRY MILITIAMEN

After passing through The Cascades Rapids on their way to The Dalles -- December 13, 1847
Major Henry A.G. Lee met Dr. Marcus Whitman's nephew Perrin Whitman and Alanson Hinman who was traveling with his family
Hinman, had taught school at Waiilatpu
he had accompanied a messenger sent by Fort Walla Walla Factor William McBean on the journey to Fort Vancouver to appeal for protection
Hinman's family continued on to The Cascades Rapids
while the teacher and Perrin Whitman returned to The Dalles with the militia volunteers

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARMED FORCES REACH FORT WALLA WALLA

Sixteen heavily armed Hudson's Bay Company men led by Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden pushed up the Columbia River at utmost speed
they arrived at Fort Walla Walla -- December 19, 1847
Oregon Volunteers led by Major Henry A.G. Lee accompanied by Perrin Whitman and Alanson Hinman were not far behind

CAYUSE INDIANS TURN TO CATHOLIC PRIESTS FOR HELP

Cayuse chiefs gathered at St. Anne's Catholic mission at Umatilla -- December 19, 1847
Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet prepared a petition for the Indians
to send to Provisional Governor George Abernathy asking for a peace conference signed by Tilaukait, Camaspelo, Tawatowe and Achekaia
Meeting at Umatilla had just adjourned
when the Indians received news of Peter Skene Ogden's presence at Fort Walla Walla

CAYUSE INDIANS FIND THEMSELVES ISOLATED

Cayuse Indians became aware of the possible consequences of their atrocities
they found themselves isolated after they learned the Nez Perce Indians had protected the whites at Lapwai Mission
Cayuse sent messengers to the natives of Spokane Country to spread (false) rumors that sixty Spokanes working in Willamette Valley had been killed to avenge the massacre
Chief of the Spokanes, after a talk with Rev. Cushing Eells, refused to support the Cayuse
he sent out runners with warnings for his people not to believe the Cayuse
Cayuse held a council and decided that if the Americans would make a treaty of peace, they would deliver their prisoners from Waiilatpu Mission -- December 20, 1847

CAYUSE CHIEFS TRAVEL TO FORT WALLA WALLA

Cayuse Indians held a council with Peter Skene Ogden -- December 23, 1847

Cayuse hoped to use the hostages to save themselves from vengeance

Ogden offered to ransom the captives

he informed the Indians that Hudson's Bay Company was greatly displeased with their conduct and he assured the Indians that they would regret it if they provoked the Americans to war

OREGON VOLUNTEERS CONTINUE THEIR JOURNEY UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Major Henry A.G. Lee and his forty-eight men moved up the Columbia River

with their inadequate supply barges to carry out the war east of the Cascade Mountains

The Dalles was reached -- Christmas night

there a heavily armed band of Indians were encountered

attempting to steal cattle from the mission

Captain Lee with several men approached to warn them off and were fired upon

during a running fight lasting several hours three Indians were killed and one wounded

Sergeant William Berry was severely wounded

Indians successfully made off with 300 head of stock,

a serious loss to a territory where beef was exceedingly scarce

and a single chicken egg cost fifty cents

however, this show of force by the militia volunteers made a strong impression on the Cayuse who agreed to meet again with Peter Skene Ogden

OREGON RIFLES ADVANCE UNIT ESTABLISH THEIR HEADQUARTERS

Major Henry A.G. Lee and his forty-eight militiamen built a stockade

around the old Wascopam Mission buildings located on the south bank of the Columbia River

Northwest Company had located a trading post at the site [1820]

Wascopam Mission had been constructed by Rev. Daniel Lee

this mission had been purchased by Dr. Marcus Whitman

Major Henry A.G. Lee's Oregon Volunteers established a stockade called "Fort Lee"

in honor of their commander

(although the small fortification was also called Fort Wascopam for the Indian name of a nearby spring)

Fort Lee was to be the headquarters of the Oregon Rifles

FATE OF THE WAILATPU CAPTIVES IS STILL IN DOUBT

Catherine Sager noted: **"On the 26th of December word came that three boats had arrived at the fort [Nez Percés]. This news caused great excitement, both to captors and captives, and a messenger was dispatched to learn the particulars. In a few hours he returned with the information that the great chief of the Hudson's Bay Company had come and wanted the Indians to meet him in council next day. The greatest excitement prevailed among the captors and their captives. While the hope of rescue was feebly entertained, it was overshadowed by the thought of another terrible massacre, in which we would be the victims. Our captors left for their village, but in the course of a few hours returned in their hideous war paint and armed to the teeth. They remained a short time to finish their preparations, and then departed for the fort. It was just nightfall when they left.**

“Oh, what anxious days those were; how slowly the hours seemed to drag along!

“On the evening of the second day [December 28] we were overjoyed at receiving Miss Bewley again. She gave us a graphic account of her life during her absence. We slept but little that night....”⁵⁹⁶

ANOTHER ENCOUNTER TAKES PLACE WITH THE INDIANS

Sixty Indian horses were captured by the advance unit of the Oregon Rifles -- December 27, 1847
these animals along with about fifty head belonging to the militia
were driven to pasture on a hill about three miles southeast of Fort Lee
ten men formed the horse guard

Indians placed two horses on a hill a short distance away to decoy the guards
who, believing them to be strays, watched the two horses for several hours
with no Indians being in sight two of the youngest volunteers,
privates Hugh Pugh and David Jackson, climbed the hill to acquire the horses
they were fired upon and both fought bravely killing one Indian
natives escaped carrying off their dead and leaving Pugh and Jackson dead on the field
they were the first two militiamen killed

OFFICE OF ADJUTANT GENERAL IS CREATED BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Provisional House of Representatives elected A.L. Lovejoy Adjutant General
to oversee administrative and logistical control over the troops -- December 28, 1847

ANOTHER COUNCIL IS HELD AND A BARGAIN IS STRUCK

In another council held with the Cayuse Indians Peter Skene Ogden agreed to pay
five hundred dollars' worth of tobacco, clothing, guns and ammunition sixty-two blankets,
sixty-three cotton shirts, twelve Company guns, twelve flints, thirty-seven pounds of tobacco
and 600 rounds of ammunition for the return of the hostages
(Hudson's Bay Company was never reimbursed for the expenditure
indeed the Company presented no bill to the Provisional Government)
Cayuse Indians agreed to return the captives who were still alive -- December 28, 1847
they were to be delivered to Fort Walla Walla the next day

CAYUSE INDIANS RELEASE THE HOSTAGES

Peter Skene Ogden had ransomed fifty-four hostages -- of these, thirty-four were children
of the captives taken three, all children, died in captivity:

- Helen Mar Meek (Joe Meek's daughter) died of measles
- Helen Louise Sager died of measles
- a immigrant child died of exposure

Peter Skene Ogden also ransomed the missionaries at Lapwai Mission

runners were dispatched to inform Rev. Henry Spalding's group of the agreement
One month after the massacre three wagons from Waiilatpu that had not been destroyed
headed west twenty-five miles to Fort Walla Walla -- Wednesday Morning December 29, 1847

⁵⁹⁶ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 543.

each hostage was allowed to take only a small bundle of clothing and one blanket
two natives, Sticcus who had opposed the massacre,
and Old Beardy who was perhaps ashamed of his adventure with the peach pies
rode their horses as escort beside the last wagon in which the Sager girls sat
in case any of the wild young men should change their minds

Catherine Sager recorded the scene: **“...as soon as daylight appeared we started for the fort. All of us wept as we drove away from that scene of suffering; wept for joy at our escape and for sorrow for those who had been slain and could not go with us. As we left an Indian woman came from a lodge near by and told us to hasten for our lives, that her people had repented and were coming to kill us. We made all speed we could, and as darkness came on the welcome walls of the fort loomed dimly before us and we were soon inside, but did not feel safe until a week afterwards, when we reached the settlements. Thus ended our captivity among the Indians.”**⁵⁹⁷

Peter Skene Ogden reported: **“The object of these wretches in detaining them [the hostages] was to procure a ransom, and having their victims so completely in their power, they too well succeeded. Late one evening the poor captives reached the Company’s establishment, strongly guarded by not less than forty Indians, each of whom had some claim to make which dire necessity compelled us to satisfy....”**⁵⁹⁸

Thirteen people had died in the attack on the Whitmans’ Waiilatpu Mission
Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden and his sixteen armed men
were held up at Fort Walla Walla waiting for Rev. Henry Spalding and a party of captives
to arrive from Lapwai Mission

OREGON RIFLES REACH THE SCENE OF BLOODSHED

Major Henry A.G. Lee and his forty-eight men traveled from The Dalles
on to Fort Walla Walla -- December 29, 1847

Later that day they reached Waiilatpu Mission where, as Catherine Sager indicated: **“The volunteers who went up to fight the Indians gathered up the bones, placed them in a wagon box, and again buried them, and this is all the burial these martyrs of Americanism in Oregon have ever received.”**⁵⁹⁹

Two men had accompanied the militia volunteers although they were not militia volunteers
teacher Alanson Hinman, (soon to become a teacher at the Oregon Institute)

Perrin B. Whitman who wrote of his experience a year after the massacre: **“We found everything swept from the site of the Mission, the buildings burned and everything in ruins. The bodies had been buried, but coyotes had dug into the graves considerable. I found what I satisfied myself was the Doctor’s skull. There were two hatchet marks in the back of the head.”**⁶⁰⁰

PETER SKENE OGDEN REMAINS AT FORT WALLA WALLA

Armed Hudson’s Bay Company men were held up at Fort Walla Walla
waiting for the Henry Spalding Party to lead others there from Lapwai Mission
Spalding and ten people from Lapwai finally arrived at Fort Walla Walla

⁵⁹⁷ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 543-544.

⁵⁹⁸ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State: A Literary Chronicle*, P. 227.

⁵⁹⁹ Samuel Asahel Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon*, P. 535.

⁶⁰⁰ James A Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 39.

escorted by fifty Nez Perce warriors -- January 1, 1848
this brought the total number of rescued to fifty-seven people

TWO NEW CATHOLIC PRIESTS ARE ORDAINED IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST⁶⁰¹

After the tragedy at Waiilatpu, Augustin Magloire Alexandre Blanchet, Bishop of Walla Walla
(and the brother of Bishop of Oregon City Francis Norbert Blanchet) decided to elevate
Brothers Charles M. Pandosy and Eugene Casimir Chirouse to the priesthood
they were both ordained -- January 2, 1848
(they were the first Catholic priests ordained in the future Washington Territory)

ALL OF THE HOSTAGES SET OUT FOR FORT VANCOUVER

Ten days after the council with the Indians had led to the release of the hostages
Peter Skene Ogden's boats departed from Fort Walla Walla
to return to Fort Vancouver -- noon January 2, 1848
fifty-seven survivors, most of them still incoherent from the terror of their ordeal,
journeyed with the Hudson's Bay Company men down the Columbia River
to the Willamette Valley -- there to remake their lives as best they could
Two hours after Ogden's departure fifty Cayuse warriors dashed up to Fort Walla Walla
to demand the surrender of Rev. Spalding
these Indians had just learned the company of Oregon Rifles had arrived at The Dalles
to make war on them -- their demand was refused

CAYUSE INDIANS ARE CLOSELY LINKED WITH DR. MARCUS WHITMAN

Cayuse Indians were fewer in number than any of the other tribes
but they were known for their intelligence and great wealth
a number of them owned between one thousand and three or four thousand horses each
They had been under the care and personal instruction of Dr. Whitman
who had taught them the value of property and many of the arts of civilization
more than a few of them had small farms and houses to live in
and herded a large proportion of their livelihood
They had intermarried largely with the Nez Perce and Walla Walla natives
offering the hope of inducing these tribes to cooperate with and assist them
They were unwilling to surrender the murderers of Dr. Whitman and the others
because some of these men were the leading and most influential members of their tribe

ADDITIONAL COMPANIES OF OREGON RIFLES ARE RAISED

Marion County furnished two companies of militiamen
led by Captain Levin N. English and Captain William Martin
Clackamas and Marion counties together raised two additional companies
under Captain William Shaw and Captain J. M. Garrison
Portland raised yet another company
Thomas McKay raised a company of French-Canadians on French Prairie

⁶⁰¹ Margaret Riddle, Essay 9033, Historylink.org, June 5, 2009.

showing that in the event of a protracted war the metis would fight against the Indians
Captain McKay was furnished with a flag bearing a lone star and a number of stripes
handmade by the women of Oregon City before they set out for Fort Vancouver
Captain McKay presented it to his company saying:

“This is the flag you are expected to defend, and you must defend it.”⁶⁰²

Actual size of the military organization remains under dispute
Dr. John McLoughlin’s memoranda fixed the number 475
historian Hubert Bancroft, however, using reliable authorities
estimated the Oregon Rifles at about 800

SURVIVORS OF THE WHITMAN MASSACRE ARRIVE AT FORT VANCOUVER

Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden arrived at Fort Vancouver
accompanied by the forty-seven survivors of the Whitman Massacre
and ten people from Lapwai Mission

They were turned over to Provisional Governor George Abernathy -- January 8, 1848
ecstatic joy swept through Oregon City and Peter Skene Ogden was proclaimed a great hero

Provisional Government Journal poetically noted: **“The act of rescuing so many defenseless
women and children from the bloody and cruel grasp of savages merits, and, we believe, receives,
the universal thanks and gratitude of the people of Oregon. Such an act is the legitimate offspring
of a noble, generous and manly heart.”⁶⁰³**

In addition to feelings of joy, the arrival of the hostages also heightened the settlers’ feelings of rage

COLONEL CORELIUS GILLIAM LEADS THE OREGON RIFLES TOWARD THE DALLES

Colonel Gilliam led fifty new recruits to the Oregon Rifles as they marched from Portland
following the north bank of the Columbia River 300 miles upriver -- January 8, 1848
their supplies followed them up the river in boats
and reunited with them at their encampment each evening

CONGRESS HEARS A BILL VALIDATING OREGON’S PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Senator Stephen A. Douglas (Illinois) offered a Bill in the United States Senate -- January 10, 1848
it provided that Oregon’s provisional laws remain valid
until the territorial legislature should change them

FORT GILLIAM IS ESTABLISHED AT THE PORTAGE OF THE CASCADES RAPIDS

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam’s fifty Oregon Rifles continued up the Columbia River
Colonel Gilliam awaited the arrival of his supplies at the rapids of the Cascades
Gilliam’s militia established a supply station at the upper end of the portage at the Cascades Rapids
near the few cabins located on north bank of the Columbia River
before re-crossing the Columbia River just above Cascade Falls
and taking up the march to The Dalles
some of Gilliam’s men were detailed to build a road around The Cascades at the portage

⁶⁰² Frances Fuller Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, P. 168.

⁶⁰³ Elwood Evans, *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. II*, P. 279.

FORT COLVILLE RECEIVES CONCERNED MISSIONARIES

Rev. Cushing Eells and Rev. Elkanah Walker

who were living at Tshimakain Mission among the Spokane Indians

Tshimakain missionaries were concerned about the loyalties of the Spokane Indians

although none of the Spokanes excused the actions of the murderers

John Lee Lewis (or Lewes) succeeded Archibald McDonald as the Factor at Fort Colville

Rev. Elkanah Walker and Rev. Cushing Eells and their families turned to him for protection
which was provided -- 1848

Rev. Eells sent a messenger to Fort Walla Walla requesting rescue from Fort Colville

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM REACHES THE DALLES

Because of the many difficulties encountered during winter travel Gilliam's Oregon Rifles
did not arrive at Fort Lee, The Dalles until January 13, 1848

Colonel Gilliam took command of the Oregon Rifles there

a chain of command was established composed of Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters

Major Henry A.G. Lee was third in command

Oregon Rifles remained at Fort Lee as they waited for additional militiamen and supplies
to arrive from the Willamette Valley

When their horses arrived by boat Colonel Gilliam conducted drills

his militiamen were not equipped alike

most used their own old guns -- some had rifles; some muskets

others who had none were furnished a weapon by order of Governor George Abernathy

some soldiers had their own horses, but a few did not

these were provided mounts by the Provisional Government

some provisions were supplied by the government as best they could,

but a goodly amount of the provisions necessary was acquired from the local Indians

Colonel Gilliam divided the Oregon Rifles into three companies:

Major Henry A.G. Lee took command of the First Company of the Oregon Rifles

Captain Lawrence Hall led the Second Company

Captain John W. Owen was placed in command of the Third Company

discipline was poor -- ammunition was wasted and the men raided the commissary at will

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM IS CONCERNED ABOUT THIS VULNERABLE POSITION

Colonel Gilliam did not want to march to Waiilatpu Mission and a possible fight

with a hundred or more warriors still behind him at The Dalles -- January 15, 1848

He learned the Indians' village might be located in a deep cut

on the east side of the Deschutes River

TWO MORE MILITIAMEN ARE KILLED

Two of the guards who watched the Oregon Rifles' horses through the night

saw in the morning light a horse in the brush a few hundred yards from the herd

they thought the horse belonged to the command and that the attached rope

had become entangled in brush

they went to release the animal and were shot and killed by Indians -- January 15, 1848

MAJOR HENRY A.G. LEE IS SENT TO SCOUT OUT THE INDIANS' LOCATION

Gilliam sent Major Henry A.G. Lee with a small detachment the next morning -- January 16, 1848 to ascertain, if possible, the exact location of the Indians
Major Lee returned late in the evening and reported that after traveling several miles he discovered a small number of warriors in front of him
he tried to approach them in a friendly manner but as he advanced the Indians retreated
he ordered a charge, but had not gone far before he faced a large body of Indians at his front
Major Lee ordered a retreat with the Indians pursuing him
he returned to Fort Lee about eight o'clock p.m.

INTEREST IN THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD DEVELOPS IN CONGRESS

Businessman Asa Whitney had made enough money in the China trade to dedicate himself full time to developing a transcontinental railroad route to tie together the United States and the Orient and eliminate the long and costly water journey around the tip of South America
Whitney flooded Congress with memorials, he lectured to any organization that would listen, and he endlessly placed articles and letters in the newspapers
Whitney made his point -- seventeen state legislatures and innumerable private groups petitioned Congress in support of his idea
Financing options for a cross-country railroad had long been discussed in Congress
one favorite proposal suggested Congress grant to the construction company a strip of land sixty miles wide along the right of way
this incredible land grant would be sold at low rates to settlers lured by easy transportation when completed the railroad would become the property of the government
Whitney also had his detractors
some believed he was only interested in stealing a vast tract of public land to pay for his railroad
others argued the government, not private industry, should build the transportation system
but the greatest argument was over the route to be used across the continent

LOCATING POSSIBLE RAILROAD ROUTES CONTINUES TO BE DEBATED IN CONGRESS

Railroad developer Asa Whitney continued his interest in controlling the trade with China
he delivered a Memorial to Congress January 17, 1848

“praying for a grant of land to enable him to construct a railroad from lake (sic) Michigan to the Pacific ocean (sic)”

First step in constructing a transcontinental railroad was not to provide financing
but rather to identify a practical route

Promising courses to be investigated included the routes of three expeditions

Zebulon Pike's effort to find the source of the Arkansas and Red rivers [1806-1807]
referred to as the Southern Route

John C. Fremont's exploration of the South Pass, Rocky Mountains and land west to the Pacific in five expeditions [1842], [1843-1844], [1845-1847], [1848-1849] and [1853]
were referred to as the Central Route

Lewis and Clark had explored the Missouri and Columbia river systems [1804-1806]
this was referred to as the Northern Route

Controversy over a transcontinental railroad was dominated by sectional and commercial rivalries
great statesmen were at the center of the controversy over location of the route
Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, a Southerner, preferred linking southern sections of the country
therefore he preferred a Southern route
United States Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was in agreement with Jeff Davis
United States Senator from Missouri Thomas Hart Benton demanded a central route
he preferred to follow the 38th parallel through the state of Missouri to the Pacific
Congress, desperate to resolve the issue, turned to science

GOLD IS DISCOVERED IN CALIFORNIA

Captain John Sutter was developing his New Helvetia Colony (in Sacramento, California)
Captain Charles Bennett, a carpenter, along with James W. Marshall
were contracted to build a sawmill some fifty miles above Sutter's Fort
Captain Bennett made the famous discovery while digging the tailrace for John Sutter's sawmill
but credit goes to James W. Marshall who gazed into the American River -- January 24, 1848
his eye caught a yellowish glint beneath the water flowing in the ditch
he fished out a golden pebble only half the size of a pea -- then he saw another
Gold had been discovered in the South fork of the American River
despite Sutter's feeble attempts to keep the discovery a secret
news quickly spread leading to the first and greatest stampede for gold in American history
in towns like San Francisco, businesses were suspended
vessels tied at the port were forced to remain as longshoremen and boat crews
rushed to the diggings

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM BATTLES WITH THE INDIANS

Colonel Gilliam marched out of Fort Lee (The Dalles) with a party of 130 Oregon Rifles
they advanced up the east side of the Deschutes River -- January 25, 1848
and put to flight a number of Cayuse, John Day and Des Chutes war parties who fired and ran
After an unspectacular campaign, Gilliam's forces returned to Fort Lee
Colonel Cornelius Gilliam and his men remained at Fort Lee
awaiting the arrival of reinforcements

ANOTHER DAY IS SPENT IN PURSUIT

When it was light enough to travel, Colonel Gilliam with a company of the Oregon Rifles
crossed the Deschutes River near its mouth on a forced march -- January 27, 1848
they climbed the steep bluff which ran along the river's whole course
following the Indian trail to where contact had been made the previous day
when the command reached that point, they camped at some mud springs late in the evening

CONTACT IS MADE WITH THE ENEMY

Next morning Colonel Cornelius Gilliam moved the militia forward a few miles -- January 28, 1848
only to discover a large group of Indians formed in a line along the bluff above the deep ravine
As the troops passed down this ravine, the Indians fired on them from the bluff
taunting the command calling to them to come up and fight

Colonel Gilliam called a halt and ordered his men to fall into line
two companies were ordered to dismount, charge up the hill and remove them
at the summit, a scattering of boulders provided shelter for the Indians
but the troops quickly dislodged them and killed several
Antoine, a Spaniard, the only casualty for the militia, was seriously wounded here
Indians fled on horseback to their village some two miles distant keeping up a running fire
On foot the militiamen could accomplish nothing more
Colonel Gilliam ordered a halt and directed the officers to find a route to bring up the horses
at the mouth of the gulch a trail ascended the hill and the horses were ordered up
During this time the Indians remained pensively watching nearby -- but out of gunshot range
as soon as the horses came up, the command mounted and charged
as the Indians scattered and fled Colonel Gilliam followed to the east
going about two miles he discovered the Indian village on a small creek

NATIVE VILLAGE IS REACHED

When the Oregon Rifles reached the village they found the Indians had struck camp and left
it was deserted except for a few old helpless Indians who could not be taken away by the others
This Indian village showed signs that it had been deserted in great haste
horses were packed and ready to move
not a tent nor teepee had been removed
large amounts of their furniture and supplies remained in them
caches were found containing ten bushels of peas and ten more bushels of wheat,
eight bushels of potatoes, dried berries, tons of dried salmon and sturgeon also had been left
militiamen found some ladies' shoes, dresses and a clock
these were recognized as having been stolen from the wagons left in the Cascades [fall 1847]
Colonel Gilliam's great sympathy for the fallen, weak and helpless Indians was tested
burning the village was proposed, but his reply was: **"...I cannot fight the helpless women and children. It is now winter; and if you burn their village they will likely perish. Let us leave it just as we found it; and it may have a good effect."**⁶⁰⁴

OREGON RIFLES MAKE CAMP FOR THE NIGHT

Leaving the Indian village intact, Gilliam's militiamen proceeded a short distance
before they camped near the Deschutes River -- January 28, 1848
tired and hungry and being out of provisions, the colonel sent to The Dalles for supplies,
during this time the troops lived on horsemeat -- the first they had eaten
meanwhile detachments were sent out to find the Indians
Guards were set out by the Oregon Rifles and the militiamen's fires were all extinguished
about midnight, Alexander McDonald ventured out beyond the lines -- January 28
to secure a horse he thought was a stray
a sentry mistakenly believed him to be an Indian
McDonald was mortally wounded and died about sundown the next day -- January 29
With hostile natives having disappeared from the vicinity of The Dalles,

⁶⁰⁴ Elwood Evans *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington... Vol. II*, P. 337.

Colonel Gilliam took two days to prepare to march back to Fort Lee

SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME DE NAMUR SUFFER A TRADEGY

In a house fire the Sisters of Notre Dame, seven Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur: Sister Laurence, Sister Alphonse Marie, Sister Renilde, Sister Odelie, Sister Francisca, Sister Aldegonde, and Sister Mary Bernard suffered the loss of their kitchen and most of the goods brought Belgium including school supplies, dry goods, many of their dishes and nearly all their cooking utensils -- late January 1848

OREGON VOLUNTEERS RETURN TO FORT LEE

Supplies from Oregon City arrived from Fort Lee, The Dalles
Colonel Cornelius Gilliam resumed his march for The Dalles -- January 31, 1848
Fort Lee was reached two days later -- February 2

TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO ENDS THE WAR WITH MEXICO

With the defeat of its army and the fall of its capital, Mexico City, Mexico entered into negotiations to end the war with the United States
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo called for the United States to pay \$15 million to Mexico and to pay off the claims of American citizens against Mexico -- up to \$3.25 million
Rio Grande River became the boundary for Texas and the United States acquired ownership of the large area that later became (New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and parts of Wyoming and Colorado [California had previously been captured])
Mexicans living in the annexed areas had the choice of relocating within Mexico's new boundaries or receiving American citizenship with full civil rights more than 90% chose to become U.S. citizens
United States Senate ratified the treaty with a 38-14 vote
those voting no were led by the Whigs who opposed the war and rejected Manifest Destiny
Treaty at Guadalupe Hidalgo and the golden pebble found on the American River combined to set off an explosive population movement that swiftly transformed the United States into a continental nation in fact as well as in law

JESSE APPLIGATE ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT THE CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT

Jesse Applegate with twenty-five others carried an appeal for help in pacifying the Indians overland from the Oregon Provisional Government to California Military Governor
United States Army Colonel Richard Barnes Mason -- early February

TROUBLE ARISES IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Every year the Klamath Indians made winter camp with their allies the Molalla Indians
this winter about seventy-five Klamath Indian men, women and children under Crooked Finger had joined with Red Blanket's Molalla band of about the same size
Some members of both tribes dressed in war paint visited the houses of adjacent settlers
killing stock, pillaging houses, insulting women by rudely demanding meals be cooked for them and committing similar acts of defiance

White settlers with land claims located along the Molalla Trail felt threatened by the presence of the combined tribes
and by the absence of local men who had gone to fight in the Cayuse War
one settler's calf was stolen -- February 1848
his neighbors ordered all Indians to leave Champoeg (Marion) County
Crooked Finger urged the Klamaths to stay with him in along Abiqua Creek
but Red Blanket led his people to their own camp on Butte Creek near Abiqua Creek

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES INTRODUCES THE ORGANIC ACT OF 1848

United States House of Representatives reintroduced its version of the Organic Act of 1848
to create Oregon Territory -- February 9, 1848
Work progressed slowly and independently of the U.S. Senate version
that had been introduced by U.S. Senator Stephen Douglas

MAIN BODY OF OREGON RIFLES ARRIVES AT FORT LEE (THE DALLES)

Additional militiaman numbering 537 reinforced the Oregon Rifles at The Dalles -- February 9, 1848
these included companies commanded by captains Levin N. English and Thomas McKay
McKay delivered a cannon that fired a nine-pound shot
brought around the portage at The Cascades Rapids in a snow storm
this was the only artillery piece belonging to the Oregon Provisional Government
Joe Meek with nine traveling companions including his old friend George Ebbert
accompanied the Oregon Rifles up the Columbia River to Fort Lee
as they carried the most recent Memorial to the federal government to Washington City

COLONEL GILLIAM IS NOW STRONG ENOUGH TO ADVANCE ON THE INDIANS

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam now had over 600 men
and a cannon to be used for defensive operations at the front
Gilliam added additional companies and their leaders:
Fourth Company led by Captain H.J.G. Maxon
Fifth Company led by Captain Philip F. Thompson
Captain Thomas McKay led a group known as McKay's Company
Captain Levin N. English led the English Company
Captain William Martin led Martin's Company
Captain, J.M. Garrison led Garrison's Company

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR ABERNATHY COUNTS ON THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS

Peace Commissioners Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer
and Commissioner Robert "Doc" Newell arrived at Fort Lee -- February 10, 1848
Governor Abernethy was extremely anxious that the Peace Commission should precede
ahead of Colonel Gilliam's Oregon Rifles on the march from Fort Lee to Waiilatpu Mission
[February 14] was the day the commissioners were to set out for the mission
with the Oregon Rifles to follow the next day
Peace Commissioners were to meet with the natives at Waiilatpu Mission
and hold discussions while the militia remained in camp

INDIANS CONCLUDE THE WHITES ARE BENT ON WAR

Watching the buildup of the numbers of Oregon Rifle militiamen at Fort Lee, The Dalles convinced the Indians to pay little attention to the peace delegation accompanying the militia. Indians began to conduct raids and carry on guerrilla warfare in Cayuse Country.

MORALE AT FORT LEE IS LOW

Conditions were extremely difficult as Cayuse Country was remote from the Willamette Valley. Men were poorly provided with necessary supplies. Militiamen and leaders alike chafed at merely being a potential escort for the Peace Commission. Some officers and men were dissatisfied with remaining at Fort Lee. It appeared they would not be allowed to fight Indians. A few of these returned from Fort Lee to the Willamette Valley.

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM CHANGES GOVERNOR ABERNATHY'S PLANS

Colonel Gilliam received news that several of the Interior tribes had united -- February 13, 1848. This report convinced Gilliam to advance quickly to Waiilatpu Mission. Gilliam informed the peace commissioners his entire command would accompany them to Waiilatpu except for a small garrison of twenty-seven men under Captain Owen who were left at Fort Lee.

COLONEL GILLIAM ADVANCES TOWARD WAILATPU MISSION

Colonel Gilliam with more than five hundred men left Fort Lee ahead of Peace Commissioners Joel Palmer and Robert "Doc" Newell. Gilliam forded the Deschutes River some fifteen miles beyond The Dalles -- February 14, 1848. Soon the commissioners caught the fighting force and moved ahead of Colonel Gilliam's troops. Both commissioners insisted on traveling under a white flag much to the chagrin of the colonel. For several days the Oregon Rifles marched without incident on the old emigrant road as they moved toward the John Day River.

JESSE APPLGATE REACHES THE SISKIYOU MOUNTAINS

Two weeks after leaving Oregon City with twenty-five men, Jesse Applegate reached the Siskiyou Mountains. After a laborious effort to cross the mountains in deep snow, they were compelled to abandon the journey and return to Oregon City. Dispatches carried by Applegate to the California military government were forwarded by sea (but no aid came). Provisional government, without any revenue, had no alternative but to wage war on their own.

COLONEL GILLIAM CROSSES THE JOHN DAY RIVER

Colonel Gilliam led his large force of Oregon Rifles across the John Day River -- February 18, 1848. There he discovered signs the Indians had camped there the night before. Major Henry A.G. Lee was set out in pursuit of the Indians but no contact was made with the natives.

FORT LEE COMES UNDER ATTACK

Fort Lee, now occupied by John W. Owen and twenty-seven militiamen,
was visited by a Cayuse raiding party that drove off three hundred head of cattle
belonging to immigrants at The Dalles -- February 18, 1848
Although he lacked horses Captain Owen launched an attack from Fort Lee
several natives were killed during the confrontation

MAJOR HENRY A.G. LEE GIVES CHASE TO THE RUSTLING INDIANS

Indians with their camp equipment could be seen moving from Fort Lee toward the Blue Mountains
driving a large herd of stolen animals ahead of them
Major Lee was ordered to re-crossed the John Day River with his First Regiment -- February 18, 1848
Lee returned to Fort Lee at midnight without making contact with the renegade Indians

MAJOR LEE AGAIN GIVES CHASE TO THE RENEGADE INDIANS

Major Henry A.G. Lee and his First Regiment of the Oregon Rifles
set out from Fort Lee after the raiders -- morning February 19, 1848
once again the Indians were located moving their camp to the Blue Mountains
in the ensuing skirmish little damage was inflicted on either side
but the First Regiment of the Oregon Rifles captured sixty horses
After the clash, Major Lee started back to Fort Lee to make a report
his First Regiment was ambushed in a ravine -- however, his men succeeded in hiding
(Major Lee continued to harass the Indians for several more days before returning to Fort Lee
in this episode he lost three men killed and one mortally wounded
Indian losses during these clashes were unknown)

PEACE COMMISSIONERS UNDERTAKE EFFORTS TO REESTABLISH PEACE

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam's main force of Oregon Rifles continued to probe Cayuse Country
Peace Commissioners Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer and Robert "Doc" Newell
dispatched a packet of important letters -- February 19, 1848
great faith was placed in sending these letters asserting the desire for continued peace
and to discourage the natives from entering into any hostile combinations
one Peace Commission letter was addressed to St. Anne's Catholic mission on the Umatilla River
commissioners did not know the mission had been abandoned
as the priests had moved to Fort Walla Walla
after their departure, Indians destroyed the mission buildings
second commissioners' letter notified the Nez Perce Indians to assemble and meet with them
this was reinforced by another letter send independently by Rev. Henry Spalding
to the Nez Perce giving them assurances that only the Waiilatpu murderers were wanted
third commission letter was sent to Factor William McBean at Fort Walla Walla
that asked McBean to arrange a council with the Nez Perce and other friendly Indians
at Waiilatpu Mission
In a stroke of bad luck the messenger was captured by Cayuse Indians
but the letter to Superintendent McBean was sent on
as Indian respect for Hudson's Bay Company had remained intact
On the trail the peace commissioners met with representatives of the Yakima and Nez Perce tribes

who expressed their willingness to remain neutral even as the Cayuse remained hostile

COLONEL GILLIAM CONTINUES ON THE MARCH TO WAILATPU MISSION

Gilliam received word of Captain Henry A.G. Lee's skirmish with the raiders -- morning February 23

Oregon Rifles had now reached the country claimed by hostile Indians

they expected to be engaged in battle at any time

Before leaving camp the colonel sent his scouts in front along the road

with instructions to go as far as Butter Creek and to report to him about ten o'clock a.m.

soon a man was seen along the road approaching at a rapid pace and was recognized as a scout

he reported a large body of Indians was in front near where the road turned off

As Gilliam was not burdened with the peace commission, who were in fact traveling ahead of him,

he set out in pursuit of the Cayuse Indians with his command of Oregon Rifles

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM MAKES CONTACT WITH THE HOSTILE INDIANS

Entering a canyon Colonel Gilliam and his Oregon Rifles met a large combined party

of about 400 Cayuse, Walla Wallas and perhaps some other natives in battle array

about one-quarter of the natives were spectators who remained in the hills

Indian tactics consisted only of riding furiously past the marching troops

and making a great disturbance -- February 23, 1848

Colonel Gilliam anticipated an easy victory, but as he looked at his small force of men

thoughts of the consequences if they failed in the struggle before them raced through his mind

he spoke to his men regarding what was at stake: **"Boys the murderers of Doctor Whitman are before us with their allies; and behind them on the hill are as many more ready to join them in case the battle goes against us. You know the consequences if we fail; not one of us will be left to tell the tale. And that is not the worst. Every tribe of Indians in the whole country will unite to desolate our homes, and to exterminate and drive all the Americans from the country. *But we are not going to fail. We are going to whip them and teach them a lesson to-day that they will never forget. Don't shoot until you are ordered. Obey your officers, and quietly wait until you are ordered to begin the battle.*"**⁶⁰⁵

TWO PEACE COMMISSIONERS REFUSE TO MEET WITH A GROUP OF DES CHUTES INDIANS

At about the same time, Peace Commissioners Joel Palmer and Robert "Doc" Newell

were warned to go back to Fort Lee -- February 23, 1848

Thirteen Des Chutes Indians requested the Peace Commission hold a council for their people

however, the peace commissioners were anxious to reach the Umatilla River

they refused to stop even to negotiate with the natives who were willing to attend a council

Des Chutes natives were sent back to The Dalles to wait for the return of the commissioners

Instead of returning to Fort Lee the commissioners

rejoined Colonel Cornelius Gilliam's military force

OREGON RIFLES ARE ATTACKED IN THE BATTLE OF SAND HOLLOW

Oregon Rifles' supply train was on the emigrant road near (today's Sand Hollow, Oregon)

⁶⁰⁵ Elwood Evans *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington... Vol. II*, P. 338.

it was protected in the front by Captain Lawrence Hall's Second Company
captains Philip F. Thompson's Fifth Company and H.J.G. Maxon Fourth Company
formed the left flank on the north side of the road
Captain Levin N. English's Company and Captain Thomas McKay's Company
formed the right flank were on the south side
Indians led by War Chief Five Crows and Gray Eagle made the first attack -- February 24, 1848
there was an especially resolute attempt on McKay's company at the extreme right
to prevent the Indians from crossing of the Umatilla River
members of the Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene and Flathead tribes observed the militiamen
as the Cayuse Indians hoped they would join their cause
slowly and silently the warriors moved forward until they were almost within gunshot range
at a signal every Indian pony sprang to almost full speed
every warrior shouted terrifying battle cries at full voice
Five Crows' Indians moved around the Oregon Rifles keeping in regular order
they maintained a space of about four feet between their horses with Grey Eagle at the front
gradually they moved around Captain Hall's Second Company until they entirely encircled it
so regular was the order, and so well had they gauged their speed,
that as their line drew closer they began to form another circle within the outer circle
Indians now approached gunshot range
Grey Eagle kept several yards in front of the line of natives on horseback
Captain Tom McKay recognized Grey Eagle as the enemy's great medicine man
and requested permission to fire
Colonel Gilliam granted the request and the chief fell from his horse
he died instantly of a bullet through the head
loss of the Indian leader threw the natives into confusion
several Indians sprang forward and carried him away
Fighting now became a cacophony of noise mixing the explosions of discharging guns
and war-whoops of the braves with cries of defiance from the militiamen
continual firing from the militia caused the Indians to fall back out of gunshot range
there they remained for about twenty minutes
before mounting another attack against the militia -- this time charging directly at them
again the natives were repulsed as they fell back in utter confusion

INDIANS CHANGE TACTICS

Remainder of the day was spent in skirmishing -- February 24, 1848
Indians attempted to draw a portion of the detachment away from the main body and isolate them
decoys were sent out drawing a few of the troops toward them before they would retreat
other warriors would quickly race between the detachment and the main command
Colonel Cornelius Gilliam at once understood the trick
his force was so small that he was compelled to keep them in striking distance of each other
to protect his men from Indian attack
his instructions were to pursue only so far out
officers in command were to watch closely the enemy posted on each side
if any attempt was made to isolate them they were to immediately fall back

sometimes eagerness overcame judgment when militiamen would ignore their instructions
then there would be a high-stakes race to re-group
Captain H.J.G. Maxon's Fourth Company followed the enemy so far that it became surrounded
a sharp encounter followed in which a number of Oregon Rifles militiamen were disabled
but as the day progressed the Indians failed in their efforts to divide and conquer
Indians withdrew about four o'clock in the afternoon -- volunteers destroyed the Indian camp
forty horses, four head of cattle and \$300 worth of personal property had been captured
all of which later was sold by the quartermaster for \$1,400
two Indians were known to have been killed, but the enemy's loss could not be determined
as they removed all of their wounded and dead except the two

BATTLE OF SAND HOLLOW IS OVER

Oregon Rifles went into camp on the field at sunset -- February 24, 1848
that night their situation was extremely uncomfortable -- militia had neither wood nor water
except for a very small supply in canteens which had to be preserved for the wounded
Eleven militiamen were wounded that day -- one was Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters
eight of the casualties were from Maxon's Fourth Company
comfort and transportation of the wounded was provided
those mortally or dangerously wounded could not be carried in the wagons
a blanket was lashed to two tent poles forming a stretcher
these wounded were carried on the shoulders of the healthy to Fort Walla Walla
Some two miles ahead the Indians built large and numerous fires along the bluffs
Cayuse became divided:

- some wanted peace and would agree to attend a Council,
- others were more cautious

OREGON RIFLES MARCH TOWARD THE UMATILLA RIVER

At sunrise the militia marched without water toward the Umatilla River -- February 25, 1848
Colonel Gilliam planned to go into camp to rest and refresh his troops
he would then make a forced night march to the Indian village twenty miles up the river
he would surround it and at dawn he would demand an unconditional surrender
(in all probability he would have succeeded and would end the war then and there)
Oregon Rifles traveled only a short distance
when they were met by a delegation of Indians bearing a white flag
who asked for a suspension of hostilities and proposed to meet with the officers
to arrange terms of peace

PEACE COMMISSIONERS FORCE COLONEL GILLIAM TO CHANGE HIS PLANS

Colonel Gilliam opposed the Indian's proposition as he believed it to be a ruse
done solely to secure time to convey their families and property to a place of safety
However, the two peace commissioners favored the Indian's proposition
they thought the Indians were acting in good faith and insisted it be accepted
Colonel Gilliam gave in because the governor had intended him to operate with the commissioners
an agreement was made to meet the next day at the crossing of the Umatilla River

Colonel Gilliam's command pushed on to the crossing and camped

UMATILLA RIVER IS REACHED BY COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM'S OREGON RIFLES

Colonel Gilliam continued his march with his militiamen

he successfully crossed to the eastern bank of the Umatilla River -- February 26, 1848

he advanced to within three miles of the Cayuse camp

troops were tired and very hungry not having had anything to eat since about thirty hours before Gilliam made camp

Oregon Rifles could see crowds of Indians on the hills above them

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam became thoroughly alarmed

PLANS OF THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS FAIL

Peace Commissioners Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer and Robert "Doc" Newell received no response to any of their letters

and their scheme to invoke peace proved useless

However the commissioners in good faith remained in camp all next day as agreed -- February 26 but no Cayuse Indians came to talk

it was only a strategy on their part to remove their possession to places of safety

Peace commissioners did meet with several Nez Perce Indians who came into camp

they learned the messenger sent to notify the Nez Perce to assemble and meet with them

had been intercepted and sent back by hostile Cayuse Indians

a second messenger was therefore sent to the Nez Perce

Governor Abernathy's misguided policy was carried out through his Peace Commissioners

Colonel Gilliam impatient at the Peace Commission's delay and its possible consequences

had, even so, provided every opportunity for the peace plan to accomplish its purpose

perhaps due in part to the good faith effort, the Nez Perce Indians chose to remain passive

Colonel Gilliam was very irritated about the delay

he had watched the murderers of Doctor Whitman escape; seen his whole battle plan defeated

OREGON RIFLES CONTINUE THEIR MARCH TO FORT WALLA WALLA

After the delay caused by the peace commissioners

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam broke camp -- morning February 27, 1848

It was noted that all of the Indians had disappeared

to Colonel Cornelius Gilliam it signified no council would be held

but this also was a sure sign they had gone to prepare for a major campaign

this was defiance -- Colonel Gilliam was fully aware the Cayuse War would continue

Gilliam's command pushed immediately forward to the Walla Walla River

before traveling very far the road climbed to the high tablelands of that county

from which the foot of the Blue Mountains could be plainly seen

but all along the route before them was a dense cloud of dusty expanse

extending for miles along the foot of the mountains

Gilliam knew at once that it was the Indians escaping with their animals

and that it was useless to proceed any farther in that direction

Colonel Gilliam sent Major Henry A.G. Lee up the Walla Walla River about twenty miles

where he found the enemy, engaged them, killed one, lost some of his horses
and returned to the command to report the incident
In the meantime, the remainder of the Oregon Rifles marched across country
to the Walla Walla River
without further interruption they arrived a couple of miles below Fort Walla Walla
where they made camp

COLONEL GILLIAM ATTEMPTS TO ACQUIRE SUPPLIES FROM FORT WALLA WALLA

Colonel Gilliam's command was short of ammunition
Gilliam wrote a polite note to Fort Walla Walla Factor William McBean
asking him to furnish specific quantities of powder and lead -- February 27, 1848
Gilliam was aware that there was a large amount stored there
an officer returned and reported that the request had been refused
Gilliam visited the post himself and acquired the necessary supplies

COLONEL GILLIAM ENCOUNTERS FRIENDLY WALLA WALLA INDIANS

Gilliam's Oregon Rifles marched six miles up the Walla Walla River
camping close to the camp of Walla Walla Indian Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox
where the militiamen found a friendly reception -- night of February 28, 1848
Peu-peu-mox-mox, who professed friendship, supplied the little army with beef

STICCUS APPROACHES THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS IN SEARCH OF PEACE

Sticcus, a well-known old Cayuse Indian and friend of Dr. Marcus Whitman
came to the Walla Walla River camp -- February 29, 1848
Sticcus represented his tribes' desire to discover on what terms peace could be achieved
Peace commissioners Joel Palmer and Robert "Doc" Newell held a council with Sticcus
which was attended also by Colonel Cornelius Gilliam -- February 29, 1848
Sticcus gave a history of the troubles from beginning to end and the causes that brought it about:

- a large number of his people had been sick with the measles and that many had died
Joe Lewis, a metis, had convinced them Dr. Whitman had poisoned them
and would poison them all if he was not killed or driven out of the country
Lewis had said Whitman wanted to kill all of the Indians and take possession of the country
as proof he pointed to the sick and dead Indians;
- Sticcus placed a large amount of blame on William McBean and others
Lewis also said Factor William McBean had offered Whitman a large price for his property
but that the doctor refused to sell at any price
thus the only way they could get rid of him was to kill him;
- Sticcus said his people were sorry about the killing of the best friend they had among the Whites
they had been lied to and deceived
Cayuse wanted peace and Sticcus had come to see at what terms were possible

OREGON RIFLES SPEND A FULL DAY ON THE MARCH

After Sticcus had left the soldiers at the Walla Walla River camp to return to his people
Colonel Cornelius Gilliam's Oregon Rifles proceeded

toward the burned ruins of Waiilatpu Mission -- March 1, 1848

OREGON RIFLES REACH WAILLATPU MISSION

Colonel Gilliam arrived at the charred remains of Dr. Whitman's Mission -- March 2, 1848

they encountered nothing but destruction and desolation which was heartrending

mission's orchard had been cut down

buildings had been burned and everything movable had been thrown into the fire

remains of the victims of the massacre had been hastily buried

Peter Skene Ogden's Hudson's Bay Company men had dug a grave about seven feet square sufficiently deep to hold the bodies

but this had been partially exhumed by wolves and coyotes

and the remains scattered about the grounds

militiamen gathered up the bones and brought them together

Joe Meek performed this sad duty for the body of his own daughter Helen Mar Meek

who had attended Narcissa Whitman's school

Whitman Massacre victims were buried in one mass grave

which was enclosed and covered so it would not be disturbed again

Dr. Whitman's nephew wrote of his experience (a year after the massacre): **"We found everything swept from the site of the Mission, the buildings burned and everything in ruins. The bodies had been buried, but coyotes had dug into the graves considerable. I found what I satisfied myself was the Doctor's skull. There were two hatchet marks in the back of the head."**⁶⁰⁶

Colonel Gilliam was so moved by the vision of destruction at Waiilatpu

that he told his volunteers he would give battle in one week

FORT WATERS IS CONSTRUCTED BY COLONEL GILLIAM AT WAILLATPU

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam arranged his camp to ward off any attack the enemy might attempt

Oregon Rifles then set about constructing an adobe fort -- March 2, 1848

Dr. Marcus Whitman's adobe house served as a hospital for the sick and wounded

remains of mission buildings' timbers and fence rails were partially buried on end

and surrounded by trenches

this post was named Fort Waters in honor of wounded Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters

it served as the base of operations in the region of the massacre

JOE MEEK SETS OUT ON HIS JOURNEY EASTWARD

Joe Meek left the Oregon Riflemen as they camped at Waiilatpu Mission

Meek and nine companions set out from Fort Waters -- March 4, 1848

they traveled beyond Cayuse territory to the Blue Mountains

escorted by a hundred soldiers

for added protection each envoy wore the respected Scotch cap and red belt

of the Hudson's Bay Company

Weather, however, and not Indians proved to be their enemy

they crossed the Blue Mountains in deep snow

⁶⁰⁶ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*, P. 39.

then proceeded along the Oregon Trail which Meek knew well bound for the East

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM GROWS IMPATIENT

Colonel Gilliam believed himself to be handicapped by the presence of the peace commissioners which to him seemed to serve no practical purpose other than to provide time for the guilty Cayuse to escape as he waited he grew increasingly irritated Peace commissioners in fact did inhibit Colonel Gilliam's efforts as he was forced to keep his men at Fort Waters (Waiilatpu) In the meantime, the main body of Cayuse Indians moved toward the Snake River efforts to induce them to give up the men who had committed the murders at Waiilatpu had failed

WILLAMETTE VALLEY SETTLERS BECOME ALARMED

Two Cayuse scouts were captured by settlers near the Klamath Indians' camp on Abiqua Creek (in today's Marion County) -- early March suspicious of their motives the settlers demanded the Klamaths leave the valley Molalla Chief Red Blanket from his Butte Creek camp near Abiqua Creek insisted the Klamaths were his kinsmen and under his protection -- he asserted their right to stay

WILLAMETTE VALLEY INDIANS BECOME AGGRESSIVE

Molalla Chief Red Blanket accused the settlers of killing the two captured Cayuse scouts this was denied by the pioneers and the Indians relented but the settlers were now thoroughly alarmed Fifty Molalla and Klamath natives surrounded the residence of Richard Miller on Abiqua Creek -- afternoon March 4, 1848 this was a strongly fortified log house which served as a place of refuge for the neighborhood That afternoon a small party of Indians attempted to cut off the escape of a visitor to the region Mr. Knox, the mail carrier, passed by and witnessed the impending danger as he delivered mail he warned the settlers of the incident as he continued on his route others took heed, mounted and rode warning the settlers -- calling them together for defense Quickly white settlers organized a militia in Champoeg (Marion County) sixty old and young men capable of bearing arms responded to the call

MASSACRE AT ABIQUA CREEK

Klamath Indian camp on Abiqua Creek was attacked by the Champoeg Militia -- March 6, 1848 Indians retreating along the Klamath Trail were followed down into a steep canyon natives' rear guard defended the band as they retreated by shooting volleys of arrows at the pursuing militia only one arrow caused any injury and that was insignificant riflemen killed several Indians as the others retreated to a rocky ledge overhanging the creek Champoeg Militia, covered by a thicket of brush, continued to pursue the fleeing natives several Indians succeeded in climbing the ledge and made their escape remainder of the Indians were forced to make a stand they fought bravely, arrows against rifles, then scattered and ran away

seven more Indians were left dead on the field
one of those killed proved to be a woman, who held in her dying grasp a drawn bow,
with an arrow ready to be sped at her pursuers
Effect of the fight may have proved to be useful in the short term
it did warn the renegades from the interior tribes to leave the valley,
and not to attempt to incite an Indian outbreak
at least the Indians in the vicinity of the Willamette settlements remained peaceful
settlements in the surrounding region felt more secure
However a great number of Indians, all of them women and children, had been killed
militiamen had believed they were pursuing Klamath warriors and did not intend the tragedy
surviving Klamaths were given three days to leave
they departed on the Klamath Trail bearing their dead with them
a short time later Fred McCormick shot and killed Crooked Finger in Clackamas County
“Battle of the Abiqua” was unheralded by the settlers for twenty years
when finally published the statement noting the killing of Indian women and children
was persistently denied by the pioneers

INDIANS ARRIVE AT WAILLATPU MISSION TO TALK

After spending four days at Fort Waters, the militia camp was approached by a large delegation
of Nez Perce and Walla Walla Indians and a few Cayuse I
among the leaders of the Nez Perce was Joseph
their head chief in the absence of Ellis who was on a buffalo hunt
Peu-peu-mox-mox was the head chief of the Walla Walla tribe
Cayuse Indians were represented by the war chief Camaspello whose sick child
had been visited by Doctor Whitman only a short time before the massacre
and who had not warned the doctor of the conspiracy
Peace commissioners Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer
and Commissioner Robert “Doc” Newell sent two settlers out to meet with them
William Craig an American trapper who had married a Nez Perce woman
and Joseph Gervais a French-Canadian and long-time Oregon resident
Craig spoke with the head of the delegation -- Nez Perce Chief Joseph
who an English-speaking native was well known to settlers
Craig and Gervais returned to Fort Waters with 250 Nez Perce Indians
who had asked to meet directly with the Peace Commissioners -- March 6, 1848

PEACE COMMISSIONERS CONDUCT TALKS WITH THE NEZ PERCE

Talks were conducted by Peace Commissioner Robert “Doc” Newell -- March 7, 1848
Colonel Gilliam worried about what the Cayuse were up to
and how many spies were in his camp
During the talks Nez Perce Chief Joseph spoke for his people and some of the other Indians present
these talks with Chief Joseph prevented the Nez Perce from joining the Cayuse in war
Nez Perce pledged they would not harbor the murderers
or permit them to pass through their country
Peace Commissioner Joel Palmer promised that no whites

would be permitted to settle on Indian land without the natives' consent
Commissioner Palmer induced the Nez Perce chiefs to visit the Cayuse camp
to urge them to surrender the murderers
as the militia planned to follow a day behind the Nez Perce if necessary
Peu-peu-mox-mox, head chief of the Walla Walla, represented his tribe
Peace Commissioner Joel Palmer found Peu-peu-mox-mox
very friendly, prudent and sensible
Nez Perce delegation peacefully returned to their own country -- March 7, 1848

OREGON RIFLES ENCOUNTER CAYUSE INDIANS

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam continued preparations for the attack he had promised
when he first arrived at Waiilatpu Mission
Oregon Rifles broke camp at Fort Waters (Waiilatpu) -- March 8, 1848
they marched into Snake River Country to attack a Cayuse camp three miles away
which immediately professed their friendship although some of the murderers were there
In a meeting with Cayuse Indians, the Peace Commissioners demanded the murders be surrendered
Cayuse leaders refused to comply
old Cayuse Chief Sticcus stated neither Tawatowe nor Tamsucky would be given up
Tawatowe had never been accused
Sticcus had linked the two names to start an argument and buy time

STICCUS CONTINUES HIS DELAYING TACTICS

All the next day was spent in negotiations with Sticcus -- March 9, 1848
Colonel Gilliam stated he would accept Joe Lewis in place of all five accused murderers
but the peace commissioners found the offer to take Joe Lewis alone unacceptable
commissioners, refusing to participate in such an exchange, withdrew from the council

NEGOTIATIONS WITH STICCUS CONTINUE

Commissioners told Sticcus they could have peace
by surrendering the murderers of Dr. Whitman -- March 10, 1848
Sticcus told them the Indians would surrender Tamsucky, Tilaukait and Tawatowe
but Tom Hill and Joe Lewis would not be given up
Sticcus had linked in the name Tawatowe, who had never been accused,
to start an argument and to buy time
Colonel Gilliam proposed that if Joe Lewis was brought in three of the assassins would be released
but the peace commissioners objected to this
they told Sticcus that his people must surrender all of the murderers
before they would be permitted to live in peace in their country
but if they would surrender the killers they might all be friends
Sticcus' delaying tactics had continued all day long
Sticcus promised to carry the message to his people
and also to use his influence to induce them to comply with the terms
Colonel Gilliam asked where Sticcus' people were at the time
he replied that they were at the mouth of the Tucaanon on the Snake River,

stopping to stay with the Palouse Indians
This ended the first and only conference which the commissioners held with the Cayuse Indians
who were now beaten and were fugitives fleeing for their lives
but because of their wealth and influence with other Indian tribes
they still had hope of uniting the other tribes with them
and thus secure their assistance against the Bostons (as the Americans were called)

PEACE COMMISSIONERS LEAVE TO RETURN TO OREGON CITY

Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Commissary-General of the Oregon Rifles Joel Palmer
felt that the appointment of peace commissioners by the governor was a grave mistake
Joel Palmer was one of Colonel Gilliam's subordinate officers
but he was also a peace commissioner and in some sense Gilliam's superior
Palmer was a man of much more ability than his colleague Robert "Doc" Newell
to his own credit, while in the field Palmer learned of the needs of the little army
and, as chief quartermaster and commissary-general, he worked with untiring zeal
and energy to furnish the troops with the needed supplies
through his untiring personal efforts he succeeded
Provisional Government was indebted to Joel Palmer more than to any other person
for the successful prosecution and termination of the war
Peace commissioners saw that their work was being impeded by Colonel Cornelius Gilliam
both Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer and Robert "Doc" Newell
decided to leave for Oregon City
they departed for Waiilatpu en route to Oregon City -- March 11, 1848

DEPARTURE OF THE PEACE COMMISSION IS A RELIEF FOR COLONEL GILLIAM

There was a general feeling of satisfaction throughout the entire command as the commissioners left
neither officers nor militiamen held anything against the three Peace Commissioner personally
but it was realized their results had been worse than a failure -- March 11, 1848
authority for peace or war should have been entirely in the hands of the commanding officer
if Colonel Gilliam was competent he was certainly better qualified to arrange terms of peace
than others who knew very little about the military situation
Governor Abernathy, no doubt, thought he was doing his best in appointing the commissioners
but it was a great mistake -- they were a source of annoyance and confusion
from the time they reached the command until their departure
at times they were a source of keen humiliation to the commanding officer

PARTY OF CAYUSE INDIANS VISIT FORT WALLA WALLA

Three Cayuse Indians appeared at Fort Walla Walla with a flag of truce -- March 11, 1848
they returned some horses which had been stolen from Colonel Gilliam's militia
on the march from Fort Lee (the Dalles) to Waiilatpu
these Indians reported that Sticcas had captured Joe Lewis and the property of the five murders
but as Sticcas was bringing Joe Lewis and the possessions to Colonel Gilliam
sadly, Joe Lewis had been rescued and the property retaken by the Indians
these reports led Colonel Gilliam to doubt the good faith of Sticcas

these Indians also pointed out native horses on the nearby hills
which they said belonged to the natives the Colonel was anxious to kill or capture
it was stated the horses' owners were on the north side of Snake River and beyond reach

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM LEARNS INDIANS ARE AT THE TUCANNON RIVER

On the same day the Peace Commissioners left -- March 11, 1848

Colonel Gilliam received a message from Tamahas
expressing his desire to desert the hostile Cayuse

Tamahas reported Tamsucky had gone to Palouse Indian Red Wolf's camp on the Snake River
and that Tiloukaikt, with the rest of the Cayuse, had fled down the Tucannon River
with the intention of crossing the Snake River into the Palouse Country

With the Peace Commissioners gone, Colonel Gilliam was free to make his own plans
Gilliam resolved, if possible, to surprise and capture the Indians where they were camped

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM MARCHES HIS OREGON RIFLES INTO BATTLE

Colonel Gilliam sent his guide and interpreter Morge ahead of the command
accompanied by Jacob Rhinearson -- early hours of March 12, 1848
with instructions to examine the canyons and narrow passes along the trail
if anything occurred they were to report to the colonel without delay

Gilliam broke camp long before daybreak

he proceeded through the dark with all possible speed down the Tucannon River
he was determined to arrive at the Indian camp before daylight

Colonel Gilliam met an old Indian not far from the mouth of the Tucannon River
who claimed the camp belonged to friendly Walla Walla Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox
but, the old Indian said, the stock feeding on the surrounding hills belonged to hostile Cayuse

Oregon Rifles approached the Indian camp before dawn -- March 12, 1848

one of the members Major Joseph Magone's First Company,
unknown to the officers and contrary to orders moved ahead of the command and scouts
he fired into a thicket of willows supposing it to be an Indian teepee

When Colonel Gilliam heard the gunfire he ordered a halt

he sent out a reconnoitering party -- they soon returned and reported the situation

Gilliam was informed by Morge that they were only a short distance from the Indian camp
Morge believed the Indians had heard the shot

Colonel Gilliam feared the Indians lay in ambush since the river valley was narrow
and the trail that ran along the steep riverbank was thickly set with brush

Colonel Gilliam ordered the men to dismount and remain in wait until daylight

COLONEL GILLIAM ATTACKS THE INDIAN CAMP

At dawn the men of the Oregon Rifles were ordered quickly forward

part of Colonel Gilliam's militia traveled down the Tucannon River to its mouth
then up the Snake River to where the main Indian trail crossed the Snake River

remainder of the command followed Gilliam along the main trail to the same location

they covered only a short distance when they saw the Indian camp about half a mile away

Indians had been alerted to the approaching troops

reaching the Indian camp they found Tiloukaikt and the murderers had again escaped
and the Cayuse men were all gone
only a few painted and armed but friendly Indians who claimed to be Palouse natives remained
they protested that the Cayuse were not there
having left, they reported, some weeks before
fleeing to the hills and across the Snake River going to the Bitter Root Country
one man's disobedience had defeated Colonel Gilliam's plans

OREGON RIFLES CHASE TELAKITE

Colonel Gilliam selected 158 of his best mounted men to pursue Tiloukaikt
down the Tucannon River to its mouth
then up the Snake River to the main Indian trail across the river -- March 12, 1848
Gilliam, himself, began a forced march with the remainder of his command
Gilliam's Oregon Rifles climbed painfully up the steep side of a canyon
on reaching the top of the hill where the cattle had been grazing the Snake River was visible
cattle could be seen swimming the river
they also saw a large number of Indians on the opposite side of the river
as they had succeeded in crossing and were beyond the reach of the troops
Snake River lay between Gilliam and the enemy with no means of crossing
Gilliam's troops had been delayed long enough in the Indian camp
for Tiloukaikt and the others to make good their escape
Nothing remained to do but collect the natives' stray horses and return to Fort Waters
Colonel Gilliam began rounding up an additional five hundred head of Indian stock
which had been left behind along the Snake River by Tiloukaikt

COLONEL GILLIAM MARCHES BACK TOWARD FORT WATERS (WAILATPU)

Oregon Rifles rested a short time and then proceeded on their march back to Fort Waters
militiamen drove the captured Indian horses with them
After traveling a few miles, Colonel Gillman thought it advisable to camp and rest until morning
on account of the fatigue and the suffering of the wounded
he ordered a halt -- about 2:00 p.m., March 12, 1848
there he remained through the night
militiamen rested and refreshed themselves as best they could on horsemeat

FIGHTING CONTINUES ALONG THE TOUCHET RIVER

When the Oregon Rifles broke their tentless camp at daylight
Indians still surrounded them -- March 14, 1848
a running fire fight was renewed and continued to within two miles of the Touchet River crossing
Captured horses belonging to the Indians were ordered turned loose
Colonel Gilliam preferred to lose the horses rather than some of the militia
which he saw was inevitable if he attempted to guard the horses
but that ruse did not tempt the Indians to leave
It was necessary to move the Oregon Rifles along the crest of the hills to avoid native ambushes
even at that, Indians attacked sharply and were driven back

but the spirit of the troops proved to be fine
Colonel Gilliam's objective was a ford on the Touchet River where trees provided cover
just before reaching the river the Indians all at once stopped firing and disappeared
they were seen to proceed rapidly in front of the command
Morge the guide informed Colonel Gilliam that where the trail crossed the Touchet River
the stream was shaped like a horseshoe
Indians no doubt were making for the points at the crossing
to cut off the troops when they attempted to cross

COLONEL CORNILEUS GILLIAM TAKES THE OFFENSIVE

As soon as the Colonel learned the situation, he prepared to fight his first offensive battle
Captain William Shaw picked twenty men and charged ahead
as the column neared the Touchet River
this would cut off the possibility of a direct approach by the Indians
Indians thought of the same objective at about the same time
although they were behind, they took a short cut to the river
and attempted to race past Colonel Gilliam's force to reach the crossing first
Gilliam ordered the companies on the right and left to proceed with all possible speed
and take possession of positions on each side of the river crossing
troops on the left flank reached the point first and drove the Indians back
but the Indians succeeded in reaching the brush -- they would need to be driven from their cover
before the command could cross the Touchet River
Colonel Gilliam ordered Major Joseph Magone to take the troops on the right flank
and charge the brush to dislodge the Indians which he did after killing several
Fighting was desperate -- Oregon Rifles spent over an hour crossing the river

BATTLE AT THE TOUCHET RIVER IS WON BY THE OREGON RIFLES

Oregon Rifles, although badly outnumbered, achieved victory
Indians ceased fighting and left the battlefield after twenty-four hours of constant engagement
Indian loss was four killed and fourteen wounded
After the battle the militiamen rested for a short time before proceeding again to Fort Waters
Colonel Gilliam now enjoyed relative safety -- March 14, 1848
one militiaman had been killed, and ten had been wounded -- several seriously
a number were so badly injured they could not ride on horseback
but had to be carried on litters on the shoulders of their comrades
Camp was made for the night -- tired and hungry men killed a horse for food
troops had now been forty-eight hours without food or sleep
Indians made no attempt to cross the Touchet River or to follow the militia
however, they fired incessantly into the Oregon Rifles' camp far into the night
about two inches of snow fell that night -- none of the men had tents making conditions worse

OREGON RIFLES CONTINUE TO FORT WATERS (WAILATPU)

Exhausted, weak and hungry, the men had had little to eat for three days
but the march continued -- March 15, 1848

When troops again broke a tentless camp at daylight -- March 15, 1848

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam was concerned about the attitude of the surrounding tribes
it had been shown the Nez Perce, Walla Walla and Yakima
would not openly and actively join the Cayuses
although the Yakimas remained allies of the Palouse
indeed, Palouse warriors were joined by renegade Indians
from the region surrounding Palouse Country

AMERICAN SHIP ANITA ARRIVES AT THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

United States transport ship *Anita* entered the Columbia River -- March 16, 1848
she carried no military assistance much to the disappointment of the settlers
she did have on board a recruiting officer for the Mexican War effort
although the treaty of peace had been signed more than a month previously

OREGON RIFLES REACH WAILATPU MISSION

Gilliam's militia returned to Fort Waters after an absence of four days -- about noon March 16, 1848
during that time the militiamen had eaten only three meals -- two composed of horsemeat
and had had only one night's sleep
twenty-four continuous hours had been spent in a forced march to reach the enemy
and twenty-four hours immediately following were spent in fighting
when the troops reached the fort they had less than a dozen rounds of ammunition left
many of their guns were empty

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM MEETS WITH HIS OFFICERS

War council of the Oregon Rifles was held -- March 18, 1848
Colonel Gilliam now saw that to reach the enemy he must cross the Snake River
to attempt this and to maintain a base of supplies in enemy country would be very hazardous
Gilliam decided, in view of all the facts, to call for two hundred more men
from the Willamette Valley to be in the field as soon as possible
Colonel Gilliam also decided to see Governor George Abernathy in person
accordingly he accompanied 160 troops that he ordered from Fort Waters
to move to Fort Gilliam at The Cascades Rapids on the Columbia River
to escort supplies which were waiting there for transport back to Fort Waters
in his absence, Fort Waters was left in the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters

COLONEL GILLIAM LEADS HIS MEN TOWARD FORT LEE

Captain H.J.G. Maxon's Fourth Company and Captain Thomas McKay's Company
set out from Fort Waters (Waiilatpu) -- March 20, 1848
accompanied by Colonel Gilliam who was to continue on to the Willamette Valley
and meet with the governor
they crossed the Umatilla River and went into camp at Well Springs on the Oregon Trail

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM DEVELOPS A PLAN

Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters had remained on the alert at Fort Waters (Waiilatpu)

provisions were badly needed there
Colonel Cornelius Gilliam assigned two companies of men to return to Oregon City
to get in touch with Governor Abernathy and to escort additional supplies back to the field
Gilliam decided to send half of his force to Fort Lee (The Dalles)
to bring forward a supply train waiting at that location
the colonel himself accompanied the militia to Fort Lee

COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM IS KILLED AT CAMP LEE

Colonel Gilliam usually attended to his horse himself
when on the march his rope used in tethering the animal was always removed
and was put in the rear of one of the wagons
on this evening he went to get the tether rope as usual,
but found it mixed together with other items in the wagon
and the rope was very difficult to remove
one of the teamsters saw his dilemma and attempted to assist the colonel
tether rope caught on the trigger of a rifle which was, contrary to orders,
loaded with its cleaning rod still in the barrel
this rifle discharged and the rod struck the colonel in the forehead
penetrating through his skull breaking off about six inches beyond his head
death was instantaneous and without the twitching of a muscle
shock threw him full length on his back with his arms thrown out and his eyes closed
looking as natural as life except for the cleaning rod protruding from his head

This accident took the life of the hero of the Oregon Rifles
generous to a fault, quick to arrive at conclusions, and as quick to execute them,
he was a zealous, brave and thorough soldier -- a natural-born leader
his impetuous nature appreciated humanity
he could not bear to see man nor beast cruelly treated if it were in his power to prevent it
he was not schooled in the arts and sciences acquired from college
but he was well versed in the school of practical knowledge
he was a generous friend and a good citizen

CAPTAIN H.J.G. MAXON TAKES CHARGE OF THE MEN WHO HAD BEEN UNDER GILLIAM

Captain Maxon, being the senior officer, took command and ordered Well Springs camp taken down
two companies of the Oregon Rifles proceeded without delay toward Fort Lee (The Dalles)
in order to deliver the body of Colonel Gilliam to his family and to report to the governor

JOE MEEK'S EXPEDITION CONTINUES TO BATTLE THE WEATHER

On the Bear River in southeastern Idaho the messengers had to kill one of their horses for food
they used snowshoes woven from willow twigs to break a trail for the other animals
they could manage only five or six laborious miles a day
below-zero cold dogged them through Wyoming and out onto the Great Plains
along the lower Platte River the weather warmed,
but they had to travel at night for fear of the restless Sioux Indians

YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIN VISITS WITH THE MILITIA AT FORT LEE

Oregon Rifles at Fort Lee were visited by the famous Yakima Chief Kamiakin who in a native council had learned Colonel Gilliam was on his way to Well Springs and was determined to meet the Colonel and hold talks
Kamiakin expressed great sorrow at the Colonel's death
he stated to Captain H.J.G. Maxon that he and his people were friends of the Americans
he said the Cayuse had threatened them with war
but that neither they nor the Spokanes would unite with the renegades
further he would not provide aid nor harbor the murderers of Doctor Whitman in any way,
and they would not be allowed to pass through or remain in his country
Kamiakin concluded his remarks by asking for a few plows
he said his people had no means of cultivating the ground
there were a lot of plows at The Dalles which had not been distributed
sent out by the board of missions for the Warm Spring and Dalles Indians
these Captain Maxon gave to Kamiakin -- this seemed to please the chief
Chief Kamiakin's speech was reported to the governor
it also was published in Oregon City newspaper -- the *Oregon Spectator*

YAKIMA CHIEF KAMIAKIN WAS A REMARKABLE INDIAN

Both physically and intellectually he was a veritable giant
over six feet in height and solidly built in proportion,
his appearance indicated that he had the strength of four or five ordinary men
he also was very intelligent and a natural leader
had he attempted then (as he did later) to unite the Indians against the Whites
there would have been a massacre and depopulation of the entire Oregon Country

OREGON AMERICAN AND EVANGELICAL UNIONIST NEWSPAPER BEGINS PUBLICATION

Rev. J.S. Griffin was a man of set opinions
so much so the Congregational Church he began on the Tualatin Plains [1842]
removed him as their minister [1845]
Rev. Griffin took the first printing press to reach the Northwest
Rev. Henry Spalding's Ramage Press
which had been stored at The Dalles [since 1846] to the Hillsboro, Oregon -- March 1848
he printed the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist* newspaper there
subscriptions were \$4.00 in provisional currency or \$3.00 in real money
clubs of ten subscribers could pay "**...in merchantable wheat at merchant prices,
delivered at any time (giving us notice) at any principal depot for wheat in the several counties.**"
a total of eight editions of his newspaper were issued
subscribers, who objected to Rev. Griffin's editorials, stopped the newspaper
by bribing his printer to quit

RETURN OF COLONEL CORNELIUS GILLIAM'S BODY TO OREGON CITY

Colonel Cornelius Gilliam's body was escorted from Fort Lee back to his friends in Oregon City
by Captain Henry A.G. Lee and Captain Thomas McKay

Captain H.J.G. Maxon as the senior officer wrote a report
to Provisional Governor George Abernathy and the people of the Willamette Valley
Return of Colonel Cornelius Gilliam's body to Oregon City increased the insecurity of the pioneers

CAPTAIN H.J.G. MAXON ISSUES HIS REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR

Conditions east of the Cascade Mountains were distressing
Fort Waters at Waiilatpu Mission was merely an adobe enclosure a few feet high
Oregon Rifles' horses were worn out
many of the recently captured animals had been claimed by friendly Indians
and had been returned to them
one hundred fifty men at Fort Waters were without sufficient food
this garrison was destitute of clothing and other equipment
and their ammunition nearly exhausted
equally distressing, the terms of enlistment of many of the militiamen were about to expire
at Fort Lee, The Dalles conditions were only slightly better
only fifty men were stationed there -- but they were without supplies
Captain H.J.G. Maxon appealed for food, clothing and other necessities for his suffering men
and for these supplies to be shipped forward to The Dalles as quickly as possible
Maxon's report created great excitement throughout the settlement
women organized themselves into societies to labor for the support of the little army

POLITICAL INTRIGUE SURFACES IN THE WILLAMATTE VALLEY

After the death of Colonel Gilliam copies of his reports, letters, various correspondence
and instructions from the governor and Commissary-General Joel Palmer
being somewhat bulky and troublesome to carry
were carefully sealed and left with the quartermaster at The Dalles
who promised to keep them safe and to deliver them to no one without an order
when they were later called for, the package was found broken open
everything of interest had been taken out by some unknown person or persons
the quartermaster could not or would not give any information on the subject
In fact, two factions were aspiring to manage and control the affairs of the Willamette Valley
Abernathy's supporters were jealous and afraid of the growing popularity of Colonel Gilliam
it was to their advantage to discredit him
Anti-Abernathy settlers desired to get control by using the Colonel's good name
many of the disturbed documents provided facts damaging to Abernathy and his supporters
some of the letters were rich in provocative and racy material
After the Colonel's death either side might be determined to gain possession of these letters
after surmising they had been left at The Dalles
one of the parties either stole them or induced the quartermaster to give them up

GOVERNOR ABERNATHY MAKES PERSONNEL CHANGES

Morale among the troops was on the decline
desertions occurred among enlisted men who enriched themselves by running off Indian horses
which they drove over the Barlow Road to sell in the Willamette Valley

some officers were resigning because their private interests were suffering
Commissary-General Joel Palmer retired from the position of Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Palmer focused his attention on his duties as Militia Commissary-General
After learning of the death of Colonel Cornelius Gilliam, Governor Abernathy,
instead of promoting Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters as had been expected,
Abernathy commissioned Major Henry A.G. Lee a colonel
over the head of Lieutenant-Colonel Waters
he also named Colonel Lee Peace Commissioner to replace Joel Palmer
Colonel Henry A.G. Lee was reluctant to accept the military command -- or the peace commission
due to his knowledge there were politicians who would seek to injure his reputation

NEW WAR POLICY IS DEVELOPED

Governor George Abernathy and Colonel Henry A.G. Lee
now Superintendent of Indian Affairs and peace commissioner agreed: **“Notice should be given to the Indians, that, after the expiration of such time as was named therein, any Indian found armed in the hostile country should be treated as an enemy.”**⁶⁰⁷

It was also decided by the Provisional Legislature to stop the sale of ammunition to all Indians

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR ABERNATHY CALLS FOR MORE TROOPS

Governor George Abernathy issued a call for four new companies of troops
three hundred recruits were needed for the duration of the campaign against the Cayuse natives
to be equipped and sent out under Colonel Henry A.G. Lee with all possible haste
Governor Abernathy could only hope this number would prove sufficient
until the arrival of military aid which was anticipated from California
Meetings were held throughout the Willamette Valley in response to the governor’s call to arms
many settlers were reluctant to leave their own homes which might need their protection
but a regiment of two hundred and fifty volunteers enlisted

OREGON ACADEMY IS FOUNDED TO PROTECT ORPHANS

Mrs. Tabitha Moffat Brown was a remarkable woman of great resourcefulness
her father was a doctor who, along with her mother, provided Tabitha an education as a teacher
when her minister husband passed away she resorted to teaching to support her three children
“Grandma Brown” was nearly sixty-six years old when she left Missouri for Oregon [April 1846]
with her were her son Orus and his wife Lavina and their eight children
her daughter Pherne Pringle and husband Virgil and their five children also accompanied her
as did her seventy-seven-year-old retired sea captain brother-in-law John Brown
After settling on the Tualatin Plain she opened an orphanage
Tabitha Moffat “Grandma” Brown at age sixty-seven
served as school mother to the fifteen or twenty immigrant orphans she found
these she gathered into a school housed in a log church
she taught reading, writing and arithmetic in addition to basic survival and home skills
she charged minimal fees for students boarded at the school

⁶⁰⁷ Elwood Evans *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington... Vol. II*, P. 283.

Grandma Brown joined with missionary and educator Harvey Clark
who operated a school for native children -- March 1848
soon she had thirty borders of both genders ranging in age from four years to twenty-one
Slightly built with blue-grey eyes, her delicate face was surrounded by gray but never quite white hair
generous and self-sacrificing
Grandma Brown served courageously and resourcefully for ten years
at her death [May 4, 1858] she was much beloved and deeply mourned
(Tabitha Moffat "Grandma" Brown's orphanage grew into today's Pacific University [founded 1854])

THE OREGON FREE PRESS BEGINS OPERATION IN OREGON CITY

George Law Curry after leaving the *The Oregon Spectator* newspaper [1846]
owned by Provisional Governor George Abernathy and his partners
began a newspaper in opposition to his former employers -- *The Oregon Free Press*
Curry purchased a rude printing press built chiefly of wood
he bought eighty pounds of type from Catholic missionaries
his type was intended for the French language thus no "w" existed in the type
he whittled a number of "w's" out of hard wood which gave the paper an odd appearance
The Oregon Free Press's first issue was dated April 8, 1848
it lasted only from March to [December 16] 1848
but during that time it raged with Curry's anti-Abernathy rhetoric

BAD NEWS FROM INDIAN COUNTRY ARRIVES IN OREGON CITY

Before the new recruits were ready to take the field,
Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters advised the governor by letter
that Walla Walla Chief Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox had become hostile
because the legislature prohibited sale of ammunition to Indians
Walla Walla chief demanded immunity from that law and threatened to join with the hostiles
sixty lodges, with three hundred warriors of the Walla Walla nation,
were camped near Fort Walla Walla
Other Indian news also was unfavorable
Tamsucky, Joe Lewis and the sons of Tiloukaikt were fleeing to Fort Hall
Sticcas and Tamahas retired to the mountains and were determined to remain there
until the war was over
Cayuse, Palouse and renegade Nez Perce had resolved to make one more stand
before leaving the country to hunt buffalo

NEW RECRUITS PROCEED UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Colonel Henry A.G. Lee set out from Oregon City with 300 new recruits -- April 18, 1848
this force was no better trained or equipped than previous militiamen had been

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR GEORGE ABERNATHY ISSUES ORDERS TO THE MILITIA

Preparations already had been completed by Captain H.J.G. Maxon at Fort Lee
Captain Maxon received new instructions by messenger from the governor
Maxon was informed of the call for four companies of new troops

these would be equipped and sent out as quickly as possible
Captain Maxon was ordered to escort supplies from Fort Lee (The Dalles)
to Fort Waters (Waiilatpu) where he and his troops were to report to commanding officer
Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters

COLONEL HENRY A.G. LEE ACTS AS PEACE COMMISSIONER

Colonel Henry A.G. Lee leading his 300 new recruits arrived at Fort Lee (The Dalles)
where brief preparations were completed for the march to Fort Waters (Waiilatpu)
Henry A.G. Lee, now acting as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, set out ahead of the main column
to hold a council with Nez Perce who asked for a council at the John Day River -- May 3, 1848
there Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Peace Commissioner Lee
met a delegation of Nez Perce Indians
Nez Perce Indians faced a leadership crisis:

- their head chief, Ellis, had died of measles along with sixty other tribal members,
- new head chief, Richard, was named but he was presently assassinated,
- negotiations with the tribe were unsuccessful which motivated Colonel Lee to hurry on

Superintendent Lee next held council with the Walla Walla Indians
and those few Cayuse who had returned to the region
little was accomplished -- however the Indians remained passive
in fact, the refusal of Nez Perce and Spokanes to join in the fray
and the indifference of the Yakimas made the Cayuse Indian cause hopeless

JESSE QUINN THORNTON REACHES THE EAST COAST

J. Quinn Thornton was Provisional Governor George Abernathy's personal messenger to Congress
Thornton was actually the first Oregon emissary to reach the east coast
when he arrived in Boston by ship -- May 5, 1848
but he was slow to continue on to Washington City and arrived after his rival Joe Meek

SEVERAL CAYUSE INDIANS RETURN TO THE REGION

Sticcas, Klokomas, and other Cayuse chiefs had returned to the Umatilla River
they professed friendliness, but the presence of great numbers of animals in the vicinity
supported the belief, that these Indians were really taking care of the herds of the murderers
who had fled the country

TIME WAS BECOMING CRITICAL IN THE CAYUSE CAMPAIGN

After Colonel Henry A.G. Lee had departed Fort Lee to conduct peace talks with the Nez Perce
Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters quickly departed from Fort Lee to Fort Waters (Waiilatpu)
with the main body of Oregon Rifles and a supply train
Captain Maxon found the men at Fort Waters well prepared for action by Lieutenant-Colonel Waters
Maxon reported the death of Colonel Gilliam, which they had not heard,
to the men of Fort Waters
Maxon also carried letters of instructions from Provisional Governor Abernathy
Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters was directed to remain at Fort Waters
until the new recruits arrived and new instructions would be delivered

Drills and preparations were conducted to resume the campaign

COLONEL HENRY A.G. LEE IS NOT UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED BY THE OREGON RIFLES

After his uneventful meetings with the Nez Perce, Spokane, Walla Walla and a few Cayuse Indians

Colonel Henry A.G. Lee reached Fort Waters (Waiilatpu) -- May 9, 1848

upon his arrival Lee found that Lieutenant-Colonel Waters had prepared his troops quite well
Oregon Rifles at Fort Waters were placed under the command of newly-commissioned Colonel Lee
old members of the Oregon Rifles, as soon as they learned of the command change,
were indignant about the appointment of Lee

they were loud in their denunciation because of injustices done Lieutenant-Colonel Waters
who was a faithful and efficient officer

Colonel Henry A.G. Lee experienced how fragile his hold was over his command

when he disagreed with Captain W.J. Martin over the numbering of his company

Lee numbered it the Tenth Company -- Martin insisted it should be the Ninth Company

Martin and his two lieutenants along with twelve privates left Fort Waters
and returned to Portland

COLONEL HENRY A.G. LEE RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION AS COLONEL

Within a few hours of the dispute Colonel Lee saw that it would not do for him to assume command
his only way out was to throw the blame of his appointment on the governor
and resign his commission as colonel of the Oregon Rifles

Colonel Lee magnanimously turned over the command to Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters

Lee sent in his own resignation as colonel

Lee also expressed his confidence in James Waters

Lieutenant-Colonel Waters immediately called the Oregon Rifles together
to learn who they desired to command them

Waters was elected Colonel without a dissenting voice

Now-Colonel James Waters asked Henry A.G. Lee to serve as Lieutenant-Colonel
which he cheerfully did -- this action united the troops and improved morale

Colonel Waters immediately began preparations for an advance on the enemy

JOSEPH L. MEEK'S EXPEDITION REACHES CIVILIZATION

Joe Meek carrying the Provisional House of Representative's message to congress

reached St. Joseph, Missouri with his traveling companions in just sixty-six days -- May 10, 1848

they had suffered incredible hardships before they reached St. Joseph in record time

this party carried the first news to the East of the Whitman Massacre

an atrocity which brought out public indignation throughout the nation

Joe Meek was trail-worn, dirty, whiskery and ragged

with an instinctive flair for the dramatic he decided to remain that way

as he continued on at once to Washington City

COLONEL WATERS LEARNS OF THE PLIGHT OF THE MISSIONARIES AT FORT COLVILLE

Colonel James Waters received a messenger from Rev. Cushing Eells and Rev. Elkanah Walker
who was accompanied by forty-three Spokane Indian warriors

Eells asked for a militia escort to accompany them from Fort Colville back to Lapawi Mission
Spokane Indian escorts offered their services to Colonel Waters
bring in a number of Tiloukaikt's cattle
Major Joseph Magone and his First Company was detached with 100 men
to bring in Tiloukaikt's animals and to capture any Indians suspected of acting as hostiles

MAJOR JOSEPH MAGONE REACHES THE PALOUSE RIVER

Several Palouse chiefs had been contacted to provide canoes to carry the men and equipment across
but neither canoes nor Indians appeared at the Palouse River
Major Joseph Magone and four men crossed the Snake River on a raft
they searched the banks of the Palouse, found the Indian ferrymen and returned them to camp
but it was too late in the day to make the crossing

COLONEL JAMES WATERS FURTHER DIVIDES HIS COMMAND

Colonel James Waters sent one company of men to Lapwai
to protect the property of Indian Agent William Craig who felt unsafe
Colonel Waters sent a second company to Fort Colville
to escort Rev. Elkanah Walker and Rev. Cushing Eells and their families
on their return to Tshimakain Mission

OREGON RIFLES SET OUT IN PURSUIT OF THE RENEGADE INDIANS

At Fort Waters preparations were completed to invade Nez Perce Country
where it was believed the Cayuse murders were hiding
Leaving a small garrison at Fort Waters Colonel James Waters went on the offensive
he led his command of a 450 Oregon Rifles away from Fort Waters -- May 16, 1848
retracing Colonel Cornelius Gilliam's previous route to find the hostile Cayuse
in this effort a considerable amount of native stock was captured

BATTLE PLANS ARE PUT INTO OPERATION

Colonel James Waters with the main body of Oregon Rifles
was to cross at the mouth of the Palouse River to prevent the escape of the renegade Indians
to the Columbia River -- May 17, 1848
Lieutenant-Colonel Henry A.G. Lee with Captain Philip F. Thompson and 120 Oregon Rifles
were ordered to advance to Nez Perce Chief Red Wolf's camp at the Snake River crossing
for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the fleeing into the Rocky Mountains
Colonel Waters and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee were to meet at Red Wolf Crossing on the Snake River

JOE MEEK ARRIVES IN ST. LOUIS

Joe Meek and his companions reached St. Louis in record time -- May 17, 1848
they had suffered incredible hardships
they carried the first news to the East of the Whitman Massacre
this atrocity brought out public indignation throughout the nation
Joseph L. Meek continued on at once to Washington City

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HENRY A.G. LEE ARRIVES AT THE PALOUSE RIVER

When Lieutenant-Colonel Lee reached Red Wolf's camp at the Snake River crossing he was informed that Tiloukaikt's band had fled the country two days before carrying away everything that they owned

but that some of their stock remained near Lapwai Mission

Lieutenant-Colonel Lee decided to travel to Lapwai Mission -- May 21, 1848

Lee notified the Nez Perce that his presence in their country was to punish the Cayuse murderers if the Nez Perce were friends to the Americans they would not hide the Cayuse property but would freely surrender it -- this the Nez Perce did

COLONEL WATERS LEADS THE OREGON RIFLES TO THE MOUTH OF THE PALOUSE RIVER

Colonel Waters with the main fighting unit proceeded directly to the mouth of the Palouse River there he remained in camp for a few days while the crossing of the Palouse River continued Scouting parties were sent in various directions

but they returned and reported that there were no Indians in that part of the country

COLONEL WATERS COMPLETES THE CROSSING OF THE PALOUSE RIVER

Colonel James Waters with the main body of the Oregon Rifles completed the crossing of the Palouse River

Oregon Rifles proceeded up the Snake River to Red Wolf Crossing where they remained in camp awaiting the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry A.G. Lee

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HENRY A.G. LEE GATHERS TILOUKAIKT'S HERD

With the help of Nez Perce Indians Lieutenant-Colonel Henry A.G. Lee's Oregon Rifles rounded up 118 horses, a number of colts and forty head of cattle in the vicinity of Lapwai Mission

MAJOR JOSEPH MAGONE LEARNS HENRY. A.G. LEE HAS BEATEN HIM TO LAPWAI

Major Joseph Magone learned that a dispatch had been forwarded from Lieutenant-Colonel Henry A.G. Lee at Lapwai to Colonel Waters at Red Wolf Crossing informing the colonel of the successful acquisition of some of Tiloukaikt's herd Major Magone returned Red Wolf Crossing on the Snake River

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HENRY A.G. LEE RETURNS TO RED WOLF CROSSING

Lieutenant-Colonel drove a portion of Tiloukaikat's herd to Red Wolf Crossing on the Snake River accompanying the herd were two Nez Perce Indians who declared that Tiloukaikt had himself fled to the Rocky Mountains but that most of his stock was located near the Snake River

END OF THE CAYUSE WAR

Renegade Indians had been pursued with discouraging and indecisive results it had become evident that nothing justified keeping the Oregon Rifles in Cayuse Country When Colonel Waters learned the murderers of Doctor Whitman had escaped and left the country he saw that his work was done his only logical course was to return to Fort Waters, leave a company of Oregon Rifles there,

and order the remainder to The Dalles before reporting to the governor and await his orders
In the meantime it was determined in Oregon City the Cayuse Campaign must close
militiamen were all volunteers and were needed in the Willamette Valley to plant crops
Provisional Governor Abernathy ordered the regiment home and disbanded the Oregon Rifles
Upon receiving his new orders, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry A.G. Lee called for volunteers
to remain at Fort Waters (Waiilatpu) and Fort Lee (The Dalles) until [September 15]
more than fifty men stayed at Fort Waters
but only Catholic missionaries remained at The Dalles (Fort Lee)
many of the Oregon Rifles started for home to farm during the summer
This ended a period fraught with difficulties and dangers on every hand
no more important battles were to be fought during the year
leaders of the Whitman Massacre remained at large

OREGON COUNTRY INDIANS REMAIN PASSIVE

Presence of the Oregon troops at Fort Waters (Waiilatpu)
deterred any local Indian molestation of immigrant trains from Fort Walla Walla to The Dalles
Along the southern trail, the Indians also remained quiet
immigration of 1848 arrived safely adding some seven or eight hundred to Oregon's population

RESULTS OF THE WHITMAN MASSACRE

Attack on the Whitman Mission led to abandonment of all Protestant missions east of Cascades
Asa Smith noted in a letter written shortly before he left Oregon Country: **“The difficulties of instructing the children, in view of the difficulties of the language -- presenting as it does one giant blank of words and ideas which are most important in respect to a right understanding of the gospel.... I must say I felt disheartened and discouraged and know not what to do.”**

JOE MEEK MAKES A SPLASH IN WASHINGTON CITY

Joe Meek, the representative of the Provisional legislature
arrived in Washington City -- May 28, 1848
he was ragged and dirty from his overland journey
and was still wearing greasy buckskins and long hooded blanket coat
he carried news of the killings at the Whitman Mission and the ensuing Cayuse War
Meek announced himself as **“Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of Oregon to the Court of the United States.”**⁶⁰⁸ and headed for the White House

PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK WARMLY RECEIVED JOE MEEK

During a two hour visit with President Polk -- May 28, 1848
Joe Meek gave his dispatches directly to the President:

- he carried the potent Memorial from the Oregon Provisional House of Representatives complaining of continued neglect;
- he set forth the settlers inability to deal with criminals in Oregon Country;
- he described the outrages of the Indian problem including the Whitman Massacre

⁶⁰⁸ David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 267.

and the loss of his own daughter Helen Mar Meek;
•he argued forcefully for making Oregon Country a federal territory
President Polk agreed with the need for a territorial government in Oregon Country
in addition to the obvious Indian situation another root problem for the settlers
was their insecurity over land claims
Joe Meek had constant access to the White House
first, because of his mission from Oregon
second, because he was a relative of President Polk's wife
and, in addition, Meek was a relative of the President's secretary, Knox Walker
President Polk agreed with the need for a territorial government in Oregon Country
in addition to the Indian situation, a root problem for the settlers
was their insecurity over land claims

PRESIDENT POLK INFORMS CONGRESS OF THE OREGON MEMORIAL

President James K. Polk sent a special message to Congress -- May 29, 1848
he transmitted to Congress the eloquent Memorial and other documents
Joe Meek had brought from the provisional government of Oregon Country
Polk asked Congress for passage of territorial status for Oregon
so federal troops could be sent to Oregon before the end of the summer
Polk instructed Congress to act and act quickly
it seemed the federal government had finally awakened to the needs in Oregon Country

CONGRESS DELAYS ACTION

However Congress was in no mood to be stampeded by a president facing reelection
although President Polk had previously recommended territorial status for Oregon Country
Southern U.S. senators had delayed action thinking they might open Oregon to slavery
Oregon Treaty with Great Britain and the military victory over Mexico
had abruptly increased the land area of the United States by fifty per cent
organizing this vast domain would have been a complicated problem at best
it was further snarled by the question of the extension of slavery
All summer the debate raged in Congress

WASHINGTON CITY PRESS PURSUES JOE MEEK

Joe Meek's heroic physique and vivid personality created a sensation at the capital city
he took advantage of his sensational journey and appearance
to highlight the need for protection of the settlers
he spoke of the Whitman Massacre and the death of his own daughter
Taking Meek as he appeared, the newspapers played up his melodramatic journey
then opened fire on Congress:
if the lawmakers had not failed in their duty to organize and protect Oregon,
the massacre might never have happened

JOE MEEK ADDRESSES CONGRESS

Congress was reminded by Meek that the Provisional Government rested on a compact

between the citizens of the American republic
and subjects and official representatives of the British monarchy
Meek, as a member of the Anti-Abernathy faction,
asked that Governor George Abernathy not be appointed Territorial Governor
but rather an outsider would be better

JESSE QUINN THORNTON FINALLY ARRIVES IN WASHINGTON CITY

After a leisurely visit in Boston, Provisional Governor George Abernathy's representative
arrived in Washington City -- after Joe Meek the Provisional Legislature's representative
Upon arriving in the nation's capital Jesse Quinn Thornton asserted he had been sent:

- as a delegate by the Provisional Government;
- that he was appointed by Governor George Abernathy;
- that his expenses were borne by the Oregon Methodist missionaries;
- and that he also had been requested to act by Dr. Marcus Whitman himself
who at that time anticipated an Indian outbreak in the interior

Jesse Quinn Thornton was invited to sit in the U.S. Senate
where he presented Provisional Governor Abernathy's perspective to Congress
Thornton won the respectful attention of Congress

(After his legislative work was done, Thornton returned to Oregon and practiced law
what Thornton later claimed to have accomplished became familiar to all Oregon settlers

by the full reports of his expedition as related by himself in three volumes:

- Thornton's *Oregon and California in 1848* (Harper and Brothers, [1849],
- Thornton's *Transactions of Oregon Pioneers* [1874]
- Thornton's *History of the Provisional Government of Oregon* [1876]

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS ARRIVE IN AMERICA IN GREAT NUMBERS

In Europe, another attempt to overthrow the rulers of the German states failed -- 1848
this resulted in many Germans immigrating to America
crop failures and the consolidation of land holdings in the German states
were added inducements

In America, diversity marked German economic pursuits -- they lived in the city and in the country
in the city they followed many occupations

because most Germans had access to money and possessed a good education
many were able to become brewers, millers and business owners
others entered the professions and politics

in the country many Germans became successful farmers employing the latest scientific methods
such as crop rotation and the use of fertilizer

Germans had become familiar with the doctrines of democracy
and sometimes were active in partisan politics on a local level

CHARLES PREUSS PUBLISHES HIS THIRD MAP OF THE WEST

German cartographer Charles Preuss produced the third important map
of his travels with John C. Fremont: *Map of Oregon and Upper California* -- completed in 1848
this was the most accurate general map of the west at the time

apparently was the first map to apply the name “Golden Gate”
to the entrance to San Francisco Bay
it was widely used for many years as the base map for railroad route planning
and by settlers and gold seekers alike
(Charles Preuss later committed suicide [1854])

OREGON ORGANIC ACT IS INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE

Process to create Oregon Territory as when Democratic U.S. Senator Stephen A. Douglas (Illinois)
introduced the Organic Act of 1848 -- June 5, 1848

Oregon Territory was described as **“All that part of the territory of the United States which lies west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains north of the forty-second degree of north latitude, known as the Territory of Oregon, shall be organized into and constitute a temporary government, by the name of Territory of Oregon.”**

U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton (Missouri) appealed to the Senate that the Oregon Organic Act
be passed without delay so troops might cross mountains before deep snows

Two and a half months were consumed in talks

some Senators wanted to couple Oregon Territory

with a Bill to create both California and New Mexico territories

others declared the “native-born” territory of Oregon should not be unequally yoked

with **“territories scarcely a month old, and peopled by Mexicans and half-Indian Californians”**⁶⁰⁹

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN IS REORGANIZED

Regiment of Mounted Riflemen served during the Mexican War [1846-1848]

at the close of the war most of the can Rifle Regiment had been discharged

Secretary of War William L. Marcy ordered new military posts built [dated June 1, 1847]

these were intended to protect the Oregon Trail

and to provide a stopping place for emigrants to rest, repair their wagons and obtain supplies

it was decided to re-form the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen

several new companies were recruited at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas -- 1848

Brevet-Colonel William Wing Loring served as commander

of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen

he was a short, stocky and dark man who had lost his left arm in the Mexican War

he was a former lawyer and Florida politician renowned for his unshakable integrity

Loring and his men were to remain at Fort Leavenworth and await further orders

AMERICAN RIFLE REGIMENT ESTABLISHES FORT KEARNY

Fort Kearny (Nebraska) was constructed by Lieutenant-Colonel Ludwell E. Powell

who led two companies of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen

west along the main stem of the Platte River -- June 1848

Fort Kearny was located on the South side of the Platte River

(about eight miles southeast of today's Kearny, Nebraska)

⁶⁰⁹ Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 205

this site was purchased from the Pawnee Indians for \$2,000 in trade goods
Fort Kearny was not the walled fortification that many pioneers expected to visit
it was rather a collection of ramshackle buildings -- most made of sod
construction was so crude that snakes often slithered through the walls
and into the beds of the soldiers stationed there
but enlisted men were not overly refined anyway

Fort Kearny was one of the most important posts along the Oregon Trail:

- it provided protection for emigrants;
- it served as a munitions depot for both Fort Leavenworth and Fort Laramie;
- it served to protect peaceful Indians from hostile renegades and outlaws

Detachment of Regiment of Mounted Riflemen was left to occupy Fort Kearny
while the remaining force proceeded to Fort Laramie (Wyoming)

GRAYS HARBOR RECEIVES ITS FIRST SETTLER

William O'Leary, an Irishman who probably deserted from a British ship, was the first homesteader
to settle among the Chehalis Indians along the south shore of Grays Harbor -- 1848
he found the native villagers decimated by the "Big Sick" (smallpox)
O'Leary enjoyed the plentiful salmon and other fish he caught in O'Leary Creek,
fresh game in the woods and potatoes he grew in the rich soil next to his cabin

RANALD MACDONALD, FUTURE INTERNATIONAL TRAVELER, BEGINS AN ADVENTURE

(Ranald MacDonald was born to Archibald McDonald and his first wife [February 3, 1824]

Raven (sometimes Princess Sunday) daughter of Chinook Chief Comcomly
she died shortly after giving birth to Ranald

Ranald MacDonald (as he spelled his name) was raised for his first two years
in an Indian lodge at Fort George by his mother's people

Archibald McDonald was assigned by Hudson's Bay Company to Kamloops
and journeyed there with his new bride

they were joined by Ranald, but he still spent considerable time
with his Chinook Indian relatives until his tenth year

Ranald attended school taught by John Ball at Fort Vancouver [1833-1834]
before being sent to the Red River Settlement (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

Ranald fell in love with a Canadian girl, but his Indian origins were revealed

he was thought to be unacceptable as a marriage partner by the girl's parents

Ranald ran away from his childhood upbringing at Red River Settlement

he signed on as a sailor aboard the whaling ship *Plymouth* [845]

Ranald MacDonald arrived off the coast of Japan

where contact with outsiders was by law forbidden in Japan

only Chinese and Hollander (Dutch) traders were permitted to land in Japan

Ranald decided to investigate the forbidden mysteries of the "Hermit Kingdom" of Japan

he convinced the *Plymouth's* captain to set him adrift at sea in a small boat

off the coast of Hokkaido, Japan -- June 27, 1848

he took provisions and a box of books with him

he arranged to arrive with his boat in a sinking condition

Ranald pretended to be shipwrecked
curiosity about his books by the Japanese led to his being treated relatively well
although they confined him to a cage
Ranald MacDonald introduced the English language into Japan
he achieved international fame as the first English teacher in Japan

AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO AMEND THE OREGON ORGANIC ACT IN THE U.S. SENATE
Southern Democratic Senators continued to obstruct passage of the Oregon Organic Act
they hoped to permit ownership of slaves legal in Oregon Territory
U.S. Senator Jesse D. Bright (Indiana) as Chairman of the Committee on Territories introduced
an amendment to the Oregon Organic Act that extend the Missouri Compromise [1820] line
through all newly acquired territory to the Pacific Ocean -- June 27, 1848
(Missouri Compromise allowed Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state
balanced by Maine which entered at the same time as a free state
also an imaginary line along 36° 30' divided the Louisiana Purchase
except for the state of Missouri slavery was to be excluded from the land
acquired in the Louisiana Purchase -- then known as Missouri Territory [1820])

KANAKA (HAWAIIAN) CHAPLAIN KANAKA WILLIAM HAS LITTLE SUCCESS
William R. Kaulehelehe, better known as Kanaka William, spent three years
building a congregation of Kanaka (Hawaiian) people living in Oregon Country
his congregation ranged in size from twenty to forty who came to hear his sermon each Sunday
he still had trouble keeping down the consumption of alcohol among the brethren -- 1848

JOE MEEK IS JOINED BY CHRISTOPHER "KIT" CARSON IN WASHINGTON CITY
Joe Meek continued his stay in the nation's capital
on prancing horses, Meek accompanied by General Winfield Scott
escorted James K. Polk's presidential carriage
in the Independence Day parade -- July 4, 1848
both heroes helped lay the cornerstone of the Washington Monument
Christopher "Kit" Carson arrived in Washington City to deliver mail pouches to the War Department
he socialized with Senator Thomas Hart Benton and his son-in-law General John C. Fremont
and even his old comrade trapper Joe Meek

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION MISSION IS ESTABLISHED ALONG MANASTASH CREEK
Fathers Charles M. Pandosy and Eugene Casimir Chirouse were the first two Catholic priests
to be ordained in Oregon Country [1848]
they and Catholic Brother George Blanchet were accompanied by two workmen
as they traveled to Manastash Creek (near today's Ellensburg) -- July 6, 1848
there they continued the work on a simple structure begun six months before
by two Catholic Brothers who answered Yakima Chief Owhi's request for missionaries
Immaculate Conception Mission was described as little more than a one-man hovel
Father Pandosy maintained a regular missionary circuit into the Yakima Valley
and back to Immaculate Conception Mission

during one trip he fell off of his horse and broke his shoulder
Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse lived and worked among the Yakamas from 1848-[1856]
was made Superior of the Oblates (lay [not ordained] workers) in Eastern Washington

WORK CONTINUES ON ESTABLISHING THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY LINE

Engineers surveyed the land determining the exact location of the 49th parallel
they cleared a swath twenty feet wide along that line and markers were placed along the swath
to indicate this was the boundary between the United States and Canada

OREGON ORGANIC ACT IS AMENDED ONCE AGAIN IN THE U.S. SENATE

U.S. Senate referred the question of the extension of slavery into Oregon Territory and the Southwest
to a bipartisan committee headed by Senator John M. Clayton (Delaware)
Clayton Committee's solution excluded slavery from Oregon Territory-- July 12, 1848
"Clayton Compromise" validated the provisional laws of Oregon Country disallowing slavery
and prohibited the territorial legislatures of New Mexico and California from acting on slavery
but provided that appeals of all slavery cases from territorial courts
could be appealed up to the U.S. Supreme Court

CLAYTON COMPROMISE IS ADOPTED BY THE U.S. SENATE

"Clayton Compromise" was adopted by the U.S. Senate (33-22) -- July 27, 1848
this validated the provisional laws of Oregon Country disallowing slavery
and provided the United States Supreme Court jurisdiction to resolve issues regarding slavery
in the territories of the United States

PORTLAND, OREGON BEGINS TO GROW

By now all of the original town founders had left the scene -- 1848
Asa Lovejoy had sold out to Benjamin Stark
Francis W. Pettygrove sold to Daniel Lowndale, Stephen Coffin and W.W. Chapman
who formed Townsite Promotion Company
Pettygrove took a ship load of tanned leather goods to California -- 1848
and began the Oregon-California trade
Entrepreneurs established small businesses
Stephen Coffin established a canoe ferry service
John Waymire, using an old whipsaw, started Portland's first sawmill
Huge fir trees were dug out and wharves went in along the Columbia and Willamette rivers

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONSIDERS THE OREGON ORGANIC ACT

Senate version of the Oregon Organic Act came up for consideration in the House -- July 28, 1848
because the Organic Act now contained the Clayton Compromise it was "tabled"
as the House refused to consider the Senate Bill any further
since the proposal forbade the territorial legislatures of New Mexico and California
from addressing the slavery question at all
Oregon Organic Act was returned to the Senate with several important amendments demanded
regarding the complete prohibition of slavery in Oregon

Oregon Country remained under the authority of Provisional Government
with no prospect of becoming a territory of the United States on the horizon

USS MASSACHUSETTS IS ASSIGNED TO THE U.S. NAVY'S PACIFIC SQUADRON

Massachusetts was a wooden steamer built in Boston, Massachusetts [1845]
to help develop commercial steamer service between New York City and Liverpool, England
she was purchased by the War Department [1847] to serve as a U.S. Army troop transport ship
during the Mexican War *Massachusetts* was transferred to the U.S. Navy at New York
and commissioned with Naval Lieutenant L.R. Knox in command -- August 1, 1848
assigned to the Pacific Squadron, USS *Massachusetts* was to operate along the west coast

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PASSES THE OREGON ORGANIC ACT

Storm broke in the House of Representatives regarding the question of slavery
After rejecting the Senate version of the Oregon Organic Act
which included the Clayton Compromise excluding slavery in Oregon
and prohibiting the territorial legislatures of New Mexico and California
from acting on slavery
House of Representatives members passed its version of the Oregon Organic Act
by a vote of (129-71) -- August 2, 1848
this provided for organizing Oregon Territory with a prohibition on slavery
all reference to slavery in New Mexico and California was dropped
this allowed for organizing Oregon Territory with a prohibition on slavery in place

NEWS OF CALIFORNIA GOLD REACHED OREGON COUNTRY

Reports of gold strikes in California reached Oregon when the American ship *Honolulu*
arrived at Fort Vancouver after first visiting Honolulu and Nisqually -- August 1848
Captain Newell, before making the announcement at Fort Vancouver
first bought up all the tools and provisions in the area
this news produced excitement in Oregon Country equal to that in California
and as much jubilation as the end of the Indian war
These reports caused a stampede of Oregonians to the California gold fields
within a few days, a group of men set out southward
when news of California gold arrived at Puget Sound
about twenty-five men immediately set out for the diggings
soon only a very small remnant of the population engaged in making shingles
and cutting lumber for Hudson's Bay Company was left along Puget Sound Country
Rush of settlers from Oregon to California was on -- men went fairly insane with "Gold Fever"
thronged, hardly stopping to take their plows from the furrow,
mounted their horses and galloped off up the Willamette River
through the lonely valleys of the Umpqua and the Rogue rivers
over the Siskiyou Mountains and down the Sacramento River
soon a regular tide of travelers on foot, by pack train and wagon crossed the Siskiyou Mountains

CALIFORNIA POPULATION EXPLODES WITH MEN FROM OREGON COUNTRY

California immediately drew away one-half to two-thirds of able-bodied men of Oregon Country
this left Oregon with insufficient labor to cultivate the fields already opened
during the first two years of the gold rush homes on the Columbia River were almost deserted
Oregon men who went to California to find gold were seasoned pioneers
they became a valuable resource in the new and mixed population pouring into California
they helped bring order out of disorder
and established an effective government for the new state

SOUTHERN SENATORS ATTEMPT TO KILL THE HOUSE OREGON BILL

(Congressional Session was scheduled to end on [Monday August 14, 1848]
creating Oregon Territory would be dead with the close of Congress)

U.S. Senator Henry Foote (Mississippi) rose at 10:00 p.m. on Saturday night, August 12, 1848
in an effort to keep Oregon Territory from being created without slavery
he declared he would keep the Senate floor (with a filibuster) until noon Monday
he proceeded to endlessly relate Scriptural history
he yielded the floor only to motions to adjourn

Friends of the Organic Act rested off the Senate floor in an adjoining room
a Senate Page informed them of each motion to adjourn -- they filed in to vote "NO"

SENATE ADOPTES THE HOUSE VERSION OF THE OREGON ORGANIC ACT

Early Sunday morning Senator Foote and his Southern friends gave up the filibuster
he had held the floor until two hours before sunrise -- August 13, 1848

Senate took up a motion to consider the House version of the Oregon Organic Act

Senator Clayton's "Clayton Compromise" excluding slavery in Oregon was not in the House Bill
and the Bill no longer dealt with the question of slavery in California and New Mexico at all

After a continuous session of twenty-one hours

U.S. Senate approved the House version of the Oregon Organic Act

by a vote of 29 Yeas to 25 Nays -- Sunday morning August 13, 1848

slavery was prohibited in Oregon Territory

next, the senate rule against presenting Bills for presidential signature on last day of a session
was suspended

PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK SIGNS THE OREGON ORGANIC ACT

Congress had created Oregon Territory out of the land south of the international boundary
included all of the current states of Oregon (and later Washington, Idaho
a and parts of Montana and Wyoming)

Organic Act creating Oregon Territory was signed by President James K. Polk -- August 14, 1848

Oregon became a ward of the United States and subject to its laws

CONFUSION EXISTS REGARDING OREGON COUNTRY'S OLD LAND LAWS

When Oregon Territory was created Congress was at odds with itself

over the basic land policy regarding the huge region just added to the public domain

Originally Congress felt this land was a source of revenue for the federal government

acreage was sold at modest prices to qualified settlers:

- should this practice continue?
- should the revenue be shared with the territorial government?
- should all of the revenue be given to the territory for governing expenses?
- should the federal government encourage settlement by giving away land?

unable to make a decision when Oregon Territory was created

Oregon Organic Act declared all Provisional Government land laws null and void
nothing was substituted in their place

the conspiracy to strip Dr. John McLoughlin of his land claims in Oregon City continued
based on the fact that the former Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor
was not a United States citizen and therefore, was not eligible to claim land

At the same time, Oregon pioneers wanted the title to their land claims protected
under the jurisdiction of the United States the land laws were not what the pioneers had expected
a much-hoped-for land donations provision to protect land claims was not included
thus the provisional land laws allowing title to 640 acres were declared null and void
with one exception made by congress

title to 640 acres occupied as missionary stations among the Indians

continued to be owned by the societies to which the stations belonged

another change provided that Public Schools were financially supported

land Sections 16 and 36 in each township were set aside as these properties

could be sold or traded and the money used for the maintenance of schools

Congress also recognized Indians' rights to the land

(until these rights were extinguished there could be no regulations
regarding the disposal of Indian land)

Urgently needed troops and munitions of war were not mentioned either

even though the Secretary of War Lewis Cass was believed to have sufficient authority
to provide for the military requirements of the territory

One important special feature of the Oregon Organic Act prohibited slavery in Oregon Territory

OREGON ORGANIC ACT DEFINES THE VOTERS

Every white male inhabitant (except military personnel on duty)

who was twenty-one years of age or over and a resident of Oregon in 1848

and who was a citizen of the United States or had declared, on oath, an intention to become one
and had taken on oath to support the Constitution of the US and the Organic Act,

was qualified to vote in the first election

thereafter the territorial legislature would be empowered to define the qualifications of voters
and the qualifications of elected officers

However, the people of Oregon Territory no longer elected their principal officers

rather territorial officials were appointed by the President and confirmed by the U.S. Senate
more than three thousand miles from Oregon Territory

CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS ARE PROVIDED FOR OREGON TERRITORY

Congress approved a total of \$26,500 for public buildings,

and \$5000 for purchase of a territorial library, lighthouses and contingent expenses

Oregon Organic Act also specified a grant of \$5000 for a seat of government

and salaries for the territorial officers including members of the territorial legislature

TERRITORY OF OREGON FACES CHANGES

Oregon became a ward of the United States and subject to its laws

local history ceased to be at part of an international contest

rather local history became a part of the record of social and economic growth
of an American commonwealth

United States took control of Oregon

Hudson's Bay Company was no longer responsible for maintaining the Indians
settlers were becoming numerous -- Indians began to fear for their own safety

U.S. sovereignty over the region was on the way

but effective control would not occur until government officials arrived from the United States

THERE WERE DISADVANTAGES TO TERRITORIAL STATUS

Provisional Government no longer had jurisdiction over Oregon Country

land claims of 640 acres previously thought to be legal were voided

land sections 16 and 36 of each Township was set aside for schools

and could not be claimed by anyone -- even if a claim had already been made and developed
Provisional debts and finances were limited to what Congress would approve
and not the actual cost

Territorial status meant the loss of local sovereignty

Territorial Executive and Judicial Officers were no longer elected locally

citizens living in Oregon Territory still could not vote for President or Vice-President
as these were elected by Electors

(political party officials elected to vote for the Presidential candidate)

Territorial Delegate to Congress was elected locally

but he could only speak in Congress -- he was could not given a vote

all territorial laws were always subject to Congressional review and approval -- and rejection

there were frequent delays in paying Territorial Bills submitted to the United States government

HOWEVER, THERE ALSO WERE ADVANTAGES TO TERRITORIAL STATUS

Oregon settlers believed that government existed for the protection of persons and private land

United States Army would provide protection from the Indians and the British

land claims might eventually be filed with a government -- and thus be protected

Oregon Territory was to be organized without slavery

United States government brought cash to the area:

- salaries for political officers;
- daily expenses for the legislature and jurors were paid;
- army expenses were paid

U.S. government established ports of entry, customs houses and mail service,

roads including construction costs and salaries,

territorial buildings including a legislative hall, penitentiary and insane asylum

ports of entry and customs houses would be provided,

mail service would be established by the United States Government

Court system functioned under the United States Constitution
president named the United States District Court justices who decided cases in Oregon Territory
local court decisions could be appealed to the United States Supreme Court

PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK DECIDES NOT TO SEEK REELECTION

President Polk's health was declining and he had accomplished his political agenda
President Polk was a strong supporter of Oregon Territory
majority of Oregon Territory population were Democrats as was President James K. Polk
but there were no organized political parties as such in Oregon Territory
his newly-appointed territorial governor needed to be tireless
President Polk wanted Oregon territory organized before the expiration of his term [March 4, 1849]
he quickly made his appointments so they could depart for the West before the onset of winter
and before a new president, perhaps a Whig, could legally cancel the commissions
of the newly named Oregon Territorial officers
(in fact Whig candidate Zachary Taylor was elected president)

PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK NAMES HIS OREGON TERRITORY APPOINTMENTS

President Polk was a strong supporter of Oregon Territory
he quickly made his appointments so they could depart for the West before the onset of winter
and the onset of the term of the new president
majority of Oregon Territory population were Democrats as was President James K. Polk
but there were no organized political parties as such in Oregon Territory
President Polk appointed Territorial Governor General Joseph Lane of Indiana (an outsider)
Presidential appointments were made to the territorial courts:

- Chief Justice -- William P. Bryant (outsider)
- Associate Justice -- William A. Hall (outsider) who declined the appointment
- Associate Justice -- James Tunney (outsider) who declined the appointment
- Associate Justice -- Orville C. Pratt (outsider) replaced Justice James Tunney
Pratt was already in California serving as a legal representative of the United States
- Associate Justice -- Peter H. Burnett (local, Anti-Abernathy) who declined the appointment
because of the slow communication at the time Burnett was unaware of his appointment
(after learning of the discovery of gold in California he led 150 men to the gold fields
he became Captain John Sutter's General Agent and attorney
he was elected the first governor of the state of California [November 13, 1849])

other Presidential territorial appointments:

- United States Marshall -- Joe Meek (local Anti-Abernathy resident)
with his picturesque appearance and backwoods mannerisms,
- United States Attorney -- Amory Holbrook (outsider),
- Secretary of the Oregon Territory -- Kintzing Prichette (outsider),
he is mentioned very little in media reports of his day so little is known about him
no portraits or photographs have been found of him
even the spelling of his last name is disputed with at least four different spellings
including "Prichett," "Pritchett" and "Pritchette"
his first name is also spelled "Kentzing"

- Collector of Customs for the district of Oregon General John Adair (outsider)
 - stationed at Astoria he was the first collector of customs on the Pacific coast
 - his area of jurisdiction included all land West of summit of Rockies and North of 42° and the Pacific Ocean
 - Adair began his journey to the West starting in New Orleans, walking across Panama, and continuing by ship to Port Astoria

GENERAL JOSEPH LANE -- OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

President James K. Polk appointed Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs

General Joseph Lane -- an “outsider” to Oregon Territory

Joe Lane was born in North Carolina before his parents moved to Kentucky

where he attended the common schools

Joe Lane moved to Indiana

eloquent of tongue, he had been elected to the Indiana Assembly

and served in both houses of the state legislature

he became active in local and national Democratic politics

A popular frontiersman, he was wiry, handsome and possessed unbounded physical courage

when the Mexican War broke out he was one of the first in his state to enlist

as a private in the 2nd Indiana Regiment of Volunteers

before the close of the Mexican War he had been made a General

Joe Lane achieved a dashing reputation as a brigadier general in the Mexican War

he was one of the few who performed distinguished service in the Battle of Buena Vista

Because of his remarkable service record and his loyal Democratic Party affiliation

Joe Lane was offered the Oregon Territorial governorship

territorial governor’s power was limited

he had no veto power over the Territorial Legislature

as laws passed by the territorial legislature were approved by Congress -- or not

Though his detractors scoffed that there was no substance beneath all the glitter,

even they conceded that he was a shrewd politician and a tireless worker

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE ORVILLE C. PRATT IS IN CALIFORNIA

Orville C. Pratt had attended West Point for two years before dropping out to study law

he established a lucrative practice in Galena, Illinois

Pratt entered politics as a friend of James K. Polk [1844] and attracted attention

with his forceful discussions of the annexation of Texas and the Oregon question

Orville C. Pratt was appointed by the Secretary of War to a committee

to investigate charges against an army officer stationed at the Arkansas River Fort

while there he received a message requesting him to proceed to Mexico and California

to investigate confidential matters there

Pratt traveled to Santa Fe and then to Los Angeles, Monterey, San Jose and San Francisco

POPULAR OREGON PIONEER DROWNS

Lumbering partners Edmund Sylvester and Levi Smith operated the Puget Sound Milling Company

after settling at the mouth of the Des Chutes River [1846] they were successful and popular

After Oregon Territory was created by Congress Levi Smith was elected to represent his legislative district at the first meeting of the Oregon Territorial Legislature however, he died (possibly from an attack of epilepsy) while paddling his canoe on his way to Tumwater -- August 1848

Levi Smith's land claim of Smithfield on Budd Inlet was inherited by Sylvester who moved to Smith's waterfront location to operate the Puget Sound Milling Company sawmill

OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT APPOINTEES PREPARE TO TRAVEL WEST

Oregon Territorial Governor Joe Lane was to be accompanied by U.S. Marshall Joe Meek they were in a race against time as Joe Lane needed to take office in Oregon before President Polk's term expired [on March 4, 1849] but a fall crossing might mean snow in the mountains

Accordingly Joe Meek, with the Bear River snow drifts still in his memory, proposed they avoid the snow by a long swing southward through the newly conquered provinces of New Mexico

OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT APPOINTEES TRAVEL WEST

Appointees set out from Washington City were on their way overland to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas on their journey to Oregon Territory -- August 26, 1848 within two weeks of passage of the Oregon Organic Act

OREGON TERRITORY GOVERNOR JOE LANE MEETS HIS MILITARY ESCORT

Governor's Party met his military escort at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas officers, surgeon and about fifty Regiment of Mounted Riflemen (Mounted Riflemen) commanded by Lieutenant G. H. Hawkins would join the governor teamsters and servants driving ten military supply wagons accompanied by twenty-five mountain men rounded out the contingent

GOLD FEVER OVERTAKES THE EAST

Lack of transportation and communication facilities kept most of the United States in the dark regarding events in California

however, news of the gold strikes crossed the Rocky Mountains

and continued eastward reaching the Atlantic shore -- about September 1848

California's gold was irresistible to people near and far

adventurers left home seeking gold

more affluent immigrants booked passage on ships around the tip of South America

thousands more on the East coast prepared for the voyage to Panama

expecting to cross the Isthmus and take a ship to San Francisco

others waited impatiently on the interior plains for the grass of spring

and the overland journey

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN IS FINALLY GRANTED UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

American naturalization law of the time allowed an alien to become a citizen of the United States two years after taking the loyalty oath and making his declaration,

if he had lived in the United States for five years
McLoughlin had announced his intention to become a U.S. citizen [1843]
John McLoughlin became a citizen of the United States at Oregon City -- September 5, 1848
A.L. Lovejoy, A.A. Skinner, and Theodore Magruder served as his witnesses

OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT SETS OUT FROM FORT LEAVENWORTH

Governor Territorial Joe Lane left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas -- September 10, 1848
he proceeded west from the post to Oregon Territory accompanied by U.S. Marshall Joe Meek
and a small military escort of members of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen
Governor Lane's Party, including ten military supply wagons and several drivers
traveled the southern route along the Santa Fe Trail
(through Santa Fe, Tucson and the Gila River and, eventually, to San Pedro, California)
Several other companies of Regiment of Mounted Riflemen awaited orders at Fort Leavenworth
short, stocky and dark-complected Brevet-Colonel William Wing Loring
served as the commander of those troops still at Fort Leavenworth

SHEEP ARRIVE IN OREGON OVER THE OREGON TRAIL

Joseph Watt was the first to drive sheep over the Oregon Trail
had assembled 435 animals in St. Joseph where he joined a "Westing" wagon train
his whole family helped care for the sheep on the journey
when they arrived in the Willamette Valley they had lost only 100 sheep -- September 1848
Watt's attempts to operate a woolen mill sadly ended in failure

FATHER CHARLES M. PANDOSY FACES DIFFICULT TIMES

Father Pandosy's Immaculate Conception Mission on Manastash Creek was very poor
it was reported he walked from Immaculate Conception Mission to Fort Walla Walla barefoot
When the Oregon Territorial Act of 1848 was passed by Congress
Father Pandosy filed a claim for the 640 acres surrounding Immaculate Conception Mission
although Pandosy's mission had land, at least on paper, he was very low on funds

SACRED HEART MISSION IS MOVED ONCE AGAIN

On one of his visits among the Coeur d'Alene Indians Father Pierre-Jean De Smet chose another site
for the mission located on a grassy knoll above the Coeur d'Alene River
this new mission was to be relocated east of Lake Coeur d'Alene
to a near the Coeur d'Alene River (today's Cataldo, Idaho)
Father Anthony Ravalli, who had been born in Italy, was stationed at Sacred Heart Mission
Father Ravalli drew plans in the tradition of the elegant and grand cathedrals of his homeland
he envisioned a building ninety feet long, forty feet wide and thirty feet high
constructed on a four-foot-wide foundation with walls nearly a foot thick but hollow inside
(construction would have to wait [until 1850] when Father Ravalli took charge of the mission)

OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT CONTINUES ON THEIR WAY TO OREGON

Oregon Territorial Governor Joe Lane's military escort wagons were abandoned at Santa Fe
as the party switched its baggage to pack mules before setting out south along the Rio Grande

They continued south to El Paso, Texas then turned west through Tucson to the Colorado River
which they crossed on rafts made of bulrushes with their horses swimming behind
After crossing the Colorado River the animals died rapidly
Oregon Territorial government was forced to walk
as the surviving animals were needed to carry baggage

OREGON TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS REACH CALIFORNIA

In Los Angeles they were caught up by incredible rumors of gold
one by one the military escort deserted drawn by the possibility of quick riches
finally the Oregon Territorial Governor's Party was reduced to nineteen men
Governor Lane, Joe Meek, Lieutenant G.H. Hawkins, an Army surgeon and sixteen soldiers
Governor Lane's Party arrived at San Pedro, California
and found a sailing ship about to depart for San Francisco
Governor Lane and U.S. Marshall Joe Meek boarded the ship which carried them to San Francisco
along with the remaining members of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen

ELECTION OF 1848 LACKS ENTHUSIASM AND GENERATES LITTLE INTEREST

Four political parties ran candidates for the office of President of the United States
both Democrats and Whigs hoped to avoid the divisiveness of the slavery issue
Democratic President James K. Polk refused to run for a second term
Democrats ran colorless party loyalist Lewis Cass -- an advocate of popular sovereignty
each territory would decide for itself the question of allowing slavery
this neutral stance pleased no one
his running mate was General (War of 1812) William O. Butler -- also a party loyalist
Whigs ran slaveholder General Zachary Taylor, hero of the Mexican War Battle of Buena Vista
whose earlier military blunders were forgotten
Taylor had no political experience and had never voted in an election
Millard Fillmore was nominated to be Taylor's Vice President
he was moderately anti-slavery and was chosen to "balance the ticket"
Anti-slavery Liberty Party ran Gerrit Smith and Charles C. Foote
many Liberty Party members left the party and joined the new Free Soil Party
Free Soil Party opposed further expansion of slavery into the western territories
Former President Martin Van Buren had sought the Democratic nomination
but lost to Lewis Cass at the Democratic Convention
Charles Francis Adams, the son and grandson of two presidents, ran as Vice President
Free Soil Party did not appear of the ballots of enough states to win the election
Van Buren, bitter with his convention loss, was content to split the Democratic Party
and allow the Whigs to win the election
The campaign was fought without much enthusiasm and practically without an issue
neither the Democrats nor the Whigs made an effort to rally the people to the defense
of any important principle including slavery
Whig candidate Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore were elected -- November 7, 1848

USS MASSACHUSETTS STEAMS TO THE PACIFIC COAST

Assigned to the Pacific Squadron -- the *Massachusetts* was to operate along the west coast she steamed from New York City -- November 1848
Massachusetts carried the First Regiment of the First United States Artillery Company "L" and "M" 167 officers and men under command of Brevet-Major John S. Hatheway
were assigned to travel by ship to establish the first military post in the Northwest after depositing the troops, *Massachusetts* was to select sites for light houses and buoys
From New York the *Massachusetts* steamed south stopping first at Rio de Janeiro before continuing around Cape Horn, then stopping at Valparaiso, Chile
she followed the route of American whaling ships and stopped in Honolulu, Hawaii then continued on to San Francisco and Benicia Arsenal
before finally arriving at Mare Island Navy Yard California

SAM BARLOW'S ROAD IS GIVEN TO THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

Barlow Road was never intended as a money-making scheme
neither was it intend to be a losing one
Sam Barlow found at the end of two years he had about broken even
Barlow's agreement with the Provisional Government expired -- November 29, 1848
after the acceptance of the road by the government, it was leased to other businessmen
for several years it was a paying institution
Improvements were made occasionally
over the years, five toll gates were built to serve Barlow Road traffic
two-way road was blasted out around Laurel Hill and it became a true thoroughfare [1861]
emigrants were gradually displaced by stagecoaches and freight wagons
Barlow Road served the first tourists as they headed up from the Willamette Valley to vacation at recreation sites on Mount. Hood [1880s]
road's right-of-way was willed to the State of Oregon
and the last gate, near the town of Rhododendron, Oregon was removed [1915]

EXCITEMENT ABOUT CALIFORNIA GOLD REACHESA FEVER PITCH IN THE EAST

President James K. Polk gave the discovery official verification of the gold find
in his annual message to Congress -- December 5, 1848
he reported: **"The accounts of the abundance of gold in that territory are of such an extraordinary character as would scarcely command belief were they not corroborated by the authentic reports of officers in the public service, who have visited the mineral district...."**

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PASSES THE OREGON EXCLUSION LAW

When the Provisional House of Representatives was called to order -- December 5, 1848
only nine members of the twenty-three elected members met
as the rest were searching for gold in California
New members were appointed and eighteen representatives convened the session
Oregon Exclusion Law of 1848 was passed by the Provisional Legislature
making it unlawful for any Negro or mulatto (mixed race) to reside in Oregon
while no organized abolitionist movement existed in Oregon to counter discrimination
there were many petitions to the legislature submitted through the years

demanding repeal the exclusion laws and asking for exemptions for their friends
(these even succeeded once or twice -- but the laws were never out of force for long)
Provisional House of Representatives adjourned -- December 13, 1848

SUCCESSFUL GOLD SEEKERS RETURN TO THEIR HOMES IN OREGON TERRITORY

After a few months in California, successful prospectors including some from Puget Sound
began to return home with golden rocks in their pockets and sacks of gold-dust in their packs
immediately debts were canceled, homes improved, life made easier and more pleasant
others returned broken in health and spirit -- sick with disappointment
some did not come back at all

Some prospectors who left the diggings were attracted by settled conditions in the Willamette Valley
while Willamette Valley settlers were friendly to new arrivals,
they were hostile toward their northern neighbors living along Puget Sound
who provided them competition for California business
population growth was slow in the Puget Sound region

FORT HOPE IS CONSTRUCTED BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

With the international boundary issue resolved [1846]
Hudson's Bay Company faced the loss of Oregon Country
Some new supply route had to be found to replace the Columbia River
Fraser River provided this new route
Hudson's Bay Company decided to send its furs from Kamloops to the mouth of the Fraser River
new trail was broken up the Similkameen River and down the Coquihalla River
to newly-constructed Fort Hope on the Fraser River -- late 1848
trade goods and supplies arrived by seagoing ships at Fort Langley
(just upriver from present day Vancouver, British Columbia)
supplies were then shipped from Fort Langley upriver to Fort Hope
for distribution to inland posts like Fort Kamloops

OREGON TERRITORY ASSOCIATE JUSTICE ORVILLE C. PRATT IS IN CALIFORNIA

Orville C. Pratt was in San Francisco at the time that President Polk had appointed him
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Oregon Territory
Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt arrived at Portland, Oregon -- January 1849
he issued the official proclamation extending the laws of the United States over Oregon Territory
Justice Pratt was the only territorial justice in Oregon as no other justices had arrived
in fact, Justice Pratt was the only territorial official in Oregon Territory
he also served as the judge of the first Court of Admiralty ruling on maritime issues

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY MOVES ITS HEADQUARTERS FROM FORT VANCOUVER

Fort Vancouver was now located south in the international boundary on American land
and the Territorial government was traveling overland
accompanied by the United States Regiment of Mounted Riflemen
two additional companies of the First Regiment of U.S. Artillery was on their way by ship
Chief Factor Sir James Douglas was instructed to organize a new colony on Vancouver Island

Chief Factor Douglas moved from Fort Vancouver to Victoria on Vancouver Island
he administered the shift of the Hudson's Bay Company capitol
and was charged with encouraging British settlement
in New Caledonia (British Columbia)

Douglas' efforts were strongly supported by Sir John Pelly
who was now Governor of Hudson's Bay Company
and Governor of the Bank of England

Fort Victoria was immediately leased to the Hudson's Bay Company for a ten-year period
this trading post was to oversee the Company's operation west of the Rocky Mountains
Peter Skene Ogden served as Chief Factor at Fort Victoria

Hudson's Bay Company relocated its western headquarters from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria
this development prompted the British colonial office to designate the region
the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island -- January 13, 1849

Richard Blanshard was named governor of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island
after his arrival he quickly discovered Hudson's Bay Company really ran the region
there was no civil service, no police, no militia
and virtually every colonist was company employee
Chief Factor Sir James Douglas held all of the practical authority there

OREGON TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS ARRIVE IN SAN FRANCISCO

After great difficulty during their overland trip

Oregon Territory Governor Joe Lane reached San Francisco

just in time to witness the insane effects of the California Gold Rush

included among his traveling companions were Lieutenant G. H. Hawkins

commanding the escort party of Regiment of Mounted Riflemen and U.S. Marshall Joe Meek

Scores of men Meek had last seen in Oregon were milling around in San Francisco

these were his old Oregon acquaintances who recently had left Willamette Valley penniless
many had already been at the mines

some were returning to their families with bags holding thousands of dollars in gold dust

eager to return to their once poverty-stricken homes

other men had given it up as a bad venture

GOLD CIRCULATES IN OREGON TERRITORY

During the early months of 1849 gold-dust was the common medium

it seemed cheaper than anything else

an estimated two million dollars in gold dust flowed into once moneyless Oregon

so did barrellfuls of Mexican and Peruvian silver dollars, imported to purchase trade goods

gold dust was used as the circulating medium in Oregon Country

but the quality of gold dust varied greatly

LAST SESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IS HELD

After the delay in opening the Provisional House of Representatives session due to the gold rush

a final Provisional Legislative session opened in Oregon City at Rose Farm -- February 5, 1849

Ralph Wilcox, the first teacher and practicing doctor in Portland, was chosen as speaker Samuel Murray Holderness who once challenged sub-Indian Agent Dr. Elijah White to a duel was selected Secretary of the Provisional House of Representatives

During this session the law forbidding the sale of firearms and supplies to the Indians was repealed even so, the Indians decided to remain pacified although they saw fresh supplies of settlers arriving in the Willamette Valley and learned a regiment of riflemen and a regiment of artillerymen from the United States might arrive at any moment

One of the last laws passed by the Provisional Legislature authorized a mint to be established to coin five- and ten-dollar gold pieces in Oregon City -- February 15, 1849 these coins were created as a result of significant amounts of gold dust circulating in the area in an effort to stabilize the value of money brought in from the California Gold Rush local coinage was illegal in the United States, but this was the answer to a real need gold pieces saved having to weigh out gold dust

PROVISIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCLUDES ITS FINAL MEETING

Final meeting of the Oregon Provisional Legislature closed -- February 16, 1849 record of the Provisional Government was a mixed one some success had been achieved:

- it had provided a mechanism for the transfer of power from the Methodists to American farmers,
- it had kept the peace among competing factions it was flexible enough to accommodate or mediate the interests of different groups,
- it had provided a rudimentary record of land titles,

but it was a dismal failure regarding race relations:

- it was unable to resolve the issue of the rights of African Americans,
- it was unable to resolve issues regarding the Indian population

Cayuse War was the last activity undertaken by the Provisional Government

OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR AND U.S. MARSHALL ARRIVE

Territorial Governor Joe Lane was accompanied by U.S. Marshall Joe Meek because of desertion due to the enticing prospect of becoming very wealthy in California of the original military escort of fifty Regiment of Mounted Riflemen only eight members of Mounted Riflemen arrived two officers and six soldiers remained faithful to their duty

Territorial Governor Joe Lane and his party boarded the small ship *Janet* which took them from San Francisco to the Columbia River -- late February 1849 *Janet* was crowded with miners, successful or not, returning home

Governor Joe Lane and his party reached the mouth of the Columbia River there head winds so delayed their ship that they switched to canoes to paddle up the great river both the new governor and U.S. Marshal took their turns at the paddles as they toiled a hundred fifteen miles upstream

GOLD FEVER IN THE EAST DELIVERS ADVENTURERS TO SAN FRANCISCO

First gold seekers from the East coast rushed to Panama City, Nicaragua
where the *California*, one of the first steamships to travel from Central America
to the Pacific coast of North America was due to arrive
400 passengers and a crew of thirty-six arrived in San Francisco – February 28, 1849
nearly all of her crew jumped ship and deserted
California gold rush is on

DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA BRINGS CHINESE IMMIGRANTS TO FIND WORK

(First group of Chinese immigrants to come to America were carpenters and artisans
who landed at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island with Captain John Meares
aboard the *Felice Adventurer* [May 25, 1788]
these Chinese workmen built a primitive temporary fort
a flimsy two-story house of logs protected by a breastwork and a storehouse
John Meares named his settlement “Friendly Cove” [present-day Yuquot, British Columbia]
other Chinese joined the crews of British ships
involved in the fur trade with Canton [today’s Guangzhou])

Discovery of gold in California brought on a large-scale migration of Chinese -- 1849
Chinese merchants already in San Francisco sent word of the exciting discovery back to China
shippers and sea captains traveled to Hong Kong and Canton spreading the news
and offering low fares for passage to America
most of the early Chinese immigrants came from southeast China villages
in the Toishan (mountain) District in that borders the South China Sea
there agricultural production could only support the population for four months of the year
peasants struggled to eke out an existence
heavy floods in the Pearl River Delta made conditions even worse
consequently, many people became merchants or were active in trade
because of their travels to Hong Kong and Canton
they came into contact with Europeans and Americans

Lure of gold and employment opportunities provided a strong incentive for Chinese men
to travel to America where an increasing demand for cheap labor waited on the western frontier

Most Chinese workers entered the United States through the port city of San Francisco,
contrary to the impressions of most Americans of that day,
these were not nameless, impoverished, coolies smuggled into the country
and forced to work as slaves for the enrichment of their Chinese masters
each name was recorded and each man was known
by benevolent fraternal business organizations
these companies looked after his welfare while he was in America and would pay
either for his return passage home or, if he died, the return of his remains
to his homeland for burial with his ancestors
meticulous records of his credits and debts were kept
in the office of the sponsoring company that had paid his passage to America
for these guaranteed services, the sponsoring company took a percentage
of his earnings -- but in no sense was he a slave

(There were 25,000 Chinese were in California three years after the discovery of gold there [1851])

sadly, the records being preserved in San Francisco were destroyed by fire
following the great [1906] earthquake
no letters or diaries written by Chinese immigrants before that date have survived
although documents may yet remain in China
many Chinese immigrants may have left a written record of their experiences in China
but these, if they exist, have not been made available to American historians)

NEWLY APPOINTED OREGON GOVERNOR JOE LANE ARRIVES AT OREGON CITY

Last leg of the canoe journey was up the Willamette River to Oregon City
Oregon City saw Oregon Territorial Governor General Joe Lane arrive safely -- March 3, 1849
they had survived the hazardous mid-winter overland trip
and the coastal sea venture to Oregon Territory
and evaded the siren's call of California gold
However, they were barely in time to establish a territorial government
it was just two days before President James K. Polk's term in office expired
as did the term of Oregon Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joe Lane

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR REFUSES TO MEET WITH THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

Territorial Governor Joe Lane invited Provisional Governor George Abernathy to pay him a visit
at William Holmes' Rose Farm where Lane was about to take up residence
Rose had built his Rose Farm just outside of Oregon City
and this became a celebrated overnight stopping place
Ever the Whig, Abernathy noted that Democrat Lane had not yet shown his credentials
and responded that he would be glad to receive Lane should he call to pay his respects
but he would not visit the Democratic governor when a Whig Zachary Taylor
was waiting to be sworn into office as president

ASTONISHING CHANGES HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE WEST

During the eighteen months between the Whitman Massacre
and the arrival of Governor Lane and the American Rifle Regiment:

- war with Mexico had been terminated,
- California had become part of the United States,
- gold was discovered on the American River in California,
- westward migration turned south to California,
- need for protection along the Oregon Trail was no longer as urgent,

Route of ocean traffic changed also
New England shippers who had been seeking markets for their goods in the Pacific Northwest
now altered their bills of lading to serve San Francisco and Sacramento

CELEBRATION OF THE ARRIVAL OF OREGON TERRITORIAL OFFICERS TAKES PLACE

William L. Holmes hosted a Territorial Inaugural Ball at Rose Farm
to honor Territorial Governor Joe Lane -- March 3, 1849
Territorial Governor Joe Lane stood on the front balcony of William Holmes' Rose Farm house
where he was joined by Oregon Territory Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt

the only other official in the territory -- March 3, 1849
(Oregon Territory had been created by an act of Congress [August 14, 1848])
Governor Lane published a proclamation which officially declared Oregon
to be a territory of the United States -- March 3
This was James K. Polk's last full day in office as President of the United States
and Governor Joe Lane's last official day in office
Governor Lane knew that he would lose his job if the Whigs gained control in Washington City

TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE SETS UP OFFICE

Oregon Territorial government was composed of Governor Joe Lane, U.S. Marshall Joe Meek,
Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt, U.S. Attorney Amory Holbrook
and Territorial Secretary Jesse Quinn Thornton -- March 3, 1849
Instead of marking time until the national election results reached him
Oregon Territorial Governor Joe Lane ordered the Provisional Government be dissolved
whatever his other faults General Joe Lane was an energetic governor, an ardent Democrat
and a personal friend of President James K. Polk

TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR JOE LANE IS AN ABLE ADMINISTRATOR

Issues which Territorial Governor Lane faced were weighty but not numerous
his most pressing concern was the question of land ownership
he also had his hands full of minor Indian troubles
and could only wait for the anticipated additional soldiers to arrive
He lost no time in putting his government machinery into motion:
•he immediately summoned the territorial legislature to deal with the tangled economy,
•one of his first acts was to order U.S. Marshall Joe Meek to take a census of the population,
•he ordered the election of a Territorial Delegate to Congress
to replace J. Quinn Thornton -- Provisional Governor George Abernathy's private appointee
General Joe Lane continued to act as Oregon Territorial Governor until his replacement could arrive

GENERAL JOE LANE ALSO ACTS AS SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Indians West of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon Territory
were not strong enough to resist the white invasion
Territorial Governor Joe Lane's first plan was to quiet the natives with gifts
until their land could be purchased by the United States government
in the Willamette Valley his plan was to remove all Indians after paying for their land
unfortunately Congress made no provision for payment to the Indians

WHIG ZACHARY TAYLOR IS INAUGURATED AS PRESIDENT

Expansionist Democrat President James K. Polk spent his last hours in office -- March 4, 1849
along with Polk's term, territorial governor's official term of office also expired
Territorial Governor Joe Lane had served for only one day
Whig President Zachary Taylor was inaugurated -- March 4

REV. GEORGE HENRY ATKINSON -- FATHER OF OREGON SCHOOLS

Congregationalist Minister had arrived in Oregon on the *Cowlitz* [1848]
he took up residence in Oregon City and became the minister of the Oregon City congregation
(a church building was not constructed until [1850])

Rev. George H. Atkinson helped to found the Clackamas Female Seminary -- 1849
with George Abernathy, Dr., Wilson Blair, A.L. Lovejoy, James Taylor, and Hiram Clark
who served as trustees
(however, the institution did not open to students for another two years [1851])

Rev. Atkinson also helped to found the Tualatin Academy in Forest Grove -- 1849
along with Tabitha Moffat "Grandma" Brown and Harvey L. Clark

Rev. Atkinson pushed for laws to create public schools in Oregon
he proposed:

- education should be at no cost to students with financial support coming through taxes,
- a permanent fund to provide financing should be established,
- control of the schools should be at the local level,
- schools should allow religious freedom,
- teachers should be certified to meet professional standards

After public education laws were passed

Rev. George Atkinson became the first superintendent of schools in Clackamas County
he is called the Father of the Oregon Public School System

OREGON EXCHANGE COMPANY MINTS "BEAVER COINS"

Oregon Exchange Company, a private company, was formed
by Provisional Governor George Abernathy and other merchants at Oregon City
to bring some sort of order to the chaotic money mess

Mint Officers were elected:

- James Taylor -- Director,
- William H. Willson -- melter and coiner,
- George L. Curry -- assayer,
- Truman P. Powers -- Treasurer

Hamilton "Cow" Campbell engraved the dies

these \$5.00 and \$10.00 gold pieces were struck by hand

they had a higher gold content than coins minted in the United States

"Beaver Coins" were so named because they were minted with a replica of a beaver on the face
placed above the animal were the initials for the last names of the principal partners
also displayed were the initials O.T. or T.O. (both for Oregon Territory) and the date
back side of the coin displayed the name Oregon Exchange Company, the issuing authority,
and the denomination

Oregon Exchange Company minted \$58,500 in \$5 and \$10 gold coins -- March 1849

EDMUND SYLVESTER GOES TO CALIFORNIA TO FIND GOLD

After the accidental drowning of his partner Levi Smith,

Edmund Sylvester learned of the gold strike in California

Sylvester caught "gold fever"

he left his Puget Sound Milling Company and temporarily abandoned his land claim

at Smithfield on Budd Inlet that formerly belonged to Levi Smith -- April 2, 1849
like many other pioneers he headed down the emigrant wagon road
bound for the California gold fields

GENERAL JOHN ADAIR -- FIRST OREGON CUSTOMS OFFICER ARRIVES ON THE WEST

General John Adair was appointed the first Collector of Customs by President Polk [1848]
he traveled by boat from New Orleans to Panama, crossed the isthmus
before continuing on by ship to the port of Astoria where he arrived -- April 3, 1849
he established the first West coast United States Customs House at Astoria

TERRITORIAL CHIEF JUST WILLIAM P. BRYANT ARRIVES IN OREGON TERRITORY

Territorial Chief Justice William P. Bryant, an outsider, arrived in Oregon City -- April 9, 1849
because of his humble dress and lack of money he was considered to be a poor man
he joined Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt to form the Oregon Territorial Supreme Court
because Peter H. Burnett had gone to California
there was no third justice in Oregon Territory to hear cases
when two justices sat together they constituted the Territorial Supreme Court
as two justices constituted a prevailing majority if all three justices made the decision
Territorial Supreme Court was often unable to function
because two of the three justices were required
very often only one justice was in residence and he was then responsible
for administering the court system and hearing all cases at the district level

U.S. MARSHALL JOE MEEK TAKES A CENSUS OF OREGON TERRITORY

United States Marshall Joe Meek provided Territorial Governor Joe Lane an unofficial report
total population of Oregon Territory was 9,089
Joe Meek declared 8,785 American citizens were in Oregon Territory
304 Americans were living north of Columbia River

PATKANIM -- CHIEF OF THE SNOQUALMIES

Country surrounding Whidbey Island was the land of the Snoqualmie Indians led by Chief Patkanim
this famous chieftain was the hereditary ruler of the Snoqualmie tribe
he also served as the ruling spirit of the Indians in general on the eastern shore of the Sound
(throughout all of today's Whatcom, Skagit and Snohomish counties)
he was known for shrewdness and cunning -- when settlers first arrived he was hostile to them
but he kept on good terms with the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company
Patkanim's daughter was married to Wymock, the son of Nisqually Chief Lachalet
together they lived near Fort Nisqually
whites thought Wymock was big, handsome and full of fun
Snoqualmie Indians thought he was a wife-beater

FAMILY DISPUTE LEADS TO TROUBLE

Indians were in the habit of visiting the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Nisqually to trade
as was their custom natives once again were gathered in small numbers outside the post

Snoqualmie Chief Patkanim came to visit the Wymock household -- about noon May 1, 1849
to discuss the abuse problem with his son-in-law
finding the young man not at home,
Patkanim believed Wymock had taken refuge at Fort Nisqually
Chief Patkanim and his large band of Indians beached their canoes on the Nisqually River
striding across the plain came was almost 100 Snoqualmies painted and carrying weapons
Chief Patkanim was admitted to the fort to meet with Chief Factor Dr. William Tolmie
Patkanim said he wanted to settle a domestic difficulty with a Nisqually chief
but the very large gathering of armed Indians created concern on this day

INCIDENT AT FORT NISQUALLY

Outside the fort three settlers and an Indian were on a visit to the fort:
Leander C. Wallace, an early settler on Anderson Island, a Mr. Lewis, and a Mr. Walker
also Skykomish Medicine Man Charles Wren who had just arrived from an Indian camp
Such a large number of armed Indians caused some alarm inside the post
call of "All hands in" was given -- May 1, 1849
Leander C. Wallace and his three companions seeing their danger
retreated toward the gate while continually facing the advancing natives
Confrontation was recorded by Hudson's Bay Company Clerk Walter Ross
Charles Wren reached the gate first and stood with his back against it trying to slip inside
gate was guarded on the inside by clerk Walter Ross along with two Indians
they refused to open for the three men
one of the Hudson's Bay Company men accidentally discharged a gun
gun shot was mistaken by the milling Indians as a signal from Patkanim
braves made a rush for the main gate but it remained closed
with the Snoqualmie Chief still inside
in the ensuing fight Leander C. Wallace was killed on the spot
Mr. Lewis and Mr. Walker managed to enter through the gate
but not before they were wounded
as was a Snoqualmie Indian boy standing in the fort -- he died shortly thereafter
Bastions of Fort Nisqually were manned
settlers opened fire on the Indians with a swivel-gun located inside the fort
one Indian was killed as the braves retreated
three more Americans were wounded in the fray
Snoqualmies sprinted across the prairie back to their canoes
in the confusion Chief Patkanim slipped away
Hudson's Bay Company officials later restored calm through negotiations with Patkanim
who remained at large -- two other Snoqualmies were hanged in retaliation
Because it was an American who was killed outside Fort Nisqually
settlers loudly demanded protection from their territorial and federal governments
Nisqually Indian brothers Leschi and Quimuth gave their support to the settlers
Chief Patkanim never forgot this betrayal

USS *MASSACHUSETTS* TRAVELS UP THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA

USS *Massachusetts* Steamed from Benicia Arsenal, California to the mouth of the Columbia River carrying the First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Companies L and M 152 men, eight officers, some wives and children -- all led by Brevet-Major John S. Hathaway *Massachusetts* became the first American steamer to reach the Pacific Northwest and the first United States troop ship to enter the Columbia River -- May 9, 1849 *Massachusetts* proceeded upriver to Fort Vancouver

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN RECEIVES NEW ORDERS

Brevet-Colonel William Wing Loring was in command of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen that remained stationed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Colonel Loring received new orders he was to lead five companies of his men and follow the route taken by Oregon Territorial Governor Joe Lane and Lieutenant G. H. Hawkins overland 2,500 miles to Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory Loring's men were charged with protecting emigrant wagon trains and gold-seekers en route they were to establish several forts and post military garrisons along the Oregon Trail and to police the route once in Oregon Territory they were to assist Oregon Territory Governor Joe Lane with the Indian troubles there and to apprehend the Whitman Mission murderers

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN SETS OUT FOR OREGON TERRITORY

Colonel Loring led a Battalion (five Companies) of Mounted Riflemen from Fort Leavenworth 600 soldiers led by thirty-one commissioned officers departed Fort Leavenworth -- May 10, 1849 along with a long supply train of sixty wagons and nearly 1,200 mules driven by 160 teamsters, accompanied with guides and train agents, several women and children and enough supplies to sustain everyone 700 horses and a herd of cattle piloted by Joel Palmer completed the caravan

USS MASSACHUSETTS REACHES FORT VANCOUVER

Massachusetts delivered the first military unit to reach Oregon Territory: First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery, Companies L and M under the command of Major John S. Hathaway *Massachusetts* anchored off Fort Vancouver as the British were evacuating the post in anticipation of establishing their new headquarters at Fort Victoria *Massachusetts* fired a salute in honor of Fort Vancouver -- Sunday, May 13, 1849 Lieutenant Theodore Talbot of the First Artillery reported that the bark *Columbia* and Fort Vancouver fired salutes in return Hudson's Bay Company welcomed their arrival as they hoped the United States military would keep American settlers from further encroaching on its property Major Hathaway and Captain Bennett Hoskins Hill went ashore for dinner at the fort while their artillerymen raised an American flag on a fir tree cleared of its branches *Massachusetts*, after depositing the troops, was to be used to select sites along the Pacific coast for lighthouses and buoys

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS ARE ESTABLISHED IN OREGON TERRITORY

Governor Joe Lane issued a proclamation dividing the territory into judicial districts -- May 13, 1849

First Judicial District consisted of Vancouver and several counties south of the Columbia River

Chief Justice William P. Bryant was assigned to this district

Second Judicial District consisted of the Willamette Valley

Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt was assigned to this district

Third Judicial District consisted of Lewis County

this was everything north of the Columbia west of Vancouver county

Associate Justice Peter H. Burnett had declined the appointment and left Oregon Territory

thus no judge was available

Territorial justices sat as trial level judges as they rode circuit across the territory

justices heard trials and rendered a verdict

appeals were made to the Territorial Supreme Court

which consisted of two of the three Justices meeting together as a court

their decision, in turn, could be appealed to United States Supreme Court

FORT VANCOUVER IS ABANDONED BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Rev. Samuel C. Damon had sailed from Honolulu on the *Massachusetts* and he noted:

“May 14th I visited the Fort, stores, storehouses and offices of the Hudson Bay Company. The extensive mechanical operations which have, in the estimation of former visitors, imparted so much animation to the central depot of the “Company,” are now almost entirely suspended. Scores of the company’s servants are now seeking their fortunes in the mines of California. It is clearly apparent that affairs at the Fort are in a transition state. The old and rigid discipline is relaxing; a new order of things is gradually coming about; and one is inclined to think that the glory of Vancouver’s Fort is departing. The introduction of United States laws into the territory necessarily will have a powerful influence upon the government of the company’s servants.... Mr. Douglass [sic], hitherto at the head of the company’s Island, there to officiate as Governor. Mr. Ogden is to become his successor at the Fort [Victoria]....”⁶¹⁰

FORT VANCOUVER IS PURCHASED BY AMERICANS

Unfortunately the federal law creating Oregon Territory did not address the issue of Indian land titles

Indian trouble could easily be predicted and it was duly noted: **“What started out as a thin trickle of American settlers into the area [around Fort Vancouver] turned into a surging flood of homesteaders who either settled on acreage which had been cleared and cultivated by the Company, or built on land claimed by native Indians. The inevitable conflicts between settlers and Indians gave rise to fears of a bloody, full-scale Indian uprising, so when the United States Army requested the company’s permission to establish a post adjacent to Fort Vancouver the Company agreed.”**⁶¹¹

Some military reservation was needed to provide housing for the United States’ soldiers

where could a barracks be placed that would assure future disputes, native or white,

would not displace them?

⁶¹⁰ W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 232

⁶¹¹ Yvonne Mearns Klan, “Kanaka William,” *Beaver Magazine*, P. 42.

With Hudson's Bay Company headquarters now located at Fort Victoria
Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company land offered a solution
Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden granted his permission and part of the now unused acreage
on the Columbia River became available for sale -- May 15, 1849
however, Fort Vancouver itself could not be garrisoned
as military quarters were not available for the troops

MAJOR JOHN S. HATHAWAY HOUSES HIS TROOPS AT THE SITE OF FORT VANCOUVER

First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Companies L and M
became the first American troops to take over from Hudson's Bay Company
Hudson's Bay Company Fort Vancouver grounds became a U.S. military post -- May 15, 1849
Major John S. Hathaway troops of the First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company L
were billeted in tents on the well-cleared space at what was called Vancouver Camp
Vancouver Camp was located a few hundred yards north of Fort Vancouver
on the bluff above the Hudson's Bay Company stockade
seventy-eight enlisted men and eight officers reported for duty
thirty-five other men were reported as absent
First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company M composed of eighty officers and men
under Captain Bennett Hoskins Hill were billeted in Astoria -- May 15, 1849

U.S. ARMY HAS DIFFICULTY SETTLING INTO ITS NEW QUARTERS

U.S. Army rented a few buildings from the British Hudson's Bay Company
company's sawmill was used to cut lumber and Indian laborers were hired
even so, the building of new housing went slowly
At Vancouver Camp Major John S. Hathaway quickly learned that his own men
would cause him more trouble than the Indians
several men lured by the hysteria of the California gold rush deserted -- May 16, 1849
(for months in 1849 the Army combed the coast attempting to round up deserters)

WAR CLOUDS RISE ON PUGET SOUND

Territorial Governor Joe Lane was visiting Cowlitz Farm when he heard of the incident
involving Snoqualmie Chief Patkanim at Fort Nisqually
Governor Joe Lane rushed north toward Fort Nisqually with his escort -- May 17, 1849
eight Regiment of Mounted Riflemen (Mounted Riflemen) led by Lieutenant G. H. Hawkins
carried arms and munitions for used by the settlers if necessary
At New Market the governor was intercepted by a messenger who told of the arrival
at Fort Vancouver of the *Massachusetts* and two companies of artillerymen
Companies L and M of the First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery
under the command of Major John S. Hathaway
Territorial Governor Joe Lane started the process to apprehend the murderers
immediately he set out to travel from New Market to Fort Vancouver

FORTY-NINERS INVADE CALIFORNIA

Twenty-five thousand people moved in an almost continuous caravan westward across the continent

toward the Sacramento Valley -- this was only the beginning
Fort Kearny, Nebraska provided an important stop on the emigration route
4,000 wagons and 10,000 oxen, most bound for California, passed through the military post
in the fifteen days between May 21 [and June 5] 1849
many pioneers purchased food at the fort
and nearly everyone took advantage of the fort's reliable mail service
This excited multitudes pressed on to the "new El Dorado" (Spanish for "the golden one")
most of the "49ers" who reached the gold fields in 1849]
looked for golden treasure in rivers and mines
but hundreds of fortunes were made in more diverse ways
many took the surer method of carrying supplies to the miners
or farmed to produce flour, fruit and other necessities for the miners to consume
With the push toward California Oregon Trail traffic to Oregon Territory
dropped to only 400 emigrants – 1849

POPULATION GROWTH IS SLOW NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Under normal circumstances the improving conditions of the Willamette Valley
would have been attractive to new arrivals
but California's seductive attraction of gold was irresistible to recent immigrants
Willamette Valley settlers also were hostile toward their Northern neighbors (in today's Washington)
as they began to ignore the Oregon market for their goods and focused their business attention
on California's insatiable miners and town-builders
population growth along Puget Sound was slow
in fact, the number of residents north of the Columbia River actually decreased
After a few months in California some successful Oregon prospectors returned home
with an abundance of money
they began making improvements such as buying cattle
and constructing gristmills or sawmills

ARMY QUARTERMASTER ARRIVES IN OREGON TERRITORY

Colonel Persifer F. Smith stationed in California, Commanding Officer of the Pacific Division
ordered the construction of a military headquarters in the Northwest
Army Quartermaster Captain Rufus Ingalls reached Oregon Territory from San Francisco, California
aboard the ship *Anita* -- May 25, 1849
Captain Ingalls was assigned to establish the Eleventh (Oregon) Department of the Pacific Division
he was charged with maintaining all of the supplies, accommodations and animals
for the army in Oregon Territory
Ingalls' task was monumental as a large portion of pioneers were off seeking gold in California
and desertions from the military were a constant problem

CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON BARRACKS FOR COMPANY L

Major John S. Hathaway quickly became involved with Quartermaster Captain Rufus Ingalls
in planning for the army's winter quarters

Columbia Barracks was to be a new home for First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Companies L currently unhappily maintaining residence at Vancouver Camp
Captain Ingalls supervised construction of the first military structures at Fort Vancouver using the soldiers of Company L on extra duty
Captain Ingalls constructed several permanent structures to serve as winter quarters (one of the buildings is referred to as “Grant House” so named in honor of Ulysses S. Grant although he never lived there, he was a frequent visitor as the building served as regimental headquarters for several years)

CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM P. BRYANT BECOMES A BUSINESSMAN

Fifty days after his arrival in Oregon Territory Chief Justice William Bryant purchased all of George Abernathy’s interests on Governor Island in the Willamette River -- May 29, 1849
Bryant gave promissory notes worth \$30,000 as part consideration for the purchase
Bryant also bought wheat, flour, and staves for about \$2,500 and a quantity of lumber and logs on time from former Provisional Governor George Abernathy

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN BECOMES A UNITED STATES CITIZEN

Under the law creating Oregon Territory passed by Congress all aliens who had declared, on oath, their intention to become citizens of the United States and had taken an oath to support the U.S. Constitution and the provisions of the act establishing the Territorial Government of Oregon, were entitled to vote in the first election
Dr. McLoughlin took the oath and made his declaration to become a citizen of the United States, as required by the naturalization law -- May 30, 1849
he hoped to end the controversy regarding his land claims in Oregon City but the dispute raged on

OREGON TERRITORY’S FIRST GENERAL ELECTION IS HELD

Congress significantly revised the legislative branch of the Oregon government:

- bicameral (two-house) body was composed of:
 - Council (upper house) made up of nine members who served a three-year term first Council members were elected, as determined, to terms of one, two or three years
 - House of Representatives composed of eighteen members with a one-year term members were apportioned by the number of voters in each county this body could be increased in numbers reflecting population growth but, as more counties were added, could not exceed thirty;
- legislators were elected locally and vacancies were filled by special election male Oregonians twenty-one years old or older who were U.S. citizens could vote;
- eligible Oregon Territory voters could elect a Territorial Delegate to Congress who could advocate territorial interests on the national House floor but who could not vote

Territorial Governor Joe Lane called for an election -- early June 1849
to fill the office of Oregon Delegate to Congress
elect members of the Oregon Territorial Council (upper legislative chamber)
elect members of the Oregon Territorial House of Representatives (lower legislative chamber)

Male citizens of Oregon voted in their first Territorial election -- June 4 1849
members of the Territorial Council (upper legislative body) were elected by legislative district
members of the Territorial House of Representatives were elected proportion of the population
Dr. John McLoughlin voted at Oregon City in the first general election
but he did not vote for Samuel Thurston as Delegate to Congress
as Thurston had strongly supported the Methodist missionaries
in the dispute of McLoughlin's land claim

BOOK ABOUT EXPERIENCES IN OREGON IS PUBLISHED

Written by Emerson Bennett with possible assistance by Sidney Walter Moss of Oregon City
The Pacific Flower (or Adventures in the Far West) was published in Cincinnati -- 1849
this soon became one of the most widely read novels in America

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN REACHES FORT JOHN

Major Winslow F. Sanderson leading the fifty-eight men
of Company E of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen reached Fort John (Wyoming)
ahead of Colonel William Wing Loring's battalion
Sanderson recommended purchase of the trading post for use as a military post
Remaining four Companies of soldiers of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen
traveled overland under the command of Colonel William Wing Loring
these Mounted Riflemen reached Fort John -- June 16, 1849
along with their sixty-wagon supply train, 1,200 mules, civilians and a herd of cattle

FORT JOHN (FORT LARAMIE, WYOMING) IS PURCHASED BY THE U.S. MILITARY

U.S. Army purchased Fort John from the American Fur Company
arrangements were completed -- June 26, 1849
Two of Colonel William Wing Loring's Companies of Mounted Riflemen placed under the command
of Colonel Benjamin Roberts were the first to garrison the newly-named "Fort Laramie"
they were to protect settlers and migrants from attack by Native Americans
Colonel Roberts and his men remained at Fort Laramie waiting for reinforcements
(a company of the 6th U.S. Infantry arriving in detachments
reached Fort Laramie [July and August] 1849
these men were added to the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen)
Fort Laramie became an oasis for pioneers traveling the Oregon Trail
it was used as a base to protect the Oregon Trail
which had become a major highway for the gold rush to California
it also became a shakedown point for emigrants
before they began the long upgrade haul into the Rocky Mountains
(later the fort was used to control the Indians of the northern Great Plains)

PEOPLE IN OREGON MINE THE CALIFORNIA MINERS

California mines afforded a wonderful market for Oregon Territory farm products
region West of the Sierra Mountains was covered with mining camps
towns such as Stockton and Sacramento became interior supply stations

Shrewder Oregonians perceived they had better than a gold mine in trade potential
farmers, merchants, laborers, manufacturers and speculators
all reaped the harvest from California's filling up immigrants and the new wealth of gold
packers visited farms buying up surplus flour, meat, lard, butter, eggs vegetables, and fruit
four bushels of Oregon apples brought \$500 in gold dust in San Francisco
tons of eggs sold for a dollar apiece in the gold fields
merchants were accused of maintaining a monopoly hold on business
"old settlers" had the best land, the best town sites and the river front property,
when territorial government was implemented they were given government contracts
to construct government buildings and were hired in government positions
town builders gave new settlers financial credit to buy supplies and start farms
new arrivals worked as carpenters, loggers and common laborers
until they could get started as farmers

BOOMERISM SWEEPS ACROSS THE WEST COAST

Large numbers of boats entered the Columbia River to take on cargoes of provisions
grain, fruit, eggs, lumber were in such demand that twenty ships at a time
were often moored by the dense forests of the lower Willamette River waiting for cargoes
Eastern businessmen employed their money and business skills to build great establishments
first lumbermen in California were from New England who arrived in San Francisco -- 1849
Andrew J. Pope, William C. Talbot, Asa Mead Simpson and William Renton
established lumber yards and sold building materials imported from New England
San Francisco became the commercial emporium of the Pacific coast
it developed into the leading sea port and link to the world
San Francisco's population boomed from a few hundred [in 1848]
to 56,000 by [1860]; 150,000 by ([870] and in excess of 250,000 by [1880]
Machinery was imported for use by farmers, roads opened, steamboats were purchased
Oregon's serene, idyllic, pastoral age was replaced by the bustle of commerce
and the fierce lust for wealth driven by boundless imagination
the question "why should the location of gold be limited to California?" was frequently asked

LUMBER INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION LINKS CALIFORNIA WITH OREGON

Using their lumber shipping fleets Eastern lumbermen connected the market of California
with the forests and excellent sawmill locations of Oregon Territory
Some Eastern businessmen came to the Columbia River and Puget Sound to develop the harbors
cargoes of lumber were carried from the established mills
when these proved insufficient to meet the demand in San Francisco
other sawmills were built
Several large companies dominated the industry
these and other successful lumber firms shared three characteristics:
•they were created and controlled by San Francisco capital,
•they broadened their market base with the passing years,
•they had their own California lumber yards and their own ships

COLONEL LORING CONTINUES TOWARD OREGON TERRITORY

Three Companies of Regiment of Mounted Riflemen marched out of Fort Laramie under the command of Brevet-Colonel William Wing Loring
two Companies went by way of Fort Bridger (Wyoming)
but the third Company mistakenly strayed directly west from South Pass
took the difficult Greenwood (Sublette) Cutoff and missed Fort Bridger altogether
en route the Companies reunited and continued their march to Oregon Territory

CONCERNS ABOUT OREGON LAND CLAIMS REMAIN UNRESOLVED

When Congress created Oregon Territory all existing laws of the Provisional Government were upheld with the notable exception of provisional land laws that were declared null and void
only Congress could grant land from the public domain which Oregon, in fact, now was in Oregon, as elsewhere on the frontier, public domain was not to be disposed of until the Indian title to the land was cleared
Pioneers worried about this as their land claims were in doubt
they could only hope Congress would ratify the promises of politicians who had long argued settlers should be rewarded by free land grants for the dangerous work extending the frontier
fortunately, there was a precedent
a statute [of 1842] gave free homesteads to occupants of the Florida frontier

SAMUEL ROYAL THURSTON -- OREGON TERRITORIAL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

Samuel R. Thurston had arrived in Oregon Country over the Oregon Trail [1847]
he practiced law in Hillsboro, Oregon
he was elected to the Provisional Legislature from Twality District [1848]
he saw the entrenched power of George Abernathy's old Mission Party and became an ally in their dispute with Dr. John McLoughlin's land claims -- July 1849
Thirty-two-year-old Samuel Thurston was the first to represent Oregon Territory in the United States Congress
Oregon's Delegate to Congress could speak on the floor of the U. S. House of Representatives but he could not vote (only states are represented by the federal government)
Samuel Thurston's (and thus George Abernathy's) political agenda was presented to congress:

- Thurston heard and passed along to congress the outbursts which followed Henry Spalding's unjustified charges that Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholics together were responsible for the Whitman Massacre;
- Thurston worked tirelessly for the passage of the Oregon Donation Land Law to remedy the glaring omission concerning property ownership in the original Organic Act creating Oregon Territory
this was the single most significant and mischievous piece of legislation aimed at Oregon Territory;
- but Thurston spent almost as much political energy in an effort to deprive Dr. John McLoughlin of his land claim in Oregon City to the advantage of George Abernathy and the Mission Party leaders

OREGON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE IS ESTABLISHED

Oregon's Territorial legislature was defined in the law that created the territory:

- Congress required the legislature to locate the territorial capital at its first session
- legislative sessions were limited to sixty days;
- laws which taxed non-residents at a higher rate than residents were prohibited;
- territorial legislature had limited power to incur debt;
- legislature was prohibited from incorporating banks and financial institutions and from acquiring debts in the name of the territory

Local laws passed by the Territorial government were subject to Congressional approval:

- laws passed by the legislature were to deal with one subject only to be named in the title without both of these conditions laws passed by the territorial legislature were null and void;
- provisional law authorizing the minting of the Beaver Coins was struck down as this was in contradiction to the United States Constitution;

OREGON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE GOES INTO SESSION FOR THE FIRST TIME

First session of the Territorial Legislature was called to order -- July 16, 1849 [to September 29] in Oregon City at the Methodist Church

thereafter, regular sessions were held [December, January and February] of each year (ten annual sessions were held until Oregon became a state)

some members of the old Provisional Legislature continued into the new government including David Hill, Asa Lovejoy, Samuel Parker and Absalom J. Hembree

Local territorial officers were chosen but many of the voters were in California:

Samuel Parker served as President of the Territorial Council elected by the members of the body
Asa Lovejoy was elected Speaker of the House by the eighteen members
Theophilus R. Magruder was elected Territorial Secretary by the Representatives

Territorial legislature renamed Oregon's counties:

- original Twality (or Tualatin) District became Washington County,
 - original Champoege District became Marion County,
- also Vancouver County, north of the Columbia River, became Clarke County (with the final "e" later dropped)

Territorial legislators passed a law assuring public support for the public schools this also made free education compulsory

Territory's land was to be surveyed into Townships (six miles by six miles in area)

each Township would be composed of thirty-six sections of land
each section of land was 640 acres -- measuring one mile by one mile
every Township was to hold the property rights to land sections 16 and 36
thus 1,280 acres of land was set aside in every township
interest on the money coming from the sale of these lands

was to be used to support public schools

Another law provided for the construction of roads in the territory

LOCAL POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FORMS IN OREGON TERRITORY

Matthew Deady represented Yamhill County as a Democrat in the Oregon House of Representatives
he attended the first session of the Oregon Territorial Legislature
there he met James W. Nesmith and Asahel Bush for the first time

these three would become influential leaders of the Oregon Territory Democratic Party

CANTONMENT LORING (NEW FORT HALL, IDAHO) IS CONSTRUCTED

Brevet-Colonel William Wing Loring continued to lead his Regiment of Mounted Riflemen to Oregon Territory

When he reached Fort Hall (Idaho) Loring constructed a permanent post -- August 5, 1849
it was located about three miles above the Hudson's Bay Company "old" Fort Hall
on the South side of the Snake River

this post was first called Cantonment Loring, but was frequently referred to as Fort Hall
Loring left two companies of Regiment of Mounted Riflemen to spend the (winter)
Lieutenant-Colonel Loring led one Company of Mounted Riflemen as they continued on
escorting a supply train of fifteen wagons and the herd of cattle piloted by Joel Palmer
(When Colonel Persifer F. Smith, Commanding Officer of the Pacific Division
later learned of the location of Cantonment Loring he was of the opinion that the post
was improperly located for the purpose of assisting emigrants
as the site afforded only limited space for forage -- it was abandoned [in 1850])

CATHOLIC IMMACULATE CONCEPTION MISSION IS IN DISARRAY

Father Pandosy's mental health began to decline

Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse

stopped in at Immaculate Conception Mission -- August 14, 1849

there he found Father Pandosy wearing tattered clothing with a long beard
and close to starving

he had been abandoned by the Indians

it was obvious he could not take care of himself

Pandosy's relations with the Indians had deteriorated to the point that a Walla Walla Indian
had threatened him with a knife during an argument

Father Chirouse nursed Father Pandosy back to health

Chirouse took Pandosy to the Holy Cross Mission in the Yakima Valley [September 1849]

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S LAND CLAIM GOES TO COURT

Chief Justice William P. Bryant filed a claim for Dr. John McLoughlin's land
while the retired Chief Factor recently had become a U.S. citizen

but he had not been eligible to claim land before citizenship had been granted to him

Territorial Chief Justice William P. Bryant opened court at Oregon City -- August 20, 1849

Bryant heard Dr. McLoughlin's case to protect his land claim

Bryant then ruled in favor of himself -- McLoughlin lost his case and his land

Dr. John McLoughlin appealed his loss of property to the Territorial Supreme Court

but the only Justice in the Oregon Territory at the time was William P. Bryant

who heard the appeal -- and again ruled in favor of himself

SITE FOR FORT STEILACOOM IS SELECTED

Protection of settlers in the area around Fort Nisqually had become an issue

in addition the United States was anxious to plant the flag on land claimed by Great Britain

Britain had ceded the territory south of the 49th parallel [1846],
but claimed this land as a commercial enterprise
operated by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company
Hudson's Bay Company's Dr. William Tolmie, the factor of Fort Nisqually, wrote these lines
in his *Journal of Occurrences at Fort Nisqually* -- August 24, 1849:

"... Rode to Steilacoom this morning in company with Major Hatheway and Capt. [Bennett Hoskins] Hill in order that they might judge for themselves as to whether Steilacoom or Sequelitchew would form the best winter quarters for the troops. Steilacoom received the preference on account of the number of buildings already erected there ..."⁶¹²

Thus began the first solid American presence on Puget Sound
there had been other efforts -- missionaries and settlers who came before
however, they brought little more than their hopes and dreams for better lives

ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE TO CONSTRUCT A NEW MILITARY POST ON PUGET SOUND

Joseph Heath originally rented property from Puget Sound Agricultural Company to raise sheep
he had cleared thirty acres of land, learned carpentry and constructed a house and farm buildings
after he died of pneumonia his farm lay abandoned for six months -- August 1849

Puget Sound Agricultural Company reclaimed Heath's land
Territorial Governor Joe Lane reached an agreement with the Puget Sound Agricultural Company
to lease 640 acres of land and the buildings and acreage of Joseph Heath's English sheep farm
located only a six-mile ride north of the British trading post at Fort Nisqually for \$50 a month

COMPANY M, FIRST REGIMENT OF THE FIRST U.S. ARTILLERY MOVES TO PUGET SOUND

Territorial Governor Lane ordered the First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company M
composed of eighty officers and men under Captain Bennett Hoskins Hill
to move from Astoria to Nisqually

English vessel *Harpooner* delivered the American troops -- August 28, 1849
Company M found on site a house, a barn, a granary and shop buildings

FORT STEILACOOM CONSTRUCTION IS COMPLETED

Captain Bennett Hoskins Hill took over Joseph Heath's big house as his headquarters
he put the men of the First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company M in the barns
until barracks were constructed -- September 1849

Fort Steilacoom was established near Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Nisqually
under direction of 2nd Lieutenant Grier Tallmadge, acting assistant quartermaster
eighteen additional log buildings for enlisted barracks, officer's quarters, officer's mess,
adjutant office, hospital, guard house, bakery and storehouse were built
at a cost of about \$3,000
on a meadow near Puget Sound once claimed by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company
Fort Steilacoom was located (where Western State Hospital is today)
it was named for the Steilacoom River
Fort Steilacoom served as a supply depot and refuge from 1849

⁶¹² Victor J. Farrar, *The Nisqually Journal*, The Washington Historical Quarterly for July, 1915-April, 1916, P. 227.

until [April 22, 1868] when the post was closed

FORT STEILACOOM IS AN AMERICAN PRESENCE ON PUGET SOUND

As a military installation Fort Steilacoom did not amount to much
only a scant handful of soldiers were housed on there
However, Fort Steilacoom brought signs of stability, commerce and structure to the region
besides marking the first permanent U.S. governmental presence on Puget Sound
Fort Steilacoom protected the American settlers and vice versa
Fort Steilacoom was the first military fort north of the Columbia River -- September 1849
(although others quickly followed most of these forts were shabby at best
very few forts had much in the way of fortification
they were constructed of whatever materials were available in their locale
mud huts, caves and tent villages circled around a flagpole
were about all a soldier of the day could expect at many forts)
Fort Steilacoom was one of the better- defended forts
with permanent buildings (albeit log-framed), sheep pens and barns converted to military use
(Fort Steilacoom and later American forts provided settlers with the civilizing features
such as government, law and cash
as soldiers provided settlers with two much-needed commodities for developing an area
a flow of consumers for their locally produced goods and a steady stream of currency
and the fort doctor provided medical aid to the civilians)

BLUE BOOK CONTROVERSY PLACES THE LAWS OF OREGON TERRITORY IN DOUBT

Printed copy of the Iowa Territorial Laws [1839] was known as the *Little Blue Book*
this had been adopted as the official laws of Oregon
by the Provisional Government [May 2, 1843]
Little Blue Book listed the usual American civil rights
it had served as the basis of the Organic Laws -- Provisional law in Oregon Country
Territorial Legislature passed an act to adopt certain chapters of the Revised Statute of Iowa [of 1843]
this edited version ironically became known as the *Big Blue Book* -- September 7, 1849
Many Oregon pioneers believed the *Big Blue Book* was in conflict with provisional laws
as it changed some of the statutes written in the *Little Blue Book's* laws
Question of which *Blue Book* was in effect was taken to the Oregon Territorial Supreme Court
Territorial Supreme Court declared the action of the Territorial Legislature -- 1849
was unconstitutional because each law (Act) must embrace only one subject
and that subject should be stated in the title to the Act
Little Blue Book continued in effect
Blue Book Controversy raged for four more years

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN REACHES THE DALLES, OREGON TERRITORY

Lieutenant-Colonel William Wing Loring's Regiment of Mounted Riflemen
made the difficult overland journey from Fort Leavenworth to Oregon Territory
when they arrived in Oregon Territory they were ragged and exhausted
cholera and desertions quickly thinned their ranks

horses were famished and weak from short rations
Northwest's Regiment of Mounted Riflemen stopped briefly at The Dalles -- September 1849
Colonel Loring split his forces in anticipation of the difficult journey ahead to Fort Vancouver

COLUMBIA BARRACKS IS COMPLETED FOR COMPANY L

Quartermaster Captain Rufus Ingalls reported that a number of structures of "rough material,"
but reasonably comfortable had been completed
(on the grounds of Fort Vancouver near today's Officers Row) -- September 15, 1849

This post was named Columbia Barracks

First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company L
was re-stationed from Vancouver Camp to Columbia Barracks
seventy-eight enlisted men and eight officers reported for duty
thirty-five men were reported as absent

Quarters for Major John Hathaway's soldiers with a carefully laid out offices' row
and parade grounds that overlooked the Columbia River about a mile up a gentle slope
other buildings occupied by the military were leased from the Hudson's Bay company
location of Columbia Barracks was spectacular
spruce and fir were everywhere
Mount Hood was beautiful as it stood in the distance
of course, the Columbia River finished the scene

NEW TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS ARE NAMED FOR OREGON TERRITORY

Whig President Zachary Taylor appointed new officials to replace the Democratic appointments
made by now-former President James K. Polk -- September 17, 1849

President Taylor's selected Abraham Lincoln to be Oregon Territory Governor
then a young and little known Illinois Whig Party member of the U.S. House of Representative
but he did not seek reelection

Lincoln refused the position because his wife was ill and he did not want to move west
President Taylor appointed U.S. Army Major John P. Gaines of Kentucky, Territorial Governor
Gains had acquired an education in law before entering politics
he had served Kentucky as a Whig member of the House of Representatives [1847-1849]
he lost his bid for reelection to Congress -- he returned to his home in Kentucky
he had supported Zachary Taylor for the presidency

President Taylor appointed Territorial Justice William Strong to replace Peter Hardeman Burnett
who had declined the position offered by Democratic President James K. Polk

President Taylor appointed Edward D. Hamilton of Ohio as appointed Territorial Secretary

General Hamilton had nominated General Taylor for president at the Whig national convention
Oregon Democrat Joe Lane continued to serve as Oregon Territory Governor
in anticipation of the arrival of his replacement

(new territorial officials will not reach Oregon Territory until [August 14, 1850])

BEAVER MONEY REMAINS IN CIRCULATION

Oregon Exchange Company minted about \$58,500 in \$5 and \$10 gold coins by September 1849
historians believe approximately 2,850 of the \$10 coins were made

(dies for the coins can still be seen at the Oregon Historical Society in Portland)
Oregon Territory Governor Joe Lane decided the Provisional authorization to mint coins
was in conflict with Federal statutes and declared the effort unconstitutional -- September 1849
however, Beaver Coins were kept in circulation [until 1854]
when the United States mint opened in San Francisco
life for the Oregon mint was brief because unalloyed gold Beaver Coins
were worth about eight percent more than United States coins as they contained more gold
most of the Oregon Beaver Coins were melted down for profit

OREGON'S PROVISIONAL EXCLUSION LAW CONTINUES AS TERRITORIAL LAW

Newest version of this sad law originally passed by the Provisional Legislature
now passed the Territorial legislature and became the law of Oregon Territory
racist legislation was once again seen as a cure for white anxieties
preamble to the exclusion bill was introduced into the territorial legislature -- September 21, 1849
stated in part: **"...situated as the people of Oregon are, in the midst of an Indian
population, it would be highly dangerous to allow free negroes and mulattoes to reside in the
territory or to intermix with the Indians, instilling in their minds feelings of hostility against the
white race . . . be it enacted . . . that it shall not be lawful for any negro or mulatto to come in or
reside within the limits of this Territory."**

Exclusion Law permitted black settlers and their children who were already living in Oregon to stay
but prohibited additional black people from moving to Oregon Territory
it included provisions to prevent Blacks from coming to Oregon by ship
ship owners were responsible for seeing that all black crew members
left the territory with their ship
a \$500 fine was the penalty for any negligent ship owner
any black person in violation of the law was to be arrested and ordered to leave
Oregon Territory's Exclusion Law also restricted land grants only to white people
immediate justification of the Exclusion Law was the fear of combined black-Indian hostilities,
a paranoia that found frequent expression in the documents of the day
This arrangement was strongly supported by Oregon Delegate to Congress Samuel Thurston
who announced in Congress that racial politics were a question of life and death in Oregon
and of money to the territorial government
Territorial Delegate Thurston proposed Negroes were better acquainted
with the customs, language and manners of whites than were Indians
he feared Blacks would associate with Indians and intermarry resulting mixed race
which would become much more formidable and long and bloody wars would be the result
(Oregon's Exclusion Law was later repealed [1854], but a new version was passed in [1857]
and was placed into the Oregon state Constitution [1859]
Exclusion Laws lasted long after Indian and black hostilities were a remote possibility
an exclusion clause remained on the books until [1926]
despite repeated efforts to have it removed)

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN TRAVELS FROM THE DALLES

After a brief stop at The Dalles, Lieutenant-Colonel William Wing Loring led

half of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen to Oregon City -- September 1849
some of the troops made an ill-advised attempt to travel by boat down the Columbia River
in the effort to run a raft load of supplies through the rapids at The Cascades Rapids
six soldiers were drowned and five tons of goods were lost when a raft was wrecked
other half of the command traveled over the Barlow Road around Mount Hood
this effort resulted the loss two-thirds of their horses and heavy damage to the worn wagons

CAPTAIN BENNETT HOSKINS HILL PURSUES CHIEF PATKANIM

Captain Bennett H. Hill in command of First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company M
was ordered to capture Leander C. Wallace's killers -- September 1849
he sent word from Fort Steilacoom to Snoqualmie Chief Patkanim
to surrender the killers of Leander C. Wallace or face destruction
J. Quinn Thornton, Provisional Governor George Abernathy's pick to be Territorial Representative,
showed up at Fort Steilacoom with a warrant commissioning himself to negotiate with the Indians
Thornton provided Patkanim with eighty blankets as a reward for turning over the killers
Patkanim earned his bounty by turning over six of his people
some may have been present when Leander C. Wallace was killed

OREGON TERRITORY LEGISLATURE ADJOURNS AS QUESTIONS REMAIN UNRESOLVED

Oregon Territory's first meeting the legislature adjourned -- September 29, 1849
in addition to passing the Exclusion Laws, Oregon Territorial government
had surveyed the territory into townships and sections to provide for the orderly sale of land
when that process was developed by Congress
Territorial legislators had implemented road construction in the territory
Two important issues were not addressed:
•question of which *Blue Book* of statute of Iowa territorial laws remained in effect unresolved,
•Beaver Coins, although unconstitutional under the United States Constitution, remained in use

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN REACHES OREGON CITY

From The Dalles, Lieutenant-Colonel William Wing Loring's Regiment of Mounted Riflemen
arrived in Oregon City in two separate detachments -- September 1849
They were reduced in numbers and worn out as the arduous march overland
from Fort Leavenworth to Oregon City was a disaster
entire loss included: seventy men dead or deserted, forty-five freight wagons
and one ambulance loss as well as 350 or more horses and mules

FIRST TEST OF LAWS IN OREGON TERRITORY

Territorial Legislature passed a Special Act attaching Puget Sound to the First Judicial District
so that six Snoqualmie Indians accused of killing Leander C. Wallace
could be tried at Fort Steilacoom to impress the natives there with white justice
Territorial Chief Justice William P. Bryant traveled to the fort for a trial
this location was inconvenient -- population was scarce along Puget Sound
court officials including former Provisional Government Circuit Judge Alonzo A. Skinner
who acted as prosecutor and most of the jury had to be imported

most traveled 200 miles by horse and canoe to reach Fort Steilacoom
In the absence of a district court judge, Chief Justice William P. Bryant
gaveled the proceedings to order -- October 1, 1849
grand jury promptly returned an indictment charging the six Indians with murder
Chief Justice Bryant appointed a lawyer to represent the defendants

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN REACHES FORT VANCOUVER

From Oregon City, Brevet-Colonel Loring's exhausted Regiment of Mounted Riflemen
continued on to Fort Vancouver where they arrived -- October 1, 1849
Regiment of Mounted Riflemen were the first United States military expedition
to travel the full length of the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver
a tremendous accomplishment for the time
(in fact, years later it was called "the greatest military feat on record")
For Brevet-Colonel William Wing Loring's newly arrived Mounted Riflemen
the first challenge was dealing with the housing shortage north of the Columbia River

TRIAL CONVENED THE NEXT DAY

Chief Justice William P. Bryant convened Oregon Territory's first criminal trial at Fort Steilacoom
six members of the Snoqualmie tribe were accused of the murder of Leander C. Wallace
Two men, Kussus (Cussus) and Quallalwot were convicted of murdering Wallace
jury of settlers found the other four accused Indians not guilty -- October 2, 1849
one of the acquitted defendants was a slave who was not present (at the May 1 altercation)
but had been offered by Patkanim to appease the whites

EXECUTION CARRIED OUT

U.S. Marshal Joe Meek invoked the death penalty for the first time in Oregon Territory
two prisoners were hanged at Fort Steilacoom -- October 3, 1849
one, Kussus (Cussus), was the brother of Chief Patkanim
Swift justice was meant to impress the Indians
but what really impressed the settlers was the cost of the trial
\$2,379 including \$480 to Hudson's Bay Company for the eighty blankets
used as the ransom to assure delivery of the accused
However, the local natives had been pacified
thus encouraged, the settlers began developing the South Puget Sound region
farms took root in timber-free valleys carved by glacial streams
flowing northwestward from Mount Rainer
and even on Whidbey Island prairie of land
however, even with all of the dispersing of the population,
fewer than five hundred whites lived in the entire region

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN ESTABLISHES THEIR QUARTERS

Since there were no quarters available at Fort Vancouver to house the troops
a few of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen stayed at Vancouver Camp
which Major John Hathaway's First Regiment of the First U.S. Artillery Company L

had deserted when they moved into Columbia Barracks
Three hundred Riflemen returned south to the small, sleepy frontier town of Oregon City
in search of a roof to put over their heads
Brevet-Colonel William Wing Loring rented space in Oregon City where the regiment was housed
there a portion of Loring's troops spent their first (winter)
and there they made themselves obnoxious with drunkenness and irreverent superiority
However, in California Colonel Persifer F. Smith, Commanding Officer of the Pacific Division,
was impressed enough with Loring's accomplishments to promote him to the rank of Colonel
(thus removing his Brevet status)
and named him Commandant of the 11th Military District -- October 3, 1849
(Colonel Loring was in command of the Oregon Territory military for almost three years
by his vigilance and firmness he kept the Indians pacified during that time)

TRADE WITH CALIFORNIA MULTIPLIES

Instead of an occasional ship entering the Columbia River more than fifty pushed into the river
with twenty tied up at one time waiting for cargoes
that could not be supplied fast enough to meet the demand -- October 1849

PRESIDENT TAYLOR NAMES JOHN P. GAINES OREGON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

With the refusal of Abraham Lincoln to serve as Governor of Oregon Territory
President Zachary Taylor appointed General John P. Gaines
to replace General Joe Lane -- October 1849

SLAVE ROSE JACKSON TRAVELS THE OREGON TRAIL

Not all relationships between slave and master were antagonistic
Rose Jackson willingly traveled the Oregon Trail as a slave to Dr. William Allen's family -- 1849
Since the Allens knew of the Exclusion Laws in Oregon Territory they planned to leave her behind
but she begged to accompany the family
with the support of the Allen daughters, Dr. Allen relented
Because it was illegal to bring slaves into Oregon Territory,
Dr. Allen was forced to smuggle Rose across the length of the Oregon Trail
in a box with air holes drilled in it
this was a sacrifice for the Allens since they would have to leave behind
belongings and supplies that would have been carried in that space
Rose came out only at night to stretch and get a breath of fresh air
Rose was given her freedom from slavery when the family entered Oregon Territory

TERRITORIAL CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM P. BRYANT LEAVES OREGON RICH

Chief Justice William P. Bryant was in Oregon Territory for only seven months
by his appearance Bryant was a poor man when he arrived in Oregon Territory
thanks to Dr. John McLoughlin's land he left the territory a rich man -- November 1849
he also continued to draw his judicial salary for eighteen more months

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE ORVILLE C. PRATT IS THE ONLY JUSTICE IN OREGON TERRITORY

With the departure of Chief Justice William P. Bryant, Associate Justice Orville C. Pratt was the only justice remaining in Oregon Territory
Justice Pratt exercised all the powers of the judiciary from April 1849 to [December 1853]
he held his own court and also heard cases which should have been held by the Chief Justice
in the meantime he organized most of the judicial district and circuit courts in the counties

TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATE JUSTICE ORVILLE C. PRATT WAS A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE

Justice Orville C. Pratt in addition to being an associate justice
also was named judge of the Court of Admiralty in the Pacific Northwest
he heard his first case of maritime law in Portland -- winter 1849
Justice Pratt was a controversial figure in Oregon Territory
he was known for traveling outside of the territory for personal gain
filled with ambition he left the territory frequently for personal and political interests
he was known for traveling outside of the territory for his own personal gain
and took every opportunity to advance his personal, business, and political goals
(After leaving the Oregon Territory Supreme Court Orville C. Pratt
continued on as judge of Admiralty Court in Portland, Oregon until [1856])

FIRST WINTER WAS ALWAYS A DIFFICULT TIME FOR NEW ARRIVALS

Dr. William Allen and his family were helped by their former slave Rose -- winter 1849
Mrs. Allen found work as a seamstress and made \$2 a day
Rose worked as a laundress and could bring home as much as \$12 a day
though she was freed when the family entered Oregon, all her earnings that first winter
went to support the Allen family
(Dr. Allen died the next year and Rose's support was even more crucial
Rose later married John Jackson, a groom for stagecoach horses
in Canemah [[now part of Oregon City]
next the couple moved to Waldo Hills outside Salem
together they raised two children: Rose and Charles)

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I was born in Western Washington and raised in a small village on the shore of the Salish Sea. My professional life was dedicated to teaching primarily Washington State History and United States History at the junior high school level. Of course, I coached for several years. I was active in my local education association serving as president, treasurer and negotiator representing teachers. I also was active in local and state politics. After retiring from teaching I was elected Washington State Senate Sergeant-at-Arms for two four-year terms.

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